The Role of Story Telling in a Police Probationer Training Classroom

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Abstract

This thesis is about the role played by story telling in a Metropolitan Police Probationer Classroom in South London in the early 1990s. The method used is one of discourse analysis of the type advocated by Potter and Wetherall, 1987). The form and function of themes, role-plays, case studies, anecdotes and hypothetical accounts are considered in this setting. The central argument here is that all these types of story are used to introduce an element of work place practice into the classroom context. This serves to motivate the students to learn by emphasising the relevance of the lesson material. Such motivation gives rise to student involvement in the classroom activity. In this way, the pedagogical goals of experiential learning and student involvement are achieved and a broader cultural value favouring practice over theory is realised.

As with all stories, themes, role-plays, case studies and hypothetical accounts are subject to the constraint of verisimilitude. This thesis suggests that the way in which verisimilitude is defined and applied in any given setting is highly context dependent. In this setting, verisimilitude focuses on the cognitive and task oriented elements of experiences that the students are thought to be likely to encounter in their work place. Stories that deviate from this focus might result in the students becoming bored or distracted; this may result in a situation in which the objectives of the curriculum are not met. For these reasons, trainers endeavour to control the use of stories by influencing every aspect of their telling. The rigour with which this definition of verisimilitude is applied in this setting varies according to the type of the story to be told and the lesson material in which it is to be used. Judgements of verisimilitude are more rigorous when stories that are likely to exert high attentional or emotional demands on the students are used.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis is about the stories that are told in a Metropolitan Police Probationer Classroom in South London. It is about the nature of those stories and the extent of their use, it is about the functions that may be served by their telling and, last but by no means least, it is about the general constraints underpinning their use.

This chapter is intended to set the scene for the research reported in this thesis. In so doing, it begins by considering how the term “story” might be defined and of the forms it takes in this setting. This is followed by a discussion outlining the broad theoretical influences impacting on the analysis of story function and constraint in this study. The chapter then concludes with a summary and a brief overview of the contents of this thesis.
**Story Definitions and Form**

In a general sense, the term "story" usually refers to the reporting of some kind of event or incident when it is commonly used. An example of this may be found in the Oxford Modern English Dictionary in which "story" is defined as:

"An account of imaginary or past events: a narrative tale or anecdote. The past course of the life of a person or institution etc. The narrative or plot of a novel, play etc. Facts or experiences that deserve narration. A fib or lie. A narrative or descriptive item of news."


In research, the term "story" may be defined in a number of different ways, depending on the purposes for which the definition is used. Such definitions relate primarily either to structure or content.

Definitions focusing primarily on structure tend to be used in research having as its goal the discovery of the deep or underlying elements on which different genres of story are founded. The work of cognitive psychologists into story grammars (for example, Thorndyke, 1977) and anthropologists operating within the structuralist tradition (for example, Levi-Strauss, 1966) provide a useful example of this kind of research.
Definitions that focus primarily on content tend to be used in research that has an elucidation of the functions of storytelling as its goal. In these circumstances, the definition is not usually made explicit. Where a definition is made explicit, it is usually limited to references about the duration and complexity of stories that are used in the research setting (for example, Shearing and Ericson, 1991). More commonly, the definition of story in this kind of research tends to be an implicit one that depends on how narrative is used in the setting for the research and in the context of its reporting.

The distinction between the focal points of these types of definition, is not, however, always such a clear-cut one. Of special importance to this thesis are the views expressed by Bruner (1986) about a narrative mode of thought (noted in more detail below). Bruner expresses these views as part of a broader thesis in which he claims that stories imply culturally appropriate ways of thinking about events, activity and the self. Unusually for a functional account, he provides an explicit definition of story when he suggests that its “timeless underlying theme” consists of characters, a plight into which those characters have fallen and an unequal distribution of consciousness between those characters with respect to that plight (Bruner, 1986 p.21). Bruner formulates this definition as part of a much wider analysis into how stories might engage the listeners' imagination. Here he suggests that it is the relationship between these components of story that serve this purpose. While it may be argued that this definition focuses on content rather than structure because it refers to the broad
components of story in a non-sequential manner, its general nature does seem to admit of some structural properties.

While such a definition undoubtedly serves Bruner's purposes, a preliminary attempt to specify the components underpinning stories in police probationer training did not seem to advance the research reported in this thesis. This may have been the case because the research question in this thesis is different from that of Bruner's: Bruner set out to explore the means by which stories impact on an audience, this thesis sets out to explore the purposes for which stories are told.

Storytellers in the classroom setting in which this research took place are primarily concerned with what the content of stories can do in advancing their pedagogical and professional ideologies, rather than with structure. For this reason, a definition of "story" focusing on content has been used for the purposes of this research. In particular, it has been taken to mean:

Any account of an event, whether it is implied that such an event actually occurred or whether it is entirely fictitious and whether the details of that event are either made explicit or are based on a more substantial appeal to common knowledge.

This definition of story focuses on the reporting of an event because the concept tends to carry this notion with it when it is commonly used in the
broader cultural context in which this research took place (as is suggested by the quotation from the Oxford Modern English Dictionary, above). The rest of the definition emerges from an analysis of the data reported in this thesis. In the chapters that follow, it will be suggested that some such events are presented as though they actually occurred while others are presented as being more fictitious and that some events are reported in detail while others rely rather more substantially on an appeal to common knowledge.

The stories used in this classroom setting take five forms:

(i) Themes.

(ii) Role-plays.

(iii) Case studies.

(iv) Anecdotes.

(v) Hypothetical accounts.

Most of the themes used to link the material from different lessons together in this setting amount to stories. Role-plays and case studies form a considerable proportion of the training methods outlined in the trainers' lesson notes. Anecdotes and hypothetical accounts form a
substantial proportion of the talk in the plenary sessions in this setting. Anecdotes refer to stories of events past and hypothetical accounts refer to events that might take place in the future.

The concepts of "role-play" and "case study" were explicitly referred to by the participants in this setting. These categories of story may be found in the data itself. The concepts of "story theme", "anecdote" and "hypothetical account" emerged during the process of analysis rather than being explicit in the data. This matter is more fully considered in the methodology chapter on pages 71 to 73 of this thesis.

This list is by no means exhaustive of all the stories that are used in police probationer training. This thesis does not, for example, set out to explore the written stories that feature in the students' distance-learning material. Rather it limits itself to an analysis of the stories that are used in the classroom.

**Story Functions and Constraints: Theoretical Influences**

Bruner's (1986) views on narrative thinking were an important influence on the research reported in this thesis. Of particular interest here is the suggestion that there are two modes of thought: one based on logic (referred to as the paradigmatic mode) and the other based on narrative. Each mode is regarded as distinct and separate from the other; they
differ in their goals and in their means of pursuing them. The paradigamatic mode has as its goal general causes and, as its means of pursuing them, procedures intended to ensure verifiability and empirical truth. The application of this mode leads to argument. The narrative mode, on the other hand, has as its goal "not truth but verisimilitude" (Bruner, 1986 p.11) and it uses "human or human-like intention and action and the vicissitudes and consequences that mark their course" (Bruner, 1986 p.17) as a means to this end. The application of this mode of thought leads to story.

From Bruner's perspective, verisimilitude may be regarded as a general constraint on which stories can be told. This applies equally to anecdotal accounts of everyday events as it does to children's fantasy stories (for example, characters featured within them are, from Bruner's point of view, obliged them to display "human-like" intention even where they are animals or mythological creatures). It seems that even the fantastic may be regarded as conforming to the constraint of verisimilitude.

Shirley Brice Heath (1982) develops this idea when she suggests that the viability of a story is constrained by the social context in which it is told. Here, Heath reports on the storytelling practices of three communities in North America. In the community she refers to as "Trackton", Heath notes that the stories told by children contain a great deal of fantasy. By contrast, the stories told in the "Roadville" community are limited to accounts of real-world events. From the point of view of the Trackton
residents, the narrative accounts told in Roadville are not stories. From the point of view of the Roadville residents, the stories told in Trackton are lies. In practice the children of both communities experience difficulty when encountering the third definition of story, which is promoted in school and by the residents of "Maintown". According to this definition the children might be asked questions requiring them to openly engage in a limited amount of speculation from the material presented in the account. From this point of view, what counts as a story depends on how verisimilitude is defined and applied in any given social context, a matter that is largely determined by the language practices of the community. The ways in which the concept "story" is defined is focused on content and is heavily context dependent in this research.

While Bruner emphasises the distinctive nature of each mode of thought, he spends little time exploring the relationship between them. His comments here are limited to making the point that many scientific and mathematical hypotheses start out as little stories. He goes on to suggest that the search for scientific truth may be a small part of a broader question focusing on how we imbue experience with meaning, a question that is of considerable concern to the storyteller and to this thesis.

Baumeister and Newman (1994) have developed Bruner's analysis of these modes of thought in respect of their nature and in terms of the relationship between them. Bruner's treatment of the two modes suggests that he is referring to mental processes. Baumeister and
Newman go a little further than this when they make a number of claims concerning the content of each mode. Here it is suggested that the paradigmatic (or propositional) mode involves context-free abstractions, that it is based on general laws and that it typically concerns the relationship between the individual cases and more inclusive conceptual categories. The narrative mode, on the other hand, involves coherent stories about particular experiences which are temporally structured and context-sensitive (Baumeister and Newman, 1994 p.677). Baumeister and Newman go on to suggest that the narrative mode effectively represents everyday understanding, access to the paradigmatic mode is gained when an individual chooses to do some extra cognitive work on the narrative mode in a bid to establish generalisations. The principles and other propositional knowledge that arise from generalisations within the paradigmatic mode may then be used to provide a framework in which later stories may be shaped. In this way the narrative mode represents a preliminary stage on the journey to paradigmatic understanding while paradigmatic understanding may be used to shape narratives.

Gerrig (1994) has, however, criticised this analysis by suggesting that the distinction between the two modes cannot be as consistently and validly applied as Baumeister and Newman would have us believe. Gerrig's argument proceeds on two fronts. First he challenges the value of extending Bruner's analysis from a model based on mental processes to a model embracing mental representation. He does this by pointing out
that work by cognitive psychologists seems to suggest that generalisations emerge as an inevitable consequence of the way that memories are stored in long-term memory, rather than as a result of any additional cognitive endeavours. Secondly, Gerrig uses the data presented by Baumeister and Newman to demonstrate that propositional knowledge does more than shape the construction of new accounts, it is used to select and adapt stories so that they are appropriate to the purposes for which they are told.

While there are some differences in the detail and emphases of these accounts, there is an acknowledgement by both Baumeister and Newman and Gerrig of the influence of prior knowledge on the construction of new stories. In the chapters that follow, this thesis will argue that the construction of stories is constrained by the way in which verisimilitude is defined and applied in this setting and that verisimilitude is very much a product of past experience.

Both logico-scientific and narrative forms of thought are a means of making sense of experience because each provides "... distinct ways of ordering experience, of constructing reality..." (Bruner, 1986 p.11). Taking this into account with Vygotsky's (1986) views on the development of thought by the internalisation of social context, it might be suggested that narrative (and logico-scientific) thought form part of the social environment to be appropriated by novices. From this point of view, stories might be regarded as an inter-mental resource for making
sense of experience and, as such, a part of the context of a social setting. This is particularly true if context is viewed as an inter-mental phenomenon (Edwards and Mercer, 1987). In these circumstances, the use of narrative serves a number of important functions in social life.

According to Baumeister and Newman (1994), narrative serves a number of intra and interpersonal functions. The intrapersonal functions of narrative all amount to a means of making sense of experience and include:

(i) The motivation to interpret events as intentionally and causally linked to actual or possible subsequent events. These subsequent events may amount to either specific goals or more general fulfilment states.

(ii) The motivation for justification (this provides a basis for believing that what one does is right and good).

(iii) The need for efficacy (in the sense of being able to make a difference and to control the environment).

(iv) The need to bolster or defend against threats to one's self-worth (this is close to the motivation for justification but looks at the whole person rather than specific actions).
While most of this paper is devoted to the discussion of these intrapersonal functions, Baumeister and Newman also suggest that narrative serves four interpersonal functions:

(i) As a means of obtaining some reward (i.e. to generate sympathy).

(ii) As a means of causing others to recognise one's identity claims.

(iii) To pass along information.

(iv) To entertain.

The function of most interest to this thesis is the interpersonal function associated with the passing of information since it is this that includes teaching. In respect of this, Bruner suggests ".... stories define the range of anatomical characters, the settings in which they operate, the actions that are permissible and comprehensible and thereby they provide, so to speak, a map of possible worlds in which action, thought and self-definition are permissible" (Bruner, 1986 p. 66). What is "possible" in this sense is a matter for cultural practice. From this perspective, storytelling may be viewed as a means of enculturation. As such, it also serves a number of functions within the socio-cultural domain of analysis. In
particular, stories are used to define and defend a group as well as being a measure of competence within it (for example, Dingwall, 1977).

From this point of view, narrative might be thought of as a cultural means of making sense of past experience and as a cultural resource for future action (Shearing and Ericson, 1991).

**Summary**

This chapter sets the scene for the research reported in this thesis by providing a brief account of the research setting. Following this, consideration has been given as to how “story” might be defined. The forms of story used in Metropolitan Police Probationer Training have been outlined and the theoretical influences on the analysis of function and constraint reported in this thesis have been discussed.

It has been argued that what constitutes a story is dependent on how the yard-stick by which stories are judged, verisimilitude, is defined and applied in any given social context.

Operating within the constraints of verisimilitude, stories serve a number of functions across the intra and interpersonal and socio-cultural domains of analysis.
When considered in the intrapersonal domain, the functions served by stories amount to ways of making sense of experience. Such sense making operates both reactively in that it relates to a consideration of events past and proactively in that it provides a basis for future action.

When considered in the interpersonal domain, stories are used for a variety of purposes. Of special note here is the function identified by Baumeister and Newman (1994) as a means of passing along information because it is within this function that the use of stories to teach may be best considered.

When considered in the socio-cultural domain, stories are used to define and defend a group as well as being a measure of competence within it.

When these functions are considered together, it may be that the telling of stories within educational and training settings serves to create the worlds that are possible in the context in which they are told. Once appropriated by the learner, these stories can be used as a means of making sense of experience and as a resource for future action. This analysis suggests that stories might provide a useful example of the interface between culture and cognition.
Outline of Thesis

This thesis moves on to build on these points by presenting a literature review of narrative in education and training in Chapter 2. This chapter begins with a review of the literature relating to the use of narrative in education from a general historical and cross-cultural perspective and then discusses the use of narrative in compulsory and post compulsory education. It moves on to consider the use of narrative in the workplace generally before looking at the use of narrative in police training in particular.

Chapter 3 begins by setting out the direction and theoretical framework for this research. To this end, it describes how and why the method of discourse analysis was used. Following this, the methodological issues surrounding the researcher are discussed. The two phases of the research reported in this thesis, the means of data collection in the form of audio/video recording and the processes of transcription, coding and analysis are then described. The chapter ends by considering matters relating to the validation and application of the research.

Chapter 4 considers the ideology of teaching operating in this setting. The chapter begins by considering some of the meanings of the term "ideology". The concepts of "student, learner or trainee centredness" and "experiential learning" are then discussed in terms of four distinct areas that have an impact on police probationer training. These areas consist
Chapter 5 acts as a bridge between the last chapter and those that follow. To this end it discusses the relationship between narrative and ideology in this setting. It does this by providing an overview of the story themes, role-plays, case studies, anecdotes and hypothetical accounts that are used, in conjunction with the functions and constraints that influence their use. The pedagogical and cultural influences from the wider professional context are introduced, the constraint of verisimilitude is discussed and the need for control is considered.

Chapter 6 explores the story themes used in this setting. Here the form taken by these weeklong themes is considered. An analysis of what constitutes a useful theme from the trainers' perspective is presented by considering the relationship between the stages that make up themes. Evaluative criteria relating to the consistency of the story and verisimilitude are considered and the issue of control is discussed. The relationship between the story themes as general organising frameworks and the way in which they become manifest to the students through role-plays and case studies is noted.
Chapter 7 considers role-plays. It is suggested that role-plays consist of three stages: introduction, activity and de-briefing. Functions linking the use of role-play to the prevailing ideology in this setting are discussed in terms of the introduction of work place practice in the classroom being seen as a means of encouraging greater student involvement in the lesson. The trainers’ view that the more successful role-plays are those having a closer relationship to events in the work place is considered in terms of verisimilitude. The control of role-plays to ensure verisimilitude prior to and during their use is described.

Chapter 8 considers case studies. Like role-plays, case studies consist of three stages: introduction, activity and de-briefing. It is suggested that verisimilitude focuses on the cognitive and task orientated elements of work-place practice in this setting. When case studies conform to this definition of verisimilitude they are seen as being relevant to the students. When they are seen as being relevant, they are considered to motivate learning, to facilitate involvement and to foster mental images. The idea that standards of verisimilitude are lower for case studies than for story themes and role-plays is discussed. The possibility that a lower standard of verisimilitude allows for a greater coverage of lesson objectives but gives rise to discipline problems is considered.

Chapter 9 considers anecdotes. It is suggested that three types of anecdote are used in this setting: personal, semi-personal and historical. It is claimed that trainers tell anecdotes when a lesson is underway as
part of an explanation and in order to clarify complex concepts. It is also suggested that trainers elicit anecdotes from students at the beginning of a lesson or a new topic to assess their level of experience and to use as a resource for emphasising the relevance of the lesson material. Influences from broader cultural setting are noted. The constraint of verisimilitude is acknowledged although it is suggested that lower standards of verisimilitude apply to anecdotes as they do to case studies.

Chapter 10 considers hypothetical accounts. It is suggested that, in contrast to anecdotes, hypothetical accounts are told by trainers as part of a question at the beginning of a lesson or new topic as well as being used as part of an explanation when the lesson or topic is underway. Trainers also tend to elicit hypothetical accounts from students when a lesson is already underway, rather than at the start of a new topic as is the case with anecdotes. These differences between the use of anecdotes and hypothetical accounts are discussed. The use of hypothetical accounts by trainers to foster mental images is considered. The possibility that less rigorous judgements of verisimilitude are applied to hypothetical accounts than to story themes and role-plays is noted.

Chapter 11 sets out to draw this analysis together and provide a conclusion. To this end the chapter reviews the theoretical influences on this research and previous literature discussed in Chapter 2 in the light of the findings. The functions of introducing workplace practice, motivation, involvement, imagery and clarification are considered together and in
conjunction with the different types of story used in this setting. The way in which verisimilitude is defined in this setting is discussed, as are variations in the rigour with which it is applied. Differences in the way stories are controlled in this setting are noted. The implications of this research and suggestions for further research are outlined.

An appendix is included in this thesis. It consists of a glossary of terms found in the data presented and two transcripts of classroom talk.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter sets out to review the literature previously published on storytelling in education and training. In endeavouring to do this, the chapter begins with an account of narrative in compulsory and post-compulsory education. This is followed by a consideration of the use of narrative in the workplace generally and in police training in particular.

**Narrative in Education**

The use of narrative in education is by no means new. The Homeric Greeks, for example, passed on their traditional values by oral means through epic poems, notably, the Iliad and the Odyssey (Havelock, 1976), Plato wrote stories about his teacher, Socrates, to illustrate the points he wished to make. The Old Testament, a historic narrative, forms the basis of Judaism while the New Testament provides an account of the life of Christ for Christian tradition. Within the New Testament, there are many reports of the telling of stories in the form of parables by Jesus.
of Nazareth. These stories are the concrete manifestations of the more abstract ideas of appropriate conduct in Christian tradition.

From a cross-cultural perspective, storytelling may be seen as a feature of formal and informal education in societies both “traditional” and “modern”. Jayakshmi (1993) provides useful example of this when he suggests that the use of storytelling during the process of teaching in an Indian Secondary School may stem from its association with the more traditional forms of instruction encountered in Gurulaka and Harikatha teaching.

Within modern western culture, the use of narrative as a teaching device begins long before children are exposed to settings of compulsory education. For example, following a study involving seventh and eighth grade Canadian children, Freedman and Pringle (1984) suggest that an inability to construct argument arises from exposure to narrative from an early age. Alternatively, Dunn suggests that narrative has considerable value in that it has a powerful effect in generating images of “a particular self in a particular culture” (Dunn, 1988 p.142). It seems that the value of narrative depends upon what one is evaluating.

Working from a socio-linguistic perspective, William Labov (1972) suggests that the complexity of evaluative syntax in narrative develops with age. During the course of his study of the vernacular speech used by African Americans in Harlem, Labov examined the narratives told by
pre-adolescents (age 10-12 years), adolescents (age 13-16 years) and adults. For the purposes of his study, Labov takes the term “narrative” to mean “one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred” for the (Labov, 1972 p. 359 and 361).

Labov’s method was to ask those he studied a “Danger of Death” question (Labov, 1972, p.354) during the section of an interview dealing with fights. For this reason, most of the narratives that form the basis of Labov’s analysis focus on the behaviour of the storyteller and serve to support a self-image consistent with the cultural values of the gang.

The principal relevance of Labov’s study to that reported in this thesis lies in his analysis of narrative rather than in his conclusions regarding the development of evaluative syntax. Here, Labov draws a contrast between what he refers to as “minimal narratives” and “fully-formed narratives”. “Minimal narratives” are those consisting of at least two temporally ordered clauses whereas “fully-formed” or “complete” narratives” include the following elements:

1. Abstract,
2. Orientation,
3. Complicating Action,
4. Evaluation,
5. Result or resolution; and

The "abstract" amounts to one or two clauses that summarise the story. A sequence of "orientation" consists of a number of clauses identifying the time, place, people and their activity or the situation. "Complicating action" refers to the temporally ordered clauses that make up the sequence of events (also characterised as "narrative clauses" by Labov, 1972). "Evaluation" refers to the point of telling the story and "result" amounts to the resolution of the sequence of events. The "coda" is an optional clause that is used by a storyteller for signalling that the story has finished.

The problems of using these elements as an analytic scheme have been documented by Edwards (1997) and will be considered in some of the chapters that follow.

Narrative appears in the talk of the compulsory education classroom in at least two respects: in the formal sense of curricula oriented goals and in the less formal idiosyncratic sense of an individual's behaviour.

In the formal sense, the curriculum dictates that narrative be taught in schools. This becomes manifest in a number of ways. For example, storybooks may be used in the classroom as a means of developing reading skills and comprehension. In the case of older children, literature may be taught because it is valued in itself by the educational authorities.
of the day, some evidence of this may be found in the presence of the works of authors like Shakespeare in the English curriculum. According to Egan (1988) the use of such materials should generally to be encouraged because they foster the development of the imagination as a result of the power that stories have in creating powerful images in the mind of the listener.

In the informal, more idiosyncratic sense, stories may be used by teachers to illustrate a variety of concepts that they wish to teach their students. One type of this kind of story-telling may be found in the occasional elicitation of “out-of-school” experiences described by Edwards and Mercer in their discussion of “displaced context” (Edwards and Mercer, 1987 p.69). “Displaced context” refers to subject matter that is in some way remote from the context of the classroom itself. The use of this type of context is only permitted by the teacher where it is deemed to be relevant and considered to be common knowledge to the pupils in the class itself. Edwards and Mercer also report other forms of this type of narrative in the classroom, for example, Mercer (1995) notes one of the teachers that he studied tells a brief story about Galileo while teaching a session on pendulums as a concrete illustration of a general principle.

Little research has been conducted into talk in general or the telling of narratives in particular in post-compulsory education. One of the few
studies that have been conducted in this respect is, however, of relevance here.

Cooper et al (1983) explores the story-telling practices of a Professor in Agriculture in Michigan State University from an ethnographic perspective. The most obvious type of stories reported here seem to be personal anecdotes, however, Cooper et al also include in their implicit definition of “story” concrete instances of more general principles that are told in an “... organised story-like manner” (Cooper et al 1983 p. 178). This particular category of data, stemming as it does from an ethnographic analysis, appears to have arisen from comments made by the students during post-lecture interviews with the researchers. The Professor's teaching is presented as the telling of "little stories" within a "larger story framework" (Cooper et al 1983 p. 177). The notion of a "larger story framework" also seems to arise from interview data, in this instance, data from interviews with the professor himself, who is reported as saying "I have a long story to tell. The lecture is not in little segments. I don't rush through to cover X amount. I think 'What do they need to know and how best can I get it to them?'. I begin by giving them a perspective and I end by tying it together. I just like to tell a story." (Cooper et al 1983 p. 176).

Of considerable interest to this review is interview data from students which suggests that they generally found this style of teaching to be of
great value because it: "... helped them to remember by relating the class information to the real world" (Cooper et al. 1983 p. 178).

While it is clearly impossible to generalise on the basis of a single ethnographic account, this data appears to be consistent with Mercer’s suggestion that a good story may serve to make information “memorable”. In this respect, Mercer points out that, in the classroom, “Narratives - interesting ones - can provide effective ways of formulating knowledge so that students can reconstruct it later” (Mercer, 1995 p. 27). Narratives shared and remembered in this way may be regarded as examples of “collective remembering” in action (Middleton and Edwards, 1990).

**Narrative in the Work-Place**

Current literature would seem to suggest that the use of narrative in the workplace serve at least three broad functions:

(i) The use of particular narrative content may define the membership of the group.

(ii) Narrative may be used to provide an example of competent conduct in particular circumstances.
(iii) Narrative may serve as a means of facilitating a change in attitudes and values.

Dingwall (1977) reports on the telling of what he describes as "atrocity stories" among health visitors generally and in health visitor training in particular. The term "atrocity story" refers to the telling of dramatic accounts, rather than narratives that are necessarily of a horrific nature, and was first used by Stimson and Webb (1975) in their discussion of the ways in which patients talk about and interpret their encounters with doctors. Tackling this subject from a sociological perspective, Dingwall suggests that the telling of stories within a profession serve two functions, one occupational and the other individual.

In the first instance, stories are told as a means of defending the profession from challenges to its status by other professions and as a means of inducting novices into its ranks. Dingwall considers the use of stories as a means of defending group status to be a general characteristic of professional life when he says "I would argue that we should expect to find such accounts wherever attempts are being made to control aspects of the life of some group by others whose justifications for such attempts are seen as illegitimate" (Dingwall, 1977 p.376).

Dingwall goes on to illustrate this point by exploring the doctor-health visitor relationship where the challenge is one of equality in professional status (inclusion in the medical profession) and the social worker-health
visitor and nurse-health visitor relationships where the challenge tends to be more about professional demarcation (exclusion). In this way, the telling of stories serves the purpose of defining the group that constitutes the profession. In this sense they contribute towards the shared memory of the group and as such may be regarded as further evidence of "collective remembering" in action (Middleton and Edwards, 1990).

When it comes to inducting novices into the profession, atrocity stories are first told to the student health visitors by their tutors and later between the students themselves. The stories told in this setting are not necessarily "factual accounts", rather they are "... elements of the oral culture of a group which epitomise aspects of that culture" (Dingwall, 1977 p.385) and which tend to present the health visitor as an "... active character who triumphs over the incompetence and foolishness of others" (Dingwall, 1977 p.381). From an educational perspective, these stories appear to serve two purposes: one as a means of orientation and the other as a measure of competence. In the first instance, health visitors are drawn into their profession from the mainstream of nursing, Dingwall suggests that the telling of atrocity stories serves a useful purpose in smoothing the passage between professions. It does this by marking the boundaries of the group on the one hand and yet stressing some continuity between the professions on the other. In the second case, the ability to tell stories is seen as a mark of professional competence for members of the group at an individual level because the
ability to tell stories about the profession marks one as a member of that professional group.

At an individual level, the telling of atrocity stories in which the teller is cast as hero also offers some testimony to the reasonable character of that individual. In this way, Dingwall links the telling of atrocity stories in the workplace to storytelling as a much more general aspect of social life that serves the purpose of defending “rationality under threat” (Dingwall, 1977 p395) between any of society’s social divisions (for example, ethnicity, class or gender). Such a use has something in common with the intrapersonal functions noted by Baumeister and Newman’s in the last chapter.

A further example of the use of narrative in the education of health professionals may be found in Atkinson’s ethnographic study of the passage of medical students through a university teaching hospital in Edinburgh (for example, Atkinson, 1981 and Atkinson and Delamont, 1977). Of particular relevance here is Atkinson’s concepts of “hot” and “cold” medicine.

“Hot” medicine refers to diagnosis and treatment made by qualified doctors in the normal course of their medical duties. This could be at the time at which a patient is the subject of an emergency admission, in the normal course of surgery or in the process of a routine ward round. “Hot medicine” so defined is, in effect, the “real” business of medicine in the
hospital. Obtaining a medical history from the patient is a part of this kind of work. Such histories may well take the form of accounts in the sense that they amount to a justification of a particular course of behaviour. The elicitation of accounts in the form of case histories is a feature of working life that is by no means confined to the medical profession (for example, some of the accounts studied by Mercer and Longman, 1992, in employment training interviews amount to histories, in this case, employment histories).

Atkinson contrasts “hot medicine” with “cold medicine”. “Cold medicine” consists of the contrived interactions that students have with the patients while on teaching rounds. These rounds typically consist of a number of students visiting one or more patients on the ward while under the supervision of a teaching physician. During the “cold medicine” encounter, the students may be asked to take a medical history from and, possibly, conduct and examination of the patient. Such histories amount to a chronological account of the patient’s medical experiences and encounters, including his or her symptoms and medical treatment.

The medical history of the patient is usually well known to the teaching physician prior to the cold medicine encounter. The students may even know the patient as a result of their participation in previous bedside teaching sessions or their attachment to the hospital unit receiving emergency admissions. The students are then effectively asked to “put the clock back” and imagine that the patient has only just been admitted
to the hospital. The contrived nature of the situation (a situation similar in many ways to the role-play) may be manifested in two other ways.

First, the teaching physician may try to control the flow of information from the patient, for example, “Dennis continued, ‘Do you ever have ringing in your ears?’ Dr Porter looked approvingly at him. The patient replied ‘No but when the doctors use what I’d call a tuning fork...’ Dr Porter broke in, ‘You’re giving away all the trade secrets’” (Atkinson, 1981 p. 74).

Second, accounts of the patient’s medical history are sometimes supplemented with comments made by the teaching physician; for example, “(In response from one of the students) the patient reported that he had not been having to pass water many times during the day. But Dr May commented ‘In fact he reported frequency during the day as well...’ She also explained that he had been sick the day before he came in, although on admission he did not report vomiting” (Atkinson, 1981 p. 91).

Such narrative accounts are often brought to a conclusion with a "demonstration" of the diagnostic skill of the teaching physician; here the teaching physician clearly has the advantage of having prior knowledge of the patient.
In Atkinson’s terms, “cold medicine” is about the teaching of the technical skills involved in diagnosis. An American study by Hensel and Rasco (1992) suggests that narrative in the form of storytelling can be effective in the teaching of medical attitudes and values.

Hensel and Rasco (1992) begin by explaining that the use of storytelling as a teaching method is not widely accepted in the medical profession for a variety of reasons. These are associated with the view that stories are anti-scientific, too rich and imaginative in their scope and too removed from the “real” business of medicine. Hensel and Rasco acknowledge these potential difficulties and then move on to provide an anecdotal account as an example of the way in which a story might be used as a means of teaching a point relating to the doctor-patient relationship. Used in this way, narrative may help student doctors to come to terms with what Hensel and Rasco refer to as the “crises of professionalization”: becoming members of a “special group” in society with its own “.... ethos, obligations and internal values.” (Hensel and Rasco, 1992 p.502 and 503). As with Dingwall’s study of health visitors, it appears that what is being suggested here is that stories can serve as a useful means of facilitating transition into a profession.

The primary focus of the work reviewed in this chapter up until now has been on the use of narrative as means of helping students to make sense of their experience. From this point of view, narrative thinking might be regarded as a reactive tool. However, a learner might also
exploit narrative in a more proactive way when it is used as a means of guiding action.

Orr’s (1990) analysis of the storytelling practices of American photocopier repair technicians provides a useful example of this kind of function. He explains the use of narrative by the technicians in terms of it having a practical value as a means of problem solving and in terms of it serving to demonstrate the competence of the individual in a given set of circumstances.

In the first instance, photocopier technicians tell stories to help them solve difficult technical problems. Orr provides an example of this in which two technicians relate a number of stories to each other in a bid to generate inspiration for a solution to the repair problem at hand. Each of these stories relates to an experience of a machine with symptoms similar to those of the machine under repair. Used in this way, the stories help the technicians to make sense of a situation. This provides a particularly poignant example of the use of language in problem solving that is entirely consistent with Vygotsky’s (1986) analysis of the use of language as a tool for thought. It also provides another example of the use of stories as a basis for analogous reasoning, a matter considered more fully below in respect of the claims made by Shearing and Ericson (1991).
This is not the only way in which stories have a practical value for the community of technicians. Their working practices were such that they were obliged to work on machines outside their territorial area of responsibility from time to time and their machines would occasionally be serviced by technicians from other territories. The exchange of information about their machines in the form of stories allowed each technician to work as efficiently as possible, had the benefit of reducing the amount of time spent on servicing the machines and limited the scope for conflict between the technicians and their customers.

Stories also had the value of demonstrating to the rest of the community of photocopier technicians that the teller was a technician. Orr notes that "It is in the telling of stories of their encounters with machines and customers that they have the opportunity to show their work as the interesting and even heroic enterprise that it is" (Orr, 1990 p. 187). Such a use of stories as a means of demonstrating membership of a group is clearly consistent with similar points made by Dingwall (1977), above.

From Orr's perspective, stories told in this way by photocopier technicians form a part of the community memory of the group. In so doing stories help to define the group as a group, the parallels with Dingwall's conclusions are again clear.
**Narrative in Police Training**

Perhaps, the most relevant previous study to the research reported in this thesis is by Fielding (1988). This sociological study into police training in Derbyshire suggests that narrative serves two main functions in police recruit and probationer training:

(i) As a means of facilitating student involvement in pursuit of an ideology favourably disposed towards student involvement.

(ii) As a means of introducing work-place practice into the classroom context.

The first of these functions relates to an ideology concerning the involvement of the students in the classroom process. Here, Fielding notes that the trainers “...emphasised the worth of ‘interactive teaching’ securing class involvement” (Fielding, 1988 p.72).

One way of securing class involvement is by use of “examples”. While Fielding does not provide an explicit definition of “examples” he does seem to use the term in two senses.

First, “practical examples” are instances in which the trainer seeks to make a point of police procedure by constructing a situation in which one of the students is seen to make an error of judgement. One of the
examples that Fielding presents of this is a situation in which a student is given a sealed envelope with "£5" written on the outside and told that he should report it as property found by a member of the public in the street. The student then records the property in a manner previously taught to him but does not check the contents of the envelope. This having been done, the trainer then opens the envelope to reveal that it only actually contains £2. The point of the exercise here being that police officers should thoroughly check and accurately record any property coming into their possession in these circumstances.

The second sense in which Fielding uses the term "examples" is less clearly described. However, this seems to relate to the use of anecdotes and the provision of advice in the form of narrative. An ideology promoting the use of anecdotes is suggested in a comment made by one of the trainers during an interview with the researcher when he says "If somebody hinges the point he's making on a little anecdote you are far more likely to learn it" (Fielding, 1988 p. 70).

Some further evidence of the telling of anecdotes in the classroom can be found in the data presented in respect of interviews with students, for example ".... At training school they're officers who have had a lot of experience and they often convey less than all of it by relating their experiences to you in that subject. Quite often it's like mnemonics, something will trigger. You'll be out and think, 'I remember him saying something like this'. You may not remember it verbatim but from relating
to it as his experience.” (Fielding, 1988 p.68). Interestingly, these comments would also seem to support Mercer’s (1995) suggestion about the memorability of stories. This account might also be an example of a situation in which the stories told in training influence action in the workplace through a process of analogous reasoning. This idea is further considered below in respect of the claims made by Shearing and Ericson (1991) about the use of narrative as a cultural resource for action.

In addition to the use of anecdotes as examples, Fielding provides an instance of advice when he describes a piece of interaction between a tutor constable and a probationer who was experiencing some uncertainty about what to do in a case of domestic assault, “... Look, even if she isn’t complaining of assault it’s up to you, looking after number one, to record it. If she wants to withdraw it later because it’s her boyfriend, fair enough, but for Christ’s sake let it be seen that you know what you’re doing.” (Fielding, 1988 p. 98).

A second function performed by narrative in this kind of training is that it is perceived as promoting the involvement of practice in the classroom. Fielding’s work suggests that this stems from influences in the broader cultural setting in which the training takes place when he points out that “Police culture does not highly value ‘book learning’ or academic ability as a skill for police officers.” (Fielding, 1988 p.58).
From such a cultural perspective, training in general is often not highly valued. Trainers may be seen as being “theoretical” to officers working in the field and the students may see classroom-training experiences as “...getting in the way of the natural laboratory of the streets, where practice is really learnt.” (Fielding, 1988 p.65). The trainers themselves tend to “... endorse ‘practical knowledge’ and are dubious of ‘theory’” (Fielding, 1988 p.90), for example, the chief instructor at the training establishment is reported as saying “... police work is all about real people and real things and you can get to Cloud Cuckoo Land if you stick to the theory.” (Fielding, 1988 p.90).

It is against this background that narrative in the form of “‘real’ examples and anecdotes” (Fielding, 1988 p.90) is brought into the classroom by trainers to rectify what they consider to be missed in the centrally prescribed syllabus. In these circumstances, the trainers see “.... practice applications as a leaven for the generally dry legal input.” (Fielding, 1988 p.72) and this is manifested in the use of examples. In these circumstances, Fielding suggests that “By these anecdotes instructors seek to demonstrate their practical wisdom to recruits, and bring home the value of training.” (Fielding, 1988 p.90).

From a wider perspective, Fielding sees the use of anecdotes and examples as “an appeal to practice” that forms “... an element in the rhetoric that smoothes the structure of the organisation” (Fielding, 1988 p.90). Used in this way, narrative serves as one means of binding the
participants to the classroom process together. This is about using the rhetoric of the field in a training environment as a way of "...asserting the solidarity of the police" because "...expressing the primacy of practical skills claims that in the end trainers, recruits and operational officers are all police together" (Fielding, 1988 p.90). In this sense, narrative serves to define the police as a group, a function also noted in respect of health visitors by Dingwall, above.

Fielding notes that there are some limitations in the use of narrative in police classrooms. The most obvious of these lies in the use of role-play exercises. The students saw role-plays as being rather limited as simulations of field work experience. For example, one of the students is reported as saying "It does simulate in a way but when there's the classroom standing round looking at you, you can't really say what you feel" (Fielding, 1988 p.62). Here, it might well be concluded that the role-plays used in police training often fail to achieve verisimilitude, the yardstick by which narrative is judged from Bruner's (1986) perspective.

On the other hand, this point of view may stem from the manner in which role-play exercises were conducted at the police training school rather than from the use of role-plays in general. Evidence to support this is reported in the form of a comment made by a student "The sergeants tended to exaggerate things. Looking back, some of them were really stupid. People climbing out of the windows of the car and all you've done is ask them for their insurance certificate. They just say it is the worst
situation that they’ve ever experienced, that they’re trying to show us how we’d deal with their worst” (Fielding, 1988 p.62). This would seem to suggest that the student is under the impression that the role-play she or he refers to is an example of something that actually occurred in the field experience of the trainer and yet the apparently extreme nature of the exercise leads her or him to challenge its relevance to field work in general. An extract from an interview conducted with a probationary constable a year after leaving the training establishment lends further support to the suspicion that the limitations of role-play exercises may be more applicable to life in the training school. Here, the student contrasts her or his experience of role-plays (referred to here as “practicals”) in the training school with those he or she subsequently encountered at a local training centre “.... then you go onto the beat for a year and learn from practical demonstrations, which are nothing like your practicals at training school” (Fielding, 1988 p.64).

Comments from the trainers from the training school also express a negative point of view about the value of role-play exercises. For example, “...You cannot effectively play roles because they know it’s acting and they act back” (Fielding, 1988 p.74).

That having been said, role-plays were not seen by all the trainers in a completely negative light. Some of the trainers saw them as a kind of “half-way house” between the classroom and field work and, therefore, as an “... excursion, a time ‘away’ from training” (Fielding, 1988 p.74).
Whatever the case, anecdotes and examples tend to be preferred by trainers to the role-play as a means of securing class involvement, for example, "Not the role-play but, yes, class involvement is essential for learning, and putting theory into practice by giving examples" (Fielding, 1988 p.72).

The notion that anecdotes and examples are used as a means of securing student involvement is, however, limited in Fielding's study. This becomes manifest in the difference between ideology and practice. Here, Fielding notes that, despite the ideology espoused by trainers, "... the recruit sessions were observably stiff and formal compared to those for experienced people who might have more service than instructors" (Fielding, 1988 p.72). He then goes on to point out that his interviews with the recruits suggested that they had not grasped the distinction between student involvement in the classroom process and rote learning.

One reason for such a disparity between ideology and practice was expressed by one of the instructors (an Inspector) at the training school when she or he suggests that "there is a technique to teaching your peer group of status, whereby I'm an Inspector and I'm putting over certain things to fellow inspectors. Unlike a recruit constables' class, where you teach them and they learn from you. In the senior officer training, you may well find some of your students have vaster professional knowledge than you. ...So you have got to draw the knowledge from them for the
benefit of all as well as guide them” (Fielding, 1988 p.86). The suggestion here seems to be that, by virtue of their inexperience, recruits are less able to make a valid contribution to the classroom process than longer serving officers are. This view has some support in another reported comment from a trainer when she or he also contrasts the teaching methods adopted in a class of senior officers with those adopted in recruit classrooms “Unlike the recruit side where it’s point blank lecturing. You tell them and they learn” (Do you ever try the seminar with recruits?) (Pause.) “I don’t think you can. For the learning situation of the very basic level it has got to be ‘I am the teacher, you are the student. I am going to give you the benefit of my vast knowledge’” (Fielding, 1988 p.74 and 75).

It seems that although the trainers sympathised with an ideology promoting student involvement in their lessons and although it appears that the use of narrative was considered to be an important means of securing this end, the actual practice in the classroom was somewhat different due to a perceived deficit in the relevant experience of the recruits. Used in this way, narrative may have given the impression of being rather more of a one-way process than seems to have been envisaged by the trainers in promoting such an ideology of “interactive” teaching in the classroom.

Also of relevance to this thesis, are Shearing and Ericson’s (1991) views on the use of narrative as a cultural resource from which action arises.
Writing from a sociological perspective in Canada, Shearing and Ericson use the context of policing to illustrate the problems associated with using rules to predict or generate action. They point out that sociologists have examined the fit between legal rules and police decisions and have often reported that police officers deviate from them. They go on to suggest that explanations for this apparent deviation from the general principle of rule based behaviour has usually been in couched terms of police officers following another set of implicit rules. Shearing and Ericson’s analysis suggests that such explanations have also proved inadequate in the past.

Having argued against the idea of behaviour as being rule based activity, Shearing and Ericson set out to develop an analysis of how it is that culture makes available a process that allows action to be both orderly and improvisational.

Shearing and Ericson begin by noting that, when they are asked, police officers “emphatically, and categorically” state that competent police work is not done by following a ‘book of rules’ (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.487). Furthermore, police officers cite experience when asked how police work is done and, when pressed on this point, they tell stories that ‘lovingly describe ways of being, seeing and, most importantly, acting as police officers’(Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.488).
Shearing and Ericson point out that the duration and scope of police stories varies widely. In terms of duration, some stories take the form of lengthy anecdotes while others amount to brief aphorisms that ‘capture the essence of longer stories by concentrating their meaning into a single figurative phrase’ (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.489). These brief aphorisms may have something in common with some of the stories reported by Cooper et al (1983) as noted above. In terms of scope, the subject matter of police stories varies considerably because the police have ‘all of society, all aspects of organised life, as their potential sphere of operation’ (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.489).

As a result of their analysis, Shearing and Ericson identify three ways in which stories guide police action:

(i) They use tropes.

(ii) They identify precedents.

(iii) They use silences.

Tropes and precedents form the basis of analogous thinking in the sense that they identify a range of potential actions that might be taken in any particular context. Such a range of potential actions is considered useful in police work, an occupation in which it is important develop a general ability to make sense of experience in order to cope with the wide variety...
of events officers are likely to encounter. In this sense, Shearing and Ericson claim that ‘police stories function as a search-light rather than a spot-light, ensuring that they experience reality as a fluid not a solid’ (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.489).

Shearing and Ericson suggest that what is not said in a story contributes just as much to the meaning as what is said. These ‘silences’ encourage listeners to create for themselves a view of the world implied by the story. This is usually achieved with reference to the other stories the listener has experienced. In this sense, ‘each story refers implicitly to a larger whole that is expressed through the story but is never fully revealed by it in the same way that each two dimensional view of a three dimensional object refers outside itself to other possible views’ (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.498). In so doing, the stories told by police officers create a kind of cultural sensibility, a world view, that gives unity to the diversity of potential actions that might be taken in any given circumstance.

Shearing and Ericson sum up their paper by concluding that “…culture is better thought of as a ‘poetic system’ that enables action through trope and precedent based logic. This logic transfers knowledge from one realm to another via a process of analogous reasoning that invites activity by encouraging the construction of a particular subjectivity” (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.500).
Summary

This chapter has suggested that narrative has been used in teaching for thousands of years and that it is used cross culturally in education today. Within modern western culture, the use of narrative as a teaching device begins long before children go to school, continues in compulsory and post-compulsory education and is then used in vocational settings.

