

**BETWEEN COMMEMORATION AND CRIMINALIZATION:  
DEMYSTIFYING, DEMYTHOLOGIZING, AND DEBUNKING  
THE CANADIAN POLICE AND PEACE OFFICERS' MEMORIAL**

**MATTHEW FERGUSON**

Thesis submitted to the University of Ottawa  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
Doctorate in Philosophy degree in Criminology

Department of Criminology  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
University of Ottawa

© Matthew Ferguson, Ottawa, Canada, 2023

## ABSTRACT

While significant scholarly research exists on memorialization and commemoration, little exists on memorials to police officers, prison guards, border agents, and other penal system actors described as “law enforcement” or “peace” officers. This doctoral dissertation helps fill this gap by examining three questions: 1) How is penal system work staged and performed through the dramatic spectacle of national commemoration? 2) How does the memorialization of penal system actors as heroes generate and maintain support for punishment and the social distance between ordinary citizens and individuals in conflict with the law? 3) What myths are constructed and perpetuated through these memorials that legitimize the existence, expansion, and domination of punitive ways of thinking about and responding to criminalized conflict and harms? I explore these questions through a case study of “The Canadian Police and Peace Officers Memorial” (CPPOM) on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada through a thematic analysis and thick description of data from over 850 newspaper articles, 40 magazine articles, 19 semi-structured interviews, 18 survey responses, and participant observation at the memorial – including recently created running and cycling events. Rather than just a national day or annual gathering of authorities on the last Sunday in September, I argue that the CPPOM is also an overlooked penal system service, organization, and institution, which is integral to broader and growing attempts by police chiefs and associations, as well as other penal system actors and their families in Canada and the United States, to further expand and entrench penal system practices as central to the Canadian national identity through organizational memories and myths that work to increase support for penal system officers by staging them as prepared, professional, heroic, effective, and united. I reflect on the implications of the findings and future avenues for research on memorials like the CPPOM, whose birth in the late-1970s is shown to stem not simply from the “murder” of a rookie Ottawa police officer as is claimed during the memorial activities today, but also from a lack of preparedness and professionalism in the arrest of the person living with mental illness that led to the death of the rookie officer, as well as other national, local, and structural dilemmas facing penal system actors at the time. In examining and providing a new account of the origins, development, meanings, and role of the CPPOM, I contribute to the demystification, demythologization, and debunking of this national memorial, thus contributing to critical criminology and growing attempts to move beyond the punitive responses it naturalizes and legitimates. Although helping participants heal, connect, and move forward after death – which for some, occurs just one step or pedal stroke at a time – I show how the CPPOM is also a forgetful and misleading performance, which has consistently staged public criticism of policing as unfair and “violent crime” and a perceived lack of respect for police and the law as crises, not of mental illness, addiction, poverty, racism, or the real harms and limitations of policing and punishment themselves, but of a lack of law and order that can only be secured through the further entrenchment of penalty and the work of “peace” officers.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my PhD supervisor, Dr. Justin Piché – who also supervised my MA research on police museums – for his guidance, support, and mentorship during the course of my research. I was not thinking about pursuing a PhD until Justin contacted me and invited me back about a year after I graduated from my MA. I am grateful he reached out and gave me this opportunity, as well as encouraged me to research a national memorial that I found fascinating.

I would also like to thank the participants in this study, especially the family members of officers whose loved ones are recognized on the memorial. Also, thanks are owed to Dr. Sandra Lehalle and Dr. Michael Kempa for agreeing to be on my committee after having already given so much of their time examining my MA thesis. Thank you for reading multiple drafts of my PhD thesis, and consistently providing thought-provoking and helpful feedback. I would like to thank Dr. David Moffette and Dr. Ted Rutland as well, for agreeing to be examiners and providing constructive feedback that pushed my thinking further.

Additionally, I would like to thank administrative staff, as well as other professors and students in the Department of Criminology at the University of Ottawa, especially my PhD cohort – composed of Adrian Hopici, Priyanka Patel, and Dillon Black – who helped me succeed in the early years of the doctoral program. Additionally, I am appreciative of the insights of Dr. Jon Frauley and Dr. Christine Gervais, who offered constructive and helpful feedback during the comprehensive exam stage. Lastly, I thank Dr. Kathryn Campbell and Dr. Chris Bruckert, who gave me valuable research tips when I took courses with them as a doctoral student and helped me develop ideas that I later used in my dissertation. This thesis was primarily funded by the University of Ottawa (i.e. Admission and Tuition Fee Scholarships) and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada through a Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship.

On a more personal note, I would like to acknowledge that this thesis is more than the product of research. It is also the product of my lived experience being born and raised in a relatively wealthy and safe neighbourhood in Kingston, Ontario – often referred to as the “prison capital” of Canada due to having a large number of them. Growing up, I came to believe that the best way I could serve my community and country would be to work as a guard or as a police officer helping on the outside. In 2010, I travelled to Ottawa to study criminology at the University of Ottawa. What I envisioned as an exciting four years of learning about “crime” turned into a more than ten-year life-changing experience, which cannot be easily summed up or measured only in degrees.

Suffice to say, this doctoral dissertation could not have been completed without the support and encouragement of friends and family. My parents – Joe and Judy – always put my education first. They encouraged me to get educated in a field I was passionate about and helped pay some of my tuition and housing fees. My brothers – Mark, who holds a PhD in Electrical Engineering from l’Université de Sherbrooke – and Jake, a PhD Candidate in Geography and Environmental Management at the University of Waterloo – motivated me to pursue graduate studies and want to excel in my chosen academic field. Thanks also goes to my wonderful fiancé, Caroline, and her parents Stephane and Julie, as well as the rest of their family, for their love and support.

## **DEDICATION**

In memory of those who policing and imprisonment have killed.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>GLOSSARY OF TERMS</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>TABLE OF FIGURES</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>1.1. Heroes for a Nationalizing and Carceral State: Introducing the CPPOM</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>1.2. Research Aim and Contributions</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>1.3. Thesis Chapter Overview</i>	<i>25</i>
<b>PART 1: REVIEWING RESEARCH ON THE MEMORIAL</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>2. LAROCHELLE’S OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE MEMORIAL</b>	<b>32</b>
<i>2.1. Introduction</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>2.2. Larochelle’s History of Policing in Ottawa</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>2.3. Sergeant Larochelle: A Policeman’s Policeman</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>2.4. Policing and its Commemoration as “Natural” and “Acceptable” Activity</i>	<i>44</i>
<i>2.5. The Official History of the Birth of the National Memorial</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>2.6. Conclusion</i>	<i>52</i>
<b>3. TAYLOR’S CRITIQUE OF THE MEMORIAL AS IDEOLOGICAL</b>	<b>54</b>
<i>3.1. Introduction</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>3.2. Taylor’s Critique of Police Ideological Practices</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>3.3. Dr. Ian Taylor: A Critical Criminologist</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>3.4. Unmasking the “Reality” of Police Work and the Memorial</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>3.5. Demythologizing the Memorial</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>3.6. Conclusion</i>	<i>70</i>
<b>4. PALMER’S GLOBAL STUDIES OF POLICE MEMORIALIZATION</b>	<b>71</b>
<i>4.1. Introduction</i>	<i>71</i>
<i>4.2. Palmer’s Global Studies of Police Memorialization</i>	<i>72</i>

4.3. <i>Dr. Darren Palmer and Dr. Chris Linke: Police Memorialization Experts</i>	74
4.4. <i>Policing as “Legitimate” Activity: Broadening an Important Concept</i>	78
4.5. <i>Comparing the CPPOM to Other Police Memorials Around the World</i>	81
4.6. <i>Conclusion</i>	87
<b>PART II: ON RESEARCH DESIGN</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>5. DEMYSTIFYING, DEMYTHOLOGIZING, AND DEBUNKING THE MEMORIAL IN AN ERA OF COMMEMORATION AND CARCERAL EXPANSION</b>	<b>90</b>
5.1. <i>Introduction</i>	90
5.2. <i>The Drama of Control: Policing as a Dramatic Performance</i>	91
5.3. <i>Penal Tourism and Spectacles of Punishment</i>	97
5.4. <i>Dominant Sites of Nationalizing and Organizational Memory</i>	103
5.5. <i>Conceptually Oriented Research Questions</i>	108
5.6. <i>Conclusion</i>	109
<b>6. OUTLINING A METHOD</b>	<b>110</b>
6.1. <i>Introduction</i>	110
6.2. <i>Reviewing the Research Aim and Questions</i>	110
6.3. <i>Qualitative Research and the New Crisis of Criminology</i>	113
6.4. <i>Epistemological and Ontological Assumptions</i>	115
6.5. <i>Data Collection</i>	116
6.6. <i>Data Analysis</i>	127
6.7. <i>Ethical Considerations</i>	130
6.8. <i>Conclusion</i>	130
<b>PART III: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION</b>	<b>132</b>
<b>7. “THEY’RE MAD ... DAMNED MAD!”: GOVERNMENT AND GUN CONTROL IN THE LEAD-UP TO A MEMORIAL</b>	<b>132</b>
7.1. <i>Introduction</i>	132
7.2. <i>Re-Constructing the Drama of Policing and “Crime Control” in the 1970s</i>	133
7.3. <i>In Search of Greater Peace, Security, and Police Memorialization</i>	140
7.4. <i>The Relevance of Gun Control to the Drama of the National Memorial</i>	151
7.5. <i>Bill C-51 After Kirkwood: A “Mockery” According to Police</i>	153
7.6. <i>Conclusion</i>	158

<b>8. DEMONSTRATION AND COMMEMORATION: CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AND THE EARLY YEARS OF THE MEMORIAL</b>	<b>159</b>
<i>8.1. Introduction</i>	159
<i>8.2. Wives and Widows: Pushing for a Referendum on the Death Penalty</i>	160
<i>8.3. The Memorial as an Extension of Earlier “Law Enforcement” Demonstrations</i>	167
<i>8.4. A Silent Fury of Remembrance: The Early Years of the Memorial</i>	171
<i>8.5. Avoiding Disciplinary Action, Career Repercussions, and Counter-Protestors</i>	180
<i>8.6. Boosting Police Organizational Morale and Memory in the Wake of Abolition</i>	183
<i>8.7. Conclusion</i>	189
<b>9. POLICE HEROISM AND THE MYTH OF REMEMBRANCE: REPRESENTATIONS OF THE DEATH OF CONSTABLE DAVID KIRKWOOD</b>	<b>190</b>
<i>9.1. Introduction</i>	190
<i>9.2. Contemporary Representations of the Death of OPS Constable Kirkwood</i>	192
<i>9.3. Constable David Kirkwood: The Death that Sparked a National Memorial</i>	195
<i>9.4. Frederick Koepke: A History of Criminalization and Mental Illness</i>	197
<i>9.5. The Trial, Part 1: Constructing and De-Constructing Police Mythology</i>	201
<i>9.6. The Trial, Part 2: A Lack of Preparedness and Professionalism</i>	206
<i>9.7. The Trial, Part 3: Mobs and the Memorial</i>	209
<i>9.8. The Trial, Part 4: Systemic Failure and Forgetting</i>	212
<i>9.9. Conclusion</i>	218
<b>10. THE BUREAUCRATIC SPIRIT: BELONGING AND EXCLUSION IN A TIME OF MEMORIAL EXPANSION</b>	<b>220</b>
<i>10.1. Introduction</i>	220
<i>10.2. Blue Line Magazine and the Emergence of a Totemic Memorial Pavilion</i>	222
<i>10.3. Police Weeks and Penal Tourism: Unravelling the American Influence</i>	228
<i>10.4. Roadblocks and Resistance: A Forced Expansion to a “Peace Officers” Memorial</i>	237
<i>10.5. Auxiliaries and Deaths by Suicide: Rejection in a Time of Memorial Expansion</i>	243
<i>10.6. Conclusion</i>	255
<b>11. THE THRILL OF REACHING THE HILL: FEELINGS OF HEROISM AND COURAGE AT THE MEMORIAL TODAY</b>	<b>257</b>
<i>11.1. Introduction</i>	257
<i>11.2. The Birth and Meanings of the Canadian Police Memorial Ride to Remember</i>	258
<i>11.3. The Birth and Meanings of the National Peace Officers Memorial Run</i>	272

<i>11.4. A Private Dinner and Vigil: Heroizing the Survivors of Law Enforcement</i>	285
<i>11.5. Conclusion</i>	294
<b>12. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION</b>	<b>296</b>
<i>12.1. Introduction</i>	296
<i>12.2. Overview of Dissertation</i>	297
<i>12.3. The Memorial as Dramatic Staging and Performance of “Crime Control”</i>	302
<i>12.4. The Memorial as a Spectacle of Punishment, Pilgrimage, and Tourism</i>	309
<i>12.5. The Memorial as a Dominant Site of Memory and Mythmaking</i>	313
<i>12.6. Study Limitations, Future Directions, and Other Concluding Remarks</i>	322
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>327</b>
<b>APPENDIX A: THE UNOFFICIAL “HONOUR ROLL” SINCE 1962</b>	<b>356</b>
<b>APPENDIX B: A TIMELINE OF “THE MEMORIAL” BASED ON THE RESEARCH FINDINGS</b>	<b>372</b>
<b>APPENDIX C: OCCUPATIONS AND RANK BREAKDOWN– CPPOM-HR</b>	<b>385</b>
<b>APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE</b>	<b>386</b>
<b>APPENDIX E: SURVEY</b>	<b>387</b>

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

CACP	Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police
CASAL	Canadian Association for Sensible Arms Legislation
CAF	Canadian Armed Forces
COPS	Concerns of Police Survivors
CPA	Canadian Police Association
CPMRR	Canadian Police Memorial Ride to Remember
CPOMA	Canadian Peace Officers' Memorial Association
CPPOM	Canadian Police and Peace Officers' Memorial
CPPOM-HR	Canadian Police and Peace Officers' Memorial Honour Roll
FARO	Association for Firearms and Responsible Ownership
FOP	Fraternal Order of Police
HOTD	Hours of the Day Monument
NBPOM	New Brunswick Peace Officers Memorial
NCC	National Capital Commission
NLEOM	National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial
NLEOMF	National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund
NPOMR	National Peace Officers' Memorial Run
NWMP	North-West Mounted Police
MP	Member of Parliament
OPC	Ontario Police College
OPM	Ontario Police Memorial
OPGC	Ottawa Police Golden Club
OPPA	Ontario Provincial Police Association
OPS	Ottawa Police Service
PM	Prime Minister
PMP	Police Memorial Pavilion
PPS	Parliamentary Protective Service
RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SOLE	Survivors of Law Enforcement
US	United States
SCC	Supreme Court of Canada
VWC	Visitor Welcome Centre

## TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: A notice at a bus stop on Wellington Street in Ottawa, Ontario notifying the public that there will be no service at this location between 8am to 1pm on 29 September 2019 due to the Canadian Police and Peace Officers’ Memorial (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	xiii
Figure 2: A long line of police officers, prison guards, and other authorities - some holding ceremonial swords and others Canadian and American flags and flags of policing agencies - march towards Parliament Hill in Ottawa, Ontario for the 42nd annual “Canadian Police and Peace Officers’ Memorial” Service in 2019 (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	xv
Figure 3: A typical view of the Memorial Service for an ordinary citizen. The huge number of people in attendance can make it difficult to see and occasionally hear. Addressing this is a key concern among organizers moving forward (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	xv
Figure 4: A portion of the makeshift memorial in Fredericton (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	5
Figure 5: Surveillance at the 2019 CPPOM Service (photos by Matthew Ferguson)	10
Figure 6: The CPPOM “Honour Roll” on Parliament Hill with the Supreme Court of Canada in the background (right) (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	14
Figure 7: The Police Memorial Pavilion with a “No Trespassing” sign restricting public access for what seemed to be repairs (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	17
Figure 8: NPOMR Participants and Supporters “greet the dead” at the CPPOM “Honour Roll” Tablets (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	20
Figure 9: A Screenshot of my Survey (photo in background by Matthew Ferguson)	124
Figure 10: Homicide Rate Per 100,000 population (1961 to 1980) (Statistics Canada 2022a)	140
Figure 11: Police and Prison Officers Killed on the Job in Canada: 1961 to 1980	141
Figure 12: Canadian Police Officers Shot or Stabbed to Death (1960 to 1980)	145
Figure 13: David C. Kirkwood on one of the tablets. A Canadian flag associates carceral officer deaths with the nationalizing state (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	194
Figure 14: Police Officers Killed on Duty in Canada (1978 to 1995) (see Appendix B)	225
Figure 15: Flags at the 2019 National Memorial Service (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	229
Figure 16: A Memorial Wreath from the US-based FOP (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	237
Figure 17: Entrance to the “Path of Honour” at the OPC (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	262
Figure 18: A plaque in memory of police officer Allan Christiansen at the OPC.	263
Figure 19: The CPMRR Support Vehicle (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	266
Figure 20: Some members of the 2019 CPMRR pose for a photo after reaching Parliament Hill the afternoon before the National Service (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	272
Figure 21: The Ontario Police Memorial (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	274
Figure 22: Hours of the Day Monument (photo by Matthew Ferguson)	275
Figure 23: A “thin blue line” representation at the NPOMR opening ceremony.	280

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Major Themes Identified and Constructed from Literature Review .....	71
Table 2: Positions of Interviewees on Including Suicide at the CPPOM .....	250

I took many photos of the New Brunswick Peace Officers' Memorial. Next to it, there was a tree where people could make a wish, write it down on a piece of paper, and then tie them onto its branches. I noticed that a few of them were about the local tragedy, wishing for the safety and healing of the families and first responders involved and that no one would be "bad" again. I took more photos and began to pack up my gear. Suddenly, the calmness at the park was broken by a [rather disheveled looking] lady in the distance screaming profanities. I soon came to the horrific realization that she was sprinting directly towards me, calling me a "pervert" and a "criminal". Confused and angered, I yelled back that I was simply taking photos of the police memorial. [A wild and weathered face with dirty clothes], she reached into a bag and pulled out a sharp object, demanding I give her my information and delete all my photos. Concerned about my research and my life, I ran like hell. She chased me through the park, and past a mother and her child. "Call the police!" she said. I soon made it to the police station nearby, but it was closed due to the funeral. The 911 operator casually implied that they knew exactly who it was. They would send out a car to look for her and pick her up or something. I'm not exactly sure what else they did.

I think this encounter speaks to something larger. Having come to Fredericton in the wake of an event where four people were shot dead [two of them police officers on the job] by a man we know very little about right now, it would not surprise me if addiction, poverty, or mental illness played a role in this. What role should it play in my research on police commemoration? At what point are communities and the country going to seriously address these issues? At what point are we going to actually "pick her up" and others who have been pushed to the margins instead of policing and punishing them? I mean, if chasing after someone with the threat of violence and calling them a "criminal" is the behaviour of a troubled or sick person, then what does this say about a country that essentially does the same thing on a much larger scale? I agree with the wishes mentioned earlier, as well as one by "L. from Airdrie, Alberta" who wishes for "kindness and more acceptance for everyone" and another wish for "peace and freedom".

- Fieldnotes, Matthew Ferguson, New Brunswick (19 August 2019)



***Figure 1: A notice at a bus stop on Wellington Street in Ottawa, Ontario notifying the public that there will be no service at this location between 8am to 1pm on 29 September 2019 due to the Canadian Police and Peace Officers' Memorial (photo by Matthew Ferguson)***

My name is Lincoln Dinning. I am a retired Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) officer for 30 years and I've been happily retired for the last 5 and a half. I have participated both in the National Peace Officers Memorial Run, like actually physically doing the run. I was also a participant in the fact that after Matthew [my son, a military policeman] was killed, I held his hat on Parliament Hill. Have you ever been to the Canadian Memorial? The Memorial Service on Sunday? You'll notice they have the hat bearers on the steps of Parliament Hill. Usually a partner would hold it, or a brother might hold a brother's hat ... Well, it's my understanding that I was the first father to hold his son's hat. I remember them telling me before: Are you going to be able to do this? I said, yeah, I might be bawling my eyes out, but I'll do it. My wife Laurie and I have been to the memorial ever since his death.

- Interview with Matthew Ferguson

My name is Shelley Atkinson. You want me to start from the beginning? Where it all began for me? My husband, Constable John Atkinson, was with the Windsor Police Service, he was hired in 1991. On May 5th, 2006, he was murdered in the line of duty. That September of 2006 was the first time I went to Ottawa for the national memorial – but I never was part of the actual run or ride. It was just more of the ceremony I would go to. Like, the family vigil on the Saturday. I was able to meet other families ... And, I was always aware of the memorial because we would get ... *Blue Line Magazine*. It would come in October, because after the September memorial, right? It would always come in the mail. I always remember, I picked it up. This is when John was still alive and I looked at it and I'd be like, aw, poor family and I'd put it down. Little did I know I was going to become the cover of *Blue Line Magazine* one day. The irony in that was hard to swallow.

- Interview with Matthew Ferguson

My name is Brenda Carey. I am a retired OPP officer ... My first interaction with the memorial, the first time I attended it was after I met Dave at a conference and we fell in love, and when you're that new, fresh love you kind of do whatever they want you to do, trying to impress them. Anyway, Dave was with the Royal Air Force before he became an OPP officer. He came over from England, so he was very military-oriented. He was part of the West Region Colour Party. He marched at the memorials and funerals and stuff. He "conned" me – cause I'm not very good at marching – to join him and to join the Colour Party. I think that would have been 2000, the first memorial I would have went to in Ottawa. So, I joined the Colour Party, we went to the Toronto, Ottawa, and Cleveland, Ohio, police memorial. All the funerals and local parades too. That was my first interaction with the police memorial in Ottawa, with Dave, marching side by side with him. It was kind of strange that we did that for 7 years together and his name ended up on the wall.

- Interview with Matthew Ferguson



***Figure 2: A long line of police officers, prison guards, and other authorities - some holding ceremonial swords and others Canadian and American flags and flags of policing agencies - march towards Parliament Hill in Ottawa, Ontario for the 42nd annual “Canadian Police and Peace Officers’ Memorial” Service in 2019 (photo by Matthew Ferguson)***



***Figure 3: A typical view of the Memorial Service for an ordinary citizen. The huge number of people in attendance can make it difficult to see and occasionally hear. Addressing this is a key concern among organizers moving forward (photo by Matthew Ferguson)***

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This doctoral dissertation broadly investigates the birth, development, meanings, and role of a popular national day and event that has also been overlooked – as it is under-researched and not, as I describe it, just a time or gathering of people, but also a complex and influential penal system service, organization, and institution. It is known as “The Canadian Police and Peace Officers Memorial” (CPPOM) (see *Figures 1, 2 and 3*). As will be seen in the upcoming section introducing the memorial, the CPPOM mostly occurs in open view and honours police officers, prison guards, border agents, and other penal system officers who are officially employed “for the preservation and maintenance of the public peace” (Yogis and Cotter 2009, 210). Although involving officers and management from police services and other organizations in Canada and parts of the United States (US), the CPPOM is a service and organization in its own right, with organized roles, formal and informal rules, and beliefs. In this sense, it is also an institution (Manning 1997), which is entwined with and bolstered by other dominant social institutions, such as family, work, law, and the media. After introducing the CPPOM further, I clarify the research aims of this study, its contributions, and the need at this time to understand and explain – or what I call demystify, demythologize, and debunk – the CPPOM. Lastly, I provide an overview of the chapters.

### 1.1. Heroes for a Nationalizing and Carceral State: Introducing the CPPOM

The CPPOM service has taken place on the front lawn of Parliament Hill – the home of the federal government – in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada on the last Sunday in September since 1978. According to then police officer Laroche (1994), the date was chosen “arbitrarily [by then Ottawa Police Chief Thomas Welsh] ... as that time of year received beautiful weather” (302). In 1998, a proclamation by the federal government declared this day to be “Police and Peace Officers’ National Memorial Day” (Minister of Justice 1998). “We need to stop and recognize that Canada

continues to be one of the safest countries in which to live”, then Solicitor General Andy Scott remarked at the 1998 service, “because of the dedication to duty and sacrifice of Canada’s police and peace officers” (Red Deer Advocate 1998). “This recognition is a fitting way to honour the men and women who have given their lives in the name of public safety”, he went on. Similar memorial services are held in communities nationwide on this day, albeit on a smaller scale.

The CPPOM service is similar to a regimental police funeral, another understudied topic which Lord and colleagues (2004) note may involve the public, but is “primarily aimed at the police themselves” (336). These events are said to bring police officers together in a “sea of blue” (353) – the colour typically worn by police – that re-establishes police authority and power in the wake of a death on the job (see Manning 1977; 2015). Henry (2004) observes that police funerals and related rituals involve “distinctive police behaviours, ceremonies and symbolism” (36), but that “the academic literature of policing rarely deals with the psychology or sociology of police encounters with death” (37). Thus, to learn more, in August 2018 – when I knew nothing about my thesis other than wanting to study the memorialization of police deaths and learn about “The Meaning of Sacrifice” (an older version of its title) in police work – I flew to Fredericton, New Brunswick, to attend the memorial activities for two police officers slain on the job.

As reported in a news article titled, “Heroes for a Nation” (Fraser 2018), around six in the morning, Constables Sara Burns, 43, and Robb Costello, 45, responded to reports of gunfire at an apartment. Upon arrival, they ran to assist two people lying injured on the pavement. A man, Matthew Vincent Raymond, 48, suddenly emerged from a third-floor window with a rifle, killing them all. At the trial, he was found “not criminally responsible” (Ibrahim 2020). It turned out that Raymond had been living with a mental illness, which made him delusional and perceive the

people he shot as demons coming to kill him. Two psychiatrists diagnosed him with schizophrenia and he was ordered by a judge to be treated in a high-security hospital (Bissett 2020).

My trip was unanticipated but informed by the work of Derek Dalton (2015), who in *Dark Tourism and Crime* travels to Auschwitz, Oradour-sur-Glane, Tuol Sleng, and other places associated with “crime-related” death, sadness, and suffering. He strives to “mimic the authentic experience of an ordinary tourist who travels to a destination and experiences the site first-hand, guided by his/her senses” (9). After checking into my motel, I read that a public visitation was being held shortly, wherein members of the public were invited to meet with the families of Constables Burns and Costello (see Harding 2018). I called a taxi and asked the driver to take me there. Asking what my business was, I told him that I was a criminology student who had travelled from Ottawa to pay my respects. The driver replied that the shooting was a terrible but preventable tragedy. Harsher prisons, longer sentences, and a death penalty like in parts of the United States (US), he said, were needed to deter certain individuals from killing others.

I said nothing, as it was around this time that I saw the line at the convention centre. It was longer than most sporting events, concerts, and amusement parks (Harding 2018). It stretched out the entrance, wrapped around the front, extended down the side, and ended at the back of the centre. Two hours after arriving, I finally had made my way inside the centre, up a flight of stairs, past a book where people could leave messages of condolences for the families, two water stations, and into a dimly lit ballroom where the families gathered. As my eyes adjusted to the atmosphere, they were drawn to a slideshow playing photos of the officers. Then, they set upon the family members – grief-stricken spouses, parents, children, cousins, and more. Constable Burns, a wife with three children, was a stay-at-home mom until she became a police constable in 2015 after earning a degree in criminology at St. Thomas University in Fredericton. Constable Costello was

a 20-year police veteran, husband, and father of four. He was well aware of the dangers of police work, but still promised his family that he would always return home to them (Roy 2018).

The family members were arranged in a row, which allowed members of the public to speak with each one. Lining the sides of the room were bouquets of flowers that had been donated by various corporations, such as Bell Canada, and other police services and associations, such as the Toronto Police Association. Separating the two families in the middle was a police officer in ceremonial uniform, who stood expressionless beside two photos of the officers. Like others around me, I offered condolences to the family members for their loss. An individual in front of me had gone to school with one of the officers. I overheard them share uplifting stories and reassure family members of the great “sacrifice” their loved one had made as a police officer.

Over the next three days, like an ordinary spectator, I attended several other forms of memorialization for Constables Burns and Costello, whose status as police officers seemed to overshadow the two civilians killed alongside them – Donnie Robichaud, 42, a local musician with three children who was described by a friend as a “real nice guy” (Gill 2018), and Bobbie Lee Wright, 32, a personal support worker who was described in her obituary as “selfless” and “caring” (CBC News 2018). I visited a makeshift memorial at the police station, where Prime Minister (PM) Justin Trudeau – who visited with the families of the police officers but neglected, initially, to give his condolences to the widowed Melissa Robichaud, causing her to remark: “They wear a vest, they carry a gun, that makes them more important than one of us?” (Lamoureux 2018) – had fielded questions about “what more his government can do to restrict long guns and help protect police officers” (MacKinnon 2018). At the makeshift memorial, there were people standing in silence amidst an enormous number of flowers, cards, signs, balloons, and several Canadian flags taped to the building, each filled with hundreds of messages of sadness and support (see *Figure 4*).



***Figure 4: A portion of the makeshift memorial in Fredericton (photo by Matthew Ferguson)***

I also visited the apartment complex where the shooting unfolded, encountering what Dalton (2015) calls the “afterlife of spaces and places where crime has occurred” (8). There, I saw more flowers and ran into a journalist from the *Fredericton Daily Gleaner* who had been at the scene all week doing interviews. He gave me a tour of the site, pointing out the third-floor window where Raymond had shot from, which had been covered with white tarps. Afterwards, I walked along the Saint John River and came across a “wishing tree” located beside the New Brunswick Peace Officers Memorial (NBPOM), a small structure “constructed through the volunteer efforts of peace officers [and] dedicated on August 24th 1997” according to a nearby plaque. Pinned on the branches were wishes, with some touching on the tragedy – “I wish for less senseless violence and more protection for first responders”, wrote one with blue sparkles at the bottom. “I wish nobody is ever bad again, because Fredericton is the best city in the world”, read another.

Before heading back to Ottawa, I attended the parade, which was also attended by police officers from as far away as British Columbia and into the US (Fraser 2018). The streets were lined with umbrellas as thousands of spectators gathered in the rain, many holding signs with words of support. A few bent down on one knee or raised a fist in solidarity as bagpipers, police officers, paramedics, military personnel, and others marched from a high school to the funeral location.

Positioned throughout were police officers armed with assault rifles intensely scanning the crowd. Above, on the rooftops, camouflaged officers discreetly watched the events below, resembling tourists sightseeing through binoculars. The funeral was closed to the public but broadcasted on national television. It was a solemn event in which their caskets were draped in the national flag. There were prayers, speeches, and songs, including the national anthem (Fraser 2018). After the funeral, I collected relevant news stories about the events, reading about how Constable Burns and Costello would also be honoured at the CPPOM on Parliament Hill in September.

It was through this experience that I became more interested in the CPPOM and learning about its birth, development, and meanings, as well as the influential role it has played since the late-1970s. Not just in terms of encouraging people to come together when a “peace” officer is killed. Nor just in terms of inspiring the construction of comparable municipal and provincial memorials like the NBPOM. More specifically, in Fredericton, I observed how “peace” officer memorials shape how citizens understand the work they represent and those who perform it. An important message shared through commemoration was that Constable Burns and Costello embodied what it meant to be a police officer, who were selfless heroes for their communities and country. From this perspective, the suggestion by the taxi driver to enhance the pains inflicted on prisoners and re-instate the death penalty made sense. Their killing was constructed as a horrific “crime” – which perhaps deserved an equally horrific punishment. Yet the jury later concluded that no “crime” had essentially even occurred, as Raymond was suffering from delusions.

While striving to mimic the experience of an ordinary spectator, like Dalton (2015), my “background as a criminologist” (9) coloured my field observations. It encouraged me to question claims that I heard – for example, at the motel bar and while in line at the visitation – that “violent crime” was one of the biggest crises facing the country, along with a declining amount of respect

for police officers and the law. The former I knew to be a narrow claim that ignored its relationship to more devastating problems of addiction, of mental illness, of poverty, of racism, and of the harms and limitations of policing and punishment themselves (e.g. Christie 1981; Hulsman 1986; Clarkson and Munn 2021; Razack 2015; Piché 2014), while the latter was an exaggeration (Loader and Mulcahy 2003; Rutland 2023) and is not evident when one waits for hours to meet the family of a deceased officer, or sees thousands of pro-police spectators gathered to see the parade.

Thus, I eventually came to see a need to not just study police memorials but demystify, demythologize, and debunk them, especially the CPPOM, being on Parliament Hill, the place where Canada's laws are made (Tammemagi 2002). By demystifying, I mean understanding the process through which monuments are often constructed and mobilized to entrench and expand rather than unsettle power relations (see Côté-Lussier et al., 2020). By demythologizing, I mean explaining how memorials are rendered natural and permanent through certain beliefs which “resist or deny the relevance of empirical ‘facts’” (Manning 1997, 36). Another myth I encountered in Fredericton was the notion of police officer deaths being the product of bad political decision-making, which mystifies that death is a normal part and product of policing, leading researchers to refer to it as “death work” (e.g. Henry 2004) and “violence work” (e.g. Seigel 2018).<sup>1</sup> Finally, by debunking, I mean adopting what Berger (1963) once called the first wisdom of sociology – “things are not what they seem” (23). In other words, demonstrating how services, organizations, and institutions like the CPPOM not only entrench and expand dominant power relations, but also contain unofficial and hidden realities, which can be discovered through in-depth analysis.

---

<sup>1</sup> As will be seen, there is also a CPPOM “Honour Roll” monument on Parliament Hill, which has been constructed to ensure there is plenty of room for the names of future officers who will die on the job (see O’Connell 2001). Also, participants in this study described on-duty death as a normal/natural part of the profession (e.g. “The ceremony makes me proud that I chose the policing profession and that if I one day pay the ‘ultimate sacrifice’ that there is something in place for my family to know that the citizens of Canada appreciate the sacrifice”) (Survey Respondent).

I first attended and conducted fieldwork at the CPPOM on 29 September 2019.<sup>2</sup> The events began at 9'clock with a reading of the CPPOM "Honour Roll" – the names of the officers on the memorial (see *Appendix A*) – in front of the Peace Tower, a massive free-standing bell tower, called a campanile, made of cream-coloured sandstone rising nearly thirty stories with a Canadian flag fluttering in the wind at its green, copper-covered apex. The tower also serves as a memorial to the more than 65,000 Canadian soldiers killed during World War One (1914-1918) (Parliament of Canada 2020). On the interior and exterior of the Peace Tower, there are at least 370 stone carvings and mythical figures (Parliament of Canada 2020). Also inscribed in the stonework on the Peace Tower are passages, such as one proclaiming that "Where there is no vision, the people perish" that is placed over an exterior window. Two "peace" officers wearing ceremonial dress approached a microphone and slowly read out more than 875 names. With the service not scheduled until two hours later, there were a relatively small number of people in attendance. As I stood and listened to the names, it almost seemed like the speakers were communicating more with the dead than the living, calling upon them to assemble in spirit and join the service.

Not long after the last name was read, sounds of bagpipes, drums, and hundreds of officers marching along Wellington Street from the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) filled the late-morning air. Like in Fredericton, hundreds of spectators lined the street. Most participants were adorned in the ceremonial dress of their agency. They marched with their hands remaining at the ends of straight arms, swinging in time to the sounds of the musicians marching among them. The dress and behaviour participants must follow is outlined in a document titled "Parade Orders". It contains information on the Parade Commanders and Marshalls, where to line up according to rank and organization, the parade route, as well as pipe bands, motorcycles, order of dress, pillows and

---

<sup>2</sup> I did not conduct research at the 2018 CPPOM service because I had not yet passed the coursework, second language, or comprehensive exam stage of the program and was unsure what my thesis would be on.

hats, and the reception. Once reaching the parliamentary lawn, the line of officers filed into a rectangular position facing the Peace Tower. Members of the public were separated from the officers, musicians, and family members of the dead by a metal barrier and a large space, which contained police officers acting as security and some volunteers assisting with the service.

In 2019, the ceremony was dedicated to Lesa Zoerb, 50, a “correctional” officer in Saskatchewan who died that year in a vehicle collision at work. She was the only “peace” officer in Canada to die on the job since the end of the 2018 service. Also recognized were three officers who died on the job in the early 1900s whose names were being retroactively added. During the service, the Honourable Bill Blair, then Minister of Border Security and Organized Crime Reduction and former Chief of the Toronto Police, stated in one of the speeches to the assembled crowd that the “name and memory [of Zoerb] is today engraved on the panels of our national memory, to be forever commemorated for her tireless service, for her sacrifice on behalf of her citizens”. Her family was also in attendance, sitting alongside other families of memorialized “peace” officers, politicians, and others at the front in a reserved section.

The CPPOM is a dominant “site of memory” – meaning, “any significant entity ... which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community” (Nora 1996, xvii). According to Nora (1996), sites of memory signal that we live in an “era of commemoration” (see *Chapter 5*). Along with speeches, there were also prayers and songs sung by a choir and played on instruments. This included “Amazing Grace”, “Who are the Brave?”, and the anthems of Canada and the US. Like in Fredericton, there were many US officers in attendance. There were also two laments – meaning a passionate expression of grief, often in musical form – close to one another. They occurred at the top of East Block, one by a bagpiper and the other by a traditional piper, who stood in front of a national flag lowered to half-

mast. There was also a carrying of hats of deceased officers on pillows, a firing of a cannon by the 30th Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery, known as the Bytown Gunners, and a laying of wreaths, including by family members of the dead and US “law enforcement” officers.

I use quotations for terms such as “law enforcement” and “peace” officer because they too must be demystified, demythologized, and debunked. As the policing scholar Manning (2003) writes, “the idea that policing is ‘law enforcement’ is a misleading synecdoche because rather rarely do police invoke the law” (39). He also describes “peace officer” as a “created (misdirecting) oxymoron” (41), which like “law enforcement” and “correctional” officer mystifies that “this work can be profoundly violent ... The peace that peace officers keep is not a universally desired peace” (40), because it involves the deprivation of liberty and the use of force (Manning 2003).

The CPPOM was originally only for police and federal prison guards, but expanded in 1996 to include other forms of “peace” officers (see *Chapter 10*). The service concluded with the “Prayer of Dismissal” that was followed by the “March Past” where officers left the grounds. As spectators watched, we were also being watched ourselves. Along with surveillance cameras, on almost all rooftops of surrounding buildings were teams of camouflaged “peace” officers. There were also auxiliary police officers, Ottawa Police Service (OPS) and Parliamentary Protective Service (PPS) officers. Some of the latter wore black and carried large guns (see *Figure 5*).



