

Penal Spectatorship at Three Police Museums in Ontario

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A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Arts degree in Criminology

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Abstract

This thesis examines a widespread yet understudied tourism destination in Canada – the police museum. I visited and collected data at three police museums in the province of Ontario, Canada: the Toronto Police Museum and Discovery Centre in Toronto, the OPP Museum in Orillia, and the RCMP Musical Ride Centre in Ottawa. Engaging with Brown’s (2009) theory of “penal spectatorship”, I investigate how these sites (re)produce and circulate meanings about penalty through their different representational practices. I identify three dominant themes and argue that the police museums foster social distance between visitors and those in conflict with the law. By sharing these findings, and along the way reconceptualizing the definition of police museum, identifying fifty-nine police museums in Canada, and presenting a Canadian police museum typology, this thesis lays some groundwork for expanding the horizons of penal spectatorship theory and penal tourism scholarship to the realm of policing.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Justin Piché, for his persistent guidance, support and mentorship in my research. I am also grateful to Dr. Kevin Walby for lending his time and expertise to me over the past few years. I am indebted to Justin and Kevin for initially proposing the idea for this project to me and inviting me to join their dedicated research team. My time working for them has been an enjoyable experience that has helped me to become a better writer and researcher. I also wish to thank Dr. Sandra Lehalle and Dr. Michael Kempa, who examined my thesis and provided valuable insights that further deepened my analysis. Other professors and academic staff who have helped me with my studies also need to be acknowledged, especially Dr. Richard Dubé, Dr. Kathryn Campbell, Dr. Holly Johnson, Dr. Prashan Ranasinghe, Dr. Cheryl Webster, Dr. Christine Kelly, Dr. Willow Scobie, Dr. Kathleen Rodgers, and Geneviève Nault. In addition, I would like to thank those who volunteered to take part in this study. Finally, I am grateful for the generous funding I received for this project from the University of Ottawa and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

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List of Acronyms

BAPM: Buenos Aires Police Museum

CODIS: Combined DNA Index System

DNA: Deoxyribonucleic Acid

ERT: Emergency Response Team

ICOM: The International Council of Museums

IPM: Huntington Park International Police Museum

LAPHS: The Los Angeles Police Historical Society

NWMP: North West Mounted Police

OPP: Ontario Provincial Police

RCMP: Royal Canadian Mounted Police

UK: United Kingdom

US: United States

[T]he cultural work of penalty in memorialization sites dedicated to police and courts who play an integral role in the penal process is largely neglected.
(Piché and Walby, forthcoming)

Punishment constitutes one of the most precarious spaces of the human condition in its seductive invitation to rely upon the acts of others, both real and imagined, to justify our own infliction of pain rather than see our place in its problematic pursuit.
(Brown, 2009: 11)

How do the police, an institution that, in much of the world, the general populace often despises and fears yet needs, present its history — and the history of the unsavory activities it polices — to the public?
(Chazkel, 2012: 128)

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Hey, would you mind taking a picture of us in front of the cell?

This question was asked to me during my field visit to the Toronto Police Museum and Discovery Centre in Toronto, Ontario. The museum sprawls out over three levels in the large atrium of the downtown police headquarters and showcases the rich history of policing in the city from 1834 to the present. Photographs of police officers and vintage mug shots of the criminalized line the walls, positioned among intricate displays that recount everything from the origins and evolution of the police force to the steps involved in solving a ‘crime’. At the time, I was wandering through a replica of an early 20th century police station. Perhaps the most interesting space in the museum, the ‘Police Station No.7’ is a towering brick structure situated on the second level near a police car and several display cases containing artefacts from infamous local ‘crimes’. The interior of the station is filled with antique wooden furniture and manned by two mannequins dressed in old police uniforms.

Standing outside the detective’s office, I was gazing at a vintage missing persons reward poster for Ambrose J. Small. Small was a millionaire theatre tycoon and owner of the Grand Opera House in Toronto who mysteriously disappeared after last being seen in his office on 2 December 1919. Despite the \$5,000 incentive, he was never seen again. Two young men soon joined me in the replica station. They appeared to be brothers, one in his late teenage years and the other several years younger. The older one asked if I would take a photograph of them standing in front of a mock 1929 holding cell that was located in a small alcove on the opposite side of the station. I accepted, and as I focused the camera on the scene it felt like I was looking at the extremes of human emotion – brotherly love on the one hand and inexpressible misery on

the other. The two boys posed in front of the green cell bars with grins on their faces and arms wrapped around each other, while a mannequin of a detainee lay slumped in the dark cage behind them, with a fake black rat on the concrete by his feet.

This is one of a few moments that stick with me from my field research at three police museums located in the province of Ontario, Canada. By police museums, I mean publicly accessible institutions that collect, preserve and exhibit the heritage of the police (see McNair, 2011; Buffington, 2012; Caimari, 2012; Comaroff and Comaroff, 2004). My research has uncovered fifty-nine of these heritage and tourism destinations currently operating across Canada, with combined yearly attendance totalling in the hundreds of thousands. Along with the Toronto Police Museum and Discovery Centre, I visited the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) Museum in Orillia, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Musical Ride Centre in Ottawa. I selected these particular sites for research because they represent a municipal, provincial, and federal police force, one for each of the three levels of government responsible for public policing in Canada.

This thesis explores the representational practices of the three police museums, specifically the nature of their content and modes of display. Rather than analyzing these settings through the lens of police studies or the sociology of policing, my research finds its place in the sociology of punishment and recent literature on penal tourism in Canada (see Walby and Piché, 2015a). In particular, I am interested in how the three police museums facilitate meaning-making for visitors about the concept of ‘penalty’, as it relates to the role of the police as an institution of ‘criminal justice’¹ and set of actors in the penal process (Piché and Walby, forthcoming;

¹ The term ‘crime’ and related concepts (e.g. ‘criminal justice’) will appear throughout this thesis in single quotation marks to emphasize the fact that crime is a social construct with no ontological reality. A ‘crime’ is a harm that has been criminalized in a particular socio-historical context (see Hulsman, 1986).

Garland, 2013). As Piché and Walby (forthcoming) explain, penalty refers to the “assembly of institutions and actors that met out punishment as part of the ‘criminal justice’ process that criminalizes and sanctions certain social conflicts and harms”. It is a word commonly used by criminologists because it signifies punishment as being “a complex field of institutions, practices, and relations rather than a singular and essential type of social event” (Garland and Young, 1983: 14). I engage with the term because this thesis is grounded in the work of Brown (2009), who uses the concept of penalty in an attempt to explore how the public develops understandings about punishment through cultural practices.

Theoretical and research interest in penalty has experienced a resurgence in recent years, marked by an influx of new ideas and perspectives brought in to try and make sense of carceral expansion and the rapid growth of prison populations in Western nations (Cuneen et al., 2013). This growth is most clearly visible in the United States (US), which has experienced an unprecedented rise of imprisonment since the 1970’s characterized by extreme racial and class disparities, known to some as mass incarceration (Davis, 2003; Brown, 2009). In contrast, Canada has been identified as an exception to this punitive trend. Meyer and O'Malley (2005) note that Canada has had relatively stable incarceration rates, has abolished the death penalty, and lacks public support for ‘get tough’ policies. Yet Chen and colleagues (forthcoming) explain how Canadian penal practices underwent a shift when the Conservative Party of Canada took federal power from 2006 to 2015, “touting policies with the stated aim of sending more people to prison, for longer periods of time, with fewer chances of release”. Some criminologists have argued that Canada is going through a significant period of ‘penal intensification’ (Sim, 2009) in its own right, where “long-established patterns in punishment” are accelerating despite falling rates of criminalized harm (Piché, 2014: note 3; see also Chen et al., forthcoming; Latimer,

2015). Those attuned to the trends in Canadian imprisonment have noted that the country is currently undergoing the largest expansion of prison building since the 1930's (Carlson, 2011), is holding more and more people in remand facilities (Piché, 2014), and continues to mass incarcerate Indigenous and other racialized peoples (Brosnahan, 2013; Rankin, Winsa and Ng, 2013; Piché, 2016).²

My research engages theoretically with Michelle Brown (2009), who in *The Culture of Punishment: Prison, Society, and Spectacle* explores the role of popular culture in the era of American mass incarceration. Examining what she calls the 'culture of punishment' in the US, Brown (2009) investigates the various ways penalty and its meanings circulate through cultural practices to large numbers of people who tend to be disconnected from formal institutions of punishment. She refers to these settings as domains of 'penal spectatorship', which transmit complex cultural meanings and permit bystanders to engage with punishment and its major correlates of accusation, judgment, detention and pain, but from a social distance. While those accused of transgressing the laws of society live through the brutal realities of incarceration and other forms of punishment, everyday onlookers or 'penal spectators' are shielded from the most fundamental feature of such practices – the infliction of pain (Brown, 2009). As Christie (1982) reminds us, at the core of punishment in the institution of law is the deliberate infliction of pain by the state on its citizens.

Along with prison films, Brown (2009) highlights tours of decommissioned prisons (e.g. Alcatraz in the US) as important sites of penal spectatorship where citizens make sense of punishment from a social distance. She believes that in recent times penal spectatorship has taken on dangerous propensities, sustaining and reproducing punitive mentalities and support for

² For example, over a quarter (25.4%) of federal prisoners are Indigenous despite comprising roughly 4% of the Canadian population (CBC News, 2016).

penal practices from citizens far removed from the suffering inflicted by such acts. In order to thoroughly analyze the ‘culture of punishment’ that characterizes social life, where incarceration is envisaged as a logical response to managing risk and inflicting pain is considered a justifiable reaction to transgression, Brown (2009) emphasizes the need for research to relax the traditionally ridged boundaries of punishment and trace the cultural life of its common characteristics.

In a recent study, Walby and Piché (2015a) highlight the diversity of penitentiary, prison, jail and lock-up museums in Canada. They refer to these destinations as penal history museums and identify forty-five of such sites operating across the country. Walby and Piché (2015a) and several other recent papers building on this work (e.g. Kleuskens et al., 2016; Fiander et al, 2016; Ferguson et al., 2015; Chen et al., forthcoming), emphasize the important role penal tourism plays in Canada by producing domains of penal spectatorship where members of the public develop an understanding about confinement and punishment from a position of social distance. The term ‘penal tourism’ is often used to describe these excursions instead of ‘prison tourism’ because it captures “a wider fascination with the cultural history of punishment” (Welch, 2015: 21) and technically encompasses other ‘criminal justice’ museums where the penal process is exhibited (Piché and Walby, forthcoming). However, thus far, literature has heavily focused on the meanings of penalty encountered by tourists at prison museums. Largely neglected have been historical sites that memorialize the history of the police and courts, which also play an important role in the penal process (Piché and Walby, forthcoming).

This thesis extends penal tourism literature and Brown’s (2009) theory of penal spectatorship to the realm of policing. I identify police museums as another form of penal history site ubiquitous throughout Canada where members of the public interact and engage with

penalty and its meanings. In doing so, it makes an original substantive contribution and enhances understanding about the scope and nature of penal tourism in Canada. Drawing on field observations and interview findings, I demonstrate the role three police museums in Ontario play as sites of penal spectatorship in Canadian society where meaning is made about social exclusion, state pain-delivery, surveillance, the deprivation of liberty, accountability, penal subjects (i.e. ‘criminals’) and, ultimately, the project of punishment. My research shows that police museums are unique and understudied settings from which to gain a deeper understanding of penal spectatorship and generate knowledge about Canada’s own ‘culture of punishment’. I suggest one way to do so is to consider representations of police use of force – as well as police practices that deprive people of their liberty – as instances of penal spectatorship where everyday citizens witness the pain and exclusion of penal subjects from a position of social distance.

1.1 – What, if Anything, is a Police Museum?

Determining what exactly constitutes a ‘police museum’ is more complex than one might first imagine. Little research has been conducted at these sites, and the word is usually left vague and undefined in these writings. In this section, I argue that the term ‘police museum’ should encompass more destinations than previous research has suggested. The outline for the rest of this chapter is as follows. I begin by briefly noting that there has been longstanding disagreement and debate about the definition of ‘museum’. I then present the most explicit definition of ‘police museum’ I have found, which comes from an American study undertaken by McNair (2011). I analyze this definition carefully and highlight its limitations when applied to the Canadian context. Next, I clarify the terms ‘museum’ and ‘police museum’ as they are understood in this thesis. I then present an original three-part typology of police museums in Canada: Fully-

Dedicated Sites, Hybrid Sites and Historic Sites. After, I discuss what visitors usually encounter when exploring police museums and situate these destinations as a type of penal history site. I then explain why studying the police museum is important for the development of knowledge about penal tourism and the phenomenon of penal spectatorship. Finally, I provide the research question and study objectives that guide this thesis, and outline the remaining chapters.

The term ‘museum’ derives its origins from the Latin word ‘mouseion’, which delineates a philosophical school or ‘place of contemplation’, exemplified most notably by the Mouseion at Alexandria founded in 3rd century BC (McDonald, 2006). Over the past several centuries, the word has gradually evolved to describe a publicly accessible institution that collects and preserves aspects of cultural history. In contemporary times, the term ‘museum’ is consistently evolving and means different things to different people. The confusion and disagreement surrounding the term is summed up in an article by Dillenburg (2011) titled, “What, if Anything, is a Museum?” In it he discusses the lack of clear understanding about the term, noting that it is possible to find the museum label being used in a wide range of educational and institutional settings, including schools, theme parks, art displays, and even roadside attractions. In another piece, Latham and Simmons (2014: 4) write, “while there are many definitions of the word museum, there is no general agreement (by those who work in, with, and on museums) about what makes a museum a museum”. There has even been a recent shift away from associating the word museum with a physical structure, exemplified through the rise of virtual or cyber museums that have taken the characteristics of the museum and transformed them into a digital entity (see Bowen, 2000).

I will leave the definition of ‘museum’ open for now, but its meaning as I understand it will become clearer over the next few pages. Although the ‘police museum’ has been studied by

a few scholars and is an institution that exists “on every continent except Antarctica” (McNair, 2011: 20), it is difficult to find a clear definition for these sites. McNair (2011: xii) provides a rare attempt at a definition of the term ‘police museum’ in her doctoral dissertation on media representations of the police, which involved a study of two police museums in the US. She defines police museums as “sites dedicated to recounting police history and perpetuating pro-police narratives” (p. xii). Later on, she refers to police museums as “museums dedicated to the recounting of police history and the preservation and exhibition of artifacts relating to policing” (McNair, 2011: 19). While McNair (2011) helps to clarify what a police museum is, I suggest below that this conceptualization does not capture the full spectrum of institutions currently operating in Canada that should be labelled as types of police museums.³ I highlight three main limitations of her definition(s) when applied to the Canadian context, before re-defining the term for the purposes of this thesis.

The first limitation is the use of the word dedicated. What does ‘dedicated’ mean? She leaves it undefined, but the word suggests that the museum is either committed entirely to police history rather than other subjects, or considers police history to be a major content area. Both museums in McNair’s (2011) study were exclusively dedicated to policing. This introduces a grey-area that makes it difficult to distinguish between a police museum and not a police museum in Canada. For example, there are many museums and historical sites in Canada that recount police history and contain policing artefacts, but are also dedicated to other subjects such as Indigenous culture, the military, local history, and pioneer life. It is unclear if these destinations are also police museums, and if not why they should be excluded.

³ In this thesis, I use the term ‘police’ to refer to the particular organization employed by the state that patrols the streets and is tasked with ‘crime’ control, order maintenance, and a variety of other social service-type tasks. When I speak of ‘policing’ I am specifically referring to the activities of the police, and not those of other bodies who engage in similar processes (e.g. private security firms, vigilante groups of citizens) (see Reiner, 1994).

The second limitation stems from the idea that police museums are devoted to perpetuating ‘pro-police’ narratives. Most previous research conducted on police museums suggests that these institutions always promote a positive image of the police (see Chazkel, 2012; Buffington, 2012; Comaroff and Comaroff, 2004). Chazkel (2012: 132) asserts that police museums “are explicitly designed not to call the law into question” and therefore will omit historical perspectives that cast the police in a negative light. Much of what this work examines are museums that refer to themselves as police museums. While these sites exist in Canada, the history of policing is also commemorated at many other historical sites. For example, Nettelbeck and Foster (2013: 78) examine how “public forums of historical memory” in Western Canada depict the famous ‘March West’ by the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) that occurred in the late 19th century. They highlight how two locations offer “critically detailed histories of the impact and consequences of the arrival of the NWMP for the region’s First Nations peoples” (Nettelbeck and Foster, 2013: 89). One of these sites is the interpretive centre at Fort Walsh in Maple Creek, Saskatchewan, which was the NWMP headquarters from 1878-1882. The other site is the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta, a large art and history museum that contains policing exhibits and a large collection of mounted police artifacts. While Nettelbeck and Foster (2013) do not refer to these sites as police museums, their study reveals how not all museums in Canada that share police history can be easily classified as pro-police.

The third limitation involves the words ‘site’ and ‘museum’, which should be clarified. One reason is because there are some so-called museums of policing history in other countries that are inaccessible to the public. The Crime Museum in London, England (see Talbot, 2013) and the Museo de Enervantes (the Museum of Narcotics) in Mexico City, Mexico (see Buffington, 2012) are two examples of educational institutions for law enforcement personnel

only that operate under the museum label. Yet, these ‘museums’ are not really museums at all because they are not open to the public, which is a fundamental obligation the museum has had for centuries (see Dillenburg, 2011).

While McNair’s (2011) notion of police museum helped me identify several sites in Canada that can be considered police museums, a new definition was created for the purposes of this thesis. The first task in this regard was the clarification of the term museum. I began with one widely referenced definition given by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) (2007), a global organization of museum professionals:

A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.

A definition of police museum was acquired by substituting the “heritage of humanity and its environment” for the “heritage of the police”. Along with capturing the destinations that explicitly refer to themselves as ‘police museums’, this definition accounts for the diversity of institutions in Canadian society that contain exhibits about the police (e.g. heritage villages, community museums, historic forts, interpretive centres), considering all of these historic and tourism destinations as falling under the ‘umbrella’ of Canadian police museums.

While useful for this thesis, adapting the ICOM definition to apply to police museums is only a starting-point for analysis and can be subject to change as research continues to explore these sites. McNair (2011: 22) points out that the “form and function” of police museums often differ from traditional museums because many are housed inside actual police stations. The ICOM definition itself has been also subjected to critique, mainly due to its strict criteria (see Ginsburgh and Mairesse, 1997). For example, many people do not believe that a museum *has* to be a non-profit institution (see Arroyo, 2008). A popular ‘for-profit police museum’ in the US

recently closed in September 2015. This was the National Museum of Crime and Punishment, located in Washington, DC. When operational, the site contained a number of police exhibits, including a high-speed police chase simulator, a mock police station, and a simulated police shooting range (see Farber, 2011; Arroyo, 2008). Typically, museums must be developed and organized by non-profits to achieve membership into an official museum organization, yet as Dillenburg (2011) notes, this condition has little bearing on real-world practice and likely does not make a difference towards how the public perceives the site.

This section has shown that the definition of police museum is more complex than it might seem. Ultimately, there is no single correct definition of a police museum or of museums in general. I have proposed that any museum with an exhibit about the police should be considered to be a type of police museum (though I acknowledge how ambiguous and polysemic the word ‘police’ can be). Hudson (1998: 45) cautioned many years ago that what one should never do is “invent an imaginary phenomenon called the ‘museum’”. His point was that what we call ‘museums’ are so diverse it is meaningless to even consider them all under the same name. In the next section, we will see how Hudson’s proposal might hold weight for Canadian police museums, which I separate into three types. However, classifying police museums allows for a better understanding about the complexity of these sites and is necessary for situating the three police museums I examine in this thesis into their broader context.

1.2 – Police Museums in Canada

A police museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of the police for the purposes of education, study

and enjoyment. Based primarily on Internet research, I have documented fifty-nine police museums currently operating in Canada (see Table 1). These sites can be found in a variety of demographic areas, from large cities such as Toronto and Vancouver, to the smaller locales of Shoal Lake, Manitoba and Ancaster, Ontario. I have categorized the museums into the following three-part typology: i) Fully-Dedicated Sites; ii) Hybrid Sites; and iii) Historic Sites. These categories share some similarity to the typology of Canadian penal history sites developed by Walby and Piché (2015a) in their study on Canadian penitentiary, prison, jail and lock-up museums. The typology is preliminary and further research should be conducted at these tourist sites to refine and expand this classification if needed.

1.2.1 – Fully-Dedicated Sites

Fully-dedicated sites (n=18) are the first type of police museum in my typology. These are museums devoted primarily to recounting the history of the police. Often housed inside or adjacent to operational police stations (or police training academies), they tend to be run by community volunteers and charitable organizations separate from the police services they represent. These museums exist in spaces of varying size and typically operate in close partnership with the represented service. They are often endorsed by the represented service through promotional materials and will sometimes be involved in organizing special events for them, such as anniversaries.

This type of police museum exists in every Canadian province except for Prince Edward Island. Several have been established in the past decade, with the most recent ventures being the Sudbury Police Museum (est. 2006) in Sudbury, Ontario, The RCMP Heritage Centre (est. 2007) located in Regina, Saskatchewan, and the Hamilton Police Museum (est. 2012) in Ancaster,

Ontario. The newest fully-dedicated site in Canada is the Winnipeg Police Museum, which opened its doors in June 2016, replacing the old police museum that had been open since 1974. Most fully-dedicated sites offer free admission with donations accepted. Some of the larger museums not housed inside active police buildings do charge entrance fees. For example, adult admission to the aforementioned RCMP Heritage Centre and Vancouver Police Museum located in Vancouver, British Columbia, is 10\$ and 12\$, respectively.

It is difficult to determine the amount of visitors to fully-dedicated sites in Canada because attendance numbers are rarely released publicly. However, a few locations have reported figures in recent years. Attendance at the Vancouver Police Museum rose from 5,000 visitors in 2005 to close to 22,000 visitors in 2010 (British Columbia Magazine, 2014). The museum has a large forensic component to it and the *British Columbia Magazine* (2014) claims the increase in visitation was sparked by the popularity of forensic television shows. In contrast, the RCMP Heritage Centre noted that attendance decreased from 100,000 visitors in 2007, its inaugural year, to 60,000 visitors in 2010 (CBC News, 2010).

Table 1: Police Museums in Canada

Fully-Dedicated Sites (18)
1. Royal Newfoundland Constabulary Police Museum – Corner Brook, Newfoundland
2. Saint John Police Museum– Saint John, New Brunswick
3. Le Musée de la police de l’Île de Montréal et de l’Île Bizard – Montreal, Quebec
4. RCMP Musical Ride Centre – Ottawa, Ontario
5. Hamilton Police Museum – Ancaster, Ontario
6. Durham Regional Police Museum and Archives – Durham, Ontario
7. The Sudbury Region Police Museum – Sudbury, Ontario
8. Ontario Police College Museum – Aylmer, Ontario
9. The OPP Museum – Orillia, Ontario
10. Toronto Police Museum and Discovery Centre – Toronto, Ontario
11. Historic Divisions: Policing in 51 Division from Victorian to Modern Times – Toronto, Ontario

12. Winnipeg Police Museum and Historical Society – Winnipeg, Manitoba
13. The RCMP Heritage Centre – Regina, Saskatchewan
14. Saskatoon Police Museum- Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
15. Russell Hanson's Mounted Police Museum – Duck Lake, Saskatchewan
16. Edmonton Police Museum & Archives – Edmonton, Alberta
17. YouthLink Calgary: The Calgary Police Interpretive Centre – Calgary, Alberta
18. Vancouver Police Museum – Vancouver, British Columbia

Hybrid Sites (10)

1. Duck Lake Interpretive Centre – Duck Lake, Saskatchewan
2. Wawota & District Museum – Wawota, Saskatchewan
3. Southwest Saskatchewan Oldtimers' Museum – Maple Creek, Saskatchewan
4. Chief Poundmaker Historical Centre – Cut Knife, Saskatchewan
5. Passing of the Legends Museum – Canmore, Alberta
6. Galt Museum and Archives – Lethbridge, Alberta
7. Glenbow Museum – Calgary, Alberta
8. New Westminster Museum and Archives – New Westminster, British Columbia
9. The Dawson City Museum – Dawson, Yukon
10. Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre – Yellowknife, North West Territories

Historic Sites (31)

I. Forts (10)

1. Lower Fort Gary– St. Andrews, Manitoba
2. Fort Walsh – Maple Creek, Saskatchewan
3. Fort Battleford – Battleford, Saskatchewan
4. Fort Carlton Provincial Park – Duck Lake, Saskatchewan
5. Fort Heritage Precinct – Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta
6. Fort Calgary and the Deane House Historic Site – Calgary Alberta
7. Fort Normandeau – Red Deer, Alberta
8. Fort McMurray Heritage Park – Fort McMurray, Alberta
9. Fort Museum of the North West Mounted Police and First Nations Interpretive Centre – Fort Macleod, Alberta
10. Fort Whoop-Up – Lethbridge, Alberta

II. Other Structures (21)

1. Shoal Lake Police and Pioneer Museum – Shoal Lake, Manitoba
2. Pembina Threshermen's Museum (NWMP Outpost) – Winkler, Manitoba
3. Wood Mountain Post – Wood Mountain, Saskatchewan
4. NWMP Wood End Post Historical Site/Estevan Art Gallery – Estevan, Saskatchewan
5. The Rotary Museum of Police and Corrections – Prince Albert, Saskatchewan
6. Almighty Voice Jail – Duck Lake, Saskatchewan
7. Batoche National Historic Site (NWMP Encampment) – Rosthern, Saskatchewan

8. Wadena & District Museum (NWMP Outpost) – Wadena, Saskatchewan
9. Western Development Museum (NWMP Outpost) – North Battleford, Saskatchewan
10. Royal Northwest Mounted Police Post Museum – Creighton, Saskatchewan
11. Writing-On-Stone Police Post – near Milk River, Alberta
12. Fort Edmonton Park (NWMP Outpost) – Edmonton, Alberta
13. Camrose and District Centennial Museum (RCMP Station) – Camrose, Alberta
14. RCMP Celebrations Museum – Fairview, Alberta
15. Canmore NWMP Barracks – Canmore, Alberta
16. Granum Old Jail and Museum – Granum, Alberta
17. Heritage Park Historical Village (NWMP Outpost) – Calgary, Alberta
18. South Similkameen Museum – Keremeos, British Columbia
19. Fort St. John North Peace Museum (British Columbia Police Barracks) - Fort St. John, British Columbia
20. Forte Steele Heritage Town (NWMP Barracks) – Forte Steele, British Columbia
21. MacBride Museum of Yukon History (NWMP Cabin) – Whitehorse, Yukon

1.2.2 – Hybrid Sites

The second type of police museum in my typology are Hybrid Sites (n=10). These are museums that recount police history as just one of potentially many topics shared. In contrast to fully-dedicated sites, exhibiting the history of the police may not be their primary focus or reason for existence. They include small community museums that have a display about their local police force, as well as large history museums that showcase collections of policing memorabilia. This category does not include museums that have a historic police structure on their grounds, as these sites are better classified under the third category, Historic Sites.

One example of a hybrid site is the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta (see Nettelbeck and Foster, 2013). Along with showcasing an extensive collection of policing artifacts, the museum contains a wide assortment of items related to Sir Sam Steele, a NWMP officer and legendary figure in Canadian police history (Lounsberry, 2008). The Galt Museum and Archives is another hybrid site located in the town of Lethbridge, Alberta. It has a “completely renewed” NWMP exhibit situated amongst many other displays that recount local

history (City of Lethbridge, 2014: 11). A final example is the New Westminster Museum and Archives in New Westminster, British Columbia, which contains different collections including “artifacts documenting the history of the New Westminster Police Department” (Dobie, 2015). Attendance numbers at hybrid sites are usually only released by the larger, more popular museums. For example, the Glenbow Museum attracted 125,697 visitors between April 1st 2014 and March 31st, 2015 (Glenbow Museum, 2015). Meanwhile, visitor attendance at The Galt Museum and Archives was 45,215 in 2012-13 (City of Lethbridge, 2014).

1.2.3 – Historic Sites

Historic Sites (n=31) are the third type of police museum in my typology. These are structures with significance to police history that have been preserved and/or reconstructed for tourism. They can be separated into two categories: ‘Forts’ and ‘Other Structures’. Many historic sites (n=10) are forts that once served as posts for the NWMP. The NWMP (1873-1904) were the precursors to the RCMP who constructed numerous posts across Western and Northern Canada to establish ‘order’ and sovereignty (Nettelbeck and Foster, 2013; Hubner, 1998). These sites have their origins when the NWMP began their famous ‘March West’ in the autumn of 1874 to bring “peace and good government to the North West”, or in the eyes of some to act “as agents of colonial governance” (Nettelbeck and Foster, 2013: 77). An example of such a site is Fort Walsh, located near present-day Maple Creek, Saskatchewan. The NWMP were also present in other settlements and trading posts in the 19th century, such as Fort Normandeau, located in present-day Red Deer, Alberta. Fort Walsh and Fort Normandeau, along with other historic forts similar to them, currently operate as popular tourism destinations. Most historic forts in Canada receive thousands of visitors each year. For example, in 2014-15 Fort Walsh received 10,517

visitors (Parks Canada, 2015). Fort Battleford, another historic NWMP fort, received 4,823 visitors in 2014-15 (Parks Canada, 2015).

Other Structures (n=21) refers to historic police sites that are not large forts. This includes an array of re-built historic police structures that now operate as tourism sites. They exist in a wide range of locations, including populous cities and desolate areas with no road access. Nearly all are small NWMP posts in Western Canada, which were an important part of the patrol system when operational. They were viewed as effective for managing the 'Indian' population and law-violators, such as 'horse thieves' and 'whisky traders' (Hubner, 1998). The majority of small NWMP outposts and other police structures of that time period have since deteriorated and crumbled away. However, some have been saved and reconstructed for tourism. Other sites have been completely re-built for public visitation according to their original design.

Some smaller historic police sites are presented as a unique exhibit inside a larger tourism site, others serve as a type of side-attraction located adjacent to its managing site, and some operate as their own independent museum. An example of the first case is the Pembina Threshermen's Museum in Winkler, Manitoba, which has a reconstructed NWMP outpost on their premises that visitors can wander through. RCMP members sometimes visit the museum to stand guard at the structure on special occasions (Pembina Valley Online, 2013). An example of the second case is the NWMP Wood End Post historical site, which is managed by the adjacent Estevan Art Gallery in Estevan, Saskatchewan. An example of the third case is the Shoal Lake Police and Pioneer Museum in Shoal Lake, Manitoba, a museum that operates in a replica NWMP barracks that was originally built in Shoal Lake in 1875. Other historic sites are managed by provincial parks and operate in completely remote locations. For example, visitors to the Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, located near the Milk River in southern Alberta, can

participate in special guided hikes that take them to an isolated NWMP outpost that was originally built in 1887 to protect ranchers' livestock from being raided by 'Indians' across the border (see Hubner, 1998: 65). The outpost burned down many years ago, but the park has since rebuilt it to provide visitors a "glimpse into NWMP peacekeeping activities and daily life in the area from 1887 to 1918" (Writing-On-Stone, 2012). At this time, attendance to these small historic police sites is largely unknown. Some attendance figures can be found online through news articles. For example, nearly 2,000 people visited the Pembina Threshermen's Museum in 2012 (Pembina Valley Online, 2012).

1.3 – What is Inside a Police Museum?

The contents of a police museum typically depend on its size and type. Those exploring fully-dedicated sites are likely to encounter displays of vintage police vehicles, authentic photographs (e.g. vintage forensic photography of 'crime' scenes, collections of mug shots, missing persons, police officers, victims), and policing memorabilia such as uniforms, weaponry, riot equipment, communication devices and badges (see Buffington, 2012; McNair, 2011). Visitors are sometimes educated on common police practices, such as car and pedestrian stops, interrogations, searches, arrests and detentions (McNair, 2011). Some sites provide visitors the opportunity to take their own mug shot photos or stand inside mock detention cells for a photo (Jun, 2013). Many fully-dedicated police museums contain large collections of archival material, which include documents such as honorary diplomas, letters from former police officers, personal belongings, procedure manuals and personnel records (see Williams, 2004). Stories are often told of well-known police cases and the actions of law enforcement officers who were involved, while poster boards recount other notable topics such as the evolution of the

represented police service (McNair, 2011; Buffington, 2012; Caimari, 2012).

Like most museums, many fully-dedicated sites provide activities for youth and children. One example can be found at the Vancouver Police Museum, which along with hosting 'Forensic' and 'Mini Police Academy' themed birthday parties offers a CSI kids camp that educates children on "real crime scene investigation and forensic science techniques" (Follet, 2015). Another feature occasionally found are dress-up areas where children are encouraged try on various costumes such as police uniforms, hats and helmets. Visitors to the Vancouver Police Museum can even try on a body armour vest, "if you can manage to hoist it above your knees" (Jun, 2013). Most fully-dedicated museums manage gift shops that sell a variety of merchandise such as mugs, books, toys, and clothing embossed with police-themed images.

Hybrid sites usually contain a policing exhibit with collections of policing-related artefacts and photographs. The NWMP exhibit at the Galt Museum and Archives tells the story of a long-surviving mounted police horse named Old Buck (City of Lethbridge, 2014). In contrast, visitors to the Glenbow Museum can learn about the NWMP's March West and view old police uniforms, medals, documents, firearms, artwork, photos and other policing relics (Glenbow, 2016; Nettelbeck and Foster, 2013). Most hybrid sites have gift shops that sell, among other things, policing-related merchandise.

Visitors to historic police sites are likely to encounter a diverse amount of content about the mounted police. Most historic forts have a main interpretive centre that shares the history of the mounted police and other topics relevant to the destination. Tourists may roam around the compound independently or participate in guided tours for a small fee. For example, visitors to Fort Battleford are led through five NWMP buildings, including an officers' residence, horse

stables, and a jailhouse (Yanko, 2012). Historic forts tend to offer many interactive activities for guests. A magazine promoting Fort Walsh explains:

Kids, join the North West Mounted Police and dress in their uniform of red tunics and pill box hats. At Fort Walsh, you can arrest your parents, perform North West Mounted Police drills and go on a scavenger hunt. Adults, participate in a “real” trial and defend yourself from accusations of minor offences ... Relive a great era, when the North West Mounted Police ruled the prairies! (Prairies North, n.d.)

Historic forts usually have gift shops with policing-related and other merchandise for sale. Some locations, such as Fort Battleford, are known for hosting special events throughout the year such as ghost walks and haunted forts (see Tourism Saskatchewan, n.d.).

Those exploring smaller historic police sites are likely to encounter a space that has been refashioned to the time period it was operational. At this time, there is not much information available about what these sites contain. The NWMP Wood End Post exhibits numerous police artefacts such as uniforms, riding gear and firearms, and provides information about the NWMP and their relationship with the surrounding Indigenous communities (Estevan Art Gallery and Museum, 2016). In contrast, visitors to Wood-Mountain Provincial Park in Southern Saskatchewan can tour two buildings that depict NWMP and Sioux history. Established in 1874 in an attempt to prevent American whisky traders from entering Canada, the park preserves one of the oldest NWMP posts in Canada. Tourism Saskatchewan (n.d.), the official tourism agency of the province, explains that “exhibits chronicle the history of the Sioux”, and visitors can learn about “the routine work of the NWMP officers including acting as customs agents and dealing with ranchers and rustlers”.