The use of stories would seem to serve a number of functions across all three domains of analysis in these contexts. From an interpersonal point of view stories may be used to provide concrete illustrations of abstract concepts, skills and attitudes. This may then serve an intrapersonal function associated with memorability by formulating the material in such a way as to be easier for the students to reconstruct it later. In the socio-cultural domain, stories can be used as a means of achieving the pedagogical aim of student involvement and the vocational aim of introducing work-place practice into the classroom. In a broader sense within this domain, stories might also be used to define and defend a group and to provide a measure of professional competence in the interpersonal domain.

Overall, the use of stories as a means of reflecting on experience past and as a resource for future action has been noted in the literature reviewed in this chapter.
Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two broad sections. First, it discusses the theoretical framework underpinning the methodology used in this research; secondly it outlines the methodological processes of this research.

The general direction the research followed was an inductive one using qualitative data. The principal theoretical framework underpinning the method used was one of discourse analysis of the kind most closely associated with discursive psychology (for example, Potter and Wetherell, 1987 and Edwards and Potter, 1992).

Data in the form of classroom talk and interviews with trainers was recorded for the purposes of this research primarily by the use of an audio tape recorder. Some sessions of classroom talk were also video recorded. These recordings were then transcribed and analysed. Some
documentary data in the form of lesson plans and student notes was also examined.

This study took place in two broad phases. The first of these was a longitudinal study during which samples of the classroom talk of a single class consisting of twenty students was recorded as they progressed through their six attendances at the local training centre over a fourteen month period. During this phase, six sessions each lasting half a day were observed. The second phase consisted of the recording a cross section of particular sessions relating to the use of role-plays and case studies in order to supplement the few that had been recorded during the longitudinal research. During this phase, two role-plays and two case studies were observed. Throughout this time, seven interviews with trainers were conducted using a schedule that became increasingly structured as the focus of the research developed. Documentary data consisting of guidance on training style and lesson delivery was also examined on an increasingly structured basis as the research progressed.

**Direction and Theoretical Framework**

The research question originally posed in this research was simply one relating to the exploration of the “context” of Metropolitan Police Probationer Training. For these purposes, context was and still is
regarded as an intermental process (Edwards and Mercer, 1987). Such a process is conceived as one in which shared knowledge is best treated as a matter of "pragmatic intersubjectivity" (Edwards, 1997). Considering shared knowledge in this way means viewing it as the participants' "practical concern; what their talk treats as shared, and when, and how" (Edwards, 1997 p.114). From this point of view, what the participants orient their talk to and how and when they do it is a key issue for the analysis of context (as suggested on pages 75 and 76 of this thesis).

Preliminary analysis of the initial transcript data that was obtained during the first stage of this study narrowed the focus of the research on to the telling of stories in this setting. Qualitative hypotheses concerning the telling of these stories were gradually generated and refined as data was obtained and analysed.

In this sense, the direction followed in this research may be regarded as an inductive one. Inductive logic proceeds from the particular to the general and may be contrasted with deductive research that proceeds from the general to the particular. In broad terms, inductive methods tend to relate to the generation and development of hypothesis from the qualitative analysis of data. On the other hand, in a general sense, deductive methods refer to the testing of hypotheses in particular contexts from a quantitative analysis of data.
The main theoretical framework underpinning the methodology used in this research was discourse analysis. Different authors working from different perspectives have different views on what counts as "discourse" in general and on what constitutes "discourse analysis" in particular (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). The kind of analysis used in this study is most closely associated with the theoretical framework advocated by Potter and Wetherell, 1987. This form of analysis is conducted from the perspective of social psychology rather than linguistics, it aims to facilitate a better understanding of social life and social interaction rather than increasing a social awareness of linguistics by studying pragmatics. In particular, because it focuses on social interaction in an educational setting, the study reported in this thesis has been influenced by the use of discourse analysis in the classrooms studied by Edwards and Mercer (1987).

This form of "discourse analysis" adopts a fairly broad working definition of "discourse" in that it includes "... all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987 p.7). The analysis of these kinds of discourse focuses primarily on content rather than form. That is to say that they "... are interested in what people say to each other, what they talk about, what words they use, what understandings they convey, and with the problematics of how these understandings are established and built upon as the discourse proceeds" (Edwards and Mercer, 1987 p10). Such a focus is on the "... subject matter [of discourse] and with its social rather than linguistic
organization" (Edwards and Potter, 1992 p.28). The emphasis here is very much on the constructive nature and action orientation of the discourse in question as well as the inevitable variability stemming from such an orientation (Edwards and Potter, 1992). Such a view of discourse analysis may be considered a functional one: it is about what people do with talk and text in context.

The driving force behind such a method may be found in social constructionist thought. Social constructionism is a form of sociological social psychology (Still, 1996) and is an umbrella term used to refer to several perspectives (for example, critical social psychology and discursive social psychology) having in common a particular view of the relationship between social and cognitive processes. Such a view owes much to the work of Lev Semenovich Vygotsky (for example, Vygotsky 1978 and 1986). Vygotsky considered the relationship of thought to language to be a dialectic one in which thought is born through words while words devoid of thought are "dead things" (Vygotsky, 1986 p.255). In this sense, cognition is a social process and social processes are cognitive ones.

From this point of view, the study of discourse in social contexts in which learning is a primary feature is an entirely legitimate one. Such an approach by no means oversimplifies the relationship between thought and language, for it is not a straightforward one. Social constructionists view this relationship as being an active one in at least two respects.
First, the processes involved in internalising the social environment are active in the sense that the learner reconstructs them (such a process has been referred to as "appropriation" by Leontyev, 1981). Such reconstruction takes place on the basis of what the learner already knows as a result of their past experience with the social environment.

Second, discourse itself is oriented towards action. Such an orientation goes beyond the limitations of speech-act theory (Austin, 1962) and embraces the kind of features suggested by Edwards and Potter, 1992, in their Discursive Action Model.

Discourse analysis of this kind was considered to be the most appropriate method for this study for two main reasons. First, the focus of this study is on what trainers do with stories and why they do it. It is appropriate to use discourse analysis, with its emphasis on discourse as action and social context, in pursuit of such a focus because of its concern with the content and function of talk and other forms of text. Second, discourse analysis provides a means of analysing a variety of material, including transcripts of classroom talk, transcripts of trainer interviews, written lesson plans for trainers and support material for students. In this sense, its application is much broader than other forms of qualitative analysis (for instance, conversation analysis). This chapter will now move on to outline the processes actually involved in conducting this research.
Methodological Processes

This section considers the methodological processes actually involved in this research. It begins with a brief reminder about the nature of the research setting. It then considers the potential impact of the researcher on the setting and on the analysis of the data arising from it. The first and second phases of the research are then outlined, the compilation of transcripts are discussed and a summary is given of the general processes involved in the analysis of this and the documentary data obtained during the study. Finally, some points are made about the validation of the findings reported in this thesis.

Research Setting

As has previously been noted, the setting for this study was a Metropolitan Police Probationer Classroom in a local training unit in South London. In the Metropolitan Police, the term "probationer" refers to an officer who has completed his or her basic training during a fifteen-week course at the Metropolitan Police Training Establishment in Hendon but is yet to have completed 2 years service. Officers are obliged to attend a local training unit for six sessions, each lasting a week in duration, during their probation. Each attendance takes place every 4-6 weeks. The first attendance takes place shortly after they have completed their basic training at Hendon and have been posted to a
police station. The six attendances at the local training unit run over a fourteen-month period and take an officer up to roughly eighteen months service.

The Researcher: Methodological Considerations

The author of this research is a serving police officer. At the time during which the data was collected and analysed, I served in an operational policing environment. I have previously been involved as a trainer in probationer training. This had advantages and disadvantages.

One of the advantages was that access was relatively easy to negotiate and consent easy to obtain. Such consent was informed in the sense that all the participants to the study were told that the focus of this research was on the talk and various aspects of classroom context related to the talk (for example, student support material, trainers’ lesson notes and over head projector slides). The participants were not initially informed of an interest in storytelling because this interest only developed out of subsequent analysis. An interest in storytelling was subsequently revealed to the trainers during the interviews conducted with them. The students in the second phase of this research were informed of an interest in either case studies or role-plays as applicable to the lesson observed.
A further significant advantage of my background was that my insider perspective might have helped me to interpret the context more readily from the perspective of the participants as it emerged in the data obtained during this study. That I found little difficulty in establishing a rapport with the participants to this research as a result of my experience may well have helped in this process.

Paradoxically, my background may also be regarded as a disadvantage in this study. This may have been the case for two broad reasons, one relating to reactivity and the other to bias.

First, I am a Detective Sergeant. This places me of equal rank with the trainers but of higher rank to the students. While every effort was made to obtain informed consent from all the participants, it would be foolish to ignore the possibility that the power differential of rank might have entered into the equation somewhere during the process. In addition to the possibility that consent might have been influenced, it is also possible that the reactivity resulting from my very presence at the back of the classroom might have been exacerbated by the power differentials of rank. Having acknowledged this possibility, it should be noted that I experienced nothing which would seem to indicate that was case. On the contrary, the light-hearted way in which the students behaved after I had entered the classroom and before the trainer did so, suggested that my presence had little if any impact on the way they usually interacted with each other. However, such was not the case with the trainers when I
interviewed them. Being aware of my background sometimes resulted in their making assumptions about my understanding of what they were saying. For example:

1. Trainer ... it is experiential but not in the pure sense that I understand I mean you're obviously a lot wider read
2. 
3. than I am...

Sequence 3.1

Extract from interview with trainer (I.O.) 18.11.94

In order to compensate for this, I found it necessary to reassure trainers that I wanted to hear all they could tell me. While this seemed to be an effective means of addressing assumptions about my level of understanding, it would be foolish to fail to acknowledge the possibility that some assumptions remained unchallenged as a result of my inability to play the role of the totally detached observer.

Further to this, my insider perspective may well have exerted an influence on what was focused on during the interviews with trainers and during the analysis of the classroom transcripts and documentary data obtained during this research. In essence, the argument here is that my background might have limited the extent to which I could distance myself from the social activities under study. While every effort was made to combat this by keeping as open a mind as possible, it would be
wrong to fail to acknowledge the possibility that undue emphasis might have been placed on what seemed strange at the expense of what appeared familiar to me. It would, therefore, seem to be a matter of good practice to include some of my raw data in the appendix for scrutiny and to invite the scrutiny of the rest of the data obtained during this research on request (not all the data obtained in this study could be included in the appendix as a result of the volume of it).

**The Research: First Phase**

The first phase of this research took place over a fourteen-month period. This consisted of a longitudinal study during which a single class of students was observed as they progressed through all six attendances at the local training unit. The class was observed for approximately half a day during each five-day long attendance. Sampling of this half-day period was conducted as far as possible on a random basis, although the availability of the researcher and some issues in respect of the time-table were taken into account (notably, the presence of the students in the classroom, they were obliged to attend physical training in a gymnasium some distance from the training unit on at least one occasion per attendance).

Each session observed was recorded by means of audiotape. Field notes were also taken of the physical context of the setting, including the
seating layout and any visual representations used (for example, overhead projector slides and graphics on the white board).

Following the transcription and preliminary analysis of the classroom recordings (considered more fully below), interviews were conducted with the trainers. These interviews were also recorded on audiotape and transcribed. Initially, in an attempt to understand the broad context of this setting, they focused on the general training philosophy favoured by the trainers and on some aspects of the transcribed classroom talk appearing to merit further investigation (including some storytelling episodes). Later, they focused more exclusively on the use of stories considered in this thesis.

The interviews conducted during this research might reasonably be described as “accounts” because the trainers were asked to provide an explanation of their views and behaviour. The interest here was in how the trainers accounted for their actions in the classroom rather than in either developing a typology of accounts (as in, for example, the work conducted by Semin and Manstead, 1983, from the perspective of social psychology) or in analysing them as structural features of conversation (as in the case, for example, of the work by conversation analysts such as Atkinson and Drew, 1979).

The interviews and the classroom observations conducted for the purposes of this research were regarded as social events in their own
right because the interactional norms that the participants orientated
themselves to were different in each case. During the interviews, trainers
were accounting for rather than simply giving an account of the stories
that they used in the classroom. They did this by orienting themselves
towards:

(i) what they considered to be “normal, expectable and proper”
(Edwards, 1997 p.7) in this setting; and

(ii) the interactional norms for the interview itself.

For this reason, it was not assumed that what the trainers said they did in
the classroom during the interviews was the same as what they did in the
classroom.

The analysis of these interviews focused on how, within the norms for
this kind of interaction, trainers construct:

(i) the business of training in general (including what they
considered training ought to be within the pedagogical
values and the broader cultural context of the police);

(ii) their use of stories in particular; and

(iii) the evalulative issues that concern them in this setting.
Documentary data was also examined during this phase of the research. As with the interview transcripts, the initial focus of this analysis was on the general training philosophy reflected in the data. Later, this analysis focused more extensively on the use of the kind of stories considered in this thesis.

This phase of the research had resulted in the recording of only 3 case studies and role-plays. A second phase was then planned in a bid to supplement this material.

**The Research: Second Phase**

The second phase of the research reported in this thesis consisted of the recording a cross section of two role-plays and two case study sessions in order to supplement the few that had been recorded during the first phase of this research.

The role-play sessions that were observed can, as is suggested in Chapter 7 of this thesis, be considered to consist of an introduction, an activity and a de-briefing stage. The introduction and de-briefing stages were recorded by means of an audio tape recorder as with the classroom sessions observed in the first phase of this research. The activity stage was recorded on videotape for two reasons. First, for the benefit of the
students observing the activity, the session was already subject to a live television monitoring system. This monitoring system included the use of a video tape recorder. Placing a videotape into the recorder seemed to be the easiest means of recording this stage of the session. Second, the activity lent itself to video tape recording in that it involved a good deal of non-verbal behaviour that would have been missed if an audiotape was used to record it. An audio tape recorder was used to record each phase of the case study sessions, although equipment failure meant that only one activity phase was sufficiently audible for transcription purposes (another such session had also been successfully recorded during the first phase of this research). As with the first phase of this research, field notes were also taken of the physical context of the setting. This included a plan of the physical layout of the role-play activities (for example, the scene of a “burglary”) as well as the classroom seating layout and any visual representations used (for example, overhead projector slides and graphics on the white board).

Interviews continued to be conducted with trainers during this phase of the research. These interviews were semi-structured in the sense that they focused on the use of stories considered in this thesis. Each interview was recorded by means of an audiotape.

Documentary data also continued to be examined during this phase of the research. As with the interview transcripts, the focus of this analysis was on the use of the kind of stories considered in this thesis.
The Use of Audio/Video Recording

As has been noted, the main focal point of this research was on the use of stories. Such stories manifest themselves in the talk of the participants in the classrooms of this setting. The limitations of memory are such that it was considered unlikely that written field notes by themselves would provide a reliable record of this talk. While using videotape to record all the talk in the classroom was certainly an attractive prospect, technical limitations were such that a wide angled lens was not available. The absence of this equipment would have meant that it would have been necessary to move the camera around the room during the lesson observed in order to obtain any significant advantage over the use of an audio tape recorder. While the use of a camera in this way during role-plays presented no problem because it was the usual practice, it was considered that moving a camera around more generally in the classroom was likely to increase procedural reactivity by distracting the participants. For these reasons, the use of an audio tape recorder was considered to be the most effective means by which the classroom and interview data should be recorded for the purposes of this research.

However, to say that the use of audiotape was the most appropriate means of recording this data is not to say that it presented no problems. The equipment available to me did have some technical limitations. That I did not have the resources for equipment able to use more than two microphones meant that I had to make a tactical judgement as to where
they were to be placed in the classroom. Such a judgement invariably led me to place one microphone at a location in the vicinity of where the trainer was likely to be and another at the back of the class to pick up on the talk of the students. This had the drawback of providing only a limited recording of the talk of students sitting on the sides of the classroom. This limitation was to a certain extent addressed by the use of a second tape recorder in the classroom, although this tactic added to the burden of transcription. A second limitation with the use of audiotapes in this research was that it was easier to record one participant talking than several talking at the same time. When more than one participant spoke at the same time, the recording was difficult to understand and often unintelligible all together.

With these limitations in mind, it would now seem appropriate to consider the compilation of transcripts as preparation for the analysis reported in this research.

**Transcription**

The necessity for transcription in discourse analysis has been succinctly put by Potter and Wetherell when they suggest that "a good transcript is essential for a form of analysis which involves repeated reading of sections of data, and the process of transcribing can be helpful in forcing the transcriber to closely read a body of discourse" (Potter and Wetherell
All the audio and videotapes of classroom talk were, therefore, transcribed in order to aid the retrieval and analysis of the data. In this sense, transcription was regarded as “an important analytic tool, providing the researcher with an understanding of, and insights into, the participants’ conduct” (Heath and Luff, 1993 p. 309). Certainly seeing the talk in a written form supported memory during the analysis of this material in a way unlikely to have been done by simple reference to the raw data in the form of the video/audio recordings.

These transcripts were verbatim because the broad analytic applications allowed for by verbatim transcripts seemed to be more consistent with the inductive direction taken by this research. This decision was influenced by work of researchers like Fielding who points out that “You may not know what will be the most significant points of analysis when you are doing the transcription: doing it verbatim means you have not lost any data which may later become significant” (Fielding, 1993 p.146).

Having decided to transcribe the tapes verbatim, some decisions had to be made about the level of detail to be shown in them. On the one hand, it has been suggested that transcripts should be compiled in as much detail as possible. For instance, Heath and Luff (1993), support their arguments in favour of the level of detail usually found in transcripts compiled for the purposes of conversation analysis by discussing a transcript in which the precise length of pauses, details of intonation, inhalations and exhalations are manifest. Alternatively, it has been
suggested that more selective transcripts are useful because when they contain a lot of detail they are difficult to follow and assess (Ochs, 1979). In these circumstances, it is considered that the research question should have an impact on the level of detail put into a transcript (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). While, Heath and Luff (1993) make a valid point in suggesting that the less detailed a transcript is the less chance the reader has of getting close to the event, the views expressed by Ochs (1979) and Potter and Wetherell (1987) were considered to be more relevant to this study. The analytic purpose for which these transcripts were required was to gain a better understanding of this classroom context from a study of the talk in this setting. This suggested that the most appropriate conventions were those used previously in content-focused research into classroom talk by Edwards and Mercer (1987):

(......) Words undeciphered

. Omitted discourse which is irrelevant to the issue being discussed in the thesis (no discourse other than that which was indecipherable was omitted from the full transcript)

....... Sequence starts or ends within a speaker's turn

/ Pause of less than 2 seconds
Pause of more than 2 seconds

**Bold Type** Emphatic speech

Immediate speech

(4) Continuing speech separated in the transcript by an inter-speaker

Source: Edwards and Mercer (1987 p. ix and x)

These conventions are sufficiently detailed to give some indication of intonation in the form of emphatic speech and some indication of the duration of a pause by locating it in one of two categories. The conventions also provide the reader with some information concerning interrupted speech. In the case of the transcripts of classroom talk, a column describing any physical activity concurrent with the talk (such as the use of visual aids) have also been included to try and enhance the reader's understanding of what was happening in the classroom.

What these transcripts do not include is the precise length of pauses or non-verbal behaviour such as inhalations and exhalations. It was considered that this degree of detail would have contributed little if anything of value to the analysis to be undertaken and would have
needed far more sophisticated recording equipment than was readily available.

When extracts from classroom transcripts are presented in this thesis they are attributed to the name of the class and to which of the six attendances at the local training unit was observed. For example, "Charlie 5" refers to the fifth of six attendances at the local training unit by "Charlie Class", alternatively, "Purple 3" refers to the third attendance of "Purple Class". This means of designating transcripts follows the way trainers in this setting identify their classes.

The influence of the transcriber

It would seem likely that in transcribing the tapes I influenced the compilation of the transcripts in some way during this research. As has been noted by Longman (1995) in respect of her research, this may have happened in three ways:

(i) Another transcriber might have understood some of the words differently, identified different pauses or placed the interruptions at a slightly different location in the text.

(ii) Selectivity on what I wanted to hear may have increased as the focus of this research sharpened.
(iii) The way the talk is set out in the transcripts is likely to have some impact on the reader. A different layout might influence the reader in different ways.

The argument suggested here is that the compilation of any transcript is influenced by the transcriber, in essence, a transcript, like any other form of research activity, is a construction located in social context. The extracts from transcripts presented in this thesis might be regarded as further constructions in the sense that they were selected to illustrate a point concerning a representative or unusual feature of story-telling activity in this setting.

**The Coding and Analysis of Transcript and Documentary Data**

In common with the transcripts compiled for the purposes of this research, documentary data, in the form of lesson notes for trainers and pre-reading material for the students, was examined using discourse analysis as previously described.

The process of research reported up until this point might be considered to follow the stages set out by Potter and Wetherell (1987). That is to say that a research question was formulated, a sample was selected, data in the form of recordings of classroom talk and written texts were obtained,
interviews were conducted and transcripts of classroom talk and the interviews were compiled. This process was, however, not an entirely a linear one, there was some overlap between the stages. In particular, as has been suggested, the research question was only narrowed down to the telling of stories after some observation and transcription had taken place. In addition, some recordings of classroom talk had already been transcribed prior to interviews being conducted with trainers and some further sampling had to take place in order to focus the second phase of this research on case studies and role-plays. As Potter and Wetherell suggest, these stages were used as a springboard from which the research took place rather than a rigid template to be followed.

The analysis of both documentary and transcript data then took place in accordance with stages six and seven of the process recommended by Potter and Wetherell: coding and analysis.

As the focus of this research was refined, instances of storytelling were identified and coded in the transcript and documentary data. The purpose of this enterprise was not to find “results” but rather to render the data the more manageable for analysis. In contrast with content analysis in which to code is to analyse, the process of coding in discourse analysis is a preliminary stage to the main analytic business. For this reason, the codes used are flexible; they are about “producing a body of instances, not trying to set limits to that body” (Potter and Wetherell, 1987 p.167).
The initial code developed for use in this research was one of "story", that is to say that the stories in the data were identified. Finding an appropriate working definition of this category was not an easy task. As has been noted in Chapter 1 of this thesis, in research, definitions of "story" vary in terms of structure and content depending upon the uses to which the definition is put.

Since, the coding used for discourse analysis is, as has been suggested above, pragmatic rather than analytic (Potter and Wetherell, 1987), and since the focus of this research was primarily on the content of what was said, a very broad definition of "story" was used as a preliminary to the analysis stage in which it was taken to mean:

Any account of an event, whether it is implied that such an event actually occurred or whether it is entirely fictitious and whether the details of that event are either made explicit or are based on a more substantial appeal to common knowledge.

A code in respect of references to ideology was also used on the interview data in a bid to aid later analysis concerning the functions of storytelling. The term "ideology" is a complex one having a variety of meanings. It is more fully discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis. As suggested by Potter and Wetherell, 1987, the application of these codes
to the data was a liberal one in order to include as many instances of "story-telling" and "ideology" as possible in the analysis to follow.

Having used this code in a bid to identify the various instances in which stories were used in this setting, different types of story were considered. The codes used for these purposes consisted of story themes, role-plays, case studies, anecdotes and hypothetical accounts.

The participants in this setting explicitly refer to the concept of "role-play". Examples of its use may be found in line 5 of the extract of classroom talk reported in sequence 7.5 on page 167 and in lines 13, 14, 16 and 17 of the extract from an interview with a trainer reported in sequence 7.8 on pages 170 to 172.

While the participants in this setting explicitly use the term "case study", it is used less consistently than "role-play". Examples of its use may be found in line 8 of the extract of classroom talk reported in sequence 8.1 on pages 190 to 192 and in line 9 of the extract from an interview with a trainer reported in sequence 8.9 on page 209. Some of the trainers, tend to use the term "scenario" instead of "case study" (for example, lines 1 and 10 of the extract from an interview with a trainer reported in sequence 8.14 on page 214). Since these terms seem to be used with roughly equal frequency in this setting, no basis arose within the data for deciding which the most appropriate was for this code. The decision to
use the term "case study" rather than "scenario" for this type of story was, therefore, necessarily an arbitrary one.

The term “theme” appears in the documentary material in the form of the lesson notes for the trainers that are designed centrally by the department with responsibility for designing such material (as noted on page 101). The trainers themselves also use the term “theme”, sometimes in conjunction with term “story” (as suggested in line 1 of sequence 6.1 on page 139). The code “story-themes” is taken to refer those themes running through each probationer attendance that amount to a “story” as defined on page 70 above. A more detailed account of these themes can be found in Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis.

The terms “anecdote” and “hypothetical account” do not appear explicitly in the data obtained during this research; they emerged during the coding process. During this pre-analytic process, it was noted that some of the stories that are used in this setting amount to relatively short accounts that appear solely in the talk of the participants. This stands in some contrast to the role-plays, case studies and story themes because they also appear in the documentary material obtained during this research. These relatively short verbal accounts were presented as either constructions of events past or constructions of events that may come to pass in the future. The term “anecdote” seemed to best capture the notion of events past because its dictionary definition includes a reference to the reporting of events of an historical nature (Oxford
English Dictionary, 2nd Edition, 1989). The term “hypothetical account” seemed to best capture the idea of events that may come to pass in the future because the dictionary definition of “hypothetical” cross-references to that of hypothesis, a concept that embraces the notion of prediction in the social sciences (for example, Stratton and Hayes, 1993). As with the concept of “hypothesis”, the category “hypothetical account” is taken to refer to an event that might happen rather than one that will necessarily happen.

“Story theme”, role-play”, “case study”, “anecdote” and “hypothetical account” are all more fully described in Chapters 6 to 10 of this thesis.

The majority of the material previously coded under the broader category of “story” fitted in either one or the other of these categories. It may be worthy of note, however, that one instance of storytelling recorded during the first attendance during the first phase of this research, could have been designated as either a role-play or a case study. In this instance, operating in small groups, the students were asked to evaluate a number of documents they had been instrumental in compiling in the two days prior to the session being observed. The purpose of this activity was for the students to generate further lines of enquiry that might ultimately result in the resolution of the “crime” they were “investigating” as part of the story-theme running through the attendance. This activity then had the features of a role-play in that the students were “investigating” the “crime” and a case study in the sense that they were conducting a paper
exercise focusing on a specific task in small groups. While this instance is further discussed in Chapter 8 of this thesis, it is raised here as an example of the flexible application of these codes to the data. Such a feature is more consistent with the use of coding as a pre-analytic stage rather than with the rigorous application of mutually exclusive codes when analysis itself is the goal.

Analysis then followed the coding of this data. Precise details of this process are as shown in Chapters 6 to 10 of this thesis. However, in general terms the analysis proceeded along the lines suggested by Potter and Wetherell (1987). Such analysis began with a search for patterns of variability and consistency between the types of story identified during the pre-analytic stage. The analysis then moved on to a consideration of the functions served by stories in this context. This second stage of analysis proceeded by the generation and development of hypotheses concerning these functions and the ground rules implicit in them.

**Validation**

Validation of this research has been attempted using the four main analytic techniques for this purpose referred to by Potter and Wetherell (1987): coherence, participants' orientation, new problems and fruitfulness.
Coherence refers to how well the analysis allows the reader to see "how the discourse fits together and how discursive structure produces effects and functions" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987 p.170). The analysis reported in this thesis has endeavoured to provide a coherent account of the functions and perceived effects of story-telling and of how they fit in with the pedagogical and professional ideologies operating within this setting. This manifests itself most prolifically in how "relevance" both drives and constrains the practice of storytelling in this setting. "Relevance" is further discussed in the body of this thesis.

Considering the participants' orientation refers to whether the participants orient to the categories and distinctions that arise from the analysis and whether they have implications for their practice. As Potter and Wetherell suggest, “it is not sufficient to say that as analysts we can see that these statements are consistent or dissonant; the important thing is the orientation of the participants, what they see as consistent and different” (Potter and Wetherell, 1987 p.170 – emphasis in original). This thesis will demonstrate that the categories and the distinctions that arise from the analysis conducted during this research are used by and oriented to by the participants and that they have consequences for their practice. Examples of this may be found throughout this thesis, for instance:
(i) the differing ways in which anecdotes and hypothetical accounts are used is summarised on pages 314 and 315; and

(ii) the matter of how trainers orient towards verisimilitude in the classroom is considered in respect of sequence 8.1 on pages 190 to 192 and sequence 9.2 on pages 234 to 237.

The research reported in this thesis has raised a number of new problems associated with the telling of stories. For example, the initial analysis of data raised the problem of how the trainers arrived at different decisions about the application of rules concerning the verisimilitude of stories. This issue was tackled in subsequent analysis when it was found to relate to a number of factors including the nature of the story and the subject matter of the lesson. In this sense, some of the findings from the later analysis of data may be thought of as acting as a validity check on those of the initial analysis.

"Fruitfulness" refers to "the scope of an analytic scheme to make sense of new kinds of discourse and to generate novel explanations" (Potter and Wetherell, 1987 p.171). It is hoped that the analysis reported in this thesis gives the reader the opportunity to make sense of the practice of story-telling in police probationer training and that it generates novel explanations for why and how it is used in this setting.
**Application**

After the writing of the report, the final stage in the process of discourse analysis considered by Potter and Wetherell (1987) is one of application. While it is acknowledged that this issue is difficult in social science research, the idea that researchers should think about the application of their findings seems to be a reasonable one.

The findings reported in this thesis are likely to be of some practical use to trainers working in police probationer training. While these findings will be more fully reported in the chapters that follow, the particular applications in mind here are ones of story selection and construction.

**Summary**

This chapter has considered the methodological processes of this research and the theoretical framework underpinning them.

The general direction the research followed was an inductive one using qualitative data. The principal theoretical framework underpinning the method used was one of discourse analysis of the kind most closely associated with discursive psychology (for example, Potter and Wetherell, 1987 and Edwards and Potter, 1992).
The research took place in two phases. The first phase consisted of a longitudinal study lasting some fourteen months during which a single cohort of students was observed as they progressed through their probation. The second phase consisted of the recording a cross section of role-plays and case study sessions in order to supplement the few that had been recorded during the first phase of this research.

The recording of the data and its analysis consisted of the audio and, in some instances, video recording of classroom behaviour. The tapes arising from this were then transcribed. The transcripts and documentary material obtained during the course of this study were then coded and analysed.

Some consideration has been given to my status as a police officer conducting research involving police officers. It has been suggested that this insider view had both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages relate to interpretation from the participants' point of view, the establishment of rapport and the negotiation of access. The disadvantages relate to reactivity and bias.

Validation of this research has been attempted using the four main analytic techniques for this purpose referred to by Potter and Wetherell (1987): coherence, participants' orientation, new problems and fruitfulness.
Finally, some consideration has been given to the practical applications of the findings reported in this thesis. Here, it is hoped that these findings will be of some use to trainers working in police probationer training in terms of story selection and construction.
An Ideology of Student Involvement and Experiential Learning

Introduction

This chapter considers the relationship between storytelling and the training ideology in the setting studied for the purposes of this research. It sets out to do this by examining the ideology impacting on police training in four distinct areas. The first of these operates in the governmental area of the Home Office. The three remaining areas operate within the police-training establishment and consist of the central department responsible for the training of trainers, the central department responsible for writing lesson material for local trainers and the local trainers themselves.
It will be argued that the pedagogical concepts of learner, trainee or student centred and experiential learning are central to the ideology of training operating in the Metropolitan Police. Three of the four areas considered in this chapter explicitly use these concepts, none explicitly define them. The concepts tend rather to be associated with or distanced from particular types of knowledge or the use of particular techniques or methods. Since each area is concerned with a different aspect of police training, the uses to which these concepts are put varies between them. Before moving on to examine this matter further, it may be prudent to consider what is meant when the term “ideology” is used.

**Ideology**

The concept of “ideology”, is one of the most controversial in the social sciences today. This has given rise to a situation in which “different theorists have used the concept in very different ways, whilst disputing each other's intellectual right to do so; moreover, the same theorists have often found themselves slipping into different meanings as they have talked about ‘ideology’” (Billig et al. 1988 p.25).

Despite such inconsistency, the idea that “ideology” relates to either legitimising or challenging an unequal distribution of power between social groups is common to most uses of the concept. Indeed, it has
been argued that the absence of power in any definition of ideology leaves the concept deficient in “critical potential” (McLellan, 1986 p.83). Karl Marx is one of the principal theorists that link the concept to “power”. From Marx’s point of view, ideology is used by the ruling class to legitimate the power they have over their sub-ordinates as exemplified in the famous phrase “the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas” (Marx and Engels, 1970, p. 64). These ideas are false and in that they serve to conceal the “true” nature of the power relationships in society and “ideology” is, therefore, regarded as serving to maintain a “false consciousness” among the working classes. For this reason, Marx did not see his own views as being “ideological” since they offered insights into the “true” nature of these power relationships (McLellan, 1986).

While still emphasising the issue of power, not all uses of “ideology” include the notion of “false consciousness” as an essential element of the concept. One example of this may be found in McLennan’s (1991) analysis of the contrasting uses of Catholicism in medieval times and present day South America. Here, McLennan suggests that Catholicism was used to support a situation in medieval Europe in which the peasants occupied a position at the bottom of the social order by promoting the view that “everything on Earth was believed to have a fixed an unalterable place in a divinely ordained order” (McLennan, 1991 p.123). While this aspect of McLennan’s analysis may be suggestive of a “false consciousness” serving to maintain the status quo, he goes on to
claim that Catholicism promotes the idea that there is "absolutely no theological justification for social and political inequality" (McLennan, 1991 p.123) in some South American countries today. In this case the priest is "united with the peasant against the landlord rather than being in league with them as in medieval times" (McLennan, 1991 p.123).

Billig et al. (1988) identify the distinction between intellectual ideologies and "lived" or everyday ideologies. Intellectual ideologies are systems of "political, religious or philosophical thinking" that are the products of "intellectuals or professional thinkers" (Billig et al. 1988 p27) like Marx. Alternatively, the concept of "lived" ideology "refers to ideology as society's way of life" and "includes what passes for common sense within a society" (Billig et al. 1988 p27). Rather than being the coherently related systems that some view as an essential component of ideology (for example, McLennan, 1991), Billig et al. suggest that both intellectual and lived ideologies are dilemmatic because they consist of contrary themes. These dilemmas are "born out of a culture which produces more than one possible ideal world, more than one hierarchical arrangement of power, value and interest" (Billig et al. 1988 p163). They go on to point out that an analysis of rhetoric provides a useful way of studying ideology. McLellan seems to agree with this point when he suggests that ideology is "an aspect of every system of signs and symbols in so far as they are implicated in an asymmetrical distribution of power and resources" (McLellan, 1986 p.83).
Both intellectual and lived ideologies operate in the setting studied for the purpose of the research reported in this thesis. Within this chapter, intellectual ideologies may be considered to underpin the views attributed to the governmental area of the Home Office and the central department responsible for the training of trainers. Lived ideologies are those suggested in the discussion concerning the central department responsible for writing lesson material for local trainers and the local trainers themselves. In common with Billig et al. 1988, it is acknowledged that there is a relationship between the intellectual and lived ideologies operating in this setting. However, the focus of the analysis reported in this thesis very much concentrates on what takes place in the classroom. In this sense, it considers, in part, what happens when these intellectual ideologies are recreated in practice. A more considered analysis of the relationship between the intellectual and lived ideologies operating in this setting is beyond the scope of this research. Nothing reported here is by any means intended to suggest that this relationship is a simple one-way enterprise with influences flowing from the Home Office into police training.

Since this research took place in a training environment, the kind of ideology it considers is primarily an educational one. Billig et al (1988) suggest that educational ideologies have at least three interesting features:
(i) they do not exist in isolation from the broader cultural context but rather appeal to a much wider set of social and political issues (for example, individual freedom versus authoritative constraint);

(ii) they are defined in contrast to other points of view (for example, traditional "chalk and talk" education versus a progressive child-centred approach);

(iii) their values are not mutually exclusive (for example, advocates of a child-centred approach do not tend to insist that a child discover everything and be taught nothing).

Evidence in support of each of these features can be found in this thesis. For example, the trainer’s comments reported in sequence 4.1 on page 107 define student-centred learning by contrasting it to traditional “chalk and talk” (lines 1 and 2). In addition, the trainer’s comments reported in sequence 4.2 on pages 108 and 109 suggest that trainers need to teach to the curriculum even within the framework of a student-centred approach (for instance, lines 6 to 9). In both these examples, wider issues such as those of individual freedom and authoritative constraint are played out in the hierarchical relationship between trainer and student this setting (for instance, in the form of either “chalk and talk” or the demands of the curriculum versus a student-centred approach).
Police probationer training was reviewed by central government in the mid 1980s (Home Office Review Team on Police Probationer Training, 1986). The review team advocated what they describe as a more “learner-centred” approach to replace the objectives-driven model they had encountered in many of the training centres that had been visited. The objectives-driven model referred to by the review tended to favour propositional knowledge (described as including criminal law, legal and police procedures and a formal knowledge of communities) and context free skills at the expense of tacit knowledge, context-bound skills and the development of attitudes. The review team did not set out what a “learner centred” approach would look like beyond associating it with these types of knowledge and pointing out that it would not be consistent the “chalk and talk tradition of the past” and the “militaristic style of discipline” that many of the trainers they had encountered operated in.

While the review acknowledged that the Metropolitan Police Service were more advanced in their conversion to such a learner-centred approach than many police forces by this time, its authors went on to urge them to consider adopting more fully the model of training provision that they had proposed.
Such a model of training provision embraces the extensive use of "experiential learning" methods. Experiential learning is not explicitly defined in the report, it is rather described with reference to a number of "experience-based" techniques that include "... a core of research-based case studies of policing situations in which legal, procedural and social dimensions are brought together in consideration of appropriate action." (Home Office Review Team on Police Probationer Training, 1981, p.4).

The driving force underpinning this recommendation was the view that training should have more relevance to the job actually done in the work place, discretion rather than simple right or wrong answers was seen as an important element here in what is referred to as "an essentially discretionary occupation".

**The Training of Trainers**

Police officers in the Metropolitan Police Service become trainers by applying to do so in response to an internal advertisement inviting applications from interested parties.

Those involved in the training of probationary constables are, in the main, sergeants and more experienced constables, although inspectors occasionally provide some teaching as well. They are all trained for their role by a central training department on a course lasting six weeks. This initial course is followed six to nine months later by a two-week
development course and a further development course lasting one-week some time after that.

The first and second of these courses are greatly influenced by work conducted from the perspective of experiential social psychology. The most influential figure here is John Heron (for example, Heron, 1985 and 1989). Those responsible for the training of police trainers in the Metropolitan Police in the mid-1980s were so impressed with Heron’s writings that they contracted him to facilitate the first few two week development courses referred to above. The courses that have taken place since have been modelled on the originals facilitated by Heron. Heron’s models of training are intended to operate within an educational setting in which the role of the trainer is one of a “facilitator” of experiential learning, for example:

“Teaching is no longer seen as imparting and doing things to the student, but is re-defined as facilitation of self-directed learning.”

Heron, 1989 p.12 (emphasis in the original)

“Experiential learning” in Heron’s terms has both a specific and a general meaning. At the specific level, experiential learning is taken to refer to:
"... learning by encounter, by direct acquaintance, by entering into some state of being. It is manifest through the process of being there, face-to-face, with the person, at the event, in the experience."

Heron, 1989 p.13

At a more general level, however, Heron uses the term “experiential learning” to collectively refer to four interdependent categories of learning. “Experiential learning” as described above forms one such category; the remaining categories are set out below:

**Practical learning.** Refers to learning a skill.

**Conceptual learning.** Refers to learning concepts expressed in the form of statements and propositions.

**Imaginal learning.** Refers to the learning of “configurations of form and process” involving “an intuitive grasp of a whole as shape or sequence”. Heron regards this as an “image level of learning”.

When combined, these categories form a model of learning called the “experiential learning cycle” by Heron. A simplified version of this model, only showing one circuit of the cycle, as applied to the training of a skill in the classroom is set out below:
In the context of this cycle, the trainer may begin by describing the skill that is to be learnt. The students then "intuitively" convert this explanation into what Heron calls an "imaginal understanding" of the skill. Although Heron does not consider narrative as such, stories may facilitate "imaginal understanding" because, as will be suggested in the chapters that follow, they may serve to promote mental imagery in the minds of the audience. Heron (1989) does, however, explicitly mention role-play in terms of it being an experiential method that might be used to practice a skill involving an encounter with another. Having practiced the skill, the student then reflects upon the feedback they were given during their encounter with another person in the practice session. The student might then gain greater conceptual understanding as a result of this encounter and move around the cycle again.
Heron (1977) suggests that his training methods should be used in the context of a “trainee-centred” approach. He describes this as being one in which training depends more on self and peer evaluation than trainer assessment. He does this because the overall aim of Heron’s training is the improvement of the self by means of greater self-awareness. This in turn is a reflection of Heron’s values as an experiential social psychologist.

Heron proposes two methods of facilitative teaching to be used in the context of experiential learning: six-category intervention analysis and six dimensions of facilitator style. The former is primarily focused on one-to-one interactions between the facilitator and a student in or outside a group, the latter is aimed at interaction between the facilitator and the whole group.

Six category intervention analysis (Heron, 1985) was originally inspired by the work of Blake and Mouton (1972) which provided a matrix consisting of five descriptive categories relating to the interactions between applied behavioural scientists and people in organisations. Heron added a category to the original five and shifted the focus of the analysis from description to prescription. Heron’s six-category model has remained central to his thinking although he developed his views over the course of a number of years. Heron’s six categories are briefly outlined below:
**Interventions**

**Prescriptive** gives advice/recommends behaviour to the client.

**Informative** gives new knowledge/information or interprets behaviour to the client.

**Confronting** challenges restrictive attitudes/beliefs/behaviour to the client.

**Cathartic** releases tensions (elicits laughter, sobbing, trembling) in the client.

**Catalytic** elicits information/opinion in and self-directed problem solving/self-discovery for the client.

**Supportive** affirms worth/value or enhances self-image of the client.

“Client” in this sense refers to any person availing him or herself of the practitioner’s professional services. “Intervention” refers to an identifiable piece of verbal and or non-verbal behaviour, including the intention of the practitioner’s in using it.

Source: Heron (1977 p. 3 and 1986 p. 9 and 10).
Heron goes on to place his interventions into two superordinate categories labelled as “authoritative” and “facilitative”. Specifically, he classifies his prescriptive, informative and confronting interventions as being “authoritative” and his cathartic, catalytic and supportive interventions as being “facilitative”. He makes no judgement as to the relative value of each group of interventions beyond suggesting that an exclusive use of those labelled as “authoritative” is not particularly useful (Heron, 1985).

In addition, Heron goes on to list a number of interpersonal interventions that he does not consider particularly helpful. Heron (1985) collectively labels such interventions as being “degenerative”.

Alongside these interventions, Heron proposes six dimensions or basic issues that should be considered by trainers working as “facilitators” of learning in groups:

**Dimensions**

- **Planning**: this relates to the objectives of the group.

- **Meaning**: this is to do with the participants understanding of what is going on and with their making sense of their experience.
Confronting this is to do with raising the consciousness of the participants about what they need to learn.

Feeling this is to do with how the emotions in the group should be handled.

Structuring this is to do with the methods that should be used and how they should be structured.

Valuing this is to do with creating an environment that supports learning.

Responsibility for each dimension may be thought of as falling into three “modes”. In the “authority” mode the facilitator decides how any given dimension should be managed, in the “co-operation” mode the decision is a joint one between the facilitator and the group members and in the “autonomy” mode the decision rests solely with the group members.

A “Facilitator” is described as a person who has the role of helping participants to learn in an experiential group. An “experiential group” is defined as “a group in which learning takes place through the active and aware involvement of the whole person as a thinking, feeling, choosing, spiritual, energetic being” (Heron 1989, p.11).
Heron's work began in the context of interpersonal skills training for trainers within various professions (social workers, clinical psychologists, psychotherapists, nurses, doctors, dentists, counsellors, teacher trainers and, later, police trainers) and extended into what he calls “the cognitive and technical domains of traditional education” (Heron, 1977 p. i). It was intended to be prescriptive in the sense of amounting to a set of working hypotheses to be tested and revised against the experience of the student trainer. Heron's view was that this process would not only serve to revise his model but could also improve performance by raising the trainer’s consciousness of his or her behaviour. Such a focus on consciousness meant considerable emphasis was given to “trainee-centred” experiential methods of training that focused on discovery learning in Heron's courses. Examples of these methods may be found in Heron's (1982) booklet entitled “Experiential Training Techniques”.

Heron's models do not, however, have an empirical basis in research. Here, Heron suggests that his categories “... are prescriptively derived from a consideration of what it is meaningful and worthwhile to do in relating to other persons in the human condition: they are put forward as a prescriptive hypothesis, not as empirical data.” (Heron, 1977 p. ii). In common with a great deal of research conducted within the framework of experiential social psychology, it seems that Heron's categories and dimensions stem from an introspective analysis of his own experience.
In the early 1980s police training in the Metropolitan Police Service made the transition from an ideology of teaching largely based on the use of lectures dealing with the "what to do" of police work to one largely based on "facilitative methods" dealing with "how to do' the 'what to do'" (Bultitude, 1985 p.1). This shift embraced "student centred learning" and the initial tutors' course of the day expressed a need to value such an approach as one of its principal objectives. "Student centred learning" is not defined explicitly here; it is rather associated with the use of training techniques derived from Heron's work. The most influential of these training techniques may be found in the internal police training publication entitled "SAFER PC" by Riley (1988). Colin Riley, one of Heron's students, was a police-training designer in the late 1980s. "SAFER PC" amounts to a mnemonic device used to refer to the following "interventions":

Support and encourage
Advise and suggest
Feedback information to students on their abilities and behaviour
Enable students to make the most of their experience
Release tension
Provide information
Challenge constructively
As in the case of Heron, Riley identifies his interventions with two superordinate categories: 'student control' and 'dominating and controlling'. Specifically, he suggests that the advise and suggest, feedback, provide information and challenge interventions may be collectively regarded as being "more dominating and controlling" in terms of the trainer's behaviour while the supporting, enabling and release tension interventions may be thought of as "handing more control to the students". He then claims that good facilitation is about using a balanced combination of these interventions appropriately according to the circumstances.