***Figure 5: Surveillance at the 2019 CPPOM Service (photos by Matthew Ferguson)***

Most people who I later interviewed for this study described the security as an unfortunate inevitability. This included OPS Ceremonial Sergeant Major Steve Boucher – the current lead organizer of the CPPOM service: “That’s just the sad reality of today’s world”, he noted. Another interviewee observed similarities with Canada Day and how the security had intensified:

A lot of time on Canada Day [July 1] ... you could actually see snipers on the roofs of the buildings near Parliament Hill. That was a little disconcerting, that that kinda thing was necessary. Walking around the grounds, once you pass security ... we did have to walk a fair distance just to be able to get through security, that was a huge inconvenience. You had to go through metal detectors and what not, and possibly a search, and then you had to walk back to Parliament. That kinda thing is unfortunate, but I guess a necessity ... In contrast, in around 2006 when I went, there really was no security like that. I’m sure there were police around, but I really didn’t notice it. Whereas now, we happened to be walking by the War Memorial and a little girl got a little too close where the guards were and they were told to back away. So, none of that kind of security was like that years ago.

At least for now, there is no metal detectors at the CPPOM service. Ceremonial Sergeant Major Boucher identified 2014 as a turning point. Specifically, on 22 October 2014, Corporal Nathan Cirillo, 24 – a member of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) Reserves on ceremonial sentry duty at the National War Memorial a few steps away – was killed by Michael Zehaf-Bibeau, 32, who then drove onto Parliament Hill, sprinted up the steps of Centre Block, and was killed by police. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Commissioner described Zehaf-Bibeau as driven by “ideological and political motives” (Culzac 2014). Although he also had a history of mental health, housing, and substance abuse problems (Friscolanti 2014), the attack was more often said to have revealed an “archaic and disjointed [security] system” (MacLeod 2016). Thus, along with “arming Parliament Hill with more cameras, defense barriers, and other measures” (McLeod 2015, A10), the PPS was established from three now-defunct security agencies – the House of Commons Security Service, the Senate Protective Services, and the RCMP Parliament Hill Unit.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> The incident was followed by other security related moves, such as the passing of Bill C-44 that modified the *Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act* to give the state enhanced powers of surveillance. Since then, other events have also occurred justifying a high level of security in the eyes of the officials. In January 2022, for example,

As someone who was told to hide underneath a desk at the University of Ottawa when news broke that Corporal Cirillo had been killed, this event was already seared into my memory when I visited the grounds to attend the CPPOM. Although I did not need to go inside the buildings, those who wish to do so must use the Visitor Welcome Centre (VWC), a four-level underground complex that opened in 2019. It is said to be “the first new building ... constructed on Parliament Hill in over 100 years” (VWC 2020). As Butler (2016) explains, “security is the centre’s main *raison d’être*” (1). The building is additional evidence of what Côté-Lussier and colleagues (2020) describe as “a social context marked by an increase of insecurity and exclusion” (10), which can be seen in Canada, the US, and elsewhere. They observe how the discipline of criminology has traditionally contributed to this social context due to its close relationship with penal system authorities and its “concern with matters of ‘security’ as officially constructed” (1). Yet they also explain how the discipline is contested and call for research that questions, struggles against, and encourages transforming this context, rather than promoting it or seeing it as inevitable.

Costing upwards of \$730 million with parts still under construction, the VWC is one part of a multi-billion dollar “rehabilitation project” affecting the Parliamentary Precinct since 2002. The precinct refers to the buildings on Wellington Street, from the East Block to the SCC, as well as all buildings within an area bound by Sparks Street, Bank Street, and Sussex Drive. According to the Government of Canada (2022), the project involves restoring and modernizing the buildings and preserving their architectural heritage. It also involves new security plans that have yet to be finalized, such as possibly adding blast protection to buildings. They could “substantially increase the cost and duration of the project” (Rands 2020), according to a recent assessment.

---

thousands of people also converged onto the area to protest the COVID-19 vaccine mandates (Tasker 2022). According to McLaren (2022), the protestors saw the state as an enemy of freedom. In his view, while it is indeed important to speak out against “repressive state structures” (868), the view of freedom adopted by the protestors was problematic as it was characterized by white supremacy, along with a disregard for the health and safety of others.

Despite an increased amount of surveillance and weaponry, as well as construction, the parliamentary grounds are still widely visited. Along with the annual CPPOM service, they are home to what geographers Osborne and Osborne (2004) call an “ever-expanding pantheon of national heroes” (43) memorialized in the form of statues and other monuments. They note how monuments and the celebrations that surround them communicate meanings, which transform the landscape in a manner that often sustains “prevailing systems of power” (44). This suggests to them that Canada is best seen not as nation-state, but more dynamically as a “nationalizing-state” (39). It is a state – or set of governing institutions – consistently involved in commemoration and other acts oriented around constructing a sense of national identity and collective memory.<sup>4</sup>

As others have observed, the state is also “carceral” or prison-like in its operations. The “carceral state” is the “set of organizations and the capacities attached to them that a government employs to administer its monopoly on violence and maintain order within its borders” (Fortner 2013, 14; see also Sim 2009; Ross 2017). Along with nationalizing projects, the state relies on surveillance and confinement to maintain control over lands it claims official ownership of.

There is also a CPPOM “Honour Roll” monument overlooking the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) on the western edge of the Hill (see *Figure 6*). Nearby is a view of Gatineau, Quebec, and the Ottawa River that carves its way through unceded and unsundered Algonquin Anishinaabe territory (Tomiak 2016). The monument stands less than five feet high but is long,

---

<sup>4</sup> A nation is generally understood to be a group of people who share a common way of life. Osborne and Osborne (2004) cite the work of Anderson (1994), who defines a nation as an “imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (6). It is imagined, Anderson (1994) writes, “because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (6). It is imagined as limited because even the largest nation has finite boundaries, beyond which lie other nations, and imagined as sovereign because the concept emerged a few hundred years ago at a time in human history when the sovereign state emerged as the dominant type of political organization. Finally, the nation is a community, Anderson (1994) argues, because despite inequality and forms of exploitation within countries, the nation is widely conceived as a “deep horizontal comradeship” (7). Most people share a sense of fraternity with the nation, so strong that many citizens have or are willing to die in its name.

resembling a disassembled book. Since 2000, there are 28 glass tablets with the names of municipal, provincial, and federal police and other “peace” officers who have died on the job, thirty names to a panel, written in a white font descending below a small white Canadian flag. A set of guidelines exist to help memorial organizers determine if a deceased officers name is eligible for the “Honour Roll” (see *Chapter 10*). Inscribed at the top of the leftmost panel is the phrase, “They are our heroes. We shall not forget them” with a French translation below.



***Figure 6: The CPPOM “Honour Roll” on Parliament Hill with the Supreme Court of Canada in the background (right) (photo by Matthew Ferguson)***

The monument is largely unknown. I once spoke with someone who had conducted tours in downtown Ottawa for 20 years – they had never heard of it. The most visited in the area and also most researched is the National War Memorial and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (e.g. Szpunar 2010; Gordon and Osborne 2004; Davidson 2016a, 2016b; Green 2016, Bormanis 2016; Delisle 2016; Blair and Balthrop 2011). While the body of research on war memorials and military commemoration in Canada and beyond is vast, research on police and “peace” officer memorials is rare and only in its infancy, in part because these memorials tend to be much newer.

According to Palmer (2012), though, there is more to it than this. With police deaths on the job, he notes, “we are not talking about the defense of the nation or of an empire, but rather the everyday and mundane practice of internal ordering where sometimes a police officer loses [their] life” (88; see also Linke 2018). According to him, police memorials are still important to research, as “what we celebrate through the processes of memorialization of police are suggestive of deeper insights into contemporary cultural attitudes to the police specifically, and public security generally” (187). He has discovered that the number of police memorials is fast-growing in the US, Canada, Ireland, Scotland, England, Australia, India, and China, leading him to describe police memorials – and “police memory” specifically – as a “global policing movement” (187).

While researchers may not be talking about “the defense of the nation” (Palmer 2012, 188) when it comes to these deaths, many attendees at the CPPOM and related memorials are, such as those seen in Fredericton. At memorials, “peace” officers are described as protecting citizens from the violence of lawbreakers, as well as defending nationalizing state ideals, such as peace, justice, freedom, and community (Osborne and Osborne 2004). Many of those recognized at the CPPOM died in vehicle accidents. Others from gunshots, stabbings, and drownings. The location of the monument, along with the white font and glass on the monument selected to not impede the view, communicates a mythical image of carceral state work as clean, peaceful, transparent, and more heroic than other jobs, including those that are riskier (Pinsent 2012; Taylor 1986). There is no monument on the Hill to construction workers, for example, of which thousands have died helping to “build” the country (see Bittle, Chen, and Hébert 2018). “[This monument] pays tribute to the sacrifice of these brave men and women killed in the performance of their duties”, a panel reads, which is repeated in French. When sunlight strikes the names, their shadows are imprinted onto the stone behind it. The tablets are protected by a case during the harsh winter months.

On the other stainless-steel panel there are three symbols, in the basic sense of something that stands for and represents something else (Keister 2004). The symbols are engraved in black. The names of organizations are written below in both official languages. First, close to the top of the panel there is an eleven-pointed maple leaf with a perfectly balanced scale positioned inside it and an imperial crown placed above. Below are the words, “Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police” (CACP). Second, there is an outline of two police badges tilted to overlap in the middle. Arranged lengthwise along the top are the flags of each province and territory, with the flag poles disappearing behind the two badges and a small maple leaf positioned at the apex in the middle. Inside each badge there are two additional maple leaves containing the letters “CPA” on the left one and “ACP” on the right. Below are the words, “Canadian Police Association” (CPA).

Third, there is circular symbol with an imperial crown with two crosses positioned at the top and twenty-four maple leaves plunging down the sides to a banner at the bottom with “In Arduis Fidelis” (Latin: Faithful in Adversity) in the middle. Below it rests another three maple leaves. Wrapped around the inside of the circle are the letters “CPOMA” on the left side and “ACCAP” on the right. Inside, there is an outline of a badge split into a four equal sections, each of them containing one of the following symbols: a balanced scale, a fish, two keys crossing, and a moose with antlers. Beneath the symbols there is an outline of two hands together shaking. Below all of this are the words, “Canadian Peace Officers’ Memorial Association” (CPOMA).<sup>5</sup> The symbols communicate who orchestrated the creation of the monument. Their presence on the monument (and not just the names of the dead) led one former Canadian police officer to argue that it is not “true to its intent” as an act of remembrance (Lymburner 2000, 4; see *Chapter 10*).

---

<sup>5</sup> In another version of the CPOMA emblem there are 14 leaves, which symbolize the ten provinces, three territories, and one federal district. The crown recognizes Kings Charles III and the scales are a well-known symbol for justice. The fish recognizes those working for Fisheries and Oceans Canada, the crossing keys is for Correctional Service of Canada, the shaking hands Canada Border Services Agency. Finally, the moose recognizes conservation officers.

The CPPOM “Honour Roll” monument is located beside a green, pagoda-like structure known as the Police Memorial Pavilion (PMP) (see *Figure 7* and *Chapter 10*). There are two plaques which explain its history in both official languages that are located on the ground:

SUMMER PAVILLION: The summer pavilion was originally built in 1877 by Public Works Canada under the direction of the Chief Architect Thomas Seaton Scott, and stood on this site until it was demolished in 1956. It was rebuilt in 1993 by Public Works and Government Services Canada with funding from the Canadian Police Association and the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police. Dedicated as a national police memorial on March 22, 1994, the pavilion is a gift to the people of Canada from the Canadian police officers in memory of their fallen comrades (Memorial Plaque 1993).

While the VWC is touted as the first new building on the Hill in over 100 years, the PMP is also a new creation – at least in its meaning as a police memorial. It was used as the backdrop for the 2020 and 2021 memorial service during the pandemic, when attendance was restricted to prevent the spread of COVID-19. During this time, the memorial was broadcasted online to hundreds of people (see *Chapter 6*). Although described as a “gift to the people of Canada” – suggesting, like the family visitation in Fredericton, that not all forms of police memorialization are “primarily aimed at the police themselves” (Crank 2004, 336) – it is not clarified to the public how the people it commemorates died. This information is not needed to publicly associate the carceral aspects of the state with the nationalizing myth of service and sacrifice (Osborne and Osborne 2004).



***Figure 7: The Police Memorial Pavilion with a “No Trespassing” sign restricting public access for what seemed to be repairs (photo by Matthew Ferguson)***

The PMP is also in the logo of the CPPOM which organizers have created to promote it. The logo consists of an outline of the pavilion – often in green to match the colour of the structure – with the capitalized words “THE MEMORIAL” and “LA COMMÉMORATION” placed below it. It can be seen on the memorial blog, which provides updates about the memorial weekend and online streaming. The latter is one of the newer services that the memorial offers for those unable to attend the service, along with better sound quality for those in attendance. The logo is also displayed on the memorial podium that speakers use to address those watching and the website of the CPPOM, which was changed and updated in 2022.

The old website for the CPPOM was quite unlike the typical, well-administered police website that invites the public to see police work as legitimate (Sillince and Brown 2009). Most of the time it did not load content properly. When up, it contained basic information about the memorial, such as a short history, the names of the officers on the “Honour Roll”, the official criteria for inclusion, as well as some religious quotes, such as “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God” (Matthew 5: 9). The history given was as follows:

On September 24th 1998, the Government of Canada officially proclaimed the last Sunday of September of every year as Police and Peace Officers National Memorial Day. This National Memorial Day gives Canadians an opportunity each year to formally express appreciation for the dedication of police and peace officers, which made the ultimate tragic sacrifice to keep our community safe. Unfortunately, our comrades are falling at an alarming rate, 3 to 5 officers per year. The first memorial was held in 1978 and honoured 14 officers. Today the names of over 874 fallen officers are engraved on the Honour Roll tablets. After several years at a temporary place behind East Block, the tablets are back in their original location next to the Summer Pavilion overlooking the Ottawa River.

The website is now just one page. There is a photo of a police bagpiper playing in front of the PMP during the memorial service, which is outfitted with numerous flags. Along with contact information and links to social media, the logo and url – [www.thememorial.ca](http://www.thememorial.ca) – indicate a desire to stage this memorial as not just any Canadian memorial, but *the* Canadian memorial.

The tablets and pavilion play an important role in two of the newest CPPOM events, which I also conducted fieldwork at in 2019. First, there is the Canadian Police Memorial Ride to Remember (CPMRR), established in 2000 (see *Chapter 11*). It begins 570 kilometers away at the Ontario Police College (OPC) in Aylmer, passing by places such as the Ontario Police Memorial (OPM) – a memorial at Queen’s Park in Toronto also unveiled in 2000 – before arriving the day before the annual service in Ottawa. The day after cyclists depart, a ceremony at the OPM marks the start of the National Peace Officers Memorial Run (NPOMR), established in 2005, where runners participate in a 460-kilometer relay event to the national memorial (see *Chapter 11*). The official point of these memorial events is to raise awareness of the CPPOM service, as well as money – predominantly to assist family members of officers killed on the job but also other purposes, such as donating to various charities and establishing more police memorials.

In 2019, participants wore athletic uniforms with symbols that were meaningful to them. Along with the national flag, I saw many manifestations of the controversial “thin blue line” symbol that had recently been prohibited on official police uniforms by the RCMP, the OPS, and other services due to its usage by far-right groups opposing anti-racist and anti-colonial activism (see Global News 2022). There were also phrases, such as “Heroes in Life” (see *Chapter 11*). The two events arrived together on the Hill. The finale involved participants bursting onto the Hill in front of hundreds of cheering relatives, friends, and tourists. Some uninformed tourists who had visited the Hill that day were bewildered at the dramatic scene and rushed to take photos.

Finally, having arrived at what Tammemagi (2002) calls “the heart of Canada” (5), the riders and runners passed beneath a massive national flag raised into the sky by the extended ladders of two firetrucks.<sup>6</sup> Some PPS officers stepped in as participants surged onto the grounds.

---

<sup>6</sup> A few years later, during the 2022 CPPOM service that resumed on the parliamentary lawn following the pandemic, a large Canadian flag was also placed directly behind the podium. It helped hide the ongoing construction.

However, it was just to occasionally give them a high five to show, like the firefighters, solidarity with the CPPOM. The riders and runners then followed the road heading toward Centre Block. An act with great energy and emotion, participants were honouring what some later described to me as the “ultimate” sacrifice, which officers recognized on the “Honour Roll” had performed.

I shadowed the riders and runners as they veered off to the tablets. The celebrations of participants and family members abruptly stopped. They all lined up in a row and walked beside the tablets, some placing flowers, photos, or small trinkets beneath them (see *Figure 8*). Almost all ran their fingers across each name on the monument. As the CPPOM involved marching, riding, and running onto the Hill and greeting the dead – both with participants touching the names and reading them out before the service – and references to the “ultimate” sacrifice, it was reminiscent of the Zehaf-Bibeau incident. In this case, however, when it came to officers themselves bursting onto the Hill and greeting the dead, it was described as driven purely by a desire to participate in a memorial – not “ideological and political motives” (Culzac 2014). It was nevertheless apparent that the CPPOM was also integral to broader and growing attempts by penal system actors to further expand and entrench policing and other penal system practices as central to the Canadian national identity, which is not a given but is forged through struggle (Osborne and Osborne 2004).



***Figure 8: NPOMR Participants and Supporters “greet the dead” at the CPPOM “Honour Roll” Tablets (photo by Matthew Ferguson)***

## 1.2. Research Aim and Contributions

As the CPPOM has steadily grown in popularity and is now not just celebrated in Ottawa, but also other communities nation-wide – including other memorial rides and runs (see Bell 2010; Hopes 2019; and *Chapter 11*) – the focus of this study is restricted to its original and main aspects and activities, which were described in the previous sections. Two lesser-known events I have also discovered to be central to the CPPOM will also be included in the analysis. The first is a private dinner for widows and widowers of officers recognized on the CPPOM, which occurs at the Ottawa Police Association (OPA) Headquarters on Catherine Street.<sup>7</sup> The second is a private family vigil that takes place in the parliamentary buildings. The dinner occurs in the afternoon the day before the annual service, while the vigil takes place in the evening. In this section, I briefly outline the aim and the empirical, methodological, and theoretical contributions of the dissertation.

First, this research has one overarching aim: *To demystify, demythologize, and debunk the birth, development, meanings, and role that the CPPOM plays in a contemporary era of commemoration and carceral expansion.* This doctoral dissertation is therefore a case study. The term “case study” denotes “research on a system bounded in space and time and embedded in a particular physical and sociocultural context” (Gobo 2011, 16). It is a study of a phenomenon within its natural setting using multiple forms of data collection. As will be elaborated in the methods chapter, to address this research aim, I examined over 850 newspaper articles dating back to the 1960s – primarily to understand the context behind the birth and development of the CPPOM, 40 police magazine articles touching on the memorial – primarily to learn more about its development and the meanings attributed by officers to it, and the old and new CPPOM website

---

<sup>7</sup> The OPA also flies the controversial “thin blue line” flag at its headquarters, sparking criticism from some community members due to its association with police brutality, radicalism, racism, and white supremacy. Following several other police services, the former OPS Chief Peter Sloly recently banned the image from the attire of on-duty officers and “other patches that are not officially approved and authorized by the service” (Lord 2021).

and other “law enforcement” memorial websites – primarily to learn about the role of the memorial. To learn more about these aspects from those involved in them, with the help of an organizer, I distributed a survey to participants in the memorial ride that got 18 responses. I also conducted 18 semi-structured interviews with memorial organizers and participants who did not fill out a survey, as well as one interview with a former Canadian police officer who was critical of the memorial. I interviewed the lead organizer of the CPPOM service, one of the lead organizers of the memorial run, and the organizer of the memorial widow and widower’s dinner. I also interviewed five spouses of deceased police officers who are recognized on the CPPOM and two parents of a police officer recognized on it. The other 8 interviews consisted of participants in the memorial ride and run, of which some had participated in both. Finally, I conducted participant observation at the public CPPOM events to experience them for myself (see *Chapter 6*).

In keeping with Dalton’s approach (2015), I also familiarized myself with research on a wide variety of related topics to grasp the state of the literature and gaps within it. This includes research on prison and penal tourism (e.g. Wilson et al. 2017; Buffington 2012; Piché and Walby 2016; Welch 2015), dark tourism (e.g. Lennon and Foley 2000; Wilson 2008; Stone 2006), as well as relevant literature from an even broader area called “memory studies” that is concerned with all aspects of memory, not just dark and penal tourism (e.g. Nora 1989; Halbwachs 1992; Connerton 1989; LeGoff 1992; Riceour 2004; Olick 1999; Savelsberg and King 2011; Da Silva Catela 2015). I also read research on police museums (e.g. Buffington 2012; Caimari 2012), funerals (e.g. Lord et al. 2004; Manning 1977; 2015), and memorials (e.g. Sierra-Arévalo 2019; Palmer 2012).

With research on police memorials being “almost nonexistent” (Palmer 2012, 188), in keeping with the research aim, I have chosen not to provide a single chapter dedicated to reviewing relevant literature. While similar to a funeral – as it involves prayers and marching, for instance –

and not unlike a museum – as it involves representation – the CPPOM is a distinct service, organization, and institution. Unlike a funeral, it is anticipated as opposed to unanticipated and incorporates uplifting social activities, such as night-time entertainment (see *Chapter 11*). Unlike a museum, the CPPOM tends to only be briefly glimpsed at (Buffington 2012). Thus, for the literature review, I have opted to include three overlapping chapters, each reviewing a study touching on the CPPOM (i.e. Larochelle 1994; Taylor 1986; Palmer 2012). Bringing this literature together is needed to grasp empirical gaps and themes in the knowledge of the CPPOM. After, I review the conceptual tools within the wider literature, which informed the construction of three specific research questions that emerged following the literature review (see *Chapter 5*).

In addressing the research aim and questions, this study makes an empirical, theoretical, and methodological contribution to criminology. First, according to Ågerfalk (2014), an “empirical contribution can ... be thought of as a novel account of an empirical phenomenon that challenges existing assumptions about the world or reveals something previously undocumented” (594). He also stresses that it must demonstrate “both originality and utility ... and give rise to implications for both research and practice” (594). This dissertation makes an empirical contribution by providing a novel account of the CPPOM, which addresses the empirical gaps identified in chapters 2 to 5. This account challenges dominant beliefs about this national memorial, as well as beliefs constructed and perpetuated by it that legitimize penal system practices (see *Chapter 2*). It is useful for practitioners, activists, researchers, and others who wish to make sense of the birth, development, meanings, and role of the memorialization of police and “peace” officers.

Second, this study makes a theoretical contribution to criminology. As Ågerfalk (2014) notes, “a theoretical contribution is something that advances our understanding of ... concepts and interrelationships” (594). In particular, this study advances understanding of the concept of

“dramatic performance” used to explain police work. To this end, I engage with Manning (1997), who argues that police work is a dramatic performance or a “masterful costume drama” (5) that is principally organized around upholding the image of effectiveness as it regards the official mandate of “crime control” (5). I make an original contribution by showing how penal system work is staged and performed not just through the dramatic spectacle of the media (e.g. Manning 2001) or television (e.g. Colbran 2014), but national commemoration. Furthermore, I link this seminal idea from police literature with the concept of “penal spectatorship” (Brown 2009; 2017) used in penal and dark tourism research that refers to the consumption of punishment from a social distance in ways that increase support for punitive measures (Brown 2009; 2017). I thus make another original contribution by showing how the memorialization of penal system actors as heroes generates and maintains support for punishment and the social distance between ordinary citizens and people in conflict with the law. A final theoretical contribution is made by incorporating into this study the concepts of dominant “site of memory” (Nora 1989) and “organizational memory” (Sierra-Arévalo 2019; Mulcahy 2000). I contribute by identifying and examining myths that are constructed and perpetuated through activities which have become dominant in the memorial heritage of carceral state organizations that legitimize the existence, expansion, and domination of punitive ways of thinking about and responding to criminalized conflict and harms.

Third, this study makes a methodological contribution to criminology. According to Bergh (2022) and colleagues, there are many possible forms and levels of methodological contributions, with the highest level being a “major shift in terms of how research is conducted for a relatively large audience” (1837) and the lowest being a study that “fosters minor changes within a fairly small body of work” (1837). This dissertation offers what Bergh (2022) and colleagues call an “incremental” methodological contribution, as it “presents relatively modest changes that matter

to a large audience” (1837). As identified by Palmer (2012) in one of the few studies on police memorials, research on this overlooked topic offers a methodological contribution to studies of police legitimacy. This is because studies of police legitimacy rely mostly on “large-scale surveys and quantitative analyses” (188) of how police adherence to official procedures shapes public perception of police. This neglects other relevant paths to legitimacy, such as symbolic displays (see also Manning 1997). Additionally, I point out that according to the leading cultural criminologist Jeff Ferrell (2016), “criminology is today crippled by its own methodology, its potential for analysis, critique, and appreciation lost within a welter of survey forms, governmental data sets and statistical manipulations” (285). While some graphs are included in this dissertation to help the reader visualize trends, the data in this study is primarily qualitative and comes from numerous different sources, helping to avoid what he describes as methodological fetishism that suggests a sort of unnatural preoccupation with a single way of doing criminology. In the next section, I conclude the introduction by providing an overview of the following chapters.

### **1.3. Thesis Chapter Overview**

In “Part I: Reviewing Research on the Memorial”, I begin with *Chapter 2: Larochelle’s Official History of the Memorial*, where I review the official history behind the origins and early development of the CPPOM that he presents as part of a larger narrative about the history of policing in Ottawa. Along with identifying empirical gaps and the themes of social and institutional change and comfort and healing, I argue that the book is not a history – a practice which calls for analysis and critique (Nora 1989) – so much as an act of commemoration, which seeks to legitimize the OPS and by extension the CPPOM. In doing so, I show how Larochelle (1994) upholds at least three police myths: the belief that police are experts in all “cop things”, that penal history is an enlightened story of progress, and that police officers are heroic guardians of law and order.

In *Chapter 3: Taylor's Critique of the Memorial as Ideological*, I review an earlier attempt and call by Taylor (1986) to demythologize this national memorial service and other Canadian police practices he describes as ideological. I identify the need to explore further the potential relationship he identifies between this memorial that emerged in 1978 and the abolition of the death penalty for people convicted of killing on-duty police and prison guards that took place in 1976. I also identify the themes of martyrdom – meaning the notion of suffering and dying for a certain cause – “Americanization” – meaning a rising influence of the US on Canadian policing – and what he calls “a crisis in legitimacy” (74) – or a perceived crisis in public support and acceptance for certain police forces in Canada. I also examine his approach to demythologization, suggesting it is a good start but inadequate. I emphasize the need to recognize that multiple and constructed “realities” of policing exist, combining the project of demythologization with one of debunking and demystification, which requires investigating the memorial through in-depth research and understanding how its meanings are mobilized to entrench relations of power.

In *Chapter: 4: Palmer's Global Studies of Police Memorialization*, I review a final study touching on the CPPOM, in which Palmer (2012) outlines a global research program for the study of police memorials in numerous countries, including in Canada. I identify additional empirical gaps and relevant themes, such as the politics of policing and the politics of memory, which situate police work and the construction of the past against a background of ongoing political struggle. Palmer (2012) plans on analyzing planning materials and conducting interviews with memorial organizers. I suggest it is also worthwhile to study the experiences of ordinary participants – which Larochelle (1994) only briefly touches on and Taylor (1986) neglects due to his reductionist perspective that reduces the memorial service to being mostly mystification – to examine the theme of legitimacy as it relates to the carceral and nationalizing state broadly, not just policing.

“Part II: On Research Design” begins with *Chapter 5: Demystifying, Demythologizing, and Debunking the Memorial in an Era of Commemoration and Carceral Expansion*, where I elaborate the conceptual framework and conclude the literature review. In the first section, I further introduce and define concepts borrowed from a dramaturgical analysis of policing. I identify the need to examine how the drama of penal system work is enacted through national commemoration. Next, I elaborate the concept of penal spectatorship and others from literature on dark and penal tourism. I identify a need to explore how commemoration also maintains support for punishment and the social distance between everyday citizens (i.e. penal spectators) and the criminalized. Finally, I elaborate the notion of dominant site of memory and organizational memory. I identify a need to examine myths upheld and perpetuated by them that sustain prevailing systems of power in society. The literature review leads to the construction of three specific research questions:

- i) How is penal system work staged and performed through the dramatic spectacle of national commemoration?
- ii) How does the memorialization of penal system actors as heroes generate and maintain support for punishment and the social distance that exists between ordinary citizens and people in conflict with the law?
- iii) What myths are constructed and perpetuated through these memorials that legitimize the existence, expansion, and domination of punitive ways of thinking about and responding to criminalized conflict and harms?

In *Chapter 6: Outlining a Method*, I discuss the methods adopted in this dissertation, explaining how they are well-suited to address the research aim and these questions. First, I clarify that the appropriate approach for this study is qualitative, one that makes use of but also adds to the main forms of data collection used by Larochelle (1994)(i.e. newspapers and interviews with police officers), Taylor (1986) (i.e. observation at the memorial), and Palmer (2012) (i.e. interviews with memorial organizers and contemporary documentation). Clarifying that the study is informed by a critical interpretivist epistemology and a constructivist, anti-foundationalist ontology, I elaborate

how data was collected from many sources, such as articles from newspapers and magazines, official memorial websites, semi-structured interviews with memorial organizers, participants, and one former officer with a critical perspective, a survey, and participant observation at the public CPPOM events. Next, I explain how this data was analyzed and coded by identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (i.e. thematic analysis – see Clarke and Braun 2013), as well as sorting out these patterns and meanings tied to them in a layered and compelling manner (i.e. thick description – see Geertz 1973) that addressed the research aim and specific questions. Finally, I outline how I attained informed consent and other ethical considerations that shaped my fieldwork.

“Part III: Outlining Findings and Discussion” begins with *Chapter 7: “They’re Mad ... Damned Mad!”: Government and Gun Control in the Lead-up to a Memorial*, where I open the findings section with a thematic analysis of newspaper articles from the 1970s, focusing on the theme of gun control and arguing that it is closely related to the materialization of a national memorial for police and federal prison guards on Parliament Hill in 1978. Elaborating more specific themes such as “concern with an increase in gun-related harm” and “strategies proposed to address such harms”, I explain how gun violence was a rising concern in the 1970s – among Canadian politicians but also police officers – which in part set the stage for the emergence of the memorial following the shooting death of a rookie OPS constable. Findings presented in this chapter and the next two afterwards challenge the official story about the birth of the CPPOM discussed in *Chapter 2*, which I claim is infused with myths. While Taylor (1986) links the birth of the memorial with the theme of death penalty abolition, I also situate it within debates about gun control and a desire to expand and further entrench the carceral and nationalizing state.

The theme of the death penalty – which was officially abolished in Canada on 26 July 1976 for individuals convicted of killing “line of duty” police and prison officers – is the focus of

*Chapter 8: Demonstration and Commemoration: Capital Punishment and the Early Years of the Memorial*, in which I continue to predominantly rely on a thematic analysis of newspaper articles to examine the birth of the CPPOM and address the research questions. While memorial organizers distanced the event from abolition, I discuss findings which suggest it cannot be explained or understood apart from it, especially in its early years. I observe how key participants were strong supporters of the death penalty and wanted it re-instated, how police associations and prison guards had previously used commemoration to protest the commutation of death sentences, and how the service contained many of the same dramatic themes as traditional public executions, from communicating pain, suffering, and death, to demanding the highest respect for law and order. Describing the memorial as new strategy of commemoration and demonstration, my findings run against the official account of the emergence of the CPPOM and lend credence to Taylor's (1986) claims that the CPPOM is related to attempts to promote punitiveness in society and the death penalty, as well as further associate "criminal justice" practices with the nationalizing state.

The memorial event, which Larochelle (1994) and others claim emerged solely as a tribute to the "murder" of rookie OPS Constable Kirkwood on 11 July 1977, is examined in more detail in *Chapter 9: Police Heroism and the Myth of Remembrance: Representations of the Death of Constable David Kirkwood*, as a means of learning more about the myths constructed and perpetuated through sites of policing memory. While previous literature has discussed how police organizational memories express certain themes – such as danger, death, and sacrifice – I also show how organizational memories involve forgetting aspects of "law enforcement" which could undermine police identity and solidarity, as well as challenge police legitimacy. I thematically analyze and compare representations of his death in present times at the CPPOM (and activities promoting it) to historical newspaper depictions of his death and the trial of the shooter – Frederick

Koepke. This leads me to argue that more has been forgotten and twisted through “organizational memories” (Sierra-Arévalo 2019; Mulcahy 2000) about what happened to OPS Constable Kirkwood on the evening of 11 July 1977 than remembered. It also leads me to clarify how the CPPOM upholds support for the preservation and entrenchment of the nationalizing and carceral state, as well as myths about policing and punishment, through acts of commemoration.

In *Chapter 10: The Bureaucratic Spirit: Belonging and Exclusion in a Time of Memorial Expansion*, I examine the development of the memorial in the mid-1990s. Along with major front stage changes to the memorial – such as an increased presence of US officers, its transformation into a national “peace” officers memorial, and the unveiling of a national police memorial pavilion – I observe how the memorial became characterized by a more complex backstage management during this time oriented around deciding and controlling who can be a part of the memorial and who cannot. I argue that a bureaucratic spirit – not merely the spirit of remembrance – helped grow and legitimize the memorial as a North American institution, further entrenching the nationalizing and carceral state in the process through its myths, which as noted, are not a given but are forged through struggle in the form of presentational strategies, forgetting, lived experience and participation, as well as organizational memory. These myths – as well as the control exercised by backstage authorities and widows of officers on the memorial – are described as leading to the controversial rejection of Auxiliary RCMP Constable Glen Evely in the early 2000s, as well as the continued exclusion from the memorial of carceral officers who have died from suicide.

In *Chapter 11: The Thrill of Reaching the Hill: Feelings of Heroism and Courage at the Memorial Today*, I briefly discuss some of the newer activities that emerged in the early 2000s to satisfy the research aim of demystifying, demythologizing, and debunking the birth, development, meanings, and role of the CPPOM. Drawing predominantly on data collected through fieldwork

at the 2019 National Memorial – the last “normal” year before the COVID-19 pandemic drastically altered the activities for two years before all events again took place in September 2022 (see *Chapter 6*) – along with interviews with participants, I begin by discussing themes associated with the memorial ride (i.e. the CPMRR), followed by the memorial run (i.e. the NPOMR), the widows dinner, and the private family vigil. I demonstrate how the CPPOM has evolved to incorporate pilgrimages and other uplifting social activities, helping it become a more established carceral and nationalizing state institution. I explain how these activities foster powerful emotions and feelings of heroism and courage among participants – which Larochelle (1994) only briefly touches on and Taylor (1986) neglects – especially upon reaching the Hill on the last weekend in September. The memorial’s role, I clarify, is also to make officers and family members feel proud and like national heroes themselves, encouraging them to support carceral work instead of questioning it.

In Chapter 12: *Discussion and Conclusion*, I draw on my findings to discuss how penal system work is staged and performed through national commemoration, which I describe as a dramatic presentational strategy wedding themes of carceral state unity and nationhood. From there, I discuss how the commemoration of penal system actors as heroes generates and maintains support for punishment and penal spectatorship by constructing “villains”, inverting the pains of punishment towards officers and their families, as well as providing opportunities for penal pilgrimage and tourism. Finally, I discuss myths that are constructed and perpetuated through the CPPOM that legitimize the existence, expansion, and domination of punitive ways of thinking about and responding to criminalized conflict and harms. After, I identify some implications of the study, its limitations, as well as gaps in knowledge that became evident during the project. The dissertation concludes with a reflection about some pathways for future research and action.

## **PART 1: REVIEWING RESEARCH ON THE MEMORIAL**

### **2. LAROCHELLE'S OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE MEMORIAL**

The ByTown Gunners took a shell case and created the Memorial. On it is inscribed "*TO FALLEN COMRADES: PARLIAMENT HILL, SEPTEMBER 24th 1978*" and has the badges of the Ottawa Police and the ByTown Gunners mounted above and below the inscription. The plate on the base is inscribed "Presented to the Ottawa Police Force in appreciation by the 30th Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery". The Memorial serves as a reminder of the sacrifice made by those to whom the Memorial service is dedicated.

- Larochelle (1994, 236)

#### **2.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, I examine a book in which Larochelle (1994) presents what he describes as the "comprehensive story" (xvi) of the Ottawa Police Service (OPS). I observe how he dedicates five pages to the origins and meanings of the memorial, explaining how the idea emerged after the killing of rookie OPS officer David Kirkwood, 21, on 11 July 1977, which his colleagues were unwilling to let "go without tribute" (234). The first service occurred in 1978 – an important year he describes as marking the beginning of an Ottawa policing period he calls "Modern Times" (200). Larochelle (1994) describes the change that occurred since 1978 as "enormous" (xviii), transforming the OPS into "one of North America's leading police agencies" (xviii). This is evidenced in part by the national memorial, he suggests, which attracts officers far and wide.

In the first section, I introduce the book more, followed by considering its objectives and reflecting on the background of the author, an OPS sergeant at the time. Following this, I examine his research approach and review his history of the memorial. I identify empirical gaps, key themes in the book, as well as three myths which inform and underlie it. These myths not only "resist or deny the relevance of empirical 'facts'" (Manning 1997, 36), but also serve to naturalize and legitimate public police work, including its violence towards officers and the criminalized.

## **2.2. Larochelle's History of Policing in Ottawa**

When *The History of the Ottawa Police, 1826–1993* was published in 1994, it was said to be a time of especially low morale for this service. “The Ottawa police department’s spirit is broken”, wrote two reporters that year (Rogers and Stern 1994, 19). An internal police survey conducted had asked 266 of the 834 uniformed and civilian staff of the OPS whether they agreed or disagreed with a variety of statements. 74% believed morale was low. 67% believed labour relations were poor. 59% believed that the OPS was not concerned with their well-being. 71% said they experienced serious job stress. Nevertheless, 84% said they were loyal to the force (Rogers and Stern 1994). Reflecting on the results, then Chief of Police Brian Ford, about twenty months into the job, remarked, “I would have thought that the number of employees reporting low morale would be 50%” (19). A few weeks earlier, a survey conducted by the Nepean police union showed similar results. 82% of respondents claimed to be disillusioned with their job (Rogers and Stern 1994). The source of the low morale and possible solutions was the subject of disagreement.