1.4 – Police Museums as Penal History Sites

Despite the prevalence of museums in Canada that memorialize the history of the police,

there has been virtually no research conducted at these destinations. Reducing this gap is of critical importance to criminological research because, much like television or other forms of media, “museums are in the communication business” (Silverstone, 1998: 231) and provide a source of knowledge for many people about policing and the ‘criminal justice’ system more generally (McNair, 2011). While research on these sites is scarce, they can be situated into recent developments in penal tourism literature. Police museums are a type of penal history site, which Piché and Walby (forthcoming) define as “venues where representations of those in conflict with the law and those employed to uphold it inform public understandings of ‘criminal justice’”. Thus far, research on penal history museums has only examined penitentiary, prison, jail and lock-up museums, including those in Canada (see Walby and Piché, 2015a).

Penal history sites are worthy of study by those in the field of criminology for many reasons, particularly due to their power to influence how visitors make sense of ‘crime’ and punishment in contemporary society (Brown, 2009). Walby and Piché (2015a) explain how their research on forty-five penal history museums in Canada is significant, in part, because it moves beyond the ‘big house’ (i.e. large, infamous prisons like Alcatraz in the US) to identify and analyze the many smaller, lesser known penal history museums across Canada. However, a more complete understanding of penal tourism in Canada requires us move beyond the ‘big house’, the gaol, and the lockup altogether. Gaining a deeper understanding about the practice of punishment in modern society, as Foucault (1977) has suggested, requires us to find penalty as it circulates beyond the walls of the prison. This includes in the work of the police, who are the first link in a chain of state institutions to engage in lawful (and, sometimes, unlawful) practices of surveillance, confinement and violence against those accused of committing criminalized offenses (Piché and Walby, forthcoming; McNair, 2011; Recasens, 2011).

Police museums are a type of penal history site because they commemorate the work of the penal system. The penal system can be defined as the system of accusation, adjudication and punishment used by society in response to criminalized harm (Cavadino and Dignan, 1997). The police play an important role as being first point of contact in the penal apparatus of the state. In nearly all cases, a person must first be arrested before going to prison. However, many suggest that the police have no punitive power themselves (outside of traffic tickets and fines). As Recasens (2011: 222) explains, “in strictly legal terms, the police do not apply punishments, not even inside the CJS [Criminal Justice System]. If they do, it’s always an illicit act”. Yet at the same time, many of those subject to certain police practices (e.g. stop and search, arrest, use of force, interrogation and custody) experience these acts as a form of punishment. Indeed, Feeley (1979: 30-31) asserted decades ago that “the process itself is the punishment” for many people who experience the conflict, stress, and confusion of the arrest and prosecution process (see also Choongh, 1998; Zedner, 2016). Harkin (2014: 45) reminds us that, “the police deliver pain to individuals and groups, virtuously, justifiably, accidentally, maliciously or otherwise”. He claims that many police activities can be considered as “a kind of punishment, a state sanctioned delivery of pain” (Harkin, 2014: 45). As such, while the language of the state may consider certain police practices as reflective of power and force, not punishment, those who come into conflict with the law sometimes consider their experience as reflective of violence and pain-delivery – features that lie at the heart of modern penality (Christie, 2000).

Considering the role of the police as an actor in the penal process that, among other things, engages in violence, pain-delivery and exclusionary practices towards those suspected to be ‘criminals’ is necessary for understanding how the work of punishment can operate beyond legal boundaries for those on the receiving end. Importantly, the police museum is a site of penal

spectatorship because it permits individuals to engage with meanings of pain, suffering and exclusion from a position distanced from the realities of these actions as those in conflict with the law experience them (Brown, 2009; McNair, 2011). Piché and Walby (2015a: 480) note that penal history museums often distort the past and produce “social distance between prisoners and museum-goers”. This can occur by emphasizing infamous prisoners and sharing sensational stories that position prisoners as dangerous and cunning people, while in contrast depicting prison staff as heroic and selfless (Piché and Walby, 2015a; see also Chen et al., forthcoming). In these contexts, what is meant to be a fun and entertaining engagement with the prison can also foster misunderstandings about punishment and provide support for an intensification in penal practices (Brown, 2009; Piché and Walby, 2015a).

Brown (2009) points out that penal tourism is unique in its potential to disrupt and challenge common portrayals of punishment perpetuated by other sites of popular culture, such as movies and television shows. Inside the museum, this might occur through displays that incorporate a plurality of perspectives and oppositional voices, through exhibits that encourage reflection about common myths and stereotypes about prison life, or through tour guides who make connections between the past and contemporary issues of imprisonment (Brown, 2009). According to Piché and Walby (forthcoming), penal history museums can challenge the social distance of tourists “by shifting the focus toward the brutality faced by those criminalized for political dissent such as Nelson Mandela ... or by privileging the voices of prisoners more generally” (also see Shearing and Kempa, 2004; Fiander et al., 2016). Embracing these types of representational practices inside the penal history museum would not only promote a more balanced understanding of the past, but also potentially invoke greater reflection on the part of

the penal spectator (i.e. tourist) about the state of punishment in contemporary society and their own role in accepting and sanctioning these practices (Brown, 2009).

1.5 – Research Questions and Objectives

The fundamental aim of this thesis is to get a better understanding of the extent to which three police museums in Ontario bridge or foster social distance between penal spectators and those in conflict with the law. Therefore, the central research question that guides this study is:

How do police museums (re)produce and circulate meanings about penalty through their different representational practices?

In this study, I will not be making connections between police museums and the large body of research that has examined representations of policing in other cultural mediums (e.g. Colbran, 2014). Instead, I have chosen to ground my study in a smaller body of penal tourism literature in order to push this research (and its theoretical underpinnings) forward and expand knowledge about the impact police museums have on the ‘culture of punishment’ in Canada. As Brown (2009) explains, this is a punitive normative order where pain, suffering, and exclusion is considered a logical and appropriate way of responding to the criminalized behaviour of individuals often found at the bottom of race, gender and class hierarchies. To do so, I conducted qualitative research at three police museums in Ontario: i) The Toronto Police Museum and Discovery Centre in Toronto; ii) The OPP Museum in Orillia; and iii) The RCMP Musical Ride Centre, in Ottawa. As noted previously, these sites were selected because they represent a municipal, provincial, and federal police force, one for each of the three levels of government. This makes for an interesting comparison of the different ways the three police museums educate and engage visitors in penal history.

Along with being largely unexplored by criminological research, police museums are an ideal setting to push forward penal tourism literature by examining how these sites facilitate particular ways of looking at and understanding the infliction of pain by the state, which is the fundamental feature that animates contemporary penal spectatorship (Brown, 2009). This type of investigation raises questions regarding the extent to which police museums elicit feelings of insecurity and fear towards penal subjects and ‘dangerous others’ (Chen et al., forthcoming), or instead moderate and contest punitive ways of thinking about ‘crime’ and ‘criminal justice’ in modern society (Fiander et al., 2016). Prior to beginning my fieldwork, I knew that meanings about penalty would likely be present inside police museums because previous research has noted that police museums educate visitors about the role of the police in the penal process (see McNair, 2011). Moreover, many police practices that are punitive in effect, such as the use of force and the deprivation of liberty, are considered fundamental aspects of policing (Harkin, 2014). However, the absence of certain penal meanings was also possible. In either case, the representations or lack thereof would shed insight into how the three police museums offer a framing through which penal spectators engage (or fail to engage) with representations of the penal process and those in conflict with the law.

This project has two interrelated research objectives. The first objective is to explore how meanings about penalty are constructed inside police museums by investigating the roles of museum staff. Museums are curated and marketed in diverse ways, and the practices of museum staff influence the meanings communicated about law enforcement to the public (MacDonald, 2006). This objective gives practitioners a voice and provides a better understanding about the overall goals and purposes of the exhibits, which researchers may overlook or fail to notice through observations due to the personal experiences, biases and assumptions they carry (see

Mauthner and Doucet, 2003). The second objective is to uncover how the three police museums construct meanings about penalty by studying their representational practices. This objective examines the nature of the content shared and different methods of display inside the museum. In a museum exhibition, the internal ordering (e.g. built environment, relics, text), as well as the narratives of paid and unpaid staff members work together to produce the meanings encountered by visitors (Lidchi, 1997; Dillenburg, 2011). In achieving these objectives, this study advances penal tourism research and the theoretical work of Brown (2009). It uncovers some initial knowledge about how three police museums in Ontario are caught up in the complexities of penal spectatorship.

1.6 – Outline of the Remaining Chapters

In *Chapter 2: On Police Museums: A Literature Review*, I discuss the existing literature on police museums by dividing writings into two categories, practitioner and academic works. Focusing primarily on what I refer to as the ‘fully-dedicated’ police museum, I explain how these institutions have been studied in the past, the theoretical foundations of this work, and the primary findings emerging from it. I illustrate that outside of a recent body of Latin American scholarship and a few other studies, police museums have been overlooked in academic research. After examining relevant literature from a number of disciplines, I highlight how this thesis will enhance knowledge and understanding in the fields of museum studies, criminology, and the travel phenomenon known to some as ‘dark’ tourism (Lennon and Foley, 2000).

In *Chapter 3: Theorizing Punishment and the Police*, I begin by briefly reviewing the efforts of a few scholars who have attempted to conceptualize the relation between ‘culture’ and penalty. A common theme among these writings I highlight is the idea that culture both shapes

and is shaped by the practice of punishment in society. Next, I provide a detailed overview of the theory of penal spectatorship as developed by Brown (2009), who attempts to identify and analyze the cultural domains where subjectivities surrounding punishment are shaped and constructed. I explain how Brown (2009) indicates the need to expand current understandings of punishment and reframe such work around the infliction of pain in order to better understand the nature of contemporary penality. I suggest one way to extend her theoretical insights about penal spectatorship is to apply the theory to the realm of policing. Drawing primarily from the work of Harkin (2014) on police pain-delivery, I argue that cultural representations of police use of force and police practices that deprive people of their liberty can be understood as instances of penal spectatorship where everyday citizens gaze upon the pain and exclusion of penal subjects.

In *Chapter 4: Methods*, I discuss the methodological approach of this research. I begin by identifying and describing the three police museums selected for investigation. I then discuss the epistemological framework of the research and explain why it is appropriate for a study on penal spectatorship. Next, I outline the data collection and analysis methods, including the rationale behind the procedures chosen. Data for this thesis comes primarily from field observations undertaken at the three police museums, as well as one interview conducted with staff members at the OPP Museum. Data is analyzed through qualitative coding methods. I explain how my experiences highlight the difficulties of opening up museums to critical investigation, especially those with close ties to state institutions. After, I discuss issues of reliability and validity as it pertains to the research design and the ethical safeguards employed.

In *Chapter 5: Representations of Penality in Three Police Museums*, I present the results from my data collection and analysis. I identify and analyze three dominant themes that represent mechanisms through which meanings about penality are (re)produced and circulated inside the

three police museums. These themes are: i) Control and Surveillance; ii) Memento and Story; and iii) Arrest and Detention. In the process, links are made between my empirical findings, penal spectatorship theory and relevant literature. I illustrate how penal spectatorship theory is a useful tool for examining the content shared by police museums in Canada, and locate the role of police museums as sites that construct and distribute representations of the pain and exclusion of penal subjects. The potential power of these institutions to influence how citizens view their role in social exclusion and pain-delivery, and in broader terms, the project of punishment is also discussed.

In *Chapter 6: Conclusion*, I discuss the main contributions of the study and its highlight its limitations. I reflect on the significance of my findings for penal tourism literature and studies concerned with cultural representations of penality. In brief, I provide an agenda for future penal tourism research.

CHAPTER 2 – ON POLICE MUSEUMS: A LITERATURE REVIEW

The first purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive background on the existing literature on police museums. I present and classify this writing into two categories: i) Practitioner Literature and ii) Academic Literature. A large portion of this chapter is focused on literature about what I call the ‘fully-dedicated’ police museum. This is because the three institutions I visited in Ontario fall under this category. In the first section, I discuss a small body of writings from practitioners on police museums and highlight the common themes that arise from this work. In the second section, I outline the rise of interest towards studying museums and discuss reviews of exhibitions at police museums. After, I present an overview of the literature examining the role of the museum as a disciplinary institution, which provides the foundation for a number of texts that examine police museums as ideological mediums used to construct national and cultural identities. I then briefly discuss scholarship on the travel phenomenon known as ‘dark’ tourism and highlight its relevance to police museums. The second purpose of this chapter is to identify the limitations and gaps of knowledge in these writings, and to position this thesis within the scope of Canadian penal tourism literature. By reviewing and evaluating the abovementioned scholarship, this section will illustrate how a study examining three police museums in Ontario makes an original contribution to museum studies, criminology, as well as literature on ‘dark’ tourism.

2.1 – Practitioner Literature

There exists a small body of practitioner literature that discusses the everyday challenges, pitfalls and policy issues faced by police museums. These writings come from museum specialists and historians who share their expertise in managing these sites and provide

information on how to construct and maintain them (see Williams, 2004). Most writing specifically on police museums comes from a 2004 conference held in the United Kingdom (UK), called *Heritage and History of the UK Criminal Justice System*. This one-day gathering brought together police historians, academics, museums specialists, and community members to facilitate a discussion around matters of policy and practice faced by police and other ‘criminal justice’ museums in the UK (see Williams, 2004). The papers from this conference were published in a book titled, *Giving the Past a Future: Preserving the Heritage of the UK's Criminal Justice System*. The contributions discuss police museums, court museums and prison museums in the UK, with a heavy emphasis on police heritage conservation. These writings offer a glimpse into the real-life challenges and practical constraints faced by police museums that are often disregarded in academic literature (see Durrans, 1992), and are beneficial to review.

While this particular ‘criminal justice’ heritage conference was unique, other conferences exist that are relevant to police museum management and curatorship. The most important example is the International Conference of Police Museums, which has been occurring in different parts of the world since 2001. In fact, the Saskatoon Police Service in Saskatoon, Canada recently hosted the 2016 conference from June 28-30 (Saskatoon Police Service, 2016). The gathering included tours of several museums in the area, such as the RCMP Heritage Centre, the Western Development Museum, and the Saskatoon Police Museum. It also featured presentations, training sessions, and museum management advice from a number of historians, museum curators and police officers (Saskatoon Police Service, 2016).

The primary objectives of the papers presented at the 2004 conference in the UK were to highlight the state of the ‘criminal justice’ heritage industry, as well as to identify current and future problems faced by police museums and potential ways they could be addressed. For

instance, Griffiths (2004) notes that the amount of police museums in the UK is considerably lower than in the past, a decline that he attributes to dwindling resources, a lack of pride in police heritage, and the difficulties of acquiring and maintaining recognised museum status. He briefly outlines the challenges of forming these institutions, first emphasizing that it is paramount interested parties not only acquire acceptance from the police chief, but “win [the] hearts and minds of the public” to mobilize broad support and generate the funding needed for their project (Griffiths, 2004: 82). Griffiths next delves into the challenging storage demands involved, which require not only having an adequate amount of free space, but also securing access to highly-specialized and expensive conservation equipment, a luxury few police departments can afford. Finally, police museums in the UK must adhere to an abundance of rules and regulations, which include attaining legal and constitutional ownership documents, following public access legislation, obeying disability and discrimination protocols, and so forth (Griffiths, 2004).

This discussion is carried on by Cross (2004), a curator at the West Midlands Police Museum in Birmingham, England, who highlights the future challenges facing police museums. He breaks these matters down into three topics: issues of the durability and incompatibility of electronic police records, confidentiality and disclosure rules for police archival research, and the ever-changing freedom of information acts that restrict the depositing of certain police records into public access sites. He concludes by offering some brief suggestions on how police museums can best tackle these issues moving forward. This includes preserving files on more permanent mediums such as film, developing strict rules for when the records of officers should be made available and to whom, and to engage in consistent dialogue with members of police services and other museums regarding what records should be kept for future researchers. As both Griffiths (2004) and Cross (2004) explain, addressing the problems and pitfalls faced by

police museums is a challenging but necessary task, as losing the heritage of policing would be an immense cultural failure and a disservice to future generations conducting research on past police practices.

Despite the myriad of challenges faced by police museums across the UK and elsewhere, several of these institutions have conducted successful preservation initiatives and established themselves as thriving police museums. Success in this context refers to the ability to overcome obstacles and maintain a stable preservation initiative with wide access to artefacts and archival material. The most common way this occurs with police museums in the UK is for employees to have close associations with the represented police force. One example in the UK is the Essex Police Museum, a heritage site dedicated to memorializing the Essex Police Service at the police headquarters in Chelmsford, England. Lockwood (2004), the sites curator, explains how a determined and active group of volunteers from the facility were able to drive a very successful police historical preservation initiative based upon their strong ties with the Essex Police. Another exceedingly popular site is The Yorkshire Law & Order Museums, an establishment consisting of a courthouse museum, as well as a prison and police museum, set up by the Ripon Museum Trust (see Lindley, 2004). Lindley (2004: 112) describes the interconnectedness of these museums, noting: “prisoners were incarcerated at the prison or police station and taken to the courthouse where a custodial sentence or transportation could be imposed”. The Ripon Museum Trust has been able to acquire items such as officer notebooks containing photographs and details of 20th century ‘criminal’ offense reports, old police almanacs, beat information cards and much more.

Baker (2004) explains the dynamics behind the success of the Galleries of Justice Museum in Nottingham, England, a heritage site that includes The Shire Hall (a court museum),

a police museum, and a jail museum. Baker (2004: 89) notes that the museums' collection is organized under four main story lines (police, prisons, law and probation) with the primary goal of "educating young people and the wider community about crime, citizenship, and the law". She attributes part of the sites success to the museums close relationship with the active police forces of the surrounding area, whose contributions have helped strengthen the museums collection. Along with archival material, their collection contains over two hundred police uniforms, several antique truncheons, and houses the largest collection of restraints in the UK (Baker, 2004). The Essex Police Museum, Yorkshire Law & Order Museums, and the Galleries of Justice Museum provide examples of highly successful police museums that managed to overcome practical barriers to create stable and secure preservation initiatives founded on strong ties with the parent police services.

Practitioner literature comprises a small, but important area of writings on police museums. The writings presented at the 2004 conference offer some unique insight into the 'behind-the-scenes' dynamics of constructing and operating police museums, written by a specialized group of historians and museum staff. Inherent in much of this work is the notion that police museums positively impact communities through their pedagogical function (see Williams, 2004). Improving the internal functioning of these sites is claimed to increase the amount of successfully preserved heritage, benefiting both present and future populations. The practical issues they raise, especially budgetary and resource constraints, often go overlooked by critical museum scholars when calling for changes in the ways museums communicate information or represent subjects to visitors (Durrans, 1992). However, writings in the practical realm are succinct and mission-oriented in their approach, and often lack the theoretical foundation and desire to adequately question issues of interpretation, representation, and cultural identity inside

these spaces (MacDonald, 2006). In the next section, I engage with a more diverse area of scholarship that examines police museums in different regions of the world, some of which challenge taken for granted assumptions about these sites and scrutinize their implication in the exercise of power.

2.2 – Academic Literature

While practitioner literature tends not to provide rigorous investigation into the purpose or function of police museums, several authors have approached these spaces through perspectives that critically analyze their educational value and problematize their positioning within broader political contexts and power-relations. Studies of this nature have examined police museums in Mexico (Buffington, 2012), South Africa (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2004), Cuba (Bronfman, 2012), the United States (McNair, 2011) and Argentina (Caimari, 2012). To my knowledge, only one study has examined ‘police museums’ in Canada (Nettelbeck and Foster, 2013). To synthesize this literature, I first briefly outline the rise of academic interest in the museum, as this provides the general background for most critical museum scholarship. Next, I will discuss several short academic reviews of exhibitions housed within Australian police museums and highlight the common themes present in these assessments. After, I attempt to briefly summarize an important body of museum studies literature that examines the museum as a site of discipline and control, which is helpful to situate the arguments brought forth by several authors who have studied police museums. This section highlights several case studies of police museums in Latin America that examine a variety of issues, including the purpose of police museums in society, strategies of memorialization, and the role these institutions play in nation building and forging collective identities among populations. After, I discuss the Canadian study

by Nettelbeck and Foster (2013). I then outline a small amount of literature that considers visitations to police museums as a form of ‘dark’ tourism and conclude by summarizing the existing research that has been conducted on penal history sites in Canada.

2.2.1 – Interest in the Museum

Research studying the museum has increased rapidly over the past several decades, particularly since the 1960’s (MacDonald, 2006). This is due, in part, to an influential theoretical development during this time known as the ‘new museology’ (see Vergo, 1989). The new museology might best be characterized as a movement which called for museum staff and researchers to direct more attention on the role of the museum and its purpose in society and to take seriously questions of authenticity, interpretation, meaning and control (Vergo, 1989). Museum research prior to this development lacked any sustained theoretical basis, and was mainly concerned with uncovering the most efficient and practical way to attract visitors and manage museum collections (MacDonald, 2006). In the 1970’s, many people felt that museums and their place in society needed to change. Museums were seen as being too elitist and isolated from the public who funded them, through taxes and admission fees. This exclusivity led to claims that museums served mostly to preserve ‘high’ and ‘elite’ culture, and sought to ‘civilize’ the lower classes (see Bennett, 1995; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992). The movement of the ‘new museology’ criticized the authoritarian model of the museum along with its tendency to disregard the social and political role of these settings (Vergo, 1989). It helped to usher in a period where representation, interpretation and inclusion became important ideas in museological practice, and has played a large role in transforming museums around the world (MacDonald, 2006).

It has come to be accepted that museums have a social responsibility and accountability to the entire community, and the choices curators make are decisions that project ideas and messages about the social world to visitors (MacDonald, 2006). The images, representations, and stories that are present inside museums (as well as the ones which are ignored) have the capacity to educate visitors and influence broader social issues in particular directions. As such, academics have examined how a wide variety of themes and topics are portrayed inside museums, including gender (Porter, 1995; Levin, 2010), Indigenous culture (Harris and Gow, 1985; Jessup and Bagg, 2002), social class (Carnegie, 2006), slavery (Eichstedt and Small, 2002) and disability (Sandell et al., 2010). Interest in the representational practices of museums has been accompanied by calls for wider access to museums and greater visitor input into display decisions. To many groups, these decisions are of vital importance because the manner in which museums choose to represent history symbolizes the dominant values of society and solidifies the culture, history, and identity of various social groups (MacDonald, 2006). While these studies extend back several decades, representational-based critiques into the museum remain an ongoing and multi-disciplinary area of research that continues to produce valuable knowledge about how groups and identities are represented inside museums (MacDonald, 2006). Several themes brought forth in writings about the social significance of museums can be found in scholarly reviews of police museum exhibitions, which are discussed below.

2.2.2 – Exhibition Reviews

Exhibition (or exhibit) reviews are a common source of information that describe and analyze exhibits at places such as art galleries, museums, and exhibition halls (Barnet, 2005). The exhibit is sometimes understood to be the most critical museum function. According to

Dillenburg (2011: 13), an exhibit is “a physical environment designed for the experience of embedded knowledge”. Exhibits must take up space (i.e. a medium you can walk into) and contain ‘stuff’ that visitors actively experience through their senses. This space is embedded with meaning (e.g. built environment, colour of the walls, lighting, ordering of objects) and is intentionally designed for educational purposes. Inside museums, curators employ a wide variety of techniques and visual strategies to effectively communicate messages and provide visitors with a deepened understanding of a particular subject. Reviews of these spaces are written as a way to briefly introduce the collection to readers, and strengthen their understanding regarding the significance and value of the exhibition. Along with contextualizing the exhibit, reviews tend to provide a critique of the collection that reflects on matters such as whether the exhibition is compelling, aesthetically appealing, complex, humorous and so forth (see Barnett, 2005).

Reviews of exhibitions inside museums can be found in a mixture of sources, such as newspapers, websites, and academic journals, and range from a couple paragraphs to a few pages in length. Several scholarly journals sometimes publish these evaluations, including *Material Culture Review*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, *American Quarterly*, *Museums Journal*, *Design Issues*, *African Arts*, *InVisible Culture* and *History Australia*. Reviews in newspapers and on websites tend to be less analytic and more descriptive than those in scholarly journals, and consequently I will only focus on the reviews that exist within the latter category. Scholarly reviews of police museum exhibits are not common in Canada, but several reviews of exhibits at the Justice and Police Museum in Sydney, Australia have been published as short pieces in Australian history journals (see Hicks, 2004, Pollock, 2009; Dunn, 2007, Hoskins, 2010; Lawrence, 2007, Simic, 2009). This museum is well known for its temporary exhibits and in the next few paragraphs I outline the central themes found in scholarly reviews of these displays.

Along with providing a detailed description of the museum collection and assessing the aesthetic nuances of the display, the majority of reviews of exhibitions hosted by the Justice and Police Museum praise collections for providing visitors with an alternative and original view of the represented subject. This frequently manifests in a new way of seeing aspects of police work, or facilitating new understandings regarding important social issues such as drug prohibition and women in conflict with the law. This theme ties into a common strategy of reviewing a museum exhibition; that is assessing whether visiting it will provide the visitor with valuable new knowledge or a unique perspective that they may not gain from other sites of popular culture (Barnet, 2005). For example, Hicks (2004: 385) praised the exhibition, *Drugs: A Social History*, for portraying “a view of Australian society from a perspective probably not considered by most people”. Lawrence (2010: 169) took a similar position when reviewing the same exhibition, complimenting the exhibition for challenging visitors “to reconsider their own views about drugs, ponder whether the social effects of prohibition are too high a price to pay, and question how effective prohibition actually is”. Lawrence (2010) further commends the exhibition for challenging the status quo and resisting the tendency to demonize drug users.

As both Lawrence (2010) and Hicks (2004) note, exhibitions within police museums have the unique ability to carve out new understandings about important social issues. Dunn (2007: 49.2) refers to these new forms of knowledge as “unnerving” in his review of *Tough Men, Hard Times: Policing the Depression*, where he claims that one may come to the “realization of how fragile the good times can be”. Stories about the depression, Dunn (2007) states, facilitate an uncomfortable reflection on the contemporary socio-economic issues facing Sydney, which include rising mortgage foreclosures, unaffordable rent and evictions.

Related to the idea of providing visitors with new perspectives is a consistent focus by reviewers on the comprehensiveness of the exhibition and its capacity to communicate information through a diversity of viewpoints. The notion of conveying a ‘balanced’ version of history was important to several reviewers, with most commending exhibitions for adhering to this style of historical presentation. In one case, however, Pollock (2009) criticized the exhibit *Sydney’s Pubs: Liquor, Larrikins, and the Law* for failing to present the historical involvement of everyday pub-goers and their experiences of being criminalized by various groups, including the police.⁴ However, she does give her approval of the exhibit for presenting the issue through the experiences of both lawmakers and the criminalized. Similarly, Simic’s review of *The Femme Fatale* compliments the exhibit for providing “a more complicated portrait of the female criminal”, in contrast to the popular “*femme fatale* of film noir” (emphasis in original) that perhaps lured visitors there (Simic, 2009: 48.2). She notes how the exhibit is divided into three sections: the history of females in conflict with the law and their portrayal in popular culture, a gallery of women from colonial Sydney, and a final section on the history of illegal abortions. By presenting material in this fashion, Simic (2009) reveals how this collection not only convolutes stereotypical presentations of criminalized women in popular culture, but also encourages visitors to reflect on the social issues faced by many females accused of violating the law.

Along with several reviews of exhibits at the Justice and Police Museum, Spinks (2011) writes a review of a popular exhibition at the Victoria Police Museum in Melbourne, Australia. She argues that the success of the exhibit, titled *A Forgotten History of the Kelly Gang: Stories from Victoria Police*, illustrates the potential for police museums to shift public understanding about the complex nature of police work in a positive direction. She explains how a recent

⁴ The word ‘larrikin’ is an Australian slang term that was popular in the late 19th and early 20th century for a hooligan or mischievous young person who defied the authorities.

exhibit on Ned Kelly, a famous Australian ‘outlaw’, and his gang helped to shift public perception of the role police played in his apprehension. Traditional Australian myths often celebrate Ned Kelly and his gang as heroes, while depicting police as corrupt and incompetent. As Spinks explains (2011), the exhibit was the first to tell the story from the point of view of the police and a post-exhibition survey revealed overwhelmingly positive reactions from visitors. Spinks (2011: 192) concludes that the success of this exhibition reveals that police museums have the power to “tackle popular myths” and “give a voice to both police and others”, while providing the public with valuable new perspectives on police work.

Although scholarly reviews of police museum exhibits are most common in the Australian context, Farber (2011) writes a review of the National Museum of Crime and Punishment, a privately owned museum that was once located in Washington DC.⁵ He explains that a large section of the museum is dedicated to the activities of police, including a replica ‘crime scene’ where visitors play the role of detective to a “gruesome murder” (Farber, 2011: 96). The museum itself admits to being entertainment-based, yet claims to offer educational information about ‘crime’ prevention and public safety. However, Farber (2011: 96) notes how the “museum’s violent storyline” that heavily focuses on notorious criminalized harms impedes this goal. Violence and punishment is sensationalized at the site, while key elements of the penal system, such as information on the courts, is absent. He explains, “one can walk from a makeshift police lineup to a prison cell in a matter of footsteps, with no suggested or simulated judge or jury in the way” (Farber, 2011: 97). When information about the courts is provided, these stories only focus on death sentences and infamous trials. He argues that the museum is a

⁵ Farber (2011) does not refer to the site specifically as a police museum. However, it can be understood as a type of ‘hybrid site’ if using the typology outlined in Chapter 1 of this thesis. The museum he examines is a for-profit site that was closed in September 2015 after the museum’s landlord decided not to renew their lease.

space filled with elaborate displays and violent spectacles that instill feelings of insecurity and fears of victimization into the minds of visitors. At the same time, “calls for collectivity, reason, solidarity, and holistic social solutions are shunned as options in response to the culture of fear that pervades the museum and the social spaces to which it refers” (Farber, 2011: 97). Farber (2011: 97) concludes by restating how the violent spectacle that is “hyped up by the museum” leaves the site unable to fulfill its semi-educational aims.

Scholarly reviews of exhibitions housed within police museums provide an important contribution to literature in this field. A small number of these pieces have been published in academic journals and incorporate a critical element that moves beyond inspecting the allure of the space. Their ability to scrutinize modes of representations inside police museums provides a useful contribution to this thesis. However, these pieces lack the space and theoretical grounding necessary to provide a sustained critical analysis of the underlying ideologies and assumptions present at these sites. Some of these pieces remain bound to a descriptive structure and promotional element. In the next section, I will present a body of writings that approach the police museum in a more analytical manner. These authors go beyond an analysis of exhibitions by investigating the purpose and function of the police museum itself, theorizing their social impact and reasons for existence. Before discussing this body of research, I first provide a brief overview of some important museum studies literature that a few of these authors engage with.

2.2.3 – The Disciplinary Museum

Museums and their exhibits are often criticized as being “hegemonic devices of cultural elites or states” (Durrans, 1992: 1) that distort and mask the oppression faced the cultures they claim to represent. Some writers have illustrated the authoritative role museums can have in

legitimizing dominant social relations through ideological symbols and elaborate displays of power (see Bennett, 1995; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992), essentially acting as a political battleground for the “hegemonic assertion of ruling-class authority” (Rydell, 1984: 41). Some of these writers adopt a Gramscian definition of hegemony that examines the ways subordinate classes consent to and internalize their social positioning, as well as the processes through which dominant groups legitimize their cultural authority (e.g. Bennett, 1995). As will be demonstrated below, the museum has long been theorized as one such hegemonic strategy used to build public consensus to the practices of the ruling class.

One author who has written thoroughly about this subject is Bennett (1995), who merges the theoretical work of Foucault and Gramsci to conceptualize the museum as a tool of social governance. In *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, Bennett examines the formation of the museum using Foucauldian concepts of disciplinary power, governmentality, and the panopticon to illustrate the powerful role 19th century museums had on the creation of a national public consciousness. Bennett (1995: 4) argues that exhibitions, like those found in the museum, “formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power ... throughout society”. He considers museums to be important political spaces that helped to maintain the hegemony of the ruling class by collecting, organizing, and displaying spectacles of national achievement and technological innovation to the public. Museums commemorating identity, progress, and culture were at the same time rhetorical strategies of power that authoritatively communicated rhetoric of discipline and control. The modern museum was a space in which “civilized forms of behaviour might be learnt and thus diffused more widely through the social body” (Bennett, 1995: 24). The visiting public would internalize norms for public conduct and citizenship, effectively interiorizing a level of self-surveillance and regulation.

While Bennett's argument was directed toward a particular epoch, his writings on museums and power have been influential in forming the foundation for a body of critical museum scholarship that examines museums as institutions that impose upon citizens ideas about citizenship and nationalism through themed exhibits, staged performances, and selective curation (see also Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Karp, 2006). These ideas have been taken up by a number of scholars who illuminate museums as “technologies of classification” (MacDonald, 1996: 7) that categorize populations and structure ways of seeing the world. These writings also highlight the museum as a “potent force in forging self-consciousness” (Kaplan, 1994: 1), and an important “purveyor of ideology” (Kaplan, 1994: 3) that can help maintain social order, as well as shape local and national identity. As such, museums and their exhibitions are viewed as sites of struggle, contested terrain between various groups to hold the power over people, their identity, and their cultural heritage. In this regard, much discussion has centred on how the museum might be turned into a space of resistance, an arena of counter-hegemony that would include multiple voices in its display, oppositional accounts, and facilitate several ways of understanding (Durrans, 1992; Bennett, 1995). This would be an effort aimed at resisting the dominant, hegemonic master narratives of the nation-state that permeate through museum display, instead promoting a more objective and democratic presentation style.

I have provided this brief overview of writings about museums as a site of discipline and control because, as the next section will show, some scholars who have explored police museums have engaged with this literature (e.g. Buffington, 2012). While some academics and museum staff contend that police museums have a unique and positive capability to afford visitors new perspectives and ways of thinking about police work and social problems, others highlight police museums as troublesome devices used by states to maintain order and perpetuate dominant

systems of understanding. These public spaces are part of the cultural infrastructure of the modern state that allows nations to broadcast their institutional might upon society, seeking to subject museum-goers into obedience through elaborate spectacles and gruesome displays of criminalized harms and punishment. To some of these scholars, the ‘new perspectives’ of police work highlighted in exhibition reviews might represent state propaganda aimed at maintaining order and perpetuating dominant social narratives. For instance, writers such as Buffington (2012), Comaroff and Comaroff (2004), and McNair (2011) argue that police museums are deeply political and are far from neutral institutions, resembling more closely political arenas that actively encourage the politicization of law enforcement history. To these authors, the police museum is a tightly monitored institution that masks the unfair and/or discriminatory practices of police, resulting in the legitimization of law enforcement practices and the stability of unequal social relations. As will be exemplified in the next section, much of this work has been undertaken in countries with deep-rooted histories of police corruption, violence, and social rifts between police forces and citizens.