Riley claims that "SAFER PC" is an "amended and re-named" version of Six Category Intervention Analysis. "SAFER PC" does not, however, map neatly onto Six Category Intervention Analysis, as is suggested in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Riley Interventions</th>
<th>Equivalent Heron Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Support and Encourage</td>
<td>Student Control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advise and Suggest</td>
<td>Dominating and Controlling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supportive</td>
<td>Facilitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prescriptive</td>
<td>Authoritative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Riley's additional category appears to be the feedback intervention. This intervention embraces both positive and negative feedback. If one were to view these interventions descriptively, rather than in the prescriptive manner advocated by Heron, it might be argued that negative feedback falls within Heron's "confronting" category and that positive feedback falls within his "supportive" category. However, this kind of analysis may be more valid in respect of the relationship between negative feedback and confrontation because there appears to be a stronger relationship between the superordinate categories for these interventions than might be case when one considers positive feedback and Heron's "supportive" category. The rationale of the inclusion of "feedback" is not made clear in Riley's work, although, the point that this additional intervention falls within the "dominating and controlling" category may be a reflection of the differences between the social context of police probationer training and that of Heron's experiential groups.
In addition to this, Riley’s “enable” intervention seems to be a little broader than Heron’s “catalytic” intervention. The common ground here lies in the reflective nature of each intervention, the difference lies in the inclusion of providing the students with opportunities to experience novel events in the “enable” intervention.

This amended form of Heron’s work features heavily in the course for trainers organised by the police service. Evidence of this may be found in some of the course support material for the trainers course (known as the “Core Course”) in which there is a specific session on SAFER PC having the following aims and objectives:

**Aims**

- Using pre-read methods introduce students to the SAFER PC model.
- Task student to relate model to their personal experience.
- Incorporate SAFER PC model as an identifiable theme throughout the Core Course.

**Objectives**

Student instructor will be able to:
1. State the elements of the SAFER PC model.

2. Explain each element of the SAFER PC model.

3. Discuss how the SAFER PC model relates to the management of students learning.

4. Demonstrate an ability to incorporate the SAFER PC model into their teaching.

In addition, the SAFER PC model is explicitly referred to in the objectives for a number of other sessions that take place during this course. These include those relating to the use of discussions, teaching skills and feedback.

Heron's Six Category Intervention Analysis also forms the primary subject matter of the two-week trainers development course (attended by trainers six to nine months after they have completed their initial trainers training course).

The theme continues in the second trainers' development course with an appraisal of a model directly linked to counselling, namely, Egan's (1994) skilled helper model. The primary aim of this course is to give the trainers the option of using Egan's proactive approach to therapeutic problem solving in circumstances where its use might seem appropriate.
With the exception of the two-week practice-based component of the initial trainers' course, courses for trainers in the Metropolitan Police do not deal with issues associated with lesson material. The broad range of trainers that they train gives rise to a primary focus on classroom process. The next section explores the first point at which this process-based ideology is translated into practice.

Centrally Designed Lesson Material

Lesson material for the police probationer-training syllabus is produced centrally by the Technical Design and Research Unit (T.D.R.U.) and distributed to the local training centres that run the courses. The syllabus makes no explicit reference to the type of interactions described in the above section, nor does it refer to the concepts of “student-centred” or “experiential” learning that underpin them. It seems likely that such an omission is the result of the T.D.R.U.’s syllabus appearing in the form of lesson material rather than as advice on training ideology. This situation may have arisen as a result of the role of the T.D.R.U. as designers of training materials for students rather than as providers of courses for trainers.

The lesson material designed by the T.D.R.U. consists of six booklets, one for each probationer attendance. Each booklet is organised along the lines of a theme designed to run throughout the course of the
attendance. Each theme is then broken down into a number of phases. For example, the theme for attendance one deals with the investigation of a burglary. The week begins with the crime being reported to police (phases 1 and 2), moves on to explore some of the issues and investigative considerations associated with the taking of statements from witnesses (phases 3 and 4) and culminates in the arrest and charge of a person suspected of committing the crime (phases 5 to 9).

Each phase consists of a number of lessons, the training material intended to support its delivery and advice on the areas of skill that the trainer should focus on. The lessons in trainers’ notes are cross-referenced with those in the students’ pre-reading material. The objectives for the classroom-based lessons are recorded in this pre-reading material. In many instances a distinction is drawn between the objectives for studying the written material and those for the subsequent lesson, for example:

After you have studied the written lesson you should be able to:

1. List factors to be considered when deciding if a Scene Examiner needs to be called to a crime scene.

2. Explain how the Scene Examiner would be called to a crime scene.
3. State briefly the different services that a Scene Examiner can provide.

4. Name the Scene Examiner at your Police Station.

5. Explain why any forensic evidence may be an exhibit for court.

After your trainer has provided suitable learning experiences you should be able to:

1. Explain what happens to an article once it becomes an exhibit.

2. Identify the most likely location of contact traces at crime scenes.

Extract 4.1

Objectives from Attendance 1: Scene Examiner and Support Services

Alternatively, some of the objectives featured in the students’ pre-reading material do not draw any distinction between the objectives hoped to be achieved from reading the material and those for the lesson that follows it. For example:

At the end of the lesson you should be able to:
1. Explain the problem that investigators have when dealing with serious sexual assault victims.

2. List in order of priority your initial action on receipt of a complaint of a serious sexual assault.

3. Describe the conflict between the system of criminal justice and the needs of a victim of crime.

4. Explain the meaning of empathy in relation to victims of serious sexual assault.

5. Briefly, describe the key elements in the procedure for investigating serious sexual assault.

6. Demonstrate an awareness of the facilities available to investigators to assist detection and to alleviate the suffering of victims of serious sexual assault.

Extract 4.2

Objectives from Attendance 6: Sexual Offences 3:

Initial Action in Serious Sexual Assault Cases
However these objectives are presented, the majority of them focus on the cognitive rather than the affective aspects of police experience. The objective shown at 4 and, to some extent, 3 in extract 4.2 above are very rare in that they include a larger affective element in them than is usually the case, those featured in extract 4.1 are far more typical in this respect. This anomaly may result from the emotive nature of the lesson material referred to in extract 4.2 and is featured in this chapter to illustrate the point that lessons dealing with even the most emotive of topics focus mainly on the cognitive elements of experience. Such a focus may have arisen because these lesson objectives were probably constructed with measurement in mind. This takes place by means of examinations at the beginning of each attendance on the pre-reading material and observations made and recorded of the student’s performance at the end of each attendance by the trainer. It is likely that such measurement is easier where the cognitive aspects of performance are considered, a student’s emotional state is not quite so easy to measure by these means. In the chapters that follow it will be argued that these objectives exert a considerable impact on the talk in this classroom setting. Such an impact may be indicative of the influence of the older objectives-driven model of training encountered by the Home Office in their mid-1980s review of police probationer training (as noted earlier in this chapter). In addition to this pedagogical consideration, some aspects of wider police culture are not favourably disposed to a display of certain kinds of emotional experience. For example, expressing emotions such as sadness may be thought of as inconsistent with what Smith and Gray
(1985) refer to as the “cult of masculinity” in the police service. This then forms the basis for a dilemmatic ideology in which the wider ideals of experiential learning sit somewhat uncomfortably with the demands of the curriculum and the cultural values of the police service more generally.

**The Trainers: A Local View**

The analysis that is reported in this section is, to some extent, consistent with that of Fielding’s (1988) study of police recruit and probationer training in Derbyshire (as described in Chapter 2 of this thesis). While “interactive teaching” cannot be directly equated with a “student-centred” approach, it is referred to as a teaching style placing some emphasis on student involvement, primarily through the use of narrative. This aspect of interactive teaching seems to have something in common with the “student-centred” approach as practised in the setting for the research reported in this thesis.

In Fielding’s study, the abstract notion of “interactive teaching” becomes manifest through a narrative process. The content of the narratives are then perceived as introducing work-place practice into the classroom, a process further supported by broader cultural concerns that give a primacy to practice over what is considered “theory”.

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Definitions and acceptance of “student-centred learning” vary between the trainers interviewed for the purposes of this study. For example, one trainer described student-centred learning as:

1. Trainer: Well I mean I would say that was you know the exact opposite of your chalk and talk you stand there and deliver erm where the students are not participating at all/ they're just sitting there and listening and soaking stuff in.
2. Trainer: You know I would see any student centred learning as being totally opposed to that where the instructor only performs erm perhaps a minor role inasmuch as the activity that he or she is performing erm and the students do most of the work with the guidance or a steer from yourself you know whether that is either in role-play situations or buzz groups or whatever it would involve them at some stage so you know it's/ student centred would be you know having them involved in someway.
3. Trainer: more than just sitting there and listening.

Sequence 4.1.

Extract of interview with trainer S.H.

In this extract, student-centred learning is described as a process diametrically opposed to a method the trainer calls “chalk and talk”. “Chalk and talk” refers to a style of training that is widely considered by
the trainers to have flourished in the police prior to the inception of student-centred learning in the 1980s. This method is characterised as one in which the trainers were proactive and did most of the talking in the class in contrast with the passive role adopted by the students. On the other hand, student-centred learning is portrayed as involving a more passive and reactive training role in which the trainer acts as a “resource” for the students. Defining one concept with reference to another in this way may be further evidence of a single dilemmatic ideology operating in this setting (Billig et al. 1988). Such a description of “student-centred learning” seems to be broadly consistent with that implied by the central training establishment.

Not all the trainers were as clear about the nature of student-centred learning, however, for example:

1. Trainer: Yeah no well erm no the "student-centred approach" well
2. I've always had a bit of confusion with this/ I didn't realise
3. whether they set the agenda or not erm/ you know
4. because obviously we're working to certain ends now if
5. we're to follow the ends that the students wanted we
6. obviously well I think/ hopefully by and large we'd concur
7. but I mean there are going to be areas that would be
8. missed off erm/ essential areas that they need to know
9. about that would be missed off and perhaps we'd just be
10. you know although diverting down an interesting path in
This trainer seems to acknowledge the high degree of student-involvement implicit in his description of student-centred learning but he also expresses the view that such involvement is necessarily limited as a result of the demands placed upon the classroom process by the curriculum. The comments that are reported in this sequence would seem to lend further support the view that a single dilemmatic ideology operates in this setting. In this instance, it is influenced by the dichotomy between the concepts of freedom and conformity and becomes manifest as an inconsistency between the ideals of learner-centred experiential learning and the demands of the curriculum.
In this study, the abstract concepts of "student-centred" and "experiential" learning are conceived as becoming manifest by those involved in the training of trainers through the prescriptive interventions of Heron and Riley. Whether they do so or not is beyond the scope of this study. There does, however, seem to be a link between these concepts and the use of narrative, particularly in respect of the use of role-plays and case studies. Evidence of such a link may be found in the Home Office review of probationer training (Home Office Review Team on Police Probationer Training, 1986), the extensive use of role-plays and case studies in the centrally provided lesson material and in some of the comments made by trainers (for example, sequence 4.1, above).

**Summary**

This chapter began by considering what is meant when the term "ideology" is used. It noted that the plethora of definitions might be classified as either emphasising epistemology or sociology. Epistemological definitions tend to place an emphasis on truth and falsehood whereas sociological definitions tend to be more concerned with how ideas function in social life. Given that this thesis is most concerned with the functions served by stories, it adopts a definition more in line with sociological rather than the epistemological use of the
term. The dilemmatic nature of ideology was also acknowledged, as was the idea that broader dilemmatic debates influence particular context.

The ideology impacting on police training in four areas was then examined. The first of these operates at the governmental area of the Home Office. The three remaining areas operate within the police-training establishment and consist of the central department responsible for the training of trainers, the central department responsible for writing lesson material for local trainers and the local trainers themselves.

The pedagogical concepts of learner, trainee or student centred and experiential learning are central to the ideology of training operating in this setting. Three of the four areas explicitly use these concepts; the central department responsible for the probationer syllabus probably does not do so because their role is limited to designing lesson material. None of the areas that are considered in this chapter explicitly defines these concepts, they rather associate them with or distance them from particular types of knowledge or the use of particular techniques or methods. Since each area is concerned with a different aspect of police training, the uses to which these concepts are put varies between them. This manifests itself in the form of some differences between the areas in what they associate these concepts with.
Chapter 5

Ideology and Narrative

Introduction

The principal methods used by trainers take the form of narrative. This chapter provides an overview of those that are to follow. It does this by briefly considering the form taken by narrative in the trainers’ notes and the talk of this setting. It then moves on to briefly discuss the functions served by the use of stories and the constraints and controls influencing their use.

Narrative Forms

The syllabus for probationer training in the Metropolitan Police is set out in a series of booklets entitled “Trainers’ Notes”. These “Trainers’ Notes” are published by the Technical Design and Research Unit (T.D.R.U.) at the Training Establishment in Hendon.
An analysis of the “Trainers’ Notes” reveal that each weeklong probationer attendance at a local training unit is organised by a “theme”. In five of the six attendances the subject matter of the theme is linked together by a story (two stories in the case of the fifth attendance). A table detailing the prevalence of story-themes in probationer training is set out below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Thematic Stories</th>
<th>Isolated Stories</th>
<th>Non-story sessions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Burglary investigation from initial action to case paper preparation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2          | • Searching premises and diplomatic privilege  
  • offensive weapons |                  | • The role of the station officer;  
  • driving documents. |
<p>| 3          | Informants, search warrants, searching premises, drugs and persons wanted |                  |                    |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4</th>
<th>Aiding and abetting, drink drive, police accidents, motor vehicle crime and cab disputes</th>
<th>public order (including tension indicators)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>• Robbery, road blocks, firearms, handling stolen goods and aggravated burglary. • Trespass and air weapons.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sexual offences (kerb crawling), child protection, malicious communications and welfare</td>
<td>Sexual offences (rape)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1

Story-themes in Metropolitan Police probationer training

The narrative nature of the theme is made explicit in the introduction to the trainers' notes for the first and third attendance, for example:
Introduction

This exercise is based around a Burglary Theme and includes Interviewing Skills, Statement Taking and Preparation of Case Papers.

Having investigated a residential burglary at Flat 2, Aitken House, Aitken Road, (use a local location). Police receive information that suspects for the burglary decamped in a Ford Sierra motor car, a part index no. of which is supplied.

The following day an attempted burglary takes place and a witness who makes a statement to police observes this.

Sometime later the full index no. of a Ford Sierra motor car involved in the burglary is supplied by an anonymous witness.

A PNC check supplies details of the current keeper, James John Williams who fits the description of the suspect for the burglary and the attempt.

His LIO card shows him to associate with a Graham Goodyear and reliable information is received that Goodyear is also involved.
Goodyear is subsequently arrested, interviewed and admits being involved in the burglaries, which were carried out by Williams. He is charged accordingly and, after completion of the necessary paperwork is bailed to attend court at a later date.

The resource sheets of paperfeeds and role-play sheets are located at the end of this booklet and can be photocopied as they are needed.

Extract 5.1

**Introduction in “Trainer’s Notes” for Probationer Attendance 1**

The narrative nature of the theme in the fourth, fifth and sixth attendances emerges in the form of links in the training material rather than being made explicit in the introduction to the trainers’ notes.

Each theme is then broken down into a series of phases dealing with procedural and legal issues as they arise during the course of the story. Each phase specifies the topic(s) to be covered, the general skill areas the trainer should focus on, the activity and props that should be used and the lessons in the probationers’ pre-reading material that are relevant to it. An outline to one of these phases is set out below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Props</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role-play sheets</td>
<td>Cab driver's licence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role-playing a cab dispute</td>
<td>Cab driver's badge (green &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yellow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meter (if possible)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill Areas</th>
<th>New Lessons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Questioning techniques</td>
<td>Cabs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enquiring approach</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uses information</td>
<td>Cab disputes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control &amp; reward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertiveness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach &amp; contact</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police procedure/practice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem solving &amp;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision making</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discretion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impartiality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 Extract 5.2

Outline of Phase 5 of the 'Trainee's Notes' for Probationer Attendance 4
As noted in Chapter 4 of this thesis, the objectives for the lessons featured in each phase are contained in the students' pre-reading material.

The guidance given to trainers about the skill areas they should focus on concentrates largely on the cognitive aspects of experience such as problem solving skills, the application of legal knowledge and the use of questioning techniques. The one exception to this relates to the material dealing with the emotive subjects of sexual assault and child abuse. Here, the trainers are asked to include empathy and sympathy as a part of the lesson's focus. In general, however, there is a high degree of consistency between these skill areas and the cognitive orientation of the lesson objectives.

The activities advocated in the trainers' notes consist solely of role-plays and, what is referred to as, "paperfeeds". "Paperfeeds" are so called because they refer to training methods in which students work together in small groups to address tasks given to them on a piece of paper. They include case studies and "discussions". Case studies frame these tasks in the context of a narrative whereas "discussions" do not. The extent to which the trainers' notes propose that role-plays, case studies and discussions should be used is set out in the table below:
While this pattern of distribution would appear to have little underlying structure to it, the variable duration of each activity allows for the whole week of each attendance to be filled with the use of these activities. This suggests that when the process of experiential learning is translated into classroom practice by those responsible for writing lesson material it emerges primarily in the form of narrative.

The trainers themselves also link “experiential learning” to the use of teaching methods involving narrative. In particular, experiential learning seems to be linked to the idea that work-place practice should be introduced into the classroom. Such work-place practice is often framed in a narrative form, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Case Studies</th>
<th>Role-Plays</th>
<th>“Discussions”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2

Summary of the techniques advocated in the “Trainer’s Notes”
1. Trainer Right well certainly if you’re looking at .........................
2. "experiential learning"/ it’s very difficult erm to actually
3. simulate what they will have operationally erm/ in relation
4. to all the topics that that we cover you can't simulate that
5. in a classroom or a building like we’ve got/ you know that
6. can only ever be experienced in the vast majority of cases
7. actually out doing the job/ so obviously we prepare the
8. (....) in many respects what we try and do is prepare them
9. for that experience by giving them knowledge and
10. perhaps an understanding erm/ but there are certain
11. areas where they can do experiential learning erm/
12. obviously things like well I mentioned the attendance
13. three where we do you know with the three tasks at the
14. end of the week/ well obviously coming up to that week
15. we get them to do things like prem-searches/ we can
16. simulate that erm so that's quite useful/ and searching of
17. premises dealing with the finding of property how they
18. deal with the property how they deal with individuals on
19. the premises because we can get stooges in erm/ things
20. that they actually sort of suddenly realise "Well this is a
21. fault and now I know it's a fault so I can therefore
22. recognise that and I won't repeat it in a real-life situation"
so in that respect you can use "experiential learning"

In this extract the trainer links the idea of experiential learning to that of experience by activity in the work place outside the classroom or role-play within it. The use of narrative as a means of introducing work-place practice into the context of the classroom is by no means limited to the themes and activities planned and suggested by the T.D.R.U. It also includes the use of short verbal accounts, for example:

1. Trainer ...........................................I think that it's a thing that a lot of trainers do it the first thing they kick off in their lesson is what experiences people have had whatever the topic is and again I think it's that driving for relevance you know..........................

In this extract the trainer refers to personal anecdotes that are elicited from students. The analysis that is to follow will suggest that trainers and
students use two main types of verbal account in this setting: anecdotes and hypothetical accounts. Anecdotes are stories of events past while hypothetical accounts are stories of events that may come to pass in the future.

When considered on a line-by-line basis in the transcripts, anecdotes make up approximately 19% and hypothetical accounts make up approximately 24% of the talk in the plenary sessions of this setting. The term “approximately” is used here because any attempt to quantify this essentially qualitative data gives rise to some difficulties in being able to clearly delineate the boundary between the story and other elements in the talk or between two separate story sequences.

**Narrative Functions**

In the chapters that follow, this thesis will argue that the use of narrative serves to introduce work-place practice into the classroom (as suggested in sequence 5.1). This then serves to emphasise the relevance of the lesson material to the performance of the students in the work place (as suggested in sequence 5.2). Emphasising the relevance of lesson material is thought to motivate the students to learn it, for example:

1. Trainer ......the vast majority of robberies out there are

2. street robbery so I would then I tailor my lesson
It is hoped that motivating the students to learn will enhance their participation in the lesson. Greater student participation in the talk and activity of the classroom is seen as being consistent with the ideology promoting student involvement in this setting. Such participation is considered to be a form of experiential learning.

Trainers also use this type of story to clarify legal and procedural concepts that they think of as being complicated. This takes place by placing abstract police procedures and criminal law that is unfamiliar to the students into a concrete context that they are familiar with. The processes that take place when stories are used for this purpose include defining abstract concepts by exploring their boundaries in a concrete context. This process of moving from the familiar to the unfamiliar may be evidence of an underlying constructionist epistemology operating in this setting.
The use of stories as a means of experiential learning and as way of realizing a constructionist epistemology may have favourable consequences for memory. This could be the case because memories of classroom events might be strengthened by increasing the amount of processing effort required of the students and by reinforcing the association between new and old memories.

Stories may also serve to entertain the students. The use of humour and drama may capture the interest of the students enhancing their enjoyment of the lesson. This provides another basis for motivating the students to participate in the lesson and learn the material. There are, however, limitations on the use of stories purely as a means of entertainment in that some of the identity claims they seem to support are not wholly consistent with the role of the trainer in police probationer training.

Trainers use stories acted or told by students to assess their level of understanding at the start of and during a lesson. That the trainers consider the level of understanding important may be further evidence of a constructionist epistemology underpinning the use of stories in this setting.

In addition to serving these pedagogic functions, the telling of stories may also be influenced by the wider socio-cultural context. Here it will be
argued that the telling of stories is a general aspect of police culture and that there is some consistency between this and the use of stories in the classroom. It will be suggested that the use of stories may be underpinned by a more general preference for practice over what is considered “theory” and that the use of stories in the classroom has something in common with their use in police canteens.

**Narrative Constraints and Control**

Trainers judge the worth of stories used in the classroom according to their verisimilitude. This means that judgements are made about the strength of a story’s relationship to the kind of events that students are likely to experience in the work place. Stories considered to have a strong enough relationship with work-place experience are used; those failing to have such a relationship are either amended or discarded.

Two important qualifications need to be made to the way verisimilitude is defined and applied in this setting. In terms of definition, what is considered “relevant” in this setting is less than the whole of experience. Here, judgements of verisimilitude tend to be confined to the cognitive and task orientated elements of events in the work place. This may be so for two reasons. First, as suggested above, the objectives of lessons are typically cognitive ones. Any departure from these objectives represents a departure from the curriculum. Second, considered from the socio-
cultural domain, a display of some emotions might be seen as inconsistent with what Graef (1989) has referred to as "machismo" in the police service (this includes values promoting "strength, toughness and street wisdom").

In terms of application, the rigour with which judgements of verisimilitude are made varies according to the type of story that is used. Stories demanding greater emotional or attentional resources, such as themes and role-plays warrant a more rigorous application of verisimilitude than case studies, anecdotes or hypothetical accounts. The type of the story to be used can, in turn, be influenced by the nature of the lesson material. The more sensitive the lesson material, the less likely it is that the emotionally demanding role-play will be used. In this sense, verisimilitude may be regarded as operating within a range in this setting, determined by the type of the story and the nature of the lesson material, rather than as an absolute value.

Trainers try to ensure that stories remain inside the range of verisimilitude for two reasons. First, students may view stories falling outside the range as being irrelevant. This may give rise to a situation in which the students are not motivated to learn lesson material that includes them. Second, the use of emotive material in stories may give rise to a situation in which the affective aspects of the students' behaviour may take events in the classroom beyond the control of the
trainer. In both instances, trainers fear a departure from the cognitive and task orientated objectives of the lesson.

In an attempt to avoid the consequences that might arise from the use of stories falling outside the range of verisimilitude in this setting, trainers endeavour to control every aspect of their use. As has been suggested, stories falling outside the range prior to their use are either adapted or discarded. During their telling, trainers use a number of techniques to prevent them departing from the range. After their telling, trainers carefully control the de-briefing of their use. These aspects of story use, as well as the others mentioned in this chapter, form the basis of the chapters to follow.

Summary

This chapter set out to provide an overview of those that are to follow by briefly considering the use of narrative and its relationship to the ideology operating in this setting.

Narrative takes the form of themes, role-plays, case studies, anecdotes and hypothetical accounts. Each of the six week long probationer attendances at a local training unit is organised by a theme. Almost all of the themes amount to a story. Each theme is then broken down into phases. Each phase is supported by planned lesson material consisting
substantially of role-plays and case studies. In addition to using this material, trainers also use short verbal accounts in the form of anecdotes and hypothetical accounts. Anecdotes are stories of events past, hypothetical accounts are stories of events that may come to pass in the future.

Narrative is used as a means of introducing work-place practice into the classroom context. This serves to emphasise the relevance of the lesson material to the students, thereby motivating them to learn it. This enhances the involvement of the students in the lesson, a consequence that is desirable in terms of the educational ideology operating in this setting. Stories are also used to clarify abstract legal and procedural concepts. The use of stories as a means of enhancing involvement and clarifying abstract concepts may have some favourable consequences for memory.

The use of stories in this setting may also be influenced by the wider police cultural context, a context in which the use of stories might be regarded as the manifestation of a general preference for practice over what is considered "theory". In this sense, the use of stories in the classroom may have something in common with those used in other police settings such as station canteens.

In this setting as in any other, stories are judged by their verisimilitude. The way verisimilitude is defined as referring to the cognitive and task
orientated aspects of the students' work-place experience. The way judgements of verisimilitude are applied in this setting varies according to the form of the story used and the nature of the lesson material discussed. Such judgements are more rigorously applied where the form of story used demands a relatively high attentional or emotional commitment on the part of the students and where the lesson material refers to an emotive topic.

Trainers are concerned that stories failing in their verisimilitude will have unfavourable consequences for classroom processes. These include demotivating the students and giving rise to situations in which a tide of emotion takes events beyond the control of the trainers. In a bid to minimise the possibility of these unfavourable consequences, trainers influence which stories are used in the classroom. They also influence the way the story is told when it is used and the way it is de-briefed following its use.
Chapter 6

Story Themes

Introduction

On Thursday and Friday of last week, Michael and Patrick together, using Michael’s car, commit two offences of burglary artifice (gaining access to premises by deceiving the occupier and then stealing, for example, as a bogus gas official). They are successful and obtain cash, pension books, chequebooks and credit cards.

Last Sunday night, Patrick met with Michael in a local pub. They had a heavy night drinking, celebrating their success and are planning more burglaries for this week. Patrick became friendly with a local female named Caroline.

Patrick is a drug user and in the bed-sit has a quantity of cannabis for his own use. When he moved in, Michael gave him a package to take care of. He knows that this package contains a firearm.
Both of the above items are hidden in the bed-sit, as is his remaining share of the money, a chequebook, credit card and a pension book. Patrick has used the credit card to purchase a mixed case of drink from the local off licence. The part-consumed drink is in the bed-sit.

Caroline, who is at the bed-sit when it is searched, has knowledge of the cannabis, having smoked some the night before, but no knowledge of the stolen property or the firearm. She will confirm many of the details about Michael who is missing.

Patrick will be arrested and taken to the police station for interview etc.

Michael is to be circulated as wanted, via PNC (Police National Computer), book 66 etc.

Extract 6.1

Introduction to trainers' notes for probationer Attendance 3

This chapter sets out to explore the story-themes that are used in this setting. As has been suggested in Chapter 5 of this thesis, each week long probationer attendance at the local training unit is organised by a theme. In five of the six attendances, that theme takes the form of a story
(two stories in the case of the fifth attendance). The term "story-themes" is taken to refer to the themes of these five attendances. Extract 6.1 above is an example of one such theme, another can be found in extract 5.1 on pages 120 and 121 of this thesis.

Extract 6.1 can be regarded primarily as an instance of "orientation" from the point of view of Labov's (1972) analytic scheme (as noted on pages 21 to 23). In this case, the introduction serves to orient the reader towards the story by introducing the people involved and the situation. The story then begins in the classroom with a role-play search of the accommodation occupied by one of the burglars (an example of this is shown in sequence 7.2 on pages 158 to 160). In this sense, the story theme starts where the situation described in the extract ends.

The same cannot be said for extract 5.1 on pages 115 and 116. An examination of this story theme (as set out on pages 134 and 135 below) suggests that it starts where the situation described in the extract starts (the initial investigation by the police at the scene of a burglary) and ends where the situation described in the extract ends (the paperwork completed by police after a person has been charged with an offence). This then may amount to an "abstract" because it summarises the story.

This line of reasoning suggests that the point of the stories in these extracts is different. In the case of extract 6.1, the students pick up where the introduction finishes, perhaps, filling in the other elements in Labov's
scheme (for example, the “complicating actions”). In the case of extract 5.1, the students complete the story by elaborating on the outline set out in the “abstract”.

Extract 5.1 also contains some instances of what might be coded “complicating actions”, “evaluations” and “results”. The same might be said of extract 6.1, although to a lesser extent since the “result” is to be worked out during the course of the attendance. What marks these extracts as “orientation” or “abstract” according to Labov’s scheme is a matter of context.

**Story Themes: Form**

The foundations of the story lines in probationer training themes rest either on a single continuous sequence of police procedure or a mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures. Each phase of the probationer attendance is represented as a stage in the story. Each stage consists of at least three elements: event, character and location.

The themes are founded on a single continuous sequence of police procedure in the first and third probationer attendances. The links between the stages in those themes manifest themselves in the form of common ground between at least two of the three elements.
An analysis of the story line for the first attendance is set out below:

**Attendance 1**

1. Initial investigation & scene preservation (role-play of a burglary at “2, Aitkin House”).
2. Completion of station record (exercise involving the station record of the burglary at “2, Aitkin House”).
3. Witness interview (role-play with a witness to the burglary at “2, Aitkin House”).
4. Consideration of the evidence obtained up till now (group exercise involving the consideration of all the information obtained up until now in respect of the burglary at “2, Aitkin House”).
5. Arrest and initial detention (role-play about arresting the suspect for the burglary at “2, Aitkin House”).
6. Interviewing a person suspected of crime (role-play of an interview with the person suspected as having committed the burglary at “2, Aitkin House”).
7. Summarising tape-recorded interviews (an exercise involving summarising the interview of the person suspected as having committed the burglary at “2, Aitkin House”).
8. Fingerprint and photographs (role-play of the person suspected as having committed the burglary at “2, Aitkin
House" being fingerprinted and photographed by police after having been charged).

9. Completion of case papers (exercise involving the completion of the prosecution case papers on the person suspected as having committed the burglary at “2, Aitkin House”).

10. Seizure & disposal of property (discussion concerning the disposal of the property seized by police during the investigation into the burglary at “2, Aitkin House”).

The procedures involved in police investigative practice in respect of a domestic burglary form the foundation of this story line. It begins with the police being called to the scene of a burglary, taking the necessary initial action and then moves on to investigate the offence. The person suspected of committing the burglary is subsequently identified, by virtue of this investigation, and is arrested. This individual is then interviewed by the police and charged. The attendance concludes with the post-charging process.

This theme and the first and third attendance takes a form similar to those of stories in the detective genre in that they begin with the consequence of someone’s actions and proceed to unravel the precise nature and identity of the perpetrator of those actions as the theme develops (Eagleton, 1983).
Event, location and character link the stages in the themes of the first and third attendance. For example, the event (a burglary) and the location ("2, Aitkin House") of stages 1 to 10 of the theme for the first attendance are the same while the character in the form of the person suspected of having perpetrated the event is common to stages 5 to 10 of the theme.

In contrast, the foundations of the fourth, fifth and sixth attendance are a mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures. For instance, the offences dealt with in the fourth attendance are:

- Aiding and abetting (the statutory offence)
- Drink and driving (police powers/procedure under statute law)
- Goods vehicles (statute law concerning driving licences)
- Motor vehicle crime (crime prevention and detection strategies in respect of stolen cars)
- Cabs and cab disputes (police procedure)
- Public order (statute law)
- Tension indicators (police procedure)

The links between the mixture of this material also becomes manifest in the form of common ground between the surface elements of these themes. In the case of these attendances, many of the links consist of common ground in only one element. An example of this may be found in an analysis of the fourth attendance:
1. Aiding & abetting (group paperfeed exercise in which a story about the unlawful taking of a car by three people is discussed).

2. Drink/drive procedure (group paperfeed exercise in which two of the people featured in the above story about the unlawful taking a car go to a public house and meet two other people, 'Dave' and 'Belinda'. 'Dave' is subsequently involved as a driver in a traffic accident with a goods vehicle after having had too much to drink. The story in this paperfeed exercise is then varied so that the students can consider the implications of such an accident if a police car had been involved).

3. Goods vehicles (group exercise in which the ages of all the characters featured in the aiding and abetting and drink/drive lesson are revealed and the students are tasked to research who can legitimately drive a various types of motor vehicle).

4. Motor vehicle crime (group paperfeed exercise in which it is revealed that one of the vehicles involved in the accident referred to in the drink/drive lesson is a 'ringer' - a stolen vehicle that has had its identity changed in some way).

5. Cab disputes (role-play exercise in which the person arrested for driving with too much drink in the drink/drive lesson, 'Dave',
is released from the station, catches a cab & then refuses to pay the fare).

The surface-link between stages 1 and 2 of this theme amounts to a relationship between the characters involved in each stage: the characters involved in stage 1 are friends of the characters involved in stage 2. The link between stages 1, 2 and 3 is that the characters involved in each are the same: the characters in stages 1 and 2 are used in the group exercise task for stage 3. The link between stages 2, 3 and 4 is that the stolen vehicle that forms the topic of discussion in the stage 4 exercise was also involved in the event, an accident, in which one of the characters featured in the stage 3 task was also involved. The link between stages 2, 3, 4 and 5 is that one of the characters that was involved in the event referred to in stage 2 and featured in stage 3 is subsequently involved in a dispute with a cab driver over the fare.

**Story Themes: Function and Constraint**

This section explores the trainers' views on the value and functions of the story-themes included in the probationer-training programme. In particular, the conditions in which theming is useful and not so useful is considered.
The consensus among the trainers in this setting was that story-themes only worked well when a single continuous sequence of police procedure was involved. Two broad explanations were given for this being the case, one internal to the story and the other external to it.

One trainer suggested that the value of the story could be assessed in terms of the relationship of its component parts to each other:

1. Trainer .....the theme has got to be an integral part of the story
2. so that if something happens at the beginning of the
3. week on the Monday erm is relevant to something that
4. happens on the Friday so the story is all part of it so
5. the attendance three is a classical example of
6. that.............

Sequence 6.1
Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

The criterion for considering the value of a story-theme suggested here depends on matters relating to its internal consistency, in particular, the strength of the relationship between the beginning and the end of the story. This criterion is probably related to the external criterion associated with realism (discussed below) since a judgement about the strength of the relationship between the beginning and the end of a theme may take
account of how true a representation of the students' work-place experience it is thought to be.

Criteria for considering the external value of a story-theme are far more prevalent in the interviews conducted with trainers for the purposes of this study. The first criterion amounts to the type of the subject matter that is themed, for example:

1. Trainer       ...... because it's procedural it seems to work well erm
2.                and it gives us the opportunity to explain each section
3.                erm it's like erm/ on the job training really .....  

Sequence 6.2

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

This comment suggests that the theme is likely to work if the subject matter is police procedure. Taken into account with the internal criterion of consistency, this would mean that story-themes running a single continuous sequence of police procedure are likely to be more highly valued than those that do not. Evidence of this may be found in a number of comments made by trainers, for example:

1. Trainer       It definitely has it's place in certain attendances so
2.                that you can see the theme developing over the week
The trainers interviewed for the purposes of this study suggest that the overall effect of using story-themes consisting of a single continuous sequence of police procedure was to introduce an element of realism into the classroom.

1. Trainer ... covering subjects in a way where you actually built
2. from one lesson to another giving people more
3. information and actually taking them through what was
4. logical and how they would normally progress and
5. investigation because that was essentially what it was
6. all about erm/ if they were out there doing it for real so
7. in fact it was realistic and had relevance.........

In this extract, the trainer suggests that taking students through a story-theme consisting of a single continuous sequence of police procedure simulates events likely to occur in the students' work place outside the
classroom. This point of view suggests that verisimilitude is best achieved in story themes by focusing on such a sequence of events. Such themes are considered to be "realistic" in this sense. Themes that are "realistic" have "relevance" to the student. Presenting lesson material in a form that is relevant to the students' work-place performance is often seen by trainers as a means of motivating students to learn such material by emphasising its importance to them. One of the trainers interviewed for the purposes of this study went on to say that motivating the students in this way substantially increased their level of involvement in the classroom:

1. Trainer ............................................ They can actually become
2. involved in the story because sometimes when you
3. see their work and you see them actually talking about
4. it it's as if this was a real job and sometimes it's
5. difficult to get them back to
6. reality.........................

Sequence 6.5
Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

From this perspective, the reality created by the use of story-themes based on a single continuous sequence of police procedure serve to make the classroom context relevant to the student by means of association with the work-place. This then motivates the student to learn
by conveying the implicit message that the subject matter is important to them. The trainer suggests that anecdotal evidence of the success of this tactic may be found in the degree to which students become involved in the lesson. Two further issues may well be connected with an increase in student involvement arising from the use of such story-themes. First, it may have some impact on the students’ memory processes. Second, there may be a link between methods intended to enhance involvement and the student-centred ideology operating in this setting. Both possibilities are more fully considered when the methods upon which the themes rest are discussed in the chapters that follow.

The trainers’ perceptions of story-themes founded on a mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures were altogether different. The trainers were of the view that diverse nature of the foundations of these themes was such that the story did not work, for example:

1. Trainer ................................................................. it works less
2. where you've got disjointed subjects to teach erm say
3. for instance in a particular week you've got to teach
4. handling stolen goods and criminal trespass erm
5. you've got to teach burglary and you've got to teach or
6. you've got to facilitate erm drink-drive erm now there's
7. a bit of a mix there erm there's no way that you can
8. theme that unless you've got a burglar who happens
to be a drink driver and does a bit of criminal trespass
or what ever but you know in all honesty you can't
theme that sort of material they are lessons they as
subjects which stand out in their own right

Sequence 6.6

Extract from interview with trainer B.B.

One of the trainers thought that story-themes are constructed on such foundations because those responsible for writing the probationer training curriculum (the Training Design and Research Unit at Hendon) are of the view that these kind of narratives are a good idea independently of the context in which they are located:

1. Trainer .................................................................basically it
2. appears that theming was done for its own sake in that
3. somebody has sat down and said "Well look here's a
4. list of subjects most of them relating to traffic erm let's
5. theme them" and erm so the theme is not an integral
6. part of the week it's "Oh well how can we theme this?"
7. so "How can we get from aid and abet to drink-drive?"
8. and then "How do we get from the drink-drive into the
9. erm motor vehicle crime?" and so the theme is merely
The suggestion here seems to be that story-themes are used almost indiscriminately in the writing of the Trainer's Notes. Such indiscriminate behaviour is seen to manifest itself in the links between the stages in the story:

1. Trainer .....................................................................................they don't logically develop it's just a set subject and they
2. ...................................................................................................just linked tenuously linked the subjects together
3. ...................................................................................................rather than have a theme that's developed and
4. ...................................................................................................expanded on as the week goes on

The superficial linking of fragmentary underlying material results in the stories not being credible to the trainers:

1. Trainer ...........................................................................................so my
2. complaint is that it becomes sort of almost incredible
you know these people do all these things and you know I think it's sort of almost worse than not having a theme at all because people sit there perhaps not even believing it you know "I don't know what this bloke's up to what's he going to do next?"/ and so it almost becomes unbelievable .........................

Sequence 6.9

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

Such a lack of credibility means that the reality likely to be created by the use of themes founded on diverse subject matter is unlikely to have a strong relationship with the students' experience of the work place outside the classroom. From this point of view, the lack of relevance between classroom reality and work experience is hardly likely to involve the students in the lessons or motivate them to learn the subject matter. Such a lack of motivation is seen by some as being positively destructive to the classroom process:

1. Trainer ........................................................................................................putting theming
2. ..................................................................................................................into an attendance where you're actually delivering
3. ..................................................................................................................quite different material can often make it unrealistic
4. ..................................................................................................................and therefore it actually detracts from what you're trying to do because what you're actually using for
5. ..................................................................................................................material for theming is pretty far fetched at some
7. stages/ so therefore it actually detracts from the
8. realism of what you're trying to get over and personally
9. I actually feel that the students perhaps could get quite
10. fed up because they don't see it as what's going on or
11. likely to go on

Sequence 6.10

Extract from interview with trainer I.O.

One of the trainers thought that the effect of a lack of credibility in story-themes in which a variety of material was superficially linked was that it was likely to concentrate the minds of the students on the theme rather than on the material underpinning it:

1. Trainer ...... there's things like in attendance five/ you know
2. they are tenuous links and so they become less
3. plausible I mean you find probationers sitting there
4. saying "What's the purpose of suggesting this theme
5. why can't it just stand by itself"/ and so end up with the
6. probationers debating about the theme rather than
7. concentrating on the issues

Sequence 6.11

Extract from interview with trainer N.W.
In general, the trainers are of the view that story-themes founded on a mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures do not work. In these circumstances, the themes may well remain unused. There are, however, some concerns about the credibility of some elements of those story themes founded on a single continuous sequence of police procedure, notably, in respect of the first attendance. In these circumstances, the theme is adapted to make it appear more credible:

1. Trainer                      I mean there's one problem with attendance one and their link is erm they're going along investigating a crime report and suddenly they get they're told "As a result of an anonymous phone call you're told that this burglary was done by Harry Bloggs" you know and that just sort of sticks out as being totally false because that just doesn't happen erm so we've always had it that erm the two crime reports are matched up for the first time and you get two part indexes and they link up erm through the P.N.C. now you can do multiple checks and that gives you a registered keeper so that is much more believable.....

Sequence 6.12

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.
From this trainer’s point of view, the story-theme to the first attendance has been adapted to make it more “believable”. What is believable in this context depends on the perceived strength of the association between what happens in the classroom and what happens in the workplace. Another trainer also suggested that the general principles on which the subject matter itself is based might exert some constraints on the nature of the story that is told:

1. Trainer ................................................ on attendance one the
2. way in which they theme that is that eventually erm/ or
3. they're told or there's supposed to be some
4. connection between a burglary and a suspect and the
5. only connection is anonymous information and the
6. instructions are that they should then go and arrest
7. this suspect and quite categorically without doing more
8. legwork they would be making an unlawful arrest
9. because they've by no means been given any
10. reasonable grounds erm/ so in fact essentially we just
11. stuck with the old way in which we did it in which we'd
12. used you know various statements and put them
13. together ..............................................

Sequence 6.13

Extract from interview with trainer I.O.
Given that police officers are supposed to adhere to the law, this view may be another way of suggesting that a story-theme needs to be credible.

**Summary**

The foundations of the story-themes used in this setting vary. The themes in five of the six probationer attendances amount to a story. Two of them are founded on a single continuous sequence of police procedure; the remaining three are founded on a mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures. They may be thought of as consisting of at least three elements: character, event and location. Links between the stages those themes founded on a single continuous sequence of police procedure consist of common ground between at least two of those elements, while links between the stages in the remaining themes consist mainly of common ground between only one such element.

Trainers consider the value of a story-theme with reference to internal and external evaluative criteria. The internal evaluative criteria relate to the internal consistency of the story-theme. This includes a judgement of the extent to which the beginning of the story on the first day of the attendance relates to the end of the story on the last day. Such a
judgement may take account of the relationship between the events in the story and events likely to occur in the students' work place, an external evaluative criterion.

External evaluative criteria used by trainers consist of judgements concerning the relationship of the theme to events in the students' work place. These judgements include an assessment of whether the theme is founded on a single continuous sequence of police procedure or a mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures. Themes founded on a single continuous sequence of police procedure are deemed to be more credible than those founded on mixture of offences contrary to statute law and shorter police procedures as a result of the stronger relationship between them and events likely to occur in the students' work-place.

Story-themes having a strong relationship with events likely to occur in the work place are thought of as having more relevance to the students. More relevant story-themes are thought to motivate the students to learn by conveying the implicit message that the subject matter is important to them. Anecdotal evidence of such motivation may be found in the degree to which the students can become involved in the lessons. Enhanced student involvement might have some impact on memory processes. It might also be consistent with the student-centred ideology operating in this setting. Both these issues are more fully discussed in the chapters that follow.
Story-themes having a weaker relationship with events likely to occur in the workplace are thought to de-motivate the students and to provide a source of distraction from the lesson material.

Trainers control themes by acting as gatekeepers to the classroom setting. Themes lacking the necessary verisimilitude are adapted where it is possible and discarded where it is not.
Introduction

Dave has been released from the police station at 1 am and takes a licensed hackney carriage home.

Now role-play the incident using the role-play sheets.

Dave

Background

You have been released from the police station at 1 am and have hired a licensed hackney carriage to take you home. During the journey you notice that the driver seems to be taking you along roads that you are not familiar with. The cab then draws up at your home.
Viewpoint

You decide you are not going to pay as you think that the driver took a round about route. You do not want to make a fuss but feel quite strongly about this. Explain to the police officer the circumstances if asked and provide any details that are requested. You are willing to pay what would have been the correct amount if a direct route had been taken.