On the one hand, then Ottawa Mayor Marion Dewar, head of the new regional police services board, attributed the results to uncertainties stemming from the coming amalgamation of the Ottawa, Nepean, and Gloucester services into the Ottawa-Carleton Regional Police Service. Any problems would clear up if the amalgamation was completed quickly and smoothly with input from the officers themselves, she predicted. She also questioned the timing of the survey, wondering if it had been “orchestrated” to draw attention to concerns during a time of transition (Rogers and Stern 1994). This was echoed by criminologist John Kiedrowski of the University of Ottawa, who noted that complaints about poor morale were nothing new and affected other police services province-wide. He suggested that police were hanging out their “dirty laundry” to get public sympathy (Rogers and Stern 1994). On the other hand, internal police sources suggested

the poor morale of the service reflected the problems that police perceived themselves as facing at the time, namely staff shortages, a lack of public support for police, and “increasing violence on the street” (Rogers and Stern 1994), although rates of police-reported victimization across Canada were declining after it peaked in 1991 (Logan 2000). Thirty years later, the morale of this municipal service is often said to hover between low and extremely low (Glowacki 2019).

According to Larochelle (1994), however, when one delves into the archives and studies the history of police work in Ottawa, one finds that it is not a story about stagnation or poor morale. The story of the OPS – and by extension the memorial – is described as beginning in 1826, when Lieutenant Colonel By arrived in the region and founded Bytown, the former name of Ottawa. Tracing the evolution of policing from the days when it was provided by the military, Larochelle (1994) describes the story of Ottawa policing as a noble and heroic tale about professionalization, modernization, and overall social improvement – free of any reference to the role of policing in settler colonialism, or the act of driving Indigenous populations from their traditional lands to establish a new political order (Tomiak 2016; McLaren 2022; Bell and Schreiner 2018).

This is the argument of the book, which Larochelle (1994) describes as unbiased, comprehensive, and fact-based, but is also based on policing myths. For example, as will be elaborated, one myth the book constructs is the belief that police officers are the experts in all “cop things.” As Larochelle (1994) is an OPS sergeant, we are led to assume that he is more qualified than others to speak about and write the “true” story of police work, including the story of the memorial. The policing researcher Crank (2004) observes how the notion of “It’s a Cop Thing. You Wouldn’t Understand” (11) is a cultural belief held by many police officers, which should motivate instead of discourage critical studies of police practices. Larochelle (1994) mythically implies that, after his study, no more research is needed on the history of Ottawa policing.

Another myth the book upholds is the belief that police history – and the history of “criminal justice” generally – is an enlightened story of progress through different stages. In his history of the prison, Foucault (1977) shows how this belief, which can also be seen in police and prison museums (see Walby and Piché 2011), is misleading and hides its relationship to power and control. According to him, penitentiaries are not the product of a gradual series of penal system developments by practitioners who sought to improve the system. They are the product of a single invention with roots beyond the penal system – what he calls “disciplinary power” (153). That is, a radical shift that occurred in which instruments such as surveillance – which also manifested through the establishment of police forces – overtook torture as a means of “disciplining” the population, ensuring more people submitted to the dominant authorities and social norms.

Finally, as seen in its dedication, Larochelle’s (1994) book is founded on the myth that police officers are the prepared, professional, and heroic “Guardians of Law and Order” (iii). This is what police officers and organizations often assert that they are – downplaying and hiding evidence to the contrary – and much of the public demands them to be (see *Chapter 11*). Drawing on the mythology of police culture, or interpretations of the world as seen, imagined, and experienced by police officers (Crank 2004), Larochelle (1994) designates police with a sacred, superhero status properly seen as mythological. As Manning (1997) observes, most police work is mundane and involves wrestling with unpowerful populations pushed to the margins, in order to ensure that the interests of more powerful people and groups in society remain protected.

In Larochelle’s (1994) book, the national memorial service is mythologically presented as additional “proof” that police officers are the respected experts in community safety and national security, that police practices are positively evolving over time, and that police and penal system work is deeply honourable and heroic. Limited to 2,000 copies, the book was published by the

now-defunct Tyrell Press once located in Gloucester, Ontario. According to a recent report, the book was sold in storefronts on Sparks Street, which is located in the Parliamentary Precinct (Dimmock 2014). An oversized hardcover book with vintage photographs and a gold rendition of the OPS logo on its front, as well as sword on its spine, the book is described in the introduction as an investigation of police history informed by criminological and historical methods.

Its purpose, he writes in the introduction, is “to preserve for posterity an account of the origin, the development, and the activities of the Ottawa Police” (xvi). While histories of police organizations like the RCMP and its precursor are common (e.g. Wilkins 2012; Higgins 1978; Horrall 1973), the work by Larochelle (1994) stands out. In the space of 326 pages, many of which are densely packed with words, footnotes, and pictures, are six chapters or what he calls “major eras” (xvii). He presents a “comprehensive story” (xvii) of the OPS and the national memorial they created in 1978, in the sense that it asserts to include everything or nearly everything there is to know about them. The major eras he constructs are: 1) In the Beginning 1826-1862; 2) The Early Years: 1863-1899; 3) Entering the 20th Century: 1900-1937; 4) World War II and Afterwards: 1937 – 1958; 5) Era of Technology: 1958-1978; and 6) Modern Times, 1978 – Present.

In the introduction, Larochelle (1994) explains how the format of the book took shape. He rejected the common practice of communicating history through pictures. Although he considered pictures desirable, few of them were available. Furthermore, he did not wish to have the book dictated by the publicity of events. There might be important policing events, in other words, that were not photographed. Larochelle (1994) also rejected the idea that police history should be presented as a haphazard collection of interesting stories. Although he considered anecdotes valuable, “the historical development of a police force cannot be revealed by a series of isolated events” (xvi). What he eventually landed on was the production of an “exhaustive history of the

police force” (xvi) from its early beginnings to the present, which he suggested could stand the test of time and be a reference for future policing researchers, including on the memorial.

The book is thus also the official history of the CPPOM, in the sense that it contains the accepted story of how it emerged and developed until 1993. My fieldwork confirmed that a less detailed version of what Larochelle (1994) writes is shared at the events (see *Chapter 9*). Speaking to its authority, the book was also discussed in an *Ottawa Citizen* article on the date of the 150th anniversary of the city (Drolet 2005). Focusing on the history of the OPS, a reporter interviews Larochelle – again preserving the myth that police are the experts in all “cop things” (Crank 2004) – who outlines OPS history in a manner which conforms with his earlier claims. Near the end of the interview, he talks about an important shift which occurred in the 1970s, where he claims police began to act differently, taking on new roles and focusing more on prevention. Instead of just arresting illicit drug users, for example, he notes how police began to enter the community and educate citizens about drug use. “Before, there was more of a divisive line, us versus them”, he explains. “Now, there is more of a partnership”, which he emphasized today is called “community policing” (Drolet 2005). Put in another way, Larochelle suggests that the role of the police changed considerably to better serve society precisely around the same time the CPPOM emerged.

According to Manning (1997) “community policing” is a movement or “ideology of reform” (13) consisting of a collection of ideas and concepts, which contrast with the bureaucratic or paramilitary style of policing. Whereas the latter style of policing theoretically involves limited public interaction – as officers are deployed by a central command to collect information and solve legal infractions – community policing is accompanied by an ambiguous promise and claim of significant change through enhanced co-operation between the police and the community. It is also mythological because along with the violence of police work remaining constant, “the underlying

structure, evaluation, allocation of resources, and management systems remain largely unchanged” (15). According to Larochelle (1994), practices like the introduction of automobiles at the turn of the century, as influential and beneficial as they were for patrol, had the effect of making police less visible to the community. In the 1970s and early 1980s, new community-oriented practices introduced by the police service – from drug education programs to “Neighbourhood Watch” to the national memorial – signalled a desire among police to become less reactive and more visible to the public. The alleged shift back towards “community policing” but in a supposedly more modern, updated sense, marks the start of the latest era, which he calls “Modern Times”.

In the book, Larochelle (1994) explains how the era essentially began with the appointment of Thomas E. Welsh as the Chief of Police on 1 May 1978, a former member of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) who succeeded the retiring Léo Séguin. In his obituary (see Adam 2001), it is also noted that one of the “lasting legacies” of Chief Welsh during his tenure was playing an instrumental role in establishing a national memorial for police and prison guards “that has now become a North American institution” (F7). Larochelle (1994) elaborates about how Chief Welsh took the torch from Chief Séguin – both figuratively and literally, in the form of a ceremonial baton, a symbol of the office – modernizing the police in various ways, such as giving it the CADRE system, the first computerized communication system of its kind in Canada.

In the next section, I examine the identity of the author and the objectives of his book, which mythologizes policing and the CPPOM in the context of change and criticisms of police work. According to one interviewee in this project – a former police officer who caught wind of my project and wished to contribute a “critical” perspective – reflecting on this is crucial to understanding the lies and limitations of the official story. Below, I share the comments of this interviewee, who was not one of the 18 participants in the CPPOM who I also interviewed:

I never attended the memorial because I knew it was a public relations project to show how dangerous the work is. It was part of their political agenda to keep funding for the police – to make sure that politicians get the point that policing is important and to keep the funding flowing. They want to justify their salaries and time off. It's also to bring the brotherhood together, it's all image-making ... Of course, I realize [Larochelle] disagrees [that it is a PR project] but he wouldn't be promoted if he espoused different views. There is no way he would have been promoted through the ranks. He had to say the right things to people. He has to tell them what they want to hear. He is not going to say negative or critical things. That's why he became the Chief of the Kingston Police. He played the game ... Would you expect him to say anything else? It's like, okay, kumbayah. He was never critical.

In light of the above comment, as well as the policing myths constructed and generated by the book, there is a need to review in more detail where Larochelle's interpretation of the national memorial service as reflecting the expertise, progress, and heroism of policing came from.

### **2.3. Sergeant Larochelle: A Policeman's Policeman**

In the introduction, Larochelle (1994) admits that researching and writing the history of the OPS (and thus also the memorial) was not his idea and that two higher-ranked officers told him to do it. He began "the task at first with some hesitation" (iii). He thanks colleagues who encouraged him to accept the unusual assignment, during which time he came to recognize that "bringing our history into the present guides us to the future" (iii). The Ottawa Police Golden Club (OPGC), made up of retirees, as well as some current members of the service, had for years been urging past chiefs to assign someone to write "the official history" (iii) of the OPS. I examine the motives behind the work that reflects the official story about the CPPOM and the officer who was commanded by his superiors to write it, before delving into his method and its influence.

The project was accepted by Chief Thomas G. Flanagan, who also then served as a member of the Board of Directors at the Department of Criminology of the University of Ottawa (Larochelle 1994). According to Larochelle (1994), Flanagan was inspired to ensure the proposal became a reality due to the dedication of the OPGC. Later, though, when describing Flanagan's administration, Larochelle (1994) writes that "Chief Flanagan's major goal was community-based

policing” (276). He admits that his term had many interpretations, but defines it as “making police officers more motivated and more productive by giving them responsibility for the control of crime and other problems in a specific part of the city” (276). Its implementation, he goes on to clarify, is in part, “to give the citizens a better chance to know the people who police their neighbourhoods” (276). It also occurs to influence and shape public perceptions of this work (Manning 1997).

Hints are provided by Larochelle (1994) that the book and perhaps the CPPOM as well was also a means of boosting employee morale. As he notes, it was also Staff Superintendent Paul Pagé who asked him to write the book. Pagé was the former Chief of Vanier Police in Vanier, Ontario. He explains near the end of the book how in the years prior to Pagé being hired, the morale and reputation of the service had taken a dive due to the corruption of Chief Claude Dwyer. Dwyer had been charged by the OPP for stealing \$878.30 from a safety deposit box belonging to the Vanier Police and faced other charges related to conspiracy, bribery, and breach of trust. The OPP uncovered that Dwyer had also accepted a \$1,000 pay-off from a well-known club owner ensuring protection from arrest. He served 14 months of a four-year penitentiary term before being released on parole. After this, Pagé was faced with “improving the image of the Vanier Police and boosting morale within the Force”, a task which Larochelle (1994, 268) describes as a success.

Other forces shaping the book require an understanding of the political context in which it was written. Chief Flanagan, for example, was also head of the OPS during the infamous 1992 Los Angeles riots, in which more than 55 civilians were killed after the beating of Rodney King, a Black man, incited public outrage and allegations of race-based police brutality (Vyhnak 2017). The acquittal of the four police officers caught on video beating King also led to protests in Canada, mainly in Toronto, where a Black man named Raymond Lawrence, 22, had been shot dead by an undercover Toronto police officer around the same time. The anti-Black racism protest that

followed escalated into a six-hour melee (Vyhnak 2017). In an open letter to citizens a few days later, Chief Flanagan wrote that the OPS needed to do better job to address racism. However, he also added: “Although racism is a community and social issue, all too often incidents such as these focus on the police” (1992, 56). He vowed to improve the relationship between racialized people and police. The book, meanwhile, describe policing as a noble and non-racist profession.

The year prior, Flanagan was identified by reporters as present when “400 blacks from more than twenty community groups gathered ... to protest” (Kessel 1991, A10) the death of Vincent Gardner, a Black man shot by an OPS officer during a drug raid, in which only two grams of marijuana and no weapons were found. While the official cause of his death was cancer-related complications, many protestors chanted “murder, murder” (Miller 1992). Larochelle (1994) recalls how an OPS officer “shot an unarmed black man, whose guitar he had mistaken for a gun” (292). Although the OPS had been the focus of anti-racism protests, Larochelle (1994) skirts the topic of systemic racism, instead suggesting that the controversy surrounded the cause of his death. He points out that medical reports surmised the cause to be cancer found while Gardner was in the hospital, not the gunshot that put him there, with one conflicting report disagreeing. He clarifies how all officers involved were cleared of wrongdoing – not mentioning that it was viewed as an injustice, as this was quickly done by an “all-white jury” (Ward 1993) – and that Chief Flanagan made several encouraging recommendations after the tragedy. In this sense, the book was positive press like other forms of public relations work in policing (McLaughlin and Murji 1998).

According to a short biography provided at the end of the book, Larochelle (1994) had been a police officer with the OPS since May 1981, working a variety of roles. Soon after writing it, he was promoted to the rank of Staff Sergeant and worked in media relations. He was promoted soon again to the rank of inspector in 1999 and superintendent in 2003. In 2007, he rose to Deputy

Chief. Soon after, he was hired as Chief of Kingston Police (Hurley 2013). In a news article, he was described as an excellent candidate who “literally wrote the book on law enforcement in Ottawa” (MacAlpine 2013). He served five years as Kingston’s chief before retiring.

Thus, while a significant number of employees were reporting job disillusionment (Rogers and Stern 1994), the author selected to write the history was motivated and passionate about policing. According to the biography, he held a bachelor’s degree in sociology and psychology, as well a master’s degree in criminology from the University of Ottawa. He received his master’s degree in 1989, a few years before the publication of the history book, with the OPS assisting with his university fees and granting him the time to attend classes. As part of the requirements, he wrote a thesis examining the question of which institution – the military or police – was best suited to respond to terrorism acts when the use of force is required (see Larochelle 1989).

His MA thesis further reveals the extent to which his research on police history and interpretation of the CPPOM is flawed and influenced by policing myths. The thesis was supervised by Dr. Ronald Crelisten, an expert in terrorism and radicalization who is presently an Associate Fellow at the University of Victoria Centre for Global Studies in Victoria, British Columbia. It was examined by Dr. Chuck K. Talbot, who is known for establishing the field placement option for students and being its coordinator at the University of Ottawa until the late-1980s. Dying in 1992, Dr. Talbot is commemorated in the department through the “Chuck Talbot Memorial Prize” for undergraduate students who make an exceptional contribution during their field placement. Also examining the thesis was Dr. C.H.S Jaywardene, the former chair of the department in the 1970s who wrote about a range of topics, from policing to forensic science.

Both of these examiners were strong proponents of applied criminology or the application of criminological theory to practice or “real world” problems of justice (Juliani et al. 1982). Its

teaching often involves field placements involving intervention work or research in various organizations, including in policing and imprisonment. In a publication with another colleague, Dr. Jaywardene and Dr. Talbot argue that the core aim of teaching applied criminology should be to “endow [students] with a sensitivity for detecting the need for change and equip them with the ability to effect that change” (Juliani et al. 1982, 50). To answer his overarching question on which organization – police or military – was best suited to respond to terrorism acts when force is deemed to be required, Larochelle (1998) collected the opinions of people he describes as experts on this topic. For recruitment, he distributed a letter to 55 people that he and his supervisor call “terrorism experts” (163). It included a mix of knowledgeable people: 34 professors or researchers and 21 police officers or military personnel. The letter asked for their assistance and responses to five questions. This, he notes, results in him attaining the “best-informed opinion”:

A response from several terrorism experts will give the best-informed opinion, based on specialized knowledge in the field of terrorism. Regardless of the differences in answers between individual expert respondents, it is hoped that feedback provided to them from other terrorist experts will result in some type of consensus being reached on the subject matter. If no group consensus is reached, the researcher will still retain expert group opinions in which he will add to his final evaluation in the study (163-164).

Larochelle (1989) received replies from 22 people (17 professors and researchers, along with 5 police officers or military personnel), uncovering “useful and informative responses” (164). Among other things, he found that experts were evenly split on his main research question. After going through the literature and responses, Larochelle (1989) concludes his thesis by providing his own informed opinion on the matter, explaining how he believes the “magnitude of the terrorist threat” (269) lies outside the mandate of the police and is better addressed by the military.

Not long after defending his MA thesis, Larochelle (1994) published his next work on the history of Ottawa policing. Mirroring practices at the university, a special “Book Committee” was formed which also included representatives of the Golden Club, such as the former Chief Thomas

E. Welsh. Also assisting was Dr. Jaywardene, who declined “any official recognition”, but who Larochelle still credits for acting as a guide and editor, as well as for providing his “expertise in the field of criminology” (iii). In the next section, I examine how Larochelle (1994) carried out this work and observe how his approach to research dramatically shifts to be more accommodating to policing myths. For example, while he was experienced in seeking out what academics and practitioners had to say about his topic and using the thoughts of a mix of people to come to “the best-informed opinion ... regardless of the differences in answers” (Larochelle 1989, 163), in *The History of the Ottawa Police, 1826–1993*, when it comes to the topic of police history, Larochelle (1994) only interviews police officers. I scrutinize this and its impact on promoting policing myths that serve to naturalize and legitimate the violent realities of policing, as well as producing a misleading picture of the past, including the birth and early development of the CPPOM.

#### **2.4. Policing and its Commemoration as “Natural” and “Acceptable” Activity**

Larochelle (1994) claims early on that the establishment of a police service in the national capital region – which ultimately led to a national memorial “honouring” this work – was a product of the “natural development of society in its quest for order” (xvii). In his usage, the notion of “society” is distinctly European and colonial – it is what Colonel By and others were said to have brought to the region. Bytown had a reputation as a “boozing, brawling, pioneer town” (2). Thus, he describes policing as a response by those in power to achieve order, the development of which he attributes to Sir Robert Peel in England. As Bytown developed, so did its police. He claims to uncover and preserve this history in its entirety, seeking out facts and organizing them into historical eras, without necessarily privileging certain events or activities over others.

Settler colonialism and the role of policing in its entrenchment is nevertheless ignored (Bell and Schreiner 2018). To justify this problematic approach, Larochelle (1994) writes that many

people today believe “the purpose of an examination of history is to construct a framework which can be used to explain an incomprehensible state of affairs (xv). He describes this as a useful approach but refrains from adopting it. It “condemns the project to a testing of hypotheses purporting to explain what happened and to a careful selection of information, limited to its relevance to the hypothesis tested” (xvi). He opts for “a second and older view of history ... a chronological listing of events and activities without any purposeful selection” (xvi). This approach is ideal, he claims, because it does not “preclude the testing of hypotheses related to historical forces ... [it] makes the testing of hypotheses possible as part of the same project or as a different project” (xvi), as it is based on “the indiscriminate collection of data” (xvi).

Larochelle (1994) nevertheless refrains from collecting data solely through interviews for two reasons. First, “the data obtained would have largely been dependant on the memory of the individual” (xvi). Second, “there was always the possibility that information would have been selected to promote one or other point of view or simply because it was what the informant thought should be included” (xvi). On the one hand, in his master’s research, the point of view of many people was presented as valuable. On the other hand, when it comes to police history, he presents diverse points of views as undesirable. He also writes, however, that “insights from various officers was nevertheless desirable” (xvi) and only conducts interviews with those “showing interest in the project” (xvi). This encourages the presence and perpetuation of policing myths (Manning 1997), including the myth that police are more knowledgeable about police matters than others.

Larochelle (1994) clarifies that interviews with officers were done for the following two purposes: “to check the accuracy of the data which there was no consensus in the documentary sources ... and to help direct attention to events and activities which might have escaped notice in the archival search” (xvi). The bulk of the story – including about the memorial – emerged from

what he describes as the collection of archival records, “from the minutes of the meeting of City Council and the Board of Commissioners of Police, from the Annual Reports of the Ottawa Police, from newspaper articles and from books and magazine articles about Ottawa and the Ottawa Police” (xvi). Accordingly, he downplays and neglects to discuss his own influence on the story of the OPS and the national memorial service. He suggests the story has been protected against information that “would have been selected to promote one or other point of view or simply because it was what the informant thought should be included” (xvi). There is nothing protecting the story from his own influence, thoughts, and decision-making as an active police officer.

This is a larger issue with positivist history, which is an “older view of history” (xvi) that is indeed flawed and outdated. A positivist history essentially purports to “capture the past” and is optimistic about progress. Pickering (2019) identifies some problems with this approach:

... mechanistic and narrowly empirical ... does not offer any notion of truth or a clear definition of “fact”, pretends to be “value-free”, imposes a simplistic model of the sciences on all forms of knowledge, promotes an impossible-to-attain neutral observational stance, dismisses too easily the importance of intuition in the scientific process and the irrational in human behavior, and supports a naïve realism in philosophy and a capitalist, technocratic status quo in politics. (170).

As critics of positivist history emphasize, this approach misrepresents history as an intellectual practice, which is a representation of the past which the historian constructs (Nora 1989). According to Nora (1989), history also “calls for analysis and criticism” (9), both of which are lacking in *The History of the Ottawa Police, 1826–1993*. In this sense, Larochelle (1994)’s work is not a history, so much as an act of commemoration, which is always “a selective process of choosing the memories that serve a purpose and disposing of the rest” (Hobbs 2010, 247).

The history of the national memorial service has not been written, despite Larochelle (1994) and memorial participants in contemporary times claiming to know its history. This is because his book re-constructs the past in an institutionally friendly manner that intentionally

neglects diverse perspectives. Historical information is gathered and organized into a narrative informed by policing myths (Manning 1997) and “organizational memories” (Sierra-Arévalo 2019; Mulcahy 2000). Larochelle (1994) purports to be a neutral observer when this is impossible, as he mentions some “facts” and not others, collects some forms of data and not others, and focuses on certain stories more than others. He expresses and desires to conjure respect for policing.

A more suitable description than a “history” is perhaps commemoration in the face of change and criticism. Larochelle (1994) is optimistic about change, but there is also an anxiety around it. He notes his concern that with the coming amalgamation, police work, and its history “would slowly be forgotten and relegated to obscurity” (xv). In the face of social and institutional change, as well as criticism of police violence, he commemorates “the achievements of a long line of devoted men and women” (xv). The concern has also been observed in police museums, which tend to be located in active police facilities – also upholding the myth of police being the experts of their work – and represent the history of this work as heroic and evolving over time into a better – that is smarter and more advanced – form (see Ferguson et al. 2019; Buffington 2012).

As an act of commemoration, Larochelle (1994) celebrates the present through the past in a manner that sustains “prevailing systems of power” (Osborne and Osborne 2004, 44). According to the logic of the book and its myths, as the OPS have entered “Modern Times” (200), any major changes to this institution could send police and society back to an earlier and possibly more violent era. Meanwhile, the harm and violence of this work – against people like Vincent Gardner and police officers like OPS Constable Kirkwood – is not just described as tragic and unfortunate. It is legitimized, naturalized, and celebrated through this evolutionary narrative. He claims and emphasizes how Gardner’s death *led* to changes to police practice and how Constable Kirkwood’s death *led* to the national memorial. In the final section, I examine these remarks further.

## **2.5. The Official History of the Birth of the National Memorial**

According to Larochelle (1994), the officer whose death led to the memorial – Constable David Kirkwood – joined the OPS on 7 March 1977. He began active duty months later on May 20, after returning from the first of two training sessions at the OPC in Aylmer. Only a few months after, on 11 July 1977, David was “shot dead by Frederick Koepke, age 22, when he was aiding in the arrest of Koepke on an outstanding warrant for assault causing bodily harm” (215).

Larochelle (1994) provides his account of the incident, supported by newspaper articles. He describes how shortly after nine o’clock in the evening, Constable Kirkwood, accompanied by his training officer, Constable Terry Lynch, arrived at 710 Gladstone Avenue, west of Bronson Avenue. As he approached the side of the two-story red brick house, Constable Kirkwood was shot through a side window and died at the scene (Larochelle 1994). Other police officers arrived at the house and began to exchange gunfire with Koepke, which turned into a three-hour standoff that saw several police officers wounded with buckshot pellets. This sporadic exchange of gunfire ended, Larochelle (1994) notes, once tear gas canisters were thrown into the residence. This instigated a fire, forcing Koepke to surrender. Once inside, Larochelle (1994) explains how the police recovered and removed an “arsenal of weapons” (215) from the property, which included a 12-gauge shotgun, a .303 calibre rifle and a .22 calibre rifle fully loaded with twelve bullets.

Married eleven months earlier, Constable Kirkwood is described as having left behind a three-month pregnant wife, Dawna, who gave birth to a daughter, Patricia, and never remarried (Larochelle 1994). Despite titling the section, “The Murder of Constable David Kirkwood” – thus implying a “guilty of murder” verdict – Larochelle (1994) writes that Frederick was found “not guilty by reason of insanity” (215). He spent “several years in mental-institutions before the tenant governor’s warrant was lifted allowing him back into society” (215). While he notes that Frederick

was released, he neglects to identify the type of mental illness he had, or discuss the reaction of the family, police, as well as media to the incident. Instead, he moves to discussing the regimental funeral on 14 July 1977 at the Westboro United Church. Among other articles covering the police funeral, he cites an *Ottawa Citizen* article titled, “They’re Mad ... Damned Mad!”, but does not mention who attendees at the funeral were “damned mad” at in the wake of the slaying of Constable Kirkwood that influenced the creation of the memorial (see *Chapters 7 and 9*).

On the hot and humid day, he explains how massive crowds of spectators stood silently outside the church to pay their respects while the service occurred inside. In his eulogy to the officer, the OPS Chaplain Norman Johnson “spoke about the violence in today’s society” (215). He told onlookers how one thing had been bothering him since the death of Constable Kirkwood, a phrase which “personifies in police parlance the evil of the times in which we live ... and yet contains the only hope for those who mourn his passing. It’s an overworked expression: *send a back-up I need support; send help*. The unseen back-up, God, will help you through this great injustice that took a human life” (216). Following the service, Larochelle (1994) explains how the casket was removed to the hearse and police ranks stood at attention together with six honorary pallbearers and a guard of honour from Constable Kirkwood’s C-Platoon recruitment class.

Approximately 800 police officers gathered to honour him, Larochelle (1994) observes, including hundreds of police officers from across the country and even from the United States, as well as representatives from the OPP, the RCMP, the National Harbor Patrol Force (NHPF), the city fire department, and Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), all of whom joined the funeral procession south towards Carling Avenue. Hundreds of residents poured onto the Churchill Avenue sidewalks, as the motorized procession drove the twelve miles to the Capital Memorial Gardens

on the Prescott Highway, known today as Highway 16. The officers filed into buses and fell in behind the motorcade. Following a simple ceremony, Kirkwood's coffin was lowered into a grave.

According to Larochelle (1994), "In the wake of Kirkwood's death, the Ottawa Police inaugurated an annual memorial service for police officers killed in the line of duty, held on Parliament Hill" (216). The first memorial service was held in 1978. Larochelle (1994) explains how President Wilmont Glenn of the Ottawa Police Association (OPA) first approached the new Chief of Police, Thomas E. Welsh, on 10 July 1978. This was the day prior to the anniversary of Kirkwood's death. He requested permission for police cruisers to be driven with their headlights on as an act of memorialization. While Chief Welsh was supportive of the memorial idea, it was deemed there was "not adequate time to inform the public and the media as to the reasons for the headlights being on" (234). He advised Glenn that another means to "find a meaningful way to pay respect to the slain officer" (234) should be considered. A church parade was another suggestion put forward and discussed with members of Kirkwood's Platoon. Sergeant Michel Maheux, a member of the Community Service Section, came up with the idea to have a memorial service in memory of Constable Kirkwood and other slain officers around the country. The idea was accepted by Chief Welsh, who also "felt it was appropriate" (234) to include the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC). Why Chief Welsh felt this to be an appropriate gesture is not clarified. The Commissioner of the CSC, Donald Yeomans, is noted to have accepted the inclusion.

With the assistance of numerous people, including OPS Chaplain Johnson and Father Gerald Donegan, as well as the Ottawa Police Choir and the Ottawa Police Pipe and Drum Band, as well as other bands from other police services, Larochelle (1994) explains how the memorial service became a reality. In 1977, six police officers across Canada were killed on the job, a number which Larochelle (1994) notes "grew dramatically" (235) the following year, with seven

police officers and four federal prison guards killed. He does not elaborate more about how many officers were being killed per year around this time or how officers were dying at work.

Larochelle (1994) suggests, however, that these deaths were from violent attacks, like what had happened to Constable Kirkwood. “Most police officers understand that an attack upon one police officer is an attack upon us all!”, he emphasizes. He explains how the service is attended by thousands of officers and attendance has grown every year. In 1989, American police officers from Detroit, Chicago, and Cleveland began attending the service. The following year, it was included in the 59th General Assembly of Interpol and was attended by people from 109 countries. The national memorial service is described by Larochelle (1994) as providing great comfort to the families of dead officers, as well as police and federal prison guards across Canada.

With the national memorial service originating shortly after the abolishment of the death penalty in Canada in 1976, Larochelle (1994) explains how some politicians believed it was a “political ploy by police officers to pressure Parliament in bringing back capital punishment” (235) and were hesitant to attend. Eventually, they came to realize it was “genuine in its mandate” (235). He does not specify names of politicians who felt this way, nor does he give readers a sense about the extent to which police officers wanted the death penalty to be re-instated. By 1963, it had been abolished except for those who killed police and prison guards on duty. By 1976, it had been completely abolished (see *Chapter 7*). Larochelle (1994) suggests none of this is relevant to understanding the memorial that emerged shortly afterwards to honour these same populations. Its only point, he claims, was “keeping the memory of fallen police and correctional officers solemn” (325). He explains how the service continued to grow in subsequent years.

During the first service on 24 September 1978, a two-gun salute was fired by members of the 30<sup>th</sup> Field Regiment of the Royal Canadian Artillery, also known as the Bytown Gunners, “to

enunciate the honour roll” (Larochelle 1994, 235). Larochelle (1994) explains how there is a long-standing association between the OPS and the Bytown Gunners, as both were formed in 1855 and have a long history of supporting one another in incidents ranging from “civil unrest in the early days of Canada’s history to Royal visits in later times” (235). The following year, on 6 July 1979, Major Keith Williamson and Captain G.B. Carter created a national memorial out of a shell casing and presented it to the OPS on behalf of Bytown Gunners commemorating the first national memorial service. The other shell case was totally dissipated (Larochelle 1994).

At the top of the memorial on top of the shell casing is a cross in a diagonal position, which Larochelle (1994) notes was created by OPS officer John Hodgins. Inscribed on the vertically placed shell casing are the words “*TO FALLEN COMRADES: PARLIAMENT HILL, SEPTEMBER 24<sup>th</sup>, 1978*” with the badge of the Ottawa Police, presented in colour, and the badge of the Bytown Gunners mounted above and below the inscription. Supporting it is a finished wooden base, which reads “Presented to the Ottawa Police Force in appreciation by the 30th Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery” (Larochelle 1994). Included in the book is a picture of the original memorial, which was small enough to be carried by a single person. There is also a picture of an early national memorial service that shows the memorial object placed on a black stand directly in front of the speaker on the steps of Centre Block. Larochelle (1994) describes the physical memorial serving “as a reminder of the sacrifice made by those to whom the Memorial service is dedicated” (236). He also notes how in 1983, a Remembrance Book for police and prison guards killed on the job was created with the assistance of the Department of the Solicitor General (see *Chapter 8*).

## **2.6. Conclusion**

In this opening literature review chapter, I have reviewed Larochelle’s (1994) *The History of the Ottawa Police, 1826–1993*. Along with upholding myths – namely i) the belief that police are the

experts in cop things, despite knowledge and understanding also being held by historians, social scientists, activists, and so on (Crank 2004); ii) that penal history is an enlightened story of progress through stages – an account that neglects to recognize that it has also become more controlling and dispersed throughout the social body (Foucault 1977) and skirts the role, values, and decision-making of the researcher in influencing the realities they are describing (Pickering 2019); and iii) that police officers are guardians of law and order – the book suppresses realities involving police protecting dominant interests and neglects its integral role in settler colonialism and systemic racism (Manning 1997; Maynard 2017). While containing a history of the national memorial service, the book also lacks analysis and criticism (Nora 1989). This point was also made by an interviewee in this project, a former police officer who encouraged me to reject the official story and consider how the national memorial to deceased “peace” officers benefits the living.

To address the dissertation’s aim of demystifying, demythologizing, and debunking the birth, development, meanings, and role that the CPPOM plays, more investigation is needed on the theme of social and institutional change in the context of the birth and development of the memorial, as well as on the comfort and healing it provides to officers and family members of slain officers. As an act of police commemoration in its own right, the book in a certain sense exploited more than explicated the past to re-assert and re-claim the ultimate authority of the OPS and by extension the CPPOM at a time when police morale was low and its violence and links to anti-Black racism were being challenged. In 1994 – the year it was published – the memorial also expanded to include a Police Memorial Pavilion (PMP) on the Hill (see *Chapter 10*). In the next section, I turn to examine an earlier peer-reviewed journal article by Ian Taylor (1986), a critical criminologist who calls for the need to demythologize certain Canadian police practices, including the national memorial. The existence of this article was not identified by Laroche (1994).

### 3. TAYLOR'S CRITIQUE OF THE MEMORIAL AS IDEOLOGICAL

The rhetoric of the Memorial Service, like the rhetorics that are marshaled whenever the restoration of capital punishment – especially for the killing of police officers – is under active public debate, are about the elevation of the police task to a primary place in the public political agenda, and the associated acceleration of a public acceptance of the police's political perspectives on the need for a much more intensively disciplined and generally widely policed society.

— Taylor (1986, 61)

#### 3.1. Introduction

In 1986, an article touching on the national memorial and other police practices was published in the American journal *Crime and Social Justice*. It was part of a special issue on Canada, which attempted to address the “persistent U.S bias” (1) in the journal and open it up to “serve the broad interests of social scientists, professionals, and activists throughout North America” (1). According to its website, the journal (now *Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict, and World Order*) was founded in 1974. It is peer-reviewed and aims to inform theory and “praxis” – a word that comes from the Greek *prasso*, which means “to do” or “to act purposely” – on issues of inequality and injustice. With a narrow, early focus on issues of lawbreaking and the penal system, the journal has since expanded to “promote social criticism” and “present divergent viewpoints” on numerous topics, from human and civil rights to environmental issues (Social Justice 2022).

Like in the previous chapter, I review this article with the aim of identifying empirical gaps and major themes within existing research of the CPPOM. In contrast to Larochelle (1994), I observe how Taylor (1986) describes the rhetoric of the memorial as an attempt to thrust this work and the concerns of its practitioners coast-to-coast into the political spotlight, as well as legitimize controversial police practices, such as surveillance of the public. Yet I also note an underlying similarity between these works which I unpack. Namely, both interpret the memorial in reference to what Taylor (1986), in quotations, refers to as the “reality” or “real” situation of policing.

### **3.2. Taylor's Critique of Police Ideological Practices**

In the article, Taylor (1986) is concerned with advancing, in part “a very generalized and introductory critique of the ideologies surrounding policing in Canada” (63). He does so by highlighting and delving into the relationship between two sorts of phenomena. First, he identifies the “ideological rhetoric” (63), which he describes as being promoted and encouraged by police agencies. By ideology, he seems to mean what Manning (1997) calls myths. That is, misleading and occasionally outright false constructions of the reality of policing. Second, he highlights the “reality” of the police, “for want of a better term” (64). The critique Taylor (1986) advances rests on the argument that ideological rhetoric should be critiqued because it strays from the reality of such work, leading to “problems of accountability” (64). In other words, Taylor (1986) asserts that it is difficult to hold the police accountable, whether it is police violence, the behaviour of a single police officer, or the strategies of police operations, budget management, and so on, if the public – or officers themselves – are misinformed through ideology about the reality of what is going on. The article begins with him calling the national memorial service “profoundly ideological” (60), suggesting it is perhaps the best example of what Taylor feels must be demythologized.

### **3.3. Dr. Ian Taylor: A Critical Criminologist**

The claims of the article and its concern with demythologization can in part be traced to the influential role the author played in the formation of what is today often called critical criminology, a diverse field that challenges core assumptions of mainstream criminology (see Cohen 1988). According to Young (2001), in the 1960s, Taylor co-founded a conference called the National Deviance Symposium (NDS), cementing his status as a key figure in the “politically-committed” (3) sociology that arose during this decade. Winlow (2014) notes that the NDS was held between the years 1965 and 1975 (and resurrected in 2011) at the University of York in England. The NDS

was first conceived as a gathering place for people who were dissatisfied with the criminology being taught and practiced throughout Britain. The main source of this dissatisfaction was the “administrative and state-centered approaches” (1) that dominated criminological work.