2.2.4 – Police Museums in Latin America

A recent issue of *Radical History Review* contains several essays written about police museums in Latin America. The historian who organized this forum, Chazkel (2012: 1), explains how most police museums in Latin America were originally private pedagogical sites for training urban police forces, only opening to the public during a period of 20th century police reform and professionalization. During this process, police museums became another form of commercialized public entertainment for those interested in criminalized conflicts and harms, and were aimed simply at promoting a positive public image of the police. The purpose of these

institutions was, unsurprisingly, not to “call the law into question”, but rather to “uphold the state’s normative view of criminality and the enforcement of the criminal law” (Chazkel, 2012: 132). She notes that certain controversial topics such as “the utterly symbiotic nature of policing and crime” (Chazkel, 2012: 132) are completely off-limits, as they would require the museum to delve into a discussion on police criminality. Chazkel (2012: 132) explains that police museums in Latin America tend to “perpetuate cycles of criminalization”, and strategically use “state propaganda and gruesome sensationalism” to attract visitors. These settings naturalize and dehistoricize the practices of the police, a theme Buffington (2012) elaborates on further.

Buffington (2012) analyzes three recently constructed police museums in Mexico with the goal of uncovering the various ways they produce and share police history. Police in Mexico have a longstanding reputation among their population as being corrupt, more willing to protect powerful ‘criminals’ and politicians than the general population. His study discovered that police museums in Mexico are less concerned with providing an accurate history, and more focused on convincing the population that police are a legitimate and dependable public service. Buffington (2012: 166) notes:

This explains why Mexico’s new police museums are noticeably short on history — or more precisely on any sustained historical analysis. Rather than constructing histories or inventing traditions, the primary task of these institutional museums is to manage the collective memories of police and citizens alike, to convince both groups that things have changed, that policing is respectable work performed by trustworthy public servants.

In an era where many Mexican citizens harbour a widespread distrust of police activities, the newly constructed police museums are important institutions for maintaining social cohesion and fostering collective identities among the population. From elaborate displays of institutional competence and decency, to spectacles of carnival exhibits and memorials of officer death and sacrifice, each police museum uses carefully selected strategies of heritage preservation to shape

the institutional memories of policing in Mexico. Buffington (2009) argues that each museum is staged to portray a particular narrative about policing in an effort to manage and, to a larger extent cleanse, the collective memories of the population.

Bronfman (2012) explains that some criminologists and police administrators established police museums in Latin America in part due to a mandate in 1906 at the Sixth Congress of Criminal Anthropology held in Torino, Italy. It called for the collection of any items that would otherwise be neglected or destroyed, and to place them inside museums for the benefit of law enforcement knowledge and study. In her essay, Bronfman (2012) outlines the socio-political conditions that led to the construction of the Museo de la Cátedra de Medicina Legal de la Universidad de la Havana in Cuba (The Museum of the Department of Legal Medicine of the University of Havana). She lists off the curious jumble of objects the museum listed in its catalogue in the 1930's, including "strands of human hair; sculptures made of bread crumbs, fashioned by the inmates of the Asilo de Dementes de Cuba (Cuban Asylum for the Insane), skull of a black man who died at the age of 109 ... fragment of a piece of skin, with a tattoo, belonging to a mulatto; colt revolver", and so forth (Bronfman, 2012: 134). She engages with Foucault's concept of a "grid of categories", in which Foucault suggests that any ordering of things requires a grid of "identities, similitudes and analogies" for meaning to be derived about them (Bronfman, 2012: 134). She argues that many objects inside the museum avoid placement on this grid, because there was no coherent logic to the collection. The museum was not constructed out of a nationalist impulse like Buffington (2009) describes, but rather was founded mainly out of a desire to contribute original Cuban knowledge to new developments in the study of 'crime' that were spreading throughout Europe, which emphasized understanding the nature of the 'criminal' individual. Bronfman (2012: 139) explains how the museum was also an

important space for the police to see the “tangible products of illicit behavior” and helped train them about criminalized harm. For example, police were taught about how tattoos and skin colour might serve as a marker for someone who engaged in suspect practices. She argues that the museum “contributed to a self-justifying and self-perpetuating logic that legitimized an enduring association of blackness with criminality” (Bronfman, 2012:135). The police were the main audience and often the primary suppliers of objects to the site, and as a result the museum helped to nourish a bias against Afro-Cubans (Bronfman, 2012).

In order to build a narrative about policing that accentuates professionalization and modernization, Caimari (2012) notes that police museums often promote an evolutionary narrative towards topics such as police uniforms, weapons and even bodily posture. Caimari uncovers this in her investigation of the Buenos Aires Police Museum (BAPM), which she claims provides visitors a glimpse of a ‘hidden life’, one that allows them to see the actions of police in a new light. The BAPM was originally closed to the public and acted as a teaching facility for police recruits, but when public satisfaction with police began to dwindle the museum opened to the public, keeping its pedagogical function. Through carefully staged relics of uniforms, guns and illegal objects, the police position themselves as authorized knowers of street life, integral in “the triumph against the darkest forces” (Caimari, 2012: 153). Rather than emphasizing the causes of criminalized harms or “ways to understand its deep sources” (Caimari, 2012: 148), the BAPM instead directs its focus towards presenting it as “intimately known by the police who detect it” (Caimari, 2012: 148). As Caimari (2012: 53) explains, the pedagogical function of the BAPM remains destined to communicate messages about “formalized myths, about institutional power, and about technological expertise” through the carefully selected narratives and realities of ‘crime’ only the police are supposedly able to see.

2.2.5 – Police Museums in Other Countries

Writings that consider police museums as instruments that inculcate ideas about nationalism and citizenship into the visiting public are not limited to museums in the Latin American context. For instance, Comaroff and Comaroff (2004) argue that the now-closed Pretoria Police Museum in South Africa exemplified an important technique used to produce social order and present the state as a legitimate entity. This was done through dramatic enactments of ‘crime’ and punishment presented to the public. Staged performances using techniques of illusion and fantasy were adopted into the museum to conjure terror among visitors towards the ‘criminal’ underworld. For instance, the museum offered a popular event called “Night Tours”, which were “part amateur theater, part fairground haunted house” (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2004: 813) and sought to induce horror among visitors by sensationalizing ‘crime’ and having the police ‘save’ the public from the dangerous people that stalked the Pretoria streets. These ‘felons’ frequently symbolized the colonial terrors of citizens, namely racialized others such as a menacing black man named ‘Panga Man’ who was said to hunt white couples in their cars near the museum.

One half of the Pretoria Police Museum was also an active torture facility and functioning prison. Naturally, this section was closed to the public, yet visitors to the museum regularly heard the screams of anguish from political prisoners permeating from behind the walls. As Comaroff and Comaroff (2004: 810) note, this was all part of a carefully staged performance of power that presented police as “heroic defenders of order against terror, treason, and savage insurrection”. They conclude that rather than making power invisible in a Foucauldian sense, the Pretoria Police Museum was instead used as a blatant tool to articulate power towards the community. This staging was done in order to make the state perceptible and render its

legitimacy in the eyes of the public, crucial for establishing a coherent national narrative in a time of rapid social change where neoliberal conditions were threatening technologies of detection and enforcement. The dramatic enactments of ‘crime’ and punishment were necessary to conjure a chaotic worldview whereby criminalized harms could only be addressed through effective law enforcement (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2004).

Another study on police museums is McNair’s (2011) ethnographic analysis of police museums in the US. McNair (2011) explores two police museums in Los Angeles: the Los Angeles Police Historical Society (LAPHS) and the Huntington Park International Police Museum (IPM). She claims the LAPHS strategically crafts museum space to perpetuate a narrative that the work of police is rightful and heroic. McNair (2011) notes the convenient absence of any allusions toward infamous historical incidents or scandals that could potentially counter such narratives about policing, such as the beating of Rodney King in 1991 or the police corruption uncovered in the Los Angeles Police Department Rampart Scandal in the late 1990’s. In contrast, the smaller IPM displays a wide-variety of policing memorabilia from across the world and cultivates feelings of surveillance and restriction resulting from its panoptic-like architectural structure. McNair (2011) notes that the two police museums are ideological spaces that serve to legitimize the role of police in society and assure visitors of police competency. She argues that the historical legacy of the museum as an official and legitimate purveyor of knowledge legitimates authoritarian and pro-police narratives. While some visitors might be knowledgeable enough to question such narratives, McNair (2011: 82) claims occasional denials of these portrayals are not “sufficient to challenge the structural legitimacy of the museum as a cultural authority”. In the end, McNair (2011) contends that police museums serve the purpose of legitimizing law enforcement as rightful and assuring visitors their safety is protected against

unruly (marginalized) others.

As these writings show, several authors studying police museums consider them as coercive institutions that broadcast authoritarian and nationalistic messages towards visiting populations through carefully selected exhibitions and elaborate performances. While they enable visitors to see new perspectives on police work, these are tightly controlled representations imbued with politicized ideologies. Spectacles of violence and sensationalized displays inside these spaces offer little room for critical reflection on who and what is criminalized in law enforcement practices. Bennett's (1995: 59) observation that the problem of order in society was a "question of winning hearts and minds as well as the disciplining and training of bodies" resonates throughout these writings. Indeed, many of these authors explain how constructing police museums (or opening them up to the public) can be a strategy undertaken to help achieve or maintain order in society, a process accomplished by presenting the history of law enforcement through entertaining narratives and violent spectacles. This research does not examine police museums in Canada, but I discuss one study that has.

Nettelbeck and Foster (2013: 78) examine how the famous NWMP 'March West' is represented in historical sites across Western Canada. They begin by highlighting the emergence of a "critical historiography" that has gained prominence in recent decades, which challenges the popular national narrative and cherished story of the NWMP conquering the West through peace and corporation, rather than force and violence (Nettelbeck and Foster, 2013: 76). This critical narrative emphasizes the role of the NWMP as a "colonial instrument of Aboriginal surveillance and containment" (Nettelbeck and Foster, 2013: 77). Drawing from Pierre Nora's work on sites of memory, they examine how these "potentially competing narratives of nation-building are visible in the public forums of historical memory across Western Canada" (Nettelbeck and

Foster, 2013: 77-78). The sites they examine are the RCMP Heritage Centre in Regina, Saskatchewan, Fort Dufferin in Emerson, Manitoba, various public murals (at an inn, a community sports centre, the Calgary International Airport), Fort Walsh in Maple Creek, Saskatchewan, The Fort Museum in Fort MacLeod, Alberta, the Forte Steele heritage site in Forte Steele, British Columbia, and the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta. Nettelbeck and Foster (2013: 87) find that in the vast majority of these locations, the history of the First Nations communities is shared together with the NWMP “as part of an enduring story of cross-cultural negotiation and mutual respect”. The only alternative to this dominant narrative is at the Glenbow Museum and Fort Walsh. The Glenbow Museum has two exhibits dedicated to recounting the arrival of the NWMP’s March West, one from the perspective of the police and the other from a First Nation’s perspective. One of the panels in the latter exhibit reads:

We waited for them to learn about us and learn the proper way of co-existing with us...Some of the police were good men who shared food with us when no bison could be found. Others...did not respect us or our ways...The police brought laws from the East. The Indian Act, passed by the Canadian government in 1876, placed our lives under the rule of Indian agents. Our ceremonies were banned. Our travel was restricted. The NWMP enforced these rules (Nettelbeck and Foster, 2013: 88).

Meanwhile, the interpretive centre at Fort Walsh “offers a less mythic, more critically engaged story of the NWMP” than most other sites (Nettelbeck and Foster, 2013). Detailed panel displays outline the tensions and violent interactions between various groups in the area, as well as discuss some of the controversial aspects of the government’s Indian policy. In the end, Nettelbeck and Foster (2013) contend that the “critical Canadian historiography” that has emerged in recent decades remains largely absent in sites of memory across Western Canada. They suggest that this might be partly because market conditions (more than community debate) shape historical understanding inside museums, as well as because the NWMP occupy a central place in Canadian historical memory as founding fathers who helped Canada become the modern

country that it is today (Nettelbeck and Foster, 2013).

Although Nettelbeck and Foster (2013) provide some important insight into the representational practices of several police museums in Western Canada, there remains much to be learned about these institutions in the Canadian context. Police museums in Canada have yet to be the focus of any sustained criminological research. Across the world, the only region where police museums have been the subject of a concerted amount of critical discussion in academic literature is Latin America, and Chazkel (2012) claims that police museums in this group of countries still “have not received their due attention from scholars of the otherwise incredibly vibrant subfield of the social history of crime in Latin America”. In Canada, there are many questions that remain unclear about the police museums currently operating across the country and entertaining thousands of tourists each year. An important one that Nettelbeck and Foster (2013) start to bring to light is how these institutions represent the work of the police and their role in the ‘criminal justice’ system to visitors. This is a gap in knowledge my thesis contributes to. Before doing so, it is necessary to discuss the relationship between police museums and the travel phenomenon known as ‘dark’ tourism.

2.2.6 – Police Museums as ‘Dark’ Tourism Sites

A small amount of research has noted that police museums are relevant in the growing sub-field of tourism studies known as ‘dark’ tourism. Dark tourism, or thanatourism, is a relatively new term that refers to visiting sites associated with a macabre theme, such as death and suffering (Stone and Sharpley, 2008; Lennon and Foley, 2000). Academic research on dark tourism has primarily focused on the cultural meanings communicated to tourists at these sites. According to Piché and Walby (forthcoming), some scholars argue that the dark tourism concept

is analytically imprecise. Isaac and Cakmak (2014) contend that scholars first need to understand visitor motivations before calling something dark tourism; however, visitor research has not received a great deal of attention yet in dark tourism studies. A large amount of dark tourism research has taken place at prison and jail museums in countries around the world (e.g. Wilson, 2004). Dark tourism has also been used as a concept when studying tourism to places such as battlefields (Miles, 2014), burial grounds (Heidelberg, 2015), places of serial killings (Rofe, 2013) and concentration camps (Miles, 2002).

Seldom has research classified visiting a police museum as a form of dark tourism. McNair (2011) suggests that police museums are sites of dark tourism insofar as they frequently convey a multitude of narratives regarding confinement, punishment and suffering. This tends to manifest in arrangements of weapons, handcuffs, shackles and mug shots of criminalized individuals. Some police museums also have mock detention cells. Additionally, McNair (2011) points out that many police museums are located inside operational police stations, which are sites that are sometimes experienced as spaces of violence, suffering and surveillance by the criminalized (see also Choongh, 1998). The capacity for police museums to act as sites of dark tourism is further demonstrated by Lennon and Seaton (2004: 68), who argue that the displays of guns, photographs, and graphic murder scenes at the Budapest Police Museum in Budapest, Hungary are so violent and disturbing that it would “be surely declared off-limits for children in Britain or America”. On a similar note, Keane (2009: 26) highlights how presentations of dark and gruesome objects at police museums can drive up visitation, recalling, “a colleague at the Police Museum in Pretoria [South Africa] relating how attendance figures at that museum soared

when the pair of scissors belonging to Marlene Lehnberg was displayed”.⁶ Similar types of dark exhibits have been noted to exist in Canadian police museums as well. For example, the *British Columbia Magazine* (2014) cautions that some exhibits at the Vancouver Police Museum “are not for the squeamish”. The museum is located in an old building that used to be the Coroner’s Court and City Analysts’ Lab. Along with a “shudder-inducing display of prohibited weapons”, the museum displays formaldehyde-soaked medical oddity body parts in the morgue and autopsy area – “where an onlooker faints at least once a year” (British Columbia Magazine, 2014).

2.2.7 – Penal History Museums in Canada

Although police museums in Canada have not been subjected to a great deal of research, there exists a growing amount of literature that has examined Canadian penal history museums located in decommissioned penitentiaries, prisons, jails, and lock-ups. Walby and Piché, (2015a) identify forty-five of these sites operating in both rural and urban areas across the country. They emphasize the importance penal history museums in Canada play as cultural sites that influence how visitors make sense of punishment both in the past and present (see Brown, 2009). The two authors, as well as members of their research team, undertook field observations at each site as well as conducted fifty-two interviews with penal history museum staff. Along with interviews, data was collected through field notes, photographs, and analysis of promotional materials and websites (Walby and Piché, 2015a). Research drawing from this data has examined a wide range of topics, including the creation of penal history museums (Walby and Piché, 2015a), the staging of authenticity by curators (Walby and Piché, 2015b), marketing and souvenir sales practices

⁶ Marlene Lehnberg was a South African woman convicted of murder in 1975 when she was 19 years old. At the time, she was the youngest woman convicted of murder in South African history. Keene (2009: 23) notes how the scissors displayed at the police museum were the ones used “when she and a ‘hired killer’, Marthinus Choegoe, stabbed her lover’s wife, Mrs Susanna Magdalena van der Linde, at her home in Bellville on 4 November 1974”.

(Luscombe et al., 2015), representations of punishment and prison life (Fiander et al., 2016), representations of prisoners and prison staff (Chen et al., forthcoming); representations of escape (Ferguson et al., under review); representations of capital punishment (Piché et al., forthcoming); reflections on visual research methods (Walby and Piché, 2015c); styles of tour guiding (Ferguson et al., forthcoming), as well as the reactions of visitors on social media (Ferguson et al., 2015b).

It is unnecessary to review each publication in depth. However, some general points about this penal tourism research can be made. The main finding is that Canadian penal history museums, as they stand, are problematic sites of heritage and leisure because they tend to foster the social distance of penal spectators from the realities of incarceration (see Brown, 2009). For instance, in an earlier piece, Walby and Piché (2011) note that these sites are often curated around a misleading narrative of penal reform, meaning that they memorialize punitive practices (e.g. executions, corporal punishment) as instances of a less-civilized and barbaric past, while making no connections to the punitive elements that underscore contemporary carceral practices (e.g. deaths in custody, prison work programs). They argue that these types of narratives can be read in a manner that “supports austere conditions inside, longer sentences and more restrictions regarding alternatives to incarceration” (Walby and Piché, 2011: 466). Ferguson and colleagues (2015b) found evidence of this mindset during an analysis of visitor reviews of these sites on TripAdvisor, a travel review website. They uncovered a widespread lack of concern for punitiveness or those criminalized, as well as a large portion of visitors that “praised the conditions of confinement and punishment presented as bygones” (Ferguson et al., 2015b: 16).

Walby and Piché (2015b) also argue that the practice of staging authenticity by museum workers at sites of punishment memorialization, which they call “carceral stage setting”, can

obfuscate critical narratives of imprisonment. This is because certain historical aspects are excluded from representation, such as information on Indigenous mass imprisonment. Furthermore, some of these sites provide specialty themed tours employing costumed tour guides to “shock and surprise” tour audiences, showing little concern for historical accuracy (Ferguson et al., 2015a). Although the forty-five penal history museums these writers examined tend to distance visitors from the realities of imprisonment, Fiander and colleagues (2016) highlight some examples of critical punishment memorialization practices that exist at these destinations. These include sites that convey information about colonial violence and incorporate the experiences of prisoners in their exhibitions. The authors claim that this reveals how penal history museums in Canada do, in rare cases, act as cultural settings that can challenge dominant representations of punishment in popular culture and the social distancing often fostered at penal history sites (Fiander et al., 2016).

Police museums are not the same as prison museums, but they are linked together as penal history sites that commemorate the practices of the ‘criminal justice’ system. Piché and Walby (forthcoming) explain how penal tourism research can benefit from branching out to examine how penalty circulates in places that memorialize the heritage of the police, as they also play an important role in the penal process. They explain, “while the prison has come to represent the primary site of state legitimated suffering ... it is only one among many institutions within the penal system involved in the deprivation of liberty and the infliction of pain” (Piché and Walby, forthcoming). This includes the work of the police, whose relationship to penalty will be the general theme of the upcoming chapter. Overall, the existing research on forty-five decommissioned penitentiaries, prisons, jails, and lock-ups museums provides a useful starting point for examining Canadian police museums and the relationship these institutions have to

Brown's (2009) theory of penal spectatorship. As such, my thesis builds off this penal tourism literature to examine what role, if any, three police museums in Ontario play in creating popular knowledge about confinement and punishment in Canada.

2.3 – Conclusion

This chapter has provided a background on the existing literature on police museums by separating these writings into two categories: i) Practitioner Literature and ii) Academic Literature. Practitioner literature on police museums is rare, but illustrates the everyday challenges, pitfalls, and policy issues faced by these sites as museum specialists and historians see them. This small body of research provides some insight into the 'behind-the-scenes' dynamics of police museums. In contrast, academic literature on police museums has focused on a variety of issues, including the purpose of police museums in society and the role police museums play in nation building. Aside from a study by Nettelbeck and Foster (2013), no research has been conducted on police museums in Canada. In order to contribute to this gap in knowledge, this thesis examines three police museums in Ontario and the representations inside them. I draw primarily from the recent work of a group of authors who have examined other penal history museums in Canada. Up to now, this penal tourism research has only focused on penitentiary, prison, jail and lock-up museums. By engaging with past research on police museums and recent penal tourism scholarship, this project makes an original contribution to the literature. In the next chapter, I will expand on the theoretical underpinnings of this project, which includes examining the theory of penal spectatorship in more detail and unpacking the relationship between visiting a police museum and learning about pain, suffering, and exclusion, and in more broad terms, the project of punishment.

CHAPTER 3 – THEORIZING PUNISHMENT AND THE POLICE

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework that guides my examination into how penalty and its meanings circulate inside three police museums in Ontario. Before delving into the theory of penal spectatorship, I begin by attempting to summarize the contributions of a few scholars who have studied the cultural underpinnings of punishment, as well as its connections to the prevailing public emotions and sentiments of society (e.g. Garland, 1990; Smith, 2008). After, I provide a detailed overview of penal spectatorship, a theoretical concept developed by Brown (2009) as a way to better understand how cultural forces generate and condition support for penal practices from people outside the prison system. I explain the efforts of Brown (2009) to expand the study of punishment into one that accounts for how its fundamental correlates, particularly pain, suffering and exclusion, are naturalized throughout the cultural realm. Drawing principally from the writings of Harkin (2014) on police pain-delivery, I describe how representations of police use of force – as well as police practices that deprive people of their liberty – can be understood as instances of penal spectatorship where everyday citizens gaze upon the pain and exclusion of penal subjects. I reveal what extending the theoretical insights Brown (2009) provides to the study of policing can contribute to knowledge about penal spectatorship in contemporary society.

3.1 – Culture and Penalty

The concept of culture features heavily in the study of punishment. A great deal of research has examined the effects culture has on penal institutions and vice versa (Garland, 1990; Garland, 2006; Strange, 2001; Tonry, 2001). Traditional writings in the field of penalty tend to neglect the cultural realm and instead emphasize theoretical approaches based on the writings of

Marx and Foucault. However, cultural analyses in the study of punishment are a fast growing and theoretically innovative body of work that has risen together with a 'cultural turn' (Ferrell, et al. 2008) in the field of criminology occurring over the past decade. Although culture is an ambiguous term, it is perhaps best described as the "learned and shared behaviour of a community of interacting human beings" (Useem, et al., 1963: 169), comprising collective patterns of ideas, values and beliefs. Recent emphasis on cultural studies of punishment have provided new ways of understanding the depth of punishment as a social practice and contributed to increased knowledge regarding issues such as the rise of mass imprisonment (Garland, 2006; Brown, 2009; Welch, 1996). The culture-punishment relationship is now viewed as an important, two-way interactive process (Garland, 1990) with elements of culture both shaping and influencing punishment and penal institutions, and such practices having a profound cultural influence on different societies as well.

In order to increase understanding of these processes, Garland (2006) distinguishes between two concepts of culture in the sociology of punishment: culture as an analytic dimension of social relations ("the cultural") and culture as a collective entity ("a culture"). In the first instance, the cultural is recognized as an important casual force that shapes the meanings that are attributed to punishment. These often take the form of cultural sentiments, such as the ideas, values and symbols circulating throughout society. Cultural sentiments play an important role in constructing the image of punishment, including controlling the limits on what should be acceptable or outlawed (Garland, 2006, 2001). In the second instance, culture is referred to in its framework as a larger entity, in relation to how punishment is embedded within and shaped by the larger cultural context that sanctions it. Garland (2006) contends that there are drawbacks when separating these two usages of culture, and integrating both perspectives facilitates a more

comprehensive cultural analysis of punishment. This would lay bare the dimensions of punishment in its larger cultural context, as well as how the practices of punishment manifest in a variety of cultural symbols and practices.

The integration of culture into the field of penality over the past several decades has contributed important insight into the role public sentiments and wider cultural attitudes have on transforming punishment and impacting penal policy (Garland, 1990). Much of these writings engage with insights provided by foundational thinkers in the sociology of punishment, including Foucault and Durkheim. The writings of Durkheim particularly resonate throughout these works, for it was this sociologist who first argued that punishment was intrinsically tied to the moral values of a community and constitutes “in the first place... an emotional reaction” (1984[1893]: 44) to the ‘crime’ committed. Punishment for Durkheim was an expression of social values in reaction against those who violated the ‘collective conscious’ and the integrity of the moral order. While Durkheim offers little analysis of the apparatus of punishment, his insights usefully shift attention from the “mundane, administrative aspects of punishment ... to the broader emotive aspects of the process” (Garland, 1991: 127). Contemporary cultural theorists such as Phillip Smith (2008) have championed a neo-Durkheimian framework to draw awareness to the expressive and communicative dimensions of punishment, including how penal inventions such as the guillotine have been commoditised for entertainment within popular culture.

Cultural studies on the history of punishment have also emphasized the prevailing cultural sensibilities and attitudes of society towards punishment as playing an important role in defining acceptable forms of state violence and penal measures (see Garland, 2000, Elias 1979, Spierenburg, 1984). Garland (2000: 214) captures this notion, stating “to the extent that punishment implies ... the infliction of pain and suffering, its development will be affected by

the ways in which prevailing sensibilities differentiate between permissible and impermissible forms of violence, and by cultural attitudes towards the sight of pain”. As popular attitudes, tastes, and proclivities change over time, so do the tolerance towards methods of state pain-delivery (Harkin, 2014). Political decisions on how to punish, which are deliberate intentions to inflict pain on the criminalized (Christie, 1982), are strongly imbedded within wider cultural attitudes and values, made against a “backdrop of mores and sensibilities” (Garland, 2000: 214) that set limits on the acceptability of these practices.

The effect that public sentiments have on contemporary forms of punishment and official penal practices has been noted in the work of a wide range of contemporary scholars. For instance, Bosworth (2004) reveals that ways of understanding and documenting race in France, England, Wales, and the United States corresponded to the mass imprisonment of certain populations. Moreover, the notion of the ‘punitive turn’ that resulted in a staggering rise in imprisonment in Western countries beginning in the 1970’s is often asserted to be contingent on a rise of punitiveness throughout society (Harkin, 2014). These factors have been accentuated by our condition in late modernity, which for all its reason and rationality, is characterized by an increasingly anxious and ontologically insecure public body that exhibits high levels of distrust in legal institutions (Brown, 2009). Cultural studies of punishment have noted that rising hostility toward the criminalized has led to greater tolerance for state inflicted pain and suffering on them through increasingly retributive methods (Brown, 2009).

The cultural turn in the study of punishment has provided new ways of understanding and thinking about the depth of punishment, along with the wider cultural influence on imprisonment and other penal practices (Brown, 2009). The idea that acceptable forms of punishment and state pain-delivery are essentially conditioned by wider public sentiments has facilitated scholarship

examining how support for contemporary penal practices is generated in its larger cultural context and what this means for the increasingly punitive practices of imprisonment in Western countries. One author who has advocated for a cultural investigation into punishment is Brown (2009), whose theoretical insights form the foundation of this study.

3.2 – Penal Spectatorship

In *The Culture of Punishment: Prison, Society, and Spectacle*, Brown (2009) makes the case for a wider account of punishment that would permit a stronger assessment of its centrality in social life and the ways it is engrained within institutions far removed from its formal practice. Much of the work on contemporary penalty by criminologists and legal scholars has been directed towards investigating the institutions of punishment themselves, as well issues such as how politics and power-relations shape carceral practices (see Garland, 2000). Brown (2009: 8) notes that these efforts fail to acknowledge what she refers to as ‘penal spectatorship’ or the wide range of everyday cultural sites where ordinary citizens come into contact with representations of punishment. As Brown (2009: 4) explains, individuals engage with punishment through “cultural practices removed from formal institutions like prisons in a manner which, although largely unacknowledged, massively extends throughout our social foundations”. This cultural realm, which includes television, movies, advertising, and tours of decommissioned prisons, provides a system of meaning in which everyday citizens who have little to no connection with the prison system construct their understandings about punishment in ways, Brown (2009) argues, that tend to perpetuate support for current penal policies and practices.

The practice of viewing punishment from a social distance is what Brown (2009) refers to as penal spectatorship. Opportunities for public audiences to witness the punishment of another

individual have been extensive throughout history, neatly illustrated by Foucault (1977) in his analysis of the disappearance of torture as a public spectacle in 18th century Europe. Yet this form of public engagement required a close proximity to the punished. The audience, Foucault (1977: 57) notes, was the main character “whose real and immediate presence was required for the performance”. Nevertheless, the disappearance of public, physical punishments has not diminished audience interest in violent spectacles and has “by no means signalled linear progress toward increasing humanness” (Chan, 2000: 107). The opportunity to consume the punishment of others from a distanced position has increased exponentially, as Brown (2009) notes, facilitated by the widespread and advanced dissemination of media products into our everyday lives. Television, movies and video games are all examples of cultural sites that influence how ordinary citizens construct understandings about punishment, as well as exaggerate widespread fear of criminalized harm (Brown, 2009; Chan, 2000).

The impact that cultural representations of punishment have on individual and collective behaviour is of central importance to Brown (2009) and other visual criminologists. Many scholars have drawn from visual studies to better understand, theoretically speaking, the ceaseless amount of images of carceral scenes, penal actors, and social suffering that permeate through society and mass media. At the forefront of these concerns are the subjectivities fostered by representation, which as Carrabine (2012: 486) explains, “are not just restricted to images that evidence criminal acts, but also figure in any act of representation that transforms traumatic experience into visual art”. Understanding the subjectivities that arise out of indirectly ways of looking at the infliction of pain is of central concern to these scholars, including Brown (2009). Subjectivities essentially denote the process of thinking through one’s sense of self and relations to others, a practice which is consistently changing and opening up new ways of thinking about

other people. Brown (2009) explains that they are an important way citizens give meanings to punishment and those in conflict with the law. Importantly, then, subjectivities give way to feelings, values, thoughts, and experiences that can possibly contest hegemonic discourses and build empathy with groups, providing an opportunity for what Brown (2009: 27) calls “alternative ways of being”. She notes that penal spectatorship is a form of subjectivity practice that is widespread and normalized across our social foundation that prohibits any reflection or capacity to contest hegemonic discourses and build empathy with marginalized groups, such as the incarcerated.

When viewing punishment from a distance, Brown (2009: 21) explains that the penal spectator “may stare curiously or reflectively, peer sideways from his peripheral vision, or gape and gawk directly, but the object of her gaze is inevitably other people’s pain”. Of central importance are not only practices of punishment themselves, but also the comprehension that it is fundamentally connected with penal correlates of exclusion, pain, blame, accountability, and judgement. Contemporary cultural settings and ordinary daily engagements facilitate a myriad of opportunities to engage with and try out these practices. Brown (2009) highlights the methodological need to begin investigations outside the traditionally rigid borders found in the study of punishment. Instead, we must first examine sites where “its correlates, particularly pain, exclusion, and suffering, define contemporary attempts to understand ways of being in the world” (Brown, 2009: 28-29). She notes that penal correlates often materialize in seemingly ordinary conditions far removed from the prison context or any direct connection to punishment. In this regard, everyday citizens engage with punishment and its correlates, but through an experiential distance from the pain suffered first-hand by the punished.

Brown (2009: 11) contends that this distance “shields us from the democratic burden of punishment as a kind of cultural work – something we do, which requires intention, deliberation, and human check, which has effects both intended and unintended”. The authority of the intended pain delivered upon individuals and groups is legitimized through blame, judgement and accountability, with punishment seen as an inevitable consequence of ‘crime’ and the prison a natural part of the social environment. Yet as Brown (2009) and others (Foucault, 1977; Davis, 2003) have powerfully demonstrated, there is nothing normal, natural or inevitable about the prison and our present system of punishment. Penal spectatorship is deceptive in its capacity to mask the fundamental link between punishment and the infliction of pain, and in its most dangerous manifestations normalizes acts of violence and pain-delivery that should be abhorred (Brown, 2009).

At the same time observers of punishment are detached from its realities, they are also orchestrators and producers of punishment whose subjectivities feed into contemporary penal policies and practices. Brown (2009) argues that when people only know these acts from a distance, it can reinforce misconceptions about law enforcement and also produce sentiments that perpetuate popular support for state practices such as mass incarceration. In this regard, Brown (2009) notes that future research should integrate writings from cultural studies and start inquiries beyond the traditional agenda for the study of punishment, investigating the social spaces where its major correlates are at the forefront of representation. To do so, she asks the question of what it would mean to empirically measure and expand an “interrogation of pain and its expression” (Brown, 2009: 43). Ultimately, such inquiries are necessary to permit a more thorough understanding of the cultural processes that drive contemporary penal practices and to uncover new resources for re-thinking the project of punishment.

To investigate the scope of this phenomenon, Brown (2009) asserts that analytic considerations of punishment should be widened to account for the whole series of complex relations and environments that make the penal sanction of imprisonment possible. Other criminological scholars such as Hannah-Moffat and Lynch (2012: 119-120) have also argued that criminology needs to further its “taken-for-granted boundaries of punishment” and expand “what counts as punishment”. Doing so would bring to light new forms of knowledge regarding the many systems of confinement and social suffering (e.g. refugee camps) experienced by humans that are not typically considered as relevant in the sociology of punishment. With this in mind, Brown (2009) proposes that is useful to reframe punishment through the term ‘penality’, as it describes punishment as consistently circulating through the lived spaces and practices of everyday life, an ensemble of categories, practices, and institutions concerned with the lawful enforcement of the sociocultural order. She cites Foucault (1977), who introduces penality as the systems of investigation and punishment used by society, encompassing all aspects of examination and confinement for those who break the law. For Foucault, institutions of punishment reinforce the relationship of knowledge to power, with penality ceaselessly circulating in a way that eventually leads to self-governance. Brown (2009) also draws from Garland (1990: 10), who classifies modern penality as a range of “laws, processes, discourses, and institutions” that work together to criminalize and punish ‘offenders’. In this regard, it comprises a repertoire of symbols, meanings, and images by which the penal process is transmitted to everyday citizens (Garland, 1990; see also Garland, 2013).

Brown (2009) contends that incorporating penality as a structuring concept for the sociology of punishment affords a way for scholars to study punishment, and more broadly the social production of pain, beyond formal institutions of punishment and into the realm of culture.

Punishment becomes less of an social institution for dealing with deviant behaviour but rather, “a central site from which to understand the most hopeful of social – and human – aims, the infliction of pain and its prohibition through compassion and mercy” (Brown, 2009: 33). In many ways, punishment is the practicing of ‘othering’ populations through the collective decision to inflict pain, and regulate individuals and groups through social control practices. Thus, punishment is both a social practice from which we consider frames of social inclusion and how we attend to matters of violence, ‘crime’, and harm (Brown, 2009).

The theoretical insights provided by Brown (2009) about the concept of penal spectatorship raises some important questions regarding how this subjectivity practice manifests in different cultural settings, and what influence these everyday engagements with penalty have on shaping the way members of the public think about punishment and penal practices. Brown’s (2009) call for a more expansive conceptualization of punishment encourages empirical investigations into other cultural sites where ordinary citizens intertwine with meanings about violence, pain and exclusion. Below, I consider how an examination of police museums is one way to expand the boundaries of punishment scholarship.