Cab Driver

Background

You picked up this fare outside the local police station and have brought him to his house. You decided to take a round about route avoiding the high street because of a burst water main in the area.

Viewpoint

You are annoyed at the fare for refusing to pay. You want the officer to arrest the man. Explain your round about route if asked.
You are called to a residential street to deal with a disturbance between a cab driver and his fare.

Extract 7.1

Role-play sheets for Phase 5 of the “Trainer’s Notes” for Probationer Attendance 4

This chapter sets out to examine how role-plays are used in this setting. As suggested in Chapter 5 of this thesis, role-plays form a significant proportion of the methods advocated by the Training Design and Research Unit (T.D.R.U.) in the trainers' notes they provide for each probationer attendance.

The T.D.R.U. not only advocate the use of role-plays but also provide the material necessary to conduct them in the trainers' notes, extract 7.1 above is an example of this. The story themes referred to in the last chapter are then revealed to the students though the use of material such as this.
Role-Plays: Form

The role-plays used in this setting consist of three stages: introduction, activity and debriefing. In the introduction stage the trainer sets the scene for the role-play. This might take the form of a brief introduction to the topic in question followed by a short briefing for the role-players and the observers. Alternatively, it might be far more extensive and include some modelling by the trainer of the kind of behaviour she or he expects of the role-players, for example:

1. Trainer You need someone in charge
2. (S.H.) don't you?/ of your search/
3. and this will form part of
4. your briefing/ when you're
5. talking about erm/ the method/
6. whatever/ individual person's
7. roles/ you need someone in
8. charge/ "I am the person in
9. charge of this operation
10. anything that goes on in there
11. is to go on through me/
12. I don't take an active part in
13. what's going on I'm just
14. overseeing it and "/ what's
15. that you're dribbling/
16. chomping at the bit there he
17. was/ "O.K. I'm the person
18. that's in overall charge/ I'm
19. not going to take a physical
20. part in what's going on/ I'll
21. just be standing there/ I'll
22. just be watching/ anything
23. that you want to ask about you
24. come through me/ O.K.?/ That's
25. my role/ you are the arresting
26. officer you go in and make
27. sure that/ if there is someone
28. in there/ that person is
29. arrested and secured by
30. whatever means it takes/ O.K.?/
31. You are going to be standing
32. at the door .........................

Trainer (S.H.) addresses student (C.H.)

Sequence 7.1

Extract from “Charlie 3” Class

This sequence took place prior to one of the students role-playing briefing a team of officers about to search private premises with a search warrant. It was preceded by a lesson on search warrants and was
located in the context of a story-theme centring on the police investigation of a burglary. The trainer models the behaviour he considers to be appropriate for an officer conducting a briefing in these circumstances. In doing this, the trainer maintains an element of control over the role-play; the issue of control will be discussed later on in this chapter.

The number of participants and extent of the activity in the next stage of role-plays varies from a single student standing in front of the rest of the class and role-playing a briefing to two students recording an allegation of a burglary to a larger number of students actively involved in searching private premises. An extract from a more complex role-play involving a larger number of students is set out below:

1. Student Jimmy O'Reilly/ O.K. Jimmy I've
2. (G.C.) got a warrant here to search these
3. premises in connection with two
4. burglary artifice that occurred at
5. thirty six Albert Road South
6. Norwood [ 
   [ 
7. Trainer [ Yeah yeah [ 
   (R.M.) [ 
   [ 
8. Student [ You are
9. (G.C.) under arrest on suspicion of

10. burglary [ [ ]

11. Trainer [ Yeah yeah [ ]

   (R.M.) [ ]

12. Student [ You do not ]

13. (G.C.) have to say anything but if you do

14. not say something now which you

15. later rely on for your defence in

16. court

17. Student O.K. stand up slowly mate

   (S.P.)

18. Student We're just going to handcuff you

   (D.T.)

   Trainer (R.M.)'s right arm and helps him to
   his feet. As trainer
(R.M.) stands up, Student (G.H.) takes his left arm.

19. Trainer Yeah (R.M.)
Students (S.P.) & (D.T.) place trainer (R.M.)'s hands behind his back but do not actually handcuff him.

Sequence 7.2

Extract from "Purple 3" Class
This role-play took place following another role-play in which one of the
students briefed a team of officers going to search private premises
under the authority of a search warrant. In this instance, seven students
play the different roles that make up a search team (for example, the
arresting officer and the searching officer). The person arrested during
the search is role-played by a trainer. In these circumstances, the trainer
is well placed to exert some influence over events taking place in the
role-play. Another way in which trainers might influence role-play
situations is by manipulating the physical layout of the setting. This also
varies from being minimal as in the instance of a single student role-
playing a briefing to being quite extensive as in the case of a burglary or
private premises to be searched. The issue of control will be taken up
more fully later on in this chapter.

The debriefing of role-plays was more standardised in the probationer
training classes observed for the purposes of this study. Each debriefing
session observed followed the same pattern:

(i) Trainer elicits feedback from the student participant(s) to the
role-play activity.

(ii) Trainer comments on the feedback from the student
participant(s) to the role-play activity.
(iii) Trainer elicits feedback from the student observers to the role-play activity.

(iv) Trainer comments on the feedback from the student observers to the role-play activity.

The trainer sometimes follows this sequence with an invitation to any other trainer involved in the role-play for their comments (this varies according to the degree to which the other trainer has already commented on the role-play activity during the debriefing from the students).

An example of the beginning of the third stage of a debriefing sequence is set out below:

1. Trainer Yeah (....)// O.K. first two on the right what was your remit what
2. (P.B.) was on your little card?
3. Student To see how they reviewed and established their priorities erm
4. we thought it was good they
5. gathered all the evidence
6. together and listed it and erm the
7. times (......) [
10. Trainer [ (........) was good in
11. (P.B.) the way they reported it and deal
12. with it?
13. Student 1 Yeah I think so erm get a list of
14. what's missing once you've seen
15. what evidence you've got that's
16. the important one try and prevent
17. yourself from destroying any
18. evidence

Sequence 7.3
Extract from “Echo 1” Class

In this sequence, the trainer controls the debriefing from the student
observers by virtue of having previously allocated them specific aspects
of the activity stage to focus on. The trainer then simply asks the
students to focus on the aspects of the role-play they were asked to pay
attention to. The practice of focusing observers in this way was particular
to this role-play, while the debriefing in the other role-plays observed
during this research followed the stages set out above, the debriefing
from student observers was not so explicitly focused.
Having described the elements that make up role-plays in this setting, this chapter will now consider functions served by this training technique.

**Role-Plays: Function and Constraint**

The role-plays used in this setting were viewed as being linked to the ideology of student centred learning (see Chapter 4 of this thesis). An example of this may be found in sequence 4.1 on page 107 above. Here the trainer suggests that the use of role-plays is one of the ways in which a student-centred ideology can be made manifest in the classroom. The trainer goes on to indicate that the trainer need only perform a minor role when methods such as role-plays are used and that the greater role that arises for the students as a result of this means that they are more involved in the classroom process.

Two issues arise from this consideration of extract 4.1: student involvement and trainer control. Both issues featured highly in the interviews conducted with trainers for the purpose of this research.

**Student Involvement and Verisimilitude**

The idea that role-plays might lead to greater involvement on the part of the students is inextricably linked to the view that they must have a
strong relationship with their experience of work outside the classroom, for example:

1. Trainer .................................. I think that the rule that they've got to 
2. follow is to keep it normal keep it a story that could 
3. happen to anybody and then I think that people will 
4. accept and perhaps you know it would be more 
5. believable what's the word? They can actually 
6. become involved in the story because sometimes 
7. when you see their work and you see them actually 
8. talking about it it's as if this was a real job and 
9. sometimes it's difficult to get them back to reality 
10. and see "Well you know this is only 
11. training"..........................

Sequence 7.4

Extract from Interview with trainer N.J.

In this extract the trainer expresses the view that role-plays are likely to involve the students if the subject matter of role-plays deal with events likely to occur in the working experience of the students. Role-plays about such working experience seem to have the potential to involve the students in way that engages the use of the imagination to such an extent that the trainer may experience difficulty in encouraging them to return to the classroom context.
The potential impact stories have on imagination may be a feature of storytelling that includes the creation of mental images, mental images that might support memory storage and retrieval processes. This issue is taken up further in the chapters that follow.

Involving the students in the lesson by the use of role-plays may also serve to motivate them to actively participate in the classroom process resulting in them treating it as if it is a "real job". The trainers value such active participation because is seen as being consistent with their student-centred ideology.

The kind of role-plays that can be used is, however, limited by their verisimilitude (Bruner, 1986). The yardstick for verisimilitude in this setting is events that the trainers consider are likely to be encountered by the students in their working environment outside the confines of the classroom. The implication of this view is that involvement amounts to something more than the physical context, more than simply standing up and doing something, it operates in the mental domain. In this sense, the context of the role-play, as with other classroom events, is a mental or rather an intermental one (Edwards and Mercer, 1987) in which shared knowledge is treated as a matter of "pragmatic intersubjectivity" (Edwards, 1997) and is analysed in terms of what the participants orient their talk to and how and when they do it (as suggested on page 49 of this thesis).
Even when role-plays do fall within the range of verisimilitude that trainers consider acceptable, there is still an acknowledgement of the limited nature of their relationship to the world outside the classroom. Evidence for this may be found in some of the classroom transcripts compiled for the purposes of this research, for example, the following sequence took place when a trainer was asked for his comments about a role-play, in which he had played a role, during a debriefing sequence:

1. Trainer (P.B.) Sergeant R.R. how was it for
2. (P.B.) you? Students and trainers laugh.
3. Trainer Well they did very well erm
4. (R.R.) bearing in mind that it is a false situation it's a role-play situation
5. and there's thirteen other people
6. watching you so it's not easy .......

Sequence 7.5
Extract from "Echo 1" Class

In this sequence a trainer acknowledges to the students that the very act of role-playing in a classroom gives rise to a situation that is necessarily limited in its relationship to events outside the classroom. This view was
expressed even more succinctly by one of the trainers interviewed during this research:

1. Trainer ............................................yeah limited use of them is quite
2. ...........................................valuable but at the end of the day you're stuck in a
3. ...........................................classroom yeah on the fifth floor of A.H. and you're
4. ...........................................not out there on the streets............................

Sequence 7.6
Extract from interview with trainer I.O.

Such views on the limitations of role-plays are echoed by one of the trainers interviewed in Fielding's (1988) study of police probationer training in Derbyshire when she or he says:

"You cannot effectively play roles because they know it's acting and they act back." (Fielding, 1988 p.74).

This suggests that trainers are faced with an ideological dilemma in which role-plays are one and at the same time thought to have value in introducing work-place practice into the classroom and at the same time to be of limited value in being able to do so.

As noted above, role-plays are seen as being most useful when they have a close relationship with events likely to be experienced by the
students in their place of work (for example, sequence 7.4 above). The more successful role-plays in this respect tend to be regarded as those located in the larger narrative framework of a "good" story theme, for example:

1. Researcher O.K. What about role-plays/ do they have any
value do you think?

2.

3. Trainer Yeah they can be erm attendance 3 within that
theme they are useful because erm the theme in
attendance 3 develops to the execution of a
warrant and search of premises erm it is useful
and that is as a role-play it's done as a role-
play here where they actually go in and search
the premises with the warrant and that is useful
because it is a culmination of the theme and it's a
within the within the theme part of it/ it's less
useful if you're just I think if erm in those stand
alone sections erm.............................

Sequence 7.7

Extract from interview with trainer N.W.

As has been suggested in Chapter 6 of this thesis, the better story-
themes are those that seem to have a higher degree of internal
consistency between events in the story and follow a story-line having a stronger relationship with events likely to be experienced by the students in the work-place. The effect of this is that role-plays taking placed in the first and third probationer attendance are regarded as having greater value than those occurring in the other attendances.

Role-plays that did not meet the standards of verisimilitude in this setting are sometimes adapted. For example:

1. Trainer ..................I tailor my lesson my lesson to dealing with the practical aspects of that subject much more than the very theoretical aspects trying to adapt the theory as much as possible to practice so that it becomes relevant for the students they see it and because they see it's relevant hopefully they then are interested and then when it actually comes out to the work place the training has some impact

10. Researcher When you say "adapt the material" erm/ how do you go about actually adapting it?

12. Trainer Erm well for instance the Hendon package will do/ has asked you to do a role-play so take the robbery for example/ you do a role-play with an
armed robbery at the scene of an armed robbery

with a victim and erm the role-play then leads

erm asks the police officer to role-play how they

would treat the victim and so on and the follow

up steps to that armed robbery dealing with the

road checks for example setting up a road check

well in my experience erm after an armed

robbery road checks are never set up any way

erm/ most probationers are aware of the

fundamentals of preserving scenes of crime and

dealing with victims because that's what they do

a lot of anyway be it burglary or whatever you

know they're preserving scenes and dealing with

victims all the time erm/ so that's the Hendon

slant on robbery as well as dealing with the

points to prove so I took it and thought "Well how

much of this do I think is relevant" and "How

much how can I use that time on the same

subject to better effect so I took the robbery

lesson still did the points to prove but then

centred around looking at street robbery instant

confrontations/ street identification erm and so

on/ that's like I said adapting a lesson the same
In this sequence, the trainer explains that he has adapted a role-play about robberies that was written by the Training Design and Research Unit at Hendon because the inclusion of investigative considerations such as the setting up of a road block (referred to by the police as a “road check”) had little bearing on his experience in dealing with allegations of robbery. Taken together with sequence 7.4, above, it might be reasonable to suggest that the potential consequences of this might be a lack of relevance would give rise to a lack of student involvement. This in turn might have failed to motivate the students or stimulate their imagination. In these circumstances, it is, perhaps, not surprising that the trainer substituted a consideration of identification procedures for something more likely to occur in instances of robbery in his experience. This then might be taken as an instance in which the general concept of verisimilitude is used to adapt a story so as to make it appropriate to the purposes for which it is used. This analysis tends to support Gerrig’s (1994) criticism of Baumeister and Newman’s (1994) claims about the distinction between paradigmatic and narrative modes of thought (as outlined in Chapter 1 of this thesis).
In other cases, comment was made to the students in the classroom on aspects of role-plays that the trainers considered as having little relationship to their experience of events in the work place:

1. Trainer ......you can't both go in there
2. Trainer and sort of fight you've got to
3. Trainer decide your roles before you go
4. Trainer in/ before you went in did you
5. Trainer actually discuss it?

6. Student No it just became apparent

7. Trainer It just became apparent as you
8. Trainer went on?

9. Student Yeah I think it was a thing we
10. Student were told not to discuss when
11. Student we were at Hendon to make it
12. Student more realistic

13. Trainer Right was that purely for role-
14. Trainer play or what?

15. Student Do you mean the don't discuss
This sequence took place during the debriefing stage of a role-play in which two officers had attended the scene of a burglary. When asked by the trainer about the practice of officers not negotiating their respective roles prior to going to report such an incident (lines 4 to 8), a student claims that the trainers suggested such a practice was “more realistic” during their initial recruit training at Hendon (lines 9 to 12). When confronted with this version of what is “realistic”, the trainer challenges it.
by appealing first to the students' and then to her own experience of these events (lines 20 to 24). It seems then that, in common with this setting, verisimilitude is achieved during the students' initial training by relating the story to events in the work place. What seems to be at issue in this particular instance is the accuracy of that relationship.

A consideration of the final probationer attendance suggests that the relationship between verisimilitude and involvement is not a simple one. On one hand, the content of one of the role-plays advocated by the Training Design and Research Unit at Hendon is regarded as having a rather poor relationship with events likely to be experienced by the students outside the classroom. On the other hand, it is viewed as having the potential to involve the students to such an extent that the emotional issues arising from it might pose a considerable threat to trainer control, for example:

1. Trainer ................................................ asking a probationer
2. to come in and role-play something they've never
3. dealt with before and again a classic example of that
4. is in attendance six where they talk about in the
5. children and young persons element they suggest that
6. you do a role-play for that erm you know someone erm
7. a child having been abused by the stepfather and they
8. suggest that we consider using role-play and getting
9. the probationers to act out the mother the father and
the child and a police officer to go and report it/ and to
me that's just apart from the fact that it's totally fraught
with failure erm and emotions and experience and
background it's just it's just something that hey wont
deal with it's totally new to them and it's just not
realistic to me anyway and they've told me so I've had
many a discussion with them about it and in that area
I've dismissed it because it's just not on/ it's not
something I'd do or ask my fellow trainers to do

Researcher When you say "them" do you mean the debriefing that
you've given to the people who wrote the [ Yeah the
T.D.R.U./ they've told me that apparently a local
trainer suggested it in this forum where they put all the
work together where they themed it and put all the
suggested methods together erm they tell me that a
local training unit undisclosed but a local training unit
are using it suggested it and found it highly useful erm
but they did put the counter into it that it's only if you're
happy with it erm and I mean to me I'm probably
going off the point now but to me you don't know what
experiences these people have had erm and I could
be asking someone who has been abused as a child
to erm be standing up there and role-playing a
sexually abused child and I mean that's just far too
deep for my probationer training syllabus erm I think I
could open up a hornet's nest that I wouldn't be able
or qualified to deal with erm so that's why I've
dismissed it

Sequence 7.10
Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

In this extract, the trainer suggests that a role-play about an instance in
which a police officer is called upon to report an allegation of child abuse
is well beyond the experience of the students. She then goes on to
indicate that the role-play could, never-the-less, give rise to a great deal
of emotional involvement on the part of the students. This then
represents an ideological dilemma for the trainer. On one hand, role-
plays can be used as a means of facilitating student involvement in a
lesson. Such a method is, therefore, consistent with the ideology of
student involvement operating in this setting. On the other hand, role-
plays can involve students emotionally in the lesson to the extent that the
trainer might lose control of the process. Under these circumstances it
is, perhaps, not surprising that trainers deploy the kind of controls
discussed in the next section and in the chapters that follow. It is in this
way that the dilemmatic themes of individual freedom and social control
operating in the "common sense" of wider society (Billig et al., 1988) are played out in this setting.

While sequence 7.10, above, suggests that the relationship between verisimilitude in a role-play and the involvement of the students' in it is not a simple one, it should be noted that the child abuse lesson was the only one of which the trainers expressed this type of concern. The emotive nature of the topic itself is seen as having the potential to involve the students to a degree likely to take the events in the classroom beyond the control of the trainer. Such a potential is likely to be accentuated in the event of a student having previously been the victim of child abuse. This sequence (and sequence 7.12 below) suggest that a rather narrow definition of verisimilitude is being used in this setting. Such a definition seems to exclude the affective aspects of work-place reality, focusing instead on cognitive task-orientated processes. As has been suggested in Chapter 4 of this thesis, the focus on the cognitive aspects of experience arises from the objectives set out in the curriculum and wider police cultural influences. In these circumstances, it seems that the subject matter of a role-play can be seen both as failing to meet the criterion of verisimilitude as it is defined in this setting and as being likely to give rise to a sense of life-likeness beyond the control of the trainer.

The idea that the kind of role-plays that are used should be limited to events likely to occur in the students' work place is associated not only
with the verisimilitude of the story but also with a more general constructionist view of the need to move from the known to the unknown when learning:

1. Trainer Erm again it has its uses and it has uses in a practical realistic situation erm to give somebody a role-play on completely new material I think is unfair because it's not something that they're used to dealing with you're really challenging them erm/ yeah to me I would go with it more for something where you're trying to increase their knowledge from something they already know about rather then to actually give them a completely new subject that they possibly haven't had any knowledge of before and then say "Right there you are deal with it" erm/ some would say as police officers that you should be able to do that anyway but well yes you can but you wouldn't do it with the entire world standing on criticising erm/ it's a false type of environment in a way

Sequence 7.11

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

In this extract, the trainer suggests that a role-play should develop material that is familiar to the student. From this point of view, the use of
role-plays embracing material that is unfamiliar to the students is not only fails to meet the criterion of verisimilitude but is also inconsistent with a constructionist view of learning. Such a lack of familiarity with events in the world of work outside the classroom was also seen as a problem by some of the trainers featured in Fielding’s (1988) study of the recruit phase of probationer training in Derbyshire because the students:

‘... don’t really know what they’re doing yet and (are) acting out situations when they don’t know the context.’ (Fielding, 1988 p.73).

It seems then that some trainers adopt a constructionist view in suggesting that role-plays are most effective when they are used as means of helping the students to move from what they already know to what they should know. The use of the role-play as with other stories may, in these circumstances, be seen as a means of structuring the passage of some students through zones of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978).

**Role-Plays: Control**

The use role-plays that do not fall within the range of verisimilitude for this kind of story in this setting is seen as having the potential to create a situation in which the trainer might lose control of events in the classroom. The principal threat here is perceived as being one in which
the students might irretrievably deviate from the prescribed script of the role-play:

1. .........................so role-plays in themselves I see as you know well again a bit like some of the things that
2. I've said about theming they actually detract from the message and there's a good chance that if you're
3. talking about just allowing people to act as they find which is a sort of true role-play isn't it that you know
4. the point'll be missed completely I mean at my early stages of training I actually tried to do this and it just
5. completely didn't work I mean in the station officer scenarios trying to get people to play individuals of a certain type and how they got dealt with and as far as I was concerned after they'd finished I just thought it was a waste of time erm/ you might as well get them to deal with factual situations you know based on what they're going to have to deal with so at least they're dealing with well at least they're learning what they have to do rather than some sort of touchy feely kind of thing

Sequence 7.12

Extract from interview with trainer I.O.
In this extract, as in sequence 7.12 above, the concern of the trainer is that unless the students are role-playing something that is firmly grounded in their work-place experience, the emotional element of the role-play is likely to go beyond the control of the trainer to the point that the objectives for the lesson are not met.

Trainers seek to tackle the issue of control in two ways. The first way in which this is done is by either rejecting, adapting or qualifying centrally written role-plays that fail to fall within the range for verisimilitude considered appropriate in this context (as is suggested, for example, in sequences 7.8, 7.9 and 7.10 above). The second way in which trainers seek to control role-plays is by influencing the course of the role-play itself. This takes place during all three stages of the role-play. The trainer influences events in the introduction stage by setting the scene for the role-play. Setting the scene for a role-play may be confined to a verbal introduction and briefing. An example of this may be found in sequence 7.1 above.

The importance of verbally introducing role-plays was emphasised by one of the trainers interviewed for the purposes of this research:
Setting the scene sometimes includes arranging the physical setting in which the role-play is to take place as well as a verbal introduction. For example, in one of the classes observed, the trainers carefully set up a room to resemble the scene of a crime prior to a role-play taking place about reporting domestic burglary. This included attention to such detail as the spilling of some talcum powder and the making of a foot print in it.

The second way in which trainers control role-plays is by influencing the course of events during the activity stage. This is done by the use of trainers as role actors. All the role-plays that were observed for the purposes of this research included at least one trainer in their cast. In these circumstances, the trainer was in a position to influence events so that particular learning points could be brought out for later discussion when the role-play was de-briefed. An example of this is set out below:

1. Trainer: Can I go to the toilet?
   Students: (R.M.)
   (A.M.)
2. **Student**  
Wait until we've searched (G.H.)

and (G.H.)

move over to the television

and start to search the cabinet under it.

Sequence 7.14

Extract from "Purple 3" Class

This sequence took place during a role-play in which one of the trainers had adopted the role of a man who had been arrested and detained at his address while a team of officers was searching it under the authority of a search warrant. In this extract the trainer asks if he can go to the toilet during the course of the search. Events like this might pose a dilemma for officers searching premises. On the one hand it is unreasonable for the police to keep a person arrested by them in a greater state of discomfort than is absolutely necessary. On the other hand, allowing a detained person to go to the toilet might put him or her in a better position to effect an escape or to allege that evidence has been fabricated against them in their absence. By asking to go to the toilet, the trainer is able to put this particular point on the agenda for discussion during the subsequent debriefing stage:
1. Trainer  What about “I want to go for a

2. (K.P.)  piss/ I want to go for a piss/ look

3.  I want to sit down”/ is that a

4.  reasonable request?

5. Student  Yeah

6. Trainer  Yeah (..........) officer safety and

7. (K.P.)  also evidence .........................

Sequence 7.15

Extract from “Purple 3” Class

While it may be the case that a student acting the part of a detained person in this role-play could have been briefed to ask to go to the lavatory, the potential problems of a student not being able to remember the large number of points to be brought out by the person acting this role and the propensity that role-plays have to “detract from the message” by “allowing people to act as they find” (sequence 7.12 above) might be mitigated by the trainer taking a greater control over events by actively participating in the script.

Finally, trainers influence the de-briefing stage of the role-play in two ways. First, as is suggested above, all de-briefing stages follow the same trainer-controlled sequence of events involving feedback from the students followed by a commentary on that feedback from the trainer.
Second, students observing role-plays are sometimes given specific aspects of the activity to look at and subsequently comment on by the trainer (for example, as is suggested in sequence 7.3, above).

**Summary**

Role-plays may be said to consist of three distinct stages: introduction, activity and de-briefing. The introduction may be either long or short and, in some instances, includes modelling of the kind of behaviour favoured by the trainer. The activity stage may involve single or multiple student role-players. The de-briefing stage involves an invariant pattern of events consisting of elicited student feedback and trainer commentary.

In terms of function, role-plays may be linked to the prevailing student-centred training ideology in this setting because they are seen as one means of encouraging greater student involvement. Role-plays having a close relationship with events likely to be encountered by the students in their work place are thought more likely to be successful in terms of involvement. This is particularly true in the case of role-plays located in the larger narrative framework of the story-themes that have a close relationship with events likely to be encountered by the students in their work place. Student involvement is seen as being consistent with the student centred ideology prevailing in this setting and may well have consequences in terms of motivation and the use of the imagination.
Verisimilitude acts as a constraint on the kind of role-plays used in this setting, role-plays advocated by those charged with writing the centrally prescribed syllabus that do not conform to it are either rejected, adapted or qualified by the trainers.

The relationship between verisimilitude and involvement is by no means a simple one as is suggested by a consideration of the role-plays advocated for the final probationer attendance at the local training centre. In this attendance the subject matter, child abuse, is thought of as lacking verisimilitude and yet being likely to emotionally involve the students in the lesson to such an extent that events in the classroom might get well beyond the control of the trainer. It seems that subject matter having emotive connotations in wider society may exert an influence on involvement beyond the limited definition of verisimilitude operating in this setting because it may bring a reality from outside the working experience of the students into the classroom.

The broader notion of giving the students the opportunity to “act as they find” (sequence 7.12, above) is also seen as being likely to give rise to a situation in which events in the classroom may get beyond the control of the trainer. Such events are thought likely to “detract from the message” of the lesson. In these circumstances, the concern is that the role-play will not have a strong enough relationship with events likely to be experienced by the students in their work place.
In this sense, the issue of trainer control is inextricably linked with the working definition of verisimilitude used in this setting. Trainer control is threatened when there is a possibility that realities falling outside this definition will be brought into the classroom.

Trainers seek to maintain control of role-plays in two ways. First, the trainers apply their definition of verisimilitude to the role-play to assess whether it has a relationship with what the students are likely to experience in the workplace. Those failing to fulfil this criterion are rejected, adapted or qualified. Second, trainers are involved in influencing events at all three stages of the role-play from setting the scene verbally and physically in the introduction to participating as actors in the activity to carefully structuring the debriefing.
Introduction

Danny works in a local garage. One evening he takes a set of car keys from the garage belonging to a vehicle being serviced. Later that evening, Danny gives the keys to his brother Jason. Jason knows that the car is not Danny’s and he takes the car from the garage forecourt. He then picks up his friend Julie from her house. Jason tells her that the car is Danny’s and that he has borrowed it with Danny’s permission.

Discuss what offences appear to have been committed. Give reasons for your answers.

Extract 8.1

Case study from “Trainer’s Notes” to Phase 1 Probationer Attendance 4
This chapter sets out to explore the use of case studies in this setting. As suggested in Chapter 5 of this thesis, case studies, along with role-plays, form a significant proportion of the methods advocated in the trainers' notes for each probationer attendance.

As in the case of role-plays, the Training Design and Research Unit not only advocate the use of case studies but also provide the material necessary to conduct them in the trainers' notes, extract 8.1 above is an example of this.

**Case Studies: Form**

Like role-plays, case studies take place over three stages: introduction, activity and debriefing. In the introduction stage, the trainer introduces the topic. Introductions consist of two parts. First, the trainer gives the students a lengthy account of the topic forming the substance of the lesson, for example:

1. Trainer O.K. if you want to finish off your
2. (N.W.) evaluations later/ this morning we're
3. going to be looking at firearms erm
4. we'll just quickly run through the little
5. bits and bobs like definitions and the
6. kind of thing that you said yesterday
you wanted to go over and then I've

got some case studies for you to look

at erm which go into the legislation a

bit more erm they are everyday

occurrences erm everyday incidents

that have happened/ there's five of

them and they're all they're all real

incidents they're not necessarily true

but they were written around real

incidents erm so that's what's

happening this morning erm/ you

might have noticed this fancy machine

here of course erm and it erm and Trainer (N.W.)

I'm trying something completely points to

different today so if it doesn't go computer that

quite according to plan could you bear is connected

with me/? And that what we're doing/ to an over

all right/? Firearms/ erm what's the head projector

definition of a firearm? (OHP).

Student A lethal barrelled weapon from which

(C.R.) a shot or bullet may be fired or a

missile can be discharged (…)

Trainer A lethal barrelled weapon from which
Any shot bullet or missile can be discharged and what does it include?

Sequence 8.1

Extract from "Brown 5" Class

This sequence took place as part of the introduction to a lesson on the legislation surrounding firearms. After introducing the lesson (lines 1 to 9), the trainer tells the students that the lesson will include the use of case studies. He takes care when doing this to suggest that the events reported in these case studies are "everyday incidents that have happened" (lines 11 to 12) and that they are "real" (lines 12 and 15). Suggestions such as these serve to orient the participants towards verisimilitude in this setting. In orienting the participants towards verisimilitude, these suggestions convey the impression that the case study is relevant to the students' experience in the work place. In so doing, they imply that the point of using the case study is that the situation described is relevant to students' performance in the work place. In Labov's (1972) terms, it might be said that suggestions such as these serve as a means of "evaluation". The trainer moves on to discuss the definition of a firearm (lines 24 to 31) and considers of a number of other definitions appearing in firearms' legislation (after this extract), before concluding with the second and much shorter element of the introduction stage:
O.K. right I've got some case studies for you/ there are five of them and I'm going to split you into pairs to do this so perhaps Martin and Colin and then we'll need a three// Right now I'll ask you to look at the scenarios erm often hands out the that ask you what offences may have been committed erm you might want to refer to your white notes there are some other reference material available to you over here erm one of them is called "Weapon's Law" it's points to desk quite big and goes into case history by window as well erm Butterworths if you want with books on them erm I don't mind where you go it. it's completely erm they might take you a fair while because some of them are quite detailed and I want you to look at the legislation so that when we come back we can go through the points to prove and find out where the offences are so erm there you go use the reference material grab a cup of
This second part of an introduction to a case study consists of the administrative directions from the trainer governing the conduct of the exercise. The students are asked to form small groups and then research a series of case studies using support material from their pre-reading material and other more general sources with a view to establishing which criminal offences appear to have been committed in them.

The activity stage of case studies in this setting consists of the students taking the case studies away in small groups and researching the questions asked of them. They do this with a view to providing an answer during the de-briefing stage that follows. A typical example of such a case study is set out below:

You stop a young woman and decide to search her. In her hand you find a small lemon jiff bottle with the hole enlarged. The bottle is empty but she admits that it did contain ammonia which she carried in self defence. You also find in her pocket a live 303 bullet which she says was given by a friend so she could make it into a pendant for a necklace.
What are you going to do?

Extract 8.2
Case Study from “Red 5” and “Brown 5” Classes

This case study was one of five presented to the students during the lessons about firearms’ legislation. In this example, the students are presented with a story about a woman being stopped by the police while she is in possession of two articles that might come within the scope of this legislation. The question “what are you going to do?” is one that is commonly used in case studies in this setting. As a result, many case studies might be coded as “orientation” using Labov’s (1972) analytic scheme (like the story-theme set out in extract 6.1 on pages 130 and 131). In this sense, the situation contained in the case study acts as the starting point for classroom talk concerning how the matter is to be dealt with. Since case studies as set out in extract 8.2 do not specify a result for the “complicating actions” contained in them, they would not be regarded as “fully-formed” or “complete” by Labov’s standards. As in the case of story themes, the designation of case studies like the one set out in extract 8.2 as instances of “orientation” rather than “minimal narratives” depends on how they are used.

In some case studies, more specific questions asking the students to identify an offence or police power are framed, for example:
You are driving a police car along the road when you see that a vehicle in front of you is being driven erratically and the driver is leaning out shouting at the vehicle in front of him. He is also waving something out of the window which has the appearance of a handgun. As the two vehicles stop at the road junction the man fakes as if to shoot the other driver. You stop the vehicle further down the road.

What is your power of search?
What offences are apparent?

Extract 8.3

Case Study from “Red 5” and “Brown 5” Classes

Whether or not case studies ending with specific questions such as these can be regarded as falling into Labov’s (1972) “orientation” code is a matter of debate. On the one hand, it might be argued that they do not because the end of the case study does not explicitly indicate that the students should resolve the situation; it suggests that they limit their activities to interpreting it. In these circumstances, the case study might be regarded as a “minimal narrative” (or, possibly, an “abstract” depending on who the storyteller is considered to be and the extent to which the case study is elaborated on). Alternatively, it could be argued that interpreting the situation featured in such case studies implies some
resolution of it. Some evidence of this might be found in the extract of classroom talk set out below:

1. Student It's not an off weap or anything it

2. (M.T.) could be a handgun so it's going

3. to have to be a search under

4. the [ [ ]

5. Student [ Yeah but it's still an offensive

6. (P.R.) weapon isn't it?

7. Student Yeah but that doesn't matter it's a

8. (M.T.) firearm if you suspect a person of

9. having a firearm in a public place

10. you can search him or the vehicle

11. in a public place

12. Student Yeah but I'm just saying that you

13. (P.R.) could stretch section one you've

14. got it there but I know what you're

15. saying but you could stretch

16. section one couldn't you?

17. Student You don't need to because you've
18. (M.T.) got the act you've got the power

19. there [

   [  

20. Student] Yeah I know you don't need

21. (P.R.) to but it's another power isn't it?

Sequence 8.3

Extract from “Red 5” Class

This sequence took place during one of the lessons about firearms’ legislation. The students were tasked with answering the questions shown in extract 8.3, above.

The first student (M.T.) begins to suggest that police only have the power to search somebody under firearms’ legislation. The second student (P.R.) challenges this by promoting his view that the “handgun” featured in the case study could be regarded as falling within the much broader category of “offensive weapon”. The sequence concludes with some acceptance on the part of M.T. that the police might be able to conduct a search under the authority of a power outside firearms’ legislation and an acceptance on the part of P.R. that resorting to such a power is unlikely to be necessary. Sequences such as these contain some elements of exploratory talk in the sense that the participants engage constructively and critically with each other’s ideas (Mercer, 1995).
This analysis seems to indicate that the students were negotiating an answer to this case study based on what they were likely to do rather than limiting their activity to the way the situation should be interpreted. From this perspective, it might be argued that the context of the case study set out in extract 8.3 above is such that it could be coded as an instance of “orientation” using Labov’s (1972) scheme.

However, to code extract 8.3 exclusively as an instance of “orientation” might give rise to a situation in which it was disqualified from being categorised as an instance of “narrative” in the first place. This may be so because the talk in sequence 8.3 seems to focus primarily on the resolution of the situation and contains little in the way of “complicating actions”. In order to be categorised as an instance of “narrative” by Labov’s standards, some aspects of extract 8.3 would need to be coded as “complicating actions”. Such coding is not entirely inconsistent with Labov’s analysis because he acknowledges that “orientation” can consist of narrative clauses, even though it is usually composed of free clauses (clauses with no temporal junctures) in his data (Labov, 1972 p. 364). In these circumstances, the code “complicating action” can be regarded as falling into a different layer of analysis to that of “orientation”. This layer of analysis seems to be a very broad descriptive one in which almost everything in the narrative that contains a temporal juncture is categorised as a “narrative clause” or a “complicating action”. The broad nature of this code gives rise to a situation in which much of the narrative
that is categorised as “complicating action” effectively remains unanalysed (Edwards, 1997).

“Orientation” operates at a functional rather than descriptive layer of analysis, because it relates to the referential function of clauses so coded (Labov, 1972 p.370). The difference in these layers of analysis explains in part why it is possible to apply alternative codes to some aspects of narrative using Labov’s scheme. For example, extract 8.3 might be coded along the following lines:

You are driving a police car along the road when you see that a vehicle in front of you is being driven erratically and the driver is leaning out shouting at the vehicle in front of him. He is also waving something out of the window which has the appearance of a handgun. O As the two vehicles stop at the road junction the man fakes as if to shoot the other driver. CA

You stop the vehicle further down the road. E

**Key to Analysis**

O = Orientation

CA = Complicating Action

E = Evaluation

This analysis might be used to demonstrate the problems that can arise when Labov’s scheme is treated as operating at a single layer of
analysis. In these circumstances, alternative codes might have been applied to this case study. For instance, where “orientation” ends and where “complicating action” begins is by no means certain. An example of this can be found in the clauses “when you see that a vehicle in front of you is being driven erratically and the driver is leaning out shouting at the vehicle in front of him. He is also waving something out of the window which has the appearance of a handgun”. Here, it might be argued that these clauses are as much “complicating actions” as they are part of the “orientation”.

A difference in layers of analysis cannot explain why alternative coding might be used in respect of categories that appear to operate at a similar layer. In these circumstances the use of alternative codes may be influenced by the different ways in which analysts construe what the participants are orientating themselves to. This issue is in itself related to the point of telling the story; the “evaluation”.

However sound these codes may be, it could be argued that their use in this research is unsatisfactory on two grounds. First, the generality of these codes seems to detract from some of the details in the way stories are used in this setting. An example of this may be found in sequence 8.3 above where to simply code this sequence of talk as the “result” of the story set out in extract 8.3 would fail to take account of the detailed negotiation that goes on between the students. Secondly, it might be argued that imposing Labov’s codes on the data in this way amounts
placing the story's contents into "a set of pre-coded analytic slots " (Edwards, 1997 p.276). Such an approach is wholly inconsistent with the inductive direction this research has tried to take.

The debriefing stage of case studies follows an invariable sequence of each pair or small group of students taking turns to answer the question(s) posed at the end of one of the case studies in the set. The trainer then elicits further information about this answer:

1. Trainer O.K. what have we got for erm/

2. (N.W.) question one?// What have you got? What are you going to do?

3. Student Section 17 power of entry

4. Trainer Right hang on so you're going to

5. (N.W.) knock at the door/ yeah and then Trainer (N.W.)

6. what?

7. Student And then we're going to see if

8. he answers the door

9. Trainer Right and if he doesn't?

(N.W.)
Student Then section seventeen

Trainer Section seventeen? For what

(N.W.) offence?

Student 1 Life and limb [ 

[ 

Student 2 [ Arrest for an 

arrestable offence

Sequence 8.4

Extract from “Red 5” Class

Having elicited sufficient detail from the students whose turn it is to provide the principal answer to the questions posed in the case study, the trainer moves on to invite the remaining students in the class to comment on it:

1. Trainer O.K. any others different from

2. (N.W.) that?/ Has anyone got anything different to that?

3. 

4. Student (..........) it could be something
Sometimes, the trainer elaborates on the story in the case study during the debriefing stage:

1. Trainer O.K. I'll come to that in a minute/

2. (N.W.) I'm going to challenge this to start

3. with I'm going to say what evidence

4. have you got for section sixteen?

5. What is section sixteen to start with?

6. Student Possession of a firearm with intent

7. to endanger life or to enable another

8. to do so [ 

9. [ Right [ 

(N.W.) [ 

10. Student [ (................) [ 

11. [ No/ 

12. (N.W.) do we have do you have
reasonable grounds to suspect a section sixteen offence is being committed?

Student Well someone's been firing some sort of weapon at people

Trainer Yes?

Student That's good enough isn't it?

Trainer I'll add a bit more to the scenario for you that'll tell you that you are standing there and the person is these workman that are being fired at they're on the pavement they can see the person firing out of the window and the pellets are landing about ten yards short/ they know that unless they walk ten yards they are not going to get hurt and even at that range they unlikely or are likely to cause
In this sequence, the trainer endeavours to challenge the answer originally given by some of the students. When the students continue to promote their answer in the face of this challenge the trainer extends the story in the case study to further negate it. The issue of control of case studies is taken up in the next section of this chapter.

In summary, case studies may be regarded as following a pattern of introduction, activity and debriefing. The introduction stage consists of a lengthy period of talk by the trainer focusing on the subject matter of the case study followed by a shorter sequence concerning the administration of the activity. The activity stage consists of the students negotiating an answer to the question(s) framed in the case study and the debriefing stage progresses through a sequence of elicitation, clarification and, sometimes, challenge by the trainer.

**Case Studies: Function and Constraint**

This section sets out to explore the three related issues of realism, imagery and control. Realism is taken to refer to the extent to which a
Case study conforms to the students' work-place experience. Imagery relates to the idea that case studies (as with other forms of narrative) have the potential to evoke mental images in the mind of the audience. Control refers to the concerns that trainers have that events in the classroom will go beyond their ability to influence them.

As with all the other types of narrative reported in this thesis, trainers were of the view that case studies should have a strong relationship to events likely to occur outside the classroom in the work place of the students, for example:

1. Researcher  
   I mean how would you see the idea of these sort of stories fitting in with their learning?

2. 

3. Trainer  
   Again because it makes it practical and relevant they can look at a set of case studies and think "Yeah this could happen/ this is practical it is relevant" erm "If I was given this set of circumstances what would I do?" and hopefully having discussed the issues erm in the feedback if that then does actually happen they can then relate it directly back to what was discussed and the appropriate action they should take so it is
In this sequence, the trainer places considerable value on introducing work-place practice and relevance into the classroom. In a general sense, "relevance" refers to work-place events outside the classroom. In a more particular sense, it focuses on the cognitive and task orientated elements of those events. As noted in Chapter 4 of this thesis, such a focus may stem from the objectives set out in the curriculum and wider police cultural influences. This influences the way verisimilitude is defined in this context by limiting it to those cognitive and task orientated events likely to be experienced by the students in the work place outside the classroom. Two effects arise from this. First, trainers draw on their own experience in constructing case studies for their use:

1. Trainer ..................I'd be very surprised if instructors
didn't draw on their own personal experience or
anecdotal experiences to assist them in writing
scenarios
Second, they are disparaging of case studies failing to adequately conform to this constraint:

1. Trainer .......his case studies were always a bit of a laugh
2. because they would stretch the point of credibility I mean he had one on diplomatic immunity and he
3. wanted to incorporate into it immigration drugs
4. firearms and off weaps and so he had a stop of a
5. Libyan national who was high on drugs had cocaine
6. sticking out of his pocket a flick knife in his other
7. pocket and a gun and so you know this was all in
8. one case study and I think that that would go too far
9. people would say "This is just ridiculous" you know
10. "This just isn't going to happen".....................

Sequence 8.9

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

In this extract, the trainer suggests that case studies that have a poor relationship with events likely to happen in the work place are seen as failing to have a practical application. The way in which the trainer lists each occurrence with no intervening events (lines 6 to 8) and goes on to formulate them as being “all in one case study” (line 8 and 9) presents the case study referred to as going “too far” (line 9). This amounts to an example of how not to do verisimilitude in this setting. In these particular
circumstances, far from motivating the students to learn, the case study referred to may have actually de-motivated them (lines 9 to 11).

Having said that trainers perceived a need for case studies to have a strong relationship with work-place experience, the strength of that association was not seen as needing to be quite so strong as it was in respect of themes or role-plays:

1. Trainer ........................ I think that you can stray a bit more on case studies because I think people will accept that they're there to bring out a point but you do get you know the case study that starts going horrendously incredulous but sort of to bring out a point we'll stretch it the "what ifs" erm/ so I do like them and I think that you can push them slightly further than the role-plays erm and they're good erm they're quick you can get through an awful lot of information in a short period of time........

Sequence 8.10
Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

The trainer featured in this extract is the same as in extract 8.9, above. His opening comment in extract 8.10, "I think that you can stray a bit more on case studies" (lines 1 and 2) and his closing comment, "you can
get through an awful lot of information in a short period of time” (lines 9 and 10) suggests some consistency in his view that the use of stories consisting of too many occurrences amounts to a departure from verisimilitude. As in sequence 8.9, this point of view suggests that doing verisimilitude in this setting includes not putting too many occurrences in a single story. However, on this occasion the trainer’s comments do not present de-motivation as a consequence of this tactic when he suggests that “people will accept that they’re there to bring out a point” (lines 2 and 3).