Most criminological research, NDS participants observed, was grounded in the aims of the state and its penal system (Cohen 1988). Criminologists tended to work hand-in-hand with the penal system in positions such as prison doctors and psychologists, or conversely, were doing research funded or overseen by the penal system. In doing so, NDS participants argued, they often took “correctional aims for granted” (Cohen 1988, 74). When it came to the study of deviance, for example, it was assumed to be a technical problem of control. The aim was to control/correct the individual deviant. According to NDS participants, this overlooked the perspective of the deviant, from which deviance is often a solution, not a problem. It is an attempt by individuals and groups to navigate the social problems that confront them (Cohen 1988). One implication is that researchers aiming to reduce lawbreaking ought to focus less on correcting, surveiling, and punishing individuals, and more on correcting the social problems that foster lawbreaking.

In an influential book, Taylor and colleagues (1973) argue that deviance is inherently social and cannot be properly dealt with without attacking inequalities of wealth and power. This laid a strong foundation for critical criminology, which Lynch (2010) notes “has developed numerous specialties, and thus it is no longer possible to ... succinctly summarize this view” (1). Nevertheless, he adds that it is “united in its emphasis on addressing power differentials, hierarchies, and inequalities as explanations of crime” (2). I turn to examine in more detail the article in *Crime and Social Justice* to examine how Taylor (1986) critiques police ideological practices as one example of critical criminology given its questioning of police ideology and focus on the CPPOM, whose birth, development, meanings, and role is the focus of this study.

### 3.4. Unmasking the “Reality” of Police Work and the Memorial

Working off the theme of the journal issue on US-Canada relations, Taylor (1986) explains that, historically, what set policing in Canada apart from the US had to do with the RCMP. In particular, “the mythology of ‘the Mountie’ has been seen as a key, distinguishing feature of Canada: it is the central expression of the stable and orderly world of the Loyalist settlement of North America, as against the tempestuous and troubled society in process of construction by the Republicans and Democrats south of the border” (61). He cites the “official historian” of Canadian policing, W.H. Kelly (1976), who describes the European origins of police in Canada, but also the effect of the *British North America Act* (BNA) of 1867 on the organization and jurisdiction of police. This established that the policing of Canada, or “what came to be described as a secure and peaceful kingdom” (62), is lawfully carried out in the name of the Queen of England. As noted by Taylor (1986), the expansion of commerce westwards through invasive land settlement is what led to the establishment of the precursor to the RCMP – the North West Mount Police (NWMP) in 1873. The role of the NWMP was to ensure, using the threat of force, this westward expansion.

As Nettlebeck and Foster (2012) more recently observe, however, museums such as the RCMP Heritage Centre in Regina, Saskatchewan, and many other sites of historical memory in Western Canada perpetuate a “mythic image of the NWMP” (76) as opposed to the more “critical historiography” (77) that has gained popularity in recent times. According to Taylor (1986) the RCMP has “been successful, through most of the 20th century, in generating and sustaining a quite distinctive mythology, well known to Canadians and non-Canadians alike” (62). He quotes the historian Keith Walden (1982), who describes the RCMP “as one of the nation’s most cherished national institutions” (1), bringing law and order, as well as honour, integrity, as well as devotion of duty to the nation. Indeed, the act of celebrating this mythology is sometimes presented in a

sympathetic light by intellectuals. Taylor (1986) mentions an Australian law professor working in Canada who describes “Mounties” as one of the few items that constitute the elusive Canadian identity. According to Taylor (1986), though, the mythology of the RCMP is a clear example of ideological rhetoric. It should be carefully distinguished from the reality of this institution.

Taylor (1986) therefore asserts that there are certain policing practices whose primary function is mythological or ideological. These practices, as he describes them, exist to associate police with positive images, such as community, cooperation, peace, justice, law and order, and so on. The ideological rhetoric of the RCMP, Taylor (1986) suggests, wraps police into an uplifting and compelling narrative but one that is more fabricated than historically accurate. This constructs an *esprit de corps* and helps to protect the agency when the reality of its violence comes to light. He observes how a few former police officers, for example, in the 1960s wrote about “the brutal suppression of the Native and Metis population in the 1880s and 1890s ... breaking strikes on the Canadian Pacific Railroad in the 1880s ... the defeat of the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919 and ... the harassment of radicals during the Depression years of the early 1930” (63). Yet when people think about the “Mounties” they tend to picture red coats and horses, not this violence.

According to Taylor (1986), police ideological practices exist because police agencies require a high level of “public support and legitimation” (61). Legitimacy is important because it means the right to exercise power and maintain a monopoly over the lawful use of force (Reiner 1995). Over the last several decades, encouraging citizens to respect police officers and see them as rightful holders of authority has been a struggle in the face of incidents of egregious police violence, corruption, and the rise of private security challenging the public police as “guardians of law and order” (Larochelle 1994; see also Reiner 1995). Ideological practices, Taylor (1986) explains, help police organizations manage and control problems of institutional legitimacy.

Taylor (1986), though, emphasizes the “problems of accountability” (64) that police ideological practices like the CPPOM service raise. Focusing on the 1970s and 1980s, he draws attention to three trends which he claims had not given rise at the time “to any major public debate on the direction and character of policing” (65). First, the extent to which police officers use deadly force. He acknowledges that Canadian police are less prone to use their weapons than US police officers. Nevertheless, he observes that “at least 125 Canadians died between 1970 and 1981 as a result of what the statistical record categorizes as ‘legal intervention’” (64). This includes what he describes as highly publicized and controversial incidents, such as the killing of “a West Indian, Mr. Albert Johnson, in his own home” (64) and of Serge Beaudoin, 33, a carpet layer, and the serious wounding of his friend, who was shot and killed by two police officers in Sherbrooke, Quebec in 1983. The police opened fire on them after apparently confusing them for two other men who had held up a local hardware store, killing a security guard the previous day.<sup>8</sup>

Second, Taylor (1986) notes how police services in Canada have “silently and largely without specific governmental authorization” (64) been building up a large arsenal of specialized weaponry since 1976 in the lead up to the Montreal Olympics, usually justified by police services as required for use against “international terrorists” (64). However, it was precisely one of these high-powered weapons, an Israeli-designed Uzi submachine gun with a laser sight, that killed

---

<sup>8</sup> Albert Johnson was a Black Jamaican immigrant who was shot by the Toronto Police on 26 August 1979 in his home and died 6.5 hours later in hospital. His death was controversial because just ten days before he was killed, Johnson had met with Gail Gutentag of the Ontario Human Rights Commission to file a complaint of police harassment. “His biggest fear”, she noted, “was that police would shoot him down. He repeated that he thought the police are trying to kill him, and have been making a concerted effort to continually and increasingly harass him” (see Gerard 1979). Additionally, his 7-year-old daughter said police came in the house, beat him, and ordered him to kneel. When he did so, one shot him. The police, meanwhile, claimed that they responded to a call about a man acting “abusive and disorderly” (Gerard 1979). When they entered the home, Johnson ran down the stairs swinging “what appeared to be an axe” (Gerard 1979) and was shot descending the staircase. The police version of events was accepted and Johnson was deemed mentally unstable. After the death, the Black community erupted in anger (Barrett 2015). As it regards the killing of Serge Beaudoin, charges were laid against three policemen but after months of court hearings each were acquitted of any criminal responsibility. Two were also promoted soon after (McCabe 1986).

Beaudoin, who was shot eight times. “There appears to be no concerted move”, Taylor (1986) writes, “at a federal level or provincially, to register and control the police’s new military capability” (65), nor had there been any inquiry into the “anti-terrorism units” that have been established in most Canadian police services since the mid-1970s. With police officers willing to use deadly force and having access to a more specialized assortment of weaponry, Taylor (1986) writes, there are “causes for concern” (64) about how officers might react to “an officially designated emergency situation” (64). Here, he means of the kind which occurred in 1970 subsequent to the kidnapping of a Quebec government minister, Pierre Laporte, and a British businessman, James Cross, by the separatist Front Liberation de Quebec (i.e. the October Crisis).

Third, Taylor (1986) points out how Canadian police were doing a very poor job at avoiding dangerous car chases at the time compared to their US counterparts. In 1983, he notes how 24 people, including 2 police officers, were killed, and 126 civilians and 47 policemen were injured, as a result of high-speed car chases in the province of Ontario alone. Despite these trends, the only incidence of what he calls “problematization” of policing at a national level in Canada around this time occurred because of the revelations that emerged in the late 1970s concerning the activities of the RCMP Security Service (RCMP-SS) vis-à-vis the emerging separatist movement in Quebec (McDonald Commission 1981). The release of the report detailing extensive wrongdoings, known as the McDonald Commission, was however, accompanied by a public relations campaign by the federal government. Taylor (1986) writes how the campaign argued that the McDonald Commission got the law wrong and that such police misconduct was not unlawful unless it was “prohibited either at common law or legislation” (Mandel 1982). Therefore, Taylor (1986) notes that many of the RCMP officers standing accused of offenses as a result of the McDonald Commission’s findings were exonerated (McDonald Commission 1981).

In the 1980s, Canadian police practice was even less criticized and problematized nationally. This is because a good portion of the activities perhaps deserving of public attention and scrutiny were largely invisible, Taylor (1986) suggests, if not hidden, from the public eye. He points to police officials becoming increasingly involved in “ever more politicized and highly organized international associations of police” (66), noting the danger of punitive law-and-order priorities of other countries being fed back into Canada by Canadian police chiefs. Additionally, with the growth of international networks, there had also been “increasing cooperation between police forces in Canada and forces south of the border in matters of detection, search, and general surveillance of the citizenry” (67). While forging such connections is not always controversial, he writes, when it comes to “seriously antisocial crime” (67), there is an unknown amount of collaboration with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and National Security Agency.

What is known, he writes, is that the CIA gained a foothold in Canada in the 1950s, handing over to the Departments of External Affairs and National Defense extensive data on political developments in other countries in exchange for access. He notes how Sawatsky (1980) documented this, arguing that the influence of the CIA and other American security agencies within Canada is in part responsible for “the emergence of an aggressive and crude antisocialist and antiseparatist sentiment in the RCMP Security Service during the late 1960s and early 1970s” (67). It is also responsible, Taylor (1986) suggests, for the “rather clumsy attempts” (67) that are made occasionally by the CIA and presumably also Canadian intelligence to plant informants in a labour movements, Indigenous groups, and immigrant organizations (Fidler 1978).<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Taylor (1986) notes the example of Warren Hart, a Black American intelligence agent who had previously worked in the Black Panther Party. In the 1970s, he was recruited by the RCMP-SS to covertly infiltrate a variety of leftist labour and peace movements. Taylor (1986) also identifies the most infamous incident of CIA activity in Canada, to which he claims no information exists which would allow any generalization about whether Canadian government officials knew, was “the financing through a front organization of sensory deprivation experiments on Canadian citizens by Dr. D. Ewen Cameron at the Allan Memorial Institute in Montreal, beginning in 1957” (67).

While most of these developments have been largely hidden from the public eye, Taylor (1986) notes how even plainly visible aspects in the transformation of the police institution in the 1980s were not met with mass public concern. Consider, he points out, a topic which is among the most widely discussed policing developments in criminological circles: “the massive growth in the size and general presence of private security police” (67) in places such as shopping centres. According to Shearing and Stenning (1983), the number of private police in Canada increased from 89,734 in 1971 to 115,443 in 1975, double the number of police officers reported for Canada in 1977 of 52,503. Chan and Ericson (1981) also noted how private policing has taken over a wide variety of functions in terms of the protection of property and people from the public police.

In Canada, Taylor (1986) points out, it is not uncommon for private security to be armed and exercising “considerable legal powers over the citizenry, without there being any serious system in place whereby these forces could become accountable to the public” (68). As they are largely non-unionized, private security is cheaper to employ *en masse* for a security function and expanding in number quickly, still today, where little governance or oversight of private security firms exists and there are minimal standards of licensing, training, and discipline (see Montgomery and Griffiths 2015). Yet like developments in public policing, he observes, there “is very little evidence of any real public concern, for example, on the part of the trade unions whose members are more intensively subjected to surveillance or on the part of the employees and customers at the urban shopping malls” (68). While Taylor (1986) concedes that the lack of public and political problematizing of policing could be due to sheer complexity of the public and private policing systems, he also suggests that the ideological practices of police services are involved.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> In 1999, a man named Patrick Shand, 31, in Toronto, attempted to shoplift a small item. He suffocated and died when he was handcuffed and pinned to the ground by two staff members and a private security guard (CBC News, 2004). This led to various changes in the security industry, such as a mandatory 40-hour security training course, which I have taken. The film *Road House* starring Patrick Swayze as a bouncer was shown to eat up time.

The main example of ideological rhetoric that Taylor (1986) discusses is arguably not the national memorial service, but rather “the police campaign for community crime prevention and a generalized celebration of the idea of ‘community policing’ (74). As Larochelle (1994) observes, this shift in police work began to take shape in the 1970s. Taylor (1986) discusses a governmental public information poster campaign, supported by the Ministry of the Solicitor-General, advertising “crime-prevention programs and community-liaison policing” (68). The posters, which numbered in the thousands throughout Canadian cities, display people of various ages, occupations, and ethnic backgrounds smiling together. It expresses “the idea of a cheerful, tolerant Canadian society held together consensually, in part by a friendly police force ever present and available in the community” (69). He describes the posters as ideological in two senses.

First, the image of Canada being a “seamless collection of mixed and pluralistic communities” (69) does not reflect reality. In Canada, neighbourhoods are heavily defined in terms of socio-economic class and ethnic terms. “The chances of young black students, Native Indians, or, indeed, young white manual workers inhabiting the same neighborhood as an up-and-coming ... executive or a woman judge are slim” (69). Second, the posters “also try to retrieve from history the idea of a community policeman (or woman) organically integrated into the neighborhood” (70). He notes how the idea, even if it were once true, is not what community policing initiatives have led to in Canada. This is mainly “the organization of seminars and instructional classes for ‘concerned citizens’ in local community centers to which ‘the community’ is invited” (70). They have also led to extensions of community supervision and surveillance, whether by police themselves or volunteers with *Crime Stoppers*. This is an organization with origins in the US that assists police with solving cases. For this reason, Taylor (1986) describes the “friendly and organic peacekeeping” (70) celebrated in the posters as ideological.

While there have been significant developments since the 1970s in the weaponry and surveillance capacities of the police, as well as connections with the CIA, NSA, and so on – all of which Taylor (1986) believes requires public attention and scrutiny – the publicity given to community policing and commemoration of police and prison officers distracts from it (Walby and Wilkinson 2021; O'Connor and Zaidi 2021). Taylor (1986) suggests that troubles experienced by the RCMP in the 1970s, as well as numerous other local police difficulties, may have generated in some “sense a crisis of legitimacy in particular police forces in Canada” (74). This campaign for legitimacy is one which contains “contradictory and precarious elements” (74). For example, he describes the ideological practices aimed at securing legitimacy as being contradictory “with the project of embedding the police in a democratic and populist relationship with the Canadian public (74). His main point, though, is that ideology creates problems of accountability.

Along with the friendly posters clashing with the reality of police having access to Israeli-designed Uzi submachine guns, he describes the posters as clashing with the ideological rhetoric of the national memorial service. As will be elaborated in the next and final section of the chapter, Taylor (1986) claims that the memorial service broadcasts the image of a strong police force standing apart from – if not above – the community to which it is responsible and accountable to. “In no conceivable sense do the given ideological practices of police in Canada”, Taylor (1986) writes, “encourage and institutionalize the kind of anti-sexist, anti-racist, and democratic system of popular social defense and peacekeeping which the public education programs of the Solicitor-General so expensively and evocatively display” (75). Instead of encouraging these things, the ideological rhetoric of the memorial, as Taylor (1986) describes it, thrusts this work and the problematic “law and order” concerns of its practitioners into the political spotlight, as well as

legitimizes controversial police practices, such as intensification of surveillance of the public. In the final section, I examine his comments and critique of the memorial in more detail.

### **3.5. Demythologizing the Memorial**

A brochure circulated to those in attendance at the 1985 National Memorial Service at Parliament Hill, Taylor (1986) observes, contains an “Honour Roll”. In it at that time were the names of 49 police or prison officers who had been killed on the job since 1 January 1977. The brochure clarifies that the officers died not just “on duty” but specifically, “as the direct result of a violent criminal action or series of actions on the part of another person or persons” (60). A footnote clarifies that following the completion of the first draft, Taylor was made aware of another relevant analysis in the US of police funerals as a “symbolic event” (i.e. Manning 1977).

Taylor (1986) observes how this national memorial has achieved “considerable visibility” (60) in the country over the last few years. It is a “colorful display of massed pipebands and the uniforms of different police forces” (60). Typically, the memorial service is accompanied on television newscasts by excerpts from a sermon delivered “with great dignity and authority” (60) by a person standing on the front steps of the Centre Block of Parliament. Taylor (1986) points out that organizers of the service have denied that it is a “campaign for the restoration of capital punishment” (60). Unlike Larochelle (1994), he nevertheless suggests it might be having the effect of encouraging re-instatement of the death penalty: “it is notable that the screening of the service on television newscasts has indeed frequently resulted in raucous demands from individual politicians for restoration” (61). Taylor (1986) also writes, “there is absolutely no doubt ... that the service is a profoundly ideological occasion” (60). He quotes a passage from the 1985 service. The 1985 service, he informs readers, included two separate renditions of a bagpipe lament called “Martyrdom” and a biblical reading from *John*, Chapter XV. He quotes it as follows:

Jesus said to his disciples: if the world hates you, remember that it hated me before you. If you belonged to the world, the world would love you as its own; but because you do not belong to the world, because my choice withdrew you from the world, therefore the world hates you (61).

According to Taylor (1986), this passage seemed to be constructing an allusion to the idea of “law enforcement” officers as God’s disciples, who are “naturally” hated by “the world” (61). If true, he writes, “we have a real sense of the political problems involved in creating a democratically accountable police force in Canada” (60). It is also clear that the national memorial service is ideological because it does not commemorate anyone but police and federal prison guards, he observes. It ignores “the hundreds of workers who have died since 1977, whether in public or private employment, in the enormously dangerous occupations of forestry, mining, and energy extraction in Canada” (61), a fact which remains true today (Pinsent 2012). At this time, the memorial had not yet expanded to include even more “peace” officers (see *Chapter 10*).

Taylor (1986) thus also describes the exclusive nature of the memorial service as curious and demanding investigation. On the surface, it is about nationally honouring and remembering people who died on the job. Yet it is not about all working people. It is about officers – and it is not about all officers, just police and federal prison officers – and it is not about all police and federal prison officers, just ones who died because of “violent criminal action or series of actions” (60). He encourages readers to go a step further. It is not just about these people, Taylor (1986) suggests. Its rhetoric is “about the elevation of the police task to a primary place in the public political agenda” (61). The service ensures that the public and politicians do not forget about the perceived importance of the work. It also encourages them to accept the common political perspective adopted by officers – that what is needed is “a much more intensively disciplined and widely policed society” (61). This, Taylor (1986) suggests, is perhaps the “reality” behind the memorial service. Like one of my interviewees claimed, it is a support and legitimation ploy.

On the one hand, the OPS historian Larochelle (1994) situates the memorial within what he describes as a significant change in police work in the form of new community-oriented practices that began in the 1970s and early 1980s. On the other hand, Taylor (1986) observes how the memorial clashes with the ideology of community policing expressed in the Solicitor-General's educational poster campaign of the era. Unlike the latter, the memorial separates police and prison workers from other occupations, as well as communities. The police are not in the community, so much as largely by themselves, thousands of them, on the Hill performing a ritual that is televised into communities. This ritual is informed by the "theme of martyrdom" (75). It contains allusions – in the form of religious passages – that the police see themselves as servants not just to the public, but a higher power. Taylor (1986) describes the rhetoric of the memorial as "the ideology of a strong police force standing apart from, and even above society" (75). Nonetheless, like community-oriented policing and the mythology of the RCMP, this ideology also legitimizes "the daily project of surveillance" (75) that he describes as the reality of police work. At the same time, he suggests it also speaks towards an "Americanization" (75) of police ideology and potentially police practices in Canada, such as a spread of paramilitary activity (see Cyr et al. 2020).

Despite these differences, Larochelle (1994) and Taylor (1986) both assess the memorial service in relation to what Taylor (1986), in quotation marks, calls the "reality" or "real" situation of policing. Larochelle (1994) suggests that the memorial reflects and emerged from this reality, which is a deeply heroic one. According to Taylor (1986), however, the real situation of policing is not what is being represented at the memorial service. Not unlike a movie, museum, or other cultural practices (see Brown 2009; Wilson 2008; Nettelbeck and Foster 2012), the memorial is described as distorting, misrepresenting, or deceiving onlookers through its imagery and rhetoric in a manner that re-enforces power relations and promotes the intensification of policing.

While recognizing the need for demythologizing policing, one issue with Taylor's (1986) approach is that it does not fully recognize the CPPOM as a complex and powerful policing service, organization, and institution in its own right. Instead, it is presented as a collection of misleading representations or "ideological imagery" (64). In this sense, it is similar to the critical position of the former Canadian police officer interviewed in this study, who also observed:

The numbers that police agencies point to when it comes to "line of duty death" is another form of image-making. You can pull them up. When it comes to officers being killed on the job, it's not that many. Most people dying are in jobs like construction. Falling down, getting crushed. Very few police officers even take out their guns. I never did.

Taylor (1986) does not claim it is *all* image-making, but he reduces it to mystification without researching the memorial in much depth, something the interviewee had also not done. While Taylor (1986) attended the service as he cites a brochure that was distributed, he does not mention if he spoke to any participants or organizers, who might have challenged his interpretation. Since 1986, when Taylor's (1986) article was published, the memorial has also become an even more complex institution. It is now an official national day, for example. There is also a new pavilion, a CPPOM monument, events such as rides and runs, and more (see *Chapter 10* and *11*).

According to Crank (2004), who draws principally from the work of the anthropologist Geertz (e.g. 1973), it is important to recognize that police rituals, such as regimental funerals, do not only represent the power of police and the state. They are also powerful "things-in-themselves" (336). The power of police funerals, Crank (2004) explains, comes down to its symbols – such as the flag draped over the coffin, or thousands of uniformed officers together in one place – which are invigorated with the emotions of officers in mourning. Its symbols "are not simply reflections of the underlying power and authority in the organization ... they are the power acted out in ritual behaviour" (Crank 2004, 336). The CPPOM is thus more than a representation that can be analyzed like a poster campaign. It is a powerful expression of policing warranting in-depth inquiry.

A related issue concerns the strategy of demythologization Taylor (1986) proposes. As it is introductory, he never addresses the question of how or whether “the ‘reality’ of Canadian policing” (64) can be known. One myth communicated by the memorial service that he seems to overlook is the very belief in a single, true “reality” of policing that can be exhibited. This reality is created and powerfully expressed through symbols. Along with Larochelle (1994) – who tries to bring the “correct version” (xvii) of the policing past to light through “facts presented” (xvii) – this myth can also be seen, for example, inside police museums (see Ferguson et al. 2020; Buffington 2020). Put in another way, Taylor (1986) seems to be bolstering instead of challenging a myth by upholding the idea that there exists a knowable “reality” of Canadian policing.

In this sense, the distinction he makes between “ideological rhetoric” (63) and the “reality” of the police, “for want of a better term” (64) is insightful, but also problematic when it comes to analyzing the national memorial service and cannot stand on its own. In contrast to other police practices, Taylor (1986) describes the memorial as a “profoundly ideological occasion” (60), suggesting it is more un-real than real. Yet it is, of course, a real memorial service. The officers it represents are “really” dead. He has attended it but does not share in detail how it “really” looks or feels like to attend. He neglects to see the service as also a profoundly real occasion.

To address this, there is a need to acknowledge that multiple and constructed realities – in plural – of policing exist, as opposed to a single, overarching “reality” that can be used as a basis for demythologization. The basis for demythologization can be showing how dominant realities are provisional and constructed, as opposed to natural, through research. This project should also involve demystifying meanings that are associated with police practices, showing how they are created and used to entrench and further expand, rather than unsettle, relations of power, and debunking, or analyzing social practices for unofficial and hidden realities (see *Chapter 6*).

### **3.6. Conclusion**

As this review of Taylor (1986) has identified and discussed, there are a few important themes which are necessary to carry forward and develop in this study of the birth, development, meanings, and role of the CPPOM. First, what he describes as “Americanization” – meaning a rising influence of the US on Canadian policing myths, as well as potentially Canadian police practices more generally. Second, the theme of martyrdom, which he associates with the memorial and describes as “curious” because it appears to speak to an apartness instead of togetherness with communities. Third, the theme of crisis as it regards the police institution, which he associates with the notion of legitimacy that police require to exercise force and control. Taylor (1986) describes how certain police practices, including the memorial, appear in some sense a response to a declining amount of public support for particular police forces in Canada. However, as Taylor (1986) also emphasizes, his work in this area is “very generalized and introductory” (63). I have identified some issues with his approach and proposed steps to address them. Empirically, there is a need to examine the themes and the memorial in more depth, recognizing that it is a powerful and complex policing service, organization, and institution in its own right. Before doing so, in the next chapter, I examine a book chapter by Palmer (2012) – a policing scholar – who outlines an international research program for the study of police memorials, including the CPPOM.

## 4. PALMER'S GLOBAL STUDIES OF POLICE MEMORIALIZATION

The Canadian Police and Peace Officers' Memorial website opens with the statement: "They are our heroes. We shall not forget them". Again, a phrase that resonates strongly with the war ritual: At the going down of the sun and in the morning, we will remember them and lest we forget. The Rudyard Kipling war commemoration admonition "lest we forget" is commonly used across police memorials.

- Palmer (2012, 200)

### 4.1. Introduction

A third and final study touching on the CPPOM comes from a 2012 book titled *Global Environment of Policing*. The book consists of a collection of articles emerging from the International Police Executive Symposium (IPES). The IPES is an annual conference providing a forum to discuss challenges and problems with policing around the world and forge closer relationships between researchers and practitioners. The book contains a forward by Dr. Clifford Shearing (2012), one of the world's pre-eminent criminologists. He praises its contents and draws attention to "two important developments in policing studies" (xiii): i) it has become progressively global, with a rise in comparative scholarship, which is "slowly, but surely, reshaping our understandings of policing"; and ii) practitioners are becoming less and less solely the "objects of research undertaken by academics", and more often "sensitive ethnographers of their trade" (xiii), or in short, the researchers and academics themselves.

The previous analysis of Larochelle (1994) showed how police officers as "active sources of scholarly thinking" (Shearing 2012, p xiii) can adopt approaches which reproduce policing myths (see *Chapter 2*). In contrast, the rising concern with the "global" and comparative scholarship is present in Palmer's (2012) chapter, which discusses the global rise of police memorials and sets out the "parameters for the development of systematic studies in policing

memorialization” (188). I begin by introducing the book chapter. After, I discuss the author and the stated objectives of the research he plans to conduct, which includes analyzing planning materials and conducting interviews with police memorial organizers. Along with identifying more empirical gaps to be addressed, I suggest it is also worthwhile to study the experiences of ordinary participants and examine legitimacy as it relates to carceral and nationalizing state practices – not just policing, given the scope of some public “peace” officer memorials like the CPPOM.

#### **4.2. Palmer’s Global Studies of Police Memorialization**

Palmer’s (2012) chapter is located in a section of the book titled, “Policing: Global Challenges” (160), which considers a range of contemporary issues confronting the policing environment. These issues include policing cyberspace, human trafficking, as well as what is described as a constant and central challenge facing public police agencies – “the need to establish and maintain legitimacy” (xxii), which Taylor (1986) discusses in the Canadian context. The latter is where Palmer’s (2012) paper contributes. In it, he outlines some early findings and the foundations of a large research program to investigate what he calls “policing memorialization” (188) in the United States, Canada, Northern Ireland, Scotland, England, and Australia over the past two decades. More specifically, he intends to study the increasing number of memorials honouring deceased police officers in these countries, though he notes that such developments are not limited to Western democracies and that some, such as the CPPOM, honour more than just police.

The phenomenon of police memorials, Palmer (2012) explains, is not restricted to any specific country. Along with all the countries he intends to focus on, he observes how national police memorials have also been recently unveiled in India and China. Despite the widespread popularity of these sites, research on them remains extremely rare. Palmer (2012) observes how the memorialization research literature “has been dominated by war: either in terms of the study

of war memorials and their relationship to individual and collective memory, or in terms of the consequences of war” (187). It is worthwhile to also study police memorials, he points out, because the public police are a visible embodiment of state power in everyday life and key site for the expression of values, such as morality, orderliness, and security. Thus, research on these practices, can reveal “deeper insights into contemporary cultural attitudes to the police specifically, and public security generally” (187). Palmer (2012) also draws attention to the close relationship between the memorialization of police officers and the military. He observes that the “cultural and political elements that pertain to the commemoration of war have of recent years been quite intense in the field of policing” (188). The argument of his chapter is presented as follows:

... police legitimacy is shaped in various ways, but policing scholarship can benefit significantly by looking at the multiple of ways this can be achieved, and can do so in this area by borrowing from and reinterpreting the extensive literature on war memorials concerning different forms, different reasons for their introduction, the different uses of memorials and associated spaces, and the importance of memorials for garnering community support (Palmer et al. 2012, xxiii).

Given that the topic of police legitimacy is “a foundation of policing studies and the politics of policing” (xxiii),<sup>11</sup> Palmer (2012) explains how it is surprising that police memorials have attracted little scholarly attention. He contends that above all, these memorials, along with the ceremonies surrounding them, are important to study because they can increase our understanding of how police maintain and achieve legitimacy, a key issue in public policing scholarship.

Palmer (2012) attributes the lack of research on this topic and its relationship to police legitimacy to how research on legitimacy is typically done. Most research into this topic, he explains, utilizes the “procedural justice approach” (188). This approach studies “legitimacy through large-scale surveys and quantitative analyses of how procedural factors – police adherence

---

<sup>11</sup> As elaborated by Shearing (2012), policing studies is an evolving area of research concerned not only with how state police operate, but also “private or nonstate policing” (xiv) and the interactions between the two.

to fair procedures – shape the perceptions of the legitimacy of police” (188). This approach, he suggests, is valuable but overlooks other paths to legitimacy. Like Taylor (1986), he identifies the work of Manning (1977) as significant, as he “tied legitimacy of policing in part to the symbolic displays of their moralized authority” (188). Manning (1977) showed that police legitimacy can be studied by investigating symbolic practices where police power and authority is represented. Manning’s early work, however, focused more on funerals than physical memorials.

Palmer (2012) also identifies his intention to situate the development of police memorials within a broader “politics of police” (Reiner 2000; see also Kempa 2010). According to Reiner (2010), there exists a perception that policing is or should not be political. This view presents police as politically neutral and acting in the shared will of the community, not of any government minister, mayor, or political party. Reiner (2010) describes this view of politics as too narrow and thus mythical. He claims that policing is “inherently and inescapably political”, because in a broad sense, “all relationships which have a power dimension are political” (32). The police have a distinctive role in maintaining the status quo as “specialists in coercion” (32). In an unequal society where class, gender, sexuality, race, and other markers of difference shape social inequality, police reproduce and reinforce the values and interests of those with power, denying opposition to them and attempts to subvert this order. Thus, Palmer (2012) aims to situate the development of police memorials in this political context. In the next section, I elaborate the arguments of Palmer (2012) about police memorials, as well as by one of his former graduate students, Linke (2018).

#### **4.3. Dr. Darren Palmer and Dr. Chris Linke: Police Memorialization Experts**

Linke (2018) builds off the insights of Palmer (2012) and other policing and memorialization scholars in his PhD thesis exploring police memorialization and commemoration in Australia. In this work, he further emphasizes the importance of police memorialization to research on police

legitimacy, which he describes his supervisor as being “one of the few scholars internationally who has ... expertise” (1). Linke (2018) unravels these ties through research on police memorials in Australia. In his own words, he “examines the ways in which police legitimacy has been and continues to be shaped by police memorials and remembrance practices” (6). Through interviews with memorial organizers, archival research, and observations at commemorative sites of the Victoria Police in Melbourne, Linke (2018) reveals how some police memorials and police museums have become active “sites of memory” (Nora 1989) that attract different visitors.

According to Palmer (2012) and Linke (2012), police memorials are emerging and developing in a time when it also has been argued “police legitimacy is declining in Western countries” (Linke 2018, ii). While Linke’s (2018) research found numerous examples of police appropriating military customs and commemorative practices – such as the establishment of annual remembrance days with military-style ceremonies and the wearing of military-style uniforms at memorials – he also found “little documented evidence” (236) that police were deliberately associating themselves with military heroism to enhance or maintain their public legitimacy. Linke (2018) describes the adoption of these practices as largely organic, “due to the affinity between these two services” (236). More unexpectedly, Linke (2018) found what he calls a “symbiotic relationship” (9) between Australian police memorialization and that of Ned Kelly, a national icon widely known and sometimes celebrated for his unlawful activities (see Wilson 2008).

Kelly “enjoyed considerable community support while at large” (Linke 2018, 112). He and his gang of bushrangers known as the Kelly Gang, killed three police officers in 1878, which led to a police memorial being built in 1880 that gave police a significant boost in recognition and public support. The police were criticized for mismanaging what became known as the “Kelly Outbreak” and the memorial was built in part to inspire other officers to continue pursuing them.

Today, remembering police in Australia without also remembering the anti-authoritarian bushrangers is impossible, with both linked to national identity or practices of the “nationalizing state” (Osborne and Osborne 2004). There is an element of contested remembrance, but one that has not always been negative for police. In 2011, Linke (2018) notes, the government spent \$88,000 to identify the skeletal remains of Kelly. Because of this, police were able to successfully pressure the government into giving funding to improve the poor condition of police graves.

Linke (2018) also describes police memorials as “invented traditions” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992). This idea draws attention to traditions that have been created much more recently than often believed or claimed, thus making their status as actual “traditions” questionable (see Trevor-Roper 1983). Hobsbawm (1983) argues that invented traditions have three overlapping purposes: i) to establish or symbolize social cohesion or the membership of groups; ii) to establish or legitimize institutions, status, or relations of authority; and iii) to socialize or inculcate beliefs, values, and behaviours. The Australian National Police Memorial was only constructed in 2006, Linke (2018) observes, in the national capital of Canberra, following what he describes as extensive activity since 1999 establishing state police memorials. I investigate this further in the Canadian context, including with structures like the Police Memorial Pavilion on Parliament Hill that was built in 1994, but took the form of a summer pavilion built in 1877 (see *Chapter 10*).

Along with the politics of policing, another central aspect of the work of Palmer (2012) and Linke (2018) is the political aspects of memory. The former identifies a volume edited by Ashplant and colleagues (2000) on the politics of war commemoration in the twentieth century. According to these authors, the nation-state – a political apparatus exercising control over a clearly defined area, which in Canada, is also a “nationalizing state” (Osborne and Osborne 2004) – is central to the politics of memory, which means “the struggle of different groups to give public

articulation to, and hence gain recognition for, certain memories and the narratives within which they are structured” (Ashplant et al 2000, 16). Nation-states are involved in producing official versions of the past through commemoration, where they use a variety of narratives and symbols to invent traditions, mythologize themselves, and promote loyalty towards institutions.

Linke (2018), for example, notes Bodnar’s (1992) study on the politics of memory. Bodnar (1992) argues that public memorialization in the US is less about accurately preserving the past and more about addressing political concerns in the present. Specifically, he focuses on the long conflict between what he calls formal or state-controlled commemorations and local or vernacular memory, noting that while the latter tends to convey genuine historical experience, official structures of power – such as political and business elites who control major commemorative resources – have regulated and re-interpreted the past in a manner to serve their own interests, highlighting themes of nationhood, patriotism, and steady historical progress. Official memories of the past are always contested, and it is this struggle, according to Ashplant and colleagues (2000), that represents the politics of memory and war commemoration. Linke (2018) also discusses other important studies in this area, such as those of Halbwachs (1992), whose writings in the early twentieth century influenced Bodnar (1992) and other writers on memory.<sup>12</sup>

Palmer (2012) notes that there is no better case for the politics of memory than the recent and intense political contestation over the nature of commemoration and memorialization at the World Trade Centre site, specifically the now-abandoned International Freedom Centre (IFC). This was a museum planned to be located near Ground Zero, adjacent to the site of the Twin

---

<sup>12</sup> Halbwachs (1992) argued that memory is a social more than individual phenomenon. While it is the individual who remembers, these memories are influenced by group membership and external social constructs. Even when we remember alone, we do so as social beings who create and interpret memories through tools, languages, and symbols acquired and learned through social interaction. It is impossible for individuals, he believed, to remember in any coherent way outside of the social groups they belong to. We belong to many groups, such as family, class, and religion, which provide social frameworks (*les cadres sociaux*) that stimulate, shape, and constitute memory.

Towers. However, it attracted enough criticism and opposition from politicians, journalists, police, firefighters, and victims to stop the development. In reference to the proposed multi-media tutorial discussing war and inhumanity, for example, the *Wall Street Journal* noted that it is a history all should people know and learn, but ““dispensing it over the ashes of Ground Zero is like creating a Museum of Tolerance over the sunken graves of the USS Arizona’ (in reference to a U.S. Navy ship bombed by the Japanese in Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941)” (Palmer 2012, 191). Many were concerned that it would gloss over the inhumanness of the attacks and portray the deceased as somewhat of a footnote in the march towards freedom. Before examining Palmer’s (2012) comments about the CPPOM and other police memorials, I turn to discuss the concept of police legitimacy, suggesting it ought to be broadened to carceral and nationalizing state legitimacy.

#### **4.4. Policing as “Legitimate” Activity: Broadening an Important Concept**

Linke (2018) describes the research literature on police legitimacy as “complex” (45) and significantly increasing in volume. He quotes Terpstra and Trommel (2009), who describe police legitimacy as a “heterogeneous, multi-dimensional phenomenon’ (134). Many definitions of this foundational concept in policing studies have been proposed over the years, most of which seem to centre around notions of obligation and trust in authority. Skinns and colleagues (2017), for example, define police legitimacy broadly as “the sense of obligation that citizens feel to obey the police and other legal authorities” (602). Hinds and Murphy (2007) point out that police legitimacy “rests on public consent” (30), while Terpstra (2011) explains how there is also a normative dimension of police legitimacy. This dimension is based on “fundamental principles and values” (8), such as justice and the rule of law. While earning public consent is a dynamic, ever-changing activity, public police organizations must also meet the steadier demands of “fixed norms” (9), or shared expectations of social behaviour (Terpstra 2011).