3.3 – The Pains of Policing

The proposal by Brown (2009) to relax the boundaries of punishment and investigate cultural sites where its correlates of pain, suffering, and exclusion are visible gives rise to the question of how penal spectatorship manifests in domains beyond the prison, including the work of the police. Indeed, Harkin (2014: 45) reminds us that many practices inherent in police work involve inflicting pain upon those in conflict with the law, both lawfully and unlawfully. This pain-delivery can occur when individuals and groups are deprived of their liberty, autonomy,

goods and services, or when one is subject to use of force interventions, a police function that can wreak irreparable physical and psychological damage and, in extreme cases, cause death (Harkin, 2014). Moreover, Harkin (2014: 47) explains, “the police are iconic symbols of national and community identity ... and as such can play a role in generating feelings of exclusion or inclusion”. These feelings of exclusion and alienation can occur when the police remove people from mainstream society through means such as stop and search, arrest, and detention (Harkin, 2014; Bowling and Weber, 2011). Most of these ‘painful’ yet lawful police functions have long been identified as ‘quasi-punitive’ in nature, but they are not justified *as* punishment by the state and subsequently police matters tend to be brushed aside in writings on punitiveness (Recasens, 2011). The work of the police as agents in the penal state is often ignored, “even though it is well known that the role of the police is crucial in the production of guilty pleas and criminal convictions” (Chan, 2000: 105). In this section, I focus on two of the primary ways the police are involved in allocating pain and exclusion, through the use of force and the deprivation of liberty. I reveal how representations of these police actions in sites of popular culture can be conceptualized as instances of penal spectatorship and what doing so can contribute to the theoretical insights about punishment offered by Brown (2009).

The police are a branch of law enforcement and part of the modern state, which Max Weber (1965[1919]: 53-54) described many decades ago as upholding “a claim to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order”. The use of this force is at the core of the policing role, and research into its essential features and their implementation are of importance due to their effects on the public’s attitudes concerning law enforcement and the ‘criminal justice’ system more broadly (Alpert and Dunham, 2004; Harkin 2014; Recasens, 2011). There is no single accepted definition of use of force; however, the International

Association of Chiefs of Police (2001: 1) believes that use of force can be generally defined as, “the amount of effort required by police to compel compliance by an unwilling subject”.

Importantly, using physical action to compel compliance does not necessarily imply an element of pain. For example, being handcuffed or led with a firm grip may not be experienced as pain.

With that said, police use of force tactics nearly always involve imposing pain on the accused.

Harkin (2014: 45) explains that if “instead of ‘use-of-force’ we substitute, ‘inflicting hurt or pain’, the resemblance between police work and imprisonment becomes more evident”. The police cause bodily injury, sometimes with deadly consequences, by inflicting pain and injury on citizens through use of their hands/arms, batons, chemical sprays, electroshock weapons, firearms and through various other means (Pedicelli, 1998; Alpert and Dunham, 2004). As Alpert and Dunham (2004) explain, the use of force mandate provides the police with the power to deliver pain and injury within legal restrictions, and is deemed appropriate and necessary for police to overcome alleged unlawful resistance.

The police also have the power to deprive liberty by taking away a persons ability to move around as a free individual, through the restriction of movement and/or social isolation (Sykes, 1958). As Harkin (2014) explains, several aspects of contemporary policing fall under the category of the deprivation of liberty, including: arrest, detention, kettling,⁷ and roadside breathalyser tests. Hogg (1991) argues that police stations in Australia operate a type of “penal agency”, particularly when they overemphasize the detainment individuals on petty public offenses. He explains that these types of criminalization practices tend to target Indigenous peoples more than others. Hogg (1991) argues that the police station plays a regulatory function that is part of boarder array of punitive policing practices that should be classified as a form of

⁷ Kettling is a police tactic where large groups of people, such as protesters, are confined to a small area.

penalty (see Choongh, 1998). He points out that Indigenous peoples in Australia are deprived of their liberty by police more than other populations, and are represented on mass in police cells in a way that mirrors their draconian incarceration levels in the prison system (Hogg, 1998).

Similarly, Brown (1998: 368) explains that the concept of penalty, in comparison to punishment, is better suited for “drawing out the connections between imprisonment and colonial and neocolonial strategies of displacement, assimilation and forcible removal of the children of Aboriginal peoples in Australia or of emphasizing the largely hidden rates of detention in local police lock-ups”. These writings reveal how exploring the links between policing and penalty is not a new phenomenon or research domain in the field of criminology (see also Howe, 1994).

Choongh (1998) and others (Recasens, 2011; Chan, 2000) have pointed out that the police can sometimes act as an illicit punitive apparatus when they inflict their own form of punishment beyond legal boundaries. Choongh (1998) uncovered that the police may sometimes enact their own ‘shadow’ system of punishment by ritually detaining persons from ‘problematic’ communities within police stations and releasing them without filing charges. Recasens (2011: 223) refers to police practice of detaining individuals without the intent of bringing them to trial as “parallel justice”, a type of punishment often enacted upon those the police feel will not receive their ‘due’ punishment in court or upon those who have attacked the policing culture in some manner. Recasens (2011: 223) further explains that the police may apply “complementary punishments” or “parallel punishments”, exemplified most notably when police inflict brutality and torture on pre-trial detainees. She refers to this “addition” of punishment (rather than substitution as in the earlier case) on top of the judicial sentence as a “pain bonus” that ensures the accused is duly punished in the eyes of police officers (Recasens, 2011: 223). Chan (2000: 91) has also considered excessive police violence as a type of “institutional penal practice”, one

that facilitates a form of “backstage punishment” that is both condoned by society, and maintained by the field and habitus of policing. By examining police violence in this way, she reveals why forms of police violence exist and are tolerated, and how policing culture sustains a form of penal practice “behind the scenes” (Chan, 2000: 85).

Harkin (2014) contends that police inflicted injury and suffering should be considered through the term ‘punitiveness’, in reference to its striking similarities to the pain-delivery against convicted prisoners. Harkin (2014) reveals this resemblance by drawing from Sykes’s (1958) “pains of imprisonment”, where he argues that the same deprivations that characterize prisons, and are adjudicated by popular sentiment, resonate with contemporary policing. Harkin (2014: 45) suggests that reframing “use of force” into “inflicting hurt or pain” can facilitate a better understanding surrounding how complicity for the injury and suffering caused by police is accepted and tolerated. He draws on the classic writings of Durkheim to claim that the origins of police pain-delivery is largely a function of punitive passions, structured by the ‘collective conscious’ and warranting approval from deeply held emotional sensibilities in society. Harkin (2014: 45) explains, “while, in a strict legal sense, punishment is a privilege of courts and prisons ... such a view need not prevent us from adopting intellectual tools from penal theory”. In doing so, he makes a theoretical contribution regarding why police scholars should draw from the sociology of punishment to better understand the (un)acceptability of police violence and pain-delivery.

In this section I have demonstrated how representations of certain aspects of police work, specifically the use of force and the deprivation of liberty, can be alternatively conceptualized as instances of penal spectatorship where citizens gaze upon the state sanctioned pain and exclusion of penal subjects. Despite the police functioning as an important actor in the ‘criminal justice’

system and arm of the penal state, literature that theorizes their connection to punitiveness and penal practices remains scarce (Harkin, 2014; Recasens, 2011). The writings of the abovementioned scholars help to elucidate how the police, much like the prison, also engage in practices of pain-delivery and social exclusion towards those in conflict with the law, both within and outside legal boundaries. Furthermore, marginalized and vulnerable populations such as racial minorities and the poor tend to experience pain and exclusion at the hands of the police in greater levels, a detail that in many ways mirrors that of the prison system (Brown, 2009).

The lack of deep interrogation into the relationship between the police and the cultural work of punishment is troubling, not only due to the close ties the police have with other punitive institutions, as Recasens (2011: 211) writes, but also because “its relationship with the citizens constitute decisive for increasing or reducing punitive effects, either institutional or as consequences of perceptions of security, insecurity, or fear”. Indeed, the police tend to have stronger ties with general society than the hidden world of the prison. Although the prison receives a great deal of attention and scrutiny by penal scholars, Blomberg and Cohen (2003: 149) contend, “the public face of punishment and criminal justice is represented more vividly by the police and courts”. While the use of force and the deprivation of liberty occupy only a minor part of the police role, the so-called fight against criminalized harm “presents a very powerful and consolidated image” (Recasens, 2011: 211), and is given a high degree of visibility in popular culture. Harkin’s (2014) key argument is that research exploring the (un)acceptability of police violence and harm can benefit from drawing from literature in the sociology of punishment. By engaging with and extending Brown’s (2009) theory of penal spectatorship to police work, this thesis suggests something to the reverse. That is, research exploring the (un)acceptability of penal practices and policies can benefit from considering police violence, harm, and practices of

social exclusion as part of the diversity of everyday representations that give meaning to the penal system and those enmeshed therein.

3.4 – Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis and explained why police museums are a relevant area to push forward penal spectatorship theory. In order to thoroughly analyze the culture of punishment in contemporary society, research can benefit from an engagement that theorizes aspects of police work as part of the violence, pain-delivery, and exclusion that characterizes penalty and social life. Recent work in the sociology of punishment has emphasized the benefits of expanding the limits of punishment beyond its strict legal definition to capture the many systems of confinement and suffering that exist in the world. Several scholars have provided important theoretical contributions that reveal how the work of the police that is punitive, and punitive in effect (i.e. the use of force and the deprivation of liberty), can be understood in relation to the concept of penalty and correlates of pain, violence, suffering, surveillance, judgement and accusation. As Brown (2009) notes, penal spectatorship occurs when everyday actors interact with such meanings in everyday cultural settings. In sum, by considering the police museum as a site of penal spectatorship where everyday citizens converge with the world of punishment and its key underlying meanings, this thesis will contribute insight into Brown's (2009) theory of penal spectatorship and begin to illuminate the role police museums play in the 'culture of punishment' in Canada.

CHAPTER 4 – METHODS

This chapter describes the research methods that were used during the course of this study and the rationale behind the procedures chosen. The purpose of this study is to explore how three police museums in Ontario (re)produce and circulate meanings about penalty through their different representational practices. Museums are extremely varied, and as Weil (2002: 50) notes it is difficult to make meaningful comparisons between them due to their differences in “discipline, scale, governance, structure, collections, sources of funding, endowment, staffing, facilities, and community settings”. Police museums are also varied, and it is important to acknowledge that although the three police museums I studied can each be classified as a ‘fully-dedicated’ site, there are differences that exist among them that affect the type of content they produce. The intent of this study is to discuss and compare this content through the lens of penal spectatorship theory. The objective is not to determine which site is a ‘better’ or ‘worse’ police museum, but to study them so as to shed light on their place within a larger continuum of penal history memorialization practices in Canada (Piché and Walby, 2015a). In this chapter, I begin by providing a description of the three police museums and explain why the site was chosen for analysis. Next, I outline the techniques that were used to collect data and the coding procedures implemented to analyze this information. This is followed by a discussion on the reliability and validity of this research, as well as the ethical safeguards used throughout the process.

4.1 – The Police Museums

Research began with an Internet search conducted on 2 September 2014 where I uncovered sixteen police museums operating in Canada. These sites were similar to the police museums studied by McNair (2011) and others (e.g. Buffington, 2012, Caimari, 2012). I located

them by using the definition of ‘police museum’ provided by McNair (2011), which was the clearest one I could find. She provides two slightly different definitions of the term, first defining them as “sites dedicated to recounting police history and perpetuating pro-police narratives” (p. xxi) and later on, “museums dedicated to the recounting of police history and the preservation and exhibition of artifacts relating to policing” (McNair, 2011: 19). During my search, I found many sites that fit this definition, but did not resemble the police museums studied by McNair (2012) and other scholars. These were mainly historic police forts. I also uncovered sites that recounted police history and contained police artifacts, but were not necessarily dedicated to the police. Some of these sites were dedicated to other topics, including Indigenous culture, the military and local history. These were mainly community museums. I became confused as to what a ‘police museum’ is and what it is not. I came to the decision that, for research purposes, if a museum shares an exhibit about the police it should be considered to be a type of police museum. Indeed, Walby and Piché (2015a) highlight the importance of not overlooking any penal history sites. They explain, “if scholars continue to largely ignore and otherwise pass over these smaller-scale penal history museums, they will miss out on how such sites frame the ways visitors can understand imprisonment and punishment” (Walby and Piché, 2015a: 496). Similarly, scholars should not ignore sites that memorialize police history because they do not exactly fit the definition of a ‘police museum’ or refer to themselves as one.

As demonstrated in the opening chapter, I decided to critique the definition of police museum provided by McNair (2011). While the definition she provided was helpful, I suggested that her emphasis on the site being ‘dedicated’ to the police and sharing ‘pro-police narratives’ was too restrictive for penal tourism research in the Canadian context. I suggested that the term needed to be broadened and blurred to encompass all museums that contain a police exhibit.

Drawing from the official definition of museum provided by ICOM (a well known organization in the museum community), as well my initial insights in the Canadian context, I re-defined the police museum as: A non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of the police for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment. I eventually uncovered a total of fifty-nine police museums and categorized them into three types: Fully-Dedicated Sites, Hybrid Sites, and Historic Sites. The next step of the study involved selecting police museums for research. Living in Ottawa at the time, I decided to select research sites that were in close proximity to my home. I removed all police museums that were located outside of the province of Ontario, which eliminated hybrid and historic sites.

In discussing the project with my supervisor, it was decided that two or three different research sites was a reasonable number for a master's level project. Initially, I selected the two museums that represented the largest police forces operating within the province of Ontario, the OPP and the Toronto Police Service. For the latter service, I chose the Toronto Police Museum and Discovery Centre. This is because I was not aware at the time of a second, smaller police museum operating in Toronto at 51 Division in the Regent Park area, called *Historic Divisions: Policing in 51 Division from Victorian to Modern Times*. I stumbled upon this site in June 2016, a full year after fieldwork was already completed. Its online presence is nearly nonexistent (only one newspaper article - see Skinner, 2011), but after calling the police station I confirmed it does exist. At the time of selecting research sites, I was also unaware of a police museum operating right in my own town, the RCMP Musical Ride Centre. I had overlooked this site because the RCMP Musical Ride itself is not a museum, but rather a travelling performance. It was not until a few months later that I discovered online that they had a small museum inside the Ride Centre.

I thought it would be beneficial to add this site for two reasons; first it was located close to where I live, and second, it was a museum that represented a federal police force, whereas my other two research sites represented municipal and provincial services. I considered the second point important because including it could shed some insight into how police and penal history is memorialized by different branches of the government. The museums that were chosen will be discussed further below.

Table 2: Police Museums Selected for Study

Location	Police Museum
Orillia, ON	The OPP Museum
Toronto, ON	The Toronto Police Museum and Discovery Centre
Ottawa, ON	The RCMP Musical Ride Centre

4.1.1 – The OPP Museum

The OPP Museum specializes in preserving and communicating the history of policing in Ontario since 1791, with a specific focus on the development of the OPP since 1909. The museum is housed inside the OPP General Headquarters, an extremely large, military-style complex located in Orillia, Ontario (see Figure 1). The museum is open year round and admission is free, but donations are accepted. Upon arrival, visitors must check in at the security desk and provide their name, address and telephone number. The museum is situated in a large room on the front-right side of the complex. It is located on a hallway called ‘Public Street’ that also contains a gift shop (called The Off Duty ShOPP), a restaurant and a daycare. Positioned along various parts of Public Street and directly outside the museum are several vintage, restored

vehicles. A large memorial plaque dedicated to the OPP officers killed in the line of duty exists on a wall near the museum.

Upon entering the museum, visitors are given a “Gallery Guide” that provides information on the museum exhibit, which is currently called *Behind the Badge: The Story of the Ontario Provincial Police* (see Figure 2; also see Appendix A). The gallery guide is a colorful booklet that is extremely detailed with information and pictures. It provides visitors with information on the name and history of almost every object inside the museum. Visitors can follow the booklet through the gallery where they learn about various topics such as Aboriginal policing, uniforms, badges, weapons, women in policing, recruiting and forensics. The museum also offers guided tours on occasion. For younger audiences, a ‘Kidzone’ exists at the back of the museum where children can dress up in police uniforms, play with police puppets, and learn about topics such as how forensic investigations take place and when to call 9-1-1. The final section of the museum is an area where visitors can watch a number of instructional police films.



Figure 1: Exterior of the OPP General Headquarters



Figure 2: The OPP Museum as viewed from the entrance

4.1.2 – The Toronto Police Museum and Discovery Centre

The Toronto Police Museum and Discovery Centre (hereafter Toronto Police Museum) occupies 3,000 square feet in the atrium of the Toronto Police headquarters. The museum showcases the history of the city's police force from 1834 to the present. The headquarters is a grey, irregular-shaped building located in the downtown core of Toronto, Ontario (see Figure 3). When entering the headquarters, the museum is situated on the left hand side with a gift shop located directly across from it. Visitors do not need to check in at the security desk and can head straight into the museum, which is free of charge but accepts donations. A large stone archway that reads the museum name marks its entrance. As far as I know, no guided tours are offered at the site.

As described in the opening paragraph of this thesis, the Toronto Police Museum is spread out over three levels and contains a large collection of artifacts and policing memorabilia, including uniforms, firearms, badges, batons and handcuffs. The levels are not directly on top of each other, but rather there are three main sections separated by a few feet that are laid out one after another. Photographs of police officers and vintage mug shots are displayed on some of the walls. Displays are quite detailed and include topics such as the history and evolution of the police force, infamous local 'crimes', illicit drugs, mounted police officers, and police communication technology. Visitors can read about how the police conduct investigations, flash the lights of an antique police car, and stroll through a replica of an old police station (see Figure 4) that contains mannequins of police officers and a detainee locked inside a mock holding cell. Towards the back of the museum stands a memorial for fallen police officers.



Figure 3: Exterior of the Toronto Police Museum as viewed from a walkway that leads to the entrance of the police station



Figure 4: Interior of the Toronto Police Museum. Pictured is a portion of the second level

4.1.3 – The RCMP Musical Ride Centre

The RCMP Musical Ride Centre is located at the Canadian Police College in Ottawa, Ontario, a large training academy and educational centre for members of the Canadian and international policing community that is operated by the RCMP. The Musical Ride itself is an elaborate performance that takes place in an outdoor stadium for public audiences. It is a popular event that has been referred to as a “ballet on horses” (Daro, 2015), and involves RCMP officers performing routines meant to show off their cavalry skills. The Musical Ride has a storied tradition and performs in Ottawa, as well as other cities across Canada and the world. In Ottawa, but not elsewhere, this performance is often accompanied by Emergency Response Team (ERT) demonstrations. These are brief shows that involve heavily armed tactical officers entering the stadium in large police vehicles. Exiting the vehicles, the officers throw smoke grenades and use violent police/military tactics to subdue and arrest actors portraying ‘criminals’. Recently, this part of the ceremony has faced heavy criticism in the media, including being referred to as a “tasteless, jingoistic, paramilitary embarrassment” by a national news journalist (Daro, 2015).

At the RCMP Musical Ride Centre there is a museum that operates year-round with free admission. It is relatively small and focuses primarily on the history of the Musical Ride. Visitors enter through a gift shop called The Mountie Shop, which sells a variety of police-themed items, including stuffed animals, clothing, figurines, mugs and toys (see Figure 5). The gift shop opens up into a rectangular-shaped room that is an area dedicated to discussing the RCMP “Today and Beyond” (see Figure 6). There are very few objects or relics on display. Instead, most information is conveyed through poster boards and photos that line the sides and middle of the rooms. Along with learning about the history of the RCMP Musical Ride, the museum shares information on contemporary topics related to the RCMP such as forensics,

marine services, recruitment, Aboriginal policing, dog training, and the various initiatives currently being undertaken by the federal police service. Short tours of the museum are available, and are often taken by school groups and youth camps. Tour guides lead groups through the museum and into the Musical Ride training centre, a large indoor arena where training and practice-runs occur. The tours end in the adjacent stable, where visitors are shown the horses, and educated on their treatment and preparation for the show.



Figure 5: Exterior of the RCMP Musical Ride Centre and the Mountie Shop



Figure 6: Start of “The RCMP Today and Beyond” section of the RCMP Musical Ride Centre

4.2 – Epistemological Framework

The methodology that guides this project is grounded in the social constructivist perspective (Miller and Glassner, 2011). I was primarily concerned with uncovering how knowledge and meaning about penalty is constructed and developed among people through interactions that occur inside the police museum. The underlying assumption of the social constructivist perspective is that reality cannot be known independently of the language and meaning that people give to it (Miller and Glassner, 2011). Knowledge about reality is constructed through a social process of learning and dialogue. As Naylor and Keogh (1999: 3) explain, “learning involves an active process in which learners construct meaning by linking new ideas with their existing knowledge”. Such an approach is well suited for a study of penal spectatorship due to the importance it places on meaning-making and learning through experience. Recall that Brown (2009) fundamentally argues people actively construct their

knowledge about the realities of punishment primarily through interactions with cultural practices, a realm that is often problematically characterized by social distance.

The police museum is one such cultural institution where viewers actively construct meanings about punishment and its major correlates; knowledge that Brown (2009) explains funnels back to affect real human beings in profound ways. In accordance with the assumptions of the social constructivist perspective, Brown (2009) notes that to bridge the social distance between penal spectators and the realities of punishment, visitors must be exposed to new forms of knowledge that are capable of confronting pre-existing conceptions and commonsensical understandings about punishment. This process of learning would build upon and challenge prior knowledge, encouraging penal spectators to actively question, analyze, interpret, and construct new understandings and ways of seeing punishment, along with its fundamental relation to the infliction of pain (Brown, 2009).

4.3 – Data Collection

The research design for this project is qualitative in nature and relies mainly on data gathered during field observations. I visited each museum during the summer of 2015, taking field notes and pictures at each location. I also participated in the guided tour at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre. Field observations were important for achieving my second research objective, which was explore how the different representational practices of the museums communicate meanings about penalty to visitors. I also attempted to conduct semi-structured interviews with paid and unpaid staff members at each site, but only ended up conducting a single joint-interview with two staff members at the OPP Museum. Nonetheless, this interview uncovered some valuable information that helped to address my first research objective, which

was to understand the perceptions of staff involved in the production of displays inside police museums (Miller and Glassner, 2011).

My initial goal in the first stage of data collection was to conduct semi-structured interviews with staff members at each police museum. However, my qualitative data was hindered because I was only able to conduct an interview at one location. I sent an introductory letter by email to each research site that presented the study and asked if the museum would like to participate (see Appendix B). I immediately heard back from a staff member at the OPP Museum, who agreed to participate in the project pending their management team's approval. The approval was granted and we arranged a time for me to visit the museum. The other two research sites never returned my email. After over a week had passed, I called the Toronto Police Museum and spoke with a staff member. The individual told me that the museum was busy and would be unable to accommodate my request for an interview at that time. When I inquired how long I would have to wait, the individual replied it would be a long time and that it would be better if I just visited the museum and took notes on the exhibit like a tourist would. I asked them if I was allowed to take pictures inside the museum, and they agreed with the condition that the pictures would only be for use in my personal project. The staff member said that anything beyond that would likely require legal paperwork and possible compensation paid to the museum. Near the end of the phone call, the staff member asked for me to re-send the letter of information to the museum. I sent the letter and did not receive any reply back.

I decided to visit the RCMP Musical Ride Centre because the site was close by to where I was living. A staff member told me that they would be unable to provide me with an interview at the time, mainly because they were busy and did not know a whole lot about the museum itself. They told me that the person who managed the site was the one I should talk to. However, he had

other duties with the RCMP and was not around. A staff member gave me his email on a slip of paper and said I could take any photographs I liked for my project.

After collecting and analyzing data from my visitation to the RCMP Musical Ride Centre, I came to the decision that week to exclude it from my project. The reason being was that it was completely unlike the other two sites in its structure and function. The tour focused only on the history of the RCMP Musical Ride performance and spent most of the time discussing the treatment of horses in the stables. It never touched upon the ERT demonstrations and skipped over the section on the “RCMP Today and Beyond”. Moreover, this section is unique because it is not focused on the past and contains nearly no relics. Yet, over the next year I became more knowledgeable about what a museum is. This included reading a piece by Simon (2012: 92), who states, “Those who think the museum is about the past have got it wrong. Public practices of remembrance are always about the future”. I eventually realized it did not matter that this area was not focused on the past. It was still an important part of the museum at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre and their strategy of police heritage commemoration. However, I did not make this connection until roughly six months later. By this time, I was not living in Ottawa and had already started writing my analysis of the other two research sites. Some of the themes that were arising in this writing were also present at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre. I decided that I had enough useful data from conducting field observations and informally speaking with museum staff members, and ultimately chose not to attempt to re-contact the site again for an interview.

The practical issues I uncovered while trying to conduct interviews, mainly at the Toronto Police Museum, speaks to a wider problem in the fields of museum studies and criminology. This problem is the gap between practitioners and researchers, or museums and universities. Mason (2006: 29) points out that researchers may sometimes face difficulties when

trying to conduct research inside museums. One reason is because museums “have their own reputations and public profiles to protect”. She goes on to explain how, like any other organization, museum work has “political sensitivities and personal investments ... which may make it difficult to open the museum up to critical investigation” (Mason, 2006: 29). In criminological research, a large body of work has discussed the challenges involved in conducting research and collecting data on ‘criminal justice’ related institutions. For instance, Mopas and Turnbull (2011) explain how researchers studying these types of institutions routinely encounter a variety of access problems, which include institutions refusing to answer questions, studies suddenly being halted, having no mechanisms to appeal negative decisions, and the inability to acquire government documents through access legislation.

It is difficult to say whether any of the obstacles I encountered can be attributed to the police museum not being open to outside research. Early on in the research process, I tried to get in contact with another police museum, the Ontario Police College Museum in Aylmer, Ontario. I called the police college and an individual gave me the number of the person who manages the museum. I left them a message on their answering machine briefly introducing the study and myself, but never received a call back. Mopas and Turnbull (2011: 586) explain that sometimes institutions are afraid to open their doors to “those whose research projects are perceived as ‘critical’”. Writing on criminological research methods has emphasized the need for researchers to be flexible and creative when they encounter access barriers when studying ‘criminal justice’ institutions (Goodman, 2011; Spivakovsky, 2011). My decision to not immediately email the manager at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre for an interview was a learning experience that taught me to not my stop my research-related tasks halfway through. Future research on police

museums may uncover similar challenges as I did, and researchers will have to adapt their study accordingly and be flexible to the schedules of museum practitioners.

The interview I conducted was a semi-structured interview with two staff members of the OPP Museum on 13 July 2015. The interview was productive and lasted approximately 60 minutes in length. I used a semi-structured design in my interview so as to acquire in-depth narrative accounts of how museum workers make sense of their experiences in the police museum, while providing room for elaboration and further questioning (Miller and Glassner, 2011). In relation to the first research objective, open-ended questions were asked about things such as their involvement in the police museum, their experience and education in the field of policing, the history of the site, decisions about how to display and position relics, and the nature of their relationship with the active police service (see Appendix C). They were also asked how these questions affected matters of administration, education, and conservation within the museum, as they understood it.

Originally, the goal of undertaking interviews was to provide a more comprehensive account of museum exhibit representation (see MacDonald, 1996), as well to discern the role of museum workers in producing and negotiating the meanings about law enforcement and penalty in these institutions. Although I only conducted one interview, it provided valuable information into the practical side of police museum work and the processes of meaning production and regulation at the site (see Mason, 2005). It provided knowledge about how representations of policing are developed inside the museum, and the role of museum staff members have in creating and shaping these depictions. The interview also gleaned information pertaining to my second research objective, by revealing what staff members felt to be the primary messages about police work conveyed to the public inside the museum.

The majority of the findings from this thesis are a product of an interpretive methodology from my second stage of data collection, field observations. Between the months of July 2015 to August 2015 I visited and conducted observations of the museum collections at each site, taking part in museum activities and tours, if they were available. During my observations I took pictures and jotted field notes in a journal. Once I had finished visiting each museum, I immediately filled out an open-coding grid that was originally developed and utilized by Walby and Piché (2015a) during their study on penal history museums (see Appendix D). The sheet was separated into three sections: 1) General Reflections/Notable Observations 2) Notes on Method; 3) Analytical Thoughts. In the first section, I wrote down a summary and key highlights of each field visit. I made sure to include my initial thoughts about the museum in question and any important observations that stuck out in my mind during my visit. In the second section, I reflected on my methodology and wrote down any ideas for new coding fields or future interview questions. I also wrote a few points about how my dual-role as both a participant in the museum environment (i.e. tourist) and researcher could have influenced my data collection (Lidchi, 1997). In the third section, I wrote down any analytical thoughts that I had, or in other words how my observations related back to theories, ideas, and concepts articulated in past literature on police and penal history museums.

These observations were important for achieving research objective two, which was to explore the cultural meanings that exist within the museum about penalty. Observations focused on the various components of museum display, including historical objects, texts put on display, exhibit space, walls, and how displays were positioned. These separate, but interrelated aspects of the museum are central to the meaning-making process therein (Lidchi, 1997). Emphasis was placed on their internal ordering, display, documentation and labelling in order to grasp the

symbolic meanings that exist as a product of their presentation, including their relation to themes such as the deprivation of liberty and the use of force.

I had also planned to ‘shadow’ paid and unpaid and staff members to further understand their work and the dynamics of their interactions (Emerson et al. 1995; Lofland and Lofland 1995). This would have involved me accompanying them during their everyday routine to better understand the nature of their work. My observations would have been supplemented by informal questioning while walking inside the museum, since physical participation in the work routine is a key means of studying it (De Leon and Cohen 2005). I did shadow an employee for a brief time at the OPP Museum. However, the qualitative data I collected from this encounter was limited, as the individual did not have much to do as they booked most of the day off to attend to what I needed. Nonetheless, I did gain some additional information from the shadowing process regarding how decisions made about curation, administration and marketing practices shape the meanings about policing in the museum. I included this data in my open-grid coding sheet.

4.4 – Data Analysis

Data analysis was separated into three stages. The first stage of data analysis was referred to as the *preparation phase*, where I selected the unit of analysis and undertook an initial reading of the data (Elo and Kynga, 2008). In accordance with traditional qualitative analysis, the unit of analysis was individual themes that existed within the data, rather than a physical unit (e.g. word, paragraph) often used in quantitative content analysis (Weber, 1990; Downe-Wamboldt, 1992). I conducted a thematic analysis on the data I had collected. A thematic analysis is often used in cultural studies and is highly compatible with the social constructivist perspective (Minichiello et al., 1990). It was the most advantageous method for identifying the patterns of meaning that

existed within the qualitative data in relation to my research questions and study objectives.

In accordance with traditional thematic analysis, I was primarily concerned with assigning codes/themes to the various ideas and expressions within the data that relate back to the research objectives of the study (Minichiello et al., 1990). The nature of the data coded was both manifest (i.e. surface content) and latent content, the latter referring to the investigators interpretation of the contents underlying meaning (Potter and Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). The assessment of latent content was necessary to capture the underlying meanings behind what is communicated to visitors inside each museum (Berg, 2011).

The first set of data that I analyzed was the interview transcript. I read through the transcript numerous times from beginning to end in order to become immersed within the data and to broaden my general understanding (Elo and Kynga, 2008; Tesch, 1990). According to Graneheim and Lundman (2004), whole transcripts are the most suitable size for effectively examining meaning during the initial analytic process. An initial reading of the data was necessary to understand ‘what’s going on’ (Morse and Field, 1995) and to achieve a thorough familiarization with the information that was generated. Once I had achieved a sufficient understanding, data was coded through a deductive thematic analysis.

The next stage of data analysis was referred to as the *organizational phase*, where a coding scheme was created through a deductive thematic analysis (Elo and Kynga, 2008). I decide to undertake a deductive analysis because existing research on the police museums is limited (see McNair, 2011) and it would benefit from further description in the Canadian context. My initial list of coding categories drew heavily from the primary themes that were uncovered in previous studies on Canadian penal history museums (see Walby and Piché, 2015a; Fiander et al., 2016). This included: Capital Punishment, Deaths in Custody, Use of Force, Violence

Against Prisoners, Prisoner Violence Against Prison Staff, Prisoner Resistance, Objectives of Confinement, Conditions of Confinement/Cells, Notable Events and Notable Prisoners. Due to the fact that I was examining qualitative data from a police museum, and not a prison or jail museum, I substituted the term “prisoner” for “criminal/penal subject” and “prison staff” for the “police”. I also added new codes relevant to the penal functions of the police that was noted in previous literature on police museums (see McNair; Buffington, 2012). These included Depictions of Criminal/Penal Subjects and Deprivation of Liberty and Courts.

After creating my list of primary codes, I developed several sub-codes that could fit within them. These themes were derived from past literature on the relation between the police and penal system (e.g. weapons, restraints, arrest, stop and search, frisking, interrogation). For instance, I slotted the themes of “detention” and “arrest” within the larger theme of “deprivation of liberty”. Some of the original themes overlapped or could be combined to create other themes, but these arrangements were altered accordingly as I conducted the analysis. I then attributed an explicit definition and example to each theme in order to show the circumstances in which aspects of the text can be coded under such heading (Mayring, 2000). Once these were developed, the definitions were collected and merged into a coding agenda. I proceeded to code all of the data from the interview transcript onto the coding grid. The coding grid used is best described as an unconstrained matrix (Elo and Kynga, 2008), meaning that the boundaries were not strictly limited to the identified categories in the coding agenda. Any new or emergent themes or concepts emerging from the data that could not be categorized among the existing codes were given a new code (Elo and Kynga, 2008). This aspect was an important aid in limiting categorization bias by facilitating the creation of new meanings communicated that may be nonexistent in previous literature (Hsieh and Shannon, 2009).

The purpose of the organizational phase was to provide a means to describe the phenomenon by breaking down the data and examining all aspects of it in a thorough manner (Mayring, 2000). Themes and sub-themes were identified from the text through techniques such as looking for repetition, comparing similarities and differences, and scrutinizing what is not addressed (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). Repetition involves coding themes based on topics that frequently occur in the data (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). The more the interviewee referred to specific ideas, the more likely I categorized it as an important theme. Comparing similarities and differences involves searching within and across texts to see what kinds of information are alike and unlike. If the themes are similar, but expressed differently by staff members then I coded these as sub-themes (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). Scrutinizing missing data consists of searching for information and topics that the research subject avoids, either intentionally or unintentionally (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). Another way this was done was to inspect any large expressions in the text that had not been previously identified with a theme (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). These three theme identification techniques were selected due to their ability to work effectively on both verbatim interview transcripts and field notes (Ryan and Bernard, 2003).

This process served as a form of data analysis to identify themes that fit within the initially created categorization frame, as well as those that did not. After all the initial themes were categorized, I re-read the transcript to ensure accuracy (Krippendorff, 2003). Next, I collectively analyzed the codes and grouped them under high order categories. Merging categories that consisted of similar information facilitated this process. When possible, codes were organized into a hierarchal structure based on their strength within the data (Hsieh and Shannon, 2009).