Such deviation from the general rule demanding a high level of consistency between classroom events and the work place outside the classroom may be explicable in terms of the amount of investment demanded by the different types of narrative. Specifically, role-plays are seen as having considerable potential to draw on the emotional resources of the students:

1. Trainer ....it becomes far harder to immediately pluck
2. people out and just make them role-play so "Right
3. there's a sheet you're a cab driver you're a
4. passenger now you're in a car and the whole class
5. just sits there watching" that is incredibly difficult
6. because they're always embarrassed and they don't
Themes, were also seen as having the potential to draw on cognitive resources (in terms of attention):

1. **Researcher**  So you can get away I suppose with a bit more in terms of their plausibility?/ Whether they're possible or not

2. **Trainer**  Yeah I think you can because people don't expect them to be as real so you can set up an incident that perhaps doesn't happen that often and they and I think that people accept them more but as soon as you start asking people over a long period of time to believe something or to role-play something that's where I think that plausibility comes in because you know "I wouldn't do this" that that's where plausibility comes in to it
In this extract, the trainer suggests that the perceived demands on students are greater for themes and role-plays than for case studies. The result of this is that students are seen as being more willing to “suspend their disbelief” in case studies than they are in these other types of narrative:

1. Trainer ..........I think you know short quick written ones
2. they’ll accept because it’s almost like a question it’s
3. because you’re asked to sort of suspend your
4. disbelief for a moment to think about it and I think
5. that people are willing to do that but then as soon
6. as it becomes too involved and it goes on then I
7. think that people become less willing to
8. contemplate it and say "Well this isn't really going to
9. happen" and we are asking people to suspend their
10. belief or their disbelief.......... 

Sequence 8.13
Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

In this extract the trainer implies that in the event of a shorter case study, students might still be willing to suspend their disbelief and participate in the process, even if it has a weaker relationship with events in the work place. In this sense, the threshold for verisimilitude might be regarded as being lower for case studies (and for the short verbal accounts
considered in the next chapter of this thesis) than for longer stories demanding greater emotional and/or attentional resources.

Perhaps, the most obvious way in which the content of case studies departed from events in the work place was in terms of the density of occurrences reported in them:

1. Trainer ...... the one thing that I'd say about the scenarios is
2. that obviously they pack a hell of a lot you know into
3. a sequence of events much like an episode of "The
4. Bill" whereas you know if you look at a tour of duty
5. you may have one or two things going on you know
6. but obviously they want to entertain in a T.V.
7. programme so you know lots of things are going on
8. that may occur once in every three or four months on
9. a real life division and so therefore I suppose that
10. scenarios are a bit like that in the fact that you get a
11. series of things that you want to impart and so
12. therefore yeah they're more action-packed than in
13. real life but that's the only way I'd say that they you
14. know depart from reality..............

Sequence 8.14

Extract from interview with trainer I.O.
In this extract, the trainer compares the content of case studies (referred to as “scenarios”) with that of television programmes. These different types of narrative share the feature of being dense in terms of the events reported in them. The functions served by condensing “reality” in this way, differ between these types of narrative. The principal function served by this in the case of television programmes is one of entertainment, whereas the principal function served by this in case studies is the successful coverage of several lesson objectives in the single instance.

In addition to meeting the demands of the curriculum in this way, case studies, in common with the other forms of narrative reviewed in this thesis, are also thought to render abstract procedures and statute law more memorable by placing them into a concrete context:

1. Trainer .......I think it makes it easier to understand and to organise what's going on by putting a story to it rather than consistently saying "Well when so-and-so comes in to report/ when you have a victim to report the next thing that will need to be done will be" you're not individualising you're not making the person think about themselves dealing with that and you could just give them that on a bit of paper erm procedures that must be followed erm but that's not likely to be remembered I don't think whereas if you've got a
In this extract, the trainer appears to suggest that case studies can benefit the student by making the general principles contained in them easier to organise and understand and, therefore, more memorable. Part of this process seems to relate to the idea of “making the person think about themselves dealing with” the topic, a process that might be enhanced by encouraging the students to imagine they are at the scene of the event reported in the case study. Such encouragement was usually given by writing the student into the story and then explicitly asking them what they would do in those circumstances as, for example, shown in extract 8.3, above.

Trainers consciously framed case studies in this way in the hope of facilitating the generation of mental images in the minds of the students:
1. Trainer ..........I think you're asking them you're putting them
2. back saying "O.K. think about/ imagine you're there"
3. and all my scenarios finish with "What are you
4. going to do now?" that sort of open question and
5. people always answer it like that "Well we're going
6. to do this" and then you can develop it by saying
7. "Well why?" "What if?" erm so yeah they're very
8. effective...................

Sequence 8.16

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

The idea that the facilitation of such imagery might favourably impact on
the students' memory recall would appear to receive some support from
experimental studies conducted by cognitive psychologists (for example,
Paivio and Begg, 1971).

The potential impact of case studies on memory also had disadvantages.
Even though case studies, like the other stories told in this setting, tend
to focus on the cognitive and task orientated elements of an event, they
are viewed by trainers as having the potential to access memories of
painful experiences in the students' past. This is particularly true of case
studies dealing with sensitive issues such as sexual offences:

1. Trainer I mean we have had problems with the sexual
2. offences one erm/ but we didn't use role-plays that
was through reading what you would call case studies
and dealing with the legislation in a classroom
situation/ you know we stirred up a few nests
there.............

Sequence 8.17

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

In these circumstances, trainers recognised that problems might arise in respect of their control over the processes in the classroom:

1. Trainer Yes it certainly can no doubt about it it certainly could
2. Trainer yeah because you've got erm an adverse reaction
3. Trainer from somebody that's going to be going to need to be
dealt with you're going to have to find out why what's
4. Trainer going on for that person that individual and then
5. Trainer you've got your entire class of people who are
6. Trainer obviously aware that something's gone on who are
going to be concerned worried frustrated whatever
7. Trainer their reaction erm I would say that very few of them
8. Trainer would be totally disinterested I would say that none of
9. Trainer the students would be disinterested so it's going to
10. Trainer have to be dealt with and it's going to take away from
The source of this potential problem is thought to be the nature of the underlying material forming the basis for the case study. Trainers seek to combat this threat in two ways. First, they take care in compiling a story based on a subject deemed to be "sensitive", for example:

1. Trainer ..........so it has to be very carefully thought about with
2. subjects where you're going to be using this sort of
3. material and if you're still going to use it how you're
4. going to prepare them for that you know the
5. implications of it/ you're getting people to think and
6. thinking brings back old memories or experiences
7. that's part of nature I think it's the way you learn.......
The use of case studies in this way may stem from a view that they have an advantage over role-plays in that the students are actually less likely to become emotionally involved in them. This arises from the belief that the more involved a student becomes in a story, the greater the threat it poses to trainer control:

1. Researcher  Do you think that it's a possibility that people sort of get more into role-plays than case studies?
2. Trainer  Yes oh yes definitely I think that that would be the problem with the children's one/ possibly even if you were to use that with the sexual offences one because that has been suggested and dismissed by me erm/ because yes they do get more into erm the emotions attached the experience attached they think more especially if you're being asked to play a victim in order to make a more realistic victim you have to start
11. almost putting them in that situation erm to make it
12. more realistic for the officer whose dealing with it and
13. that again I'd question whether we need to go that far/
14. maybe we do I don't know

Sequence 8.21

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

The possibility that students may become more involved in role-plays than in case studies may be reflected in the higher threshold for verisimilitude used in role-plays. As has been discussed, such a threshold may stem from the increased demands placed on emotional commitment in role-plays. This gives rise to a situation in which verisimilitude is high in role-plays because of increased emotional demand and increased emotional demand raises the general level of verisimilitude.

The increased emotional demand on the students in role-plays gives rise to an ideological dilemma. As has been suggested in Chapter 4 of this thesis, trainers favour an approach in which student involvement figures highly. At the same time as this, trainers are more wary of techniques that give rise to greater emotional involvement on the part of the students since such involvement raises the spectre of a loss of trainer control.
However, the more limited involvement of students in case studies has some problems. That individual students feel less threatened by the critical assessment of the trainer and their peers can give rise to different problems of control:

1. Trainer ............... limitations yes there are limitations because
    invariably you're going to be handing out scenarios
2. to groups erm there may be three or four groups
3. within the classroom and it's apparent in my experience that not all students pull their weight
4. within the group erm how do we ensure that they are paying sufficient attention within that group how
5. do we ensure that they are erm whereas if you're teaching out from erm front loading as it were erm/
6. you might have more control over their attentiveness erm as opposed to when you send
7. them off for half and hour in their groups erm and
8. you might find that within those groups some people might work harder than others some people
9. don't work at all that is possibly a limitation to doing case studies

Sequence 8.22

Extract from interview with trainer B.B.
In this extract, the trainer suggests that the use of case studies in small group exercises give rise to a lack of control over the students’ attentiveness. Trainers were well aware of this problem and sought to tackle it in a number of ways:

1. Trainer ........ so I wanted to give them some extra pieces of work
2. and when I actually got to each of the rooms that these
3. groups were in they were doing nothing of the work but
4. talking about what was on telly last night and I thought you
5. know I never actually stopped and realised that there’s
6. obviously a lot into group work and I haven't been able to
7. find enough to read up on and there’s obviously many
8. different aspects of group work that you know one as a
9. teacher or instructor ought to consider and I mean like
10. how many in a group that's obviously going to affect
11. whether they actually work or talk about the telly erm/ you
12. know whether the task is clearly understood you know
13. whether you give them perhaps too long you know "Well
14. we only need five minutes to we can talk for the first ten
15. minutes about the telly" and what they’ll do is talk and you
16. know it’s quite interesting

Sequence 8.23

Extract from interview with trainer S.H.
In this extract, the trainer suggests that control over group-work exercises can be maintained by careful consideration of the size of the groups, the clarity with which the task is explained and the time given for the task to be completed. All these measures can be deployed by the trainer during the administrative instructions given to the students at the end of the introduction stage. The idea here being one of influencing events during the activity stage of any small group exercise, including those in which case studies are a feature. Trainers seek to further influence events, and thus maintain control, during the debriefing stage of the case study. They do this in two ways, first by reformulating the answers given by the students to the case study:

1. Student 1  Well yeah you could argue that
2.              he's trying to assault someone
3.              again an offence against the
4.              person
5. Student 2  Could be criminal damage as well
6. Trainer    Is assault a schedule one offence?
              (N.W.)
7. Student 1  Yeah/ assault occasioning actual
8.              bodily harm
9. Trainer So has he or is he committing a

10. (N.W.) schedule one offence

11. Student 1 Yeah it'd be attempted

12. Trainer Right but is he committing?

(N.W.)

13. Student 2 No do him for criminal damage

14. instead [ ]

15. Student 3 [ (..........)

16. Trainer Is he committing an assault?

(N.W.)

17. Student 3 Well he's not really

18. Trainer Not an A.B.H. is he? O.K. have you

19. (N.W.) done assaults this week?

20. Student 3 Yeah

21. Trainer This might connect with the very

22. (N.W.) broad definition of an assault/ you
23. may commit an assault but it's  

24. certainly won't be an A.B.H. so we  

25. can cross that one off/ O.K. what  

26. about criminal damage then?  

27. Student 2 The air pellets  

28. Student 3 [ (........) ]  

29. Trainer You're going to nick someone right  

30. (N.W.) for criminal damage for a little bit of  

31. air pellet in the pavement? I mean  

32. come on I'm crossing those off  

33. because I feel there's a more  

34. appropriate offence here because  

35. if they aren't actually committing the  

36. offence is there an offence that  

37. deals with the intent to commit an  

38. offence?  

Sequence 8.24

Extract from "Red 5" Class
This sequence took place during the debriefing stage of a small-group case study exercise about firearm's legislation. In this part of the debriefing, the trainer recorded the answers to one of the case studies in schematic form on a white board. He then systematically reviewed the answers given, altering them where they did not seem appropriate to the question raised in the case study. In this extract, the trainer reviews two of the answers given by one of the groups: that the person featured in the case study committed the offences of assault and criminal damage. Having persuaded the student that an assault has not taken place, he crosses the term out on the white board. He then moves on to consider the offence of criminal damage. Here he takes a more unilateral decision in suggesting that the events reported in the case study would not be serious enough to warrant charging somebody with this offence. He goes on to cross the student's answer of “criminal damage” out as well before moving on to elicit an answer from the students that he considers to be more appropriate. Sequences of reconstructive feedback such as these may be a more general feature of classroom talk. In particular, they may have something in common with the reconstructive recapping sequences reported by Edwards and Mercer, 1987.

The second way in which trainers seek to maintain control during the debriefing stage of small-group exercises is by reformulating the stories contained in the case studies. One example of this is may be found in sequence 8.6, above, another is set out below:
1. Student .................and you
2. (C.R.) don't know what type of a gun it is
3. what type of bullets they are so I'd
4. say you'd have reasonable grounds

5. Trainer O.K. is it possible to endanger life
6. (N.W.) with an air rifle?

7. Student Well yeah it can be if you're shot
8. (C.R.) at [

9. Student [

10. Student [ (........) if he's just taking pot
11. shots out of the window he's got
12. no real intent to kill someone
13. (.........) [ Yeah but he's thirteen
14. years old he's not responsible is
15. he it's probably not wrong to him
16. he doesn't realise [ But if
17. Student [ (........) [ the public think that their life is
20. endanger because they're being
21. shot at (....) [
22. Trainer [ O.K. I'm going to put
23. (N.W.) you out of your misery because in
24. this scenario as I say it was a real
25. one erm the gas men who were
26. working on the road were being
27. fired at from erm by this thirteen
28. year old from a window I would say
29. probably about erm it's difficult to
30. say in metres probably sixty seventy
31. metres away and the pellets erm they
32. could see him firing out the window
33. and hear that a firearm was being
34. fired but the pellets were landing
35. short you know it just wasn't
36. powerful enough so they were
37. landing short of their target

Sequence 8.25
Extract from "Brown 5" Class

This sequence also took place during the debriefing stage of a firearm's legislation lesson involving the use of case studies. In this extract,
following an answer from one of the students, the trainer initiates a
discussion about the possibility of life being endangered the kind of use
of an air weapon described in one of the case studies. The trainer then
interrupts the exchange between the students that follows with an
addition to the story along the lines of the actual event upon which it was
based.

**Summary**

Case studies follow a pattern of introduction, activity and debriefing. The
introduction stage consists of a lengthy period of talk by the trainer
focusing on the subject matter of the case study followed by a shorter
sequence concerning the administration of the activity. The activity stage
consists of the students negotiating an answer to the question(s) framed
in the case study and the debriefing stage progresses through a
sequence of elicitation and clarification and, sometimes, challenge by the
trainer.

Trainers are of the view that case studies should be relevant to the
cognitive and task orientated elements of work-place events outside the
classroom. Such a focus influences the way in which verisimilitude is
defined in this setting. One of the functions served by introducing
relevance into the classroom is to motivate the students to learn the
subject matter by encouraging them to value its performance applications.

Case studies adhere to the general canons of verisimilitude operating in this setting in that they have a fairly close relationship with events thought of as being likely to happen in the students' work-place. However, the standards operating in this respect are lower in relation to case studies than they are for stories demanding greater emotional and/or attentional resources. The most obvious way in which the content of case studies depart from "real" events is by featuring a higher density of occurrences than the trainers would normally expect in the work-place.

Case studies are thought to render abstract procedures and statute law easier to understand and organise in the students' memories by placing them into a concrete context. Part of this process is considered to involve the generation of mental images in the minds of the students. On one hand, this is considered to be an advantage because it makes lesson material more memorable. Trainers personalise case studies in the hope of facilitating this process. On the other hand, case studies are viewed by trainers as having the disadvantage of accessing memories of painful experiences in the students' past. This gives rise to concerns from the trainers about a potential loss of control in the classroom. Trainers seek to combat this threat in two ways. First, they take greater care in compiling a story based on a subject deemed to be "sensitive". Secondly
they include a warning to the students in the introduction to lessons dealing with "sensitive" topics in which they propose to use case studies.

The lower standard of verisimilitude to which case studies conform is seen as giving rise to less involvement on the part of the students. Less involvement is seen as an advantage in that there are less likely to be problems with control. This gives rise to a situation in which an ideology promoting student involvement is moderated by the perception that too much emotional involvement increases the risk of a break-down in trainer control.

The more limited involvement of students in case studies also has problems because students may deviate from the task set to them in circumstances where they feel less threatened by the critical assessment of the trainer and their peers. During the activity stage of the case study, trainers seek to combat this threat by carefully controlling the size of the groups, explaining the task clearly and allocating an appropriate amount of time given for the task to be completed. During the debriefing stage, they do this by reformulating the students answers and the stories contained in the case studies.
Chapter 9

Anecdotes

Introduction

1. Trainer We need to be honest / the case / what
2. was it now the er/ Taylor sisters./ The
3. Doctor / a prime witness / in an earlier
4. statement / said that one of the suspects
5. was black and one of the suspects was
6. white / the two girls that end up getting
7. nicked are both white./ The fact that
8. he'd made that previous statement didn't
9. come out at court./ So great / yes if there
10. is a discrepancy or an error in what the
11. witness says / we're human / he's human /
12. put it in and let the jury decide / let
13. the judge sort it out. "I've been honest
14. with you, originally in the statement I
15. took from you you said this / now you're
This chapter sets out to explore the use of anecdotes in this setting. Anecdotes are regarded as stories of events past. As suggested in Chapter 5, the use of anecdotes is quite extensive in that approximately 19% of the talk in the plenary sessions can be attributed to their telling.

**Anecdotes: Form**

Anecdotes may be personal, semi-personal or historical. Personal anecdotes are constructions of events that the teller claims to have participated in, for example:

1. Trainer ...... rules of the game there will be the application of force so that wouldn't be unlawful/ at what stage then would in a sporting game/ would
5. that force become **unlawful**?

6. Student (.........)
   (S.M.)

7. Trainer Sorry?

8. Student Where you break the rules
   (S.M.)

9. Trainer This happened to me in fact (....)

10. I was playing rugby and erm someone

11. tore my ear off

12. Student (........)
    (L.M.)

13. Trainer Yeah/ stamped on me and erm so it's

14. got to be within the rules of the

15. game and reasonable/ you know

16. reasonable within the rules of the

17. game/ obviously clearly an act like

18. that you know just being stamped on

19. isn't within the rules of the game
20. Student  (..................)                      Students
(S.M.) laugh.

21. Trainer  Have a guess which one it is then

22. Student  Left/ it's upside down                      Trainer and
(S.M.) students

23. Trainer  Actually when the old plastic

24. surgeon sewed it back on he didn't

25. actually sew it back on at the right

26. height/ so I go to the barbers and

27. you see the old bloke cutting my

28. hair and he does this and he looks

29. and I say "No no don't worry about

30. it just do it from a distance" but

31. erm

32. Student  It's a good job you don't wear

33. (S.M.)  glasses now

34. Trainer  Yeah so there we go/ yeah so

and students
35. obviously within the rules of a laugh.
36. game O.K. if there's implied consent
37. with physical contact sports but if
38. if anyone steps outside those rules
39. then it would be an assault ...........

Sequence 9.2
Extract from “Charlie 5” Class

The trainer related this anecdote to the class as part of a sequence of stories relating to various aspects of the criminal law in assault cases. The trainer initiates this sequence by asking the students a question concerning the use of “unlawful force” within the context of a game (lines 3 to 5). Having elicited the desired answer (line 8), the trainer moves on to provide a personal anecdote by way of feedback to the class (lines 9 to 13). The trainer then provides a second anecdote that follows from the first concerning a humorous encounter in a barber shop (lines 21 to 31).

The trainer presents these anecdotes as having verisimilitude in two ways. In the anecdote concerning his ear being torn off in a game of rugby, he explicitly claims that the incident reported actually happened to him (line 9). In the humorous anecdote that follows, he imitates the gestures of a barber cutting his hair who is experiencing some difficulty in judging his hair to be of equal length while cutting around his ears (lines 28 to 33) and he articulates the voice of his character in this process
when he says "'No no don't worry about just do it from a distance" (lines 29 and 30). The trainer's use of gestures, accompanied by articulating the voice of his character in the story, might serve to emphasise the immediacy and reality of the situation in a way similar to the performance of an actor on the stage.

Anecdotes were often used by the trainers in this setting as part of the feedback element in Initiation response Feedback (I.R.F.) exchanges of the type described by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975).

Semi-personal anecdotes refer to the exploits of an individual with whom the storyteller has had an association:

1. Trainer .............../ What are we
2. going to ask this driver
3. then?/ Come on then let's
4. think about some of the
5. questions/ what do you know
6. about your car?

7. I know a bloke in Croydon
8. who used to ask "What's your
9. star sign then?" after the
10. date of birth and if they
11. were lying/ he used to work
12. on this theory that
13. everybody knows their star
14. signs/ does everybody know
15. their star signs here?

16. Several Yes
   Students

17. Trainer So if they gave a date of
18. (M.W.) birth he asked their star
19. sign/ it was his thing/ I
20. couldn't ask that because
21. I don't remember them all/
22. he'd obviously (.........)

24. Student It's a good idea
   (D.H.)

25. Trainer He used to come in with some
26. (M.W.) good bodies as a result of
27. it/ he used to have a lot
28. of this no insurance
business and he used to come
in with quite a lot of
pecuniary advantage with
regards to insurance as well
because they were telling
lies./ I used to hate him
when I was a custody officer
but they were all valid
offences/ that's the thing
you see./ Are these the
questions that you ask?

Sequence 9.3
Extract from “Charlie 2” Class

This sequence took place during a lesson about motor vehicle theft. This part of the lesson was about the kinds of question that an officer should ask a driver whom they suspect of stealing a motor car. As with sequence 9.2, the trainer begins by framing a question to the students. This is followed by responses from a number of students. The trainer then provides some feedback on these responses and moves on to use a semi-personal anecdote in an apparent attempt to emphasise a point about asking drivers unusual questions as a means of investigating their identity. The trainer does this by first establishing the basis of the story and then moves on to emphasise the relevance of this approach by
asking the students what they know about their own horoscope signs. He then makes a point about the idiosyncratic nature of the approach before delivering the “punch line” to the story in the form of a favourable outcome for the officer featured in it.

In addition to personal and semi-personal anecdotes, the trainers in this setting also use stories of a more general historical nature. Anecdotes of this kind are often presented as accounts of events that have actually happened, sequence 9.1 is an example of this. This anecdote was used during a sequence of instruction in a lesson about the taking of written statements from witnesses by police officers. The sequence opens with the trainer suggesting that statement taking should be an honest enterprise. He then goes on to provide an example, in the form of an anecdote, of what can happen in the event of prosecutors being less than honest in a court case in a bid to emphasise the point. The kind of common knowledge necessary to understand this exchange amounts to some familiarity with the case of the Taylor Sisters, a case that had received considerable media attention at the time.

The kind of anecdotes that are told by the students in this setting tend to be limited to those falling into the personal and semi-personal categories. The sole exception to this in the data obtained during this research concerns the use of an historical anecdote by a student who was reporting the efforts of a small group exercise back to the plenary group.
In these circumstances, it might be said that the student had, to a certain extent, taken on some aspects of the role of a trainer.

It seems reasonable to speculate that the limitation of anecdotes told by students to those falling in the personal and semi-personal categories stems from a difference between the students' and trainers' role in the control of common knowledge. The control of common knowledge in the classroom is an aspect of the teacher’s role (as is suggested by Edwards and Mercer, 1987). It might be the case that historical anecdotes rely more heavily on common knowledge than those falling into the other two categories, particularly when they are used in the way featured in sequence 9.3 above. This may be so because an understanding of personal and semi-personal anecdotes only requires a general knowledge of what is likely to happen in any given setting whereas an understanding of historical anecdotes often pre-supposes specific knowledge of the event in question. This then suggests that the role of the trainer in controlling the lesson might be such that stories requiring a higher degree of common knowledge tend to be reserved for the trainers' use.

Personal and semi-personal anecdotes told by the students fell into two broad categories: those that were elicited by the trainer and those forming part of an apparently spontaneous contribution from the student.
Elicited contributions are often sought by the trainers at the beginning of a lesson or at the beginning of a new topically related set (Mehan, 1979), for example:

1. Trainer ............Now assaults are the sort
2. of thing that's our bread and butter
3. really erm/ has anyone actually had
4. any dealings with assaults?

5. Student Well there's so many isn't
6. (A.A.) there?

7. Trainer What on you? Students
     laugh.
8. Student (..........)
     (S.M.)

9. Student I've had two on me and two on
10. (D.H.) other colleagues

11. Trainer Have they actually been charged with
12. assault on you?

13. Student Yeah assault on police (....) the
14. (D.H.) last one was on Christmas Eve
15. Trainer  Give us the circumstances where you
16. were assaulted then

17. Student  I was actually assaulted in the
18. (D.H.) custody suite when they brought a
19. female in who was going berserk/
20. she'd been on drink or drugs prior
21. to her arrest she had some wooden
22. type of clog shoes/ she was sitting
23. down the next thing I knew she's got
24. up and kicked me/ I still haven't
25. got my fifty quid for that [

26. Trainer  [ She got
27. up and hit you for no apparent
28. reason at all/ you weren't actually
29. dealing with her?

30. Student  Well I helped bring her in erm she
31. (D.H.) wasn't too impressed with that
32. Trainer  Because that's something we're
33.         going to be looking at later on is
34.         assault on police

Sequence 9.4
Extract from “Charlie 5” Class

In this sequence, the trainer introduces the topic area, assaults, and follows it up with a question to the students aimed at eliciting their personal experience of the subject matter. A brief exchange then takes place between one of the students (A.A.) and the trainer involving a jocular remark and some laughter at which point another student (D.H.) indicates that he has had some experience as the victim of an assault. The trainer pursues this by first asking for more details of an incident and then seeking some clarification of one of the aspects of it. That having been done, the trainer makes a direct statement as to the relevance of the anecdote to the lesson by indicating that the legislation associated with this type of assault will be explored later on.

Non-elicited student anecdotes are of two types: questions and observations. As in the case of some of the hypothetical accounts trainers tell (see next chapter), anecdotes students tell sometimes form the basis of a question:

1. Student  How long have they got/
2. (S.R.) I mean I stopped a gentleman
3. in Streatham/ he was English/
4. how long has he got to get
5. his car on English plates? I
6. didn't have a clue

7. Trainer I'm under the impression/
8. (M.W.) I'll have to confirm this/ if
9. he's coming over here and he
10. knows he's coming permanently
11. he has to pay import duty on
12. that car straight away/

Sequence 9.5

Extract from “Charlie 2A" Class

This particular question arose during a lesson about motor cars that are temporarily imported into Britain. It was asked after a sequence of talk on the subject that had culminated in a personal anecdote from the trainer. The student first asks the question and then follows it up with a brief account of his own experience, possibly, as a means of justification for raising the issue. The trainer then responds to the question with his views on the matter.
Not all non-elicited anecdotes were framed as questions by the students. Some appeared to be more by way of an observation upon the subject matter of the lesson, for example:

1. Trainer: Do you know what we prosecute from?

2. Students: Forty

3. Trainer: Yeah we prosecute from forty/ now there's an option for the suspect to have the breath specimen replaced by either blood or urine should they fall between forty and forty nine/ fifty (........)

4. Student: We had a woman come in the other day who blew one hundred and twenty seven

5. Trainer: Yeah?
This session was about the legislation concerned with drinking and driving. The trainer begins by asking the students about their understanding of the legal blood/alcohol level. He then provides some feedback on their response. Following this, one of the students (A.A.) provides a short anecdote of his experiences concerning this aspect of police work. The trainer then encourages the student to provide more details of his account.

Students also use personal anecdotes when they are in a situation in which they take on at least some aspects of the trainers’ role. This occurs in some of the sessions in which students present a report of the endeavours of a small group exercise to the larger class, for example:

1. Student Right/ and then we go on to

2. (A.A.) After the Search/ obviously Student (A.A.)

3. make sure the premises are points to "After

4. secure erm/ if not call a the Search"
on

5. boarding-up service/ a copy the flip-chart.
6. of the warrant's been left in
7. a prominent position /erm/
8. rights of the occupier and
9. your property list

10. Student He can have a list of the
11. (S.M.) property seized and access to
12. the property (.............)

13. Student A head count if in Croydon/
14. (A.A.) which Steve will explain

15. Student There was a bit of a search in
16. (S.M.) Croydon and one of the
17. probationers went upstairs
18. while everyone else stayed
19. downstairs searching and while
20. he was upstairs they found
21. what they were searching for
22. so everyone else piled back
23. into the van and/ I don't know
24. if they had got back to the
25. Station or if they were still
26. on their way back to the
27. Station when they noticed that
he was missing so they called
him up on the radio and he was
still in the home (...........)
they called him up on the
radio and said "Where are you?"
and he said "I'm under the bed
Sarge"

Students laugh.

On return to the Station do a
five oh nine four/ that's the
premises searched record

Sequence 9.7
Extract from "Charlie 3" Class

This sequence took place during a lesson about the law and procedure
governing police actions when searching private premises. The extract is
one of a dual presentation between students S.M. and A.A.. A.A. is
standing at the front of the class, S.M., who was a part of the same small
group as A.A., is sitting with the rest of the students. A.A. opens the
extract when he introduces the topic of police action after a search has
taken place. S.M. joins the presentation by making a comment about a
person's right to a list of property taken from their premises by the police.
A.A. then moves on to suggest a check should be made that all the
officers involved in a search have left the premises. A.A. then introduces a personal anecdote that is told by S.M. to illustrate the point.

**Anecdotes: Function**

One of the most obvious pedagogic functions served by anecdotes is that they illustrate and, in so doing clarify, complex and abstract legal concepts. An example of this can be found in Sequence 9.2, above, where the abstract concept of “unlawful force” is considered.

Trainers are well aware of the value stories that have in clarifying complex concepts:

1. Trainer .....it could be used where there's a difficult concept
2. .....a complicated legal concept that you’re trying to get
3. .....over and a little story can help people understand
4. .....what it is that you're trying to say..................

Sequence 9.8
Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

An examination of the material used for training recruits to the police service suggests that these concepts are invariably introduced to students while they undergo initial training in the Metropolitan Police
Training Establishment at Hendon. In these circumstances, the stories used in probationer training are seen to enhance the students’ existing understanding of concepts rather than to introduce new ones to them. The use of stories in this way suggests that Baumeister and Newman’s (1994) conclusions about the relationship between paradigmatic and narrative modes of thought may need modifying. As noted in Chapter 1 of this thesis, Baumeister and Newman claim that this relationship is one in which abstract concepts are generated by the application of additional cognitive effort in the narrative mode. That this analysis suggests stories are used to clarify abstract concepts that may already be present in the paradigmatic mode indicates that the relationship between the modes may be a more dynamic one in which stories continue to impact on concepts even after they have been established.

Enhancing understanding by means of storytelling might be one of the factors contributing to the memorability of stories. Some support for the idea that greater understanding contributes to more effective recall can be found in studies conducted by cognitive psychologists (for example, Craik and Lockhart’s, 1972, levels of processing model implies that greater understanding leads to a deeper level of processing). The memorability of stories is a matter commented on by Mercer, 1995 and Fielding, 1988, as noted in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Anecdotes, in common with the other types of story reported in this thesis, also serve to introduce work-place practice into the classroom.
context. By introducing practice into the talk of this setting, trainers hope that students will consider lesson material relevant to their performance as police officers and that it will, therefore, motivate them to learn it. The importance of this function of storytelling was emphasised by a number of trainers, for example:

1. Trainer I'd actually say that you have to make it erm it has to be something where they could say "Well yeah this is definitely something that could happen or has happened" erm so yeah I mean those would be the limits to how far you could go if you jump beyond those limits such as telling something in an imaginary or fantasy world or having things occur that you know don't relate to what a lifetime's experience tells them goes on erm well yeah I mean I think they'll probably just think well "This really isn't going to happen and we won't really bother with it".

Sequence 9.9

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (28.2.96)

The above extract suggests that ensuring that a story has a strong relationship with events that are likely to occur in the students' work place experience is an important consideration in motivating them to learn the lesson material. The trainer lends further emphasis to this point by
suggesting that departures from this general rule may actually have the effect of de-motivating the students. The limitations on the stories that can be told as a result of the application of this rule are explored more fully in the section on constraints later in this chapter.

The general motivational function of anecdotes is often enhanced by introducing a consequence from the world outside the training environment into the classroom talk. Examples of stories serving to motivate students in this way may be found in sequences 9.1 and 9.3 above. In the first of these examples, the consequence is less than favourable in that it was common knowledge at the time that case was discharged on appeal amid criticisms of the police investigation. On the other hand, the consequences in sequence 9.3 are more favourable in that the officer featured in the anecdote was able to effect a number of valid arrests as a result of his method of questioning. The introduction of a consequence, whether favourable or unfavourable, in the “punch line” of a story serves to further emphasise the relevance of the trainer’s advice to the students’ performance in the work-place. Consequences such as these serve as a means of “evaluation” in Labov’s terms because they serve to support the point for which the story is told.

In addition to fulfilling functions associated with clarification and motivation, the telling of stories by trainers may also be influenced by broader cultural practices in the police. Notably, trainers acknowledge the influence of the talk commonly found in police canteens:
1. Researcher ......why do you think trainers do that (tell stories)?

2. Trainer I think police officers do it erm/ I think that

3. if you go into any canteen [

4. Researcher [ Sure [

5. Trainer [ and you get the

6. police officer describing what's happened to them

7. when they're off duty or an incident they'd quite like

8. to relate/ you get them to describe what's happened

9. you know prior to them going into the canteen for

10. their grub "I went to this call here"/ they'll all launch

11. into that/ that comes with the territory

Sequence 9.10

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (18.11.94)

Trainers often elicit anecdotes from their students in a bid to assess their existing level of knowledge about the subject matter and to enhance student involvement in the lesson (as is suggested in sequence 9.4 above), for example:
1. Researcher  That's of course one thing that many trainers do is to
2.  say "Right who's dealt with?"
3. Trainer  Indeed yes it's nice to find out their level of
4.  experience at the beginning erm because you can
5.  actually use it and then come back to it
6. Researcher  You say use it?
7. Trainer  Well obviously you've planned and prepared a lesson
8.  and you know erm the general style of delivery and
9.  you know the areas that you want to cover and it's
10.  just something that you can use erm when you've
11.  actually found out what their level of experience is
12.  erm they're normally forthcoming they're not bad and
13.  you think "Right that's something I can use later on"
14.  so when you get to the particular point you think "Oh
15.  so-and-so said something about doing something like
16.  that earlier on" so you then get them to elaborate on
17.  their story erm obviously you let them have sort of
18.  two or three minutes but there's a lot that's not said
19.  within that two or three minutes and you can come
20.  back to it erm "Oh so-and-so you said you were
21.  involved in this where something else happened
22.  what else went on?"
23. Researcher What's the advantage to doing that?

24. Trainer Erm well I think there's obviously participation from
25. the group/ the instruction in a way is being delivered
26. by one of their own erm obviously if someone is
27. relating their own experience you know it's
28. considered to be highly relevant and then of course it
29. actually does prompt certainly if you look at issues in
30. a broader sense it does actually prompt other points
31. for discussion and it may actually trigger off the other
32. students to come out with things that you had
33. perhaps planned to deal with anyway but you know
34. certainly if you're looking at an attention curve of no
35. more than nine minutes I think you know that that's
36. the best way well one of the best ways of actually
37. making sure that you don't exceed nine minutes of
38. the trainer prattling on

Sequence 9.11

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (28.2.96)

As with the anecdotes told by trainers, accounts of this nature also serve
to introduce material from the students' working environment into the
classroom talk. Such material is intended to suggest that the subject
matter of the lesson is relevant to the student and that they should, therefore, listen to what the trainer has to say. In this sense, anecdotes told by students, in common with those told by trainers, are intended to be a means of motivating the students to learn. Additionally, trainers also see these anecdotes as a resource that can be re-used later to reinforce the relevance of the lesson material. While being beyond the data obtained for the purposes of this study, it may be reasonable to speculate that anecdotes told by students could be seen as being even more relevant by their peers than those told by trainers. This may so because these anecdotes refer to events that have happened to someone who is present in the class that the students know to be performing the same role as they are. The effect of this could be that students are more likely to conclude that they might experience an event similar to that referred to in the story. In this way, anecdotes told by students may have a greater potential to motivate students to learn the lesson material than those told by trainers. Trainers interviewed during this research acknowledged the motivational value of anecdotes told by students:

1. Trainer Right so erm the two approaches would be and which one comes first doesn't I don't think really
2. 
3. matter would be is asking the group for their experiences in a given topic and that can apply to
equal opps or it can apply to driving documents and
4. 
5. I think that it's a thing that a lot of trainers do it the
6. 

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first thing they kick off in their lesson is what
experiences people have had whatever the topic is
and again I think it's that driving for relevance you
know "How many people here have been Station
Officer?" hands go up "How many people here have
come across a forged driving licence?" so it's
something that trainers use constantly erm and if
you look at why they're doing it it is again to do with
the importance of what you're doing "Is this" you
know but then again a lesson on cabs that N.W.'s
done recently you know you go in "How many
people have had a cab dispute?"/ everybody sits
there nobody has had one and then it's a bit difficult
to go on and do the lesson when people are
thinking well you know "We don't get cabs in South
Norwood" so erm you know "There are no black
cabs in South Norwood so why are we doing the
lesson?" and that I think I would find difficult to do
the lesson

Sequence 9.12

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

Anecdotes are also used to entertain. The extract shown at sequence 9.2 above provides an example of this. Here, the trainer provides a light-
hearted follow up to the immediate feedback when he gives an account of his experience at the barber's shop after his ear had been sewn back on. While this also forms part of the same feedback element to this I.R.F. sequence, it seems to serve a function more directed towards entertainment than might normally be associated with teaching exchanges in this setting. The trainers suggest that entertainment through storytelling does have some value in the classroom:

1. Trainer .......... by standing up and boring people to death with
2. ........... by standing up and boring people to death with chunks of case law and stuff like that saying "This is
3. what you must do this is what you must do" erm you
4. know would one bore the students to death and two
5. would probably bore the instructor to death erm/ you
6. know you do actually want to enjoy yourself when
7. you go into class erm you know you want to be
8. challenged .......

Sequence 9.13

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (28.2.96)

When students use non-elicited anecdotes, for example, in sequence 9.5, above, they seem to be used as a means of justification for asking the trainer a question and to clarify what they are asking. The functions served by non-elicited student anecdotes that do not form part of a question, as, for example, on sequence 9.6, above, remain unclear in this
research. It may be that they are used as a means of entertainment for the students. That trainers encourage their telling (as suggested in line 14 of sequence 9.6) may also suggest that they are considered relevant to the lesson material and that they may be harnessed to motivate the students' learning. In addition to this, it may be that the use of non-elicited anecdotes by students stems from an anticipation that the trainer is about to ask for them in any event.

When anecdotes are used by students presenting the findings of a small group discussion to a plenary session of the class (as in sequence 9.7, above, for example), they seem to serve functions associated with both the student and trainer's role. In terms of the student role, these anecdotes serve as a demonstration of the student's understanding of an abstract principle, the value that stories have in doing this has been commented upon by the trainers interviewed in this setting (for example, as suggested in sequence 9.10 above). In terms of the trainer's role, these anecdotes serve to emphasise the relevance of the material being discussed by bring work-place practice into the classroom. In the case of the example shown in sequence 9.7 above, the relevance of the point is enhanced by concluding the anecdote with a consequence of the events reported in it.

As in the case of those told by trainers, the use of non-elicited anecdotes by students may also be influenced by broader cultural practices in the police, for example:
From this point of view, the telling of anecdotes both by trainers and students in this setting might serve as a means of asserting that they are all police officers together and could, therefore, be viewed as a means of identifying themselves with the police as a group.

**Anecdotes: Constraints**

As with all the other types of story considered in this thesis, the use of anecdotes is generally constrained by verisimilitude as it is defined in this setting. Some evidence of this point may be found in lines 2 and 3 of the trainer's comment reported in sequence 9.9 on page 253 where it is suggested that students should be able to say "Well yeah this is definitely something that could happen or has happened" of these stories. Verisimilitude seems to be achieved by the application of this criterion when stories are constructed in this setting. Further to this, the
importance of anecdotes in motivating students is such that trainers have considerable difficulty in teaching a subject about which it is not possible to find stories of events likely to be experienced by the class (as is suggested in sequence 9.12, above). This difficulty depends on context. That a trainer finds it a problem to teach a lesson about, for example, taxi-cabs in one part of London does not mean that is true of other parts of London in which the students may have more experience of the subject. This then suggests that verisimilitude is a highly context-specific concept.

While it seems that verisimilitude has its limits in that anecdotes cannot be found for some topics in this setting, judgements of verisimilitude in general seem to be applied more flexibly to anecdotes than they are to themes and role-plays. This is probably the case for the same reasons as those suggested in Chapter 8 of this thesis in respect of case studies: anecdotes do not demand the same attentional or emotional resources as themes or role-plays. Evidence of this may be found in a number of sequences in which anecdotes were either overtly embellished by the trainer or obviously fictitious. For example:

1. Trainer ....../ What about voluntary
2. (M.W.) searches before we go on/ do
3. you know what they're doing
4. up at the erm City of London?
5. / What are they doing at the
6. City of London?

7. Student Standing there with guns

8. (S.M.) doing searches

9. Trainer And what are they doing with
10. (M.W.) the guns?/ Voluntary

11. searches?/ Stand up/ two of
12. you/ stand up/ you're
13. holding Heckler Koch M.P.5s
14. O.K./ "Scuse me sir/ we're
15. erm searching/ we're
16. stopping vehicles in this
17. area because/ do you mind if
18. we have a look in your car?"
19. / Is that ever going to be a
20. voluntary search?/ I mean
21. are you ever going to say
22. "no"/ No it's going to be
23. "Do you want to look down
24. here and all?"// Funny thing
25. this voluntary consent sort
26. of thing because the pure
27. fact that you're in uniform
28. et cetera may make them feel

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"Well you know they've got to/ they must be able to search." That's why they've put this rider on the Codes of Practice............................

Students laugh.

Sequence 9.15

Extract from “Charlie 2” Class

This extract took place during a lesson about police powers of search. The trainer opens the sequence by introducing the rather abstract notion of a “voluntary search”. He then goes on to explore the limitations of this concept by referring to the then current police practice of armed police officers stopping and searching people and vehicles entering the City of London. As in the case of sequence 9.1, an understanding of the events referred to by the trainer presupposes common knowledge about topical issues in the world outside the classroom. The trainer then takes this a step further when he elaborates on this aspect of police practice through the medium of a short story. He does this by enlisting the assistance of two of the students who are asked to stand up and silently role-play the part of armed police officers engaged in a stop and search exercise. He then vocalises the role of all the actors in the play in a highly theatrical manner. This sequence seems to serve the functions of clarification and entertainment as noted in the last section of this chapter.
Some historical anecdotes found in the classroom talk of this setting are entirely fictitious. These accounts may be regarded as being jokes. Even though humour is in great abundance, jokes are comparatively rare in the classroom talk in this setting. The following example, however, is by no means unique:

1. Trainer That's a good start// that
2. Students little self-assessment form laugh.
3. Students which you should of been
4. Students completing along the way/ know
5. Students what I mean?/ would probably
6. Students give you a clue or two/ oh
7. Students yes/ you've got all yours done
8. Students haven't you? You're sitting Trainer looks
9. Students there smiling at student (S.R.)
10. Student I have actually (S.R.)
11. Trainer Look/ smarmy over here's done
12. Students his// Well actually Steve went Students laugh.
13. Students to the library last night/ he
14. Students wanted to impress the
15. Students librarian so he said "Do you
16. Students like Dickens?" and she said
This sequence took place at the beginning of the day while the students were completing some documentation arising from the lessons of the previous day. The trainer draws attention to one of the students (S.R.) who appears to have completed his forms before the rest of the class. He then moves on to tell the class a fictitious anecdote in the form of a joke that concerns S.R.’s behaviour the previous evening. Perhaps the most obvious interpersonal function of this exchange seems to be one of entertainment, although, one could speculate that sequences such as these also serve a purpose as a means of causing others to recognise some kind of identity claim (Baumeister and Newman, 1994).

The relative infrequency of embellished anecdotes and jokes in the trainers’ talk in this setting may well be due to a lack of compatibility between the use of stories to support identity claims or entertain and the role of a trainer, a point also noted below in connection with personal anecdotes.
While suggesting that anecdotes in general serve useful functions in classroom talk, some of the trainers are concerned that the use of too many personal anecdotes might damage their credibility:

1. Trainer: I don't happen to use the "Well this happened to me" very much or I'll only do that if what I'm talking about is actually the very specific thing that has happened I'm not a great fan of sort of wheeling off "Oh when I was this" "When I was that" I shy away from that maybe because erm people think that you're just trying to show off I don't know or trying to play the old hand I use a lot of "This has happened" or "This has happened to" so if another trainer's told me something that's happened to them I'll use that and again that may come back to "This is relevant this is important I know that this happened you known erm/ ........

Sequence 9.17

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

Implicit in this sequence is the recognition that stories can be used to support an identity claim (as suggested by Baumeister and Newman, 1994), in this instance, a claim that the teller is a particularly experienced police officer and, therefore, to obtain a reward in terms of respect. That
such a use of stories may, in this context, result in the opposite effect, a lack of respect, seems to suggest that the use of narrative for these purposes might be seen as being incompatible with the role of a trainer. The trainer interviewed in this sequence goes on to suggest that one way of combating the threat to his credibility that would be posed by that use of personal anecdotes is to use semi-personal anecdotes instead. It would, therefore, seem that the role of the storyteller constrains the function for which any given form of story may be used.

**Anecdotes: Control**

The use of anecdotes by trainers and students alike was seen to be in need of control.

The point made about the idiosyncratic nature of the character's approach in sequence 9.3 may be some evidence of an attempt by a trainer to control the students' interpretation of an anecdote he has told them. The potential for interpretations inconsistent with the intentions of the storyteller is a matter of concern to the trainers, for example:

1. **Trainer** ........................... you have to be very clear though
2. when you're doing that type of training because you
3. can get into an awful muddle erm I've fallen foul of that
4. a few times in my earlier days as a trainer................

Sequence 9.18

Extract from interview with trainer A.B.