The definition of police legitimacy one adopts is also shaped by the research approach used to investigate it. Jonathan-Zamir and colleagues (2015) clarify that the procedural justice approach is about perceptions or feelings of fairness. Thus, in this work, police legitimacy “is nearly always discussed in psychological terms and examined from the perspective of the citizen, using surveys or interviews” (846). Palmer (2012) and Linke (2018) both contend that there are problems with this approach. The latter points out that the results are “inconclusive ... conclusions are often tentative and experimental” (Linke 2018, 62). He also observes how many surveys have been conducted “in disadvantaged areas with black or ethnic minority concentrations” (62). Even if police always treated such populations fairly and with the utmost respect, it is unlikely to change the minds of those who hold negative views of the police, Linke (2018) suggests. Though he does not elaborate, this is seemingly because of the long history of colonialism and racism in police work (Cobbina-Dungy and Jones-Brown 2021; Totten 2022; Steinmetz et al. 2017).

The main problem with the procedural justice approach, according to Palmer (2012) and Linke (2018), is that it rests on an understanding of police legitimacy that is too narrow and psychological. Both quote Herbert (2006), who notes that the procedural justice approach “neglects the significance of other paths to police legitimacy” (498). The path that interests Palmer (2012) and Linke (2018) involves what the former calls “symbolic displays” (Palmer 2012, 188). He also quotes Marenin (2005), who contends that symbolism “matters to policing because policing is a form of social ordering that seeks to promote, objectively, conditions of safety, and, subjectively, perceptions that justice is being done” (195). Manning (1977), Palmer (2012) writes, also identified legitimacy to be a central issue facing police agencies. In his analysis of a police funeral, he argued that “memorialization is part of the dramatization of police work, communicating the danger and sacrifices made in police work” (189). He also cites Mulcahy

(2000), who notes how commemorative acts underscoring police heroism and bravery are a strategic technique of gaining public support in the face of police misdeeds that foster critique and calls for greater accountability, as well as Loader and Mulcahy (2001). Together, they describe memorialization as both embodying and shaping the “meanings attached to the idea of policing within [cultural] memory and sensibility [and] the ways in which policing has intersected with forms of social and political change” (vii). Though policing has changed over the years, it remains driven and animated by “memory, emotion, and myth” (Loader and Mulcahy 2003, 304).

Linke (2018) also identifies the relevance of the emerging international literature on police museums. In Canada and elsewhere, these “sites of institutional memory” (Buffington 2012) tend to legitimize policing and the status quo through mythic histories of police work (see Nettelbeck and Foster 2012). There has also been growing literature on penitentiary, prison, jail, and court museums (e.g. Chen et al. 2016; Wilson 2018; Welch 2015; Brown 2009; Strange and Kempa 2003). In Canada, for example, Chen and colleagues (2016) compared representations of prisoners and prison staff inside 45 penal history museums, all of which claimed to be providing visitors with an “authentic” perspective of imprisonment. The authors reject this description as little more than a marketing strategy, noting how the museums tend to grossly exaggerate, much like movies and television shows, the extent to which prisoners are dangerous and violent. On the other end, prison staff tend to be portrayed as heroes and celebrated as honest workers. In one section of the article, they discuss a display at the Huron Historical Gaol Museum in Goderich, Ontario:

A display about a turnkey named Kearwood “Kip” White, who was killed by a prisoner during an escape attempt, is placed next to a larger exhibit entitled, “The Canadian Peace and Police Officers Memorial”. The display describes the national annual service as “a lasting tribute to the brave men and women killed while performing their duties as police and peace officers”, and vows to never forget their sacrifices. In particular, prison officers killed by prisoners are immortalized as heroes within their local communities, as well as at the national level during the Memorial Service held annually in Ottawa ... Accounts of deaths and injuries suffered by prison staff and officers are constructed as especially tragic

when compared to accounts of prisoners' deaths, who, although also immortalized, are often relegated to a dangerous, demonic, and ghostly "othered" status (33).

According to the authors, penal history museums in Canada often foster what Brown (2009) calls "penal spectatorship" (9), whereby cultural representations of criminalization and punishment (and the infliction of pain broadly) that dehumanize the criminalized are consumed from a social distance. Some of these settings attract thousands of visitors a year – many of whom have never stepped inside a prison before – promoting "solidarity" (34) with penal system officers, while expanding instead of challenging the distance between them and criminalized populations. According to Brown (2009), this can foster support for punishment and inhumane practices.

Contemporary prisoners experience pains and hardships that are neglected in museum displays, which focus on the violence and horrors of the past. Like Palmer (2012), Chen and colleagues (2016) describe the museums as political, in the sense that the representations shared foster views that "can support *status quo* power relations" (original emphasis, p, 38). To address the issue of penal system legitimacy, I elaborate and utilize the notion of "penal spectatorship" (Brown 2009) later in this study to make sense of how the former is produced through the CPPOM (see *Chapter 5*). It is thus also worthwhile to consider the theme of "legitimacy" in an even broader sense than Palmer (2012) and Linke (2012) suggest. Along with police, as it relates to carceral (e.g. prison) and nationalizing state practices (e.g. war) – given the scope of some memorials like the CPPOM. In the next section, I turn to examine Palmer's (2012) outline for studies in police memorials and his comments on the CPPOM to identify themes and gaps in knowledge.

#### **4.5. Comparing the CPPOM to Other Police Memorials Around the World**

Palmer (2012) proposes three hypotheses related to the emergence of police memorials across the world. First, that the developments of police memorials are connected to "the global phenomenon of 'memory politics' that has occurred over the past two decades" (190). Second, that these

developments are related to an “effort within police forces to enhance their professional status and legitimacy in the face of sustained critique” (193). In recent times, police services around the world have been under a significant amount of scrutiny. The construction of police memorials provides one potential means to boost legitimacy and “negotiate a high-status position within constructions of national identity” (189). Third, that these developments are related to “the effects of the convergence of policing with national security” (193). Palmer observes how the traditionally rigid boundaries between policing and traditional military security are eroding, even though militarization “has been a feature of police culture and organization since the creation of state-sponsored police forces in the early to mid-19th century” (190). As Taylor (1986) observes – a researcher Palmer (2012) does not engage with in this chapter – police militarization has intensified in Canada since 1976 in the lead up to the Montreal Olympics, .

These hypotheses are explored in the chapter through four broad research questions, which he tentatively answers by drawing from relevant literature and his preliminary research on police memorials.<sup>13</sup> First, “*Why have police memorials and commemorative practices emerged at this historical moment in each of the national settings under analysis?*” (Palmer 2012, 193, original emphasis). He notes how the amount of writing and research on memory, particularly as it relates to the remembrance of war and death, has expanded dramatically in accordance with a rising obsession with the past globally. This “memory boom” has given rise to inquiries into memory from across the sciences and humanities, often called “memory studies” (Olick et al. 2011).<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> The author also identifies the RCMP National Memorial at Fort Calgary, Alberta, as another potential site of investigation. There is also the RCMP Memorial Service that is held on the second Sunday in September at the RCMP Academy, Depot Division, in Regina, Saskatchewan, the RCMP National Memorial Cemetery at Beechwood National Cemetery in Ottawa, Ontario, and the Calgary Police and Firefighters Memorial in Calgary, Alberta.

<sup>14</sup> The “memory boom” is believed to have begun sometime in the late 1970s and finished around the turn of the millennium, though many people believe it continues undiminished. It was partly encouraged, Palmer (2012) explains, by a need to make sense of an immensely violent century, which included two world wars. A more detailed summary is provided by Olick and colleagues (2011), who discuss how the explosion of interest in individual and collective

Palmer (2012) also suggests that police commemoration may be related to changing cultural sensibilities to death in societies. As seen with the rise of roadside memorials, there is a desire “to celebrate traumatic death and to give private grief a visible and enduring public expression” (193). Finally, he notes the increased challenges of legitimacy facing police organizations around the world, as well as the decentering of public policing, meaning changes – such the rapid growth of private policing and the mix of military and paramilitary policing in the name of combatting criminalized acts – which have reduced public police from the truly dominant form of “law enforcement” to being one among many. Memorialization, Palmer (2012) explains, can be a means of negotiating these changing and broad social and political conditions.

Second, Palmer (2012) asks “*How are police memorials developed and through what particular ‘agents of memory’?*” (195, original emphasis). Palmer (2012) intends to examine who contributes to planning memorials, what motivates them, how are they financed, what physical forms they take, and so on. Those individuals and groups which have a hand in creating memorials are what he calls “agents of memory” because they are agents involved in processes of “memory formation” (197). Important to understanding the development of police memorials, he explains, is examining the extent to which agents of memory position their practices “within contexts, such as legitimation and desacralization” (197). He defines desacralization as:

The loss of faith in the competence of the police over the past three decades (Loader & Mulcahy, 2003, 3) as various incidences and inquiries have contributed to a public sense of the “loss of innocence” through police malpractice and corruption (196).

Through an examination of oral testimonies, media representations, and other sources, Loader and Mulcahy (2003) argue that “English policing has not in the latter half of the twentieth century travelled speedily along a one-way path towards desacralization ... but has, rather, come to be

---

memory is believed to also be related to two declines: “the decline of postwar modernist narratives of progressive improvement through an ever-expanding welfare state” and the “decline of utopian visions” (3-4).

encircled by an uneasy, conflicting mix of profane *and* sacred dispositions” (303, original emphasis). In claiming this, they take a position similar to that of Manning (e.g. 1997; 2003; 2015), who argues that public policing in Anglo-American societies “remains a semisacred entity whose mysterious workings point to the role of law, authority, and power in an increasingly secularized society” (Manning 1997, 319). Like Manning (1997), Loader and Mulcahy (2003) suggest a need for deeper explorations into the cultural meanings of policing and desacralization.

Palmer (2012) writes, “preliminary analysis is suggestive of a temporal link between memorialization and substantive critique of policing” (196). He observes how Australian State Police memorials appear to have emerged at a time when police agencies have been under considerable strain, criticized variously for the force used by police and corruption. Linke (2018) describes such criticism as part of the “social and political circumstances” (233) that are conducive for the establishment of police memorials. In the US, Palmer (2012) also observes how the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial (NLEO) in Washington, D.C. opened in October 1991, several months after the country erupted in anger over the videotaped police beating of Rodney King in March. In England, a police memorial emerged after severe criticism of police culture in the Macpherson Report (1999), a report that further undermined British policing following a series of miscarriages of justice findings. As it regards Canada, he observes the potential relevance of the McDonald Commission in the 1970s and notes the following:

In 1994, the memorial was made significantly more substantial. In the leadup to the new memorial, the Oppal Inquiry into problems of policing in British Columbia (1992–1994) was being concluded. This inquiry had national consequences as the RCMP provided BC provincial policing services. This was a period that Paul Palango (1994) describes as the RCMP being “Above the Law” and a “Crisis in the RCMP ... and in Canada” (1998). National Memorial Day was introduced in 1998, just a few years after the new national memorial and the Oppal inquiry presented competing narratives of Canadian policing (original emphasis, 196).

Palmer (2012) notes that the degree to which those constructing police memorials are aware of these issues is uncertain and requires investigation. He explains that various forms of police executive officer groups have played a significant role in organizing and establishing police memorials worldwide, though the exact roles are not known. For instance, he writes that “The Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police has been instrumental in the development of the police memorial” (197). Palmer (2012) suggests that police memorials are both shaped by and shape the memories of individuals and groups, such as police agencies. Also important, he adds, is asking whether there is a broader community interest – beyond just police associations – in changing narratives and public attitudes around policing by establishing official police memorials.

Third, Palmer (2012) examines “*How and to what extent have police memorials managed to develop a subjective hold on police, political, and popular consciousness?*” (198, original emphasis). By subjective hold, Palmer (2012) is referring to how certain memorials capture attention and gain the necessary support from police, politicians, and the wider population. Indeed, he notes that not all police memorials gain immediate support. In the US, for example, the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund (NLOMF) had to lobby and raise funds over seven years. Additionally, the memorial was built some 30 years after US President John F. Kennedy designated May 15 as National Peace Officers Memorial Day in 1962 (see *Chapter 10*).

There is sometimes a large gap in time between when the police memorial is first proposed and when it has received the necessary political and financial support to be implemented. Palmer (2012) also observes the gap in time between first national memorial service in Canada in 1978 and the establishment of the PMP in 1994. The gap in England was also considerable, he observes, either 21 years or 13 years depending on the account. The former number is the formation of the Police Memorial Trust with a general interest in a memorial, the latter number is when the Trust

began to campaign for the national memorial. In the case of other memorials, the gap between establishing a planning committee and dedicating the memorial is shorter (Palmer 2012).

An important dimension to this process, he suggests, is the appropriation of language from war commemoration, as this language has been used for centuries and proven to command public attention and respect (Linke 2018). For example, deceased police officers are often described in memorials as heroes who were slain on duty to protect freedom, even if their death did not result from a deliberate act of violence. The NLEOM has the central engraving: “In valor there is hope”, while the CPPOM website opens with the statement: “They are our heroes. We shall not forget them” (197). Therefore, Palmer (2012) is interested in examining the extent to which police are aiming for stronger professional status that the military traditionally have possessed, and to what extent this is “organic or orchestrated” (200). He suggests that interviews with organizers and examining planning documentation will allow for a better understanding of how memorials capture attention and gain the necessary support from police, politicians, and the wider population.

Fourth, Palmer (2012) asks “*How are memorial sites used?*” (200, original emphasis). Palmer explains that recent police memorialization has seen the site of commemoration move from the private realm, such as police chapels and training facilities, to public spaces associated with the state and law enforcement. The NLEOM, for example, is located at Judiciary Square, in Washington, D.C., the seat of the nation’s judicial branch of government, while the CPPOM is located at Parliament Hill. This site was chosen, Palmer (2012) claims, “to remind parliament of the centrality of police to good order for all and the sacrifices made by police” (200). This transition from private to public is key, he explains, for ensuring police memorials become active “sites of memory” (Nora, 1989). Like Linke (2018), Palmer (2012) explains the “often unpredictable” (200) process of a memorial becoming an active “site of memory” through the insights of war

memorialization literature. For a memorial to become an active site of memory, “memorials need to generate an interplay between private and official memories that allows both ‘an individuated memory of war’ ... and wider communal engagement with a memorial” (200). Location is often important, Palmer (2012) notes, as are the rituals that develop around the memorial site. However, there is little information available about how police memorials are used and by whom, where they are located, as well as how exactly these commemorative practices have changed over time and how these topics relate to the drama of policing (Manning 1977) and its legitimacy.

#### **4.6. Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have reviewed Palmer’s insights about the rise of police memorials worldwide, as well as plan to study them comparatively and internationally, to highlight themes and gaps in knowledge concerning the CPPOM. Palmer (2012) and Linke (2018) both observe how most research on police legitimacy has been conducted through large-scale surveys and quantitative analyses, overlooking how legitimacy is achieved through symbolic practices. They argue for the need to study police legitimacy qualitatively and situate police memorialization in the context of war memory and commemoration. I have suggested it is necessary to also examine legitimacy in an even broader sense – as it relates to the legitimacy of the carceral and nationalizing state – not just police work, given the scope of some “peace” officer memorials like the CPPOM.

I have also discussed the stated objectives of the global and comparative research Palmer (2012) plans to conduct on police memorials and Linke (2018) has in part carried out, which includes analyzing planning materials and conducting interviews with police memorial organizers. To demystify, demythologize, and debunk their birth, development, meanings, and role, it is also worthwhile to study the experiences of ordinary participants at police memorials. Drawing from insights from war memory and commemoration scholarship, Palmer (2012) and Linke (2018)

suggest the need to situate police memorials as part of the politics of memory and police, and among the presentational strategies the police use to build and maintain credibility with the public. Palmer (2012) also provides some relevant empirical questions to ask about the CPPOM activities. In particular: i) Why has the CPPOM emerged at this historical moment?; ii) How was the CPPOM developed and through what particular agents of memory?; iii) How and to what extent has the CPPOM managed to develop a subjective hold on police, political, and popular consciousness?; and iv) How is the CPPOM used? According to his research, there is also a need to consider the relationship of the memorial to public criticisms surrounding policing, and to investigate further the large gap in time between the inaugural memorial service in 1978 and the creation of the memorial pavilion in 1994, along with the further expansion of the memorial into a national “peace officers” memorial in 1998 and other events post-2000, such as memorial rides and runs.

Along with identifying empirical gaps in knowledge about the CPPOM, the aim of this review of Larochelle (1994), Taylor (1986) and Palmer (2012) has been to identify key themes requiring further scholarly investigation, which are presented and sketched out in the table below (see *Table 1*). In the next chapter, I begin *Part 2* of the thesis by reviewing additional research on these and other relevant themes, along with outlining the conceptual framework, which leads to construction of three specific, conceptually oriented research questions that guide my study.

***Table 1: Major Themes Identified and Constructed from Literature Review***

Study	Major Themes
Larochelle (1994)	1. <b>Institutional and Social Change:</b> Police commemoration and the many myths that accompany it (e.g. the myth of police as experts of all cop things, of penal history being a series of positive developments over time, and of police officers as heroic guardians of law and order) are linked to institutional and social changes. Larochelle (1994) describes how serious changes (e.g. the coming amalgamation of the Ottawa, Nepean, and Gloucester services into

	<p>the Ottawa-Carleton Regional Police Service in the early 1990s) created conditions for potentially forgetting the “achievements” and “heroism” of a long line of Ottawa police officers.</p> <p>2. <b>Comfort and Healing:</b> Larochelle (1994) describes the national memorial service as providing "a great comfort" (p. 235) and thus healing for not only the family members of slain officers, but also police and prison officers nationwide.</p>
Taylor (1986)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Americanization</b> – A rising influence of the US on Canadian policing practices, including potentially Canadian police ideologies. Taylor (1986) describes the national memorial service as broadcasting the ideology of a strong police force distanced from and above society. It speaks not so much to “community policing” but a top-down, authoritarian model of policing as is common in the US, including a spread of paramilitary activity.</li> <li>2. <b>Crisis in Legitimacy</b> – The consistent public criticism and potentially declining or perceived to be declining amounts of support for particular police forces in Canada since the 1970s. This can encourage ideological spectacles like the national memorial service, which associates police and prison work with Canadian identity and security (i.e. the nationalizing state) and legitimizes and naturalizes the political perspective of police.</li> <li>3. <b>Martyrdom:</b> The notion of someone sacrificing themselves for a greater cause, which Taylor (1986) observes as a key theme present at the national memorial service. He notes how it contains allusions – in the form of religious passages – that the police see themselves as servants not just to the public, but a higher power, which he asserts raises problems of democratic accountability.</li> </ol>
Palmer (2012)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>The Politics of Policing:</b> The recognition that policing practices, including memorials, are inherently political, as they reproduce and reinforce the values and interests of those with power.</li> <li>2. <b>The Politics of Memory:</b> The debates, disagreements, and struggle between and among groups that surround public commemoration, which is relevant in the policing context, where these memories also involve violence, colonialism, and racism.</li> <li>3. <b>Symbolic Aspects of Legitimacy:</b> The use and manipulation of symbols to promote police power and legitimacy, which is part of the dramatization and mythologization of this work. The origins, development, meanings, and role of these symbolic displays of power – including police memorials, which Palmer (2012) describes a national and global policing movements – must be investigated in-depth and situated within wider contexts.</li> </ol>

## **PART II: ON RESEARCH DESIGN**

### **5. DEMYSTIFYING, DEMYTHOLOGIZING, AND DEBUNKING THE MEMORIAL IN AN ERA OF COMMEMORATION AND CARCERAL EXPANSION**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

This chapter elaborates the conceptual framework – “a network, or ‘a plane,’ of interlinked concepts that together provide a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon or phenomena” (Jabareen 2009, 51) – of this doctoral dissertation and concludes the literature review. As noted in the introduction, this study is broadly concerned with investigating the birth, development, meanings, and role that the CPPOM plays in an era where memorialization, including national commemoration, as well as criminalization and other carceral practices, is ubiquitous.

In the first section, I further introduce and define concepts borrowed from a dramaturgical analysis of policing, which help provide a better understanding of how the memorial emerged and developed as performance involving different actors (e.g. Manning 1997). In the second section, I do the same for concepts borrowed from critical studies of punishment, which offer conceptual tools to better understand the role of the CPPOM as a site where cultural representations of the violence and death inflicted by “law enforcement” work on officers – rather than the criminalized – are consumed by everyday people and officers themselves (e.g. Brown 2009). Finally, I define and elaborate concepts from memory studies, which give better insight into the meaning of what commemoration is, how it is shaped by power relations, and how it is related to but also distinct from similar phenomena, such as history and representation (e.g. Nora 1989). The review of concepts drawn from these areas leads to the construction of three conceptually-oriented research questions that (a) help address the research aim and the gaps in the literature I have identified and (b) open up when the concepts I am discussing are brought into conversation together.

## 5.2. The Drama of Control: Policing as a Dramatic Performance

The vast proportion of published research done under the guise of police studies and perhaps criminal justice as a whole, funded or not, is conservative. Much published police research focuses on citizen-patrol interactions and crime control features of policing, to the exclusion of political and organizational concepts such as compliance, leadership, legitimization, and the sociopolitical rhetoric and imagery that police employ.

— Manning (2010, 64)

This section elaborates the main concepts in this dissertation borrowed from the dramaturgical perspective, which conceptualizes policing and other social control practices through the common theatrical metaphor of the performance. While the metaphor is common, conceptualizing policing this way is not. Most researchers choose to see policing not as a performance, but as a practice of “crime control” (Manning 2010). The approach owes predominantly to the work of Manning (1977; 1997; 2015), one of the few policing researchers who has written about memorialization activities – namely police funerals (see Manning 1977, 2015). Prior research has uncovered that funerals for police officers killed in the course of their duties are a powerful reminder of “the potential for meeting one’s demise in mortal combat” (Henry 2004, 35), “a kind of miniature re-enactment and representation of the drama of policing” (Manning 2015, 10), and a celebration conceptualized as mostly being aimed at police officers themselves that re-energizes police culture, bringing it “to life again” (Crank 2004, 361) through shared grief and solidarity among officers after the death of a colleague. The dramaturgical perspective emphasizes how symbols are used and manipulated by social control agencies to uphold certain images, namely of control.

The conceptualization of social control as a dramatic performance that I draw from is introduced in a comparative study of public police agencies in the US and the UK in which Manning (1977) formulates this idea through his experience talking to police officers, both formally through interviews, as well as informally. For example, he went on ride-alongs with

officers, ate meals with them, and spent time drinking with them. After doing this, he set out to understand what he describes as the “social organization” (1) of police work. In 1997, a second edition was released. While the argument and themes of the book remained intact, he re-wrote and edited various sections, added and updated examples and statistics, as well as wrote a new introduction and epilogue reflecting on the book. I mainly cite the second, updated edition.

The origin of this conceptualization is a movement known as structuralism, which can be contrasted to another dominant school of thought known as functionalism. Manning (1997) is *not* primarily concerned with examining the “function” police work serves. He acknowledges that police serve many functions, the main one being the means through which political authorities – or what he also calls “the powerful” (22) – maintain the status quo. He is more concerned with understanding the structure of this work – or what holds it together, particularly in the face of intense public scrutiny that is consistently directed at police actions. By social organization, he does not mean the various ranks, regulations, policies, laws, and so on, although these all play a role. He means something deeper, what he describes as “the grammar of social interaction, those underlying principles and tenants that organize public conduct” (32). In other words, he argues that certain taken-for-granted principles and tenants exist beneath the surface of police work, which drive it in interaction with other social forces. This grammar, or underlying social structure, he argues, takes the form of “masterful costume drama” (5) or a dramatic performance.<sup>15</sup>

Put in another way, Manning (1997) suggests that if police work was not a dramatic performance, it would collapse under the weight of criticism and its own structural flaws. Thus, to dramatize simply means to intensify and to put something “on stage” for audiences in the form of a performance. Typically, what is dramatized by police agencies tends to be that which is

---

<sup>15</sup> To be precise, then, Manning (1997) shifts between a structuralist and interactionist approach. He believes that social life is driven by underlying structures but is also a product of “interactional encounters” (29).

institutionally beneficial, making the work appear highly efficient and effective. Police work is not just violent in nature – involving guns, batons, tasers, and so on – but also profoundly symbolic and performative. Manning (1977) therefore describes police funerals as providing a window into how policing at a broader level is organized. With the media attention and rituals surrounding them, funerals play an important role in dramatizing the image of control and effectiveness. This can also be seen in other areas of police work, such as narcotics, where police organizations capitalize on the dramatic potential of these criminalized activities by directing attention towards “big busts” (Manning 1977, 319) and avoiding publicity about small and routine arrests.

Like funerals, the CPPOM also dramatizes the deaths of officers and upholds an image of control. As Manning (1997) observes, there are many claims surrounding police work and its role in society. The most significant is the claim that police work prevents, deters, controls, and punishes, a wide range of problematic acts and situations known as “crime” (Hulsman 1986). The police have capitalized upon the theme of “crime-fighting” to legitimize themselves, as well as grow in strength and authority in numerous countries, including Canada. The “crime-focus” they have adopted is also a burden, Manning (1997) observes. This is because police must constantly wrestle with the dilemmas of not being able to control it. While the majority of the public trust the police, this trust is one that police must consistently earn in their conduct “with respect to crime” (23). This dilemma transforms police into “dramatic actors” (17), with police agencies resorting to making certain police actions publicly visible and concealing others through a strategic image management process mostly aimed at dramatizing the appearance of being in control.

According to Manning (1997), all one needs to do is spend time in the field with police officers to recognize that they are *not* in control of criminalized activities. This expectation is part of what he calls an “impossible mandate” (20). Most lawbreaking goes unnoticed. Moreover, the

police have limited access to relevant information. They depend on the public for co-operation, as well as need a warrant to access private dwellings and personal conversations. In other words, he emphasizes that the police cannot control criminalized activities because of structural reasons. Additionally, however, as Hulsman (1986) observes, it is also an impossible mandate because “crime has no ontological reality” (71). Although most are inclined to regard this phenomenon as if it were an object or entity in the world which can be investigated, classified, detected, fought, and so on, Hulsman (1986) points out that this is not the case, as “crime” is comprised not of matter but meaning. While conflict exists, as well as violent and upsetting events, there is no common denominator to a “criminal” event other than police being authorized to act against them. In short, what police are controlling is not “crime” but people, namely from communities pushed to the margins who have the least amount of power and the smallest chance of attaining it.

In this sense, Manning (1997) expands what Taylor (1986) describes as ideological police practices. The police do not serve all populations equally or catch any and all lawbreakers in a predictable, swift, and routine fashion. Nevertheless, police work is often presented in this mythological fashion, which is what Manning (1997) calls the “police myth” (278). While there are many myths associated with police work, the police myth is a broader, all-encompassing myth that “roots and existentially supports the microworld of policing, grants it coherence and rationality, and converts the potential chaos of policing into something one does a day at a time” (35). Myth, he explains, “are beliefs that resist or deny ... empirical ‘facts’” (36). The police myth presents this work as sacred and a higher calling. It “removes a matter from everyday discourse and places it in the realm of the nebulous and the mystical... [it] alleviates societal crises by providing a verbal explanation for causes, meanings, and consequences of events that might

otherwise be considered inexplicable” (278). He explains how the police myth persuades people to view policing in a way (e.g. as “crime-fighting”) that does not correspond with reality.

On the surface, from this perspective, demythologization would appear to be a straightforward process of showing how certain beliefs are inaccurate. Yet like Taylor (1986) does when talking about the “reality” of Canadian policing (see *Chapter 3*) – Manning (1997) sometimes puts quotation marks around the word facts, suggesting it is problematic. Later in the book, he utilizes insights from the structuralist Barthes (1973) – who provides a framework of myth based on semiotics – to demythologize the show *Police Woman*, a popular television drama in the 1970s. Thus, as Manning (1997) performs it, demythologization is a creative process of using different sources to show how the natural and permanent (in this case, police work) is provisional, constructed, and (artificially) held together. I have also suggested that it can involve demystification and debunking, or exploring the process through which memorials help entrench and expand relations of power, as well as revealing unofficial and hidden realities about them.

To recognize police work as a performance is to recognize that its contribution to social order, security, and peace is mainly symbolic. It is common to regard police work for what police agencies routinely claim and – on some occasions, appear – to do, such as maintaining social order, keeping the peace, ensuring public safety, and so on. The most significant threats to social order, public peace, safety and security, for example, are out of their hands. There is little a police officer can do about poverty, infectious diseases, environmental damage, and so on. More precisely, police agencies rely on what Manning (1977) calls police “presentational strategies” (17), which he contrasts with “operational strategies”, which are “the policy of police with regard to a particular type of police operation – vice, juvenile, patrol (uniform), traffic, and detective” (34). Organized around the ideal of a rational, efficient, technologically advanced, bureaucratic force, police

presentational strategies are the “common modes of the public presentation of the mandate and mission of the organization” (34). They help build and maintain standing with the public.

For most organizations, including the police, the rhetoric of professionalism is arguably the most important presentational strategy. To achieve “uncritical public acceptance” (120), police adopt a vocabulary which describes police conduct and aims as professional. This maintains the social distance with the public, builds organizational autonomy, and improves the self-esteem of members, from patrol officers to chiefs and commissioners (Manning 1997). Another police presentational strategy is the use of technologies. This ties police work to the theme of science – a persuading symbol of problem-solving. When new policing technologies are involved, it is harder to imagine police failing. Also, police encourage the collection of statistics on criminalized harm. This tends to also convey the theme of police efficiency, as well as gives the public a quantitative figure to justify police presence in given areas and the expansion of police power.

The dramaturgical perspective is also influenced by the interactionist tradition and the writings of the social psychologist Goffman (1959), who argues that the way people present themselves in everyday life is a performance designed to fit in with the expectations of society. He expands the analogy that in society, as in a theatre, people act out social roles that are sustained by the expectations of others and the motivations of the actors. Each performer is tasked with the problem of communicating a certain image of themselves to an audience. To do so, they seize upon devices and equipment. This work can increase in complexity, to a point where space becomes a key dimension. Performers may find it necessary to control access to a “back region” in which they prepare themselves for activity in the “front region”, where “accentuated facts make their appearance” (211). The back region is where “the performer can relax; he can drop his front, forego speaking his lines, and step out of character” (Goffman 1959, 112). As such, during face-to-face

and group interaction, Goffman contends that people and groups engage in a kind of role playing game where that which does not fit with the performance is concealed. Manning (1977) notes that in an ongoing quest to gain and maintain power, the police present certain aspects of their occupation for view in the frontstage or public area (e.g. arrest statistics, death, etc.), while concealing others in the backstage or private area (e.g. complaints, information on prevention, etc.), through a process “designed to provoke an imagery of their activities, their focus, and to elicit public support for their definition of crime-fighting” (Manning 1977, 36).

To push this literature and its concepts forward, there is a need to examine how policing and penal system work broadly is staged and performed through the dramatic spectacle of national commemoration (Palmer 2012). Originating in the 1970s, the CPPOM is not just a time or event. It is a multifaceted and influential service, organization, and institution, as well as a performance involving actors, such as various “law enforcement” officers and agencies, police associations, private corporations, and families of the deceased. It is also a presentational strategy, which is inherently structured by “the police myth” that presents such work as sacred and other myths upholding it, as well as involves both front and back regions of performance. In the next section, I introduce concepts borrowed from critical studies of punishment and penal tourism.

### **5.3. Penal Tourism and Spectacles of Punishment**

For those of us without direct connections to formal institutions of punishment, a kind of experiential distance defines our relationship to its practice.

— Brown (2009, 9)

Given the scope of some memorials like the CPPOM, it is necessary to consider its relationship not just with public police work but also other penal system institutions, such as prisons, as well as their legitimacy. While created by the Ottawa Police Service, the memorial from its beginning

has included federal prison guards (Laroche 1994). Thus, the concept of “penal spectatorship” from the sociology of punishment is also relevant to demystifying, demythologizing, and debunking the CPPOM. While it has been discussed in the Canadian context in studies exploring the commemoration of penal system work inside museums (e.g. Chen et al. 2016), the idea originates from Brown (2009), in a book which explains how most people “access punishment through cultural practices removed from formal institutions like prisons in a manner, which although largely unacknowledged, massively extends throughout our social foundations” (4). By punishment, Brown (2009) focuses on the deliberate infliction of pain by the state in response to a perceived misdeed. As most citizens are not incarcerated, nor are they police or other penal system workers or themselves imprisoned, they tend to interpret punishment from a social distance.

Like policing, punishment is also performative. Although in most countries torture and execution in the public square – which in many cases attracted hundreds of onlookers (Foucault 1977) – has been abolished, punishment remains a violent and, in some cases, a dramatic spectacle. The CPPOM, as I have noted, emphasizes the suffering of officers and their families as opposed to that of the criminalized. It attracts the eye, encouraging onlookers to gaze upon and acknowledge its practice, while keeping penal spectators at a social distance from its harsh realities. This occurs symbolically and literally, as the public is barricaded behind a fence at the national service (see *Chapter 1*). In so-called civilized times, spectatorship mostly occurs from a social distance. It is rare for members of the public to go into prisons, for example, and witness punishment.

Brown (2009) refers to the increasing number of domains where citizens watch the spectacle of punishment from a social distance – television, movies, photographs, video games, museums, prison tourism, and more – as domains of “penal spectatorship” (8). These domains are where most knowledge about punishment is shared and constructed. They also tend to construct

what Brown (2009) calls “penal spectators” (21). That is, citizens – masses of them, even more than in times of public torture and execution – who are bystanders or onlookers of punishment. However, in this case, they are shielded from witnessing the pains punishment inflicts.

In contemporary times, state punishment and its pains has become transformed into consumable representations. While members of the public are free to engage with representations of punishment practically whenever and wherever they please (Brown 2009), these are controlled and limited, including by carceral state agencies who determine what can and what cannot be seen (Schept 2014). According to Brown (2009), non-incarcerated citizens have a political responsibility to interrogate the pains of punishment rather than simply consume them, using the privilege and authority of their freedom and citizenship to encourage more humane and effective forms. However, penal spectators tend to be little more than voyeurs who consume and judge penal practices from a distance, often voicing a desire for the state to inflict more and harsher forms of penalty – as seen, for example, in the views of the taxi driver I encountered in Fredericton (see *Chapter 1*) despite being distanced from the pain and suffering inflicted (Brown 2009).

Brown (2017) has since elaborated this concept, suggesting it is fluid and can – as well as should – be worked on and adapted to help researchers better understand how penal spectatorship is wrapped up with concepts of race, gender, class, and other markers of difference, and the forces behind the acceptance and expansion of penal practices. Jackson (2017), for example, examines two police museums and a police memorial, arguing that they are “sites where the expanding carceral state and expanding memorial practices intersect” (180). The term carceral state, as she understands it, “highlights the ways in which a range of intersecting state agents function to police and punish poor communities and communities of color” (180). It emphasizes how state power is expanding and funneling populations towards the so-called “criminal justice” system.

Jackson (2017) examines the American Police Hall of Fame and Museum near Orlando, Florida, the Toronto Police Museum in Toronto, Ontario, and the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial in Washington, D.C. She is principally concerned with understanding constructions of mourning at police “memory sites” (156), more specifically how they serve to frame police officers as protectors whose lives are placed at the top of a national mourning hierarchy. She also notes the contested nature of policing memory, revealing the existence of “counter-memories” (173), which challenge dominant narratives about policing and its legitimacy. For example, she explains how activists recently held a police violence protest outside of the Toronto Police Headquarters and Museum, which “served to turn counter-memory into a counter-memorial” (173). Through her fieldwork, she discovers three ways that the sites help justify carceral expansion. The first is the presence of seductive narratives about policing that emphasize the violence of officers as necessary and just. The second is the perpetuation of myths and stereotypic depictions that feed into the fears people have about criminalized acts. The third is the absence of the names of those who have been killed during encounters with police officers, whose inclusion might bring visitors closer to the harmful realities of police work (Jackson 2017), as well as reduce the social distance between penal spectators and the criminalized (Brown 2009).

As the CPPOM is associated not just with public policing and punishment, but death, pain, and suffering more broadly, the concept of “dark tourism” (Lennon and Foley 2000; Dalton 2015) is also relevant to understanding its birth, development, meanings, and role. Travelling to places associated with death, pain, and suffering has a long history. However, Lennon and Foley (2000) argue that dark tourism – not unlike the CPPOM – is a uniquely contemporary phenomenon. It is “both a product of the circumstances of the late modern world and a significant influence upon these circumstances” (3). For example, interest in such sites and activities is usually generated by

communication technologies, which broadcast them across countries and around the world. Additionally, such tourism appears to introduce anxiety or doubt into the “project of modernity” (3) and its ideas of rationality, innovation, and progress. Some examples they provide are tourism at concentration camps, where state authorities used rational planning and technological innovations to orchestrate genocide, and tourism at the *Titanic* shipwreck, where one can learn about how “infallible” science and technology failed. Finally, educative elements at dark sites are often accompanied by commodification and a commercial ethic. In contemporary times, death is also viewed as an opportunity by private corporations to advertise and promote. In this sense, the concept is especially relevant for grasping the meanings and the role of the CPPOM.

Along with dark tourism, the CPPOM is also a growing form of “penal tourism” (Welch 2015). In contrast to dark tourism, penal tourism research consists of a smaller body of literature specifically exploring issues related to tourism at prisons and the way imprisonment is represented in museums. However, Piché and Walby (2016) argue that the concept is valuable in other contexts. It can “expand our understanding of penal meaning making in spaces of interest to criminologists, criminal justice, and historical scholars beyond the prison” (2). This includes visiting police memorials. Indeed, the term “penal” refers to state punishment in a broad sense. That is, “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” (2). These researchers propose that penal tourism is more than just prison tourism but also includes milieus where the material work of the police and other “peace officer” entities are memorialized.