Data analysis from field observations followed the same process. However, information

was categorized into a mixed-coding grid originally developed by Walby and Piché (2015a) in their investigation of Canadian penal history museums (see Appendix E). Along the left hand column of the grid was the list of codes previously generated. The top of the grid (i.e. header row) was separated into four columns: spatial arrangements (i.e. where the theme is presented/description of material space), visual arrangements (i.e. how the theme is presented within the space), narrative arrangements (i.e. ideas conveyed through writing/text) and performative arrangements (i.e. the roles and functions of museum staff and volunteers, and how they were performed). These four categories were derived by Walby and Piché (2015a) from existing museum literature, founded on the notion that the internal ordering of museum elements (e.g. built space, relics, texts) work together to produce the meanings encountered by visitors inside the museum (see Lidchi, 1997; MacDonald, 2006). Although data was collected according to the four arrangements, the analysis of these arrangements was collapsed together in a way that mirrors the way visitors experience them in their totality. Coding the field notes consisted of categorizing the specific themes and sub-themes in relation to the four header rows of the mixed-coding grid. Any new or emergent themes that could not be categorized among the pre-existing codes were given a new code. The photographs taken at each site were used as an aid to enrich the textual analysis of transcripts and field observations (O'Reilly, 2005; Walby and Piché, 2016).

The final phase of data analysis was *reporting* (Elo and Kynga, 2008). After a brief note on reliability and validity, as well as the ethical safeguards of the project, the next chapter will report the results of the content analysis in a thoroughly descriptive manner to maintain the integrity and richness of the original data (Elo and Kynga, 2008). The discussion and analysis of these findings is guided by the existing literature on police and penal history museums, as well as

the theory of penal spectatorship (Mayring, 2000; Brown, 2009).

4.5 – Reliability and Validity

Throughout the data analysis process, several steps were taken place in order to strengthen the reliability and validity of the results. Of key importance was the development of a valid coding scheme and assessing decisions against a pre-determined standard (Potter and Levine-Donnerstein, 1999; MacNamara, 2005; Downe-Wamboldt, 1992). To achieve an adequate representation of the data, clear and precise definitions were used within a theoretically guided coding scheme. Correct application of the coding rules restricted the degree of interpretation possible with the results (Weber, 1990). Conforming to a defined standard also improved the accuracy and reproducibility of the results. To further improve reliability, I re-checked the codes after several days passed to ensure earlier judgments were made accurately (Krippendorf, 2003; Weber, 1990). Frequent breaks were taken between coding sessions and ample time was allowed to complete the analysis in order to combat the threat of fatigue and the misapplication of coding rules (Potter and Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). Finally, detailed and clear descriptions of the themes are included in the next chapter, demonstrating the links between the data and study findings (Weber, 1990). Following these strategies was fundamental for allowing me to accurately interpret the meanings about penalty that are created and negotiated within the walls of the police museums.

4.6 – Ethical Considerations

This research followed ethical guidelines, as specified by the Social Science and Humanities Research Ethics Board at the University of Ottawa. Several ethical considerations

are relevant to this research, notably considerations regarding free and informed consent, risks of participation, and confidentiality. Participants in the interview were provided with an ethical consent form, and field research and interviews began once they consented. Aside from issues of confidentiality and anonymity, no risks were anticipated for the study population. During the interview, subjects were able to decline to answer questions and/or end the interview if the questions or conversation became upsetting. If subjects wished to withdraw completely from the project, they were able to do so at any time. The two staff members wanted to be interviewed together and chose for it to take place in the curator's office. It should be noted that the two interview participants did not decline to answer any questions I asked and did not withdraw from the study.

As part of this study, the personal opinions of participants concerning this topic could be made known. Although I had planned to use pseudonyms in place of the names of interviewees, this would be futile because the only full-time staff members at the OPP Museum are the two individuals I interviewed. This is the curator and the collections assistant. To protect anonymity as best as I can, in the findings section I do not specify the staff member that made the comment. Once collected, data was stored in a locked filing cabinet and a password protected computer located within the home office of the investigator and office of the project supervisor Dr. Justin Piché, which were both locked behind closed doors at all times when they were not present. The data was stored upon collection and will be kept for a conservation period of five years. After this time as passed, the physical data will be shredded, while the data stored on computer will be securely deleted.

4.7 – Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methods that were used in this thesis to answer my research questions and ultimately uncover the role police museums in play as sites of penal spectatorship. I focused my research on three police museums in Ontario: 1) The OPP Museum in Orillia, Ontario; 2) The Toronto Police Museum and Discovery Centre in Toronto, Ontario; and 3) The RCMP Musical Ride Centre in Ottawa, Ontario. These research sites were selected because they represent the three largest police forces operating in the province and are dedicated to memorializing police services from three different levels of government (municipal, provincial and federal). Data was collected primarily through field observations at each site. Using a social constructivist interpretation, I examined how police museums communicate meaning about police work to visitors. Specifically, I looked at how built space, objects, photographs and texts located within the police museums worked together and symbolized, through processes of representation, cultural meanings about penalty. I also undertook an interview with two OPP museum staff members, which provided some preliminary information about how the work of practitioner's shape the representations of these themes. This data was analyzed through a thematic analysis involving a qualitative coding scheme developed in part from prior research on Canadian penal history museums (see Walby and Piché, 2015a). In the next chapter, I present the results from my data collection and analysis.

CHAPTER 5 – REPRESENTATIONS OF PENALTY IN THREE POLICE MUSEUMS

This chapter examines how representations of penalty and its meanings circulate at three police museums in Ontario. Guided primarily by penal tourism literature and the work of Brown (2009), I highlight the areas that provide an opportunity for museum visitors to engage with penalty and its correlates of pain, judgement, accountability and exclusion. The three museums I visited are rich visual environments, and I have included a number of images to visually present the data and help readers familiarize themselves with the objects and spaces to which I refer. My findings provide some initial insight into how police museums fit into the wider ‘culture of punishment’ in Canada that fosters what Brown (2009) calls penal spectatorship. From them, I draw conclusions about the extent to which the museums work to bridge or foster social distance between penal spectators and those in conflict with the law. In what follows below, I identify and analyze three dominant themes that represent mechanisms through which meanings about penalty are constructed and communicated inside the museums. These are: 1) Control and Surveillance; 2) Memento and Story; and 3) Arrest and Detention. Before examining the themes, a few general observations about the three police museums are presented below.

Although they share similar core elements of policing, the three police museums I visited are all quite different from each other. Each museum has its own unique structure and distinct individual character, which shapes the overall viewing experience and the ways the sites engage the public in policing heritage. This diversity is to be expected, because “all museums are products of their particular cultural and historical experiences” (MacDonald and Alsford 1995: 24). Dedicated to municipal, provincial and federal police services, the three museums are part of different organizational cultures, and have unique histories and diverse collections on which to base their displays upon. As will be shown below, each police museum emphasizes certain

content areas over others and topics that are prominent at one site are sometimes absent in another. Underlying these distinct settings is the shared feature of being spaces of history designed for the glorification of the police. Yet we can speak of these spaces much in the same way as Buffington (2012) talks about police museums in Mexico. The police museums I visited are as much about the present and future as they are about the past, with each invoking history as a means to articulate values, legitimize practices, and envision a future for Canadian policing.

What I present below is my own interpretation of the museums and the meanings attached to the relics inside. Museum objects possess a polysemic quality that leaves them open to a multitude of understandings, “holding plural, cross disciplinary, alternative and sometimes conflicting meanings” (Cameron, 2010: 86). Walby and Piché (2011) explain how penal history museum artefacts are difficult to understand as they can lend themselves to a range of interpretations, including critical, indifferent and punitive readings. Objects in an exhibition are carefully arranged, and often accompanied with labels and text to limit ambiguity, encouraging the point of view the museum seeks to achieve. In this chapter, I unpack the three major themes that arose from my research data and their corresponding sub-themes in detail, considering the ways in which they provide penal spectators with a lens through which to think about penalty and their relationship to those in conflict with the law.

5.1 – Control and Surveillance

Although physical incarceration remains a widely used practice to ‘protect’ society and control criminalized populations, advances in technology have provided law enforcement with a wide variety of tools to represent and watch those in conflict with the law (Lawless, 2016; Finn, 2009). Finn (2009) notes how early photography of criminalized suspects in the 19th century was

the important precursor to modern identification practices, which include deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) analysis, biometrics, fingerprints and surveillance. One of the primary means through which meanings about penalty circulate inside the three police museums is through representations of the state's power to exert various forms of control and surveillance over populations that are deemed to be 'risky' or 'dangerous' to the social order. I am not referring to overtly violent or aggressive forms of control, but rather subtler and routine ways the state exerts power over these populations. From my observations, this comes in two primary forms inside the police museums. The first is through the theme of forensic science, and the capacity for law enforcement to track down and monitor persons through pieces of evidence and biological traces. The second is through information on the covert investigative methods used by the police to carry out surveillance work on those considered suspect.

I have separated this theme into the following sub-categories, Forensic and Covert. In both sections, I show how penal correlates materialize in forms that render it difficult for visitors to interrogate their social consequences or relationship to current penal trends. As Lacey (1994: 217) explains, penalty at its core is a divisive social practice which "plays a central role in marking out the excluded 'Other' within the polity – an 'Other' whose difference becomes a source of both identity and anxiety for the ... enfranchised populace". The representations described below are intimately bound up in cultural meanings of inclusion and exclusion in terms of citizenship. Inside the police museum, these displays educate visitors about how the state hunts and captures the members of society who are said to create insecurity for much of the population. I demonstrate how such areas inside the police museums fail to provide visitors with the frameworks needed to challenge social distance and foster empathy for the experiences of those in conflict with the law. There is no mention of the social structures that shape conflicts

with the law (Des Rosiers and Bittle, 2005), the capacity of individuals to change over the course of their lives (Brown, 2009) or the mutable nature of criminalized harms (Hulsman, 1986; Christie, 2004). Rather, the surveillance and exclusion of these groups is justified because their behaviour has been marked-out by law and falls outside what is viewed as permissible in society.

5.1.1 – Forensic

A prototype collection kit was first used to collect reference samples in the investigation of the [1998] Swissair Flight 111 aircraft disaster. The kit was so successful that slight refinements were made which led to the kit that is currently used to collect biological samples from convicted offenders for the National DNA Bank of Canada.

– DNA Database of Canada Display at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre

Broadly speaking, forensics (i.e. forensic science) is the application of science and technology to the penal system and the investigation of criminalized harms (Lawless, 2016). Forensics, and science more generally, has been noted to be a theme present inside some Canadian prison museums (see Ferguson and Madill, forthcoming; Piché et al., forthcoming). It is a dominant subject conveyed at the three police museums, which educate visitors on the important role forensics plays in solving criminalized harms and locating the individuals responsible for committing them. At the RCMP Musical Ride Centre, forensics is mainly conveyed through the topic of fingerprinting and the National DNA Data Bank, a law enforcement tool in Canada that contains known and unknown ‘criminal’ DNA (see Robert and Dufresne, 2008). Forensics at the other two police museums is more focused on the different forensic practices available to assist the police in investigations, with both sites sharing many stories steeped in forensic-related content. Below, I explore this topic in further depth and point the way forensics inside police museums is a significant means through which visitors engage

with cultural meanings of legitimized exclusion, pain, surveillance, and the discourse of what Feeley and Simon (1992) call the ‘new penology’.

Information on forensics at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre can be found spread out over four blue display boards near the beginning of the museum. Three of these boards are dedicated to the topic of DNA and the National DNA Data Bank. This is an investigative tool used by Canadian police services that holds the DNA of individuals convicted of certain criminalized harms, as well as unmatched DNA samples from various ‘crime’ scenes across Canada. The first board encountered by visitors is one discussing DNA sample collection kits, which are used to collect the biological material from the “convicted offenders” who are ordered to provide it (see Figure 7). The board lays out what can be found inside the three different types of kits (blood kit, buccal swab kit and the hair collection kit). The contents of the kits are visually displayed in a few glass display cases attached to the board. The next board delves further into what DNA actually is and discusses the benefits of having a National DNA Data Bank in Canada. According to the board, these are: “Linking crimes together when there are no suspects, helping to identify suspects, eliminating suspects when there is no match between crime scene DNA and a profile in the NDDB [National DNA Data Bank]; and, determining whether a serial offender is involved”. A series of ten steps outlines the process from when the forensic analyst collects the DNA to when the DNA profile is entered into the Combined DNA Index System (CODIS), an electronic DNA database used by law enforcement.



Figure 7: A display at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre that discusses the National DNA Data Bank of Canada and DNA sample collection kits

The third board in the arrangement briefly discusses the topic of “Crime Scene DNA”, concentrating on the various sources of forensic evidence that are collected by analysts at the scene. A large picture of a DNA sequencing sheet is displayed and beside it is an image of a human skeleton that points out the various sources of DNA in the body (e.g. blood, semen, tissue, hair). A fourth board is dedicated to the subject of fingerprinting. The board reads, “Fingerprints help law enforcement to identify those responsible for committing crimes”. It goes on to note, “Police can search fingerprints of known criminals, and fingerprints from crime scenes. Fingerprint searches are also done for security/reliability investigations and for civil fingerprint screening purposes”. Pictured on the board are some digital scans of fingerprints and a section of text revealing that the RCMP holds 3.5 million sets of fingerprints in its “repository of criminal fingerprints”.

In contrast to the uniformity of the forensics content at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre, forensics at the OPP Museum is conveyed through a number of diverse, colourful displays around the site. One of the largest display cases at the museum is a mock scene of a criminalized harm that educates visitors about the work of bloodstain pattern analysts (see Figure 8). During the interview, a staff member noted to me that they were initially concerned this display would “traumatize visitors” due to its graphic nature. Several museology students from a nearby institution had visited and “were kind of adverse to the idea as a whole”. Despite their fears, the display has received only positive feedback and “the kids find it fascinating so far”. The accompanying booklet encourages viewers to “examine the bloodstains” and think about some of the questions they might ask if they were an analyst arriving on scene: “Was there a victim... a nosebleed gone awry... a fight with two assailants... did an assault happen... was a weapon used?” It goes on to note that the scene was created by an OPP bloodstain pattern analyst and is typical of the evidence one could expect to find after a fight. A staff member explained to me that a fight scene was chosen because it “is a pretty typical investigation”. They also noted that the museum is “very cognizant of the emotional impact” of their displays, which is likely another reason why this display is not anything more graphic than a fight scene. The booklet provides significant detail about how forensic analysts would process this scene.

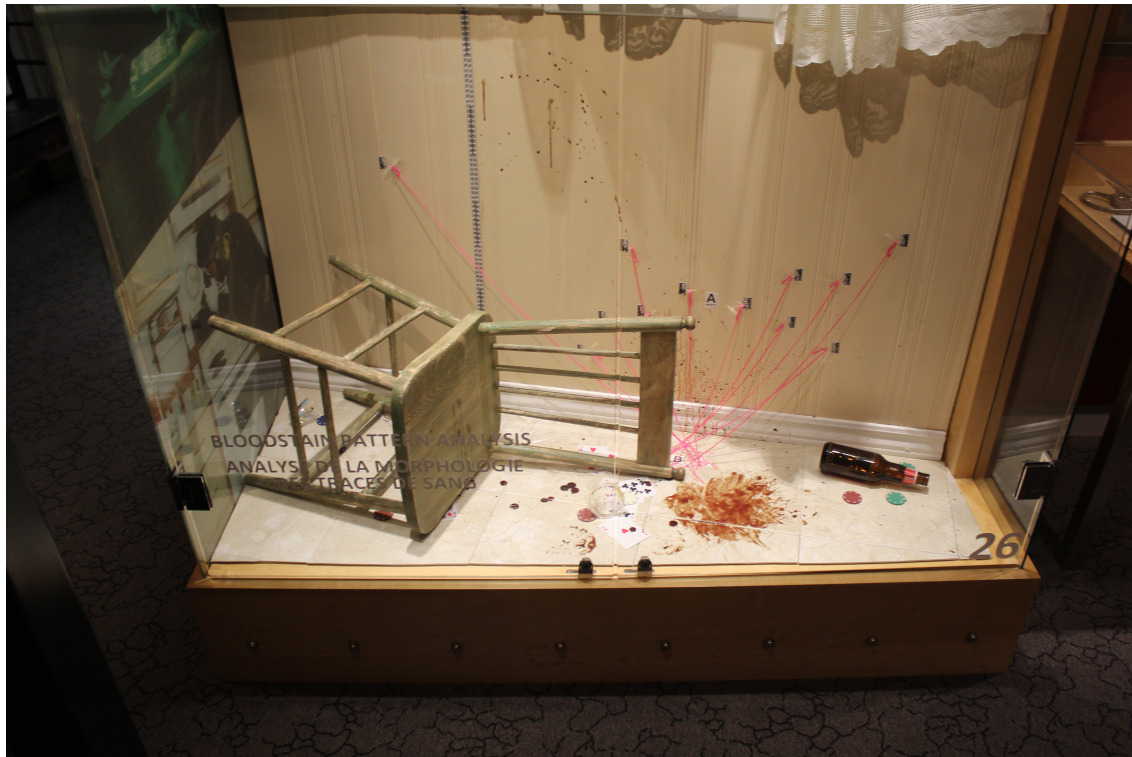


Figure 8: Case #26 in the exhibit at the OPP Museum, titled “Bloodstain Pattern Analysis”

Another area at the OPP Museum where visitors learn about forensics is through the display of an original 1977 Laser (Light Amplification by Stimulated Emission of Radiation) Control Unit. A large picture of a fingerprint is presented on the display case holding the relic. Visitors are taught about the way laser technology assists police in detecting substances at scenes of criminalized harms, such as fingerprints, hairs and fibres. The display recounts how a chance discovery “changed the way we look at fingerprints” and led to the OPP becoming the first police service in the world to use a laser to detect evidence. In 1976, an OPP Senior Forensic Analyst was neighbours with a scientist working at Xerox Research Canada, who had told him in conversation that the argon laser used in their photocopiers could make fingerprints that were invisible to the naked eye, appear on paper. The laser was borrowed in a narcotics investigation later that year, where the bulky machine discovered a fingerprint on a black piece of electrical

tape. The suspect was convicted and the OPP purchased its own laser soon after.

The final space inside the OPP Museum dedicated to forensics is in the Kidzone. This area has a forensics activity table where children are provided a magnifying glass and encouraged to participate in several investigation activities. This includes examining a fake lottery ticket, matching the fingerprints and shoeprints of a suspect, comparing clothing fibres left the scene of a criminalized harm, and inspecting a close up photo of the tool marks left on a pried open door. Each activity has a small backstory behind it where a criminalized harm has been committed and evidence left behind. One story begins as follows: “A victim reports his new luxury car stolen and the police find the missing car a short distance away, stuck in the mud”. A shoeprint is found and the children must try to figure which one of four identified suspects the shoeprint belongs to. The largest activity at the forensic table strays from the ‘crime’ theme likely as a means to soften its darker nature. Children are invited to ‘Potatoland’ to assist the police in the identification of three skulls. These skulls are actually modified ‘Mr. Potatohead’ toys that have been moulded by an OPP forensic artist into human skull form and painted white (see Figure 9). Children are told that the potato skulls were part of an old Pioneer Potato Cemetery that was accidentally unearthed by a construction company. Children are encouraged to examine the skulls, looking for identifying features that might tell them if the skull belongs to a young or old man or woman. Museum staff members are proud of these unique activities, and one told me that the children are “right into it” and “think the science is brilliant”.

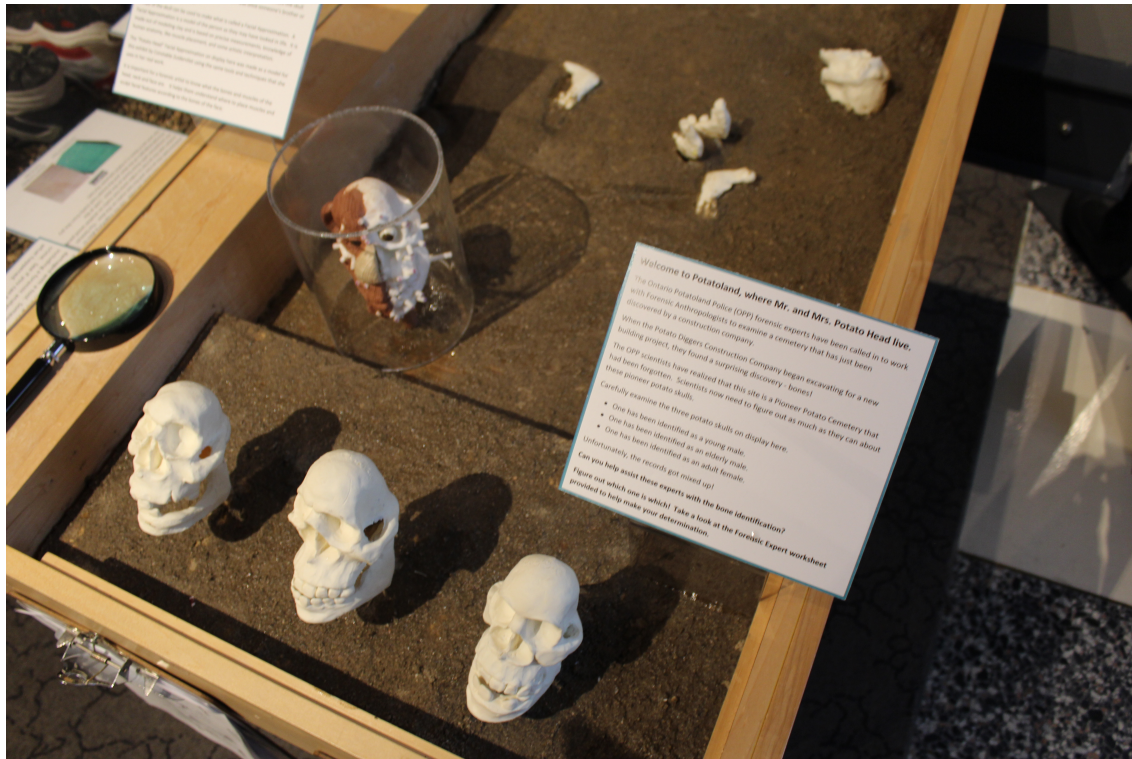


Figure 9: Toy skulls in Area #31 of the exhibit at the OPP Museum, titled “Kidzone”

Forensics at the Toronto Police Museum is primarily conveyed to visitors through a detailed display outlining the steps involved in solving a criminalized harm. Located on the second level of the museum, the display consists of four boards behind glass cases, titled “*Analyzing the Crime Scene*”, “*Conducting the Investigation*”, “*Making the Arrest*”, and “*Selected Investigative Techniques*” (original emphasis). The first board discusses what police officers do when they first arrive on scene (see Figure 10). A large vintage photograph of four investigators examining a piece of evidence appears at the centre of the board. The writing notes that finding and collecting evidence needed to “solve and prosecute the case” is one of the most crucial tasks of police work. It goes on to explain how police use a variety of “traditional and high-tech equipment to search for, gather, and analyze forensic evidence such as fingerprints, hair and fibre samples, tool marks, bodily fluids, blood splatters and ligatures”. Below the board

are several relics, including an antique Metro Toronto Police Homicide Forensic Kit, fingerprint dusters, a DNA swab and a mould of a shoeprint. Also displayed are several etching tools, two of them with missing tips. These tips are displayed nearby and according to the text were found embedded in a murdered woman's head during a past investigation. Police discovered the etching tools in the home of her son, who was convicted for the criminalized offense.



Figure 10: The first two boards in a display at the Toronto Police Museum that discusses the steps involved in solving a ‘crime’

The fourth board, titled “*Selected Investigative Techniques*”, also shares information about forensics in police work. The board is separated into four sections: “Blood Spatter”, “DNA”, “Autopsy”, and “Angle of Entry of Bullet”. The text on blood splatter discusses how splatters can be used to reveal certain things, such as “the distance between the assailant and the victim, the type of weapon used, and the duration of the attack”. Beside it, the section on autopsy

talks about determining the cause of death and looking for evidence on the victim's clothing.

Down below, a section notes that DNA processing "has now become an exact science" and an analysis of the DNA in blood can connect a suspect to a 'crime'. Finally, the text on bullet entry discusses how an examination of a bullet's angle can tell officers things such as where the shooter and victim were at the time the gun was fired.

After visitors at the Toronto Police Museum read about forensics and the other steps involved in solving a criminalized harm, a little further into the museum they can see these steps at work through several display cases that recount infamous local criminalized harms. Nine glass cases are positioned outside of the replica police station, with each containing various objects and re-telling a true 'crime' story from the city's past. Most of the cases do not state if the displayed objects are the actual one's implicated in the criminalized harm. Forensics plays an important role in many of these stories. One of the cases is a display that recounts the rape and murder of Deliana Heng in 1983 (see Figure 11). Positioned behind the glass there is an iron, a book titled "The Rapist File: Interviews with Convicted Rapists", a necklace, a ring and a dirty glass cup with visible fingerprint smudges on it. The writing begins, "On October 19th 1983, the half-nude body of 17 year-old Deliana Heng was found lying on her bathroom floor, with the cord of an iron tied around her neck". It goes on to note that police found a glass cup in the kitchen with the fingerprints of a 20 year-old named Tien Poh Su, a man who held previous convictions of assault, as well as break and enter. Shortly after, an undercover police officer befriended Su at his weightlifting club and managed to collect a sample of his blood. The police were able to prove that the blood sample matched the semen found at the scene of the criminalized harm. After arresting Su, they searched his home and found a necklace – one of a unique pair gifted to Deliana and her sister by her mother – and a ring belonging to Deliana. Also found was

a library book, “which described a number of rapes in great detail”. The text concludes by noting that Tien Poh Su was convicted of first-degree murder.



Figure 11: A display at the Toronto Police Museum that recounts the 1983 rape and murder of Deliana Heng and the arrest of the individual deemed culpable, Tien Poh Su

Chazkel (2012) notes how police museums in Latin America are shrines to modern forensic science, which is also true for the three police museums I visited. Forensics is a dominant topic inside the three police museums that at first glance seems to be distanced from the concept of penal spectatorship. These displays engage the viewer with visual representations of forensic evidence, not of penal subjects or their pain. This evidence, whether it is fingerprints, hair or blood splatter, are not easily identifiable markers of ‘criminality’, but merely representations of data to be subjected to processes of interpretation by ‘experts’ (Finn, 2009). For example, it is unclear if the blood in the “Bloodstain Pattern Analysis” display at OPP

Museum belongs to an assailant or victim. For these reasons, it is more difficult to unpack the penal meanings that circulate through the forensic content inside the three police museums than other topics discussed later on in this chapter. Yet, at the same time, the emphasis placed on forensics in these sites is significant in the way that it legitimizes the social exclusion and monitoring of populations deemed to be ‘dangerous’ through modern science. Inside the three museums, the concept of forensics is entangled with meanings of violence, ‘crime’ and its control, and the general treatment of those in conflict with the law by society. Each site teaches visitors how the use of science in law enforcement has evolved, and currently assists the state in its quest to hunt ‘criminals’ to subject them to physical confinement and other technologies of modern social control. The exclusion and monitoring of these persons is justified through the knowledge of ‘experts’ and the evidence left behind at the scene of a criminalized harm.

Along with police museums, forensics is a theme present inside other Canadian penal history museums as well. One such site is Science East, a popular science centre housed in the former York County Gaol in Fredericton, New Brunswick. Ferguson and Madill (forthcoming) explain how the museum has kept part of the original jail intact, including the cells in the basement where “stories are shared about some of the more ‘infamous moments in the jail’s history’”. One story provided is about the time the jail held the infamous Allan Légère, a serial ‘murderer’ known by some as “The Monster of the Miramichi”. Légère’s case is well known in the legal community as being the first successful conviction in Canada using DNA typing. The museum has transformed his former cell into an exhibit about DNA, and much like the Tien Poh Su story shared at the Toronto Police Museum, offers a chance for visitors to learn about the important role DNA played in securing his conviction. Ferguson and Madill (forthcoming) explain how Légère’s cell at Science East yields “an atmosphere of curiosity, wherein ‘crime’ is

rendered a puzzle to be solved and punishment unemotional; something justified through objectivity and authoritative knowledge”. They argue that the many stories shared at Science East about ‘celebrity’ or infamous prisoners once held in the York County Gaol fosters social distance between penal spectators and the criminalized by emphasizing notoriety and failing to account for the experiences of the many other people imprisoned at the site.

At the OPP Museum and Toronto Police Museum, forensics is conveyed through plot formulas that mirror that of many policing-related television shows. An unknown subject has committed a criminalized harm and the police must investigate to solve the ‘crime’, achieve justice, and restore order. Gabel (2010: 1) notes how this standard police procedural plot has been around for decades but now has a distinct scientific focus to it, as forensics has become a “celebrity that captivates and enchants audiences”. The use of science to captivate audiences is evident at the OPP Museum, where visitors play the role of the ‘good’ guy and are afforded special power over forensic evidence and the scene of a criminalized harm. Visitors are encouraged to study the scene, look for traces and use their own investigative skills to interpret what might have happened. The situation is similar at the Toronto Police Museum, but instead the ‘crime’ actually happened and was already solved through excellent police work. The spectator is left gazing at the indisputable evidence that connects a specific individual to the criminalized act. The individualized frameworks used in these displays at both police museums is troubling, particularly because they employ a rather simplistic understanding of ‘crime’ that is centred on a single, blameworthy subject. As Des Rosiers and Bittle (2004: xvii) explain, “crime does not exist independently of the social structures and processes that help to define and control it”. The forensic displays emphasize harms and the people who commit them, without touching upon the wider social, cultural and political processes in which criminalized harm is rooted.

At both of these sites, forensics elicits a form of spectatorship where cultural fantasizing about criminalized harm is privileged and sustained, rather than challenged or questioned. This produces a type of distanced, voyeuristic gaze that is similar to the penal spectatorship that Brown (2009) identifies in prison tourism. Yet, the pain that grounds some of these displays is not that which is delivered upon a penal subject by the state, but rather a victim by an assailant. At the Toronto Police Museum, seeing the traces of Tien Poh Su beside the necklace belonging to an innocent teenage girl can conjure up feelings of anger, retribution, accountability and mourning within the penal spectator. The pain of his punishment does not come to mind, and if it did it could never surpass the pain felt by Deliana Heng when her attacker violated her and tightened the cord around her neck until she was dead. Like the Allan Légère exhibit at Science East, the infamous story shared by the penal history museum helps to impede any deep consideration on the part of the onlooker about the penal process or the experiences of the people who are subjected to its violence. Instead, the brutal violence of Tien Poh Su is the centerpiece in a story where ‘justice’ is served through individual accountability.

A narrative of accountability runs through the forensics content at the OPP Museum as well, where most of the forensic-related stories are pretend and less graphic than the Toronto site. At both police museums, the unknown suspect mirrors the subject position of a prisoner, an ultimate stranger who remains ever present at the back of the viewers mind and must ultimately be held individually accountable for the harmful actions they commit. The responsibility owed by this ‘dangerous other’ for their violent or deceitful act overshadows any responsibility owed by the penal spectator for the treatment of those in conflict with the law. What is missing in these displays is an opportunity for the viewer to make connections between individual acts of harm and the broader social conditions (e.g. patriarchy, misogyny, poverty) in which a great deal of

the ‘crime’ police deal with is embedded (Chen et al., forthcoming). Without doing so, the forensic science displays help give legitimacy to the idea that effectively dealing with criminalized harm in society is a process that involves finding and incapacitating the ‘dangerous’ or ‘bad’ actors who commit it, rather than tackling the conditions in which it flourishes.

In contrast to the other two sites, forensics at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre distances itself from specific cases of criminalized harm and focuses primarily on the idea of having a ‘criminal’ database in Canada. The language in the display emphasizes the control of criminalized harms through the careful documentation and monitoring of certain segments of the population. Visitors who read this display learn about the power of the state to constantly oversee the people in Canada who might be linked to past, present and future criminalized harms. This type of detached, clinical discourse is characteristic of what some criminologists refer to as the ‘new penology’. In the early 1990s, Feeley and Simon (1992) identified a shift in ‘crime’ management strategies in the United States away from a preoccupation with punishment and rehabilitation towards the identification and management of ‘dangerous’ populations. Brown (2009: 36) explains that this phenomenon is known as “governing from or at a distance, and importantly parallels the faraway subject position of the penal spectator”. Indeed, science is discussed in the RCMP Musical Ride Centre as a key tool from which to differentiate and classify individuals to help to achieve public safety.

According to Robert and Dufresne (2008: 80), the introduction of the DNA Data Bank in Canada was made possible largely through discourse that presented it as a simple, non-intrusive, and powerful tool “to discover, charge and punish criminals who were irremediably bound to perpetrate more and more severe offenses”. Analyzing briefs and testimonies from actors both in favour and sceptical of the database, they note how the concept of DNA and a DNA database

underwent a “simplification process” through legislative debate to the point where it became a tool “vested with magical powers” (Robert and Dufresne, 2008: 76). DNA matches were often equated with guilt, and many of those in favour disregarded the fact that it only placed a subject at a ‘crime’ scene, could be challenged in court, was subject to technical problems, and represented a potential intrusion of privacy for citizens. Part of the approving discourse that Robert and Dufresne (2008) studied was from officials in the federal police force. It is evident that a similar type of ‘simplification process’ is taking place in the messages shared about DNA inside the RCMP Musical Ride Centre, which highlights the benefits of DNA databases in law enforcement, while ignoring any limitations and criticism of its practice.

Robert and Dufresne (2008: 80) also explain how DNA produces important symbolic effects for law enforcement, including strengthening the “professionalization and scientification ideal of the police force”. Thus, the display at the police museum is a medium for producing public support for the DNA database and its potential expansion, while also reinforcing the perceived technological capabilities of Canadian police services. At the same time, this display is particularly insidious because it does not discuss how the use of this ‘crime’ fighting-tool is “mediated by an array of social, symbolic, organizational and economic factors” (Robert and Dufresne, 2008: 71). There is no mention of ever being taken off the database, nor of the power of DNA databases to exonerate the wrongfully convicted. The museum does not provide space for the voices of individuals who are more cautious about DNA technology and its potential to infringe on human rights, such as lawyers, NGO’s, human right’s groups, and women’s associations (see Robert and Dufresne, 2008). Similar to the displays at the other two police museums, forensics at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre legitimizes social exclusion by emphasizing the power of science to solve ‘crime’ and apprehend the ‘right’ suspects.

In sum, through displays that rely on the official discourse of the state – along with scenes of blood, pain and mystery – forensics inside the three police museums provides little room for critical reflection about the role of these practices in an ever-expanding penal system that decides who and what should be criminalized. By nature of their design and goals, these displays fail to bridge the social distance of their onlookers. One small step in this direction would be the acknowledgement of forensics as a tool used not only to identify the guilty, but also exonerate the innocent. Although the focus would still be individualized, this would emphasize the fact that even convicted ‘criminals’ can be innocent and wrongfully entered into the penal system by way of the police (see Campbell and Denov, 2004). As of now, forensics is an important subject through which visitors at the three police museums imagine the ‘criminal’, and learn about how they are hunted and captured by the state through modern science.

5.1.2 – Covert

So, I looked it up in the encyclopedia and it seemed to fit what we were doing, even wrote down the verbatim explanation in my notebook, in case I had to explain ... The expectation of imminent cosmic cataclysm in which the supreme power destroys the ruling powers of evil and raises the righteous to a new life in a messianic kingdom. Greek origin – Apo – an uncovering of hidden things.