Further to this, the use of student anecdotes was seen to have some drawbacks because the telling of them might get beyond the control of the trainer, for example:

1. Trainer .......... one thing that I think you've got to be careful
2. there is that if an individual tells you a story related to
3. something that you've told them you might need to
4. probe that story because sometimes they're actually
5. coming they're going off at a tangent ...........

Sequence 9.19

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (28.2.96)

What seems to be suggested by sequences 9.18 and 9.19 above is that trainers control the use of anecdotes by using tactics intended to clarify the relevance that the stories told in their classrooms has to the subject matter of the lesson.
Summary

An analysis of the data reported on in this chapter suggests that the kind of anecdotes used in this setting may be categorised as being personal, semi-personal or historical. Personal anecdotes refer to stories of events past in which the teller claims to have participated. Semi-personal anecdotes refer to stories of events past in which the teller claims to have known at least one of the participants and historical anecdotes refer to accounts of events that are the subject of wider common knowledge.

Trainers use all three types of anecdote as part of an explanation during feedback or in a sequence of instruction. Students tend to limit their use of anecdotes to those falling in the personal or semi-personal categories. Anecdotes told by students may be elicited by the trainer or non-elicited. Anecdotes are often elicited from students at the beginning of a lesson or at the start of a new topic. When students use non-elicited anecdotes they form part of some of the questions they ask the trainer or may take the form of an observation on the lesson material.

In considering the functions served by the telling of anecdotes, it seems that trainers use them as a method of communicating the practical relevance of the lesson material and, therefore, as a means of motivating the students to learn. Trainers also use this type of story to clarify legal and procedural concepts that they think of as being complicated and to entertain the students.
Anecdotes are elicited from students at the beginning of the lesson or at the start of a new topic in order to assess their level of knowledge about the subject in question and as a means of securing their participation in the lesson. These anecdotes are also used as a resource by the trainers to be referred to later in the lesson in order to re-emphasise the relevance of the lesson material to the students. Non-elicited anecdotes may be used by students to clarify and justify the questions they ask trainers about the lesson material. Anecdotes told by students when they present the findings of a small group exercise to the class seem to serve a number of functions associated with both student and trainer roles.

Anecdotes told both by trainers and students might be influenced by language practices from the wider cultural context. In this sense, they might be viewed as a means of asserting their common identity as police officers.

Anecdotes adhere to the general constraints of verisimilitude operating in this setting. This general constraint is not, however, applied as rigorously as it is in the case of themes and role-plays because anecdotes do not exert as high a demand on attentional or emotional resources as these kinds of long story.

The use of too many personal anecdotes by trainers in this setting may be limited because the function of supporting an identity claim served by
their telling seems to be inconsistent with those of the role of a trainer. The relative infrequency of overtly embellished and fictitious accounts in this setting may also stem from an incompatibility between their function as entertainment and the role of a trainer. From this point of view, the kind of stories that can be told in this setting is constrained by the consistency of the functions they serve with the role of the storyteller.

Trainers set out to control the use of anecdotes in this setting by using tactics intended to clarify the relevance that the stories told in their classrooms have to the subject matter of the lesson.
Trainer: So how do we get in there?
(M.W.): Is it something stolen or unlawfully obtained?
A person turns around and says to me “Sorry Guv'nor I swapped the ticket of my erm / my motor bike and put it on the car because the car tax ran out.” So there’s everything legit/ you do car checks on the tax disk and on the car and they all come down to this person whose documents say who he is/ you know all you’ve got is the
This chapter sets out to explore the use of hypothetical accounts in this classroom setting. Hypothetical accounts are regarded as stories of events that may come to pass in the future. As suggested in Chapter 5, the use of hypothetical accounts in the classroom studied for the purposes of this research accounts for approximately 24% of the talk in the plenary sessions.

**Hypothetical Accounts: Form**

When hypothetical accounts used by trainers in this setting they appear either as part of a question or as part of an explanation.

Hypothetical accounts are often used by trainers as the basis of a question, for example:

1. Trainer...............O.K. another thing /
2. another thing that pops up with
3. witnesses is "He looked like Terry
4. "Wogan. Is that good for you?"

5. **Student** Yeah

6. **Trainer** Yeah / he's actually told me he looks

7. like someone / terrific / but what could

8. be the danger of that?

9. **Student** He might not look like him

10. **Trainer** Yeah / there he is in the witness box /

11. dock / whatever and he doesn't look a

12. bit like Terry Wogan / not a bit / but

13. to the witness he did/ Again the other

14. danger with that / anybody think of the

15. other danger with that?

16. **Student** Terry Wogan might get nicked

17. **Trainer** Yeah / there's a big danger of that /

18. You'd get a campaign medal for that

19. one (........)/ O.K. the other danger

20. with that is that forever more / in

21. the mind of that witness / he has got

22. Terry Wogan fixed in his head / he was
the bloke nicking that car./ Eventually
he sees Terry Wogan on the telly and
he realises when he gets to court (....
............) so there is a danger./.............

Sequence 10.2
Extract from "Charlie 1" Class

This extract took place during a lesson about police practice in taking statements from witnesses. The trainer opens the sequence with an account of a hypothetical witness telling a police officer that a person suspected of committing a criminal act looks like the media personality, Terry Wogan. This is followed by a question from the trainer about the value of such a description. When a student responds to the question, the trainer develops the account as part of his feedback to that response. The trainer then pursues the potential consequences of this description having been given by asking the students a second question. The response given on this occasion is not the desired one; it is rather a flippant and humorous one. The trainer acknowledges the humour of this response with some humour of his own before going on to illustrate the desired answer to his question by developing the hypothetical account still further. The use of hypothetical accounts as part of a question in this way stands in some contrast to anecdotes because their use by trainers seems to be limited to the feedback element of Initiation Response Feedback (I.R.F.) sequences.
Like anecdotes, hypothetical accounts are also used by trainers as part of the feedback element of an I.R.F. sequence:

1. Trainer  O.K. we've got the failing to provide six four well people can fail to provide breath tests can we always arrest them?

2. Trainer  looks towards the flip-chart

3. Student  Yes
(A.A.)

6. Student  No only if they've been drinking (W.R.)

7. Trainer  Generally that's going to be the case isn't it but you haven't got a carte blanche to arrest someone for failing to provide a breath test on the street even if it's lawfully required for example I'm a member of the temperance society hate drink/alcohol and that sort of stuff and I've committed a moving
traffic offence and you stop me
and say "I want you to blow in
this" and I say "No that's an
insult officer/ I'm insulted
that you would think that I
could possibly let alcohol pass
my lips I really am/ so I'm not
going to do it because it's you
know/ I don't see why I should/
I abhor alcohol" have I
committed any offence?

What if I could smell alcohol?

(A.A.)

You can't smell any alcohol/

have I committed any offence?/

I have because you've lawfully
required a breath test/ is what
I've said a reasonable excuse
not to give you a breath test?

No

Probably not/ probably not/ you
don't know me from Adam O.K./
but if you don't suspect
alcohol/ can't smell it/ I've
categorically stated that I
hate the stuff your only option
is to report me O.K./ it's not a
carte blanche power of arrest/
O.K. generally you are going to
suspect alcohol but if you don't
suspect alcohol in cases such as
that then you haven't got a
power of arrest

Sequence 10.3
Extract from "Charlie 4" Class

This sequence took place during a lesson dealing with the law and procedure in respect of drinking and driving cases. As in sequence 10.2, the trainer begins the exchange by means of a question. On this occasion, however, the account is not introduced until he has provided feedback to the students' initial responses. Here it is used to form the basis of a second question. The account then forms the theme through which an extended I.R.F. sequence of the type described by Mehan (1979) takes place. The use of hypothetical accounts to prompt the desired answer is characteristic of exchanges of this kind. One of the
students (A.A.) then makes a bid to take control of the account. This is resisted by the trainer who continues to prompt the students into coming forward with the desired answer. Once the desired answer has been obtained, the trainer goes on to provide feedback based upon the circumstances outlined in the hypothetical account.

Hypothetical accounts are also used in similar ways to anecdotes by trainers when they form part of an explanation during a sequence of instruction, for example:

1. Trainer ................................. if you're
2.          standing up there in front of
3.          a bench/ do you understand
4.          what I mean when I say
5.          "a bench"/ yes or no?

6. Student Yes

7. Trainer Yes/ I mean a stipendary
8.          magistrate sits on his own and
9.          a bench is made up of three
10.         lay magistrates O.K.? so the
11.         suggestion is that if you're
12.         standing up in front of a
13.         bench that they might ask you
14. a question of you/ quite
15. innocently? without realising
16. the sensitive nature of the
17. question that they're asking/
18. so you need to say "I would
19. rather not disclose that
20. information in open court" and
21. request/erm/ what do they call
22. that where you go into private
23. chambers?

24. Student Ex-parte
   (L.M.)

25. Trainer Ex-parte/ where you go into
26. chambers/ O.K./ .................

Sequence 10.4
Extract from "Charlie 3" Class

This sequence took place during a lesson about the process of applying for a search warrant. The trainer opens the extract by first introducing the concept of “a bench” of lay magistrates. He then establishes that the students understand the concept of a lay bench by means of a brief
I.R.F. sequence before moving on to use a hypothetical account about making an application for a search warrant.

Hypothetical accounts are elicited from students by trainers during the course of a lesson and within a topically related set rather than at the start of a lesson or at the beginning of a new topically related set, as is the case with anecdotes. For example:

1. Trainer What about an example then/ what
2. about an example of a G.B.H. that
3. could be inflicted through no direct
4. force then?
5. Student At the moment we can only think of
6. (W.R.) the person who kicks in a door and
7. threatens the occupant who then
8. jumps out of a window
9. Trainer Is everyone happy with that?
10. Student Yeah
11. Student Yeah recklessness as to whether that
12. (W.R.) particular harm should occur or not
13. (W.R.) erm who foresees that harm might be appears to
This sequence took place during a lesson about serious criminal assaults. In this extract, one of the students (W.R.) is presenting the outcome of a small group exercise to the class when the trainer explicitly asks him to provide an example of one kind of circumstance in which a serious assault (G.B.H.) might be committed. One of the students (W.R.) responds to this by means of a brief hypothetical account about an individual who is injured in a bid to escape from a threat. The trainer invites the other students in the class to comment on what has been said. The student then continues to report on the small group exercise by introducing another element of the statute in respect of serious assaults, on this occasion he provides a hypothetical account to illustrate the point he is making without a direct request to do so from the trainer.

Hypothetical accounts are often a matter of piecemeal joint construction between the trainer and students rather than being explicitly elicited.
wholesale in the manner suggested by sequence 10.5 above, for example:

1. Trainer  You get a call / right that directs you over to a
2. to a burglary./ So what goes through flip-chart with
3. your mind? a pen open in

his hand.

4. Student  Victim
(L.M.)

5. Trainer  What about the victim

6. Student  Victim's needs
(L.M.)

7. Trainer  Victim's needs// Yeah, what else? Trainer writes
"Victim's
needs" on flip-chart
pad.

8. Student  Suspect

9. Trainer  Suspect Trainer writes
"Suspect" on
flip-chart pad.
10. Student Witnesses

11. Trainer Yeah / good

12. Student Preserve the scene / SOCO

13. Trainer In what way SOCO?

14. Student Will I need him?

15. Trainer (..........)// What else?

16. Student (..........)

17. Trainer Anything else?// O.K.// O.K. so we're

18. now at the scene/ what was going

19. through your mind when we were going

20. through that last exercise?/ What are

21. we going to do now?

22. Student Victim?

(L.M.)
This sequence took place during a lesson about police involvement with the victims of criminal offences (in this instance, burglary). The trainer begins by creating a hypothetical situation in which the students are placed, in their role of police officers, at the scene of a burglary. She moves on to construct an account of the broad areas an officer should think about in these circumstances by means of a series of I.R.F. exchanges before returning to a more detailed discussion about the first of those considerations, the victim. This exchange extends far beyond what is reported in this extract, moving into the kind of action that an officer might consider taking in respect of a victim in these circumstances.

As in the case of anecdotes, non-elicited accounts from students often took the form of questions, for example:

1. Trainer Butterworths cites an example of a
2. (N.W.) P.C. who erm// there was this kid
3. and the P.C. had stopped him erm
4. using various amounts of foul
5. language/ you know abusing the P.C.
and he went to stop him to put his hand on his shoulders on the (.....) to ask him some more questions at which point the bloke turned around and whacked him/ again that was held not to be in the exercise of his duty because he wasn't exercising any power/ all he admitted was that he had stopped him to ask him some more questions

Student Just walking down the street and (S.M.) and someone walks up and kicks you on the shin/ if you’re walking down the street in uniform would you be deemed to be in the execution of your duty just patrolling?

Trainer No (N.W.)

Student You’ve got to be exercising a power?

(S.M.)
24. Trainer Yeah a specific power
(N.W.)

Sequence 10.7

Extract from "Charlie 5" Class

This sequence took place during a lesson about the statute law in respect of assaults committed upon police officers. The trainer opens the extract by referring to piece of case law in the form of an anecdotal account of a police officer being assaulted while endeavouring to stop a youth from using foul language. One of the students (S.M.) then asks the trainer a question, making use of a hypothetical account, in an apparent bid to check his understanding of the general principle outlined in the case law. The trainer then provides feedback on the student's question.

In common with anecdotes, there are a number of cases in which non-elicited hypothetical accounts are used by students who were reporting the results of a small group exercise to the larger class, for example:

1. Student In charge/ O.K. again the
2. (D.H.) offence is if you take a car
3. out on a road or other public
4. place you would be in charge of
5. a motor vehicle unless someone
else was in charge I.E. you give
the keys to someone else to
prevent you from driving/ the
defence/ there's a defence if
they're (......) oh yes the
defence said if there's no
reasonable likelihood of him
driving so he was going to stay
in the car till the alcohol in
in his body would be below the
prescribed limit but the counter
act to that would be if we could
prove if he'd been drinking but
wasn't going to drive till four
in the morning/ say it was
eleven at night if we could
prove that the absorption rate
is such that if he was to drive
at four in the morning he would
still be over the limit then
that's in charge O.K./ does that
make sense?

Sequence 10.8

Extract from "Charlie 4" Class
This sequence took place during a lesson about drinking and driving legislation. The student is standing at the front of the class reporting the results of a small group exercise during which they had researched various aspects of road traffic law. The student opens the extract by introducing the abstract legal notion of being "in charge" of a motor vehicle. He provides a hypothetical account outlining both the circumstances and an exception to the circumstances in which one would be regarded as being "in charge" of a vehicle. He moves on to illustrate the legal defence and before providing a brief account of the circumstances in which police might be able to rebut the defence.

Some accounts provided by students do not fall so easily within the elicited or non-elicited categories. One example of this can be found in sequence 10.5 above (line 15 onwards), another is set out below:

1. Trainer All right so what is then the
2.                  primary difference between section
3.                   eighteen wounding and erm section
4.                   twenty G.B.H.?  

5. Student Well I mean for example in a pub
6.   (A.A.)  fight for instance erm/ I'm sitting
7.   next to Dave and I think "Right I'm
8.   going to hit him" and I think "Right
I don't want to do him any damage or anything I'm just going to smash a glass in his face" and I only intend to do damage to his face he gets scarred but I didn't intend to scar him/ however if I break the glass and I think "Right I'm going to scar him for life" and he's scarred that's a section eighteen I've intended to do him some damage whereas with the section twenty I didn't

Sequence 10.9

Extract from "Charlie 5" Class

This extract follows on from sequence 10.5, above, and begins with the trainer asking a direct question about the difference between two of the more serious types of assault in statute law to a student (A.A.) who is reporting the results of a small group exercise back to the class. The student responds by providing a concrete example of this difference in the form of a short hypothetical account of an incident in which the lesser of the two assaults is perpetrated. He then varies the account to include circumstances in which the more serious of those assaults might be
committed. The extract ends with a short summary by the student identifying the difference between the initial account and its variation.

Unlike the previous sequence, however, the trainer did not explicitly ask the student to provide an account illustrating the difference between these two types of assault. In this sense, it may be thought of as being a non-elicited hypothetical account. On the other hand, it was used shortly after the trainer had explicitly asked the students’ to provide an account illustrating another aspect of the same legislation. It might, therefore, have been provided because the student interpreted the trainer’s question in this instance as one requiring an answer that included such an account.

Hypothetical Accounts: Function

As in the case of anecdotes, trainers use hypothetical accounts to clarify abstract potentially complex legal concepts and procedures. The sequences presented at 10.2 and 10.4 are examples of accounts being used to serve this function. In sequence 10.2 the hypothetical account is an illustration of the general notion that witnesses to events can sometimes get confused when they are asked to identify the suspected perpetrators of criminal behaviour. In sequence 10.4, the account is used to illustrate the abstract legal concept of a lay bench of magistrates. That trainers use stories as a means to this end is suggested in the following
comment made by the trainer featured in sequence 10.3, above, when he reflected on his performance:

1. Trainer ....... the one about the Temperance Society was a spur of the moment thing I said in reaction to a point that had been brought up in class I think and that was to emphasise a point of law in relation to a power of arrest for drink-drive that you know what I didn't want to do was to confuse them about their powers in circumstances of an accident erm anyone involved in an accident you know obviously as a person in charge of a motor vehicle erm you know could be breath tested but they didn't have a carte blanche power of arrest in relation to that erm if they didn't suspect erm certainly with a refusal to actually take the test if they didn't actually suspect the person of having been drinking so I just used that sort of put on righteous indignation to almost put them on the spot in a way and see which side of the coin they'd go to/ how many of them actually realised their powers and how many didn't and I think that well there was a mixed reaction................

Sequence 10.10

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (28.2.96)
As in the case of anecdotes, clarifying abstract concepts in this way may serve to enhance the students' understanding of them. This may then have a favourable impact on memory as discussed in Chapter 9.

Hypothetical accounts are also used to present the content of the lesson as being relevant to the students by introducing an element of work-place practice into the classroom context. Used in this way, stories serve to emphasise the importance of what is said by the trainer and in so doing have the aim of motivating the students to learn the lesson material. Some evidence of a general intention to use stories for this purpose may be found in the extract reported from an interview with a trainer shown at sequence 9.9 in the last chapter.

As suggested in Chapter 9, this general function may be enhanced in the case of anecdotes by concluding the story with a consequence. In the case of hypothetical accounts, putting the student "on the spot" enhances the general motivating value of the story. Some evidence of a hypothetical account being used to serve this end can be found in sequence 10.10 above (lines 15 and 16). The extract below contains further evidence of this:

1. Trainer ..........so you'll give the legislation on what/ the
2. possession of drugs for example and you'll give the
3. technical and say "Well O.K. for example Fred's
standing on the corner erm and he's dealing but his actual in the post box behind him is where his drugs are" so immediately people are then placing themselves there and and it helps them understand/

I think that some people need that more than others

9. Researcher Actually sort of putting themselves there?

10. Trainer Yeah to think well you know "O.K. I can see Fred there that's what they mean by that erm/ and I think you'll probably hear that lots from the trainers here

13. little things like that/ ..................

Sequence 10.11

Extract from interview with trainer N.J.

This extract suggests that when hypothetical accounts are used to put students "on the spot", they might also evoke mental images of the events under consideration in the minds of the audience. This could have two consequences. First, the stories may make the material more memorable by enriching the memory of its telling. This argument seems to have some support in the conclusions drawn by cognitive psychologists from research into memory (for example, Paivio and Begg's 1971 dual code theory). Second, it might be argued that putting students "on the spot" is a way of giving them the opportunity to
experience some of the dilemmas they are likely to face in the work-place and for enhancing their involvement in the lesson. The use of this kind of story as a means of involving the students in the lesson is further evidenced by jointly constructed hypothetical accounts such as is shown in sequence 10.6, above. In this sense, putting students “on the spot” might serve the aims the ideology embracing experiential learning and student involvement considered in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

In addition to fulfilling a pedagogical function, when hypothetical accounts are used to put the students “on the spot” they are seen as serving the broader cultural values of the police by giving primacy to practice over what is regarded as “theory” (as suggested by Fielding, 1988), for example:

1. Trainer   Well it makes them act as police officers/ it doesn't make them into students/ if you present them with a problem and you're acting out the individual they're dealing with they have to deal with it as police officers

2.          [ ]

3.          [ ]

4.          [ ]

5.          [ ]

6. Researcher   [ Sure ]

7. Trainer   [ not as theorists/ you know]

8.          discussing black and white legislation you know so

9.          yeah it puts them in their normal everyday role and
In common with anecdotes, hypothetical accounts are often elicited from students as a means of testing their level of knowledge about a particular topic (as is suggested in sequence 10.5, above). As has been noted, however, hypothetical accounts are asked for by the trainer during the course of a lesson and within a topically related set rather than at the beginning. Unlike anecdotes, they do not form a resource for trainers to refer to again during the lesson in an attempt to re-assert the relevance of the lesson material to work place practice. On the other hand, that they need not refer to events that come within the direct experience of the student means that they form a more flexible resource than the anecdote when used as a means of testing knowledge.

When non-elicited hypothetical accounts form part of a question asked by a student, they seem to serve similar functions as anecdotes when they are used in the same circumstances. Such functions centre on justification for asking the question and clarity about what is being asked.

When students who are reporting the results of a small group exercise to the class use hypothetical accounts, they also seem to serve similar functions as those of anecdotes in the same circumstances. Here the
functions served by these accounts are those associated with both the students' and trainers' roles. In terms of the students' role, the accounts serve as a demonstration of the student's understanding. In terms of the trainers' role, accounts serve to clarify abstract general legal concepts.

**Hypothetical Accounts: Constraints**

As with any other story, the use of hypothetical accounts is constrained by verisimilitude as it is defined in this setting. Evidence of this general point may be found in sequence 9.9 of the previous chapter and in the sequence below:

1. Trainer ...........I mean if you're emphasising a point that
2. ..................they need to know and then relating that in some
3. ..................ways to practical situations that are relevant to
4. ..................them they think "Yeah this is what we need to
5. ..................know and this you know let's get let's learn it"
6. ..................rather than it being if it's purely theoretical with
7. ..................no practical basis they'll see it as being pointless

Sequence 10.13

Extract from interview with trainer N.W.
As with anecdotes and case studies, however, there is some flexibility in the way this constraint is applied to hypothetical accounts:

1. Trainer: I mean it was used to illustrate a point. I mean you know the point was so that they understood the power of arrest but I think that the circumstances described would be exceptionally unlikely.

   Sequence 10.14
   Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (18.11.94)

   In this extract, the trainer is commenting on the hypothetical account that he told in sequence 10.3 above. Here he acknowledges that the event described in this account is unlikely to occur. In these circumstances, the need to clarify a legal concept seems to have overridden the usual considerations for verisimilitude.

**Hypothetical Accounts: Control**

Trainers exert control over the use of hypothetical accounts in this setting in order to ensure that they serve their intended functions. They endeavour to do this in a number of ways:
(i) They control the development of the accounts told by them. An example of this may be found in sequence 10.3 above. In this extract the trainer clearly tries to confine the account to circumstances in which the officer cannot smell alcohol on a driver stopped for committing a traffic offence despite an attempt by a student at deviation (lines 28 and 29).

(ii) They control the development of the jointly constructed accounts by asking precise questions of the students (as suggested in sequence 10.6 above).

(iii) They control accounts told by students providing feedback on them. This is done either in the form of their response to a question or in their comments on the results of a small group exercise that have been reported to the class.

Summary

When trainers use hypothetical accounts they form part of a question or part of an explanation. When hypothetical accounts are used as part of an explanation they appear in the feedback element of an I.R.F. sequence or in a sequence of instruction.
Hypothetical accounts are elicited from students by the trainer during a lesson and within a topically related set rather than at the beginning of a lesson or at the start of a new topically related set.

Students use non-elicited accounts when they present the results of a small group exercise to the class.

Some hypothetical accounts that are used by students have the characteristics of being both elicited and non-elicited. In these circumstances, apparently non-elicited accounts may be used as a result of anticipating the expectations of the trainer.

Hypothetical accounts told by trainers used to clarify abstract legal and procedural concepts that the trainer thinks of as being complicated. When used for this purpose, they might serve to enhance the way the concept is understood. This may have favourable consequences for memory.

Hypothetical accounts are also used in this setting as a way of introducing work-place practice into the context of the classroom. This is intended to motivate learning on the part of the students. Using the story to put the students' "on the spot" can enhance the motivating function of hypothetical accounts. The effect of this may be to harness the students' imagination. This may encourage a context in which experiential learning takes place and have further favourable consequences for memory.
When hypothetical accounts are used in this way, they may also be viewed as a reflection of broader police cultural values in which primacy is given to practice over “theory”.

The functions served by hypothetical accounts told by students are similar to those of anecdotes. When trainers elicit them they serve as a means of assessing the students’ understanding of a concept. When they form part of a question asked by a student they seem to be used to justify and clarify what is being asked. When students reporting the results of a small group exercise back to the class use them, they serve functions associated with the trainer and student roles.

As with other stories, hypothetical accounts are constrained by verisimilitude as it is defined in this setting. Judgements of verisimilitude are, however, applied less rigorously to hypothetical accounts than they are to themes and role-plays.

Trainers exert control over the hypothetical accounts told in this setting by taking a variety of measures intended to ensure that they serve the functions for which they are used.
Chapter 11

Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter sets out to summarise the research reported in this thesis and to draw together the threads that have emerged from the analysis. To this end, the chapter begins with a summary of the issues discussed in the first four chapters of this thesis (theoretical influences, previous literature, methodology and ideology). It then moves on to report on the threads arising from an analysis of the data in this research in terms of the form, function and constraints of storytelling in this setting. The chapter ends by considering the implications of these findings and by making suggestions for further areas of research.
Theoretical Influences and Previous Literature

Bruner's (1986) views about a narrative mode of thought were an important influence on the research reported in this thesis. Bruner's claim that narrative has verisimilitude as its goal is of particular interest in that it has been argued that the way this concept is defined and applied in any given setting depends on the inter-mental context in which the story is used. In this sense, this thesis might be said to have developed Bruner's work.

Baumeister and Newman's (1994) suggestion that stories serve a number of functions in the intra and inter personal domains of analysis has also influenced this research. When considered in the intra-personal domain, the point they make about the functions of storytelling being focused on ways of making sense of experience is of particular interest. When considered from the inter-personal domain, the use of stories in teaching might be best considered to fall within the function relating to the passing of information.

Unlike Baumeister and Newman's work, the focus of this thesis has been more firmly in the interpersonal than the intrapersonal domain. This difference of focus may account for some difference between what is reported here and Baumeister and Newman's views on the relationship between paradigmatic and narrative modes of thought. Baumeister and Newman claim that this relationship is one in which abstract concepts
stem from the application of additional cognitive effort to the narrative mode, abstractions from the paradigmatic mode might then influence the generation of later narrative forms. That this study suggests stories can be used to clarify abstract concepts that may already be present in the paradigmatic mode indicates that the relationship between these modes may be more dynamic than this. When this is considered together with the way in which abstract principles, such as those embodied in judgements of verisimilitude, are used to select and adapt stories in this setting, the boundary between the two modes of thought may be less clear cut than is suggested by Baumeister and Newman.

Sociological accounts of story-telling in vocational settings such as those of Dingwall (1977), Atkinson (1981) and Orr (1990) have also been important in that they extend an analysis of story-telling functions into the socio-cultural domain. Here it is suggested that stories serve to define and defend a group as well as acting as a measure of competence within it. In addition to this, Shearing and Ericson's (1991) point about stories being used as a cultural resource for action has been significant in that their analysis emphasises the proactive functions of story-telling in addition to the more reactive emphasis given to it by Baumeister and Newman. Here, Shearing and Ericson suggest that police action often stems from their use of stories as a cultural resource rather than from following a set of rules. The process by which this takes place is one of analogous thinking that "invites activity by encouraging the construction of a particular subjectivity" (Shearing and Ericson, 1991 p.500).
This thesis has suggested that the use of stories in the classroom may well be influenced by the kind of stories told in the broader cultural context of the police service. This is notable in the comments made by some trainers suggesting some continuity between the work place and the classroom (sequence 9.10 on page 255) and in the constraints limiting the emotive content of stories used in the classroom. The idea that stories may provide a resource for action also finds some support in this thesis. This is most notable in terms of the desire that trainers have for the lesson material to have practical application (for example, sequence 10.12 on pages 297 and 298), it is this that is seen to both motivate the students and to constrain the kind of stories that can be told.

When these functions are considered together with the points originally made by Bruner (1986), it may be that the telling of stories within educational and training settings serves to create worlds that are possible in the context in which they are told. Once appropriated by the learner, these stories can be used as a means of making sense of experience and as a resource for future action.

Of particular interest to this thesis is the sociological study conducted into police training by Fielding (1988).

Fielding’s work suggests that stories are primarily used for two reasons in police recruit and probationer training: to facilitate student involvement
and to introduce work-place practice into the classroom. Both these functions stem from ideological influences: the former from pedagogy and the latter from broader cultural influences favouring practice over "theory". Fielding also notes two main constraints on the telling of stories in this setting:

(i) Trainers regard some stories, notably role-plays, as having little value because they can only achieve verisimilitude in a very limited sense.

(ii) The use of stories to facilitate involvement depends on the amount of relevant experience the students are thought to have. The more limited the trainer considers this experience to be, the less the students are actively involved in the lesson.

The findings reported in this thesis support and extend Fielding's analysis. It is certainly the case that stories are used to facilitate student involvement and to introduce work-place practice into this setting. This thesis has developed this idea by examining the relationship between these functions; it is thought that student involvement is facilitated by the introduction of work-place practice into the classroom. In addition, it has shown that stories serve a variety of related functions such as motivation, clarification and the pursuit of curriculum goals. The idea that stories are constrained by verisimilitude in police classrooms is also supported and
extended by this thesis. Here it has been suggested that judgements of verisimilitude are not absolute, rather they depend on factors such as the type of story to be used and the nature of the lesson material to be taught. The data obtained during this research can neither support nor refute Fielding's view that the degree of student involvement depends on the extent of their experience. This is so because this research focused solely on the training of probationers who were more advanced in their police career than some of those observed for the purposes of Fielding's study.

Method

An exploration of the interpersonal functions served by narrative in this setting seemed to be best served by the use of an inductive research design using qualitative data. Narrative is embodied in the talk and written texts of this setting. This kind of data, and the emphasis on function in this research, suggested that the most appropriate theoretical framework underpinning the method to be used should be one of discourse analysis of the kind most closely associated with discursive psychology (for example, Potter and Wetherell, 1987 and Edwards and Potter, 1992). Since much of the research for this study relates to events in a classroom, the use of this kind of discourse analysis was influenced Edwards and Mercer (1987).
The research took place in two phases. The first phase consisted of a longitudinal study during which a single cohort of students was observed as they progressed through their probation. The second phase consisted of recording a number of role-plays and case study sessions in order to supplement the few that had been recorded during the first phase of this research.

The recording of the data and its analysis consisted of the audio and, in some instances, video recording of classroom behaviour. The tapes arising from this were transcribed. The transcripts and documentary material obtained during the course of this study were then coded and analysed.

**Ideology**

This thesis suggests that the concept of “ideology” carries the notion of power with it as advocated by McLellan (1986). The dilemmatic nature of ideology and the distinction between “lived” and intellectual ideologies suggested by Billig et al. (1988) is also acknowledged.

The kind of ideology considered in this thesis is primarily an educational one. Some support may be found here for Billig et al's (1988) suggestion that educational ideologies:

(i) Do not exist in isolation from the broader cultural context.
(ii) Are defined in contrast to other points of view.

(iii) Include values that are not mutually exclusive.

The ideology impacting on police training in the following areas was examined:

(i) The governmental area of the Home Office.

(ii) The central department responsible for the training of trainers.

(iii) The central department responsible for writing lesson material for local trainers.

(iv) The local trainers themselves.

The pedagogical concepts of learner, trainee, student-centred and experiential learning are central to the ideology of training operating in this setting. Three of the four areas listed above explicitly use these concepts; the central department responsible for writing lesson material probably does not do so because their role is limited to designing lesson material. The Home Office associates a learner-centred approach with an emphasis on tacit knowledge, context-bound skills and the development of attitudes. Experiential learning is described with
reference to the use of methods that include case studies. The central department responsible for training trainers associates trainee, student-centred and experiential learning with the use by the trainer of a number of defined behaviours known as "interventions". Trainers associate experiential and student-centred learning with the involvement of students in the lesson. The use of themes, role-plays, case studies, anecdotes and hypothetical accounts are seen as means of securing such involvement. The central department responsible for writing lesson material advocates the use of role-plays and case studies and sets them in the context of a theme. Themes, role-plays, case studies and the anecdotes and hypothetical accounts that are used by trainers in this classroom then form the focus of the research reported in this thesis.

**Narrative Forms**

This section briefly describes the form taken by narratives in this setting. The next section sets out to explore the functions served by the use of these narratives.

Each weeklong probationer attendance is organised by a theme. Centrally produced guidance for trainers comes in the form of a booklet for each attendance referred to as the "Trainer’s Notes". Each booklet divides the theme for that attendance into a series of phases. Each phase makes recommendations about the teaching methods to be used
(for example, role-plays, case studies or other group exercises) and provides the material necessary to do so (for example, in the form of role-play scripts). Each phase is also cross-referenced with the relevant pre-reading material that is given to the students prior to the commencement of the attendance.

The theme in nearly all of the probationer attendances consists of a story. The teaching methods recommended during each attendance consist substantially of role-plays and case studies. The theme manifests itself to the students through the application of these methods.

Structurally, role-plays and case studies may be said to consist of three distinct stages: introduction, activity and de-briefing.

The introduction stage of a role-play may be either long or short and, in some instances, includes modelling of the kind of behaviour favoured by the trainer. The activity stage may involve single or multiple student role-players. The de-briefing stage involves an invariant pattern of events consisting of elicited student feedback and trainer commentary on it.

The introduction stage of case studies consists of a lengthy period of talk by the trainer focusing on the subject matter of the lesson. This is followed by a shorter sequence concerning the administration of the activity. The activity stage consists of students negotiating an answer to the question(s) framed in the case study and the debriefing stage progresses through a sequence of elicitation and clarification of the
students' answers and, sometimes, a challenge to those answers by the trainer.

The other types of stories used in this setting are those that take a relatively short time to talk about. They fall into two categories: anecdotes and hypothetical accounts. Anecdotes are stories of events that generally purport to relate to events that have actually happened (a number of instances in which the tale is either an overt elaboration of an event or an entirely fictitious event do, however, stand out in the data for this research). These anecdotes may be personal, semi-personal or historical. Personal anecdotes are a story of events in which the teller claims to have has some involvement. Semi-personal anecdotes are stories of events in which the teller claims to have personal knowledge of at least one of the participants and historical anecdotes are stories of events assumed to be the subject of wider common knowledge (for example, events reported in the media. Hypothetical accounts are stories of potential future events.

Anecdotes and hypothetical accounts are both used by trainers as a means of explanation. Such an explanation might be part of a sequence of didactic instruction or it might form part of the feedback element in an initiation response feedback (I.R.F.) sequence. Hypothetical accounts may also be used by trainers as part of a question and may, therefore, appear in the initiation element of an I.R.F. sequence as well.
Both anecdotes and hypothetical accounts are the subject of elicitation from students by the trainer. Anecdotes tend to be elicited from students when a new topic is introduced and hypothetical accounts tend to be elicited after it is under way. Anecdotes elicited from students are seen as a resource that the trainer could return to at a later point in the lesson.

When the students use of anecdotes and hypothetical accounts has not been elicited, they often appear as part of a question asked of the trainer. Occasionally, anecdotes are also used to as part of a spontaneous student comment on an explanation for a piece of law and procedure that is made by the trainer.

**Narrative Functions**

1. Trainer ...... they're sitting in a classroom but what you want
2. them to do is imagine they're out there on the streets.....

Sequence 11.1

Extract from interview with trainer I.O. (18.11.94)

The principal purpose of the use of narrative, in all its forms, in this setting is one of the introduction of work-place practice into the classroom. Such a purpose serves functions associated with motivation, involvement and memory. As noted above, this purpose and these
functions are consistent with the findings reported in the earlier study by Fielding (1988).

By introducing practice in the form of stories into the classroom, trainers hope that students will view the abstract law and procedure on which they are based as important to their effective performance in the workplace. For this reason, trainers anticipate that the more relevant lesson material appears to be to workplace performance, the more likely it is that students will be motivated to learn it. Introducing a consequence into the story sometimes enhances such motivation. These consequences may be either favourable in terms of the police characters in the story being successful in making and arrest or securing a conviction or unfavourable in terms of there being no arrest or conviction.

On the other hand, the less relevant lesson material appears, the more likely it is that students will be de-motivated from learning it. Such de-motivation may give rise to circumstances in which the trainer's control over the classroom process is compromised.

Trainers consider that the motivational function served by the introduction of work-place practice into the classroom is likely to lead to a greater involvement in the lesson material on the part of the students. Stories do this by putting the students "on the spot". This process is enhanced in the role-play by the physical participation of the student taking part in the activity stage. With case studies, anecdotes and hypothetical accounts,
personalising the story often does this. The personalisation of stories in this setting takes place in at least two ways:

(i) Some of the elements in the story may be indicative of the involvement of the audience in it. For example, the story might be phrased in terms of “you”, the audience, being out on patrol when “you” encounter a particular incident.

(ii) The story might conclude with a task inviting the audience to participate in formulating a successful resolution to it. For example, the story might end with the question “what would you do now?”

In these circumstances, the story is phrased in such a way as to facilitate the construction of an inter-mental context in which the involvement of the students is encouraged.

Since stories are seen as a means of promoting student involvement, they are considered to be a way of encouraging experiential learning on the part of the students. Experiential learning is valued as an outcome in the student centred approach operating in this context. In this way, stories are regarded as contributing towards the pedagogical ideology advocated in Metropolitan Police Probationer Training.
Such involvement is thought to have a beneficial impact on memory and learning processes. This may be the case for at least two reasons. First, as noted, trainers often use stories as a way of clarifying complex general concepts in lesson material. As with all the other stories in this setting, these stories relate to the kind of events that students are likely to be familiar with. In these circumstances, the use of stories to illustrate abstract concepts amounts to more than the movement of talk and text from the particular to the general or the general to the particular, it also represents a move from what is likely to be familiar to the unfamiliar. Such a use of stories is consistent with a constructionist view of learning. Moreover, it is consistent with a social constructionist view in that these stories form part of the "collective memory" (Middleton and Edwards, 1990) of the trainers and students in this setting. Understandings formed in this way may assist the processes involved in memory construction. This may take place by facilitating connections between the new material and existing memories at the point of encoding and then by making abstract principles easier to organise in memory at the point of storage and retrieval. Second, some of the comments made by trainers interviewed would seem to suggest that stories have the potential to evoke mental images in the mind of the listener. This is considered to enhance the construction and recall of memories associated with the story. There may be some support for this view in cognitive research into memory processes.
From the point of view of a socio-cultural domain of analysis, stories serve to help the students to define the police as a group. In this sense, they may be regarded as a means of facilitating the transition of the student into the police service. Perhaps, the most obvious way in which this is done is by the provision of examples of what it is to be a police officer in particular circumstances. Such examples often include stories of the police in interaction with other groups in society. In addition to this, the use of stories in police training may be seen as a manifestation of broader cultural values in which primacy is given to practice over theory as is suggested in Fielding's earlier study.

When the functions of story-telling in this setting are considered within the interpersonal and socio-cultural domains, they might be seen as a means of helping students to make sense of their experiences as police officers. In so doing, stories do not only serve as a way of making sense of events past but also amount to a resource for guiding further action (Shearing and Ericson, 1991). In Bruner's (1986) terms, the stories told by trainers do this by creating "possible worlds" in which the students might find themselves. Given that the cultural context determines what is "possible", stories might be seen as a useful example of the interface between culture and cognition.
Narrative Constraints

According to Bruner (1986), narrative is judged by the strength of its verisimilitude or life-likeness. The research reported here supports this view and seeks to develop it by considering the application of verisimilitude in context.

Judgements about verisimilitude in this setting focus strongly on the cognitive aspects of work-place performance. That is to say that these judgements hinge on the tasks to be undertaken, the procedures to be followed and the legislation to be interpreted in relation to events considered likely to take place in the students' working environment outside the classroom. The general focus on cognition rather than emotion is, perhaps, a reflection of both the pedagogical and professional ideologies operating in this setting. The lesson objectives set by the central training establishment almost exclusively deal with the cognitive aspects of knowledge. Such a focus is consistent with the use of these objectives as a means of measuring the acquisition of lesson material by the students in examinations or as a result of questions asked by the trainer. It is, perhaps, a little more difficult the “measure” an emotional response by these means. Second, the broader culture of the police may well be influential in focusing classroom talk on cognition given that the profession is predominantly a masculine one in which the expression of emotion is considered to be inappropriate.
It seems then that judgements of verisimilitude are confined to an aspect of experience rather than being made on what might constitute experience more generally. The research reported in this thesis also suggests that the rigour with which such judgements are applied vary according to the form of story that is told.

The degree of deviation from what is considered life-like in this setting depends on the extent to which the students are likely to get involved in the story. When story-themes and role-plays are used, deviations from what is considered life-like tend to be very limited. In both cases, the amount of student involvement is likely to be relatively high. In the first instance, this is so because of the amount of time the student is asked to engage in the story-theme (several days). In the case of role-plays, the high degree of involvement stems more from the potential emotional risks associated with the use of a technique in which performance is subject to public evaluation. These risks are increased in circumstances where emotive material, such as child sexual abuse, forms the subject matter of the lesson. In these circumstances, centrally prescribed lesson material deviating from what is considered life-like is often either amended or discarded by trainers.

On the other hand, when case studies, are used, the performance of individuals is rarely an issue and listening to anecdotes and hypothetical accounts places only limited demands on the students' time and attention. In these circumstances, the students can be more readily
asked to suspend disbelief and deviations from what is considered life-like are more extensive. Such deviations tend to serve the demands of the curriculum and can, on occasion, serve more of an entertainment function that is usually consistent with the role of a trainer.

In the case of the demands of the curriculum, such deviations manifest themselves in two ways:

(i) Stories that relate to single-incident events may refer to occurrences that the students are likely to encounter only rarely in the work place.

(ii) Stories that relate to more than one event may feature a greater number of incidents than the students would normally expect to encounter in the period of time suggested by the account (this is more often the case with case studies).

Deviations such as these serve to illustrate a variety and number of points in the centrally prescribed curriculum that it might otherwise not be possible to feature in story form.

Deviations from what is considered life-like occasionally take place where the entertainment function of the story would seem to outweigh the pedagogic functions served by it. In these circumstances, the story tends to take the form of a joke. While there is some instances of joke telling in
the data obtained during this research, they are comparatively rare. This may be the case because the role of a trainer is seen as having little consistency with the role of the entertainer in police probationer training classrooms.

Deviations from the strict canons of life-likeness in this setting are not, however, without limit where lower risk stories are concerned. For example, trainers think very hard about even using case studies in lessons about emotive topics such as sexual assault. Here, the concern is that the subject matter combined with the general quality that stories have for involving their audience might lead to a level of emotional involvement on the part of the students that is well beyond the control of the trainer.

This analysis suggests that the use of stories can give rise to a dilemma in which they are both a means of realising an ideology of student involvement and yet also have the potential to involve the students to an unacceptably high emotional degree in them. In these circumstances, the trainers seem to take the emotional risk factors associated with the type of story and the subject matter it deals with into account before deciding what form of story, if any, should be used.
When trainers pursue the ideological goal of enhancing student involvement through the use of storytelling, they do so within the constraints of the curriculum. As has been suggested, the cognitive task-orientated focus of the curriculum is reflected in the way verisimilitude is defined in this setting. Deviating from verisimilitude so defined increases the chances of trainers loosing control of the classroom process in terms of an irretrievable departure from the curriculum taking place. Such a loss of control might manifest itself either by the students failing to get involved in the lesson and becoming de-motivated or by their becoming too immersed in the affective associations of the lesson material. In the former case, this might arise as a result of the story being deficient in its relationship to work place practice. In the latter case, this might arise as a result of a story or the wrong type of story being used to illustrate subject matter of an emotive nature.

In these circumstances, it is, perhaps, not surprising that trainers try to control the process of storytelling. It is in the application of control to a context in which student involvement is valued that the dilemmatic concepts of individual freedom and social control found in the "common sense" of wider society (Billig et al, 1988) are played out in this setting.

Trainers try to control the process of storytelling by amending or discarding centrally written thematic, role-play and case study material.
that they judge either to have a poor relationship with the work-place practice of the students or to relate to the use of emotive subject matter. Similar judgements are also made about the case studies and role-plays they write and the anecdotes and hypothetical accounts that they tell. Some trainers do this by explicitly considering the anecdotes and hypothetical accounts that they tell in advance of the lesson in which they are to be told, others seem to make such judgements closer to the time of telling. Some stories are the product of solely of the trainer's own experience, others are the elicited experiences of other trainers and other police officers. Some stories purport to relate to an event that has actually taken place, while others are accounts of what might have or could happen based on the experience of the trainer or his or her peers.

The controls exerted by trainers before a story is told are then supplemented by measures taken during its telling. In the case of role-plays and, to some extent, the themes supported by them, such control is exerted by the non-police roles being played by trainers rather than students. Where case studies are used, such control might be achieved by asking the students to address precise questions about the story. In the case of anecdotes and hypothetical accounts, such control might be exerted through the answers given by the trainer in response the students' questions about the account.

Finally, trainers control stories when they give feedback on the students' responses to them. The extent to which a student response is treated as
valid or invalid often depends as much on a judgement of work-place relevance as it does on the relationship of the response to the objectives of the lesson.