The concepts of penal spectatorship, dark and penal tourism, as well as those borrowed from a dramaturgical analysis of policing, are also connected in this dissertation to the notion of the Canadian carceral and nationalizing state. Kleuskens and colleagues (2016), as well as Ross

(2017) encourage researchers to explore how the state – and carceral state specifically – operates indirectly and discreetly through less-visible, shadow institutions and practices. According to Beckett and Murakawa (2012), “the penal system has become not only larger, but also more legally hybrid and institutionally variegated than is sometimes recognized” (222). Many institutions and practices exist that are not typically associated with penalty, but nevertheless have the capacity to impose punitive sanctions, including detention, on individuals in the absence of a penal conviction. These practices can “significantly enhance carceral state power” (222). While the CPPOM might not be an official part of the legal system and is less visible than a prison, it is also less studied and has been overlooked by researchers. It has been a central claim of this thesis up to this point, in other words, that the CPPOM is not just an annual time or gathering of authorities. It is also not just a collection of symbolic or ideological representations – as Taylor (1986) suggests – which enhance the legitimacy and prestige of policing by communicating its importance to penal spectators and officers alike. It is an overlooked example of penalty in action, or a powerful “thing-in-itself” (Crank 2004) that takes the form of a multi-faceted service, organization, and institution, whose birth, development, meanings, and role must be critically investigated.

To contribute to this body of work, there is a need to better understand how the CPPOM – or put in another way, the commemoration of penal system officers as heroes – generates and maintains support for punishment and the social distance that exists between ordinary citizens and people in conflict with the law (Brown 2009). There is also a need to recognize penal spectators as an audience of the CPPOM, which mostly takes place in public space. Typically, researchers concerned with understanding penal intensification and the carceral state have foregrounded the perspective of the imprisoned people themselves and penal spectators, or as Dalton (2015) calls it, the ordinary tourist. This dissertation recognizes penal system officials – as well as their family

members – as another form of penal subject and tourist, whose views must be studied to learn about the meanings conveyed by penal system services, organizations, and institutions like the CPPOM. In the last section of the chapter, I discuss relevant concepts from the field of memory studies, which are also deployed in this study to provide insight into the birth, development, meanings, and role of the CPPOM in an era of commemoration and carceral expansion.

#### **5.4. Dominant Sites of Nationalizing and Organizational Memory**

Dominant sites [of memory] are spectacles, celebrations of triumph. They are imposing as well as generally imposed above by the government or some official organization.

— Nora (1996, 19)

To only conceptualize the CPPOM as a presentational strategy, or site of penal spectatorship and dark and penal tourism, would be to fail to recognize that it is also a dominant site of memory (Palmer 2012). In his multi-volume book series titled *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (1984-1992), the historian Pierre Nora is a bit hesitant about attaching an official definition to the phrase “site of memory,” as it evolved in his own work. However, he eventually defines a site of memory as “any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community” (xvii). According to Nora (1989), sites of memory are a global phenomenon, whose origins and development, and myths reinforced by them, should be examined in their specific context.

Considering the worldwide upsurge in memory or “memorialism” over the past several decades (Palmer 2012) – a phenomenon overlapping with dark and penal tourism – a large amount of debate has taken place over how to understand this trend and memorials themselves.<sup>16</sup> Nora

---

<sup>16</sup> The evidence for this trend extends beyond memorials. It can be witnessed in countries around the world in a variety of forms, including a rise in the numbers of museums, a booming interest in historical “roots” and genealogical research, as well as the general tendency among individuals to accumulate, whether at home or inside institutions such

(1989) is well-known for providing one of the more influential explanations of the memorial phenomenon. In the distant past, he argues that “memory” was an all-embracing, transformative social experience, synonymous with what he calls “life” (3). There was not a deep concern with wanting to capture the so-called “truth” of the past or represent it. Instead, the past was simply lived and experienced through daily rituals. In the present, he argues that “memory” has also undergone a profound change. For example, it is now just one part of life, despite many people and groups yearning for it. In our fast-changing and complex contemporary world, there is a cultural obsession with constructing histories and participating in commemorations to combat forgetting. Instead of manifesting through daily rituals, memory tends to be associated with sites and objects, which can occasionally arouse strong feelings and bring communities together.

This argument and its relevance to better understanding the CPPOM can be further shown through an example that I obtained through fieldwork. At the opening ceremony of the 2019 Canadian Police Memorial Ride to Remember (CPMRR) at the Ontario Police College in Aylmer, Paul Pederson, Chief of Greater Sudbury Police and President of the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police took the microphone. Along with welcoming the almost 200 riders, a full class of recruits, family members of deceased police officers, as well as discussing the meanings of the commemorative ride (see *Chapter 11*), he also encouraged onlookers to do an exercise:

Their families [of deceased police officers] want to know, and need to know ... that their loss wasn't for nothing, their lives mattered, not only to those who knew them, but to the communities who asked them to make the ultimate sacrifice. I was once asked to go through this simple exercise. And mentally think this one yourself as we talk about it. Can each of you the name the first names of your parents. I hope so, right? Can each of you now name the first names of your grandparents? Can each of you name the first names of their parents? So, your grandparents. So now we're starting to see some heads shake. So, in three generations of family, we forget. [The memorial ride] is all about not forgetting.

---

as libraries and archives (or even more recently, computer and cloud databases), unfathomable collections of “fragments, reports, documents, images, and speeches—any tangible sign of what was” (Nora 1996, 9).

As this example shows, the CPPOM is an annual practice which brings people and groups together who wish to not forget the lives and contributions of officers, a forgetting which Nora (1989) describes as pervading “the modern world” (18). While recognizing sites of memory have unique histories and meanings tied to them, he also situates them as the product of a broad, historical trend, which he calls the “acceleration of history” (7). Today, the role of producing representations of the past no longer belongs to the professional historian: “To the historian alone [once] befell the task of establishing the facts, producing the evidence and delivering the truth” (Nora 2002, 1). They now share this role with many others, such as “the judge, the witness, the media, and the legislator” (1). This includes the police officer, whose role in part involves reconstructing the past (see *Chapter 2*), often with the assistance of myths, such as the myth expressed above that “the community” asks police officers to “make the ultimate sacrifice” on their behalf, which mystifies that police work does not serve everyone equally (Manning 1997). Nora (1989) describes sites of memory also as sites where myths – such as those tied to the cultural identity of a community of people – are promoted and take refuge from demythologization.

As a collective, social practice, commemoration – as is materialized through the monuments and ceremonies associated with the CPPOM – has the power to bring people together in a contemporary era characterized by significant change, including carceral expansion. As the example above shows, many sites of memory exist between (or combine aspects of) what Nora (1989) calls history – in short, a representation of the past – and memory – in short, a powerful social experience involving rituals. Nora (1989) encourages researchers to classify and investigate sites of memory. He distinguishes, for example, between two types: dominant and dominated sites of memory. The former are big spectacles and celebrations of triumph. They tend to be imposed “from above by the government or some official organization, and are typically cold and solemn,

like official ceremonies” (19). He claims that people do not visit such sites, so much as be summoned to them. In contrast, dominated ones are the opposite. They are the “places of refuge, sanctuaries of instinctive devotion and hushed pilgrimages” (19). He also describes them as sites “where the living heart of memory still beats” (19). Second and relatedly, Nora (1989) also suggests distinguishing between public sites of memory and private ones. I utilize and develop these two distinctions in this dissertation, in order to realize the research aim of demystifying, demythologizing, and debunking the birth, development, meanings, and role that the CPPOM as a dominant site of memory that involves public (e.g. the annual service) and private (e.g. the family vigil) elements, plays in a contemporary era of commemoration and carceral expansion.

The concept of sites of memory directs attention to how social groups use commemoration to buttress their myths and identities. Also relevant to a study of the CPPOM is the concept of “organizational memories” that builds on this idea. Writing about the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) in Northern Ireland, Mulcahy (2000) notes that organizational memories of the police – that is, constructions of the past that are created, shared, and passed down generation to generation – reaffirm the collective identity of the service. They tend to be organized around the themes of sacrifice, community support, and accountability. According to Mulcahy (2000), these themes also function to bolster public support and legitimize the RUC and its practices in the eyes of supporters. Promoted as true, while other memories are depicted as misguided or false, Mulcahy (2000) argues these favourable renderings of the policing past can also inhibit organizational reflexivity, which he asserts is central to developing fair and equitable forms of policing.

In a more recent article, Sierra-Arévalo (2019) defines “organizational memory” as the “collectively stored information of an organizations unique history” (637), and explains how it symbolically influences police officer perception, decision-making, and organizational culture. He

describes how commemorative cultural artifacts – from memorials to mourning bands – transmit organizational memories which tend to reflect and reify the potential danger and death involved in police work. Additionally, he notes how “the commemoration of dead officers ... ties departments and their officers to the wider occupation of policing, connecting local departments and officers to the broader occupational culture of policing and its long-standing emphasis on danger and death” (650). Noting how the death of police officers in the US is rare and declining over time, he associates this preoccupation with the “warrior mentality” embraced by some officers and agencies, which can lead to detrimental police-public interactions and practices, such as “secrecy, corruption, and brutality” (633) that can damage public safety and police legitimacy.

According to Nora (1989), sites of memory – because they are so common and many also influential – must be “grasped in empirical detail” (24), showing how these entities emerged and developed to “become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community” (xvii), as well as the role and meanings attached to them. To him, such sites are interesting not only because they represent the past, but also because they are relics of the past. They have escaped, he suggests, from the present, which he describes as a forgetful and “disenchanted world” (6-7). No era, Nora (1998) claims, “has ever been as much a prisoner of its memory, as subject to its empire and to its law” (xii). This description of the present as imprisoned is not surprising, as it is an era also marked by prisons and a cultural obsession with punishing “criminals” (Brown 2009; Foucault 1977).

To push the literature on sites of memory and organizational memories forward, there is a need to not only examine the CPPOM, but also identify and examine myths that are upheld and perpetuated through commemorative activities which have become an important element in the memorial heritage of the police and “peace” officer community in Canada. In the next section, I outline the specific, conceptually-oriented research questions that structure this dissertation.

## 5.5. Conceptually Oriented Research Questions

Following the review of literature touching on the CPPOM (i.e. Larochelle 1994; Taylor 1986; Palmer 2012), as well as relevant literature and concepts drawn from a dramaturgical analysis of policing (e.g. Manning 1997), critical studies of punishment and dark and penal tourism (e.g. Brown 2009; 2017), and research on sites of memory and organizational memories (e.g. Nora 1989; Mulcahy 2000), I have constructed three specific, conceptually oriented questions that: (a) help address the research aim and the gaps in the literature I have identified and that (b) open up when the concepts I am discussing are brought into conversation together:

- 1) How is penal system work staged and performed through the dramatic spectacle of national commemoration?
- 2) How does the memorialization of penal system actors as heroes generate and maintain support for punishment and the social distance that exists between ordinary citizens and individuals in conflict with the law?
- 3) What myths are constructed and perpetuated through these memorials that legitimize the existence, expansion, and domination of punitive ways of thinking about and responding to criminalized conflict and harms?

In interrogating these questions, I also address gaps in knowledge and limitations associated with the works of Larochelle (1994), Taylor (1986) and Palmer (2012) concerning the CPPOM. Larochelle (1994) does not provide a critical analysis of the memorial, so much as construct a commemorative history of the memorial from the point of view of the police, which upholds instead of questions dominant policing myths. Taylor (1986) does not analyze the “ideological imagery” (64) he observes at the memorial – which had not yet evolved into much beyond the annual service – so much as identify it as misleading and worthy of investigation. Finally, Palmer (2012) introduces and asks several questions about police memorials, including the CPPOM. However, those he constructs (e.g. How are police memorials used?) are intentionally preliminary and broad given the lack of development of studies concerning police memorialization.

## **5.6. Conclusion**

This chapter has expanded the literature review and outlined the conceptual framework adopted in this study, which led to the construction of three research questions grounded in concepts that can help contribute to the literature in these areas. In the first section, I introduced and defined concepts borrowed from a dramaturgical analysis of policing, elaborating notions of dramatic performance, presentational strategy, the police myth, and front and back regions of performance. Taken together, these concepts help provide a better understanding of how the memorial emerged and developed as a performance of control involving different actors and organizations (Manning 1997). After, I did the same for concepts borrowed from the sociology of punishment, namely, penal spectatorship, penal (and dark) tourism, and the carceral state. These concepts provide tools to better understand the role of the CPPOM as a site where meanings and representations of the pains inflicted by such work on carceral officers and their families are consumed (Brown 2009) and also depicted as central to the “nationalizing state” (Osborne and Osborne 2004) and its concern with constructing a sense of national identity and memory. Finally, I defined and elaborated concepts from memory studies, describing the CPPOM as a dominant site of memory and site of organizational memories. These concepts give insight into the meaning and role of memorials as symbolic practices in a contemporary era of commemoration and carceral state expansion, which is shaped by power relations and penal system organizations. In the next chapter, I briefly discuss the methods adopted in the study to address the research aim and questions.

## 6. OUTLINING A METHOD

Criminology is today crippled by its own methodology, its potential for analysis and critique lost within a welter of survey forms, data sets, and statistical manipulations. Worse, criminology has given itself over to a fetishism of these methodologies, such that the crisis of contemporary criminology doubles back on itself: criminology first embraces methods wholly inadequate and inappropriate for the understanding of human affairs, and then makes these methods and their consequent obfuscations its message.

- Ferrell (2016, 285)

### 6.1. Introduction

This chapter briefly outlines the methods adopted in this doctoral dissertation to address the research aim and questions outlined at the conclusion of *Chapter 5*. I begin in the first section returning to the overarching research aim and bringing the research questions together. Next, I distinguish methods, which is about the “how to” collect and analyze data, from methodology, which is about “why to” collect data and analyze data a certain way. I use this distinction to describe the basic characteristics of qualitative research, which is more suitable to adopt than quantitative research. I note how a qualitative approach – especially one that uses multiple forms of data – also contributes to addressing a problem identified by the leading cultural criminologist Jeff Ferrell (2016) oriented around the dominance of quantitative research, the approach often used in studies of police legitimacy (Palmer 2012). I then briefly discuss the epistemological and ontological assumptions of the approach adopted in this dissertation. This is followed by a discussion about the data collection techniques, and after, about how this data was analyzed. Finally, the chapter concludes with a note about some ethical considerations of the study.

### 6.2. Reviewing the Research Aim and Questions

As noted in the opening chapter, the central overarching aim of this study is to demystify, demythologize, and debunk the birth, development, meanings, and role the CPPOM plays as an overlooked penal system service, organization, and institution oriented around Parliament Hill in

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, which is growing and evolving in an era where commemoration and criminalization is ubiquitous. What Côté-Lussier and colleagues (2020) describe as “a social context marked by an increase of insecurity and exclusion” (10) is plainly visible at the Hill. The grounds are profuse not just with nationalizing state practices – in the form of statues and monuments dedicated to politicians and more of “Canada’s most celebrated heroes” (Osborne and Osborne 2004, 41) but also carceral state practices. There is increased usage and reliance on policing and security screening, defensive barriers, high-powered weaponry, and the surveillance of less-powerful people and groups (e.g. tourists) in the name of preventing and controlling “crime” and maintaining security. As one reporter put it following the Zehaf-Bibeau incident, the Hill is now “armed to the teeth” (MacLeod 2016). The intense security was also mentioned by interviewees in this study, which viewed this development as unfortunate but inevitable.

With little existing research on police memorials, previous chapters focused on reviewing and bringing the existing studies touching specifically on the CPPOM together for the first time (i.e. Larochelle 1994; Taylor 1989; Palmer 2012), and then expanding the review to discuss relevant conceptual tools, to identify key gaps and themes to address. To assist with addressing the three specific research questions identified earlier that are oriented around pushing forward knowledge about the drama of policing and “crime control” (Manning 1977), penal spectatorship (Brown 2009), and sites of memory (Nora 1989), this dissertation also seeks to answer several questions oriented around addressing gaps in the empirical knowledge about the CPPOM.

First, the review of Larochelle (1994) revealed the accepted, dominant story about where the CPPOM came from and how it developed into the early 1990s. Some details are irrefutable, such as the memorial being established in 1978 after the killing of OPS Constable David Kirkwood on 11 June 1977. But there are also unknowns. Larochelle (1994) cites a newspaper article, for

instance, whose headline claims that attendees at the funeral were “Mad ... Damned Mad!” (Collins 1977) but does not mention who or what attendees were upset at. Nor does he mention the general reaction to the “not guilty by reason of insanity” verdict of Frederick Koepke who was accused of murdering Constable Kirkwood, which occurred a few months before the inaugural memorial service. Nor does he speak about why Chief Thomas Welsh might have felt it appropriate to include federal prison guards. Moreover, he does not elaborate how the memorial provides comfort or boosts the morale of the families and carceral officer colleagues. I attempt to answer these questions, arguing they are relevant to its birth, development, meanings, and role.

Likewise, the review of Taylor (1986) produced themes which can be re-framed as questions to help address the conceptual questions and the research aim of this study. First, the theme of “Americanization” leads to the question of the role that the US officers and symbolism play in the CPPOM. Second, the theme of “martyrdom” leads to the question of the meaning of the memorial to officers themselves, but also suggests the need to investigate its relationship to death more generally. This includes the death penalty, which Larochelle (1994) and Taylor (1986) both note was abolished for individuals convicted of killing police officers and prison guards in 1976. Third, the theme of “crisis of legitimacy” leads to the question of what public criticism or other crises police were facing during the birth and development of the national memorial.

The review of Palmer (2012) also led to some relevant empirical questions, namely: i) Why has the CPPOM emerged at this historical moment? ii) How was the CPPOM developed and through what particular agents of memory? How and to what extent has the CPPOM managed to develop a subjective hold (i.e. capture attention and respect) on police, political, and popular consciousness? How is the CPPOM used? In attempting to answer these questions, this study contributes both empirically, conceptually, and methodologically research in this area.

### **6.3. Qualitative Research and the New Crisis of Criminology**

As the research questions posed are concerned with human meaning-making and understanding – including making sense of how the world is socially constructed in particular ways – this study adopts a qualitative approach as opposed to a quantitative approach. Qualitative research is sometimes described as a “journey of explanation and discovery” (Thomas and Magilvy 2011). As Jackson (2017) and colleagues put it, this form of research is interested in “understanding human beings’ richly textured experiences and reflections about those experiences” (22). While numerical data can be incorporated into qualitative studies, it is not the main source of data. This is because such research aims “to understand the meaning of human action by describing the inherent or essential characteristics of social objects or human experience” (23). As Sukamolson (2007) notes, a qualitative approach can go in-depth, or get under the skin of a phenomenon, especially one that is particularly complex, as well as help strengthen and elaborate theory.

Along with being necessary to push forward the literature, the use of a qualitative approach constitutes a methodological contribution to criminology. Specifically, it provides what Bergh (2022) and colleagues call an “incremental” methodological contribution, as it “presents relatively modest changes that matter to a large audience” (1837). The large audience is criminological researchers and policing research more specifically, which tend to rely on the collection and interpretation of statistics (see Tewksbury 2009). According to Ferrell (2016), quantitative methods such as statistics have become so common that they have essentially become the core subject matter of the discipline. He argues that such research does little more than prop up existing “criminal justice” institutions, whose growth, violence, and systemic failures are rarely subject to critical scrutiny, as criminologists profit from them through means such as funding and research opportunities. This leads him to call “for radical alternatives to the contemporary enterprise of

criminology” (285). According to Palmer (2012), research on the legitimacy of police relies predominantly on “large-scale surveys and quantitative analyses” (188) of how police adherence to official procedures shapes public perception of the police. This neglects other paths to legitimacy, such as through symbolic displays of police power (see Manning 1977; 1997).

The methodological contribution is more evident when considering previous research on the CPPOM. Larochelle (1994) primarily relied on an analysis of newspapers and interviews with his fellow police officer colleagues to arrive at the “facts” through what I described as a positivist approach to history that lacked analysis and criticism (see Pickering 2019). Taylor (1986), meanwhile, relied on observation at the memorial service, whose ideological rhetoric he briefly critiques but does not subject to in-depth analysis. Palmer (2012) outlines his plans to conduct interviews with organizers of the CPPOM and other police memorials and consult “contemporary documentation” (197), such as planning materials. While outlining preliminary questions, he does not delve into the analysis he intends to conduct. In contrast, as will be elaborated in this chapter, this study expands the kind of data collected to make sense of the CPPOM and suggests two specific forms of analysis – thematic analysis and thick description – which I undertake with a more expansive set of conceptual tools than those guiding previous studies.

According to Ferrell (2016), qualitative research is not the answer to the new crisis of criminology, only because it can itself become “reduced to just one more set of deployable research procedures deserving of endless reification and refinement” (285). Instead, he cautions against fetishizing any form of methods and encourages creativity and imagination in criminological research, or what he describes as “riding the uncertain rhythms of human interaction, and remaining open to ambiguity, surprise, and disorientation” (285). Below, I elaborate about how I achieved this by clarifying the epistemological and ontological assumptions of the study.

#### **6.4. Epistemological and Ontological Assumptions**

It is impossible to do a research project without making assumptions of some kind, particularly about the nature of human knowledge and reality (Chamberlain 2015). The former category is known as epistemological assumptions. This study is informed by what is generally referred to as a critical interpretivist epistemology. It is “critical” in the sense that it assumes knowledge does not simply exist to be discovered and brought to light by the researcher. It is constructed by the researcher by situating a social phenomenon in its historical and cultural context, as well as recognizing its role in upholding or challenging what Osborne and Osborne (2004) call “prevailing systems of power” (44). I have done this with the CPPOM, for example, by discussing its emergence in relation to broader police-involved debates about gun control (see *Chapter 7*) and the death penalty (see *Chapter 8*). The epistemology is also “interpretivist” as it recognizes that knowledge is a product of interpretation. An understanding of the CPPOM is built by interpreting the interpretations of police officers, family members of the dead, and others, whose points of view are influenced by broader historical and cultural contexts, as well as systems of power.

This study also adopts what is referred to as a constructivist and anti-foundationalist ontology. As suggested above, this research assumes that not just one, but many realities exist. The realities of the world around us are complex, subjective, as well as socially constructed by individuals, including researchers themselves. As Bevir (2010) notes, anti-foundationalists argue that “social explanation consists not of reducing actions to social facts but of the interpretation of meanings in the context of webs of belief, discourses, or cultural practices” (54). In other words, to explain the social realities around us – including those associated with the memorial – requires interpreting meaning and situating it within contexts that influence and inform it. I elaborate this view in the next section, which discusses the forms of data collection used in the study.

## 6.5. Data Collection

The data for this study primarily comes from newspapers, magazine articles, memorial websites, observation at the memorial activities, a survey, and semi-structured interviews with memorial organizers and participants. Most data cited come from newspaper articles. Newspapers provide a useful source of information about the CPPOM (Larochelle 1994), including the context in which it originated and developed, which is necessary to address the research aim and formulate an answer to the research questions. The former police officer that I interviewed who was critical of the CPPOM events also encouraged me to include an analysis of newspapers in my study:

When Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau changed the Criminal Code, he only had the death penalty for police officers or correctional officers killed in the line of duty. By 1976, under Pierre Trudeau became complete abolition. There was a lot of push back from the conservative elements. I've found that most police officers tend to support more right-wing. Look into this context. Go back to newspapers, opinion pieces, look into them. The newspapers were more powerful in those days. People read it all the time.

Aside from articles published within the last five years that were accessed through a web search, the articles were accessed through the website newspapers.com (2020), “the largest online newspaper archive consisting of 680 million+ pages of historical newspapers”. This archive was used because it contains practically every single issue of the *Ottawa Citizen* – the largest daily newspaper in the national capital, and the *Ottawa Journal* – a daily newspaper published in the city until 1980. While most of the articles come from these two newspapers – as the memorial originated and occurs in Ottawa – articles from other newspapers available in the archive that discussed the CPPOM were gathered, including *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Morning Star* in British Columbia, *The Calgary Herald* and *Red Deer Advocate* in Alberta, *The Montreal Gazette* and *La Presse* in Quebec, and *The Whitehorse Star* in Yukon.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Although it contains many large and small newspapers, the newspaper.com archive does not contain every single newspaper in the country (e.g. large dailies like *The Toronto Sun* and *The Toronto Star* are not included and access to

The newspaper articles were gathered in three-stages. First, using the archival search function, I collected every article I could locate that mentioned or discussed the memorial activities and filed them by year. For example, articles about the inaugural memorial service and subsequent services, about the creation of the pavilion, the memorial ride and run, and so on. After I had dozens of relevant articles to analyze. Second, I collected newspaper articles that mentioned OPS Chief Thomas Welsh – because he was identified by Larochelle (1994) as one of the main organizers and host of the inaugural service, OPS Constable David Kirkwood, and articles that mentioned his family members, such as his wife, Dawna, of which there were numerous pieces.

As I collected and catalogued the newspapers, I also read and analyzed them. For example, there were two re-occurring political topics or broader “crime control” themes within articles dating from the 1970s and 1980s – gun control and capital punishment – which are each the focus of an analysis chapter that explores how the CPPOM operates as an incubator of organizational memory that promotes nationalizing and carceral practices. This is necessary to help address questions of how penal system work is staged and performed through national commemoration, how the commemoration of “peace” officers as heroes maintains support for punishment and penal spectatorship, and what myths are constructed and perpetuated through these memorials which encourage spectators to accept this work and its violent realities as natural and inevitable.

In one article shortly after the shooting death of Constable Kirkwood, for example, Chief Welsh is quoted as telling journalists that police were frustrated with the laws surrounding gun control (Avery 1977). Additionally, after the death of her husband and before the inaugural memorial, newspaper articles recount how Dawna Kirkwood and other wives of police officers travelled to Parliament Hill and petitioned to re-instate the death penalty (e.g. French 1977). Thus,

---

them must be purchased elsewhere). However, given the large amount of articles collected and the recurrence of themes in the content I gathered, my sample was sufficient to rely on the newspaper.com archive for this study.

I also collected articles relevant to the context of the memorial and its actors. In total, at least 850 articles were downloaded and stored in computer folders arranged by year and then by the name of the newspaper, and thematically analysed. In the final write-up of this study, approximately 200 newspaper articles were formally cited, which contained the most relevant information.

Along with newspaper articles, also collected in this study were about 40 articles identified as relevant to the research aim and questions from *Blue Line Magazine* – dating back to its establishment in 1989. Published monthly, this magazine bills itself as “Canada’s National Law Enforcement Magazine” (2021) and has a contemporary readership of about 64,500. At the outset of the study, I was vaguely aware of this publication and its potential relevance as a source of data. However, I did not realize how central the magazine would be to demystifying, demythologizing, and debunking the CPPOM until after conducting several interviews with participants who identified *Blue Line Magazine* as the source where they first learned about the memorial, as well as skimming through several articles from the past decade. One, for example, discusses the story of an RCMP Auxiliary Constable named Glen Evely who died in 2004 while performing this role but was excluded from the CPPOM on the basis that he “wasn’t a full-time paid officer” (Mannella 2014, 38; also *Chapter 10*). I soon uncovered that all issues of the magazine could be accessed and read online through the magazine’s digital archives. I therefore downloaded and went through each issue – about 375 in total – searching for relevant content. As noted, 40 articles from 40 different magazine issues were identified as relevant, downloaded, and organized into a folder by year of publication, and analyzed, with 21 of the most relevant ones being cited in the final project.

In addition to news and magazine articles, data was also collected from websites. Around a hundred online screenshots were taken and saved onto a file of the memorial website ([www.thememorial.ca](http://www.thememorial.ca)) – both the old version and the new version of the website – and its

associated blog, as well as the website of the memorial run (i.e. the NPOMR) ([www.npomr.org](http://www.npomr.org)), and the memorial ride (i.e. the CPMRR) ([www.policeridetoremember.com](http://www.policeridetoremember.com)). Other websites where data was collected included the CPA ([www.cpa-acp.ca](http://www.cpa-acp.ca)), the CPOMA ([www.cpoma.ca](http://www.cpoma.ca)), and CACP ([www.cacp.ca](http://www.cacp.ca)). The logo of these three organizations can be found on the CPPOM “Honour Roll Monument”, as they spearheaded its development and oversee the annual memorial. These websites contained information useful to the research aims and questions, such as a history of the memorial, along with other relevant details including the amount of funds raised each year, the major donors, lists of sponsors, photo galleries of past events, and contact information.

To learn more about the meanings and role of the memorial, the second data source was participant observation at the main memorial activities, meaning “a way to collect data in naturalistic settings by [researchers] who observe and/or take part in the common and uncommon activities of the people being studied” (DeWalt and DeWalt 2001, 2). Along with attending the memorial activities for Constable Burns and Costello in Fredericton (see *Chapter 1*), I physically attended five of the seven “main” national memorial features. Attended in 2019 were: i) the annual CPPOM service; ii) the CPPOM “Honour Roll” Monument; iii) The National Police Memorial Pavilion (PMP); iv) The Canadian Police Memorial Ride to Remember (CPMRR) – specifically the opening ceremony in Aylmer, Ontario, as well as the arrival of the ride at Parliament Hill; and v) The National Peace Officers Memorial Run (NPOMR) – specifically the opening ceremony at Queen’s Park in Toronto, as well as the arrival of the run at Parliament Hill. I rely on the insights of organizers and attendees for insights into the last two activities – the private dinner for widows and widowers, and the family vigil that takes place within in the parliamentary buildings the evening before the service. As will be discussed in *Chapter 11*, these are backstage events.

According to Bogdan (1973), the aim of participant observation is “to understand as fully as possible the situation being studied without disturbing that situation. Any data collecting that is compatible with that goal can be pursued” (304). During the activities, I took over 2,000 photographs and 20 videos. The use of these visually based forms of data collection methods is gaining popularity in criminological research as it increasingly places emphasis on cultural representation and images (e.g. Brown and Carrabine 2017; Schept 2014). I also recorded 12 speeches using an audio recorder, so that I was able to re-listen to them later. After the activity had concluded, I went to a quiet place and wrote in a journal a description of what happened in as much detail as I could. Following DeWalt and DeWalt (2001), I focused on things such as settings, people, and interactions I saw take place to help address the research aims and questions.

I had planned to repeat this fieldwork cycle for the 2020 and 2021 services, but the events were cancelled or postponed in-person due to the COVID-19 pandemic, with local rides and runs occurring. While the annual service was attended by only a few people during this time and livestreamed, it followed the same routine that it normally does. One difference, though, was that it took place in front of the PMP and not the Peace Tower due to the smaller attendance.

The third source of data was interviews, which are useful when one is “concerned about gaining insight into the worlds of others” and to understand how subjects “view, experience, or conceptualize an aspect of social life” (Kelly 2010, 309). I conducted 19 interviews that lasted 1 to 1.5 hours with a wide range of individuals (who had not completed a survey for this project) to learn more about the development, meanings, and role of the CPPOM.<sup>18</sup> They shared with me their

---

<sup>18</sup> Before interviewing 18 participants and organizers in the memorial, I began with interviewing 7 of my friends and family around me. These interviews were mostly conducted for practice. I had only interviewed 4 people before undertaking this project. None of them had heard of the memorial before, so I informed them about it and asked them questions about relevant topics, such as their general thoughts on police work and national commemoration. Also, as noted, I conducted an interview with a former police officer who had intentionally not attended the CPPOM and wanted to provide a “critical” perspective (see *Chapter 2*). I accepted due to the focus of this project. This interview made me want to explore more how police work is staged and performed through national commemoration.

thoughts about the memorial and experiences attending or organizing its main activities. I interviewed the following people who gave their permission to note them by name:

1. **Ceremonial Sergeant Major Steve Boucher:** The lead organizer of the annual CPPOM service. Ceremonial Sergeant Major Boucher is also a Staff Sergeant with the OPS and a member of the OPS Ceremonial Guard. He recently replaced retired OPS Staff Sergeant Terry Welsh, who directed the CPPOM service for 12 years.
2. **Detective Sergeant Bob Hackenbrook:** The Co-Chair of the NPOMR – a “jack of all trades” role that ensures the national memorial run is performed safely and properly – who works for the Peel Regional Police in Mississauga, Ontario. Detective Sergeant Hackenbrook has been involved in the NPOMR since 2010.
3. **Brenda Carey** – A retired OPP officer and widow to OPP Constable Dave Mounsey, who is recognized at the national memorial. Constable Mounsey was killed on 13 November 2006 in a vehicle accident on the job. Brenda has been a regular attendee at the memorial service both before and after his death.
4. **Lincoln and Laurie Dinning** – the parents of Corporal Matthew Dinning, a military police officer who is recognized at the national memorial. Corporal Dinning, 23, was killed on 22 April 2006 alongside Corporal Randy Payne, 32, (who is also recognized on the national memorial), in Afghanistan, when the G-Wagon the two officers were riding in was struck by a roadside bomb. Lincoln and Laurie have been regular attendees at the CPPOM since the death of their son.
5. **Heather Pham** – the widow to Huron OPP Constable Vu Pham, who was shot to death on duty on 8 March 2010 and is recognized at the national memorial. Heather has been an attendee and participant in the CPPOM activities since her husband’s death.

6. **Scott Moore** – a sergeant with the Hamilton Police Service in Hamilton, Ontario, who has taken part in the CPMRR since 2015. In 2018, Scott became the organizer of the Hamilton Police Cycling Team, one of the largest police cycling teams in Canada.
7. **Lawre Peitras** – a semi-retired civilian senior manager within the OPP who has participated in both the CPMRR and the NPOMR. Lawre was one of the original organizers of the OPP's participation in the NPOMR.
8. **Shelley Atkinson** – the widow to Constable John Atkinson of the Windsor Police Service in Windsor, Ontario, was shot to death on duty on 6 May 2006 and is recognized at the national memorial. Shelley has been an attendee at the CPPOM since her husband's death.
9. **Adam Carter** – a police sergeant with the Niagara Regional Police Service in Niagara, Ontario, who first visited the national memorial in 1999 and began participating in the CPMRR and national memorial service in 2016.
10. **Andrea Lamothe** – Director of the Ottawa Police Association (OPA) and host of the private dinner for widows and widowers that takes place the day before the national memorial service at the OPA headquarters.
11. **Steven Brown** – a police officer with the North Bay Police Service in North Bay, Ontario, who has been participant for over 5 years in the CPMRR and has attended for over 12 years the provincial and national police memorial services.

Also interviewed were 6 other participants in the memorial activities who wished to remain anonymous and not have their participation known. Semi-structured interviews are informal interviews conducted in accordance with a rough outline of questions (Stuckey 2013; Braun and Clarke 2013). The core questions asked to participants can be found in *Appendix D*.

In accordance with a semi-structured technique, I also asked questions that were relevant based on the experiences of the interviewee and the responses given, while maintaining a focus on the memorial and its related activities (Braun and Clarke 2013). For example, during interviews with spouses of slain officers, questions were asked about the moods, the feelings, and types of the conversations that happen at the private dinner for widows and widowers organized by the OPA, as well as what it is like to attend the smaller memorial service held specifically for them and their family members inside the parliamentary buildings, which happens the evening before the national service. In the interviews with event organizers, questions were directed more towards learning about topics such as the cost and logistics of organizing the memorial events.

The interviews took place on the phone. While there is value in interviewing someone face-to-face to observe their facial expressions and other visual cues, the COVID-19 pandemic made this a bit dangerous and challenging. According to Novick (2008), there is little evidence that suggests conducting interviews on the phone produces less rich, detailed, and high-quality data than in-person interviews in qualitative research. By conducting phone interviews, I was able to access geographically disparate people, take notes unobtrusively, and was ultimately permitted to conduct a greater number of interviews in the period allowed for my research (Novick 2008). Interviews were audio-recorded with consent from the interviewee, which was also recorded. Interviews helped me learn more about the meanings of the memorial to participants, as well as improved my knowledge of how it developed and operates today as a multi-faceted service, organization, and institution involving different actors and audiences (see *Chapter 11*).

In addition to interviews, I also created a 10-to-15 minute survey through the website Survey Monkey (see *Figure 9* and *Appendix E*). Susan Gibbs, a Strategic Communications

Specialist with the York Regional Police forwarded it to people registered in the CPMRR in 2020.<sup>19</sup>



*Figure 9: A Screenshot of my Survey (photo in background by Matthew Ferguson)*

A survey was created on this platform because it was recommended by the University of Ottawa, which describes it as a “powerful and intuitive” means of collecting “the data you need for your research” (uOttawa 2020). In a context where policing is subject to robust scrutiny and criticism (e.g. Maynard 2017). I was also aware that some participants in the CPPOM might decline to be formally interviewed, especially by a researcher who – if they searched my name or that of my supervisor, Dr. Justin Piché – had published research challenging the legitimacy of policing and how it is commemorated (see Ferguson et al. 2019). I knew that some participants might also have other reasons for declining an interview. Indeed, one respondent noted:

I don't have much time on in the service. I am proud and honoured to participate, but I know other officers that have been working for many more years, and have been personally touched by some of the loss of our officers. Some of the officers with whom I participate worked next to some of the officers who were killed, and I feel they could have more to contribute to your study. Your study is an honourable one – and I know there are others who could be of greater insight.

---

<sup>19</sup> The original title of my PhD project was “The Meaning of Sacrifice: Journeys to a Canadian Police and Peace Officers Memorial”. The notion of “sacrifice” in the title referred to the “ultimate sacrifice” that officers recognized on the CPPOM are said to have made. I was predominantly concerned at this time with understanding the origins and development of the CPPOM, as well as the significance that participants attributed to it. It was not until I began learning more about the CPPOM that my PhD project began to transform from one concerned with meaning-making to one also concerned with critique, or what I describe as demystification, demythologization, and debunking.

Although the respondent, who did not provide their name, downplayed their experience and insight, they provided some of the more detailed and enlightening responses. For example, in response to the question of what messages the CPPOM communicates, they also wrote:

I believe the service and the run/ride is a message to peace officers and the public that our job can be dangerous and situations can change in an instant. We should always remember what officers have sacrificed in protecting the public. The public and the peace officer community should support the families of officers who have died in their service to the community, and remember that they were heroes in life, not death. We will not forget. Participating in the run and ride is humbling and challenging. I run and ride for those fallen officers and their families.