These are the words of retired Detective Inspector Ron Allen of the OPP, recounting the origins of the name for a 1982 wiretapping investigation dubbed Project Apocalypse. Visitors can read the story while examining the “Undercover and Surveillance” display at the OPP Museum. The aim of Project Apocalypse was to arrest a group of individuals suspected to be involved in criminalized activity, including a main target that had a lengthy history of smuggling illicit drugs across the Canada-US border. Five people were named in the investigation and eight phone lines were monitored from 9 December 1982 to 5 February 1983. As the OPP got closer to

substantiating charges “the targets got paranoid, somehow figuring out that something was going on” and the investigators failed to obtain sufficient information to lay charges. The display explains that no major arrests were laid, but Revenue Canada and the banks were able to seize many assets belonging to the targets, including a farm, real estate holdings, and a furniture business “that served as a front for criminal activity”. Owing money to many people, they were never seen or heard from again. Rumour had it that they were “terminated” by members of an organized ‘crime’ group for non-payment of drug-debt.

Previous research has highlighted the sharp contrast in the way penal system actors and those in conflict with the law are represented to visitors at museum settings. Chen et al. (forthcoming) explain how museums tend to emphasize prisoners as dangerous and cunning, while portraying staff through narratives of heroism, duty and sacrifice. In the process, “the division between “us” and “them” is clearly defined” (Chen et al., forthcoming). The re-telling of Project Apocalypse at the OPP Museum provides a particularly compelling example of the way penal discourses of ‘good’ and ‘evil’ and ‘us’ and ‘them’ are clearly defined in some of the stories shared by police museums. This narrative hints at some of the ideas that underpin the following section, which examines representations of covert surveillance practices inside the police museums. In Ron Allen’s story there is the implicit idea that the “imminent cosmic cataclysm” is a metaphor for an unavoidable clash of violence between the state (the supreme power) and the criminalized (the rulers of evil), where the avoidance of fear and death rests in the ability for the police to uncover the hidden truths leading to the incapacitation of the individuals in conflict with the law. While the investigation is hampered, the story is complete with the knowledge that the targets were still effectively neutralized, both within the law and likely beyond it. The lawful seizure of their private property by the supreme power led to their

probable destruction, as Ron Allen had once hoped – albeit at the hands of a more ruthless power of ‘evil’ that rules the underground.

This section of my thesis is titled ‘covert’ and in it I examine portrayals of covert surveillance practices inside the police museums. By covert surveillance, I mean the discrete, secretive investigative work undertaken by the police that infringes on a suspects’ private life, such as undercover operations and wiretapping (Loftus and Goold, 2011). I have included this category mainly because of its dominance in the exhibition at the OPP Museum. This theme is nonexistent at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre, with the site focusing heavily on the idea of genetic surveillance through a forensic DNA Data Bank. At the Toronto Police Museum, covert surveillance is not a major topic either, but does materialize in some of the stories shared around the site. Inside the OPP Museum, a display about surveillance represents an important area in the museum where meanings about penalty are conveyed to visitors. Similar to the forensics content at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre, I demonstrate how representations of covert surveillance validates the technological expertise of the state, while providing support for the monitoring of populations deemed to be ‘dangerous’ to the peace and safety of society.

At the OPP Museum, a large display near the middle of the site recounts the history of OPP surveillance practices (see Figure 12). One of the items displayed is a reproduction 1982 Project Apocalypse t-shirt. Creating t-shirts for members of specific police investigations was a well-established practice in the 1980’s. Imprinted on it is a skeleton riding a horse with the words underneath reading, ‘(maybe next year)’. The booklet notes that this image was inspired by two topics. The first is the horsemen of the apocalypse, which Margry (2004: 136) calls “one of the most powerful symbols and metaphors in Christian culture”. The horsemen are a group of mythical riders that represent the end of times. While no additional information is provided, the

skeletal rider suggests that this is a depiction of the fourth and final horseman, a pale horse ridden by a skeleton symbolizing death (Margry, 2004). The skeleton on the shirt also holds a broken lance and a battle shield is visible on the ground nearby, suggesting the design also incorporates elements of the second horse, a red horse symbolizing war (Margry, 2004). It is clear that members of this investigation interpreted the apocalyptic horsemen as benevolent beings and the police as being embedded in a conflict between good and evil, with the phrase below the image perhaps ominously hinting that an apocalypse for the targets would be coming soon, ‘maybe next year’. The booklet also notes that the image was partly inspired by the fact that one of the targets had a history of smuggling drugs across the border inside old horses.



Figure 12: Case #14 in the exhibit at the OPP Museum, titled “Undercover and Surveillance”

The display at the OPP museum also contains a number of other surveillance-related items. Exhibited is a mid-1980's briefcase surveillance camera used at the airport "when the OPP received information that a criminal 'underworld' figure was arriving or departing the province". Clicking a small red button near the briefcase handle triggered the shutter on the enclosed camera. Several black and white photos are also presented, one of them of Ron Allen working undercover as a fisherman in 1978 and another of Allen's car parked beside a suspect's vehicle. The photo beside the t-shirt is of a 'Satan's Choice' field meeting in 1969, which was a criminalized motorcycle group dominant in Ontario during the time. The booklet notes that the OPP once raided a Satan's Choice meeting using riot gear and tactics, however, it "proved inadequate in the face of the Choice's aggressive opposition". The OPP were threatened by the motorcycle group and forced to retreat, leading to increased training and a re-thinking of the tactics employed in such situations.

A mannequin of a female placed nearby represents the women who worked OPP undercover operations in the 1980's. The booklet explains the dangers faced by undercover female police officers. It notes how one officer who worked as a sex worker claimed her favourite accessory was her cowboy boots because they were able to conceal a knife, "just in case". Another story recounts the time when a female OPP officer was a "bodyguard to a former mobster's girlfriend-turned-witness who had been threatened in 1981 and was forced into hiding". Seven years later, an author published a book about the mistress that included a personal photograph of the officer, without her permission. This put the female officer's life in danger as she was working undercover at the time investigating a target that was "not a nice guy". The booklet notes that thankfully nothing became of the incident. Along with several smaller items, the final large item in the display is a black leather jacket, a Harley Davidson t-shirt and a

motorcycle helmet. This was an undercover outfit worn by an officer in the 1980's, for tasks such as "drug buys, providing physical and photographic surveillance, and serving as backup".

The booklet goes on to explain that the undercover officer wore the outfit while working as a taxi driver during project 'Hack' in Kingston, Ontario – an operation that resulted in the arrest over seventy people in ten months.

The topic of surveillance at the Toronto Police Museum and Discovery Centre arises momentarily in a few stories about criminalized harms. One example previously discussed is the Deliana Heng display, which features the work of an undercover officer successfully adopting the same hobby as the suspect. Another example can be found in a nearby display case (see Figure 13). The text in the display begins with the words, "Ricky and Dwane Atkinson led one of Toronto's most sophisticated criminal gangs... the 'Dirty Tricks' gang". The Dirty Tricks Gang was responsible for committing over fifty armed robberies in the late 1970's and early 1980's. Positioned in the display case are various objects, including make-up, spray paint, a wig, a balaclava, a nail-studded board and binoculars. According to the text, the gangs' method of operation was distinctive. They wore a variety of disguises, and "carefully selected bank and credit union branches that gave them an excellent chance of escaping". The group "used state-of-the-art communications equipment", and often stole a van and loaded it with nail-studded boards to throw at pursuing police cars. It was common for them to post lookouts who "could call off a planned robbery at the first sign of police presence". In 1981, four gang members were caught and another shot dead in an attempted bank robbery on Laird Drive in Toronto. Despite this setback, "the group was soon back in action". In August 1986, "following months of intense police surveillance, police were on the scene as the gang hit the same Laird Drive bank branch once again". The display concludes by noting that the gang members, including Ricky and

Dwane Atkinson, were caught and convicted of armed robbery.



Figure 13: A display at the Toronto Police Museum that recounts the criminalized exploits of the Dirty Tricks Gang

Scholars have identified a shift in state surveillance practices over the past century, from individualized forms of surveillance dominant in the early twentieth century to the mass surveillance that characterizes modern society (Lyon, 2001). According to Loftus and Goold (2012: 276), in the past state surveillance powers were directed “only at particular individuals who were deemed to be at risk or undeserving of trust”, whereas today these powers are directed towards most of the population. If we are to include the DNA database information prominent at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre, inside all three police museums the idea of surveillance is conveyed through representations that present these practices as reserved for only those deemed suspect or deviant, which shields visitors from encountering narratives in the museum pertaining

to the vast surveillance that Canadian police forces, as well as intelligence agencies, engage in (see Lyon, 2015).

While many topics shared inside the three police museum, such as forensics, educate visitors about modern practices, covert surveillance is not one of them. The absence of these narratives is not surprising, as it is a “controversial area of policing, operating in isolation from the visible street policing that the vast majority of us are so familiar with” (Loftus et al. 2016, p. 643). The fact that the OPP Museum puts the spotlight on the covert world of policing is unique in its desire to inform visitors about an “exceptionally hidden, concealed practice” (Loftus et al. 2016: 634). Modern day surveillance is a secretive topic that could evoke unwanted criticism towards the police and previous research has noted that police museums tend to sidestep content that does not “promote a positive public image” (Chazkel, 2012: 132; see also McNair, 2011; Buffington, 2012).

I explored the idea of controversial exhibits further during my interview with OPP Museum staff members. They explained to me that all museum content must be vetted by the OPP before display; however, the oversight is minimal and a great deal of freedom is provided to museum workers. With this said, one staff member noted, “we are not looking to embarrass this organization ... we know where our bread is buttered”. Similar to the findings of other research, my observations revealed that three police museums do not display subjects that could cause the practices of the parent police service to come under scrutiny. McNair (2011: 54) identified this in her analysis of the LAPHIS in Los Angeles, which she notes is “devoid of any allusions to any historical events that might challenge the museum’s pristine memorial to the LAPD”, notably the infamous beating of Rodney King. Below, I momentarily stray from the theme of covert surveillance to talk about a controversial event that received a great deal of media attention, but

is nowhere to be found inside the OPP Museum – the Ipperwash crisis.

The Ipperwash crisis was a territorial dispute in 1995 between the federal government and the Stony Point First Nation community that resulted in an unarmed Ojibwa man named Dudley George being unlawfully shot and killed by an OPP sniper (Edwards, 2001). The OPP Museum does not have a display about this incident, in which a great deal of criticism was levelled at the OPP for their actions (Edwards, 2001). The comments made by a staff member about its absence sheds some light into how police museum workers see the purpose of such sites and what “belongs” inside them:

Does the OPP Museum have a display about Ipperwash? No, we don't. It's not necessarily time for that yet. But what we do have is significant content from the Aboriginal Policing Bureau, and we have the backing that if someone wants to have a conversation about Ipperwash, we're certainly prepared for that. We could put you into connection with the people whose job it is to have those conservations. We're certainly not afraid of talking about our connections with Aboriginal policing and the greater political context, but that doesn't really belong, that's not a conversation that belongs to the museum. In those cases, we would facilitate conversations with people who those issues do belong to. Um, we certainly are aware of it and perhaps someday this will be an avenue to display those items, you know, what happened through the Ipperwash Inquiry, would be what we would focus on, um, the changes that happened to policing because of that. You know, the relationship with the George Family now, the fact we have Sam George's [brother of protestor killed] tree out on the front lawn, and what really the organization learned, that's what we would focus on.

In my view, the absence of an Ipperwash display at the OPP Museum can be attributed to two main reasons. The first is because the priority audience at the OPP Museum is police officers, not the general public. Buffington (2012: 159) noted something similar in his analysis of the Museo Histórico de la Policía in Mexico, which he asserts is “intended primarily to educate, motivate, and honor the police rather than attract the general public”. While the public is important to the OPP Museum, a staff member explained to me, “we aren't just about the public. We are at our core a museum for the members, the civilian and the uniform members”. The Ipperwash crisis is arguably absent because it would upset the museums celebratory focus and is not an event police

officers would enjoy reading or reminiscing about. The second and related reason is the potential for the topic to agitate the close relationship with the OPP and its members that the museum desperately relies on to exist. As one staff member put it, “if it weren’t for the personal relationships that we have with members of this organization, this museum would not function”.

Previous research has noted that critical memorialization practices inside penal history museums can play an important role in reducing the social distance of penal spectators. According to Fiander and colleagues (2016), including these subjects has the potential to “challenge the predominant discursive focus on prisoners as dangerous and prisons as necessary found elsewhere”. The inclusion of an Ipperwash display inside the OPP Museum could be a means of potentially reducing social distance and providing a more ‘balanced’ version of history that could facilitate new understandings for visitors (see Pollock, 2008; Simic, 2009; Lawrence, 2010). The imaginary display that the staff member envisions might play a role in challenging popular representations of the criminalized as dangerous, violent actors who deserve to be punished (Chen et al., forthcoming). It could also provoke thought about Indigenous peoples and the broader social and economic conditions which contribute to them coming into conflict with penal system actors and entering the ‘justice’ system more than the general population of Canada (see Piché, 2016). However, the greater political context is a conversation that the staff member feels does not ‘belong’ to the OPP Museum.

The inclusion of a critical display like Ipperwash might be beneficial for closing the social distance of not only of law-abiding citizens, but police officers as well. According to a staff member, “if you join the OPP since 2010, you come and hangout with us and you spend an hour and a half being taught the OPP history and welcomed into the club”. Indeed, the institution of the police museum has a rich history as a teaching facility for new police officers. Caimari

(2012: 144) notes how the BAPM in Argentina was originally established in 1899 as a pedagogical tool for law enforcement, serving to “teach recruits the secret language of the crime scene”. Chazkel (2012: 129) explains how police museums in Latin America “share a common concern with controlling and sanitizing the image of the police, while vigorously avoiding confronting the question of police criminality, corruption, and ineptitude”. A similar concern is shared by the three police museums in Ontario. Because the OPP Museum skips over historical events like Ipperwash, it misses an opportunity – if only for a brief moment – to educate future officers about the incident and (re)humanize the people these officers will be interacting with over the course of their careers. The chance for the museum to use history as a tool to introduce a critical perspective into the minds of recruits before they enter the policing world has not been taken, and according to a staff member the program serves as a “kind of salesmanship and some PR to make sure they are aware of what the museum has to offer them and to build pride in the organization”. Ultimately, the decision by all three police museums to avoid certain topics in their history yields a ‘feel-good’ experience for the visitor, which leaves preconceptions about criminalized harm and policing largely unchallenged and unchanged. Embracing critical memorialization practices could play a much-needed role in producing an environment of critique, challenge, and interrogation that Brown (2009) explains is required to close social distance between penal spectators and the criminalized (see also Fiander et al., 2016).

In regards to the subject of covert surveillance practices, the OPP Museum educates visitors about the ways past undercover operations helped the police gather evidence and arrest people responsible for criminalized harms. The major theme running through the surveillance display is the dangerous nature of such operations, as well as the ingenuity required by the police to infiltrate criminalized groups. The museum flaunts the invisible presence of the police over

the years through a display at the centre of the museum, but only shares information and stories from many years past. Meanwhile, surveillance of the public at the Toronto Police Museum is suppressed as a topic, but legitimated through the criminalized harms it helped to solve. The story of the Dirty Tricks Gang shifts focus away from the inventiveness of the police towards the intelligence of the criminalized. The museum asserts the gang was able to survive for so long due to their ‘distinctive’ and clever methods, which included using tools of reverse surveillance on law enforcement.

Research at other penal history sites has noted that those in conflict with the law are often represented to tourists as wicked and cunning individuals. For example, Wilson (2008) explains how images of improvised prisoner weapons and violent stories shared in Australian prison museums perpetuate these types of narratives, which help to further legitimize the perceived need for imprisonment. Chen et al., (forthcoming) explain how “artefacts of danger and cunningness” are common inside Canadian prison museums. They discuss how this idea is conveyed at the Federal Penitentiary Museum, a prison museum in Kingston, Ontario. The museum displays a stack of cafeteria trays that were hollowed out by a prisoner in a creative, yet unsuccessful, escape attempt (see also Ferguson et al., under review). Lock picking kits assembled by prisoners and collections of contraband weapons are also presented. The authors argue that these displays “imply prisoners are unpredictable and untrustworthy and stress the need for additional security measures and safety precautions to be taken when working with this population” (Chen et al., forthcoming). Described in more detail later on, ‘artefacts of danger and cunningness’ are common inside the Toronto Police Museum. In contrast, the OPP Museum is less willing to present the idea that those in conflict with the law are intelligent or cunning. Recall how the criminalized individuals in the Project Apocalypse story were able to dodge OPP

surveillance only because they “got paranoid” and “somehow” figured something was going on. Instead, the intelligence of the criminalized is implied through many stories that celebrate creative and dangerous police work undertaken to apprehend these individuals. These contrasting representational styles both convey a similar idea to the one identified by Chen and colleagues (forthcoming), that is, ‘dangerous’ populations who choose to defy the law are intelligent and unpredictable, and constant surveillance and safety precautions are required when attempting to apprehend them.

While discussing penal spectatorship as a form of subjectivity practice, Brown (2009) notes that surveillance is one topic that has the potential to elicit reflection about the subject position of certain groups, such as the incarcerated. She notes, “it is quite possible that citizens see themselves as the targets of surveillance in a culture of control (at school, work, home, etc.)” (Brown, 2009: 27). Many people feel as if they are consistently under a watchful eye that influences how they act and behave in their social life, which may open up chances to build empathy with penal subjects “who are state targets in a far more dramatic physical and material way” (Brown, 2009: 27). My findings revealed that the opportunity to locate this form of compassion and understanding through surveillance is largely closed off inside the police museums. The OPP Museum denies this kind of reflection by emphasizing the danger police put themselves in, and one cannot help feeling empathy for the past officers who risked their lives to protect the community and get the ‘bad guys’ off the streets. When the criminalized are the focus of the display, as is common at the Toronto Police Museum, extreme stories of violence may impede any sympathy the viewer would have for the targets.

The major theme of control and surveillance I identified from my research data does not directly engage spectators in the practice of punishment. However, Brown (2009: 65) explains

that one way to get at the role of penal spectatorship is “through images which many of us do not at first glance conceptualize as penal”. As I have demonstrated, the control and surveillance of ‘dangerous’ populations by law enforcement operates as a significant means through which visitors can imagine, produce, and engage in the cultural work that legitimizes penalty and social control. The theme also helps to reveal the absence of certain contentious subjects inside the three police museums, topics like police killings and modern surveillance practices that might play a role in challenging the social distance of museum visitors. In the next section, I build off some of the examples mentioned above and examine the most important site of penal spectatorship inside the three police museums – mementos and stories of criminalized harm.

5.2 – Memento and Story

In an article recently published in *Theoretical Criminology*, Linnemann (2016: 2) critically engages with a “pervasive and somewhat overlooked image” used in police work, the trophy shot. He conceives of the trophy shot as a “visual self-representation of accomplishment and/or possession”, meaning a subject stands with an object signifying victory and success (Linnemann, 2016: 2). In policing, a trophy shot is the practice of photographing an officer standing beside seized property, such as a large sum of money, weapons, illicit drugs or even a notorious ‘criminal’. These images often accompany a press release after a ‘major bust’ or are informally taken by officers to celebrate an event. Drawing from recent work in visual criminology, he presents the idea that trophy shots are also “representation of the state’s prerogative to search, seize and accumulate private property” (Linnemann, 2016: 2). Rather than seeing trophy shots as proof of extraordinary police work, he argues that we should consider these celebratory images as powerful evidence of the way police power regulates market

relations, is dependent on lawful violence and actively reproduces a capitalist social order. He brings up the phrase ‘proof of life’, which describes visual evidence meant to prove a person is still alive, such as a kidnap victim or prisoner of war. He develops the concept ‘proof of death’ to describe a similar practice of seizure and display used by trophy hunters, Indigenous warriors, and drug-traffickers to preserve the memory of a special kill. If we consider police trophy shots as a similar form of representational practice, Linnemann (2016) believes we can begin to untangle the ways the police themselves are involved in celebrating domination and death.

Linnemann’s (2016) critique of the police trophy shot provides an important starting point for thinking about some of the ideas that are discussed in this section. My findings revealed that the three police museums serve as trophy rooms to display police achievements. The concept of trophy room serves a double meaning – partly referring to the rich collections of police awards and medals on display, as well as referring to collections of trophy shots and physical objects seized from those in conflict with the law. The latter sense of meaning is what I have in mind when I refer to the word ‘trophy’ in this section. Displays of seized objects are common in prison museums, usually coming in the form of contraband and weapons taken from prisoners (Walby and Piché, 2015; Chen et al., forthcoming; Wilson, 2008). Indeed, one of the newest exhibitions at the Federal Penitentiary Museum showcases “hundreds of prison shivs ... confiscated from inmates at Millhaven Institution between 2004 and 2008” (Gibson, 2016). Some examples of trophies from the Toronto Police Museum have been already mentioned in previous sections of this chapter. These include the items belonging to Deliana Heng taken from the home of Tien Poh Su, as well as the assortment of objects the Dirty Tricks Gang used to elude police capture.

Trophy is one component of the wider concept of memento, which is the general focus of this section. By definition, a memento is an object kept as a reminder of a person or event.

Mementos can be found everywhere inside penal history museums and even purchased by visitors in gift shops. Luscombe and colleagues (2015) explain how visitors to Canadian prison museums can purchase a variety of punishment-oriented goods as a reminder of their visit ‘behind bars’, including mugs and clothing embossed with prison images, prisoner-crafted souvenirs, and toy handcuffs. Some prison museums also allow tourists to dress up in jail costumes and have their photo taken in a cell, an opportunity that is also available at the Vancouver Police Museum (Luscombe et al., 2015; Jun, 2013). In contrast, the police museum gift shops I visited mostly contain selections of police-themed clothing, posters, pins and books. Some punishment-oriented goods are mixed in, such as toy handcuffs at the Mountie Shop, a booklet of mug shots at the Off Duty ShOPP, and handcuff pins at the Toronto Police Museum gift shop. Inside the police museums themselves, letters, photographs, uniforms, plaques, newspaper clippings and badges are just a few types of mementos one can expect to encounter when exploring such sites. My findings revealed that certain types of mementos – objects that evoke reflection on past criminalized harms – are important sites of penal spectatorship inside the police museums. Combined with stories, these displays serve as powerful reminders of past criminality and freeze moments in time when great police work led to the seizure of an illicit object, the discovery of illegal operation, or the capture of a notorious individual.

In the first section below, I discuss the display of trophies and trophy shots inside the three police museums in greater depth. After, I identify three categories that most mementos of criminalized harm inside police museums can be associated with: Victim, Guilt and Punishment. Because penal relics can be legitimately interpreted in many ways (Walby and Piché, 2011), the exact category an object falls into may shift depending on how the viewer interprets it and its role in the story. However, these categories helpfully reveal how mementos and stories of

criminalized harm shared inside police museums allow audiences to witness and take part in all aspects of the process – from the days before a criminalized harm occurs to the punishment of the person deemed culpable – as spectator (Brown, 2009; Linnemann, 2015).

5.2.1 – Trophy

From guns to drugs to weapons, items can be seized because they were used in the commission of a crime, or because it is illegal to possess them in Ontario.

– Case #8, “Seized” at the OPP Museum

The idea that police museums serve as trophy rooms is true when describing all three sites. At the Toronto Police Museum, trophies come predominantly in the form of physical objects. In contrast, the RCMP Musical Ride Centre displays numerous trophy shots around the site, while the OPP Museum presents a mix of both. As the text from Case #8 at the OPP Museum explains, the police in Canada have the lawful right to seize an object if it is illegal or they suspect it has been used in criminalized activity. Over the years, the police have taken many trophy shots and confiscated numerous objects, and some of them might be interesting enough to wind up on display inside a police museum. Trophies on display inside police museums are usually objects that are exceptional in some way. Like the trophy shot Linnemann (2016) describes, physical trophies usually represent a unique and particularly special find that makes them worthy for public viewing. In rare cases, the object itself is not noteworthy (e.g. a gun), but the criminalized individual who once held it is. Not all trophies induce pleasant associations for the viewer either, as some objects, such as the necklace and ring belonging to Deliana Heng, reflect the pain and death of victims.

A collection of trophies can be found inside the OPP Museum at a display titled “Seized”, which is located near some old police uniforms. On the wall there are eight trophy shots (see

Figure 14). These photographs range in age and depict police officers posing with a variety of seized material, including weapons, drugs, money, and animal fur. Some of the photographs are absent of people, lacking the self-representation that Linnemann (2016) notes to be a defining feature of such photos. These images can still be understood as trophy shots as it is implied illicit material has been seized and is now in possession of the state. Below the photos are three small display cases that contain an assortment of objects seized by OPP officers during the course of their duties. The first case contains a spiked ring, a shuriken (more commonly known as a throwing or ninja star), sharp-edged throwing cards in a wallet, and a mace that was voluntarily handed over to an OPP officer due to its dangerous nature. The second case holds a Fabrique Nationale Modele 1900, which is a Belgian handgun that was seized in Colbalt, Ontario in the early 20th century by one of the first OPP officers assigned to the “rough and tumble frontier settlement”. It also contains a pepperbox revolver taken from a sex worker in the 1930’s. This is a fairly rare gun that resembles a household pepper grinder and was popular up until the time of the American Civil War (1860’s). In display case number three there is a butterfly knife, a butane lighter shaped like a gun, a lipstick knife and a hashish pipe.

objects used for criminalized means and seized by the police are triumphantly displayed as trophies. These displays emphasize the intelligence of those in conflict with the law, but provide proof that the items are off the street and reassurance that the police are always in the position of power and supremacy (Linnemann, 2016). In the paragraph below, I provide another example of how this dynamic manifests in a trophy display at the Toronto Police Museum.

In a glass case outside of the mock police station is the head of a mannequin, an artificial foot and a gun (see Figure 15). This unique ensemble of relics is a display about “some of Toronto’s most notorious criminals” – the Boyd Gang. According to the display, the Boyd Gang consisted of Edwin Alonzo Boyd, Leonard Jackson, William Jackson and Valent Lesso (alias Steve Suchan). Between 1949 and 1952, this group committed at least ten bank robberies and escaped twice from the Don Jail. On 6 March 1952, “public outrage against them reached a peak” when they shot two police officers, one fatally. Before he died, Sergeant of Detectives Edmund Tong told police that Steve Suchan was the one who had shot him. Police arrested the gang members, discovering firearms and a mannequin head in their possession, which “showed that the gang had been perfecting their shooting skills with target practice”. Behind bars at the Don Jail, the group then made an escape “more daring than the first one”. They fashioned a key to their cell door and “cut a second-story window’s bars with a saw that had been concealed in the boot of Leonard’s Jacksons artificial foot”. After a large manhunt, they were captured in an abandoned barn. All four gang members were convicted of armed robbery and auto theft. The text concludes by noting that Leonard Jackson and Steve Suchan were executed by hanging for the murder of Edmund Tong.



Figure 15: A display at the Toronto Police Museum that recounts the criminalized exploits of the Boyd Gang

Central to the Boyd Gang display at the Toronto Police Museum is a theme commonly encountered inside penal history museums. This is the theme of prison escape, which Ferguson and colleagues (under review) note is shared inside at least 22 of the 45 prison museums in Canada, mostly at larger sites. The authors explain that escape narratives are often conveyed to guests inside penal history museums through storytelling and arrangements of relics. Some escape relics that can be found inside prison museums are the tied bed sheets used in a escape attempt on display at the Keillor House Museum in Dorchester, New Brunswick, and a 1914 wanted poster for a man that escaped the City of Winnipeg Police Station found at the St. Claude Gaol Museum, in St. Claude, Manitoba. The authors also discuss the cafeteria trays hollowed out by a prisoner in a failed escape attempt on display at the Federal Penitentiary Museum (see also Chen et al., forthcoming). Ferguson et al., (under review) argue that “combined with storytelling,

relics of escape carefully positioned within museum space provide a tangible reminder of escape and the ingenuity of prisoners in circumventing prison security”. The artificial foot of Leonard Jackson is another example of a unique escape relic on display inside a Canadian penal history museum. Carefully positioned beside a gun and a mannequin head with a bullet hole in the eye – and contextualized in a story about a slain police officer – the story about the infamous ‘criminals’ reinforces the common perception that those in conflict with the law are cunning and dangerous people who deserve to be locked up (Chen et al., forthcoming). Through the Boyd Gang display, penal spectators are afforded a rare glimpse into the prison at a police museum, but one that draws on the prison trope of ‘the fantastic escape’ that Brown (2009) explains is prolific throughout popular culture.

Wilson (2008) argues that prison escape is an ‘entertaining’ aspect of prison life that penal history museums often exploit to meet commercial goals and attract public interest, but in the process can neglect and trivialize the lived experiences of confinement that may provoke such acts in the first place. This can be seen in the Boyd Gang display at the Toronto Police Museum, which emphasizes the ‘daring’ escape and capture of the gang, while making no mention of the jail itself or its conditions. Thus, the penal spectator is kept at a social distance from the realities of incarceration. This display reveals how police museums can play a role in fuelling what Ross (2015) calls ‘prison voyeurism’. These are fun and entertaining interactions about prison that fail to provide any deep or critical engagement with the subject matter. Prison voyeurism is problematic because “it perpetuates myths and misconceptions about corrections, and these myths and misconceptions frustrate society’s ability to reform corrections” (Ross, 2015: 388-389). Applying this concept to the police museum allows us to see how the messages shared about escape in the Boyd Gang display play a role in impeding society’s ability to escape

the prison and move beyond punitive methods of dealing with criminalized harm.

In contrast to the other two museums, the RCMP Musical Ride Centre is absent of physical trophies, but instead displays numerous trophy shots around the site. A large set of trophy shots are presented on a display board titled “Organized Crime”, which is adjacent to the boards discussing the DNA Data Bank. Visible at the bottom are two photos of seized materials, contraband cigarettes found in a vehicle and firearms seized as part of Project E-Portal in 2006. The RCMP Musical Ride Centre does not go into detail or explain the different ‘Projects’ that resulted in the seized materials. Also displayed on this board are four photographs of captured suspects being escorted in handcuffs by the police, representing a ‘perp-walk’ trophy photo (see Linneman, 2016). Nearby, a display board titled “National Security” shares a picture of “bags of ammonium nitrate seized as part of Project OSAGE in June 2006”. The text notes, “ammonium nitrate is a fertilizer which can also be used as an explosive for bomb-making”. On the opposite side of the museum is a poster board dedicated to banknote security. Attached to the board are two twenty-dollar bills and two hundred-dollar bills behind glass cases, with the text reading, “Real of Fake: Can you spot the difference?” Below are four images, of which three are trophy shots (see Figure 16). The first is of a “sophisticated counterfeiting operation”, while the second shows a captured “smaller, home-based operation”. The third photo depicts “counterfeit banknotes seized during an RCMP investigation”.



Figure 16: A display at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre that discusses banknote security and RCMP counterfeit investigations

In my fieldwork and analysis, I found that trophies are important components of exhibitions inside the three police museums. This includes trophy shots of officers posing with seized material and captured suspects, as well as physical trophies themselves. All three police museums serve as a trophy rooms where police agencies can proudly display their special ‘finds’ to gain admiration and recognition from the viewing public. Along with the distribution of trophy shots in press releases, police museums are another area where the “narcissistic dimension of the police power” (Linnemann, 2016: 3) surfaces. All three police museums function as spaces for the police to gloat about their accomplishments and the misfortune of the ‘criminals’ who crossed their paths. These trophies also, as Linnemann (2016: 4) explains, “reaffirm the state’s lawful violence, its powers to hunt, capture and if necessary kill its subjects”. They help reproduce the myth that police represent the ‘thin blue line’ between order and chaos, fostering

conditions which promote support for increased police powers that in the eyes of many will never be sufficient enough “to confront the forces of barbarism and disorder” (Ryan, 2011: 19).

Police officers are not the only penal system actors that are represented as walking the thin blue line inside museums. Chen and colleagues (forthcoming) uncovered a similar finding in their analysis of captor and captive representations at Canadian prison museums. The authors explain how prisoners tend to be represented as dangerous and cunning through displays of seized contraband, as well as through stories about escapes and acts of violence against guards or other prisoners. In contrast, prison guards are depicted as the “epitome of honour and duty, voluntarily taking on the task of protecting society against prisoners – the public enemy” (Chen et al., forthcoming). The authors argue that these types of depictions can heighten “the potential of fostering solidarity between penal spectators and enforcers of the law, while simultaneously expanding the social distance between tourists and the ‘othered’ group of prisoners”. Similarly, trophy displays inside the three police museums can play a role in fostering feelings of pride and admiration for the work of police, along with resentment for the ‘criminals’ who willingly hid illicit material from the state, generating a dynamic inside the penal history museum which Chen and colleagues (forthcoming) claim can foster social distance. At the OPP Museum and Toronto Police Museum, trophies are often combined with other mementos of ‘crime’ to memorialize a past criminalized harm. I have separated these mementos into three general categories based on the remnants of the experiences they tend to reflect, beginning with the pain and death of a victim.

5.2.2 – Victim

A suspected murderer who escaped while awaiting trial was the suspect of a large-scale manhunt during the summer of 1975...

– Case #35, “Cloud II – A Hero’s Life” at the OPP Museum

Mementos of criminalized harm displayed at the OPP Museum and Toronto Police Museum are sometimes associated with victims. Their presentation signifies that an individual has experienced pain and death at the hands of another. In most cases, they are reflective of victims who have died. These objects convey complex symbolic meanings and sometimes play the role of a *memento mori* inside the police museum (e.g. a skull or urn), reminding the viewer of the fragility of life by showcasing the brutality of criminalized harm. Their existence inside the police museum serves as a memorial to both the event and victim, preserving the memory of the person and confirming to onlookers that a life was cut short by an unlawful act. At the Toronto Police Museum, these mementos are usually everyday items that once belonged to a victim or are objects representative of the brutality of their death, such as a murder weapon. The exhibition at the OPP Museum focuses less on true ‘crime’ stories and as a result victim mementos are less common. However, I discuss how examples can be found enshrined in a display dedicated to a police dog named Cloud II and in a display about a fallen police officer.

At the Toronto Police Museum, mementos of victims are present in two major areas. The first area is outside the mock police station in the display cases that recount infamous criminalized harms. For example, they are present in the Deliana Heng display in the form of her necklace and ring found in the home of Tien Poh Su, as well as the cord of the iron that was used to strangle her to death. Nearby, spectators can view the actual steel hammer that Ralph Power used to strike the head of Sheryl Gardner, “a beautiful twenty-year old model” he stalked and murdered in 1981. The hammer is situated in a glass case beside a utilities repairman’s

outfit, the disguise Ralph wore to trick Sheryl and gain entry into her home the night he murdered her (see Figure 17). This outfit is another example of how the Toronto Police Museum displays objects that signify the violent and cunning nature of criminalized individuals, a common practice at penal history museums that has been argued to produce social distance between tourists and those in conflict with the law (see Chen et al. forthcoming; Ferguson et al., under review).