Though the use of these measures, trainers try to minimise the possibility of events getting out of their control. In so doing, judgements of verisimilitude are made in such a way as to both promote student involvement and to limit it to the cognitive aspects of lesson material. For this reason, it is suggested that the wider dilemma surrounding the twin concepts of freedom and constraint becomes manifest through the control of verisimilitude in this setting.

**Implications**

If the findings reported in this thesis are generalisable and the use of stories in police probationer training is to take place effectively, they have implications for the selection and training of police probationer trainers. These implications refer to operational experience and teaching skills.

In respect of the first of these implications, the analysis reported in this thesis suggests that the successful use of a story in this classroom depends crucially on the strength of its relationship to events that have been experienced or are likely to be experienced by the students. Such "events" do not exist as absolute occurrences in some kind of objective
reality but rather amount to the way in which the students intersubjectively construct experience in this particular professional context. It, therefore, seems likely that using stories effectively in this setting demands a degree of familiarity with the students’ work place. Further to this, inasmuch as police practice changes and police cultural values shift, such a familiarity needs to be up-to-date.

The analysis reported in this thesis also suggests that the successful use of stories in the classroom depends on understanding the flexible nature of their relationship to the work-place experience of the students. As has been noted, stories that demand a high level of attentional or emotional resources from students warrant a stronger relationship with work-place experience than those demanding less emotional or attentional resources. This means that themes and role-plays need to have a higher level of verisimilitude than case studies, anecdotes or hypothetical accounts. This suggests that trainers and training designers might need to acquire the skill to vary the level of verisimilitude according to the type of story that is to be used.

In addition to this, trainers may need some guidance in how to control the stories that are used in the classroom. As noted, this takes place at each stage of the process from story selection to debriefing. Here, story selection includes not only the content of the story but also the type of story when considered in conjunction with the nature of the subject matter to be taught. In particular, it is suggested that considerable care
should be exercised if role-plays are to be used with emotive subject matter. This is so because the additional emotional resources demanded by this type of story might give rise to a situation in which the students’ emotional responses get beyond the control of the trainer.

**Suggestions for Further Research**

This research has developed Bruner’s (1986) work by opening up a number of questions relating to storytelling. In particular, it has demonstrated that story form, function and constraint are intricately bound together in social context. In this sense, it has developed a framework against which the use of stories in social context might be examined and has opened up a number of interesting areas that might be addressed in further research.

This research has explored the general constraints governing the use of stories in this classroom. Within the parameters set by these constraints there are likely to be a number of stories that could be used. Further research might explore why one particular story is used rather than another at any given moment in the classroom process.

In addition to this, the research has focused on the use of stories from the perspective of the trainers. Matters may have appeared quite different if the same classroom had been examined from the students’
points of view. Evidence in previous literature supporting the idea that stories can influence memory (for example, Fielding, 1988, Mercer 1995, Middleton and Edwards, 1990 and Paivio and Begg, 1971) suggests that one of the issues that might be explored from this angle would be the memorability of stories.

The generalisability of these findings to other kinds of training that take place in the same setting might also be explored in further research. For example, if stories are used extensively in training for inspectors and sergeants, experience of the work place is likely to be different to that of probationers in at least two ways. First, their experiences as supervisors will probably be different to those of constables working as practitioners. Secondly, they are likely to have greater breadth of experience in police work by virtue of their having been doing the job for a longer period of time. Any stories used in the training of such supervisors would probably need to take account of the added supervisory dimension. In addition to this, the willingness of supervisors to suspend disbelief when certain types of story are used may differ from probationers because their breadth of experience may have given them greater familiarity with its limitations.

Further research might also shed some light on the generalisability of these findings to other police contexts in which stories are told. Here it might be expected that the functions served by the telling of a story in, for example, a police canteen would differ from those of the classroom. This
is so because the storyteller's motivation is likely to be contingent on the demands of the setting. In police canteens, the demand for entertainment and personal justification may well feature rather more highly than in the classroom.

In addition, further research might explore the generality of these findings to other vocational settings. While previous literature would seem to suggest that stories are used in at least some other vocational settings (for example, Dingwall, 1977 as discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis), the extent of their use is by no means certain. When this matter is considered, it seems likely that differences in social context will have an impact on the degree to which stories are used and on the functions served by their use in any given vocational setting.
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Appendices

Appendix A  A glossary of terms found in the data to this study.

Appendix B  A transcript of a lesson involving the use of case studies included as an example of data.

Appendix C  A transcript of a lesson involving the use of a role-play included as an example of data.
### GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN DATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A.B.H.</strong></td>
<td>An assault that results in Actual Bodily Harm being inflicted on the victim (actual bodily harm includes injuries such as bruising, minor cuts etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Baton</strong></td>
<td>The side-handled police batons commonly used in America and issued to British police in 1994.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(a) Bench</strong></td>
<td>A group of three lay magistrates that may be found sitting at either a magistrates’ or a youth court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bodies</strong></td>
<td>People arrested by the police (prisoners).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Butterworths</strong></td>
<td>Butterworth’s Police Law. A legal textbook commonly used by the police.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(a) Caution</strong></td>
<td>Where a person suspected of having committed a criminal offence is told that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
he/she does not have to say anything unless they want to do so.

**Custody Officer**  The sergeant with special responsibility for people whom are arrested and brought into a police station.

**Exhibit**  A document/ item of property to be adduced before a court as evidence.

**Five oh nine four**  A register of premises that have been searched by the police that is held at the police station.

**G.B.H.**  Grievous Bodily Harm. A serious assault in which some serious injury (i.e. broken bones) is inflicted.

**Hendon**  The Metropolitan Police Training Establishment in Hendon, North West London.

**Heckler Koch M.P.5**  The type of machine gun now carried by some police officers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.D.O.</td>
<td>An Identification Officer. A member of the police civil staff employed to examine crime scenes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nick</td>
<td>To steal something or to arrest someone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicked</td>
<td>When used in respect of a person this means arrested by police, when used in respect of property it means stolen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off Weaps</td>
<td>Offensive weapons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Bill</td>
<td>Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.C.</td>
<td>Police Constable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.N.C.</td>
<td>The Police National Computer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) P.R.</td>
<td>A personal radio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probationer</td>
<td>A police officer who has completed his or her initial training but has not yet completed a total of two years police service.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(a) Ringer  
A stolen vehicle that has had its identity altered so as to appear to be legitimate.

Ringing  
The act of altering a stolen vehicle's identity so that it appears to be legitimate.

Section Seventeen  
The police power to enter premises, to arrest people for certain offences or to protect life, under section 17 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act, 1984.

Section Eighteen  
The offence under section 18 of the Offences Against the Person Act, 1861 of causing Grievous Bodily Harm (see G.B.H. above) or wounding with intent to do so or with intent to resist or prevent arrest. This is the most serious of the offences of assault to fall just short of the homicide offences.

Section Twenty  
The offence under section 20 of the Offences Against the Person Act, 1861 of causing Grievous Bodily Harm (see G.B.H. above) or wounding by a malicious act although without having the intent to inflict such serious injury.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>SOCO</strong></th>
<th>Scenes Of Crime Officer: a civilian employee of the police specialising in the preservation of forensic evidence left at the scene of crime by the alleged perpetrator of that crime.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>S.O. Nineteen</strong></td>
<td>A department consisting of police officers who have been specially trained to carry firearms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stipendary magistrate</strong></td>
<td>A professionally qualified magistrate that sits on his/her own.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(a) Suspect</strong></td>
<td>A person suspected of having committed a criminal offence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wedge</strong></td>
<td>Money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>White Notes</strong></td>
<td>Printed resource material given to the probationary constables while at the Training School and throughout their course of attendances at the local training unit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B

“Charlie 6” Class:

A Transcript of a Lesson Involving the use of

Case Studies

This lesson took place on 24.4.95 and commenced at 1.45 p.m.

Monday afternoon (immediately after lunch) on the sixth and final attendance of Charlie Class. The trainer is a male police constable (N.W.). All Charlie Class are present. The trainer and the students are all in shirt sleeves. The classroom layout is as shown in the supporting material.

We join the class just as the trainer enters the room.

******************************************************************************

1. Trainer Right/ does anyone mind if we open Trainer opens
   a window?

2. Students

3. Students

4. Trainer

5. Trainer looking at is this criminal

6. Trainer trespass and in particular the

7. Trainer Criminal Law Act section six seven

8. Trainer and eight/ has anyone actually

9. Trainer used any of these offences ever?
10. **Student** (.........)
(D.H.)

11. **Trainer** Sorry?

12. **Student** I’m sorry we did have one where

13. (D.H.) there were (.........)

14. **Trainer** Right yeah go on

15. **Student** (..................)
(D.H.)

16. **Trainer** Anyone else?// It talks in your
notes about occasions which are
deemed "Criminal Law Act Scenarios"
does it not?/ and there are three
points that you should consider
which would deem each scenario to
be a Criminal Law Act scenario/
what would the first one be?

17. **Student** Any other offences
(L.M.)

18. **Trainer** Any other offences

20. **Student** (.............)

21. **Trainer** writes
on flip-chart

22. **Student** Person outside attempting entry

23. **Trainer** takes
a pen from

24. **Student** (D.H.)

25. **Trainer** (see flip-chart
1 in supporting
material).
28. Student (..........)

29. Trainer Right so if we apply those criteria to each scenario that we come up against/ what are we to do if these three apply?

30. Student Call the guv'nor (L.M.)

31. Trainer Yeah/ what are we supposed to do then?

32. Student Call an Inspector/ What's that (S.M.) then?

33. Trainer Two pips Steve two pips/ erm why are we supposed to call an Inspector? Now one of the reasons why I'm going to go through the legislation is that after walking out this here room you might well have a better idea of the legislation that erm the duty officer and secondly it might not always be that the duty officer can attend the scene and he can quite easily get out of it himself anyway by saying "Do you know the
Criminal Law/ do you know about the Criminal Law Act?"/ You of course having been here on your last attendance will say "Yes" and he will probably say "Well get on with it" so that is why we're going to have a look at the legislation erm technically I'd advise you to always do that to seek some advice if these three apply call an Inspector/ any questions so far?// No?// Section six of the Criminal Law Act nineteen?

Student Seventy seven

(Student)

Trainer Points to prove/ any person who

(W.R.)

Student Uses or threatens [ ]

(W.R.)

Trainer continues to write on white board 1 (see supporting material).

68. Trainer [ Yeah ]

69. Student [ unlawful violence

70. (W.R.)

71. Trainer Yeah there's a tiny bit before that
72. Student  For the purpose of securing entry  
(M.K.)

73. Trainer  No

74. Student  Any persons  
(S.M.)

75. Trainer  All right well there's a tiny bit  
76.  before that

77. Student  Without lawful authority  
(M.K.)

78. Trainer  Without lawful authority// a  
79.  person who without lawful  
80.  authority uses or threatens  
81.  violence for the purpose of?/  
82.  Someone said it a minute ago  
1 (see supporting material)

83. Student  Securing entry  
(M.K.)

84. Trainer  Securing entry  
Trainer adds  
"Securing entry"  
to white board  
1.

85. Student  For himself or another

86. Trainer  Yeah// for himself or another/  
87.  yeah

88. Student  The person outside knows  
Trainer adds  
"For himself or another"  
to white board
89. Trainer Yeah/ so when we talk about "lawful authority" what are we talking about?

90. Trainer adds "Person outside knows" and "Person in premises is opposed to entry" to white board 1.

91. Student To arrest someone for an arrestable offence

92. (L.M.) an arrestable offence

93. Trainer Sorry?

94. Student Someone inside may be wanted for

95. (L.M.) an arrestable offence

96. Trainer Yeah

97. Student Section seventeen [ S 17]

98. (S.M.) [ Like a burglar

99. Student [ Section seventeen

100. (L.M.) inside

101. Trainer So like you/ you for instance in your powers as a constable are using your [ Section seventeen

102. (S.M.)

103. 

104. 

105. Trainer Yeah O.K. hadn't thought about Trainer adds "S 17" to
lawful authority?  

Student Warrants  
(A.A.)

Trainer Sorry?

Student Warrants  
(A.A.)

Trainer Warrants yeah  

Student (.....) emergency services (....)  
(S.M.)

Trainer C.K. what power do they use to go in?  

Student (............)  
(S.M.)

Trainer O.K. what else is there?

Student The local authority  
(A.A.)

Trainer Yeah for what?

Student Eviction orders  
(A.A.)
120. Trainer Yeah eviction orders

121. Student Bailiffs

122. Trainer Bailiffs

123. Student (......) the occupier who comes back from holiday

124. Trainer O.K. right O.K. we'll come on to that later but that doesn't necessarily qualify under "Lawful authority" qualify for the purpose of entering

130. Student (..........)

131. Trainer Right so any person who without lawful authority who doesn't come under any of the points uses or threatens violence

135. Student (..............)

136. Trainer Sorry?

137. Student (..............)

138. Trainer Yeah towards?

139. Student To the person [ 353 ]
Trainer: So uses or threatens violence/ now the Criminal Law Act makes a distinction between violence and force/ can anyone perhaps give me an example of force which for the purposes of the Criminal Law Act would be (.....)

Student: Smashing a door down (.....)

Trainer: So smashing a door down would be what?

Student: (...................)

Trainer: Well it doesn't even go into specifics to that degree/ what would force be then?

Student: (...) putting the key in the door perhaps (......)

Trainer: So for instance if you get someone who enters the premises merely by using force i.e. with a key or
climbing in through an already
open window/ opening a window/ he
doesn't use or threaten violence
therefore they don't commit the
offence so we are looking at
people who are using or
threatening violence towards
persons or property outside the
address or say that they used
violence say that they smashed the
doors down or broke the window or
forced the door but there doesn't
necessarily have to be any damage/
they could just have
shoulder-barged the door and that
would still be violence even
though there might be no damage
caused/ Does that make sense?/
You can disagree with me if you
like I don't mind/ is everyone
happy?/ Right so a person can be
guilty of this offence for example
even if they don't actually gain
entry because they can threaten
violence for the purpose of
gaining entry/ you can technically
have an offence of section six
without actual entry being gained/
let's move on to this one "For the
purpose of securing entry for
himself or another"/ yeah fairly
Students laugh.

Trainer points to white board.

355
straightforward it's not just for himself so you could get this with you know someone's agent or// and there is a person on the premises opposed to someone's entry// and the person outside knows that the person inside is opposed to the entry/ now what do you think this piece of legislation was designed for?

Students Squatters

Trainer Yeah basically/ can anyone think of any examples from their everyday policing where a section six of the Criminal Law Act offence might apply?

Student Domestics (L.M.)

Trainer Have you used it at all in domestics?

Student We've been told not to (L.M.)

Trainer Who tells you not to?

Student The duty officer (......)
213. Trainer Why's that then?

214. Student He says to use breach of the peace instead (...) because our policy is to use breach of the peace

215. (L.M.)

216. (L.M.)

217. (L.M.)

218. Student (...) in Streatham (....)

(A.A.)

219. Trainer I actually mean you can consider this when dealing with domestic situations erm

220. (A.A.)

221. (A.A.)

222. Student (..........)

(S.M.)

223. Trainer Sorry?

224. Student (.....)

(S.M.)

225. Trainer Yeah erm of course you've got to remember when you're dealing with a domestic situation that if the two people are merely arguing inside the address well then clearly a section six does not apply so you're more looking
towards the scenario of an ex-husband or ex-boyfriend who's away/ you know sort of separated and then comes back to the address and erm you know starts to threaten his wife or girl friend or whatever for the purposes of securing entry/ but I mean I phoned the C.P.S. about this to ask them whether they would consider prosecuting for a section six Criminal Law Act offence in a domestic situation and they said obviously each case would be taken on its merits but they are they do and are quite willing to prosecute for an offence

With that then would you not maybe need a witness statement?/ You know what these women are like they change their minds don't they? Students laugh.

Do they?

Yeah all the time

That's why breach is better

Students laugh.
Student: Yeah I mean women in domestics tend to do that (....) but if it's breach of the peace it's up to us isn't it?

Trainer: Yeah it is but often/ often you can get evidence of this from yourself by turning up at the scene/ Now what's the power of arrest for this then?

Student: A constable in uniform

Trainer: In uniform yeah/ has reasonable cause to suspect that a person is guilty of this offence/ so does it necessarily need victim evidence if you're there to erm prosecute for section six anyway?/ It depends on the circumstances

Student: It would make it a bit stronger though wouldn't it?

Trainer: Oh yeah sure

Student: (...) oppose entry though
Trainer Well yeah but I presume that that would be fairly obvious from the circumstances that you're attending// What do you reckon?

Student It's a bit long-winded when you could use other things (........)

Student Do beach it's better to take them away than just to let them get on with it rather than wait and see (.............)

Trainer I mean O.K. so what public order offence would you consider using?

Student Section four

Trainer Or?

Student Section three or five

Trainer Yeah// So that is basically the Criminal Law Act take it if you want and use it in domestics/ as I say the C.P.S. are willing to prosecute in domestic situations
298. Student Are they if the person inside wont
go to court?

299. (D.H.)

300. Trainer I don't know I didn't ask them
that but erm I mean just because
the person you feel doesn't
necessarily want to stand there
and substantiate the allegation
that doesn't stop you from
arresting to start with if she
does then refuse to co-operate
then (.........)

309. Student (.........) Students laugh.

310. Trainer Yeah see I mean the thing is as
you rightly say Chris the section
six can be committed by a person
who returns off holiday and erm
finds that squatters have moved
into their house and then erm
rushes in and breaks the door
down in order to evict the
squatters/ they would technically
commit an offence under section
six however there is a defence to
this which is / yeah for the
person to prove that they are a
displaced residential occupier or?

314. Students laugh.

319. Trainer Yeah see I mean the thing is as
you rightly say Chris the section
six can be committed by a person
who returns off holiday and erm
finds that squatters have moved
into their house and then erm
rushes in and breaks the door
down in order to evict the
squatters/ they would technically
commit an offence under section
six however there is a defence to
this which is / yeah for the
person to prove that they are a
displaced residential occupier or?

324. Student (... .....)

361
325. Trainer: Sorry?/ A displaced residential occupier or a?// or a?/ protected?

326. Trainer adds: "DRO" and then "Protected intended occupier"

327. No?/ or yeah here you are a protected intended occupier/ now that is to say that there is a defence upon charge so that it's not necessarily a complete negation of the arrest

328. Trainer points to white board.

329. Student: (........)

330. Trainer: This defence?/ Right the reason is and I'll come onto section seven in a minute is that if the displaced residential occupier or the protected intended occupier go about things in a lawful way i.e. section six and then ask the squatters to leave the squatters then commit an offence under section seven/ so the proper way of dealing with it is to call the old bill so that they can prove they're one of these points asking the squatters to leave (........) and if the squatters refuse to leave they commit an offence under section seven/ however if you get a displaced residential occupier

362
who has committed a section six offence before you get there erm you might want to consider erm/ you know you might want to consider arresting them

Student: What happens if they say "No I asked them to leave" (…….)

Student (C.H.): Can they only use this defence in your presence?

Trainer: No I mean this is his defence on charge right so I mean for the facts/ when you turn up he or she has committed this section six of the Criminal Law Act offence erm so technically they've committed the offence and therefore they make themselves liable to arrest/ they have this defence they have this defence but that doesn't negate your power of arrest just because they're one of these/ they've committed the offence you can still arrest them/ it'll be their defence on charge that they are a displaced residential occupier it'll be up to the C.P.S. then whether to proceed with it or not/ erm most squatters know their
rights and know whether erm you
know whether a displaced
residential occupier has in fact
committed a section six of the
Criminal Law Act offence/ so for
your own safety you might want to
pursue an arrest or of course you
can go by way of the new case
disposal/ but erm probably to
cover yourselves if a section six
offence has taken place well you
really ought to be considering the
appropriate course of action/ I
know that it sounds heavy handed
but

Student (S.M.) Couldn't you go back and sort it
out and then tell them the
appropriate course of action to
take?

Trainer Right well this one erm (.....)
one at all and we're going to look
at displaced residential occupier
later on erm (.......) I mean to
sum it up it has to be their
residence that they live in so
that (.......)

Student (.......)

364
406. Trainer Yeah! This one takes a bit longer
407. to prove
408. Student (....) do you have to go to court
409. (L.M.) or something?
410. Trainer What for the squatters?
411. Student Yeah
412. (L.M.)
413. Trainer If you’re not one of these yeah/
414. in actual fact there was a case
415. on "London Tonight" a couple of
416. days ago about some squatters who
417. moved into a car park/ what
418. happened is this underground car
419. park erm/ the company had gone
420. bust and moved out of their
421. building and underneath there was
422. this car park obviously where all
423. the employees used to park and the
424. squatters have taken over this car
425. park and were charging people to
426. park/ and because the company
427. aren't a displaced residential
428. occupier are they? They're not a
429. protected intended occupier
430. because they're not intending on
431. living there erm of course the
432. Trainer points to "Protected intended occupier" on white board.
433. Trainer points to "Protected intended occupier" on white board.
company have got to go away and
get an eviction order themselves
(....... ) they were charging about
four quid a day

Student There must be an offence there
(A.A.)

Trainer Such as?

Student (........ )
(A.A.)

Trainer Any questions about section six?/
No?/ Right section seven then/

it's very straight forward/ ahead

go over

Section seven?

Students and trainer laugh.

(L.M.)

Trainer Have you not had section seven in
your notes?

Students No

Student It was just comparing the sections
(L.M.) (..............)

Trainer Right oh O.K. well then we'll put
it up for you on the old overhead Trainer puts
there it is// "any person who who is on any premises as a trespasser after having entered as such is guilty of an offence if he fails to leave those premises on being required to do so by or on behalf of a displaced residential occupier or an individual who is a protected intended occupier"/ so that covers for example the old person who comes home off holiday to find that squatters have moved in to their premises their house/ they are a displaced residential occupier and call you down and satisfy you that you are that they are a displaced residential occupier and that that is their house/ that the person who is on the premises is in fact a trespasser i.e. they haven't got any permission to stay there erm/ so then the displaced residential occupier asks the trespassers to leave and the trespassers then fail to leave well then they commit an offence under section seven i.e. being inside the premises for which of course you have a power of arrest for/ as I say most squatters know their
rights and what they can and
cannot do and when you come down
and confront them with a
displaced residential occupier
they'll probably know and almost
certainly leave/ that's basically
the offence/ the problem of course
might occur is when the person who
has swapped homes comes back off
holiday for instance and they
come back and the person who
they've swapped with you know as
the house exchange is still there
and they refuse to leave then this
displaced residential occupier
asks them to leave and they refuse
to/ have they committed a section
seven?

They might not because they
haven't entered as a trespasser
Correct that is the correct answer
so they wouldn't commit a section
seven so therefore the displaced
residential occupier would have to
go away and get an eviction order

(Student (L.M.))
(Student (S.M.))
No the person has to go away and get an eviction order because the person doesn't commit an offence under section seven.

That's it?

Yeah so let's go back to the person who comes back from holiday and there are squatters who are in there as trespassers/ then the displaced residential occupier can ask them to leave and if they refuse to leave the squatters are in play for section seven which gives you a power of arrest/ and of course it gives you a power of entry as well.

(...........) this mate of mine who brought a flat with somebody else and the flat was empty and squatters moved in.

No he wouldn't be a displaced residential occupier basically because he hasn't been living there/ he might even commit a section six because even if a person has a right of ownership...
or you know a financial interest in premises it doesn’t mean to say he’s going to become a displaced residential occupier or a protected intended occupier

Student (.........)

Trainer Oh is it/ so erm where was I?

Student (.........)

Trainer Yeah so just because they have a right erm a financial interest or a right to ownership in the property it doesn’t mean to say that A they’re going to be a D.R.O. or a P.R.O. erm nor does that give them lawful authority to enter the premises

Student What would happen if police attended (.........) Students laugh.

Trainer Erm yeah

Student (.....) apparently (.........)

Trainer Yeah yeah that’s right erm/ it is an option I suppose but one that I suppose but one that I don’t think
you ought to explore

(Student) (............)

(Student) (....) that's the first thing

(S.M.) that's the first thing that comes
to mind isn't it if you've got

squatlers in your house you're
going to think "Well I'm going to
get into that house (............)
criminal law (......) if the
occupier is there (..........)

Trainer Well I mean to be honest with you
erm how many times have you come
across a section seven Criminal
Law Act scenario in your service?/
How many times have I in my
service which is about eight years
come across a section seven
Criminal Law Act scenario?/ None/
but it is to make you aware of the
fact that if it does arise/ then
this is your course of action

(Student) (....) you've still got your
powers of arrest (.........)

(S.M.)

Trainer But the most common one is the
person whose come back off holiday
to find that squatlers have moved
into his house/ that's the most common one and that won't be a problem to prove really that they're a displaced residential occupier/ you can check in the voter's yeah/ it'll be obvious that they live there or fairly obvious that they live there and you can ask him him or her to ask the squatters to leave and if the squatters don't leave go in and arrest them/ it's relatively straightforward/ there was a big barney up in Brixton a few about a year ago in fact with squatters erm and because what happened was exactly the same scenario they occupied this premises and a few officers from Brixton decided they were going to jump in and it was a derelict house/ there wasn't a displaced residential occupier/ the squatters were causing a disturbance and they decided that they were going to arrest them for obstruction and there was a huge sort of fight where police got pelted with missiles (.....) some of them were charged with erm
I bet none of them got convicted.

None of them got convicted at all; they all got off; yeah you know.

This is erm here for your own use.

If you come across this scenario in the circumstances that we've mentioned, of course the people who then refuse to leave do have certain defences that they believed that the person who was asking them to leave was not a displaced residential occupier or a protected intended occupier or a person acting on their behalf.

That the person requesting them to leave failed to produce a written statement or certificate to comply with the Act which we'll come on to when asked to so so by the accused.

That the premises are or form premises used mainly for non-residential purposes; that he was not in any part of the premises used solely or mainly for residential purposes; so basically what we're saying is that section seven does not and this should hopefully be obvious to you apply to factory premises car parks.
There was a story going around at one stage where two people went into this place (................)

Right has he entered as the premises as a trespasser?

No

So there's no section seven offence there because he hasn't entered as a trespasser

So there's Steve here who would arrest him for abstracting electricity

And he's paying rent to him?

Well this guy was paying rent for this guy (........)

Oh I see
Student: (......) he was going on (......)

(D.C.) did he have squatters rights?

Student: (......)

(L.M.) ....) he must have some rights

Trainer: Well I mean from what you're saying to me I don't think he's committed he certainly hasn't committed a section seven offence because he hasn't entered as a trespasser erm so if someone then comes along who has (......) and then the council come along and wanted obviously to do the flat up just to let it to someone else erm they'd have to get an eviction order

Student: It could be a deception though

(L.M.) couldn't it? It could be a deception?

Trainer: How many times have you phoned the council and told them that someone's sub-letting and erm (......) at the end of the day if he wants to remain there there's very little that can be done about it
686. Student (.........) Students laugh.

687. Student (.........) (D.C.)

688. Trainer If he wanted to remain there I
689. suggest that you couldn't have
690. done very much about it if he
691. wanted to stay

692. Student (.........)

693. Trainer Is everyone happy about section
694. seven??// Do you want to go and
695. stretch your legs for five minutes?
696. Let’s see it’s about half past so
697. be back at twenty too

******************************************************************************

Students and trainer leave the classroom.
******************************************************************************

Students and trainer return to the classroom.
******************************************************************************

698. Trainer Right you know when we talked
699. about protected intended occupiers
700. and displaced residential
701. occupiers/ this here is the flow
702. chart for a displaced or protected

Trainer puts overhead slide
occupier/ so that a person who is a protected intended occupier/ can everyone see that all right?! erm the person must require the premises for their own occupation that's fairly straightforward/

they are excluded by a person who entered as a trespasser and they are a freehold or leaseholder with not less than two years to run does everyone know what I mean by "freehold" and "leasehold"?/

freehold is that like you own the land and everything that's on it
erm leasehold is that you own the building but not the land so all the land will be owned by someone else/ and they will lease it out so you have to prove that you are a freeholder or a leaseholder with not less than two years to run or a tenancy or a licence granted from a housing authority/ you to have one of those three things yeah? With more than two years to run

Student Do you have to have one of those three things (..........)

Trainer With more than two years to run//
732. Sorry that's actually with less than three years to run it used to be twenty one years but now it's gone down to two if you're interested.

737. Student (..................) Students laugh. (S.M.)

738. Trainer It's changed to two/ so you've got to prove the person's got to prove that he's one of these three things normally they're going to be one of these ones freehold or leasehold interest or erm you know your licence et cetera/ if you are a freeholder or leaseholder you must have a written statement which describes your interest in the premises the fact that your residency is required which is signed by you and by a J.P. or commissioner for oaths/ obviously you probably know for yourself the difference between a written statement for the court and (....) the last one a written statement from the housing authority or certificate so it's odds on that you've got someone who states they're a protected intended.
occupier and if they haven't gone through this process it's going to take them a bit of a while to get all these documents together to prove who they are as you say as we were discussing downstairs when you were at tea it's more likely that when you get a section seven scenario it'll be as a protected intended occupier rather than a displaced residential one for the very reason that squatters don't normally move into premises that they know are already occupied/ at the end of the day they know what they're doing if it's occupied they know they're going to get thrown out under section seven/ it's more likely to be a scenario where they've moved into an empty flat or empty premises and then the protected intended occupier comes along later and that's when we have to act under section seven

Student (S.M.) What about when it's council property and you've got the council tenant sort of (........) if it's a private house with a private tenant what do they do at (........)
Well what they then do is they then come and see you and they wave this piece of paper in front of you and erm then you go around together and (..........) under section seven/ so this is the more common scenario if you like (....) so/ but you've got to have that written statement there if they can't produce that written statement you're stuck you've got to wait until they come back with it/ any questions?// Right displaced residential occupiers/ you have to prove or they have to prove that they were occupying the premises as a residence immediately before/ it's quite straightforward/ a person who was occupying the premises as a residence immediately prior to being excluded by the person who entered the premises as a trespasser// so erm that's section six and section seven of the Criminal Law Act protected intended occupiers and displaced residential occupiers/ is there anything you want to know about the Criminal Law Act?/ Because
there is one other offence which
is section?

Student Eight

What is section eight?/
Trespassing with weapon of offence/
what is a weapon of offence?

(Student (..........)
(L.M.)

Any article that is made adapted
or intended/ made adapted or
intended for use in injury or
incapacitation that is section
eight/ Would you now feel
confident about dealing with
Criminal Law Act scenarios?/
Yeah?/ Excellent because I have
some Criminal Law Act scenarios
for you to deal with so if you’d
like to get yourselves into pairs/
now if you get yourselves erm
there’s a list of instructions
(..........) so if I give
you twenty minutes back at quarter
past/ you can go when you like/ I
would appreciate it if you didn’t
actually write on the sheets on
the sheets at all
Students take the "scenarios" and leave the classroom.
Trainer leaves the classroom.

Trainer and students return to the classroom.

845. Trainer  How did you find the erm scenarios?

846. Student  Straightforward
(S.M.)

847. Trainer  Straightforward?

848. Student  Yeah
(S.M.)

849. Trainer  Yeah/ right then// number one/

850.   Trainer reads  does the criteria for a Criminal "scenario"

851.   Law Act Scenario apply?  from the sheet of paper (see

852.   Student  Yeah  supporting
(L.M.) material)

853. Trainer  Why?
854. Student (................) [ 
(L.M.) [ 
[ 
855. Student [ (...........) 
(S.M.) 

856. Trainer What would you do in those circumstances?

857. 

858. Student Call an inspector 
(L.M.) 

859. Trainer Are there any offences under the Criminal Law Act?

860. 

861. Student Erm no [ 
(L.M.) [ 
[ 
862. Student [ No 

863. Trainer No erm there's no offence under the Criminal Law Act although it of course a Criminal Law Act scenario (............) right so 

864. 

865. 

866. 

867. (...........) scenario two/ right is 

868. it a Criminal Law Act scenario? Trainer reads "Scenario" from sheet 

869. Student No (......) [ 
(M.K.) [ 
[ 

383
870. Student [ (.........) ]
   (S.M.)

871. Trainer Is there any Criminal Law Act
872. offence?

873. Student No it's just trespass she's within
874. (S.M.) her rights to throw him out

875. Trainer So she's **definitely** within her
876. rights to throw him out?

877. Student No (........) [ ]
   (L.M.) [ ]
   [ ]

878. Student [ (.........) ]
   (A.A.)

Students laugh.

879. Trainer Yeah O.K. seriously though any
880. offences?

881. Students (..................)

882. Student It is sort of it is civil trespass

883. Student (.........) [ ]
   (S.M.) [ ]
   [ ]

884. Student [ Have a chat with the
885. (D.H.) council (.......) ask them if they
886. know about it rather than (.......)

384
Trainer: So if you were called to this scenario what would you do?

Student: Ask him to leave to sort it out.

Trainer: So basically she doesn't commit any offences under the Criminal Law Act there's no reason why erm/ for you to take any action against her so basically she stays where she is/ is everyone happy with that scenario?/ Scenario three then/ Is that a Criminal Law Act scenario?

Student: Yeah (......)

Trainer: It is a Criminal Law Act scenario?

Student: Yeah

Trainer: O.K. what would you do?

Student: No offences disclosed

Students laugh.
906. Trainer No offences disclosed?

907. Student (............) [ 
        (L.M.) [ 
            [ 

908. Student [ (............) 
        (A.A.) 

909. Student So when do they become trespassers

910. (S.M.) then?

911. Student (............)

912. Student So why are they still trespassers?
    (S.M.)

913. Trainer Sorry?

914. Student So why are they still trespassers?
    (S.M.)

915. Trainer They're not

916. Student They're not are they?
    (S.M.)

917. Trainer No/ a local company has closed 
    down and on the last day they 
    barricade themselves in as a sort 
    of protest erm/ they haven't 
    entered as trespassers so they 
    Trainer reads 
    "scenario" 
    from a sheet 
    of paper (see 
    supporting
cannot commit an offence under material) the Criminal Law Act of nineteen seventy seven it's not residential premises so (......) and they're being peaceful so right erm scenario four/ any offences Trainer reads disclosed? "scenario" (......) he was unaware (......) [ (......) he was unaware Scenario four: Any offences disclosed?

Student No (L.M.)

Trainer Why not?

Student (......) [ (......) he was unaware (......) he was unaware

Trainer The answer to that question is erm yeah part of the prosecution for that offence would mean he had to be aware so clearly he can't be guilty of a section six Criminal Law Act offence because he didn't know/ Right scenario five

Student (........) from a sheet

Trainer So technically this isn't a Criminal Law Act scenario because supporting you'd be considering what offences?
944. Student Assault affray
(L.M.)

945. Student [Affray using or
threatening violence]

946. Trainer Yeah you could also consider what?

947. Trainer Are there any Criminal Law Act
offences disclosed?

948. Student Section six
(D.H.)

949. Trainer Have you got a section six there
or not?

950. Student [.........]
(S.M.)

951. Trainer Yeah that's what our policy says
is a Criminal Law Act scenario and
therefore you call an inspector to
come down and deal with it/ that
doesn't necessarily mean that erm
there won't be any Criminal Law Act
offences just because that doesn't
apply// Because I mean look if you
go through the wording of section
six the use or threat of violence

for the purpose of securing/

violence knowing that there are

people on the premises that are

opposed to their entry

Student It doesn't say anywhere that they

have to (........)

So I mean they would and do commit

an offence under section six as

well as your other offences of

public order or threats to assault

you could add section six of the

Criminal Law Act O.K.?// Scenario

"This time imagine that the twenty

year olds are in the foyer of the

club"

Trainer reads

"scenario"

from a piece

of paper (see

supporting

material)

[........] [........]

[........] consider

[........] so they can be us

[........] (S.M.) (.............)

I think that you'd be struggling
to prove that on the fact that they're outside and that the person inside is refusing to give them access.

Student (..........) (L.M.)

[......]

Students laugh.

Student (D.H.) you're saying that if someone was in this room that they (..........)

Trainer Erm I'm trying to think whether you could

Student It would be similar if you had a house that was divided into flats

Trainer Right yeah I mean the definition of premises is slightly erm it says any building or part of a building or any (...) occupied simply as a residence so for the case of a building that is which is divided into flats then clearly someone who is on the stairwell so has gained access through the communal door and is then trying to gain access to one of the flats they still commit a section six of
the Criminal Law Act offence but I don't think that it would apply to this kind of scenario where the bouncers are stopping them getting access to the disco floor/ you're struggling a bit there

Students laugh.

Yeah thanks for that Steve so you probably wouldn't be considering a Criminal Law Act offence here in scenario six but you can still consider (.........)

Wouldn't that be the same for scenario five?

.........

Yeah/ scenario five yeah

.........

Yeah/ erm in answer to your question Dave he still commits public order offences so you could still arrest them for public order but they could still commit in fact they do commit section six.
of the Criminal Law Act offences because they're outside the premises threatening violence for the purposes of gaining entry knowing that the bouncers are opposed to their entry whereas in the following scenario scenario six they're already on the premises so they aren't threatening to gain access they're just threatening the bouncers so I don't think that you'd be considering a section six of the Criminal Law Act offence just public order/ Right erm scenario seven "A family have returned from their holiday to find that squatters have taken up residence in their home and refuse to leave and bolt all the doors and refuse to allow the family to enter" is that a Criminal Law Act scenario?

Trainer reads "scenario" from a sheet of paper (see supporting material)

Student Yeah

(A.A.)

Trainer Any Criminal Law Act offences?

Student Yeah (..........)

Trainer You might be considering that
1062. offence

1063. Student (...............)

1064. Trainer Yeah or?

1065. Student (...............)

1066. Trainer Yeah but when the family return
1067. from holiday what are they?

1068. Students Displaced residential occupiers

1069. Trainer Right and therefore?

1070. Student You ask them to leave
1070. (L.M.)

1071. Trainer Right and if they fail to leave?

1072. Student Nick them [ [ ]
1072. (L.M.)

1073. Trainer Right so technically it's for the
1074. family to prove that they are displaced residential occupiers
1075. and ask them to leave and if they refuse to leave then the squatters
1076. commit an offence under section
Would the family need to prove they were displaced residential occupiers?

Yeah you would need to have some proof that they were displaced residential occupiers before you went off and arrested them that would be part of your reasonable cause to suspect Erm scenario eight?

I mean going back to your I'm just thinking about your previous question Steve part of the defence for section seven is that the squatters or people in the premises didn't realise that erm they were being asked to leave by a displaced residential occupier for the premises so to cover your own backs you need to make sure that the squatters are in no doubt these people are displaced residential occupiers so they're going to have to bring to you they might have to bring some
documents along/ scenario eight

so what have we got here the

family have returned home to find

the squatters asleep/ so where

do you go from there?

Student (..............) (S.M.)

Trainer Sorry?

Student (..............) (S.M.)

Trainer They haven't used or threatened

violence to get in/ O.K. they've

used force to get in i.e. they've

put the key in the lock and turned

it but there is no section six of

the Criminal Law Act offence

because they're on the premises

lawfully (......) of course they

might still have a section seven/

right so scenario nine

Student It might be a burglary (A.A.)

Trainer reads "scenario"

from a sheet of paper (see supporting material)

Yeah he might be witnessing an

offence of burglary/ what of

course really has happened in this
case is that the man has gone and
picked up his children from school
and has come back to his house and
his wife has bolted the door from
the inside

(............)

Sorry?/ He's looked through the
window and can see his hi-fi and
television near the door his stuff
that she's getting ready to throw
out/ that's what's really happened

So are you saying that he knows
that story?

(........)

What nick the wife for burglary oh
hello Steve (........)/ would
this therefore be a Criminal Law
Act scenario?/ In the
circumstances I've outlined?

Yeah erm yeah (........)

Is it?
1153. Student Yeah there's no offences she's
1154. (M.K.) inside and he's outside (......)

1155. Trainer So are there any Criminal Law Act
1156. offences present (......)/ Right
1157. are there any Criminal Law Act
1158. offences present in scenario ten?

1159. Student Yeah

1160. Student Yeah there is
(M.K.)

1161. Trainer The erm people at the front door
1162. they've erm threatened to use
1163. violence for the purpose of
1164. gaining entry knowing that the
1165. person on the premises is opposed
1166. to their entry/ in fact you can
1167. erm apply section six of the
1168. Criminal Law Act scenarios to
1169. gate-crashers/ but of course
1170. you've got to have the threat of
1171. violence

1172. Student What about the person inside the
1173. (L.M.) premises do they have to actually
1174. get the threat

1175. Trainer Yeah use or threaten violence as
1176. opposed to just feeling threatened
because they're outside
everyone happy so far?
scenario eleven "An old gent down
the road has just died and left
his house to his young nephew"/
You'll like this scenario "After
the will has been read the nephew
decides to visit the premises he
has just acquired on he finds that
some undesirables have already
moved in. He manages to speak to
them through an open window and
asks them to leave. They refuse
and claim squatters rights. He
then says if they refuse to go
he will kick the door in and
forcibly remove them with the help
of some friends. The squatters say
that under no circumstances will
be allowed into the premises"
Any Criminal Law Act offences?

Student Yes (............)

And that just about sums it up
really that is the Criminal Law
Act sections six seven and eight/
I have got a very short video for
you to watch/ has anyone ever seen
the "Criminal Law Act Rap" before
1205. Students Yes (...........)  

1206. Trainer Do you want to see it again?  

1207. Students No  

1208. Trainer In that case I won't show it to you  
1209. because I was going to do so as  
1210. the sort of video that throughout  
1211. your thirty years service you'll  
1212. probably never forget but since  
1213. you've already seen it I won't bore  
1214. you with it// Right then see you  
1215. tomorrow morning  

1216. Student Do you want these back?  
(D.H.)  

1217. Trainer Yes please  

Students laugh.  

Students laugh.  

Students hold's up the sheets of paper with the "scenarios' on them.  

Students and trainer leave the classroom.  

********************************************************************
Supporting Material for “Charlie 6” Class
Charlie 6 - Plan of classroom

- Windowsill
- Flipchart
- Whiteboard
- Overhead projector
- Cabinet
- T.V.
- Window sill
- J.W.
- D.H.
- S.M.
- M.K.
- D.C.
- C.H.
- A.A.
- W.R.
- S.R.
- L.M.
- Stacked chairs
- Coat rack
- Windows
- Researcher
1. Any other offences deal with

2. Person O/S attempting entry.

3. Person inside opposed to entry.

Call → ○ ○
D.R.O.

- Occupying Pr. as residence
- immediately before
- being excluded by trespasser
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section 8 CLA 1977</th>
<th>P.R.O.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tr. with a weapon of offence</td>
<td>- Occupying P.R. as residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- immediately before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- being excluded by trespasser</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ADVERSE OCCUPATION OF RESIDENTIAL PREMISES
S 7 CRIMINAL LAW ACT 1977.

Any person who is on any premises as a trespasser after having entered as such is
guilty of an offence if he fails to leave those premises on being required to do so by or
on behalf of:

(a) a displaced residential occupier of the premises OR

(b) an individual who is a protected intended occupier of the premises.

DEFENCE.

For the accused to prove:

1. He believed that the person requiring him to leave was not the DRO or PIO or a
   person acting on their behalf.

2. The person requesting him to leave failed at the time to produce a written statement
   or certificate complying with the Act although he has been asked to do so by the
   accused.

3. The premises are or form part of premises used mainly for non residential purposes
   
   AND
   
   That he was not on any part of the premises used wholly or mainly for residential
   purposes

POWER OF ARREST.

A constable in uniform may arrest without warrant anyone who is, or whom with
reasonable cause, suspects to be guilty of an offence.

POWER OF ENTRY.

S 17 PACE.
REQUIRE PREMISES FOR OWN OCCUPATION

EXCLUDED BY PERSON WHO ENTERED AS A TRESPASSER

Freehold / Leasehold with not less than 2yrs to run.

Tenancy / licence to landlord who has Freehold / Leasehold with > 2yrs to run.

Tenancy / Licence granted by Housing Authority.

Written Statement.
- Rest in premises,
- Residency required,
- Signed by him,
- and by JP or,
- Commissioner for Oaths.

Written statement
- Granted tenancy / licence,
- Landlords interest,
- Residency required,
- Signed by him and
- by JP or Comm for Oaths.

Written statement,
- Housing Authority Certificate.

PROTECTED INTENDED OCCUPIER
CRIMINAL LAW ACT SCENARIOS.

For each scenario:

1. State whether the criterion for a Criminal Law Act situation applies.

2. State why they apply.

3. State what your actions you would take in each circumstance.

4. State what offences under the Criminal Law Act have been committed.
Scenario 1

A block of flats on your ground owned by the local council has been empty for some time. Some of the windows have been broken and the children are able to play inside.

A young and single mother lives nearby at her parents home with two young children. Conditions are very crowded. She is aware of the empty flats previously mentioned. With the help of a friend she gains entry to one of the flats and takes up residence.

A week later a local council housing officer arrives to commence repairs to the flats. He demands admission to the flat where the young mother is living and informs her that she is trespassing and tells her to leave.

She then barricades the door and windows, and refuses entry to the council official and tells him to clear off.

Scenario 2.

Considering the previous scenario, the young mother allows the housing official to enter the flat. The official tells her to leave the premises but she refuses. She then tells him to leave her home.
Scenario 3.

A local company is closing down and has made all their staff redundant. On the last day of their employment they barricade themselves into the premises in protest.

The next morning the manager arrives and demands entry to the premises. This is refused. They are then asked to leave, which they again refuse to do.

Scenario 4.