The survey contained various open and closed ended questions resembling the interview guide. In total, I received 18 completed surveys, all from participants in the CPMRR. All respondents who completed the survey had an opportunity to be interviewed instead, which they declined. Time constraints was the most common reason for choosing to complete a survey. While there were plenty of skipped questions, many of the responses were interesting and enlightening. One respondent surprised me by suggesting that the question of what they “liked” about the memorial could have been worded differently, which encouraged me to reflect about my phrasing:

Like is not all that appropriate.

Most impactful and emotional is hearing the spouses of the fallen officers speak, I think it's the fact the police community is remembering their loved one and including the remaining family as part of the police community.

During the ride it is enjoyable to meet new officers from both your own service and others.

I learned further from the survey responses that memorial events commemorating deceased police and other “law enforcement” officers are accompanied by certain phrases or a vocabulary that the researcher can repeat and adopt during interviews to develop a higher level rapport with officers. Throughout the responses were phrases such as “killed in the line of duty”, “fallen brothers and sisters”, “heroes in life, not death”, “ultimate sacrifice” and more. Although I tried to distribute my survey more widely, there is not an online database of memorial participants and responses

dried up. After this, I put the survey aside and began to simply ask participants for an interview, as these discussions turned out to be even more enlightening than the survey responses. Indeed, the first interview – which occurred with a memorial ride participant – lasted 90 minutes.

For recruitment, I utilized a qualitative method known as snowball sampling. This is “when the researcher accesses informants through contact information that is provided by other informants” (Noy 2008, 328). I sent email invitations to Ceremonial Sergeant Major Boucher and the CPMRR – whose contact information was available online, and which led me to get in touch with Susan Gibbs of the CPMRR, who forwarded my study to CPMRR participants. To access other participants, I made a personal Twitter account, which I used to send a direct message to the NPOMR – which shared photos of the event, but did not have an online email address – and Detective Sergeant Hackenbrook, one of the co-chairs of the event. After the interview, Detective Sergeant Hackenbrook noted that he was friends with Shelley Atkinson and Brenda Carey, two “super cool and very open” widows of police officers recognized at the CPPOM and who participate in it. He forwarded me their phone numbers after receiving permission to do so.

Following my interview with Brenda, she kindly emailed me the contact information for other people who participated in the CPPOM and who she had personally reached out to after the interview to invite them to participate in my project, such as Heather Pham, Andrea Lamothe, as well as the parents of a deceased military police officer – Lincoln and Laurie Dinning. Brenda was happy to do this, because as she noted in the email – “it’s nice to know someone actually cares how we feel”. Indeed, one of the things that I learned from interviews with Brenda and others is that widows of police officers killed on the job often feel “re-victimized by the criminal justice system” as Brenda put it, which focuses on “criminal justice” while they are largely left and may feel alone, or unheard and unacknowledged (see *Chapter 11*). This in part led to the formation in

2010 of a support group called the Survivors of Law Enforcement (SOLE), of which Andrea is on the board (see *Chapter 11*). Representatives of SOLE can often be seen during the CPPOM and other memorial activities, such as the provincial memorial in Toronto. According to Heather:

SOLE is an organization for families of fallen officers', strictly spouses. It's just like a support group. They organize different events and try to keep us together a couple times a year, and they do dinner's at both the national and the provincial memorial. It was just an initiative taken by one of the widows to keep us all connected.

I conducted interviews from August 2020 to September 2021. By this time, having collected a large amount of relevant data in various forms, I needed to focus my attention more on analysis. I also had approached the “point at which no new information or themes are observed in the data” (Guest et al. 2006, 59; for some limitations, see *Chapter 12*) and had penetrated beyond a small number of people involved in these activities, helping to address the research questions.

## **6.6. Data Analysis**

As the research questions posed are concerned with meaning-making and understanding, this study utilizes thematic analysis, “a method for identifying and analysing patterns in qualitative data” (Clarke and Braun 2013, 120), which can be used to “produce sophisticated, interpretative analyses that go beyond the obvious content” (123). The first stage involved familiarizing myself with the data I had collected. For example, I scrolled through all of the photos, watched the videos, read over my field notes, looked over newspaper headlines, glanced over the website material, and transcribed the interviews. After each interview, I uploaded the audio file onto my computer.

I did not wait until all of the data was collected before analysis began. After finishing collecting newspapers, for example, I almost immediately began to read and thematically analyze them, even though I was still in the process of doing interviews. These interviews led me to uncover another data source – *Blue Line Magazine* – whose articles were then collected and analyzed after I had already read hundreds of newspapers. After I had collected a data source and

familiarized myself with it, I started to engage in an analytic process known as thematic coding. As Clarke and Braun (2013) note, “this involves generating pithy labels for important features of the data of relevance to the (broad) research question guiding the analysis” (121). Consistent with my literature review and conceptual framework, I approached data analysis with some potentially important features of it known. Larochelle (1994), for example, had emphasized the importance of institutional and social change when it came to the commemoration of officers, as well as the comfort and healing the memorial provides officers and family members of the dead. Taylor (1986) had highlighted the theme of martyrdom, as well as the potential crisis in police legitimacy, and the “Americanization” of Canadian police practices. Palmer (2012) had emphasized the political aspects of policing and commemoration, as well as the symbolic aspects of police legitimacy.

This accelerated data analysis. I undertook what is sometimes called a mixed-coding approach, whereby I had one set of pre-established codes according to my research questions (e.g. political context of its birth, developments in the memorial, agents of memory involved, motivations for participating in CPMRR, motivations for participating in NPOMR, meanings of the widows and widowers dinner, meanings of the private family vigil, involvement of US services and “peace officer” agencies, locations and spaces of the CPPOM), while also allowing for the creation of new codes to emerge organically that may bring me to consider other aspects I had not, at least originally, set-out to investigate (e.g. influence on municipal and provincial memorials, controversies surrounding rejected names, corporate promotion and sponsorship). Clarke and Braun (2013) define a theme as a “coherent and meaningful pattern in the data relevant to the research question” (121). Themes were constructed through various techniques, such as those suggested by Ryan and Bernard (2003). This included looking for repetition in the data, comparing similarities and differences between sources, and scrutinizing what was not addressed.

The aim of data analysis was to tell a convincing and compelling story about the data that provided rich insight into the CPPOM and addressed the research aim and questions. To assist me in achieving this, I combined thematic analysis with an analytic method the anthropologist Geertz (1973) calls “thick description” (3), which has its roots in the philosophy of Gilbert Ryle. Thick description is a hallmark of anthropology. That is, it is what Geertz (1973) claims doing ethnography (i.e. anthropological analysis) entails. It has since become influential in qualitative criminological research (see Bevier 2015). I first became aware of its value to demystifying, demythologizing, and debunking penal system work through reading Manning (1997), who elaborates it in a footnote (45). “Analysis”, Geertz (1973) writes, requires “sorting out the structures of signification” (4). Thick description is a form of data analysis and way of accounting for phenomena. It is a “layered, rich contextual description of an event that encourages the reader to get close to the meaning of those who experienced what the author is describing ... the reader gets the sense of ‘being there’” (Goldman-Segall 1994, 8). To help “sort” out the complex meanings of the CPPOM, I also created a timeline of relevant events (see *Appendix B*).

Geertz (1973) contrasts thick description with what Ryle calls “thin description”, which is a shallow account with little attempt to get into layers of meaning. I found that thematic analysis and thick description pair well together, as the former gives the latter structure, while the latter helps to construct and elaborate themes, which is needed to demystify, demythologize, and debunk activities. Important to thick description is not taking actions and speech entirely at face-value, as well as attending “to the multiple and frequently contradictory levels of local meanings in the field” (Prasad 2018, 89). I outline my findings in five overlapping chapters, each oriented around a major theme (i.e. government and gun control policies; pro-death penalty comments and demonstrations; organizational memories of officer deaths; belonging and exclusion at the

memorial; and feelings of heroism and courage among memorial participants). They were written and re-written several times and condensed to highlight the most relevant points and findings.

### **6.7. Ethical Considerations**

Throughout the data collection and analysis portion of this research, a few ethical considerations were relevant. First, following the Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS) guidelines, I attained free, informed, and ongoing consent from my interview subjects (TCPS 2010). Interviewees were aware of the purpose of the research, what it entailed, as well as potential risks and benefits to them if they participated. There was a small potential for social repercussions based on the answers provided, which might cause someone to suffer damage to their reputation or cause friends or family to view them in a different light, especially in the context noted, where policing is subject to robust criticism. If the questions or conversation became uncomfortable, participants were allowed to decline responding to it. Two participants declined to clarify if they agreed with calls to include at the memorial names of officers who died by suicide, as they had no strong opinion either way (see *Chapter 10*). Before participating, I emailed research participants an information sheet and consent form. Participant consent was documented verbally during the interview. To uphold the anonymity of certain research participants, I have attempted to ensure in the following chapters that nothing can be linked back to them in cases where they preferred to be anonymous.

### **6.8. Conclusion**

This chapter focused on the methods and methodology adopted in this study, as well as its methodological contributions. I began in the first section returning to the broader research aims and bringing all of the questions together. Next, I distinguished methods from methodology, as well as qualitative research from quantitative research. I explained how the former is more suitable for this project and offers the potential for a richer understanding of social phenomena, which is

also important for addressing what Ferrell (2016) describes as the new “crisis of contemporary criminology” (285) oriented around the dominance of quantitative research, which can be seen in research on police legitimacy (Palmer 2012). I then discussed how this study is informed by an interpretivist and critical epistemology, as well as a constructivist and anti-foundationalist ontology centred around critique through understanding. This was followed by a discussion about data collection, and after, about how thematic analysis and thick description directed the analysis, and finally a note on ethical considerations. In the next chapter, I begin Part III of the study, which outlines the findings, and is followed by a discussion of these findings and a conclusion.

## **PART III: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

### **7. “THEY’RE MAD ... DAMNED MAD!”: GOVERNMENT AND GUN CONTROL IN THE LEAD-UP TO A MEMORIAL**

Ottawa Deputy Police Chief Thomas Welsh said the day after the Kirkwood killing that he didn’t know what police had to do to show politicians the desperate need for strong gun-control legislation.

– *Ottawa Journal* reporter Bob Avery (1977)

#### **7.1. Introduction**

In this initial findings’ chapter, I predominantly rely on a thematic analysis of newspaper articles from the 1970s. Along with the abolition of the death penalty in 1976 – including for individuals convicted of killing “on-duty” police and prison guards, which is covered in the next chapter – I identify and discuss the theme of gun control, and its relation to the CPPOM and its emergence on Parliament Hill on 24 September 1978. Elaborating more specific themes such as “concern with an increase in gun-related harm” and “strategies proposed to address such harms”, I explain how guns – namely, in the hands of what police termed “the criminal element” (e.g. Detre 1975) – was a rising concern in the 1970s. While not all police officers agreed with one another, groups such as police associations were in favour of enhancing the penalties for people convicted of using guns in criminalized acts, while police leaders such as OPS Chief Welsh – a founder of the memorial (Larochelle 1994) – spoke out in favour of “strong” gun control laws (Avery 1977). This theme was dominant in depictions of the funeral of OPS Constable David Kirkwood. His shooting death on 11 July 1977 is said by police officers to have sparked the CPPOM, in the sense that his colleagues were not willing to let his death “go without tribute” (Larochelle 1994, 234).

The findings presented in this chapter and the next two afterwards nevertheless contribute to existing research by challenging the official narrative about the birth of the memorial,

specifically the suggestion that it emerged as an apolitical tribute – a story which I suggest is deeply mythological, as it stresses themes of police “heroism” and “sacrifice” (Manning 1997), as well as distances police commemoration from politics. Moreover, while Taylor (1986) associates the memorial to the theme of abolition of the death penalty, I also situate its birth within debates about gun control, and a desire to expand and further entrench the carceral and nationalizing state. Re-constructing the realities behind the national memorial and its relationship to the politics of policing and memory helps address the research aim and questions surrounding the origins and development of the memorial, as well as how penal system work is staged and performed through national commemoration, and how it maintains support for punishment, myths about this work, as well as the social distance between everyday citizens and people in conflict with the law.

## **7.2. Re-Constructing the Drama of Policing and “Crime Control” in the 1970s**

If not for medical professionals saving the lives of two OPS officers, it is possible that a national police memorial would have emerged three years earlier – that is, in 1975, instead of in 1978 following the death of Constable Kirkwood. Yet this earlier incident was relevant, as it appeared to help whet the appetite for police commemoration in the national capital. Around nine in the evening on 15 January 1975, a federal prisoner who had recently been imprisoned on a 29-year sentence at Collins Bay Institution – a medium-security prison in Kingston, Ontario – escaped using a gun smuggled into the institution by a guard and fled to Ottawa (McKinsey 1975a). The prisoner – Barry Forsyth – later said in court that he was bitter because he felt his sentence was too harsh, given that while he had robbed banks, he had not killed anyone. Moreover, he had been incarcerated prior to these acts. As Avery (1975) clarifies: “He said rehabilitation has no meaning in Canadian jails, adding the system is concerned only with breaking a person ‘morally, spiritually, and mentally’” (A1). From being whipped by a barbaric lashing contraption, which tore chunks of

flesh from his legs, to spending 18-months alone in solitary confinement, to being released from prison with little money or job opportunities, Forsyth argued that the Canadian penal system was inhumane. He also claimed that he would “rather die than return to prison” (Avery 1975).

Forsyth seemingly chose to flee to Ottawa because he wanted to visit a former prison volunteer who he had been corresponding with. The woman believed he was not dangerous – describing him instead as “intelligent” and “a gentle, sensitive person” (McKinsey 1975a) – but asked him to leave and turn himself in. Forsyth, she claimed, left, and went to see a movie. Not long after, he was spotted by a police officer near Parliament Hill. In a desperate attempt to remain free, Forsyth stole his gun and held him hostage when a back-up officer arrived on the scene. He fired at the backup officer, later adding that the officer shot him first (McKinsey 1975b).

The claim was denied by the back-up officer, who was shot four times. He said that the shooting began after he had tried to run Forsyth over to save his police colleague. “I remember thinking why I am lying here?” the back-up officer said to a reporter. “I thought it was all over, I was going to die. It wasn’t frightening, just sort of sad” (Wilson 1976b). Forsyth was shot once through the windshield (McKinsey 1975b). He was convicted of further charges, including the “attempted murder” of the back-up officer. While he had “exceptional intelligence”, said the judge, drawing on police myth, he also noted that “an attack on a policeman, being an attack on society itself, must incur a serious penalty” (The Ottawa Citizen 1975). Following other escape attempts, Forsyth later died in his cell from an unpublished cause in 2000 (Abbotsford News 2000).

“SHOOTOUT – Three wounded in parking lot melee”, the headline in the *Ottawa Citizen* read the next morning. Beside it was a photo of a police car window “shattered by bullets that wounded [the] constable” (Forster 1975a). The *Ottawa Journal* displayed the same photo, along with a story describing how “two Ottawa policemen were brutally gunned down ... [while] horror-

stricken bystanders ran for cover” (McKay 1975). At a press conference, OPS Superintendent Thomas Flanagan noted his concern with the “wanton disregard for human life, especially the life of a policeman” (Ottawa Journal 1975). Messages of concern about the well-being of the two wounded constables began pouring into the station from police services across the country.

Not six months later – on 5 June 1975 – Forsyth was one of seven prisoners who escaped from the Regional Detention Centre (RDC) in Ottawa (Forster and McKinsey 1975). It was the biggest break-out at a local jail since the 1940s. It occurred when a guard named Daniel Lennon opened the door of the command centre at the maximum-security wing to change shifts with his colleague. When the door opened, two other prisoners who had been mopping the floor outside the command centre during the guard shift change – which was against regulations – drew loaded firearms. In a struggle, one of the two prisoners shot Lennon in the abdomen. He survived for a while but never fully recovered, succumbing to complications from the shooting-related injury years later in the 1990s, upon which time his name was officially added to the CPPOM “Honour Roll”. Another guard was shot but the bullet lodged in his wallet. The prisoners forced a third guard to open the cells. All were eventually re-captured (see Ottawa Citizen 1975d).

In 1975, stories about prison breaks and their accompanying themes of penal system officer heroism, danger, death, and a disregard for the law and the lives of officers by “violent criminals” like Forsyth appeared to help whet the appetite for commemoration and set the stage for the first national police and prison guard memorial, which would emphasize similar themes following the death of OPS Constable Kirkwood in 1977 (see Macleod 1978). Letters and cards poured into the hospital for the injured police officers from across Canada and the US. It was an example – as one appreciative resident put – of “bravery in blue” (The Ottawa Citizen 1975a). According to the

writer, in a time of “rising crime rates” (6) and police being accused of brutality, there is a need to acknowledge that the arrest of Forsyth was done “with dispatch and great bravery” (6).

As Manning (1977) notes, the “police myth” frames police work as a heroic struggle against “isolated and thoroughly evil persons” (279). The shootings of the two constables produced several news stories fuelling this myth in the lead-up to a memorial, including a local one titled, “The High Cost of Being a Cop” (Wilson 1976). A focus on police sacrifice and heroism also detracted public attention from the crisis of the escapes. Like stories at penal tourism sites (Wilson 2008), depictions of the penitentiary and detention centre escapes focused on the techniques and violence of the escapes, as well as the opinions of penal system officers, while only rarely highlighting the conditions of confinement that shaped decisions to evade custody. After the RDC escape, Gloucester Police Chief Ken Duncan argued that a jail was no place for “hardened criminals” to be staying for long periods of time. A representative of the jail guards blamed weak links in the security chain, as well as severe understaffing (Ottawa Citizen 1975c).

With a focus on ineffective security measures and a wider disregard for the lives of carceral officers, seemingly not mentioned in the news at this time was the violence of penalty more generally (Culhane 1979). That is, the Canadian penal system appeared to be disregarding the lives of everyone, officers and criminalized people alike. Nevertheless, there would be no national memorial to all victims of penal system work. The latter remained relatively silent actors in a bloody drama that painted them as the sworn enemy of public order (McKinsey 1975c). After the escape from Collins Bay Institution, a reporter obtained permission to interview the other prisoners who had witnessed the escape to hear their side of the story, but they all declined for unknown reasons (The Whig-Standard 1975). Some of the prisoners involved were also held in contempt of

court after refusing to divulge details. Forsyth, for example, had forgotten the name and refused to describe the guard who smuggled the gun in for another prisoner (Ottawa Journal 1978).

As documented by Culhane (1979) in British Columbia, the risk of retaliation inside jails and penitentiaries at the time was significant, including from certain prison officials themselves. This retaliation came in numerous forms, from being beaten, to being placed for long periods of time in solitary confinement, to having one's meals tampered with. It dissuaded prisoners from filing grievances, lawsuits, and sometimes even speaking, especially to reporters. The result, in this instance, was that authorities had almost full control of their image following the escape attempts. A focus on police heroism, enhanced security, criminalized acts, the violence of escapees, and a lack of respect for the safety and lives of carceral officers helped disrupt representations of officer corruption and brutality (Ottawa Citizen 1975a), as well as further entrenched belief in criminalization and punishment as a dominant means of addressing perceived harms and threats to social order. Although the actions of medical personnel who saved the lives of the wounded penal system officers were heroic, as well as of the escapees – in the sense of resisting against corrupt penal environments where violence was pervasive and guns could be accessed (see Clarkson and Munn 2021) – these were not dominant themes in the news.

The stage for a national memorial was further set one week after the RDC escape – on 11 June 1975 – when Mary Steinhauser, a classification officer and social worker, was killed at the BC Penitentiary in New Westminster, British Columbia. Along with a classification officer and social worker, Steinhauser was also a nurse known for her intelligence and kindness, especially towards prisoners. She actively challenged the myth that federal prisoners are “thoroughly evil persons” (Manning 1977, 279). On 9 June 1975, she was taken hostage, along with 14 other officers. The prisoners made several demands but, above all, wanted to be released. Steinhauser

volunteered to be the main hostage (Franz 2022). After 41 hours of negotiations, a prison tactical squad stormed in and began firing on the hostage-takers. When the smoke cleared, the only person dead was Steinhauser, who had been shot by one of the guards. Afterwards, the guards claimed to not know who fired the fatal shot. There were few witnesses, as the other hostages had been locked inside a vault. Later, though, it would be found that one of the guards had tampered with the guns afterwards for purposes of preventing this information from being known (Franz 2022).

Just over one year later and two before the first memorial – on 27 September 1976 – the BC Penitentiary was practically destroyed in a riot. In her analysis of the event, Culhane (1979) – a concerned citizen and activist who spent time at the BC Penitentiary after Steinhauser’s death – describes the prison system as “riddled with injustice” (220). According to her, all prisons should be demolished as part of a longer and carefully thought-out plan to stop violence, meaningfully address the root causes of harm, and construct “a free and open society” (217). Estimates vary about prisoners, but she claimed “70-90% could safely, economically, and usefully be transferred to community-supervised programs, while the [rest] ... could be placed in treatment centres where the best medical, nutritional, and psychological attention could bring them back to a safe level” (217). She describes prisoners as requiring care and community support, not punishment.

Prime Minister (PM) Pierre E. Trudeau later clarified to the media that his government would never permit prisoners to gain their freedom through hostage-takings. Like police organizations, PM Trudeau also stressed “justice” as part of a presentational strategy (Manning 1997) to help secure and maintain political power. That is, he justified much of what he did around the promise of building a “just society” (Blakely 1968). In a speech in 1968, PM Trudeau noted that his government, “is deeply concerned to provide and to ensure increased justice, dignity, and recognition to the individual” (House of Commons 1968). The themes associated with the “just

society” adopted by PM Trudeau appeared to clash in certain respects with the themes associated with this phrase adopted by carceral state organizations in the years leading up to the creation of the memorial service. By 1975, for example, the federal government had abolished a long-standing spectacle of criminalization and punishment (Brown 2009) and presentational strategy (Manning 1997) that was used inside federal penitentiaries to maintain an atmosphere and image of control – this was corporal punishment, which was abolished officially in 1972 (Sellar 1972).

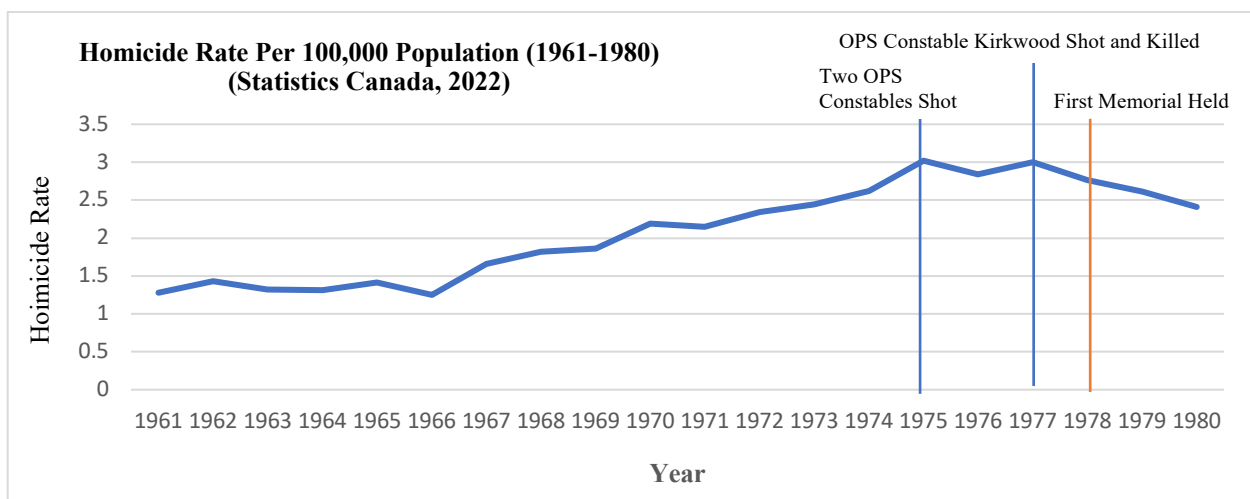
The decision to abolish corporal punishment was because advocates and experts in the administration of justice and politicians believed it was unjust and ineffective. Whipping and beating prisoners encouraged resentment and hostility towards the staff, as well as violated their human rights. It also made rehabilitation more challenging (Sellar 1972). In 1975, the Solicitor General component of the Public Service Alliance – which represented federal prison guards – unsuccessfully tried to reverse its abolition (The Kingston Whig-Standard 1975). In a debate, about 80 union delegates argued that the strap and paddle kept prisoners in line and protected staff (The Kingston Whig-Standard 1975). Corporal and capital punishment was presented by guards as effective on account of organizational memories and knowledge (Ottawa Citizen 1975e).

In the years leading up to the first memorial in 1978, there were also wider debates and disagreements happening around justice, or a “just society” (Calgary Herald 1978) – whose meaning was open to interpretation. In the context of violence against officers – particularly, gun-related violence, such as the shooting of two OPS officers in 1975 – police and prison officers suggested that a just society was one characterized by criminalization (and dehumanization). “We’re dealing with garbage”, a guard at the debate around corporal and capital punishment is quoted as remarking (The Kingston Whig-Standard 1975). Culhane (1979) suggests that a just society is one not reliant on imprisonment and other oppressive “crime control” practices.

Along with the death of Steinhauser, on 8 April 1975, Instructor Georges Nadeau, 34, was beaten to death by a prisoner with a hammer at Cowansville Institution in Cowansville, Quebec. On 6 June, Officer Roy Eddy died from a heart attack after struggling to restrain a prisoner at the Regional Psychiatric Centre in Abbotsford, British Columbia. On 27 June, Officer Paul Gosselin of the Archambault Institution in Sainte-Anne-des-Plaines, Quebec, was shot to death at a hospital by a prisoner attempting to flee. The death of prison officers was rare. Until 1975, only four federal prison officers had died on the job in the previous 25 years (The Province 1975). Before discussing this further, in the next section, I focus more on the theme of the rising violence – especially gun violence – in Canada, which was dominant around the time the memorial service emerged.

### 7.3. In Search of Greater Peace, Security, and Police Memorialization

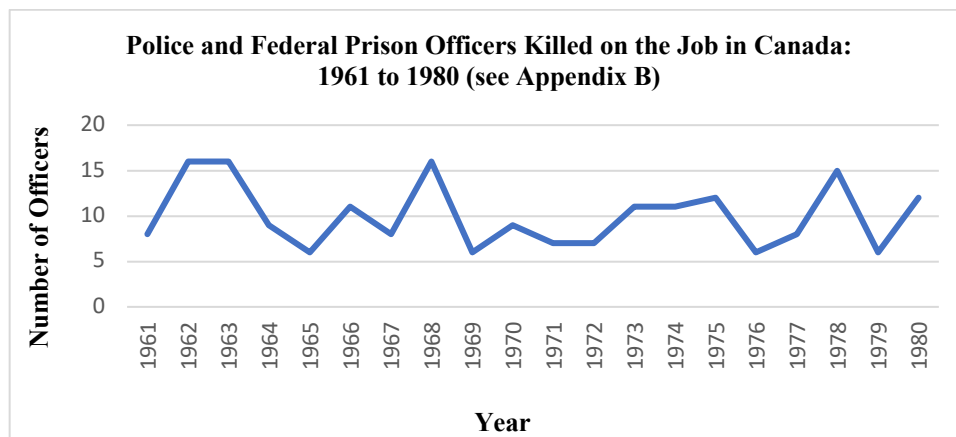
A common presentational strategy adopted by penal system agencies in the 1970s was pointing to a steadily increasing “homicide rate” (see *Figure 10*). This trend was part of a broader rise in police-reported criminalized activities, which resembled the situation in the US and most other industrialized nations (Wilson 1976a). One factor in this was the rapid rise in post-war births, known as the “baby boom” which produced more young people (see Wilson 1976a).



**Figure 10: Homicide Rate Per 100,000 population (1961 to 1980) (Statistics Canada 2022a)**

Since 1961, when the data became available, for only two years – 1975 and 1977 – has Canada had a police-reported “homicide rate” at or greater than 3.0 per 100,000. It might be assumed, then, that the number of police and prison officers being “murdered” was also rising, leading to a push for a memorial to these populations. In his history of the memorial, Laroche (1994) claims that the number of “slain” (234) police and prison officers “grew dramatically” (235) in 1978 compared to 1977. A longer historical view, however, adds some needed context.

After Steinhauser and the three other prison officers died in 1975 – which while unusual, did not suggest a rise in “murder” of this population – there was a span with no federal prison officer deaths, followed by four in 1978. Two of which, though, happened in November 1978, after the first memorial had already happened (see *Chapter 8*). In contrast, the number of police officers killed on the job by any means was not rising (see *Figure 11*). According to data from the memorial, during the 1960s, 100 police officers were killed. This number dipped to 82 in the 1970s. 46% of the deaths in the 1970s came from gunshot wounds, compared to 36% in the 1960s. In other words, 37 officers were killed by gunfire in the 1970s and 36 in the 1960s.<sup>20</sup>



**Figure 11: Police and Prison Officers Killed on the Job in Canada: 1961 to 1980**

<sup>20</sup> I have collected the names from the national memorial and organized them by date of death. I have also researched how they died, with the assistance of various police and prison guard memorial websites (see *Appendix B*).

In 1975, PM Trudeau signalled to the population that a major effort was coming to enhance public safety and security. He re-structured his cabinet with, in his words, “two problems foremost in mind” (Ferrabee 1975). The first and arguably greatest problem facing the country in the 1970s was the situation of the economy, which was plagued by stagflation – that is, rising unemployment and high inflation coupled with slow economic growth. The second problem, PM Trudeau claimed, was assuring “peace and security in the streets” (Ferrabee 1975). He seemingly did not say “crime” on purpose. In contrast to penal system agencies, the federal government did not depict the main problem as “crime”, but a lack of peace and security. PM Trudeau clarified that he would ensure the peace and security of citizens without resorting to draconian law and order measures. To do so, he appointed Ron Basford as Minister of Justice (JM), who took over from Otto Lang.

As JM, Basford became a key actor in the performance of “crime control” (Manning 1997) leading up to the first memorial. PM Trudeau described him as a “moderate” who would ensure “we don’t go overboard on this law-and-order kick” (McNeil 1976a). Basford was seemingly also appointed because he was in favour of gun control. His predecessor, Otto Lang, believed gun laws accomplished little and interfered with the activities of law-abiding citizens. Basford, in contrast, believed it to be the duty of the federal government to pass gun control laws to reduce the number of Canadians who died each year from gun violence (see Still and Stockland 1976).

Basford’s first move as JM was to introduce a new *Criminal Code* package. Its main provisions were: “enable police to make roadside checks for drinking drivers; toughen penalties for drinking and driving; make bail less accessible for those accused of serious crime; and aim new laws against international terrorists and commercial cheats” (The Calgary Albertan 1976). With stricter punishments, this aligned closely with the script followed by penal system agencies that emphasized criminalization and enhanced police powers as necessary to ensure law and order.

These initial changes were a pre-cursor to a much larger and more complex package of laws called the “peace and security” program (Ottawa Citizen 1975f). With increased spending promised in the areas of police and penitentiaries, as well as penalties for certain illicit acts, it contained elements of a “tough on crime” agenda but was not officially described as such. The program was said by the Solicitor General of Canada Warren Allmand to contain the position of the federal government on a variety of important political issues, including gun control.

In the lead-up to the inaugural memorial, gun-related harm and gun control became key themes in the drama of policing and “crime control” for at least three reasons, which became evident in my analysis. First, there were more guns in Canada than before. A rising “homicide rate” in the 1970s led more citizens to buy guns for reasons of personal protection. There was also a booming sport hunting and shooting industry, leading sales of guns and ammunition to increase substantially each year. In 1975, they reached record numbers, constituting an estimated \$73 million annual retail business (around \$405 million in 2023). Weapons dealers were reportedly having a hard time satisfying the massive demand. Imports of firearms, including handguns, more than doubled in number and tripled in value between 1965 and 1975 (Whittington 1975).

Second, police statistics – a dominant presentational strategy that tried to present the reality of “crime” (Manning 1997) – showed that guns were a problem. In 1975, it was reported that guns were used in almost 2,000 “robberies” nation-wide, a 53% increase from 1974 (The Kingston Whig-Standard 1977). When it came to “homicide”, shootings were by far the most common method of killing. From 1970 to 1974, killings of this nature jumped 45% to 269. To put the numbers into perspective, there were more police-reported “homicide victims” who died by shooting in 1975 (n=292) than in 2020 (n=277). It should be noted that the population of Canada at the end of 2020 was 38,007,048 while at the end of 1975 it was 23,240,585 (Statistics Canada

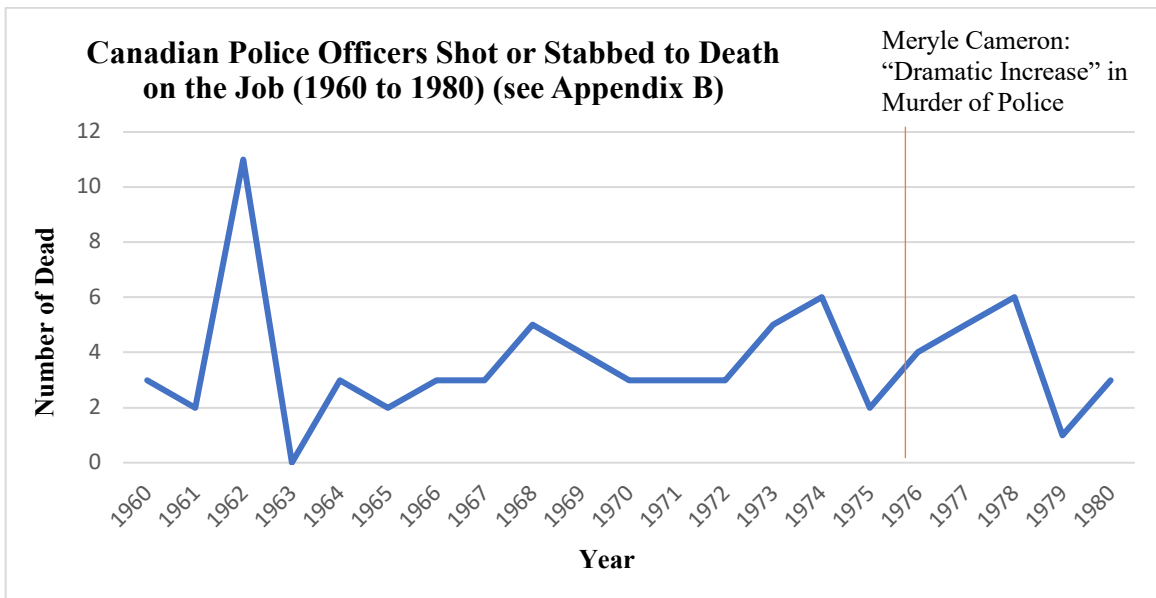
2022b). Most of these killings were committed in the heat of the moment and not “premeditated” (Nichols 1976). Deaths by suicide using guns also increased 29% from 1970 to 1974 (The Kingston Whig-Standard 1977). Standing out amongst this harm were two school shootings that received extensive media coverage, including one in Ottawa on 27 October 1975, in which the male student also raped and killed a female student beforehand (Avery and Cobb 1975).

A third reason why guns were a dominant theme in the drama of policing and “crime control” in the years leading up to the inaugural memorial was because guns were easy to acquire. The best estimates at the time suggested that in the Canadian population of slightly more than 20 million people, there were at least 10 million guns and 650 million rounds of ammunition (Nichols 1975; Wilson 1977). While handguns under 26 inches long and fully automatic weapons had to be registered, rifles and shotguns did not. As seen in the Ottawa school shooting, anyone above the age of 16 – with or without a record of imprisonment or history of mental illness – could walk into a sport or hunting shop and buy a firearm if they were not already sold out. Within minutes, they could be equipped with a high-powered rifle and ammunition (Wilson 1977). Even certain prisoners gained access to guns, leading guns to become the focus of attention and not the complex systemic factors and injustices tied to the rise in social insecurity (Culhane 1977) – from mental health to unemployment to the violence and disorganization within the penitentiary system.

Although a general outline of what the new “peace and security” program that was a focus of newspaper coverage before the first national memorial service would include was known – stricter gun control, the total abolition of the death penalty, changes in the bail and parole systems, and so on – the specific details were not known, as well as how the public and those directly impacted, such as prisoners, would react to them (see Clarkson and Munn 2021). After much anticipation, the program was unveiled by Basford and Allmand during the 1st session of the 30th

Parliament on 24 February 1976. They described the program as being designed to afford the public greater protection, especially against lawbreaking (see Still and Stockland 1976).

Despite Trudeau government officials insisting that the program would better protect the public, most police officers had little interest in supporting the initiative. On 18 March 1976, for example, Meryle Cameron, head of the Canadian Police Association, remarked that police were disturbed “by a dramatic increase in violent crime and in particular the murder of police officers” (The Ottawa Citizen 1976). Cameron, a strong supporter of re-instating the death penalty, especially for people who killed police officers (see *Chapter 8*), made this comment after an unusual streak of four police officer deaths by gunfire (from 23 December 1975 to 12 March 1976, Eric Spicer of the Dartmouth Police, Donald Irwin of the OPP, Michel Bédard of the Sûreté du Québec, and Keith Harrison of the Calgary Police were killed). As noted earlier, the number of police officer being “murdered” on the job was not dramatically rising (see *Figure 12*).



**Figure 12: Canadian Police Officers Shot or Stabbed to Death (1960 to 1980)**

In his remarks made shortly before the creation of a national memorial for such populations, Cameron disregarded the long-term trend (see *Chapter 8*). *Figure 11* does not include officers who died from accidental bullet wounds inflicted by other officers, of which there are at least three. Moreover, some officers were killed by people suffering from a mental health crisis and thus were only “murdered” according to a mythology oriented around criminalization and framing almost all “cop killers” this way, even those found not guilty. This is what happened to Frederick Koepke, the man accused of killing OPS Constable Kirkwood (see *Chapter 9*).