Figure 17: A display at the Toronto Police Museum that recounts the 1981 murder of Sheryl Gardner

Along with items such as jewellery and clothing, mementos of victims come in the form of other personal possessions at the Toronto Police Museum. One of the display cases outside the mock police station holds a typewriter ribbon and several written materials, including a diary. The accompanying text notes that this is the diary of 47 year-old librarian Susan O’Neal, who in

January 1989 noted in it that she was worried about the “persistent pattern of lying” coming from her husband, 45 year-old Ron Adamson. Several months later, Ron began calling friends of Susan telling them that Susan’s elderly aunt had died and they would be away for a while attending the funeral in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. Police soon found out that Susan had no elderly aunt and that Adamson had used her banking card to take money from her account. Adamson was traced to Chicago where police found a typewriter ribbon he had used to forge a letter of authorization to get money from a relative of Susan. According to the display, this was the first time in Toronto Metropolitan history that a murder charge had been laid prior to the recovery of a body. The remains of O’Neal were found four months after her disappearance in a North York ravine and Adamson was convicted of second-degree murder.

The second area in the Toronto Police Museum where mementos of victims can be found is a memorial to police officers killed in the line of duty (see Figure 18). These types of displays have been noted to be common inside police museums and other types of penal history museums (see Buffington, 2012; Chazkel, 2012; Chen et al., forthcoming). The memorial to fallen police officers inside the Toronto Police Museum is located in the third and final section of the museum. The display forms a zigzag pattern of several display cases along the ground, with each case containing the hat of a fallen officer. A small photo of each officer and notation about how they died is provided below, which in most cases was due to a criminalized harm. Another memorial to fallen officers is located nearby.



Figure 18: A memorial display at the Toronto Police Museum to officers killed in the line of duty

A memorial to fallen OPP officers is situated outside the OPP Museum in the OPP General Headquarters. It is a large plaque titled “Honour Roll” and contains the names of the officers who “gave their lives in the service of the people of Ontario”. Several items are in a display case below the plaque, including some medals and police hats. As a whole, the OPP Museum focuses less on true ‘crime’ stories than the Toronto Police Museum. A staff member explained to me, “we are very careful to ensure that the primary focus is on policing and the police officers and not the criminals and their notoriety”. OPP Museum staff members do not feel like they need to share these stories because, “they are already out there in the world”. According to one staff member the goal of the OPP Museum is to “tell stories that aren’t traditionally being told from the perspective of people who were actually investigating the crimes”. As such, mementos and stories reflecting true ‘crimes’ are less common at the OPP

Museum in comparison to the Toronto Police Museum. They are still present, however, and in the text below I discuss two areas where mementos of victims can be found.

Near the centre of the OPP Museum is a display dedicated to memorializing the life and times of an OPP police dog named Cloud II. According to the booklet, the 90-pound German Shepard was a well-known member of the OPP's canine team in the 1970's. Cloud II was trained in search and rescue work, apprehending escaped persons and searching out hidden caches of drugs. During his four-year partnership with Provincial Constable Ray Carson, they succeeded in "capturing 123 fugitives". The two of them even appeared on the Canadian comedy quiz show *Front Page Challenge* on 5 November 1974. One day, Cloud II and Carson were tasked with in capturing "three escaped juvenile offenders who were presumed to be armed". They approached a fishing hut where two of them were suspected to be hiding. On command, Cloud II entered the hut and emerged with a loaded rifle. The dog then forced the other to give up a knife. The third escapee had run off earlier, and Cloud II tracked him down and disarmed him of a large club. For his "unflinching courage against great odds", Cloud II was elected into the Purina Animal Hall of Fame presently located in Toronto near the shores of Lake Ontario on 12 September 1974.

Less than a year later in the summer of 1975, Carson and Cloud II were one of the canine teams involved in a large-scale manhunt for a "suspected murderer" who had escaped in the North Bay area. Carson and Cloud II picked up the "suspects trail" and stumbled upon him outside a cabin in a bush clearing 25 miles east of Sudbury. In the attempt to apprehend him, the fugitive drew a .30-.30 rifle and shot Cloud II, fatally wounding him. The fugitive was captured later that afternoon. Cloud II is the only OPP dog to have been killed in the line of duty and he was the first police dog to be killed in Ontario. He was buried in a large ceremony on the grounds of the OPP District Headquarters in North Bay. When the OPP eventually moved to a

new site, local officers did not want “to leave him behind”. His remains have now “found a permanent home” in the OPP Museum. They are enshrined in a display alongside three pictures of Cloud II, including one with Ray Carson (see Figure 19). His display celebrates his memory and serves as a memento of the sacrifice he made.



Figure 19: Case #35 in the exhibit at the OPP Museum, titled “Cloud II - A Hero's Life”

Near the Cloud II display in the OPP Museum visitors can view more mementos of a victim. Case #38 in the exhibition is titled “Honour Roll” and features three photos and a pair of cracked goggles (see Figure 20). According to the display, the goggles were the ones worn by Provincial Constable Russell Lemon when he was stuck and killed in a hit-and-run incident. Lemon was initially a Highway Traffic Officer and transferred into the OPP in 1930. On 11 March 1934, Lemon was conducting a routine traffic stop in Kitchener, Ontario when he noticed

a problem with the rear lights on the vehicle. As he proceeded to the back of the car, he was “struck by a passing Oldsmobile... thrown seventy-five feet” and killed instantly. The driver was charged with manslaughter, but the case was dismissed and the driver only had to pay a fine under the *Highway Traffic Act* for failing to remain at the scene of the accident. Accompanying the goggles in the display are two photographs of Lemon and one of his fellow officers leading his funeral march.



Figure 20: Case #38 in the exhibit at the OPP Museum, titled “Honour Roll”

My findings and analysis revealed that mementos commemorating victims of criminalized harm are present inside two of the police museums I examined. These objects and their accompanying stories can elicit uncomfortable feelings for the viewer such as sadness, fear, disgust and anger. Displays that represent fallen police officers, including police dogs, may also

bring about feelings of pride and admiration for the sacrifice they made. Buffington (2012) explains that walls of honour are a common feature of police museums. He describes one in the Museo Histórico de la Policía in Mexico that commemorates “the men and women who have given their lives to protect Jalisco” (Buffington, 2012: 159). He notes that this display has been created primarily for the police, not the general public. It functions as a means to boost morale and a sense of collective identity among police officers, in the face of a public that will quickly forget the death of an officer. My findings are a bit different, as the sites I visited are more geared toward the general public than the Histórico de la Policía, which Buffington (2012: 159) claims “holds little of interest even for a diehard museumgoer”. As such, displays about police officers who have been killed in the line of duty hold special meaning for police officers and their families, and also help to strengthen the respect and appreciation most everyday visitors already have for the work of the police.

Along with police museums, prison museums may also serve as shrines for fallen penal system actors. Chen and colleagues (forthcoming) explain how “penal system actors injured or killed in the line of duty” are often memorialized inside Canadian prison museums “for their heroism and sacrifice for the safety of the larger community”. They discuss one example of a display at the Keillor House Museum in Dorchester of a prison guard named Officer Masterson, who was stabbed and killed during a riot. Much like the Provincial Constable Russell Lemon display at the OPP Museum, the Keillor House Museum shares the tragic details of the events next to a photograph taken at the officer’s funeral. What is absent in these displays, the authors argue, are “the long observed power imbalances between prisoners and prison staff that foster resentment amongst these actors that can erupt into conflict and the loss of life”. Indeed, this type of information is also absent from the content inside the police museums. While both sites share

the tragic outcomes of such events for individual police officers, they do not reflect upon the underlying structural factors and issues in society (e.g. poverty, racism, colonialism) that can often breed hatred for the police and facilitate violence against them. As of now, displays commemorating victims inside police museum – both everyday citizens and police officers – are important means through which empathy and sympathy is built for victims, while disdain is built for ‘criminals’. As Chen and colleagues (forthcoming) argue, in settings like museums these types of representations can produce social distance between penal spectators and those in conflict with the law. In the next section, I discuss another type of ‘crime’ memento encountered inside the police museum, an object signifying the guilt of the ‘offender’.

5.2.3 – Guilt

A man murdered his mother and sunk her body in a lake ... when her body surfaced three years later, the head had these two metal tips lodged in it. They were broken off ends of these etching tools, which officers found at the son's home. Police also found this bludgeon with her blood it. The son was convicted of murder.

The text above is a story that was briefly mentioned in the ‘forensic’ section of this chapter. It can be found at the Toronto Police Museum below an antique forensics kit, next to eight small etching tools that were found at the son’s home. Two of these tools are missing tips, which are placed off to the side to signify they are the one’s that were found lodged in the deceased mother’s head. Beside the tools sits a wooden bludgeon, assumed to be the one implicated in the story. These objects can be interpreted as another memento of ‘crime’, objects signifying the guilt of a suspect. Through different visual means, these objects confirm that effective police work captured the right person. They may provide satisfaction for the visitor and leave little doubt that the guilty party has been caught. The object might have been seized from

the ‘offender’, and in this case serves as a trophy that also symbolizes the victim and the trauma experienced. The etching tools and bludgeon noted above, as well as the necklace and ring in the Deliana Heng display, are a few examples of the way mementos of criminalized harms can have multiple meanings attached to them depending on how the visitor interprets them. These objects are common in displays at the Toronto Police Museum. The OPP Museum also shares one example in their exhibit, which is part of a display that will be discussed in an upcoming section.

At the Toronto Police Museum, these mementos can be found situated in several of the display cases recounting infamous criminalized harms. The clearest example of a memento of guilt is found in the case re-telling the murder of Sheryl Gardner in 1981. Situated beside the hammer that Ralph Power used as a murder weapon is a cassette tape. According to the text below, “this tape contains Power’s chilling confession of all the details of his crime”. Several feet to the left is a display case that showcases a large x-ray of a human skull with three brackets driven into it. Below the image there are three L-shaped brackets, two shoes and a picture of a bloody footprint (see Figure 21). According to the text, on 29 July 1989, a man named Martin Robichaud went to a bar to drink with a friend. That night, he met a stranger named George Caron who invited Robichaud back to his place for more beer. He ended up sleeping over and, in the middle of the night, was awakened by Caron’s sexual advances. Robichaud “broke 6 beer bottles and a jar on Caron’s head and slashed him repeatedly. Then he drove these three L-shaped brackets into Caron’s head”. After Caron was dead, Robichaud ransacked his apartment and spent the rest of the night at a hostel. The next day, police at the murder scene found a bloody footprint on the carpet. Robichaud was arrested the following day. He had blood on his hands and was still wearing the same blood stained clothes. His shoe matched the footprint found at the scene. The text concludes by noting that Robichaud was convicted of first-degree murder.



Figure 21: A display at the Toronto Police Museum that recounts the 1989 murder of George Caron⁸

The George Caron display is a good example of how different types of mementos provide conduits for memorializing the experience of a criminalized harm at the Toronto Police Museum. The most prominent object in the display is a literal ‘proof of death’ (Linnemann, 2016) and captivating memento reflecting the pain and trauma of a victim – the x-ray of George Caron’s punctured skull. The photo and shoes work together to provide confirmation and satisfaction that the guilty party was caught. The shoes of Robichaud are positioned as trophy beside the bloody footprint found by the police at George Caron’s home. To finish the visual presentation, the bottom of one of Robichaud’s shoes is pointing upwards. This positioning encourages visitors to examine its tread patterning and compare it to the bloody footprint, allowing spectators to

⁸ As I was taking this picture, a child stepped in front of the camera to get a better glimpse of the display. There were many children playing at a nearby police car and one strayed from the group. I have included this picture because I believe it effectively captures the curiosity generated by these types of displays.

confirm with their own eyes that the guilty party was caught, the murder of George Caron has been solved, and justice in the form of individualized accountability has been served.

My findings uncovered that mementos of a suspect's guilt are important components in some displays inside police museums, mainly at the Toronto site. Combined with a focus on forensic science, the Toronto Police Museum perpetuates the idea that the guilt of a suspect is relatively easy to establish through police work and 'crime-solving' is a straightforward process. Applicable to many of the mementos and stories of criminalized harm shared at this site is Christie's (1986) theory of the 'ideal victim', which is often used by criminologists when discussing the construction of victims in news media. According to Christie (1986: 18), an ideal victim is "a person or a category of individual who – when hit by crime – most readily are given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim". He describes two common attributes, the first being that the victim is weak and vulnerable, and the second being that the victim is completely innocent and blameless for their fate. The ideal victim runs up against the 'ideal offender', a 'big and bad' person that is unrelated to the victim. One of his points is that there are a lot of preconceptions about 'crime' victims in society and real-life victims are sometimes not taken seriously when they are measured up to these ideal types. The stereotype of the ideal victim prevalent in news media makes it difficult for us to see what actual victims of 'crime' and 'offenders' are really like (Christie, 1986).

Christie's work encourages us to ask the following question: What types of victims are represented inside police museums, and why? Many victims in the stories shared at the Toronto Police Museum are completely blameless, law-abiding citizens who have had heinous acts committed against them. Some of these subjects run up against the so-called 'ideal offender', or in Christie's words, "a dangerous man coming from far away" (Christie, 1986: 26). Meanwhile,

the experiences of populations in society that face a great deal of victimization, such as sex workers, are not present. Indeed, most ‘criminals’ are not predatory strangers, and most victims are not weak and completely ‘blameless’ in their conduct, and yet this is a dominant representation conveyed in the stories shared about criminalized harm at the Toronto Police Museum. In the next section of this thesis, I will reveal how the ‘ideal victim’ also presents itself in a display at the OPP Museum. Connecting this idea back to Brown’s (2009) theory of penal spectatorship, it is evident that reinforcing the ideal victim/offender stereotypes in a setting like the police museum can produce social distance between law-abiding citizens and the real world complexities of criminalized harm.

5.2.4 – Punishment

After considerable controversy, the two men were hanged in a makeshift gallows within the Fort Francis Jailhouse. Two ropes were tied to heavy beams and suspended down through the holes cut in the ceiling and both lower floors of the jail. For added strength, the ropes were then anchored to the legs of an upstairs bathtub.

– Case #43, The ‘Hot Stove’ Murder, The OPP Museum

The third identifiable memento of criminalized harm encountered inside the two police museums is associated with the punishment of the criminalized. While most stories finish with text noting court-imposed sentences, in the OPP Museum and Toronto Police Museum there is one display that contains mementos of their punishment. In both cases the punishment is execution by hanging and the displayed objects provides evidence of a criminalized person’s death. Displays about hanging, including those featuring nooses, have also been noted to be present inside some Canadian prison museums (see Piché et al., forthcoming). Inside the two police museum noted above, these displays are accompanied by a memento signifying the guilt of the criminalized person, which provides viewers with a tangible guarantee that the ‘right’

people were caught and executed. Below, I examine both of these displays and their associated stories. These are the 1961 murder of Therland Crater and his girlfriend at the Toronto Police Museum and the 1944 murder of Viola Jamieson at the OPP Museum, dubbed the 'Hot Stove' murder.

At the Toronto Police Museum, one of display cases outside the mock police station recounts the story of Arthur Lucas and his execution for the murder of Therland Crater and his girlfriend, who is not named (see Figure 22). Positioned inside the case is a box of pills, a powdery substance, a ring and a hangman's noose. The display begins, "In November, 1961, Arthur Lucas purchased a supply of heroin from Therland Crater". Lucas sold these drugs to a "several Detroit pushers who complained they had more baking powder in them than Lucas's mothers Sunday biscuits". Angered, Lucas went to Therland's home near Bathurst and Dupont. He shot him four times and slit his throat. When Crater's girlfriend attempted to call the police, Lucas "slit her throat, too". As he did so, his ring flew off. Lucas then fled to Detroit and threw his gun out the window as he drove over a freeway bridge. Soon after, police found the ring at the murder scene and the "blood-soaked gun" on a sidewalk. An officer later remembered questioning a Detroit man named Arthur Lucas a while back about Crater's girlfriend. Toronto police officers built a case against Lucas, and witnesses identified his ring and gun. The display concludes by noting that Arthur Lucas was convicted of murder, and on 11 December 1962 "became the last man ever to be hanged in Canada". The display of his ring can be read as signifying his guilt, while the hangman's noose provides a memento of his punishment.



Figure 22: A display at the Toronto Police Museum that recounts the criminalized exploits of Arthur Lucas and his eventual execution

The OPP Museum only has one area that resembles the numerous true ‘crime’ displays found at the Toronto Police Museum. As seen in the story about Cloud II, the OPP Museum rarely mentions the names of the criminalized or discusses their punishment. It is unclear what became of the fugitive who was caught after shooting and killing Cloud II. The exception to this is Case #43, which recounts the assault and murder of Viola Jamieson in 1944 (see Figure 23). The display is located directly at the entrance of the museum, but is one of the last cases in the exhibition if the visitor is following the guide. The booklet begins, “In 1944, Ontario was shocked by the ‘Hot Stove’ murder”. Four men assaulted Mrs. Viola Jamieson at her home near Flanders, Ontario and tortured her on the kitchen stove. She was “unable to identify her attackers when interviewed by police” and succumbed to burn injuries in the hospital less than a month later. Fingerprint evidence placed two brothers at the scene, George and Anthony (Tony)

Skrypnyk. An overheard conversation in a café linked another man to the murder, Eino Tillonen. A fourth man confessed his involvement to a female friend and later named his accomplices to the police. All four men confessed their involvement, each telling a different version of events.

The trial took place in Fort Frances, Ontario and resulted in four death sentences. The jury recommended mercy for Tillonen and his sentence was commuted to life in prison. The booklet explains that the “circumstances surrounding the hanging deaths of Schmidt and the Skrypnyk brothers are unusual”. There were no appropriate facilities at Fort Frances. The Kenora jail was suggested as a site; however, this was denied on the basis that the guilty should be punished in the district where they committed the criminalized offence. They decided to construct a makeshift gallows in the Fort Frances jailhouse. The booklet concludes by noting that, after this “considerable controversy”, the three men were hanged on 1 March 1945.



Figure 23: Case #43 in the exhibit at the OPP Museum, titled “The Hot Stove Murder”

There are several items on display in Case #43 at the OPP Museum, including three mementos reflecting the death of those deemed culpable. Displayed is the gallows hood worn by William Schmidt during his hanging. The museum notes that a double layer of black cloth was sewn on the front to cover his eyes. Elastic tape was then used to sparingly to secure the bottom, as “it was a difficult commodity to acquire in wartime Canada”. To the left of the hood is a piece of the rope used in the makeshift gallows. Above this is an OPP wanted poster printed on 3 July 1944 offering a \$1000 reward for information resulting in the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the death of Mrs. Viola Jamieson. The mug shots of the four captured subjects are displayed above, representing a trophy shot and third memento of their punishment. Positioned on the opposite side of the case is an intriguing memento signifying guilt. Displayed is an investigation file with a note pasted onto it. This note was apparently exchanged between Tony Skrypnyk and Eino Tillonen in the Kenora Jail. In it, Skrypnyk discusses the case and tells Tillonen that after their upcoming hearing, “they’ll know what they have on us”. He then asks for some money for tobacco and instructs Tillonen to “tear this note up”. Also displayed is a sketch of the Jamieson kitchen, as it appeared shortly after the criminalized harm.

Discussing a book “often described as the first of the true crime genre”, *In Cold Blood* by American author Truman Capote, Linnemann (2015: 515) explains that it is useful to consider this story as a site of penal spectatorship. In the award-winning book published in 1966, Capote tells the story of the murder of the Clutter family in the small farming community of Holcomb, Kansas, and the eventual arrest and execution of the two ‘offenders’. Linnemann (2015: 515) notes how Capote focuses heavily on the brutality of the murders, crafting an engaging spectacle where the reader is allowed “to witness and take part in the entire process—from shotgun blasts to hangman’s noose—as spectator”. Linneman (2015: 515) explains further:

Implicated in the lives of victims and wrongdoers and the interworkings of criminal justice, penal spectators imagine, produce and engage in the affective work of hatred, mourning, judgment and vengeance as cultural practice. Through a vision of social life where guilt is punished, innocence avenged and order restored, some argue that this sort of spectatorship writes the ideology of penal authority into the social imaginary.

Museums are a lot like books. They are filled with stories that excite and inspire, and provide opportunities for people to browse by interest or move along when restless. And much like books are not about the words on the page, museums are not about objects or things so much as they are about the people they reflect and the community they evoke reflection upon. My findings revealed that the OPP Museum and Toronto Police Museum are places where true ‘crime’ stories play out for spectators, in flesh and blood. These stories are provided a material existence, through carefully curated displays that afford penal spectators a chance to imaginatively step into a set of past experiences more deviant and violent than their own. The larger history in which they become a part of propagates a vision of social life Linnemann (2015) describes in his analysis of *In Cold Blood*. The objects that accompany these displays are rich with meaning and help to satisfy the desire for sensationalism ‘dark’ tourists crave, reflecting on pain and death, guilt and punishment (Wilson, 2004; Stone and Sharpley, 2008; Lennon and Foley, 2000). Instead of events like the shooting of Dudley George that prompted the Ipperwash inquiry, these mementos and stories are the proof of the life and death the state wishes the public to see – a proudly displayed history of legitimized violence that reaffirms its positioning as the ‘thin blue line’ between order and chaos (Linnemann, 2016).

As Linnemann (2015: 515) points out, true ‘crime’ stories are important mechanisms through which penal spectators engage in the “affective work of hatred, mourning, judgment and vengeance”. Whether it is through the death of a beloved police dog from the gun of a fugitive, or the loss of an innocent teenage girl at the hands of “a dangerous man coming from far away”,

(Christie, 1986: 26), such contexts provide the anger, fear and blame that fuels the engine of punishment (Brown, 2009; Linnemann, 2016). Memorializing such brutal and violent actions in public settings exacerbates social distance and cultivates a space with little room for forgiveness, compassion, or reasoned debate about the limits of punishment (Farber, 2011). Instead, these displays legitimize pain-delivery and the lawful violence of police power – the “kind of power that can carry the individual to the prison cell, the interrogation room, and the execution chamber” (Brown, 2009: 9). While capital punishment was abolished in Canada in 1976, both the OPP Museum and Toronto Police Museum have arguably fostered the conditions that could translate into support for reinstating it. Indeed, Linnemann (2015) and others (e.g. Rawlings, 1998) have noted, popular ‘crime’ literature, such as *In Cold Blood*, has a great effect on public opinion and policy. It is clear from my findings that police museums are another cultural site that might have such an effect, with mementos and stories of criminalized harm serving as important areas where the “ideology of penal authority” Linnemann (2015: 515) speaks of is woven into the social imaginary. Absent are mementos and stories about police ‘crimes’, which might produce unwanted knowledge and critique of police practices. In the next section, I reveal the power of the police to arrest and detain individuals in conflict with the law as being the third major way meanings about penalty are constructed and communicated to guests at the three police museums.

5.3 – Arrest and Detention

The third primary means through which meanings about penalty are communicated inside the three police museums is through representations of the power of the police to arrest and detain those in conflict with the law. These types of representations often feature penal

subjects that have been deprived of their liberty, and similar images and visual scenes as the ones described in this section have been examined by researchers through the lens of penal spectatorship (e.g. Dirks et al., 2015; Walby and Piché, 2011). Although information about arrest and detention arises throughout the many stories shared about criminalized harm, this section explores two different mechanisms inside the police museums where the public interact with representations of penal subjects. The first is through arrangements of mug shots present at both the Toronto Police Museum and OPP Museum. I argue that a particular set of vintage mug shots shared by the OPP Museum may provide an opportunity to bridge social distance between penal spectators and those in conflict with the law. The second mechanism is the police custody process more generally, meaning portrayals of the physical control exercised by the police over an individual's liberty (Harkin, 2014). I reveal how the three police museums rarely discuss the custody of criminalized individuals inside police stations and when one site does an interesting gap in knowledge opens up.

5.3.1 – Mugshot

Selected for exhibition because of the expressive quality of Daily's face, his gaze looks directly at the camera, the photographer, and now at the modern day viewer.

– Description for the mug shot of Dan Daily, *Arresting Images*

The police mug shot is an iconic image in contemporary popular culture. Mug shots are photos of people's faces after they are arrested. The police practice of collecting photos to document the criminalized extends back as early as 1841 in France (Finn, 2009). In Canada, the Toronto Police Service began collecting photographs of criminalized suspects beginning in 1874 (Finn, 2009). With a long history of use, mug shots are now easily recognizable indicators of

‘criminality’. While those who have a mug shot taken by the police today may find their face circulated across news media and the Internet (see Dirks et al., 2015), the mug shots of those in the nineteenth and early twentieth century often wound up in a ‘rogues’ gallery. These were collections of ‘criminal’ photographs that were kept at the police station for identification and documentation purposes, usually in leather-bound books (Fin, 2009). Tummon (2009), curator of the *Arresting Images* travelling display put on by the OPP Museum, notes that some of those arrested in New York City in the 1860’s had pictures of their faces displayed in a publicly accessible ‘rogue’ gallery at police headquarters, so “law abiding citizens could arm themselves with the knowledge of the actual faces of individual criminals”. A similar practice takes place well over a century later. Mug shots of the criminalized can often be viewed inside museums at police headquarters, which might also be described as a type of modern-day ‘rogues’ gallery.



Figure 24: The mug shot of Dan Daily, age 34, arrested 8 August 1906 for pickpocketing

Police mug shots can be found at the Toronto Police Museum and OPP Museum, but not at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre. The mug shot of Dan Daily shown above can be found at the OPP Museum (see Figure 24). It is not part of the museums' current exhibition, but rather available for purchase as part of a larger collection of mug shots sold by The Off Duty ShOPP (see Figure 25). The collection is a hand-held version of the travelling exhibit, titled "Arresting Images: Mug shots from OPP Museum". The collection sold by the OPP Museum contains 100 images (dating from 1886 to 1908) that were selected from a total of 474 mug shots held by the museum. The mug shots were discovered in 1965 during a basement cleaning of the OPP Niagara Falls District headquarters and mainly feature people that were arrested in Southern Ontario. Each mug shot card in the collection is roughly the size of a postcard and, along with the photo, contains a short notation written by the police. Some of the criminalized behaviours described by the police are particularly evocative of the 19th century, including phrases such as 'Highway Robber', 'Old-time Thief' and 'Notorious All-around American Crook'. On the back of each mug shot card is information on five subjects, including 'crime', date arrested, age, hair colour and eye colour. A small description is provided that discusses various topics such as the photo itself, the criminalized harm they were accused of committing and their punishment.



Figure 25: The cover image of “Arresting Images: Mug Shots from the OPP Museum”. Pictured is Edward Baker, age 19, arrested on 22 June 1900 for burglary

During the interview with staff members at the OPP Museum, I brought up the subject of *Arresting Images*. I was told that this travelling exhibit was the “passion product” of the former curator at the OPP Museum and has been showcased in over twenty venues across Canada since 2009, including the Canada Science and Technology Museum in Ottawa, Ontario and the John M. Parrott Art Gallery in Belleville, Ontario. Other police museums have also hosted the exhibition, including the RCMP Heritage Centre in Regina, Saskatchewan. A staff member told me that it is booked through until 2017, showing that they “ultimately created a product that the market wanted”. They also reflected upon the practical and legal challenges of creating such an exhibit, as well as what they believe visitors have taken away from it:

There are very clear marketing materials that go with it, but not everyone reads them necessarily before they started marketing the museum, or marketing the display. So we learned some lessons early on about how to help the institutions sell what it really is and not what the media might think it is. It is not a come down and see if your grandmother was ever a criminal, that was very clearly not the intent of the exhibit, so we had to be very careful about FIPA, Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy, because we are a provincial institution, we are subject to FIPA, we are a government institution and everyone has the right to know what the government has recorded about you as an individual. So each mug shot was cleared by the 100 year rule, which was a guideline established by the Archives of Ontario, and we had to basically ensure that everyone was definitely deceased for a minimum of 30 years before we would release any information about them or what they were accused of. Also, very important, *Arresting Images* is not a conviction, a mug shot is not a conviction. A mug shot is taken at the point of arrest, where you are suspected of a crime. So we were very clear in the writing that these individuals are all accused, they are not criminals. So, there was a lot of learning that happened with that exhibit. Reflecting on it, it was absolutely worth the risk to put this information out there, it is fascinating, the photography is phenomenal, what people have learned and taken away from this exhibit I think is significant. That it is, it really is, capturing a moment in time and you really have to think about, in context, who people were and what is a criminal, and what is the concept of what is a criminal.

The only mug shots currently on display inside the OPP Museum are the photographs taken of the four individuals convicted in the ‘Hot Stove’ murder.

Mug shots at the Toronto Police Museum are exhibited on two large display boards as visitors make their way down a slanted runway to the second level of the museum (see Figure 26). There are fifteen mug shots altogether with a total of thirty photos, each roughly the size of a standard piece of paper (8.5 by 11 inches). The photos appear to be from the mid-twentieth century; however, the date these photographs were taken is not provided. In fact, there is no information presented about these individuals at all. It is unclear who they were or what criminalized harm they were accused of committing. A brief history on documenting those in conflict with the law is outlined at the bottom of one of the display boards. The board reads, “In the early 1800’s, police officers often knew all of the criminals in their area. By the 1890s, the number of known criminals had become so unwieldy that detectives began to create ‘mug shot’ books to hold photos of criminals”. The board goes on to discuss the rise of “photo and key data”

for documenting “convicted criminals” on cards, which were mechanically sorted by police to find suspects matching descriptions. It concludes by noting, “With today’s powerful computers, a comprehensive search can be completed within a minute”.



Figure 26: Mug shots on display at the Toronto Police Museum

Displays of mug shots inside police museums are sites of penal spectatorship where visitors engage with the work of punishment from a distance. Finn (2009: xiv) notes that mug shots provide a visual means through which the criminalized are “distinguished from others”. The displays of such photos are inextricably tied up with penal questions of otherness, exclusion, and pain in relation to the ‘criminal justice’ system. They are also likely to elicit punitive modes of thought from viewers towards the penal subject, such as judgment, anger, blame and accountability. This has been noted by some scholars who have been critical of the practice of

publicly displaying mug shots, particularly on Internet websites. For instance, Dirks and colleagues (2015: 171) claim, “mug shot images serve to stigmatize, dehumanize, criminalize, and to entertain”. Also drawing from the work of Brown (2009), they examined the comments about female mug shots posted on an Internet website, mugshots.com. They found that female subjects were frequently sexualized in dehumanizing ways by male commentators. They argue that commenting on the mug shot provides a way for penal spectators to shame and punish the individual, “rendering guilt, with or without criminal conviction”. This effect is augmented by the fact that each photo provides little contextual information, which encourages the penal spectator to formulate his or her own opinion about the subjects, who are “used as spectacles to drive page views and profit” (Dirks et al., 2015: 171).

In his analysis of trophy shots, Linnemann (2016) notes that even routine booking photos are visual representations of the state’s power to hunt and capture its citizens through lawful forms of violence. My findings at two police museums where mug shot photos exist indicates that they sometimes foster a space of judgment in a manner similar to which Dirk and colleagues (2015) describe. This is evident in the Toronto Police Museum, which uses the despondent faces of the criminalized as wall décor. Reading the nearby text, it is assumed that these are the faces of ‘criminals’ whose population in Toronto became “so unwieldy” it resulted in a change in police practice. This mode of presentation is unlikely to foster any meaningful interrogation on the part of the penal spectator about their relationship to the criminalized. Instead, mug shots at the Toronto Police Museum serve as mounted trophies in the ‘war’ against criminalized harm. The viewer is left staring at groups of captured subjects, trying to imagine just what their offenses might have been.

In contrast to my findings at the Toronto Police Museum, my encounter with the

Arresting Images booklet at the OPP Museum reveals the potential mug shot photos have in contesting the social distance of penal spectators in museum settings. Brown (2009: 117) explains that one way the penal gaze of the spectator might be interrupted is “through primary contact – a direct engagement, eye-to-eye”. This sort of meeting is unlikely to be occurring at the Toronto Police Museum because of the way the images are presented. Yet, the *Arresting Images* collection is rich with information about the subjects and their circumstances. It is difficult to avert your eyes from Dan Daily and Edward Baker, and many others in the collection, whose abject faces of defeat gaze back at the ‘modern-day viewer’. Indeed, the staff member confirmed to me that the purpose of disseminating these images was not for cheap entertainment or novelty, but rather to share an important piece of Canadian history and provoke within viewers – through powerful images of the criminalized – the very questions that foster a more critical engagement with ‘crime’ and the work of punishment. Yet, the lack of such photos within the OPP Museum itself, as well as inside the RCMP Musical Ride Centre altogether, reveals the reluctance for police museums to insert images of criminalized bodies into a space designed to be a shrine to the police.

5.3.2 – Custody

The food sucks!
Reminds me of college
Thanks for the lockup!

– Graffiti in a 1929 Mock Holding Cell
 at the Toronto Police Museum

In this section, police custody refers to the physical control exercised by the police over an individual’s liberty. This includes occasions such as when a person is deprived of their liberty by being placed in the back of a police cruiser, a holding cell and/or an interview room (see

Harkin, 2014; Hounmenou, 2012). Representations of the arrest and custody process are important sites in the three police museums where visitors learn about the place of the police in the penal system. While the section above focused on mug shot photos, this section examines portrayals of custody more generally inside the three police museums. I first discuss the RCMP Musical Ride Centre, focusing on the display of ‘perp-walk’ images and the penal meanings they communicate. Next, I examine custody at the OPP Museum and in particular a display about early policing in Orillia. Finally, I shift to the Toronto Police Museum where I examine several areas, notably a mock holding cell that educates visitors about prisoner detention.

At the RCMP Musical Ride Centre visitors learn about the important role the police play in overall public safety and pacifying individual law-breakers. Beyond capturing and monitoring the individuals who cause these social harms through their DNA, little information is conveyed about what happens to the criminalized after they are arrested. As previously mentioned, no mug shots images are shared in the museum. What are displayed, however, are images of another common police practice that sometimes occurs after arrest. These are ‘perp-walk’ photos, which can be found presented on a display board titled “Organized Crime” (see Figure 27). The display discusses the “multi-faceted problem” of organized ‘criminal’ activity in Canada, along with the approach taken by the RCMP and other law enforcement agencies to detect and deter this problem. It notes that this type of criminalized harm includes a broad spectrum of groups, “including outlaw motorcycle gangs, Asian-, Italian-, and East European-based organizations, and networks of people trafficking drugs, child pornography, counterfeit credit cards, or taking part in illicit telemarketing or electronic mail schemes”. Accompanying this display are six trophy shots. Two of these pictures are of illicit material seized by the police, and the other four are ‘perp-walk’ photos of criminalized persons being escorted by police officers. As Hagglund

(2012: 1757-1758) explains, a ‘perp-walk’ is a widespread police practice “where an accused wrongdoer is led past the waiting cameras of reporters and eyes of the public while in police custody”. This display informs the public about arrests and the activities of law enforcement through a spectacle with entertainment value. Hagglund (2012: 1759) notes that ‘perp-walks’ can also be facilitated by law enforcement for punitive purposes, for the “principal harm caused to a suspect... is the humiliation of ‘walking guilty’ or being led into a stationhouse or courthouse by law enforcement officers while in custody in view of the press and public”. This practice informally punishes the suspect by opening them up to public ridicule and infringing on their presumption of innocence by evoking a “powerful image of guilt” (Hagglund, 2012: 1759). The experience of humiliation and shame resulting from this practice can be seen in two of the ‘perp-walk’ photos on display, which depict suspects covering their faces with hands and clothing.