Considering the above scenario but this time when the manager arrives he is unaware of any person on the premises. He then forcibly gains entry to the premises.
Scenario 5.

A night club is holding a disco for over 25 year olds only. Some 20 year olds are refused entry by the bouncers.

The 20 year olds who are still on the street threaten to beat up the staff if they are not allowed inside.

Scenario 6.

This time imagine that the 20 year olds are in the foyer of the club.
Scenario 7.

The family have returned from holiday to find that squatters have taken up residence in their home.

The squatters refuse to leave, bolt all the doors and refuse to allow the family to enter.

Scenario 8.

On this occasion the family have returned home and gained entry to their home using a key. They find squatters on the premises asleep.
Scenario 9.

A man has returned home from collecting his children from school but is unable to gain access to the house. The door appears to be bolted from the inside. Through the window he can see his television, video and Hi Fi near the door.

He calls inside, "Let me in this is my house." Someone inside says "Not likely, clear off."

Scenario 10.

A young female is celebrating her 21st birthday at her parents home. All the expected guests have arrived and the party is in full swing. A group of local yobs have heard about the party and decide they will invite themselves.

At the front door they are told in no uncertain terms that their presence was not requested and they would not be allowed in. They then threaten to smash the door in if they are not allowed in.
Scenario II.

An old gent down the road has just died and left his house to his young nephew in his will.

After the will has been read the nephew decides to visit the premises he has just acquired.

On his arrival he finds that some undesirables have already moved in. He manages to speak to them through an open window and asks them to leave. They refuse and claim squatters rights.

He then says that if they refuse to go he will kick in the door and forcibly remove them with the help of some friends. The squatters say that under no circumstances will he be allowed into the premises.
Appendix C

“Purple 3” Class:
A Transcript of a Lesson Involving the use of a Role-Play

This lesson took place on 17.4.96 and commenced at 12.50 p.m.

This class consists of thirteen students (twelve male officers and one female officer [J.C.] and two trainers. Both trainers are constables, one male, one female. All the participants are in shirt sleeves.

We join the class at 12.50 p.m. They have just finished preparing to briefings, in two smaller groups, for a role-play exercise in respect of police searching a private address for people suspected of committing a number of burglaries.

The class is set out as shown in the supporting material (plan 1).

The student (G.C.) is standing at the front of the class holding a clip board and is about to start the briefing element of the role-play.

1. Student Right the address we’re going to
2. (G.C.) today is forty eight A Holmesdale
3. Road which is in South Norwood
4. S.E. twenty eight erm the address
5. is a bedsit and the two people that
6. we're after live on the ground floor  
7. the first person that lives there  
8. is a person called John Michael  
9. McRennie and the description that  
10. we've got is that he's five foot ten  
11. he's got ginger hair and he's got  
12. an Irish accent there might be two  
13. other people there his brother and  
14. his associate Patrick James  
15. O'Reilly so there may be actually  
16. three three on the premises now  
17. Michael McRennie he has got  
18. previous with a knife so exercise  
19. extreme caution when  
20. approaching him erm/ I'm in  
21. charge and Jo if you could take  
22. the book one oh one and be in  
23. charge of the exhibits and any  
24. other property that is actually  
25. recovered there erm Gary and  
26. Andy you will be the searching  
27. officers actually searching the  
28. premises and Dave and Steve  
29. you're going to deal with the  
30. security of the prisoners and  
31. Barry you'll be security on the  
32. door erm the main thing is that  
33. there could be three people in  
34. there and they've all got previous  
35. for violence/ this McRennie has  
36. got a white Sierra so if it's there
we'll have an idea if he's actually in the address at the time erm we'll all take P.R.s and we'll be using channel five on the P.R. and I'll inform the inspector when we actually go in erm we're going to do the raid at five thirty in the morning so we can catch them off guard erm we'll knock at the door first to see if we get any response but if not we'll just force our way into the premises erm Barry if you go in last and obviously wait by the door and make sure that nobody comes out the front (.....) erm the first thing to do is to establish who's actually in the address if it's John Michael McRennie and Patrick James O'Reilly they will be arrested immediately by erm Dave and Steve arrest them straight away and we'll go into the bedroom and obviously security is down to you if we have prisoners erm it's only a small room so it shouldn't take too long to search it erm we'll start off the search with Gary as the erm and start running through the room right the way around with the erm we'll let the people who've been arrested be in a position so
they can actually see both of you/
they can be brought over to you to
see what property you've found/
the property will be bagged up by
Jo and she will exhibit it erm the
property we're looking for is
pension books credit cards and
cheque books articles taken from
burglaries with elderly people and
gas board water board overalls
stuff like that they they used to get
in anything that is evidence really
erm/ O.K. ?

81. Trainer Thanks a lot/ take a seat/ right
82. (J.S.) any comments on (..........) Jo sits down with
83. did you want to be exhibits officer the rest of the
84. or were you chosen? students.

85. Student I was chosen
     (J.C.)

86. Student (..........) her writing's the
87. (G.C.) neatest [ ]
     [ ]
     [ ]
88. Trainer [ (.....) just to make you
89. (J.S.) aware that a woman is always
chosen to be exhibits officer erm
why does Jo not (..........) / you
92. might laugh but it's actually quite
93. serious I was always told to look
94. after the kids (........) married men
95. (........) O.K. if that's the reason
96. why you chose her then that's
97. quite a good reason but just think
98. of the reason you are choosing
99. (........) right there's other points
100. that we need to discuss but we'll
101. have the other group first so all
102. change run around now

103. Student Right you all know that we've
104. (T.D.) been working on these burglars
105. and from the information (........)
106. to erm John Michael McRennie
107. and Patrick James O'Reilly erm
108. (..................) John Michael
109. McRennie is violent and has a
110. knife so (.........) and Patrick
111. James O'Reilly is about six foot
112. and he's got dark hair// right
113. we've got a warrant to search the
114. premises for property stolen in
115. burglaries (........) it's a ground
116. floor flat/ right during the search
117. obviously I'm in charge erm Paul
118. and Graham you (....) for the
119. prisoner and Dave you do some
120. searching (...............) right bear
121. in mind that the offence is
122. aggravated burglary and (........)
so we're not going to knock on the
door or anything like that we're
just going to bosh the door straight
in (...........) right so Graham you
take the door out and then Paul
and myself will go in first erm if
there's anybody in there (.........
..........) and I'll produce the
warrant show them the warrant
and (....................... any
questions at all?

Student (............)

Student (.................)
(T.D.)

Trainer Right O.K. sit down (............) well
you got through a lot of information
there (............) there's a couple
of things that I think are worth
mentioning (...................) I liked

(T.D.)

Trainer ................................
(K.P.)

The remainder of this section of the tape was inaudible (I think that this was because the
trainer's remained seated in the locations shown in the plan). However, at the end of the
session the trainer (K.P.) tosses a coin to determine which of the two briefing groups actually goes on to conduct a role-play search. The group consisting of the following students are identified as the search team: (G.C., D.T., A.M., S.P., G.H., J.C., B.R.).

Camera switched on (operated by trainer [M.W.]).

Scene as shown in the plan (see supporting material)

Trainer (J.S. is standing by the television with a clipboard, Trainer (K.P.) is standing by the door.

Trainer (R.M.) is lying on the bed with a sheet wrapped around him.

With the exception of R.M. all the trainers are wearing uniform. R.M. is dressed in a white short sleeved and open neck shirt, blue jeans and brown shoes.

There is a knock on the door, no response is made to this, a second knock sounds some 5 seconds after the first. Immediately following this, one of the students says "Police we're coming in". Seven students then enter the room led by G.C. Six of the students are male, one is female (J.C.). All are wearing police uniform (shirt sleeves). G.C. is carrying a clip board with some papers on it. Two of the male students and student (G.C.) approach the bed.

143. Student Right oh mate do you want to tell Student (S.P.)
144. (S.P.) us who you are? taps trainer (R.M.) on
145. Trainer Jimmy
   (R.M.) the shoulder
   with his hand.

146. Student Jimmy what?
   (S.P.)

147. Trainer Jimmy O'Reilly
   (R.M.)

148. Student Jimmy O'Reilly! O.K. Jimmy I've
149. (G.C.) got a warrant here to search these
150. premises in connection with two
151. burglary artifice that occurred at
152. thirty six Albert Road South
153. Norwood

154. Trainer [Yeah yeah ]
   (R.M.)

155. Student [You are
   (G.C.) under arrest on suspicion of
   burglary

156. Trainer [Yeah yeah ]
   (R.M.)

157. Student [You do not
   (G.C.) have to say anything but if you do
   not say something now which you
   later rely on for your defence in
   court

   Student (J.C.)
164. Student O.K. stand up slowly mate
(S.P.)

165. Student We're just going to handcuff you
(D.T.)

166. Trainer Yeah
(R.M.)

167. Student O.K. we're now going to search

opens wardrobe
door and looks
inside it.

Student (S.P.)
takes hold of
Trainer's (R.M.)
right arm and
helps him to
his feet. As
trainer (R.M.)
stands up,
Student (G.H.)
takes his left
arm.

Students (S.P.)
& (D.T.)
place trainer
(R.M.)'s hands
behind his back
but do not
actually
handcuff him.

Trainer (R.M.)
keeps his hands
behind his back
for the
remainder of the
exercise.

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168. (G.C.) the premises to see if we can find articles that were stolen in these burglaries that's cheque cards cheque books and some cash do you want to tell me where they are?

174. Trainer Are you enjoying that? I reckon

175. (R.M.) you're enjoying this mate

176. Student Can you step over there what's this then mate?

177. (A.M.)

Students (S.P.) and (D.T.) start to search through trainer (R.M.)'s pockets.

Remark directed at Student (D.T.) as he continues to search trainer (R.M.).

Trainer and students (S.P.) and (D.T.) step away from the bed, student (S.P.) finds a knife in one of trainer (R.D.)'s pockets and hands it to student (A.M.) who hands it to student (J.C.). She then writes in a book before placing the knife in a plastic bag.
178. Trainer What's that? How did he get that?
179. (R.M.) He hasn't even touched me
180. Student We found it in your pocket
    (A.M.)
181. Trainer What he found it he hasn't even
touched me
182. (R.M.)
183. Student He found it
    (A.M.)
184. Trainer What he took it out?
    (R.M.)
185. Student I did
    (S.P.)
186. Trainer You took it out
    (R.M.)
187. Student I did then I passed it in to my
colleague
188. (S.P.)
189. Trainer Oh no no no you're fitting me up
    (R.M.)
190. Student Barry can you get the box by the
    (A.M.) front door// No it's outside
    Student (B.R.) looks by the
192. Trainer (R.M.) Can I sit down I'm pissed off with
193. 192. Student (C.G.) Is he clean now?
194. 195. Student (D.T.) Yeah
196. Student (C.G.) All right Andy do you want to start
197. (C.G.) off and work your way around/ he's
198. going to search the premises I
199. want you to watch what he's doing
200. Trainer (R.M.) I tell you what I'm not standing up
201. (R.M.) all the time I'll sit down [ 
202. [ 
203. Student (C.G.) You have
204. (C.G.) to watch what the officer's
205. doing [ 
206. (R.M.) [ Oh I'll watch what he's
207. doing but I'm not standing up all
208. the time I'm telling you/ where are
209. you going to look?

209. Student (J.C.) 

(J.C.) [ 

(A.M.)

[ (....) exhibits ]

211. Trainer [ What are they talking about then?]

212. (R.M.)

213. Student (.......) []

(J.C.)

[]

214. Student [(.......)]

(A.M.)

215. Trainer So what's going on then what's happening?

216. (R.M.) happening?

217. Student As I told you we've got a warrant

218. (C.G.) to search these premises for stolen

219. articles relating in connection with

220. two burglaries which happened at

221. thirty six Albert Road and four A

222. Coldridge Road/ the articles we're

223. looking for are pension books

224. cheque cards and cheque books

225. [ books ]

[]

226. Trainer [ What about the knife he just took off me then?/ What's that evidence of?]

227. (R.M.)

228. evidence of?

229. Student Sorry?

(C.G.)

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230. Trainer  What's that evidence of a fit up?
   (R.M.)

231. Student  In one of the burglaries a knife
232. (C.G.)  was used to threaten one of the
233.         victim's so I'm going to take that
234.         knife as evidence

235. Trainer  I've never seen it before
   (R.M.)

236. Student  O.K.
   (C.G.)

237. Trainer  What do I have to do then just
238. (R.M.)  stand here looking at my feet?
239.         Can I sit down or something?

240. Student  If you wait a minute the officer is
   (G.C.)  going to search the premises/
241.         you watch what he's doing
   (G.H.)

242. Student  Which officer?
   (R.M.)

243. Student  This one here
   (C.G.)  points to student
   (G.H.)

244. Student  Yeah I'm going to start searching
   (G.H.)
246. (G.H.) now// O.K. I've found that

247. Trainer Very nice to
       (R.M.)

248. Student We've just found this
       (A.M.).

249. Student Who did?
       (J.C.)

250. Student Gary
       (A.M.).

251. Student One I.D. badge?
       (J.C.)

252. Student Yeah/ in the top right hand corner of the wardrobe
       (A.M.)

253. (A.M.) looks inside the wardrobe with student (A.M.) He then takes a small white card from inside it and shows it to trainer (R.M.).

254. Student (G.H.) gives the card to student (A.M.). and then continues to search the wardrobe.

255. Student (A.M.). hands the card to student (J.C.).

256. Student (J.C.) makes a record of the card in the book she is carrying and then puts it in a plastic bag.
254. Student In the top right hand corner? (J.C.)

255. Student Yeah in the ash tray (A.M.)

256. Trainer I thought you said he was doing the searching

257. (R.M.)

258. Student I am doing the searching (G.H.)

259. Trainer But he's searching (R.M.)

260. Student They're both doing it/ if you can (G.H.)

261. (G.C.) watch what they're doing it'll save time at the end of the day (A.M.)

262. returns to the wardrobe and

263. Student Top right? (J.C.)

264. Student Yeah top right in the ash tray/ Are you doing all down there (G.H.)

265. (A.M.) is on is hands and knees searching the lower part of the wardrobe.

266. Student Yeah (G.H.)

places bag with
267. Trainer What's that you've got? (R.M.)

268. Student A boiler suit// this is evidence of (A.M.)

269. (A.M.) the offences you've committed

270. Trainer I had nothing to do with it/ (R.M.)

271. (R.M.) what's that evidence of then?

272. Student We'll talk about that when we get (A.M.)

273. (A.M.) back to the station

274. Student A boiler suit in the wardrobe (J.C.)

275. Student Yeah in the wardrobe hanging

276. (A.M.) up

277. Trainer I want to sit down now (R.M.)

278. Student We want you to stand up (S.P.)

279. Trainer Well I am going to sit down you (R.M.)

280. (R.M.) can't stop me/ you're not going to

281. hold me up are you/ I can sit on

282. the bed or the floor or my seat
283. Student (S.P.) We want you to stand up

284. Trainer (R.M.) Well you can't make me stand up

285. Student (G.C.) Well sit down there then as long as you can see

286. (G.C.) points to chair by table. Trainer (R.M.) moves towards the chair and student (S.P.) picks up another small white card from the area of floor on which the trainer had been standing.

287. Trainer (R.M.) Right that's all I want to do I don't want to make a fucking big deal out of it

288. (R.M.)

289. Student (S.P.) holds up the small white packet.

290. Student (S.P.) What's this?

291. Trainer (R.M.) Where did you get that from?

292. Student (S.P.) It must have come from you

293. Trainer (R.M.) Oh bollocks it came out of me you searched me a minute ago
295. Student  Can you tell me what it is?  
(S.P.)

296. Trainer  Looks like plastic/ a square bit/  
297. (R.M.)  what you searched me and you're  
298. telling me that came out of me/ no  
299. way/ can I sit down now if you are  
300. fitting me up you know I'm a  
301. reasonable bloke  
302. Student  Right I'm going to arrest you for  
303. (S.P.)  suspicion of possession of a  
304. controlled drug you do not have to  
305. say anything but it may harm your  
306. defence if you if you rely on  
307. something in your defence which  
308. you do not say now in response to  
309. any questions anything you say  
310. may be given in evidence  
311. Trainer  That's bollocks you searched me  
312. (R.M.)  he searched me/ where do you get  
313. that from?  
314. Student  It came from you  
(S.P.)
315. Trainer  No way/ no way
A number of items are removed from the wardrobe by students (A.M.) and (G.H.) and then handed to student (J.C.) who makes a record of them in the book she is carrying. The camera angle was such that the precise nature of those items was not clear on the tape. This process was accompanied by a muffled and generally indecipherable conversation between these students. The gist of this conversation would appear to relate to the most appropriate description to be recorded for these items and the precise location within the wardrobe where they were found.

316. Trainer  **What a fit up!** (......)  
(R.M.)

317. Student  These have just been taken from 
(A.M.)  the cushion behind the seat

318. Trainer  What seat?  
(R.M.)

319. Student  The seat I'm standing next to  
(A.M.)

320. Trainer  You didn't tell me to watch did  
(R.M.)  you? He's talking to he / he says

321. (R.M.)  he's found some drugs and the  
student (G.C.)

322. Trainer (R.M.)  looks towards

419
next thing you come up with a knife and some money/ fuck this and then nods in the direction of student (J.C.) and student (G.H.)

Student (A.M.) hands the knife to student (B.R.) and starts to count the money. Student (J.C.) continues to make a record of some of the things found in the wardrobe. Muffled conversation concerning their description and the location in which they were discovered between student (J.C.) student (G.H.) continues for a time. This is then followed by a similar discussion concerning the "drugs" between student (J.C.) and student (S.P.).

So are you going to nick me for having money now?

No

And there was no reply to caution

I did reply to caution what do you mean "no reply" I told you it was a fucking fit up/ what do you mean

"no reply?// Miss did you write down "no reply" there// fucking hell

I say "It's a fit up" and you write

This remark is addressed to student (J.C.).
"No reply" he must have heard it

Student No I didn't

Trainer You didn't hear me say "It's a 

(R.M.) fucking fit up"?

Student No

Trainer (R.M.) nods towards student (A.M.).

Muffled conversation between student (J.C.) and student (G.H.) concerning the description for and location of items found in the wardrobe continues. Student (A.M.) places a seal around the bag containing the money and then hands it to student (J.C.)

Student Fifty pounds in cash in ten pound notes

Student All in ten pound notes?

(J.C.)

Student Yeah

(A.M.)

Student Where did you find it?

(J.C.)

Student (J.C.) writes in her book.
345. Student
   (A.M.) In the base of this cushion
           Student (A.M.) points to cushion on arm chair 1 (see supporting material).

346. Student
   (J.C.) Under the seat?

347. Student
   (A.M.) Yeah

348. Trainer
   (R.M.) This is boring/ this is boring/ can't we just go down to the nick?

350. Student
   (G.H.) No we're searching the premises and this is a methodical way of doing it

353. Trainer
   (R.M.) Some sort of a religion is it?

355. Student
   (A.M.) position at the same time [ The same position at the same time? [ was this

359. Student
   (A.M.) shows the knife to student

360. Trainer
   (J.C.) Why are you taking that the pen
361. Student It could have gone in the same bag as this

362. (J.C.) bag as this indicates the bag containing

363. Trainer Hello the money.

364. Student If you let us sort out what we need yeah what we need as evidence and then we can chat about it down at the station and in the interview you can have a solicitor present and all that O.K. but let us sort it all out first

365. (G.C.) Student Yeah but you told me I had to watch for things you pointed out to me and then you wont let me tell you about it

366. (R.M.) Student Well you can tell us about it

367. (G.C.) Trainer [ ]

368. [ ]

369. Trainer [ Can I? ]

370. (R.M.) [ ]

371. (R.M.) Trainer [ ]

372. (G.C.) Student [ it's not really the time to answer questions for us]

373. (G.C.) Student to answer questions
Muffled conversation between student (J.C.) and student (A.M.) concerning the recording and packaging of the knife continues briefly and then student (A.M.) continues to search armchair 1. Trainer looks away, giving the appearance of boredom.

Having finished searching the arm chair, student's (A.M.), (G.H.) and (J.C.) pick a number of small plastic bags up from the floor and place them on the window sill before Student (G.C.) puts them all in a large plastic bag. These small bags would appear to be those in which the property found in the wardrobe, the chair and on the floor (the "Drugs") was placed.
Can I have my money back when you've finished?

Yeah we'll sort that out when we get to the station. Would you like to move around there Mister O'Reilly so you can see what they're doing?

That's only Droopy.

Is it?

Yeah.

That's twenty quid.
397. Student Twenty quid O.K.// from
398. (J.C.) the back of the chair?
399. Student From the back of that chair by the
400. (G.H.) bed
401. Trainer Can I go to the toilet?
(R.M.)
402. Student Wait until we've searched
(G.H.) the television
403. Student Do you want to move over here
404. (A.M.) so you can see what we're doing?

Trainer remains seated as the search continues. Student (A.M.) finds another small plastic card in the television cabinet and hands it to student J.C.

405. Student Another card found it the (...)
406. (A.M.) box among the cards
        Student J.C. writes in her
407. Trainer How long's this going to go on
(R.M.) for this is really boring now
408. (R.M.)
409. Student Like I said we've got to search
Students (A.M.) and (G.H.) continue to search the cabinet under the television. Student (A.M.) finds another white plastic card and hands it to student (J.C.) who records the details in the book she is carrying.

411. Student Was that found in the same place?
   (J.C.)

412. Student In the same place but in a
413. (A.M.) different box

414. Trainer Can you put the telly on?
   (R.M.)

415. Student What's that a scrabble set?
   (J.C.)

Students appear to ignore this request.

The camera is focused on the trainer at this point so the precise physical context of this remark is uncertain. However, it seems likely that the student is referring to
416. Student (A.M.) Yeah

417. Trainer What did you call it? Scrabble?

418. (R.M.) I’ve never heard of scrabble

419. Student Where was it?

420. Student (J.C.) Sorry?

421. Student (J.C.) Where was it?

422. Student (A.M.) It was on the shelf under the telly

423. Student (G.H.) Have you done all the cards?

424. Student (A.M.) I’ve done all the cards but I

425. (A.M.) haven’t taken out the base of the

426. Student (G.H.) removes some
427. Trainer: God this is really boring// I'm
428. (R.M.): telling you the next thing you fit
429. me up with just show me it/ is
430. that all right// What's that?
431. Hello what's that one?
432. Student: A cheque card
   (B.R.)
433. Trainer: Well that's not my telly anyway
   (R.M.)

The search continues in the absence to talk for several minutes.

434. Trainer: It's all right I'm not going anywhere
435. (R.M.): you know

Search continues in the absence of talk for several minutes.

436. Student: Have you done these magazines?
   (A.M.)
437. Student (G.H.) Yeah I did all that lot under there

438. Student (A.M.) Let's look under this/ lift it up

439. Trainer What are you lifting the telly up for?/ you'd better be careful

440. (R.M.) What do you mean "not very clean" what do you think this is a fucking dirty house?/ What are you doing looking there anyway?

441. Student (G.H.) That's not very clean

442. Trainer Students (A.M.) and (G.H.) pick up the television and student

443. (R.M.) (B.R.) looks underneath it. They find nothing under the television and replace it.

444. Student (G.H.) dusts his hands off.

445. Student (G.H.) The items we're looking for include credit cards/ they're quite small items so we're entitled to look wherever we think they might be
Student (B.R.) writes on some labels and attaches them to the plastic bags in which some of the property "discovered" by the students has been placed during the course of the exercise. Student (J.C.) makes a record of this in the book she is carrying. Some words are exchanged between them but, due to the noise made by a passing train, these were indiscernible.

451. Trainer (R.M.) I'm dying for a piss you know I
452. (R.M.) really am/ can’t I go to the toilet?

453. Student (G.H.) Do you want to take him while we
454. (G.H.) sort this out and we can continue
455. the search when he comes back?

456. Trainer (R.M.) Will you take me to the loo?

457. Student (G.C.) Yeah but if you go to the toilet we'll
458. (G.C.) wait till you come back to continue
459. the search

460. Student (A.M.) We'll wait to continue the search/
461. (A.M.) we don't want you making
462. allegations that we're planting
463. stuff on you

464. Trainer (R.M.) O.K. will you take me to the loo?

465. Student (A.M.) Yeah but we'll obviously have to
466. (G.C.) stand in there with you you understand

468. Trainer Yeah O.K. you've taken me to the

469. (R.M.) loo NB: Trainer (R.M.)
effectively suspends the role-play for a moment with this remark.

Student (B.R.) continues to attach labels to the plastic bags in which some of the property "discovered" by the students has been placed during the course of the exercise. Student (J.C.) makes a record of this in the book she is carrying. Students (A.M.) and (G.H.) move away from the television and start searching other areas of the room.

470. Trainer Will they be much longer?/ (......)/ Trainer (R.M.) appears to address this comment to student (D.T.) who doesn't respond.

471. (R.M.) that's a real one that's worth a bit

472. of wedge be careful with that will

473. you please

474. Student (......) [ battle axe down

(G.H.) [ from behind a
475. Trainer [ (......) ]
(R.M.) [ ]

476. Student [ (......) ]
(A.M.) [ ]

477. Trainer [ (......)/ ]
(R.M.) When you’re finished there can you
search the table so I can lean back
on my chair// It’s no big deal is it?
All I’m asking is that you search
the table next I know that you’re
going to search my bed next but
it still doesn’t matter does it?

478. (R.M.) Student Here’s thirty quid
(G.H.)

479. (R.M.) Student (G.H.)

480. (R.M.) Student (G.H.)

481. (R.M.) Student (G.H.)

482. (R.M.) Student (G.H.)

483. (R.M.) Student (G.H.)

484. (R.M.) Student (G.H.)

485. (R.M.) Student (G.H.)

486. (R.M.) Student (G.H.)

487. (R.M.) Student (G.H.)

488. (R.M.) Student (G.H.)

The camera was focusing on
student (A.M.)
as he searched
the chest of
drawers at this
point in time -
these comments
appear to
relate to
489. Student The erm candle holder on top of
(G.H.) the (.....)

490. Trainer He didn't say he'd found money
491. (R.M.) anywhere// Excuse me he didn't
tell me he'd found that money he
just wandered over here and said
"Here's thirty quid" and I wondered
what he was talking about

496. Student You were asked to erm watch all
497. (G.C.) the time weren't you?

498. Trainer Yeah but yeah I was watching but
499. (R.M.) he didn't say to me "Look I found
some wedge over there" the first
thing I know is he's got some
money in his hand/ the second
time he's done that he fits me up
with some drugs and he gives me
some wedge

A small square package drops
to the floor from an item of
clothing being searched by
Student (A.M.)
that he has
removed from
the chest of
Student (A.M.) clothing

That’s just dropped out of some

Trainer (R.M.)

See he’s fair he is that’s not mine

but at least he’s fair// that’s not mine anyway it wouldn’t fit me

I’ve never worn green I hate

green// can I have some of my drink?

I suppose so

Student (J.C.) continues to record details of items found

in her book.

Student (A.M.)

you can hold my arm whatever

you want I’m just thirsty// what

you’ve found more stuff?

No that’s what I’ve just shown you

now

Fair enough/ he’s fair he is I like

him

If you find any stuff can you

actually call out that you’ve found

This remark appears to be addressed to
524. Trainer Are you finished? (R.M.)

525. Student We've just got to do the table (G.C.)

526. Trainer Right can you do that so I can

527. (R.M.) just lean back on my chair

528. Student (.....) [

529. (J.C.) [

530. (A.M.) [

531. Student Do you just want to stand up a (S.P.) minute// there you go

532. Trainer (R.M.) stands up assisted by students (S.P.) and (D.T.) while his chair is re-positioned. Since the camera was focused on the trainer at this
time, the reason for this remains uncertain but it seems likely that it was in order to permit him to have a greater view of the continuing search process.

532. Student I found it in the top drawer in that
green jumper.

533. (A.M.)

Student (J.C.) continues to record details of the square packet referred to above in the book she is carrying.

534. Student Have you searched everywhere in
here?

535. (G.H.)

Student (G.H.) is indicating to a book on the top of chest of drawers.

536. Student Yeah that stuff just came out of
there.

537. (A.M.)

Student (A.M.) points at book on the top of the chest of drawers.
538. Student
  (.................................)
  (J.C.)

539. Trainer
  But nothing that's what?
  (R.M.)

540. Student
  That actually relates to the
  (J.C.) victims

541. []

542. Trainer
  [Do they not]

543. Student
  [of the]

544. (J.C.) burglaries

545. Trainer
  Oh right/ that's a result isn't it
  (R.M.)

546. Student
  (........)
  (J.C.)

547. Trainer
  What?
  (R.M.)
Student: Thirty six Albert Road and four A Coldridge Road so it would save time if you tell us where the [ ]

Trainer: [ You told me not to say anything five minutes ago and half an hour ago you said don't say nothing now you're asking me questions about a burglary what do you want from me?]

Student: I've told you several times why we're here

Trainer: Yeah yeah I know but now you're asking questions about did I commit a burglary you told me a minute ago that you'd nicked me and don't say anything

Student: Just asking if you want to tell us where the property is to save time

Trainer: You want to ask me about a burglary I didn't commit/ fucking hell you tell me don't say nothing and then ask me questions/ she said you've found nothing anyway

Student: We've found property which hasn't
573. (G.C.) got your name on

574. Trainer Yeah and she said it was nothing
575. (R.M.) to do with the burglaries so that's
576. a result so you might as well let me
577. go

Search continues in silence for a short time.

578. Trainer (.........) sit in my chair
(R.M.)

579. Student Not until we've searched around
(D.T.) there
580. (D.T.) nods towards
the table.

581. Trainer What the table I told you to do
582. that that's what I asked you to do

Search continues for a short time. Student (G.H.) takes a small rectangular book from
one of the lower drawers in the chest of drawers.

583. Student A pension book?
(G.H.)

584. Trainer Yeah it's nice of you to show me
585. (R.M.) this time/ nothing to do with me
586. though

Student (G.H.) hands the rectangular book to student (J.C.) who makes a record of it in her book.

587. Trainer Right O.K. we'll call it a day
588. (J.S.) there/ all right because you
589. could go on and find some more
590. property/ shall we go next door?

*****************************************************

CAMERA SWITCHED OFF AS STUDENTS RETURN TO THE CLASSROOM

*****************************************************

The classroom layout has been altered as the students who participated in the role-play return to the classroom (see supporting material - plan 2). Two additional trainers enter the classroom with the role-players. Both are men. The first (M.W.) is a sergeant who operated the camera during the role-player, the second (R.M.) is a constable who role-played the suspected criminal. M.W. is wearing uniform (shirt sleeves), R.M. is wearing plain clothes.

*****************************************************
Trainer (J.S.) Right O.K. Gary you were in charge of that let's start with you/ how did you feel it went?

Student (G.C.) Yeah we went in obviously and I thought that we dealt with the security of the prisoner quite well erm but maybe we should have emphasised more the property found by saying "I've found this" erm that's about it really

Trainer (J.S.) O.K. the team that were actually involved in the search erm Jo how was being exhibit officer?

Student (J.C.) A nightmare I mean I don't know whether I wrote the right thing I was just trying to get down (........) so I couldn't really (...............) I didn't seal all the bags I just put in a label (.............)

Trainer (J.S.) You were quite methodical weren't you? You decided where to start erm I did get quite concerned that you were going to stop over there and then go to the table but you were quite happy going around and you knew exactly where to go next
618. didn't you/ that was good erm you
619. were in control of the search

620. Student  (..........................) I was quite
621. (J.C.) concerned that we took his word
622. for it that nobody else was there
623. (......) I think it would've been
624. better if we'd just done a quick
625. search of the room first then gone
626. back (..........)

627. Trainer  Yeah you've got the nightmare
628. (M.W.) scenario really of someone jumping
629. out at you/ what you've got to
630. realise is that they could be
631. involved in anything they could be
632. involved in terrorism/ I mean take
633. the bus bomber a twenty one year
634. old who lived in Lewisham/ they
635. don't have "Terrorist" stamped on
636. their head erm you could just be
637. turning his address over for a bit of
638. information and there's all this
639. semtex there/ you've got to have
640. this at the back of your mind
641. somewhere erm as Jo said you've
642. really got to make the flat safe you
643. know before you get on with the
644. search

645. Trainer  (..................) right go through what
(K.P.) happened when you first went through the door Gary

Student Erm we knocked on the door and got no reply (......) saw the man lying on the bed and I introduced myself and said we had a warrant to search the premises erm arrested him and cautioned him and told him what we were going to do search the premises

Trainer Just prior to that?

Student (............)

Trainer Can we just go for one sec back from that erm when you went in and you introduced yourself Rod was lying there and his hand erm this hand was doing this because he was lying in bed yeah/ and you were all around controlling almost controlling this side but you couldn't actually see what he was doing erm was there anything in that hand Rod?

Trainer Big knife
A big knife yeah it may have been worth someone going around the other side and getting him up you know "Hands up behind you you're nicked"/ do you have to take hold of him after you've told him he's under arrest?

No

No but you do for security "Right O.K. mate you've been arrested for " and cautioned bosh you've then got control of him if his hands are up behind his back and there's no way that he's going to say "Nicked no I wont be nicked" and then turn around with a knife because some people just don't want to be nicked

That's right yeah

...............)

It just shows you though doesn't it even in a situation where you hear he's violent and you know
we've all probably done it there's
no person in this room that hasn't
but this sort of thing should be
bred into you that just bending
over somebody well you just don't
know what they're up to do you?
You've got no control over them
and that is a very dangerous
position particularly when you're
just waking up just think when
you're just waking up what's the
natural reaction?

Student (........)

That's right yeah it's a natural
reaction isn't it?

To defend yourself

That's right yeah/ the natural
reaction is to defend yourself/ it's
an animal reaction in us

[........]

[........]

[........]

[........] (........)

You've got control of the situation
(M.W.) totally then haven't you?

Student (.........) [ 

[ What did they teach you

J.S.) about the defence area?

Student (.........)

Trainer Right so if he'd have gone like that  

J.S.) he'd have got plenty of you  

moves her arm around in an 

Trainer Whose guard goes down when the  

M.W.) old cuffs go on?

Student Ours

Trainer Yeah it does doesn't it? I mean you  

M.W.) have to accept that it does go down  

but it shouldn't should it?/ You're  

guard should be still sort of quite  

raised up just because he's  

handcuffed it doesn't mean that he  

can't take it out on somebody/ if  

he knows that he's got caught and  

he's somebody with a history of  

violence (.............)

Trainer (.........)  

(K.P.)
735. Trainer: Right but saying that I thought
736. (J.S.): excellent introduction Gary/ it was
737. really good you explained it and
738. he was left in no doubt as to why
739. you were there yeah and I thought
740. that that was really good/ when
741. you took control that was really
742. good

743. Trainer: What about "I want to go for a
744. (K.P.): piss/ I want to go for a piss/ look
745. I want to sit down"/ is that a
746. reasonable request?

747. Student: Yeah

748. Trainer: Yeah (..........) officer safety and
749. (K.P.): also evidence (..........) [ ]
750. [ ]
751. Student: [ (..........)]

751. Trainer: Yeah and what about the card?
752. (K.P.): We search a prisoner and five
753. minutes later "Where did that
754. come from?" O.K. so that might tell
755. you something about the first
756. search was that an adequate search?

757. Student: (..........) [ ]
758. (G.C.): [ ]
759. [ ]
758. Student [ (......) ]

759. Trainer [ (........) ]
(K.P.)

760. Student [ (......) ]

761. Trainer So it's a real dilemma isn't it? It is
(M.W.) a very difficult dilemma and I don't

762. Trainer think that there's ever going to be

763. Trainer an answer I mean those that are

764. Trainer really safety conscious will say

765. Trainer "Well it's bad luck he'll have to

766. Trainer wait" and if it becomes [ (......) ]

767. Trainer [ (......) ]

768. Student [ (......) ]

769. Trainer Well it may be that you get into a
(M.W.) situation where he starts to

770. Trainer become disruptive and you can't

771. Trainer search him there so you decide he

772. Trainer has to be taken down to the police

773. Trainer station and you have to continue

774. Trainer that search without him and just

775. Trainer accept it for what it is (.....) if he's

776. Trainer a violent individual somebody who's

777. Trainer likely to explode then maybe that's

778. Trainer best [ (......) ]

779. Trainer evidence [ (......) credibility of the

780. Student [ (......) ]

781. Student evidence [ (......) ]
It is I mean once again Trainer (M.W.) this is the dilemma you've got things about the credibility of the evidence erm it's a very difficult area and I don't think there's ever going to be a correct answer to it because you have to go with the situation you've got/ I mean the sole reason for having him there is the credibility of the evidence and the credibility of the search as a whole but if he becomes so disruptive that you can't search properly anyway you've got to take him away/ I mean I would in that situation/ if somebody was that disruptive you've got no option/ I mean you've got to think about armed incidents or armed searches they're not generally going to have the person that's likely to shoot somebody in the premises/ they'll get taken out by S.O. nineteen and taken down the police station and the search'll continue without them and if (.........) there's nothing you can do about that Erm I thought it was a good Trainer (J.S.)
(J.S.) explanation as to why you seized the knife you told him it was involved in one of the burglaries

I liked that ()

811. Student (.............)

812. Student (.............) [  
(G.C.) [  
[  
813. Student [ (.............)  

814. Trainer Actually I think that it would have the opposite effect I think that if

815. (M.W.) you speak to your I.D.O.s they would prefer that you handle things without the gloves/ I know that for our personal safety sake I would wear the gloves but if you know that there's going to be an evidential dispute over whether he's handled the knife gloves would actually wipe the prints away/ our fingerprints can be traced can't they whereas with gloves while you might think you're safe with them you're wiping the marks off/ you'll find that with I.D.O.s they'll say "We don't handle stuff like that (.....)

832. it's best to handle stuff without
gloves because you don't wipe
off any marks' once again it's
this dilemma between safety
and evidence evidential need
isn't it? You're always going to
have this dilemma in any case
that you deal with/ if I was
searching as the searching officer
I would wear gloves (...........)!
mean where do you get the best
marks on a knife? On the handle
or on the blade?/ What's the best
surface on a knife?

Student On the blade

Trainer On the blade itself isn't it (...........) (M.W.)

Student (...........)
(J.C.)

Trainer (....) are you still going to seize it?
(J.S.)

Student (....................) you can ask
(G.C.) questions

Trainer Which you did didn't you you
(J.S.) said "Look I'm investigating this
offence tell me where the property
is relating to these burglaries at these addresses"

Student Is it O.K. to do that? (G.C.)

Yes you're asking questions for the effective conduct of the search/ if he had then come out with all the property that you were looking for would there have been grounds to carry on and look for further things?

No (J.C.)

So you're giving him the opportunity to come out with it all/ O.K. you may have found a few other bits and pieces but why not ask him?

The problem is that unsolicited comments have got to be what?/ They've got to be recorded (........) were there any relevant comments?

Yeah
877. Trainer: Can you remember them?
   (K.P.)

878. Student: I can remember one or two but (.....)

879. Student: (.........)
   (J.C.)

880. Trainer: Yeah but whose the officer in the case? Who's decided whose doing what?

881. (K.P.)

882. Student: (..............)
   (G.C.)

883. Trainer: So how could Jo be helped out?

884. (M.W.)

885. Trainer: What would help you out Jo?

886. Student: It would have been nice if (.......)
   (J.C.)

887. Trainer: That's the practical option isn't it?

888. (M.W.)

889. Trainer: Yeah that is the practical option

890. Student: (..........)
   (J.C.)

891. Trainer: (.........) half and hour or hour
   (K.P.)

search/ what else?
892. Student (.........) (J.C.)

893. Trainer Oh I missed that (M.W.)

894. Student (.........)

895. Trainer Isn't it hard not to chip in when you're all the same rank? Would you agree with that?/ Yeah? I got in to trouble for doing that on more than one occasion when I was a P.C./ either we all made the wrong decisions or no one made a decision we all opted out and no decision was made (....) but you have got to keep your heads down and get on with the job in hand without a doubt that's why you've got the officer in charge so he can keep an overview on it so he can pick up on some of these things/ I mean it shouldn't be a major issue because as you quite rightly said he's been nicked for burglaries and (.........) and you may or may not get the stuff that you came to search for

896. (M.W.)

897. Trainer What about the erm anything else
(J.S.) from the people involved in the actual search?// What about you that were watching how do you feel?

(Student) I wasn't sure about the cardigan (.....) that wasn't on the list though

(Trainer) Well I don't know because think about it you're only going by two do burglars only do two? How many do they do? Loads I mean it may be something that's pertinent because you've got loads of stuff that may have related to other burglaries/ what do burglars use to wrap the old gear up in?/ Whatever's available at the time old clothes rubbish bags/ you don't know so it's worth considering

(Trainer) Right so any observations other than the one's you've already brought up?

(Student) (............)

(Trainer) We knew who was in control didn't we? Gary (.....)

(Student) (............) started to speak a bit clearer
943. Trainer So they learnt from and you do
944. (J.S.) don't you? So they learnt from
945. messing up well not messing up
946. but in saying "Right O.K. we'll
947. keep him a bit happier than he is/
948. yeah we'll tell him exactly" and he
949. said "Right fine"

950. Student 1 (.......)

951. Student 2 (..............) also I thought

952. (......................)

953. Trainer Takes a lot of self-discipline
954. (M.W.) though doesn't it?/ As I said
955. earlier people will chip in take
956. control you'll get individuals that
957. will want to take control (.........) I
958. think that if a search was
959. conducted at a division along
960. those lines it (.........)

961. Trainer Steve any comments?
   (J.S.)

962. Student No
   (S.P.)

963. Trainer What about you Graham?
   (J.S.)
Student (G.H.)

Right was that a good thing or a bad thing?

In one respect I suppose it was

So looking at officer safety again

they (......) [ ]

[ ]

[ (.............)] [ ]

(G.H.) [ ]

[ ]

[ (.......)

(M.W.) ......) yeah you're right there

because everything is centred around the exhibit's officer because as we've already said if you're dealing with a lot of property you should really give them a couple of seconds break before you start writing again because you're continually working otherwise so mistakes can be made and at the end of the day where does a court get most of it's information from a search?

From the exhibit's officer
That's right and if they're pushed and rushed then they're going to make mistakes it's human to do that so to lessen that chance you need to give them the opportunity to completely finish what they're doing before (......)

What about the security of the prisoners (........) [ ] [ ]

Just going back to the sitting down point I mean is that a good position for the prisoner to be? Yeah can he really get his legs up erm if he's going to move you're going to know about it aren't you because if his hands are up behind his back cuffed you're going to know about before he goes that he's going to try and go it's not like he's standing there and he just decides to go/ he's actually got to
1011. put some effort in so that's a good
1012. position (……) [ 
1013. Trainer (…………) the
1014. (R.M.) knife (……) [ 
1015. Trainer [ (……) [ 
(J.S.) [ 
1016. Trainer [ (……) 
(R.M.)
1017. Trainer What about the way you were
1018. (J.S.) dealt with spoken too?
1019. Trainer It was a bit of a result when Jo said
1020. (R.M.) about the property (……) other Students and
1021. than that very good trainers laugh.
1022. Trainer Any other points?
(J.S.)
1023. Trainer Well I thought it was very good/
1024. (M.W.) overall I think that you were very
1025. methodical/ it's something worth
1026. reflecting you can obviously
1027. highlight the areas that Jo's
1028. complained about and that's
1029. standard by the way as far as
1030. exhibit's officers are concerned/
1031. on most of the searches that I've
1032. watched they moan about the fact
1033. that they don't get the opportunity
1034. to draw breath

1035. Trainer  O.K. was it a useful exercise?
(J.S.)

1036. Students  Yeah

1037. Trainer  Have you learnt something out of
1038. (J.S.)  it?

1039. Student  (.........)

1040. Trainer  So you're saying that they don't
1041. (M.W.)  debrief

1042. Student  (.........)

1043. Trainer  There's only one way of improving
1044. (M.W.)  them I mean obviously I'm a
1045. believer in that I've been teaching
1046. this method the method you used
1047. for four years now and it shouldn't
1048. surprise me but I'm sure that when
1049. I go back out there they'll be doing
1050. exactly the same as when I first
1051. came up and yet the hundreds of
1052. people that I've trained the
1053. probationers that are aware of
1054. these methods erm you do see it
happen occasionally it being done in a proper manner but most people seem to be chasing the clock all the time and when you think about it this is the best time there's no relevant time clock ticking the person's been arrested you're in control you've got all the time in the world to do the thing thoroughly if you know that you've got to search in as many places as possible because of the type of evidence that you're looking for take your time and the detention clock doesn't start ticking until you get back

Trainer (J.S.) You might never get a second chance go back

Trainer (M.W.) You'll never know what you've missed but saying that if you give yourself the best opportunity then you'll know that you've done the best that you can you've looked everywhere but you'll never ever know do you remember the Clapham search? The I.R.A. guy who got erm the bloke who broke into his car and he got shot in Clapham and that was where
they found the I.R.A. hit list and
that hit list didn't come to light
until after about the third search
and that was because the old
caretaker who was re-painting
the flat after they'd stripped the
place bare phoned up and said
"We found some more stuff"
thought it could be some semtex
or something you know it was "Oh
shit" and of course they went back
and had to do another a re-search
and they eventually found this hit
list hidden behind a brick or
something so even though they'd
stripped the whole place bare
they'd missed stuff

(R.M.)

O.K. well done thank you for your
effort and we'll leave it there for
the day/ it has been quite a long
day and you did really well/ I'll see
you back here tomorrow erm it's
P.T. tomorrow so don't forget your
kit bring your batons and belts/
well done

******************TAPE TURNED OFF******************
Supporting Material
for “Purple 3” Class