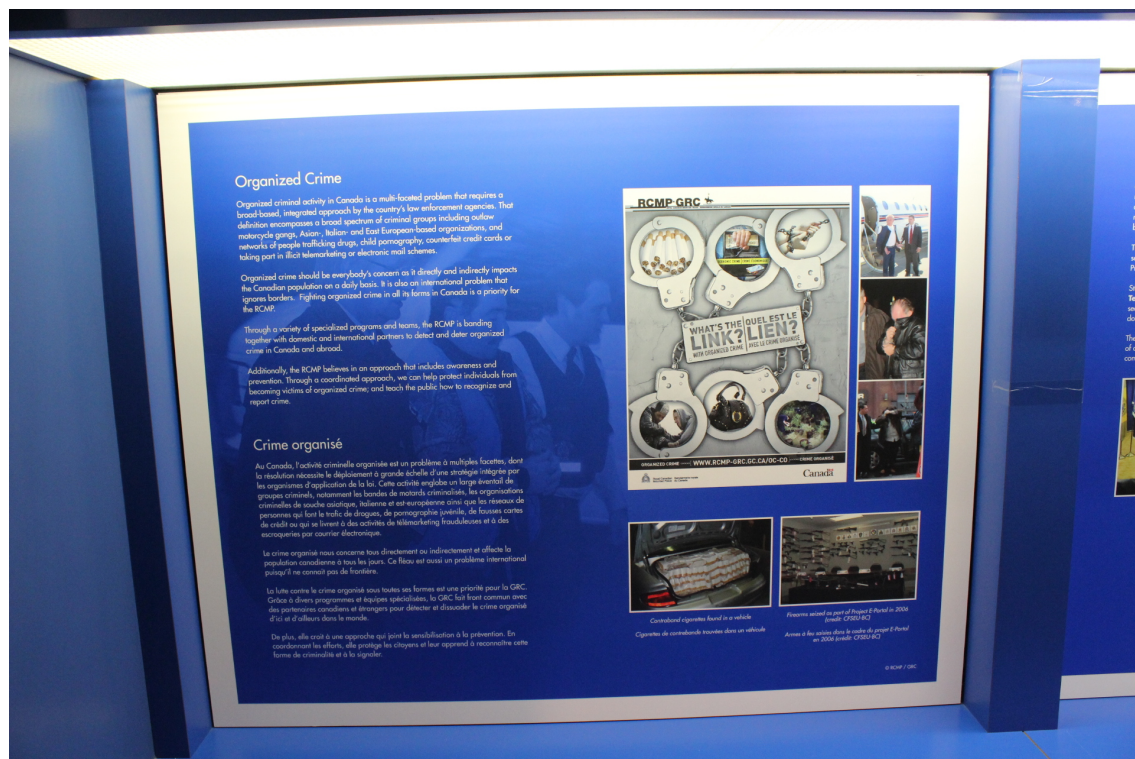


Figure 27: A display about organized ‘crime’ at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre

The current exhibition inside the OPP Museum spends only a brief time discussing the role of the police in the arrest and custody process. In line with the decision by museum staff to direct emphasis on the police and away from the criminalized, the OPP Museum focuses heavily on the men ‘behind the badge’ and recounting the special careers of past officers. The theme of arrest surfaces in some of these arrangements, for example, is present in a display honouring the career of Provincial Constable Samuel Flannigan. Flannigan began his OPP career in 1909 and his personal journals reveal that “he investigated thefts, attended prisoners, attended courts, served summons, travelled great distances, watched for illegal liquor traffic, detained vagrants, investigated illegal hunting... and spent a great deal of time walking in search of houses of questionable character”. On display at the OPP Museum are his “come along” wrist cuffs restraints and his H & R American double action revolver.

Another area in the OPP Museum where the topic of arrest and custody is apparent is Case #32 in the exhibition, titled “Orillia Lock-Up”. This small display is dedicated to recounting the early history of the Orillia Police Department. Inside a glass display case is a vintage photo of the OPP Orillia Detachment, a jail cell lock and a key ring with skeleton keys. The booklet explains that when the town of Orillia was founded in 1867, the first law enforcement officer was a man named John McLeod who was hired at an annual salary of fifteen dollars. His primary duties included enforcing village by-laws, regulating the licensing of public houses and shops, and acting as a jail guard and village messenger. The need for a town hall became increasingly apparent and in 1874 the construction of the new building was completed. This building included a lock-up, which functioned to “corral misbehaving townsfolk, a by-product of having several lumbar yards in close proximity”. The town eventually set its sights on an “even grander town hall” and in 1895 the construction of the Opera House wrapped up. This

structure had the capacity to incorporate a new jail, as well as various offices, a Council Chamber and market stalls. Soon after, a night watchman was hired to assist the constable. His main duties included double-checking locks on downtown stores and “keeping an eye out for vandals and fires”. In 1900, the town of Orillia hired their first Chief of Police. The booklet concludes by noting that a memorable partnership developed between Watchman Wright and Chief Reid, who were “affectionately referred to as ‘Read and Write’”.

At the Toronto Police Museum, representations of the arrest and custody process are dominant in several areas around the site. The very first photograph encountered as one walks into the museum is a large black and white picture of an old police station with several officers standing outside. According to the text, this is the Court Street Station built in 1974. Ten years later, Chief Draper wanted a “more wholesome style of accommodation both for the police and the prisoners committed to their custody”. He had this to say about the location at the time:

The stench which arises from the cells is often-times almost overpowering, and I am at a loss to understand how the men, and more particularly the inspectors and sergeants, stand it so well when exposed to its influences for 24 hours at a stretch.

Moving down the walkway and into the first section of the museum, an assortment of vintage handcuffs, leg restraints and batons are on display. Text nearby briefly explains what the relic was used for. For example, leg restraints were “primarily used for escorting prisoners to and from the station house. They were generally used with high-risk suspects who previously tried to escape or posed a danger to themselves and/or others”.

Venturing further into the museum and down the walkway of mug shots to the second floor of the museum, visitors encounter the large display describing the steps involved in solving a criminalized harm. Recall from the ‘forensic’ section of this chapter that this display is broken up into four interconnected boards, “*Analyzing the Crime Scene*”, “*Conducting the*

Investigation”, “*Making the Arrest*”, and “*Selected Investigative Techniques*”. The boards work together to describe the role of the police in the penal process, starting from the moments after a criminalized harm is committed and concluding when the guilty party is found – “always remembering that everyone is innocent until proven guilty in a court of law”. Several pictures are posted, including a large vintage photograph of a police officer patting down a detained suspect on the street. A block of text below the image discusses the rights a person has when they are arrested. In close proximity to this display are several photos situated behind glass. This a relatively simple display dedicated to “Court Services”, which according to the text “is responsible for transporting those accused persons who are in custody to and from the court locations and the detention centres”. The display educates visitors on topics such as the duties of Court Service officers, and how detainees are securely transported to and from court.

The final major area in the Toronto Police Museum where information about police custody is conveyed is at a 1929 mock holding cell situated in the reconstructed police station (see Figure 28). As described in the opening story of this thesis, the cell has green bars and is situated inside an alcove off to the left-hand side of the station. Inside the cell is a mannequin of a detainee slumped on a bench who is wrapped in a blanket and wearing a black toque. A fake black rat sits on the concrete near the front of the cell. According to Piché and Walby (2011: 462), penal tourism sites often use mannequins and cells to “give the tourist visitor some sense of what it would be like for a body to be held behind bars”. Graffiti is visible on the cell wall, which includes various names, symbols (e.g. smiley face, heart with an arrow through it) and phrases such as “The food sucks!” (see Figure 29). It is unclear if this graffiti was part of the original display or if at one-point visitors were allowed inside the cell. During my field visit, the cell door was closed. Writing on prison graffiti, Wilson (2016: 63) explains how prisoners may decorate

their cells with graffiti for “entertainment, in the form of visual and/or verbal humour, as cathartic declaration of anger, desire, vengeance and so on”. The mock cell at the Toronto Police Museum has also been graffitied for entertainment purposes. Piché and Walby (2011) suggest that mock cells inside penal history museums that offer tourists the opportunity to consider themselves as prisoners for a moment mock the experience of imprisonment. They note, “One minute in the gloomy darkness of a segregation cell cannot give the tourist a sense of what one year in the same penal space would be like” (Piché and Walby, 2011: 463). The stereotypical prison graffiti in the mock cell at the Toronto Police Museum is another example of how cells inside penal history museums can mock the experience of imprisonment.



Figure 28: A mock 1929 holding cell at the Toronto Police Museum



Figure 29: The interior of a mock 1929 holding cell at the Toronto Police Museum

Beside the jail cell is a glass display case. Inside is some text on the subject of police holding cells (see Figure 30). It begins, “Up until the early 1970’s everyone who was arrested was taken to a police station, charged, and locked temporarily in a holding cell”. It goes on to note that everyone who was locked up had to give items such as shoelaces, belts, ties, lighters and cigarettes to the constable for safekeeping. In the morning, all prisoners would be loaded up on paddy wagons to attend bail hearings. The text explains, “In the last few decades, the need for holding cells has declined significantly. There are fewer people being held now because the Bail Reform Act permits officers to release a suspect on their own recognizance”. It ends by noting that detoxification centres for individuals found intoxicated in a public place have also brought the number of people in holding cells down. Beside the text in the glass case is a plate, a cup, and a small grainy picture of what looks to be a detainee lying on a cell bed.



Figure 30: A glass display case at the Toronto Police Museum that discusses the mock 1929 holding cell

My findings at the three police museums revealed the Toronto Police Museum as being the site where visitors learn the most about the arrest process and the series of events that follow afterwards. This museum is also the only site that educates citizens about their rights when they are arrested or detained by the police. The information shared in the display about solving a criminalized harm renders the role of the police in the process of social exclusion more transparent. Brown (2009: 123) notes that “punishment always carries within it the distinct ability to sever the most fundamental of social bonds and deny individuals the legal status that might not ensure but at least invoke their needs, their rights, and their lives”. While the three police museums certainly do not attempt to question the limits of exclusion, the Toronto Police Museum at least discusses this process and emphasizes the idea of penal subjects being rights-

bearing citizens who are owed due process. This detailed display is beneficial because it provides visitors, who are largely disconnected from penal practices, an opportunity to become more aware and informed about the process of social exclusion.

The Toronto Police Museum is also the only site that contains a holding cell and educates visitors on the confinement of suspects in police stations. Yet, a gap in knowledge becomes evident when examining the information provided. All throughout the museum, much of the information is directed towards the present. People learn about what the police ‘do’, exemplified in three display boards in the first level of the museum, which are titled, “Helping People in Need”, “Protecting Lives and Property” and “Working With Youth”. The display recounting the steps involved in solving a criminalized harm describes how the police solve ‘crimes’ and arrest suspects, incorporating historical pictures and relics. Meanwhile, the “Court Services” display is not a history of prisoner transportation, but rather a display informing visitors about how this unit currently operates. However, when it comes to the topic of custody within a police station, the present is nowhere to be found. Where exactly the suspect goes after they are arrested is absent from the display about solving criminalized harms. It merely notes that the suspect is arrested and subject to questioning until officers ensure all the evidence “links the suspect to the crime and disproves any alibis or possible defenses that he or she may have offered”. Visitors learn that the Toronto Police were concerned about the conditions of one of their stations, and provided prisoners and officers a more ‘wholesome’ accommodation in the 1980s. The mock holding cell is from 1929 and the accompanying text describes how prisoners were treated up until the 1970s. Past this date, the only information provided is the need for holding cells has declined because of the *Bail Reform Act* and detoxification centres.

The lack of information in all three museums about suspects held in police custody is

troubling, mostly because the treatment of pre-charge suspects who are currently deprived of their liberty inside police cells is a major human rights issue (Dissel and Ngubeni, 2000).

Hounmenou (2012: 276) lists some of the issues involved with police holding cells:

Detainee deaths; over-crowding in holding cells; very long stays in detention; beating and torture of detainees; inadequacy of holding cells due to their location and size; inadequacy or absence of provision of basic services such as health care; inadequacy of hygienic facilities; lack of separated cells for juveniles and other vulnerable detainees; and inadequacy or lack of a monitoring system to ensure the safety of detainees.

The three police museums avoid talking about the detention conditions of modern police lock-ups, for reasons that are unclear. Hounmenou (2012) explains that the treatment and conditions of people detained in police lock-ups are also a frequently overlooked topic in literature about police brutality. At the Toronto Police Museum, the mock holding cell and its mannequin detainee provide little more than an intriguing photo opportunity for curious onlookers, feeding into the “voyeuristic fascination with the spectacle of imprisonment” that Brown (2009: 194) identifies in prison tourism. Ultimately, penal spectators remain distanced from the treatment of persons in custody at all three police museums. The inclusion of this subject could serve as a significant base for constructive dialogue about the physical conditions of police cells and, more broadly, bridge social distance by provoking reflection among viewers about who is detained in police custody versus who is not, as well as how the state treats those who are excluded from society and locked behind bars (Brown, 2009).

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

I began this thesis with a story about an encounter I had during my field visit at the Toronto Police Museum. Two young men approached me in the replica police station and asked if I would take a picture of them standing in front of a mock holding cell. As the photographer, it was during this time that I felt as if the distance between the penal spectator and the penal subject was at its most apparent. The two boys stood smiling in the foreground of the picture, while the gaze of a mannequin detainee seemingly peered through them and into the camera from behind. Discussing the phenomenon of prison tourism, Brown (2009: 120) writes, “the nature of this engagement – its distance, its easy comfort, its sustenance of cultural fantasy – demands a deeper engagement of the ways in which punishers are linked to the punished”. While the mock holding cell was a clearly identifiable space of penal spectatorship, my study revealed many other areas inside the three police museums where visitors engage with penality and its meanings. From the DNA-themed poster boards at the RCMP Musical Ride Centre, to the surveillance display at the OPP Museum, to the infamous ‘crime’ stories at the Toronto Police Museum. Through different means, all three police museums cast visitors into the role of penal spectators who can develop an understanding about the deprivation of liberty and infliction of pain from a social distance.

Penal tourism is a relatively new and fast growing research area in the field of criminology (Welch, 2015; Piché and Walby, forthcoming). Literature has focused heavily on prison museums, including those in Canada, but there have been few attempts to connect this research to the abundance of museums that memorialize the heritage of the police. In fact, there has been little research in general on police museums. Attempting to account for this lack of attention in Latin American scholarship, Chazkel (2012: 132) suggests that it is perhaps because they “appear to be nothing more than crass purveyors of a combination of state propaganda and

gruesome sensationalism”. Yet, as she continues, “to claim that these museums are instruments of state propaganda should start the conversation, though, not end it”. I have attempted to start a conversation about police museums in Canada by locating my project within a recent body of penal tourism literature. In doing so, my thesis has made five original contributions to criminological research. First, it has clarified and broadened the definition of ‘police museum’ to include more sites than previous research has suggested. Second, it has identified fifty-nine police museums in Canada and grouped these destinations into three general types: i) Fully-Dedicated Sites; ii) Hybrid Sites; and iii) Historic Sites. Third, it has made a theoretical contribution by engaging with and extending Brown’s (2009) theory of penal spectatorship to the realm of policing. Fourth, it has pushed forward Canadian penal tourism research by examining how penalty and its meanings circulate inside three police museums in Ontario that have not been subject to any empirical investigation. Fifth, it offers an agenda for future penal tourism research in an upcoming section of this thesis. In the pages below, I expand on each of these contributions in further detail.

Although police museums have been proposed as a direction for future penal tourism research, there is no clear understanding about what a police museum actually is. I have suggested that this is a complex question because both ‘police’ and ‘museum’ are words fraught with ambiguity, and what constitutes a policing exhibit is subject to debate. Previous research has focused predominantly on museums housed inside police stations and operated by people with ties to police services. I have argued that the concept of the police museum should also include historic police sites and other types of museums that contain policing exhibits. This is because these sites also conserve, research, and communicate police history for public benefit. Drawing from the ICOM definition of ‘museum’ and my initial observations in the Canadian

context, I have suggested that a good starting-point for the definition of a 'police museum' is: a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of the police for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment. By adapting the ICOM definition, the nature and function of the police museum is clarified in a way that recognizes its important social and educational role. Yet, I have also emphasized that this definition should not be taken in a narrow sense. McNair (2011: 22) notes that structure-wise, "police museums push beyond the form and function of traditional museum spaces". Some police museums consider themselves to be in the service of the police more than society, despite being publicly accessible. Other police museums might be for-profit entities (Farber, 2011; Arroyo, 2008). As further research is conducted, it must continue to highlight the different characteristics (e.g. mission statements, funding sources, social role, architecture) of museums that memorialize police heritage in order to better understand how these leisure sites differ from other types of museums and for what reasons.

Based on this definition, I have identified fifty-nine police museums operating in Canada and categorized them into three general types. Fully-Dedicated Sites (n=18) are museums with an exclusive focus on police history. These sites are usually housed inside or adjacent to police stations and managed by volunteers with ties to the represented police service. At least one site can be found in every province, except Prince Edward Island. Hybrid Sites (n=10) are local or community museums that contain an exhibit about the police. Sharing the history of the police is an emphasis at these sites, but it may not be their primary focus. They exist in parts of Western and Northern Canada. Historic Sites (n=31) are structures of significance to police history that currently operate as tourism destinations. They are found across Western Canada and can be

separated into two types, forts and other structures. Forts (n=10) are mainly former NWMP forts that have been designated as National Historic Sites and are managed by Parks Canada. Other Structures (n=21) consist of a myriad of old police sites that are open for visitors to wander through, such as small outposts and jails. Overall, the typology highlights the wide variety of heritage sites that memorialize policing in Canada. Most are located in British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan, but Ontario has the largest number of ‘fully-dedicated’ sites. The typology should be refined through field visitations, but was necessary for setting this project in the broader scope of police museums in Canada.

Although there are many different ways to study the police museum, I have located my project in penal tourism literature in order to demonstrate how examining police museums can push this research area forward. I have shown how the police museum, and policing in general, is a new area that the theory of penal spectatorship can be applied to in order to extend its insights further. Police museums in Canada are a widespread cultural setting where members of the public come into contact with representations of pain-delivery and the deprivation of liberty. Brown (2009: 9) writes, “punishment is always a narrative about a chain of pain, one whose origin is not easily traced”. I have emphasized that it is useful to trace this chain of pain back to one of its initial links. I have suggested that one way to do so is to consider representations of police use of force, as well as police practices that deprive people of their liberty, as instances of penal spectatorship where everyday citizens witness and take part in the pain and exclusion of penal subjects from a social distance (see Harkin, 2014). Indeed, much of what people learn about inside police museums involves how the state has historically dealt with those who have violated the law and posed a ‘threat’ to public safety. I have demonstrated what the theory of penal spectatorship can reveal about the role of police museums in what Brown (2009) calls the

‘culture of punishment’ that legitimizes the authority of state pain-delivery and contributes to the foundations upon which punishment is built (Brown, 2009).

The purpose of this thesis was to examine how three police museums in Ontario (re)produce and circulate meanings about penalty through their different representational practices. This question was chosen because a major line of inquiry in penal tourism research is, as Piché and Walby (forthcoming) explain, “to understand how and what meanings of penalty are conveyed in these sites, and ... whether they challenge or reinforce punitive ways of thinking about and responding to criminalized conflicts and harms”. Through field observations at each site and an interview with two OPP Museum staff members, I identified three major themes that represent mechanisms through which meanings about penalty are constructed at the three sites: i) Control and Surveillance; ii) Memento and Story; and iii) Arrest and Detention. I have argued that through these themes, the three police museums tend to widen the social distance between penal spectators and those in conflict with the law. Situated inside the property of the police services they represent, the museums provide powerful spaces of penal leisure where the deprivation of liberty and infliction of pain are normalized and constructed as logical and acceptable ways of responding to criminalized harm.

Inside the three police museums, carefully curated displays that deal with topics such as forensics and covert surveillance practices educate visitors about the power of the state to exert control and surveillance over the criminalized. Each museum is a shrine to the achievements of forensic science and its role in helping the state hunt and capture the individual people who are deemed to be ‘dangerous’ to the social order. The federal police museum, the RCMP Musical Ride Centre, is noticeably more clinical in its approach to communicate the benefits of having a database of ‘criminal’ DNA maintained by the government. Meanwhile, a unique display at the

OPP Museum commemorates the intelligent and daring methods used by the police to infiltrate and monitor criminalized populations many decades ago. Although not its own topic, individual surveillance is celebrated at the Toronto Police Museum through stories about the cunning and ‘dangerous’ individuals it once helped to apprehend. Stories about criminalized harm are often combined with mementos at two of the sites, producing a space rich in symbolism where penal spectators can observe the entire process of ‘criminal justice’ from afar – from the ‘crime’ to the penalty, encountering tidy stereotypes of ideal victims and offenders along the way. Scattered among these displays, and sometimes proudly exhibited on their own, are seized objects and their depictions that help reaffirm the role of the police museum as a trophy room to house noteworthy items taken from state subjects. Some of these trophies are penal subjects themselves, represented in ‘perp-walk’ images and mug shot photographs, the latter of which feature prominently on a wall at the Toronto Police Museum. Artefacts of confinement and punishment are popular at this site in particular. A unique glimpse into the deprivation of liberty is also provided, a vintage holding cell inside a replica police station, where penal spectators can peer through and see a mannequin detainee sitting in a graffiti-ridden cell.

Many of the displays shared inside the three police museums appeal to visitor emotions. The museums may elicit feelings of pride, sadness, resentment and anger. The basic emotional reactions that the police museums help to foster are the ones that motivate people to punish and can drive penal practices in more punitive directions (see Durkheim, 1984[1893]; Garland, 2001, 2006). An important consideration to make is that many police museums are geared towards not only the general public, but also the policing community itself. In my interview with OPP Museum staff it was revealed that the museum is primarily for members of the OPP and their families. Buffington (2012) explains that police museums are sometimes established to boost the

morale of officers and reinforce the policing identity. He discusses one police museum in Mexico that accomplishes this by presenting a ‘glorious’ version of police history and emphasizing the sacrifices made by past officers. Indeed, having an intended audience of police officers influences the messages shared by the OPP Museum and likely other police museums in Canada as well. This raises questions regarding the impact of police museums in shaping the police culture they reflect. There is on one hand the possibility that these settings increase the social distance between police and the public. However, police museums may also serve to reduce this distance by inviting more community members into active or decommissioned police facilities. The latter point was a key rationale behind the recent construction of a police museum in the headquarters of the 51 Division of the Toronto Police Service (see Skinner, 2011).

This study also revealed the absence of certain information inside the three police museums, which can be grouped into three main areas. First, the museums lack information about the broader social structures that influence criminalized behaviour. There is a heavy focus on individual ‘criminals’ in society with little discussion about the social, economic, or political characteristics of criminalized harm (see Des Rosiers and Bittle, 2005). The individual is only a small part of what ‘crime’ is and without delving any deeper, the police museums foster a space for penal spectators to take part in practices of judgement, accountability, and blame while being shielded from the complexities of criminalized harm. Second, the voices of the criminalized are noticeably absent. Those in conflict with the law feature in many stories shared by police museums and their faces are sometimes displayed on walls, yet the experiences of criminalized individuals and their stories are omitted. Writing about prison tourism, Brown (2009: 87) notes, “the imprisoned voices of the past and present are missing, but we experiment with their fates in the present, knowingly, often disapprovingly, sometimes sympathetically”. A similar

confrontation with penalty occurs inside the three police museums, as visitors are never forced to interrogate the relationship between police work and the infliction of pain on a person. The inclusion of content along the lines of the *Arresting Images* exhibit might be enough to partially disrupt this environment so that empathy might be built towards penal subjects. Third, the police museums are devoid of historical events that cast the represented police service in a negative light. Telling uncomfortable stories in any museum is a difficult task, especially when the museum is a police museum that is housed inside a police station and is dependant on the police service they represent. However, police museums are also in service to the public who deserve a fair interpretation of penal history. Museums should be safe spaces for citizens to gather and learn about events in the past in order to have a clearer understanding of events in the present. By ignoring certain historical topics and perspectives, the police museums reinforce rather than challenge dominant discourses on penal history and foster rather than bridge social distance between visitors and the criminalized.

6.2 – Future Directions in Penal Tourism Research

This study has demonstrated that police museums offer a promising avenue for new penal tourism research. It has also only examined three sites in Ontario. I have shown how this is a small percentage of the police museums that operate in Canada. The vast majority of these tourist destinations have not been subject to any criminological research. This includes ‘fully-dedicated’ sites like the Vancouver Police Museum in Vancouver, British Columbia, which promises visitors an “arresting experience” (Jun, 2013); hybrid sites like the Chief Poundmaker Historical Centre in Cut Knife, Saskatchewan, where visitors can tour a nearby “Northwest Mounted Police battle site” (Rural Municipality of Eldon, 2014) and learn about the time when police officers

and other government agents attacked a band of Cree warriors during the North-West Rebellion; large historic forts like the eight-acre Fort Heritage Precinct in Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta where tourists “can imagine being a Constable at the NWMP Fort, bringing law and order to the community” (Fort Heritage Precinct, 2016); and, finally, smaller historic sites like the Wood Mountain police post in Southern Saskatchewan, where “you can use old style hand-cuffs on your friends, see an early View-Master (Stereopticon), or sit in a 19th century jail cell” (Wood Mountain, n.d.).

Gaps that require future investigation in penal tourism research can be usefully divided into two main areas, production and consumption. First, there is a need for more research on Canadian police museums themselves. This project has made a small contribution, but it is still relatively unclear how policing and the ‘criminal justice’ system more generally, is depicted at many of these sites. Future research could draw from the insights of penal spectatorship theory to explore the cultural work these sites perform, and how they shape understandings about ‘crime’ and punishment. This would involve on-site fieldwork and a description, analysis, and evaluation of the content shared through a theoretical framework. Research could also benefit from undertaking interviews with paid and non-paid museum staff members to better understand the function and role of police museums in Canada. My interview with OPP Museum staff members gleaned some valuable ‘behind-the-scenes’ insight about police museums; however, my project was limited by only having one interview and the perspectives of two museum practitioners from the same site.

The second major gap in penal tourism research is knowledge about the penal tourist. In museum studies, research on visitors has expanded to the point where some consider it to be its own field of study (MacDonald, 2005). However, research conducted on consumers is rare in the

field of penal tourism. It is relatively unclear who visits police museums, and the motivations and reactions visitors to these sites have. Brown (2009: 212) argues that, “penal meanings will always be plural and tricky to harness”. This reminds us that it is difficult for research, like the study I have undertaken, to interpret penal history museums and the meanings they communicate without consulting the views of audiences. Research grounded in the social constructivist perspective emphasizes museum visitors as being active in the meaning-making process (MacDonald, 2005). As such, the visitor is a gap in this study that could be filled. More research into visitor experiences and the overall consumption-side of penal history sites is ultimately necessary for increasing knowledge about the consumption of punishment from a social distance. Audience research might utilize interviews, questionnaires, observations of behaviour, or examine dialogue on social media or travel review websites (see Ferguson et al., 2015b).

Along with these two main gaps in knowledge that should be addressed, I will propose a specific penal tourism project that can build on my research. A future study could examine the *Arresting Images* exhibit that travels around Canada in greater detail. My interview uncovered that this arrangement of vintage mug shots was only supposed to be travelling for five years, but due to its popularity will be around until at least 2017. Along with analyzing the exhibit itself, research could explore the reasons behind its popularity. This might involve interviews with staff members of museums that have chosen to host the exhibit. Audience research would be particularly useful, especially that which explores visitor motivations for attending the exhibit and their reactions afterwards. This work could engage with penal spectatorship theory and empirically test my proposition (and that of a OPP Museum staff member) that *Arresting Images* is an example of how penal tourism can foster a deeper reflection on the work of punishment.

This is a good time for criminological research to start exploring police museums in Canada. For the first time in its history, the International Conference of Police Museums was hosted in Canada this past June. People from across North America and elsewhere travelled to Saskatoon to tour police museums, take part in training sessions, listen to presentations, and essentially learn how Canada ‘does’ penal history memorialization. That same month, the Winnipeg Police Museum opened up in the new police headquarters. The future of police museums seems to be entering a period of growth. A staff member reflected to me about the future of the OPP Museum, and I will conclude this text by sharing her response. The question I asked was: If you could change one thing about the museum, or do something differently, what would it be?

That’s an easy question. I’d have way more staff, way more staff. I’d have at least, oh if I could waive a magic wand we’d have at least 5 employees, full time, all the time, dedicated, oh my god the magic we could make happen. That’s sort of my line that I feed to the bosses all the time, you just give us the bodies and watch us put on the show. That would be my number one fix. And not just for self-interest. Ah, in a 20 year plan, 30 year plan, 50 year plan, I would actually love to see this museum um, honestly waiving a magic wand saying yeah we could do this, I’d love to see it at it’s own location, partnered with recruiting and our own archival holdings, uh so the records management of this organization. I think we’d partner well with them, and I think it could be a great institution of learning, where we do sell both the concept of yes, you should be a police officer when you grow up, and the science of it, the art of it, and all the cool stuff. I think it would be fascinating. Room for all of our vintage vehicles, our badges. Yeah, I’m just dreaming now [laughs]. But police museums have potential. I genuinely do believe that police museums have potential to be more than just a place where a few uniforms and some old, obsolete gear and some badges are put on display and the only people that ever go to see them are former cops. I think that’s really selling the police museum short.

This thesis was a study of penal spectatorship at three police museums in Ontario. I have attempted to show the benefits of adopting the insights of penal tourism research and its theoretical underpinnings to study police museums. Tyson and Urban (2012: 8) note, “Police

museums and prison museums are linked by a desire to display the personnel and physical institutions of law enforcement and to make visible and validate their social function”. Yet I have suggested that this link is more substantial. They are both sites that permit the everyday public to engage with the deprivation of liberty and infliction of pain as it relates to the penal process from a position of social distance. I hope to have illustrated how blurring the boundaries between policing and punishment can help to unpack the complex cultural meanings behind contemporary penal practices and policies. At the very least, I hope that my research has convinced readers that police museums in Canada are institutions of learning, with the potential to be so much more as sites of critique, where questions could be raised about the project of punishment and alternatives. Indeed, in the words of the interviewee, to think anything less would be “really selling the police museum short”.

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Appendix A: OPP Museum Gallery Guide Cover



Appendix B: Recruitment Text

Dear operator of the (police museum),

My name is Matthew Ferguson and I am a MA student at the University of Ottawa (Department of Criminology). I am currently working on my thesis which involves conducting field research at police museums in Ontario titled, *Representations of Law Enforcement in Ontario Police Museums*. Through an analysis of police museum narratives, relics, spatial arrangements and conservation practices, this study aims to understand how these cultural institutions contribute to our individual and collective understandings of police work.

I am contacting you to see if you would like your museum to participate in my study. There are two ways in which you can participate in this study: 1) allowing me to observe museum staff and volunteers as they work to see how the messages communicated to visitors are produced. 2) allowing me to interview staff members or volunteers working in the museum to ask questions about the history of the museum and how its original purposes shapes its design, operations and marketing practices today, as well as how museum curation and marketing practices impact the messages communicated to visitors.

Please distribute this form, and the letter of information, to all staff and volunteers at the (police museum). Any staff or volunteer who wishes to participate in this study can reach me by email at ... or by phone at ... If you would like more information about the purpose, conduct, benefits and risks associated with this study please consult the letter of information attached.

Thank you for your time,
Matthew Ferguson
MA Candidate
Department of Criminology

Appendix C: Interview Questions

Date of Interview: July 13, 2015

1. Can you please describe your involvement here at the OPP Museum?
2. What do your activities entail?
3. When did the museum start and what prompted its inception?
4. Can you talk a little bit about the tour scripts? Specifically, the booklet. Did you write it and has it changed in any way?
5. What type of messages are you trying to portray to tourists when they come in here?
6. You mentioned harder subjects, can you elaborate on what you mean?
7. Describe for me how decisions are made about what relics to include in the museum. And how you position them?
8. Were most of the relics donated or from where do you get them?
9. What kinds of connections exist between the museum and the OPP?
10. Have you ever felt any pressure to provide a certain narrative to tourists in the museum?
11. You said that this is a “museum of people”. I was wondering if you could elaborate on that idea more?
12. Do any connections exist with surrounding police museums? Or other tourism sites?
13. You said that you had good connections with the Kingston Penitentiary Museum, so you have some jail museum connections also?
14. You mentioned “Arresting Images”, I was wondering if you could talk about that and if you’ve had any other travelling exhibits?
15. If you could change one thing about the museum, or do something differently, what would it be?

Appendix D: Open Coding Grid

Date of Visit:

General Reflections / Notable Observations

- Summary and key highlights of field visit

Note on Method

- Ideas for new coding fields
- Ideas for new interview questions
- Reflections on the role of the research and positioning on ability to collect data
- Other methodological observations

Analytical Thoughts

- Reflections on how observations / data collected relate to theories, ideas and concepts articulated in literatures relevant to the study

GENERAL REFLECTIONS / NOTABLE OBSERVATIONS
NOTES ON METHOD
ANALYTICAL THOUGHTS

Appendix E: Mixed Coding Grid

Location: Toronto Police Museum

1. Spatial arrangements (i.e. the way space is setup, the way people are directed and description of the material space)
2. Visual arrangements (i.e. what people see when they glance around in given museum spaces and the aesthetics)
3. Narrative arrangements (i.e. ideas conveyed to museum visitors)
4. Performative arrangements (i.e. the roles and functions of museum staff and volunteers, and how they were performed).

Theme	Spatial arrangements	Visual arrangements	Narrative arrangements	Performative arrangements
Detention				
Depictions of True 'Crime'				
Investigation of 'Crime'				
Use of Force				
Mug shots/Penal Subjects				
Forensics				
Courts				
Prisoner Escape				
What the Police 'Do'				
Victims				

Field Notes Sheet – Mixed Coding Grid

Location: OPP Museum

1. Spatial arrangements (i.e. the way space is setup, the way people are directed and description of the material space)
2. Visual arrangements (i.e. what people see when they glance around in given museum spaces and the aesthetics)
3. Narrative arrangements (i.e. ideas conveyed to museum visitors)
4. Performative arrangements (i.e. the roles and functions of museum staff and volunteers, and how they were performed).

Theme	Spatial arrangements	Visual arrangements	Narrative arrangements	Performative arrangements
Use of Force				
Undercover and Surveillance				
Forensics				
Capital Punishment				
Seized Objects				
Prison Escape				
Violence Against Police				
Tactical Teams				
Depictions of 'Crime'/Penal Subjects				
Fallen Police Officers				
Representations of Prison				
Deprivation of Liberty				

Field Notes Sheet – Mixed Coding Grid

Location: RCMP Musical Ride Centre

1. Spatial arrangements (i.e. the way space is setup, the way people are directed and description of the material space)
2. Visual arrangements (i.e. what people see when they glance around in given museum spaces and the aesthetics)
3. Narrative arrangements (i.e. ideas conveyed to museum visitors)
4. Performative arrangements (i.e. the roles and functions of museum staff and volunteers, and how they were performed).

Theme	Spatial arrangements	Visual arrangements	Narrative arrangements	Performative arrangements
DNA				
Fingerprinting				
Organized 'Crime'				
Deprivation of Liberty				
Confiscated Material				
Technological 'Crime'				
Illegal Operations				
Human Trafficking				