As the graph indicates, a true dramatic increase in officers being “murdered” on the job likely occurred in 1962. The high number is in part because there were two incidents in which multiple officers were killed by a single person. First, on 18 June in Kamloops, BC, three RCMP Constables – Elwood Keck, Gordon Pedersen, and Donald Weisgerber – were killed by an upset man wielding a rifle. Later, on 14 December, Constables Claude Marineau and Denis Brabant of the St. Laurent Police in Montreal were gunned down while responding to a bank robbery. More accurately, then, there was a short-term increase in the lead-up to the creation of the memorial of police officers being shot and killed on the job that was labelled as “dramatic” by Cameron. A similar rise had happened from 1963 to 1968 and from 1972 to 1974, followed by declines.

The “peace and security” program was viewed as not satisfactory to address the mythical rise in violence against police officers. “We are concerned that if this legislation is passed, it will have an adverse effect on policing”, noted Cameron (Park 1976). Also disliked by police associations were the details of the gun control legislation outlined in the program. The most controversial element of the gun control legislation contained in the new “peace and security” program – in the form of Bill C-83 – was the gun licensing aspect. It proposed to require all those who wished to use firearms to attain a government-issued license. This license would be afforded

based on fitness to possess a firearm (Jennings 1980). Thus, not only would gun users have to be licensed, but they would have to prove to the satisfaction of a licensing officer that they were competent to own the weapon. Applicants who had a history of violence, alcohol or drug abuse, or mental instability would be screened out and denied access to a firearm (Jennings 1980).

The position of the CPA at the time was that such changes were unnecessary. The pre-existing gun control legislation was sufficient in their view, whereby only of handguns under 26 inches long and fully automatic weapons having to be registered (RCMP 2020). Like others, they adopted the stance that firearms were not the problem – “lawbreakers” were. According to many police officers, as well as other gun owners, Bill C-83 missed the mark. Basford and Allmand had described the program as designed to protect the public. This was the highest and most key aim. Yet, when judged solely according to the mythology of policing and “crime control” (Manning 1997), the gun control legislation appeared to fall short. Those who wished to use guns for unlawful purposes would simply bypass these new rules opponents claimed. According to the police, the government should instead focus on punishing the “war salesmen” in major cities who were selling illegal guns and bringing the business of war into communities (Montreal Star 1976). It was these people – not police officers themselves – who were claimed to be war-like and violent.

Put in another way, police associations and many gunowners believed that the problem lied in the courts. Certain people and groups, they emphasized, were using firearms to commit unlawful acts, including shooting police officers. As they refused to follow the law, they would also refuse to follow the proposed licensing rules. Therefore, what was needed was for Bill C-83 – as well as the “peace and security” program – to be scrapped. In its place, the courts needed to met out stronger punishment to weapons violators. As one police representative from Toronto noted, “the

main thrust of the whole gun control issue must be to improve court handling of violators. The courts are the place where a stop has to be put to weapons offences” (McNulty 1975).

Accordingly, critics of Bill C-83 emphasized its failure to target lawbreakers, based on police mythology (Manning 1997). At the time, however, police files also contained cases where mentally unstable people had gotten a hold of firearms days, hours, and sometimes minutes, before shootings (The Ottawa Citizen 1975b). For example, in 1974, a 30-year-old man recently released from the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry in Toronto, legally purchased a .303 calibre rifle with telescopic sights for \$55. He told the salesman that he was going to do some hunting. Half-an-hour later, he was on the roof of a building shooting at people walking on Young Street. He wounded five people – the most serious of which hit the arm and shattered the left elbow of a 20-year-old man – and then ended his life as two policemen closed in (Wilson 1977). At the coroner’s inquest, Dr. Martin Friedland, dean of law at the University of Toronto said that Bill C-83 would have prevented the shooting. Under the new gun control legislation, the man would not have been allowed to purchase the rifle. He would have had to have been certified by two other people and subjected to a police check for a past record of lawbreaking (Whitehorse Daily Star 1976).

The CPA – and others within and outside the policing community – nevertheless refused to support Bill C-83. Unlike the national memorial that would be created by the OPS a few years later in 1978 (see *Chapter 8*), it did not entirely support “crime control” mythology that privileged harsher penalties as the means through which to achieve public safety. The main point of the bill was not to target “criminals” but reduce the number of gun-related injuries and deaths generally by limiting gun access. Basford seemed to approach the problem with guns in much the same way he had approached the problem with certain chemical products that he had in his earlier position as Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. He had required certain high-hazard chemical

products, such as lemon oil and lye, to bear “danger” symbols and first aid information. Like these chemicals, he did not want to ban guns. Yet he believed that too many people were being harmed to ignore the danger they posed. In 1974, Basford noted that 1,500 people died from gunshot wounds in Canada. This included “criminal, suicide, accidental, and legal, the latter being instances where police fired the shots in the line of duty”, he noted (Still and Stockland 1976).

The focus of Bill C-83 was therefore on gun misusers, which included those who might use guns unlawfully. It sought to reduce the availability of guns to potential misusers, encourage greater responsibility among those who used firearms, and punish individuals and groups who misuse guns (Whitehorse Star 1976). In the face of criticism supported by police mythology, Basford admitted that it was not perfect. “If a determined, hardened criminal wants to get hold of a gun, they will”, he noted (38). At the time, the federal government had a majority of the seats in Parliament. This meant that it was practically assured of having its new legislation passed.

Bill C-83, however, was bogged down in debate and failed to pass. Along with police, it was opposed by most gun owners, clubs, associations, and manufacturers. Owners, clubs, and associations argued that it imposed undue and unreasonable restrictions on law-abiding gun owners (Wilson 1977). Gun manufactures were concerned that the licensing system would discourage young people from purchasing guns, while older people might give up sport shooting and hunting instead of seeking a license (Wilson 1977). Most opposition instead involved demands for tougher penalties for people who used or possessed a gun when engaging in criminalized acts, such as a mandatory minimum five-year prison sentence in addition to the penalty for the offense itself, as well as no parole or reduction of sentences allowed. The *Criminal Code* did not stipulate any mandatory sentences for these acts at the time. Many gun owners were outraged over the thought of having to navigate a time-consuming government licensing system. They also criticized

less publicized aspects of the program, such as the possibility of getting a maximum of five years in a penitentiary for the careless storage of a firearm or ammunition (see McNeil 1976b).

One of the most powerful opponents to Bill C-83, for example, was a group called the Association for Firearms and Responsible Ownership (FARO). FARO soon merged with the Canadian Wildlife Federation (CWF) and the Shooting Federation of Canada (SFC) into the short-lived Canadian Association for Sensible Arms Legislation (CASAL) (Jennings 1980). Its main spokesman at the time, Leonard Nicholson, was a former RCMP commissioner. He argued that Bill C-83 was an attempt by the federal government to distract the public from its own failure to handle lawbreaking. Any politician who supported Bill C-83, he warned, would suffer politically. CASAL and other anti-gun control groups circulated petitions, met with ministers, and vocally protested. They were successful in making politicians re-think their stance on Bill C-83, which destroyed the bill, and helped further set the stage for a national memorial to police that painted the problem as lawbreakers and lack of respect for policing and the law (see *Chapter 10*).

Basford also rejected the suggestion from academics and activists that the country was reverting to a more punitive style of justice in the years leading up to the inaugural memorial in 1978.<sup>21</sup> “The program is more effective in keeping in custody those who should be in custody”, Basford noted. This would reduce the heavy caseload of parole officers – more of whom would be hired – so they could play a “useful rehabilitative role”, he claimed (Still and Stockland 1976). Despite these clarifications, no gun control legislation would pass until after the death of OPS Constable Kirkwood on 11 July 1977. In the next section, I describe how this legislation – Bill C-

---

<sup>21</sup> The new “peace and security” program was also criticized by those on the left of the political spectrum for bolstering carceral power and being at odds with the so-called shift towards rehabilitation. Along with introducing a minimum 25-year term for first-degree murder – against the advice of its own Law Reform Commission, which stated that prison sentences should be “an exceptional sanction” and not exceed 20 years – it would have enhanced police search and seizure powers and contained a measure where certain prisoners could face imprisonment for life if deemed to be a “dangerous offender”, which Sellar (1976) describes as “a term that will be exceedingly difficult to define” (1).

51 – nevertheless added to the political concerns and frustration of carceral officers in the lead-up to the creation of the memorial in his name at a time where police associations, leaders, and others were frequently pointing to “rising crime rates” (Ottawa Citizen 1975a), criticizing the perceived leniency shown towards the criminalized in the name of research and rehabilitation, and were thus also questioning the construction of PM Trudeau’s “just society” (e.g. Calgary Herald 1978).

#### **7.4. The Relevance of Gun Control to the Drama of the National Memorial**

The controversial licensing aspect highlighting Bill C-83 often described by critics as draconian was less draconian than what some police, particularly those in senior leadership positions, and others were suggesting. Although not supported by certain police-led organizations like the CPA or CASAL, in 1975, Superintendent Thomas G. Flanagan of the OPS, who would later serve as Chief from 1989 to 1993, recommended that firearms be banned in Canada – or at least held in a secure government facility and rented-out to hunters on a short-term basis. He rejected the idea that citizens have a “right” to own guns. Seizing them, he claimed, would decrease the number of domestic shootings, as well as cut off a supply for “lawbreakers” – many of whom he claimed were acquiring firearms through their theft from homes (Ottawa Citizen 1975g). Thus, they too were not content with the idea of licensing, which allowed citizens to still own firearms.

The role of JM Basford in the drama of “crime control” and more specifically gun control was complex, but like PM Trudeau he was *not* firmly on the side of police associations and leaders. He tailored Bill C-83 around gun licensing more than criminalization and believed that certain responsible citizens beyond mere government authorities did indeed have a right to own and keep guns in the home, as well as to hunt (Nichols 1976). Still, as its critics pointed out, Bill-83 was not guaranteed to reduce the total number of guns in circulation, nor was it guaranteed to promote a dramatic decline in the use of firearms in illegal acts, which Basford knew (Nichols 1976).

The failure of Bill C-83 meant that stronger gun control of any kind was not passed, which frustrated police officers and leaders like OPS Chief Welsh before the memorial (Avery 1977). On 20 April 1977, Basford introduced “An Act to Amend the Criminal Code, the Customs and Tariff, the Parole Act, the Penitentiary Act and the Prison and Reformatories Act” or Bill C-51, to replace Bill C-83. In drafting this revised legislation, he still ignored most of the major criticisms of the previous bill. Although Bill C-51 was supposedly revised, it was essentially a carbon copy of Bill C-83. The legislation, for instance, did not abruptly shift from a concern with federal licensing to enhanced criminalization, nor did it display a concern with reducing punitive elements in line with the rehabilitative ethos. In short, the primary difference was that Bill C-51 would not require licenses for people who already owned firearms unless they wished to purchase more.

Thus, Bill C-51 was often seen as a minor improvement but still unsatisfactory. Bill C-51 managed to pass against these odds, however, shortly after the death of OPS Constable David Kirkwood on 11 July 1977, the killing which is said to have sparked a desire within the OPS to start the memorial at Parliament Hill (Laroche 1994). As reporter Bob Avery (1977) noted after the funeral, his death might have been prevented by gun control. He was shot by a gun anyone could buy for \$125 and killed by a man who possessed many guns, including a 12-gauge shotgun, a .303 calibre rifle, a .30-06 rifle with a scope, a .30-30 rifle and a .22 that was fully loaded with 12 bullets. In this sense, the memorial and the broader theme of “gun control” are linked.

After the death of Constable Kirkwood, OPS Deputy Police Chief Welsh also stated to the media that police were frustrated with the laws surrounding both gun control and the death penalty. “It’s very frustrating knowing there are individuals who can go in anywhere and buy guns” (The Ottawa Citizen 1977). He also said that “he didn’t know what police had to do to show politicians the desperate need for strong gun-control legislation” (Avery 1977). Just over one year later, now

Chief Welsh, would be welcoming many visitors – including numerous politicians – to Parliament Hill for the first annual police and prison guard memorial, while also rejecting the claim that it was a “political ploy by police officers to pressure Parliament” (Larochelle 1994, 235). In the final section of the chapter, I discuss the passing of Bill C-51 and its links to the first national memorial service as a presentational strategy (Manning 1997), helping to further demystify, demythologize, and debunk the birth, as well as the early development, role, and meanings of the CPPOM.

### **7.5. Bill C-51 After Kirkwood: A “Mockery” According to Police**

Larochelle (1994) does not clarify why attendees at the funeral of Constable Kirkwood – most of whom were presumably also in attendance at the first memorial – were said to be “mad ... damned mad!” (Collins 1977) and at whom or what were they mad at. One focus of anger was Bill C-51. The shooting death of Constable Kirkwood a few months after the announcement of Bill C-51 gave Basford an opportunity to convince citizens that it was desirable legislation. To do so, he made a public appearance at the scene moments after Constable Kirkwood died. He was on his way home from Parliament Hill at the time, where Bill C-51 was being debated. Standing across from the house in the company of Deputy Chief Welsh, Basford was described as shaken but still talking politics and specifically gun control. After, Basford then asserted on a radio program that the shootout could have been avoided if the Opposition would have just permitted the passage of Bill C-51. “What I just don’t understand is how many people ... have to be shot down ... before Parliament will react to the situation and pass the legislation”, Basford noted (Braid 1977).

Basford went on to express confusion during the program at how the Opposition could spend all day “debating such things as the rights of people to collect and use machine guns or amendments reducing the sentences for the use of guns” (Braid 1977). Angering the Opposition further, he named five Progressive Conservative MP’s who he claimed were most responsible for

the delay. The political backlash from linking the police killing with Bill C-51 criticisms was significant (Canadian Press 1977; MacLeod 1977; Braid 1977). Stan Schumacher, one of those named, described Basford's comments as "sleazy and underhanded conduct by attempting to blame members on this side of the House ... for the death of a policeman" (Braid 1977). "For the Minister of Justice to leave the impression ... that anyone who opposes this bill or is not prepared to support it is responsible for the acts of the criminals who commit murders, is just not proper", explained MP Leonard Jones, while MP Robert Brisco noted, "The minister's conduct can only be described as ghoulish, callous, and macabre" (Braid 1977). In response to the firestorm of criticism, Basford is said to have sat impassively through it, refusing to apologize (Braid 1977).

The demands ceased when the Speaker ruled that the charges were becoming a debate on remarks made outside the House. Nevertheless, many citizens were enraged about his suggestion that Bill C-51 might have prevented the officers' death. In a letter titled, "The Only, Forgotten Deterrent" to the *Ottawa Journal*, Noonan (1977) describes Basford as blind and indifferent:

Why is Justice Minister Ron Basford so blind and indifferent to the wishes of the people? He's against capital punishment, but is trying to push gun control ... I ask Mr. Basford, how many police and prison guards will have to be shot down before he can be convinced that capital punishment is the deterrent of all murderers? Mr. Basford should think about this and, instead of trying to play God, listen to other people's views (Noonan 1977 p. 6).

At the same time as Basford was making his remarks, hundreds were stopping by the death site where Constable Kirkwood was killed, which became a place of "dark tourism" (Lennon and Foley 2000; Dalton 2015) – that is, tourism to places identified with death and suffering. Kids scoured the area for bullet holes, tramping through backyards and over the earth where the officer was slain. Some glanced through the nearby windows of Parabellum Firearms Militaria, where daggers, swords, war souvenirs, and more was on display (Wylie 1977). Taped to windows were posters urging them to resist gun control. On one was the question, "Do you want to arbitrary and

unnecessary firearms controls pushed through?” One passerby noted to a reporter that although he was a hunter, he would favour some gun control legislation to reduce the chances of a similar incident from happening again. “Capital punishment should be brought back for the killing of policeman”, he also noted. “The public should support the police more”, he stated (Sinclair 1977).

Other people at the scene chimed in in support of the police mythology. According to one woman, instead of civilians owning guns, police should rent out guns to people who want to use them legitimately for sport hunting purposes, with all firearms being returned to the police for safekeeping afterwards. “I can’t understand why people are against gun registration”, noted a puzzled elderly man. Police should only issue firearm permits to those with a “reliable background”, he added (51). The man also expressed doubts about whether the death penalty was a deterrent to criminalized acts. “I remember 32 years ago a city detective was shot and a man hanged. But in a sense, it didn’t mean anything – we got more and more crime” (51). Another suggested that if guns were to be controlled by the police, then perhaps knives should be as well. The data showed that most killings in Ottawa were committed with them. One letter in the *Ottawa Journal* (1977) warned against making the lack of gun control a “scapegoat” to violence.

When it came to the theme of gun control and the broader theme of the establishment of a “just society” (e.g. Calgary Herald 1978) in the lead-up to the establishment of the national memorial, there was significant disagreement specifically between Basford and police officers, associations, and leaders. Both Basford and police officers and leaders (e.g. Chief Welsh) believed that the death of Constable Kirkwood might have been avoided if stricter gun control legislation had been in place. Basford wanted to implement a nation-wide system of gun licensing (Nichols 1976), while most police officers and associations wanted a stricter focus on punishing and criminalizing unlawful gun owners, particularly those who committed serious violence.

Constable Kirkwood's funeral on 14 July 1977 was therefore more than just a standard regimental funeral. Along with sadness, it was reportedly filled with bitterness and frustration towards the federal government and Basford specifically. "Ottawa policemen who attended the funeral are becoming bitter at the endless talk about gun control ... bitter because nothing is being done", noted one reporter at the scene (Avery 1977). Those attending the funeral service included officers from Charlottetown, Winnipeg, London, and more. "It just shows we bloody well do stick together", noted Deputy Chief Welsh, suggesting that officers remained loyal to one another in a time when they believed they were being challenged by both lawbreakers and federal politicians. While the regimental parade and funeral went as planned, with officers rebuffing questions and focusing on the funeral, rumblings of discontent surfaced among the ranks afterwards.

According to Collins (1977), at a memorial wake that evening, cheers filled the air as Meryle Cameron – now President of the Ontario and Ottawa Police Association – called for strict gun control that targeted "the criminal element" and the re-introduction of the death penalty for people convicted of killing on-duty police officers. "Maybe the federal government will realize the type of legislation we need to prevent these things from happening", he declared. "There's just no deterrent to crime when criminals can shoot a policeman, do 20 years, and get out for good behaviour" (Collins, 1977), explained a police officer. Echoing the feelings of "forces across Canada" (Collins 1977), one officer slammed Bill C-51 as a "mockery" that would not "get at the criminals using guns. We all feel the same, right down the line" (Collins 1977), he said.

Earlier in the day at the funeral home, Constable Kirkwood's mother was described as sobbing, while also expressing a desire for better gun control legislation. "I hope something good comes from all this, I hope better gun controls are brought in" (Hunter 1977), she noted to the

media. This further suggests that the CPPOM emerged amidst political concerns and debates surrounding gun control, along with a sadness surrounding the violence of carceral work.

On 18 July 1977 – just four days after the funeral of Constable Kirkwood and about a year before the national memorial erected in his honour – Bill C-51 that his colleagues at his funeral challenged and described as a “mockery” was passed. Like the proposed Bill C-83, it forced gun buyers to apply for a certificate, ensuring there was a “cooling off” period. The certificate could be refused if it was determined by the government not to be in the interest or the safety of the applicant or others to provide one. It could also be refused if the applicant had a history of violent behaviour or had been treated for a mental disorder. Additionally, Bill C-51 eliminated the protection of property as a legitimate reason to obtain a restricted weapon, among other changes (Jennings 1980). Approval of Bill C-51 came after Basford made a last-minute concession to the opponents of the legislation, promising to “delay proclamation of regulations on the purchase of guns until mid-1978” (Binkley 1977, 8). The bill eventually passed 95 to 40, with 30 Progressive Conservatives, 8 New Democrats, and 2 Social Credit politicians opposing (Binkley 1977).

Many police officers, especially in Ottawa, were furious with Bill C-51, as in the wake of Constable Kirkwood’s death it did not revolve around the themes of criminalization and enhanced police power which they desired. Basford, for instance, compared Bill C-51 to the system of licensing drivers, which did not ensure people followed the law (Nichols 1976). Adding to this context was Basford explicitly using the shooting death of Constable Kirkwood to help pass the bill. This set the stage for the OPS to re-claim and express the organizational memory (Mulcahy 2000) of his death the following year at the Hill, using it to, in part, promote their “political perspectives on the need for a much more intensively disciplined and generally widely policed society” (Taylor 1986, 61) through a national memorial service to police and prison guards.

## 7.6. Conclusion

While the dominant narrative presents the memorial service as emerging simply after the death of Constable Kirkwood (Laroche 1994), my findings reveal how it also emerged after the passing of Bill C-51. As argued in this thesis, the memorial sought not just to remember his death and those of other officers, but also to further entrench policing and punishment as a part of the Canadian national identity, and as a means of responding to criminalized acts and other perceived threats. In 1988, for example, on the tenth anniversary of the CPPOM, OPA President John Peterson urged the federal government to impose stiffer penalties for possession of restricted weapons. On the Friday of that weekend, there had been a shoot-out at the Rideau-view public housing project, with Detective Donald Lacasse, 31, suffering a shoulder wound and Constable Michael Kerwin, 24, having been shot in the abdomen and arm. They had each been shot by a .357 magnum, a more powerful weapon than the .38 calibre handgun police carried. What police desired was not equal firepower, he stressed, but a more severe punishment for possession of a restricted weapon, which at the time carried a maximum penalty of five years in prison. “We are here to say to the citizens and the government of this country that we must find a better way of allowing justice to walk the streets”, RCMP Chaplain Reverend Allen Churchill emphasized (Latta 1988).

In the next chapter, I continue to address the empirical and conceptual research questions, as well as the aim of demystifying, demythologizing, and debunking the birth, development, meanings, and role of the CPPOM by examining the early years of the national memorial service. I observe, in part, how the memorial event resembled previous acts of police and prison guard commemoration that had occurred in the 1970s. In contrast, these acts were explicitly described by penal system officers as political demonstrations motivated by death sentences for people convicted of killing on-duty police and prison guards being commuted to life in prison.

## **8. DEMONSTRATION AND COMMEMORATION: CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AND THE EARLY YEARS OF THE MEMORIAL**

To all of us who have criticized the police. May I suggest that there are very few of us who could stand the stress and the strain of driving a cruiser all day, much less the danger and death that lurk outside.

— Rev. Norman Johnson, speaking to a crowd of 2,000 at the inaugural memorial service (MacLeod 1978).

We must have a deterrent that will stand behind them.

— Linda Shwaykowski, police widow, speaking to the news media after the 1984 memorial service (May 1984)

### **8.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, I continue to predominantly rely on a thematic analysis of newspaper articles to reconstruct the birth of the CPPOM and address the research questions. Like gun control, I describe the overarching theme of the death penalty – which was officially abolished on 26 July 1976, including for individuals convicted of killing “on-duty” police and prison officers – as key to understanding the emergence and success of the first national memorial service for these populations in 1978. I discuss two similar commemorative acts held for police officers and prison guards killed on the job in the years before the national memorial – both of which were explicit political demonstrations characterized by themes of dissatisfaction and outrage surrounding abolition and the course of law reform generally. In doing so, I show how key actors in the memorial, including police spouses, were actively seeking the re-instatement of the death penalty and how the theme was emphasized in some newspaper depictions of the memorial service.

Along with focusing on its content, I suggest the form of a national memorial service was relevant to further entrenching this work as key to the Canadian national identity, as well as to addressing perceived harms and threats to social order. The memorial – though distanced from politics by organizers who continue to maintain it is just a memorial and nothing more – adopted

many of the same dramatic elements as traditional executions (Foucault 1977). While it lacked “the carnival that once surrounded public executions” (Ottawa Journal 1977), the memorial service nevertheless took place in a highly visible public area. It attracted politicians and many members of the public. There were prayers and religious elements. It communicated themes of pain and death to onlookers. It demanded the highest respect for law and order. In short, while the death penalty had been officially abolished in 1976, I describe how the national memorial established by police in 1978 at the Hill symbolically stood in for its absence, carrying with it not only the desire held by many of its participants for re-instatement, but also themes which gave the death penalty renewed life as a spectacle of punishment. I describe how the memorial service fostered solidarity with carceral officers and social distance with the criminalized and the pains of punishment.

## **8.2. Wives and Widows: Pushing for a Referendum on the Death Penalty**

Although policing is political because it upholds status quo power relations (Reiner 1995), the police myth rests on an image of the police organization and officers as working predominantly in the interests of communities, not powerful people or groups, and as impartial and independent from politics (Manning 1997). In the lead-up to the creation of the national memorial and the police concern with the “peace and security” program, this is perhaps one reason why spouses of police officers became a key political actor in the drama of penal system work when it came to contesting these political changes in favour of criminalization and the carceral state. Undeniably, spouses felt and shared the pain and grief when a penal system officer died on the job. In the 1970s, some police officers were not allowed to sign a petition of any subject related to the government. The *Ontario Police Act*, referring to the OPP, for example, explicitly stated that no member of the OPP was allowed to “take any part in politics” (R.R.O. 1970, Reg. 68). The member was only allowed to vote and hold “private” political views. There was no mention about spouses, however.

At the memorial and leading up to the inaugural service on 24 September 1978, spouses and widows took an active role to support the national intensification of policing and punishment. In October 1977, for example, shortly after the passing of Bill C-51, three wives of police officers in Collingwood, Ontario, located on the shores of Georgian Bay, began a campaign to reinstate capital punishment nation-wide, toughen the gun control laws, and abolish temporary and weekend passes for prisoners (Cleland 1977). The effort began after the death of Collingwood Police Sergeant Ronald McKean on 12 October 1977. Sergeant McKean was a native of Collingwood. According to the CMPS, Sergeant McKean and his partner were walking towards the front of a hotel, guns still holstered, searching for an escaped federal prisoner. Not long after, Sergeant McKean was shot in the chest while struggling with an individual. Constable Lipsett was uninjured and fired a shot that missed at one of two individuals seen running away from the hotel.

The regimental funeral on 15 October 1977 at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church was overflowing with grief-stricken family members, community members, and around 500 police officers. Frank McDonald, then President of the Canadian Police Association, said the strong turnout of police was a show of strength for the reinstatement of the death penalty nation-wide (The Ottawa Citizen 1977b). In Canada, he noted, a police officer was being killed on the job once every four months. As will be seen though, the suggestion was misleading, as it was no different than when the death penalty had been in place. "Violent people do not value life", President McDonald noted at the funeral of Sergeant McKean and ironically in support of the death penalty.

The death penalty was widely seen by those within and outside the police community as appropriate based on the philosophy that in some cases, a person owes their life for having taken the life of another (Fattah 1983). While not all police officers were in favour of the death penalty, those who were not infrequently shared this. In 1975, for example, 465 questionnaires were

distributed to OPS officers. Of the 65 that were returned, 62 favoured keeping the death penalty and 3 were opposed (Detre 1975). This was especially the case when it came to taking the life of a police officer. As one police wife from Collingwood noted, “most people associated with police officers still feel capital punishment is a deterrent” (Laver 1977). The death penalty was believed to provide protection for officers against “professional criminals” (see Detre 1975). This included people who killed for money, as well as those who used weapons to rob banks and other establishments, namely those which involved serious planning. They were described as rational, calculative, and having a strong dislike towards “law enforcement” (Detre 1975). The assumption was that they might not care about spending a few more years in prison for killing a police officer if they were facing a long sentence, nor would they perhaps care about killing a guard.

At the time, however, these claims were mythical, as practically no evidence existed to support this interpretation (see Fattah 1983) beyond the narrow sense of preventing the deceased from breaking the law again. As Hann (1976) wrote, “one independent study after another failed to find any evidence that abolition of the death penalty resulted in any increase in the number of murders committed” (2). In 1962, when 11 police officers were shot and killed on-duty, the death penalty was still lawful and in use. It was not until after the federal election of 1963 that death sentences began to be commuted. The research consensus failed to convince many police officers and leaders, who suggested that researchers lacked the frontline experience needed to appreciate its deterrent effect on “professional criminals” (Detre 1975) who did not wish to be hanged.

After the funeral of Sergeant McKean, the wives collected the signatures of over 15,000 people. 11,500 were gathered from Collingwood and 4,000 more in Ottawa by the police association. Some residents from other communities reached out to them, asking how they could sign or circulate the petition to among other things, reinstate the death penalty. Meryle Cameron –

who as President of the Ontario and Ottawa Police Association was still a key actor in the drama of policing and “crime control” – stated that the associations would be giving “100% support” to the women. They hoped to collect an additional 60,000 names in Ottawa (Laver 1977). Ann McKean, who was struggling to learn how to manage the family’s finances after her husband’s unexpected death, also voiced her support. “There has to be a reason for Ron to die and with this petition, hopefully some good will come out of it, even if it only ignites a small spark” (Cleland 1977). Also signing the petition and meeting the wives was Dawna Kirkwood, a supporter of the death penalty even before her husband, Constable Kirkwood, was killed (see French 1977).

Like at the funeral of Constable Kirkwood a few months earlier, many police officers and residents of Collingwood – some who likely attended the inaugural memorial – were not just sad or disappointed. They were furious with the federal government. Two prisoners had managed to escape federal penal institutions and acquire a gun, which was used to kill a beloved municipal officer. Due to decisions made by this same government, they were also no longer eligible to be executed. As seen in the Collingwood petition, it was interpreted as unjust. Maksymchuck (2011), a former OPP officer who was involved in apprehending the individual, describes how after many years of trying to be released, which he claims caused significant frustration and pain to the family of the late Sergeant McKean, the individual who shot him received full parole in 2002.

Moreover, the shooting of Sergeant McKean occurred just months after the shooting of Constable Kirkwood and the controversial passing of Bill C-51. After the death, Justice Minister Ron Basford had indicated that Bill C-51 would have prevented the police killing had it received speedier approval. Speaking to the media, one police wife from Collingwood dismissed the idea that the 1976 vote to officially abolish the death penalty that ended in favour of abolition reflected the feelings of Canadians. Surveys at the time showed between 70 to 88% of the Canadian

population supported the death penalty for certain acts – though abolitionists questioned their validity (Fattah 1983). “Many MPs voted according to their consciences”. she noted, “That’s not what they were sent there for” (French 1977). With the assistance of Cameron, a powerful actor whose associations spoke on behalf of around 15,000 rank-and-file members of municipal and provincial police forces in Ontario, the petition acquired over 60,000 signatures. It was sent to PM Pierre Trudeau, other party leaders, cabinet ministers, and other members of provincial and federal legislatures. A letter accompanied it and was given to Ron Basford. In part, the letter read:

[The loss of Sergeant McKean] can only be considered as another loss due to the lack of concern by the Canadian government for the lives and families of law enforcement officers, specifically, and all Canadians generally. His life, and the lives of his counterparts across this great country of Canada, is too valuable to be thrown away in favour of those who do not, will not, and cannot, make a contribution of comparable worthiness. [This petition] is the result of an unsatisfactory condition that is festering in the minds of Canadians from coast to coast. There is today a changed attitude towards capital punishment and voluntary violation of the Criminal Code of Canada (Chevers et al., quoted in French 1977).

In 1976, Basford was receiving over 2,800 letters a week (French 1976). The letters were mostly criticisms of the Liberal “peace and security” program originating from the Western provinces. In one week, he received 1,200 anti-gun control letters, and just two in favour (French 1976). A large portion of his mail was pro-death penalty coupons sponsored by organizations like the BC Federation of Peace Officers, which noted how in 1968, Canada banned the death penalty except for people convicted of killing on-duty police and prison guards. This bill was renewed in 1976 and was set to expire in 1977. “This is the tragedy”, read one from BC, “Since 1967 – 34 policemen and 2 prison guards have been slain but **not once** has our standing capital punishment law been enacted ... is it any wonder that the incidence of crime – violent crime – is growing?” (Vancouver Sun, 1976, bold in original). It concluded with “So take a stand. Tell your Member of Parliament that you want him to **vote against abolition**” (Vancouver Sun 1976, bold in original).

The Collingwood police wives along with Dawna Kirkwood were not content with coupons. They wanted to meet with Basford to attempt to convince him of the need to re-instate the death penalty, as well as bolster the national powers and image of policing and punishment. The owner of an airline offered to fly them to Ottawa (Cleland 1977). In Ottawa, they would hand Basford the letter and petition, as well as similar petitions from groups across the country, and advocate for a referendum. Basford agreed to meet. In late-November 1977 – less than one year before the creation of the national memorial service to recognize police and prison guards – the Collingwood police wives journeyed to the capital for criminalization, not commemoration.

In Canada, a referendum is a vote by the electorate on a single question, whose result is not binding on the government that referred it. Before and after the death penalty was officially abolished in 1976, a referendum was seen by death penalty proponents (i.e. pro-retentionists) inside and outside of policing as an appropriate method of “proving” the huge base of support for retention (see Fattah 1983). It was a strategy with two key issues attached. First, a central principle of the “just society” as supported – at least in theory – by the Liberal Party was the protection of the rights of vulnerable populations. PM Trudeau, Justice Minister Basford, Solicitor-General Allmand, and others in Ottawa, firmly believed it unjust for a society to execute those which the majority despise. The lack of credible, scientific evidence to support executions as a method of general deterrence made them appear even more unjust instead of just. Second, as Allmand put it, “it is not part of our constitutional system to regulate by referendum” (French 1975). In Canada, MP’s are elected to study, consult, and decide on issues. In some cases, they take unpopular positions. They are not elected to make decisions based on opinion polls (French 1975).

Nevertheless, not unlike the failed Bill C-83, there seemed to be a belief among pro-retentionists that a referendum would encourage federal government politicians into re-thinking

their position. To them, it was clear that most people across the country preferred to see the death penalty for certain acts. Due to the consistent police claim “that the incidence of crime – violent crime – is growing” (Vancouver Sun 1976), support for the police was also said to be stronger than in the 1960s. While pro-retentionists were confident they would win, according to Cameron, “as policemen, we would accept the vote of the majority no matter how it turned out” (Detre 1975). Calls for reinstatement were therefore accompanied by the rhetoric of professionalism. The truth was, however, that when it came to a referendum, it did not matter if police officers “accepted” the vote of the majority, as Cameron described it. As non-binding, it only mattered if the government which issued the referendum accepted them. The government had the power to call a referendum to assess popular support. It also had the power to accept or ignore the results.

The wives and Dawna Kirkwood had no success, as Basford rejected the idea of a referendum and other changes proposed. As depicted by Wills (1987) he pointed out that the law abolishing capital punishment was only a year old. Time was needed to show that it was a good law. “He was courteous and listened to us ... but he changed the subject a lot”, said one of the wives afterwards, who stated that she and others who supported the cause would continue to fight, offering political support to candidates favouring the death penalty for first-degree murder.

Like others, Dawna found that Basford had changed the subject (see Wills 1987). During the meeting, for example, Basford apparently raised the controversial issue of abortion. He looked over at a pregnant Dawna and asked: “If a woman who is pregnant has an abortion is that murder?” (Wills 1987, A4). She did not know how to respond, but thought, “What has that got to do with it? And I looked at the photo of his family on the desk and I thought: ‘He’ll never know how I feel’” (A4). This experience she said cut to the heart of her advocacy for the death penalty. That is, those in power do not know how victims who have suffered at the hands of “lawbreakers” feel.

Less than one year later, approximately 2,000 officers, as well as their wives, children, widows, and others, would travel to Ottawa for the inaugural memorial (MacLeod 1978). To many of those present – including Dawna, who attended it annually with her daughter until her death in 2019 – honouring and commemorating police officers was about more than just remembering her husband and others. The justice system, she explained in the 1987 article, is more concerned with “rehabilitating the murderer, about not making him or his family suffer more, about not executing the wrong man, than it is concerned with the life of a policeman doing his duty, or his widow and children after he is slain” (Wills 1987). A similar view was uncovered during interviews of police widows for this project (see *Chapter 11*). In the next section, I discuss further how the memorial emerged to further entrench and associate criminalization and the carceral state with nation-building and identity, as well as to addressing perceived harms and threats to social order.

### **8.3. The Memorial as an Extension of Earlier “Law Enforcement” Demonstrations**

The national memorial service in Ottawa was not the first act of national commemoration for deceased police and prison guards. The attempt in late-1977 by the Collingwood police wives and Dawna Kirkwood to reinstate capital punishment, toughen gun control, and abolish temporary and weekend passes for prisoners was just one aspect of a larger movement tying commemoration to the theme of demonstration and protest. For example, on 26 October 1975, about 200 police and prison guards gathered at the Memorial Park in Calgary, Alberta, to commemorate deceased officers and “protest against the course of law reform in Canada” (Calgary Herald 1975a).

The protest came almost immediately after René Vaillancourt, along with two other people convicted of killing police officers, were granted stays of executions on 23 October 1975 by the federal cabinet until 15 July 1976. Vaillancourt had been scheduled to be executed in the spring for killing Constable Leslie Maitland of the Metropolitan Toronto Police. The execution was to

take place despite the pleas of the officer's wife, who along with Constable Maitland, did not support the death penalty (Vancouver Sun 1976). For 692 days, Vaillancourt sat behind bars with a guard posted outside his cell. According to reporters covering the events, Vaillancourt passed the time playing scrabble, checkers, and chess with the guards who watched him. However, no one had been executed in Canada since Ronald Turpin, convicted for the killing of Toronto Constable Frederick Nash, and Arthur Lucas, convicted for killing a US police informant and his wife, were hung together at the Don Jail in Toronto on 11 December 1962 (Vancouver Sun 1976).

News of the stays reached police ears just minutes before Solicitor General Warren Allmand – who had pushed for the commutation of Vaillancourt – was introduced to speak in front of a hundred or so Police Association of Ontario (PAO) delegates in Toronto. His death penalty abolition stance was well-known. Not long before, Allmand, in a speech to the American Bar Association, called the death penalty “an act of extreme cruelty, part of a sordid and dismal ceremony at dawn ... an act beneath the dignity of any one individual, much less the State” (The Albertan 1975). This position aligned with PM Trudeau, who elaborated his abolitionist position in a speech a few weeks earlier. Upon hearing this news that Vaillancourt had received a fifth stay of execution, around 15 police delegates stormed out of the room (Foster 1975). Several more were reported to have stormed out later when Allmand began fielding questions about justice.

The police had little interest in talking at this point. “I told Allmand that we (Metro policemen) didn't intend to get into a meaningless dialogue with him because of his activities, his philosophy, and his comments about capital punishment”, noted Syd Brown, then President of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Association (Vancouver Sun 1975). At the meeting, police association delegates making pro-retentionist statements were cheered as officers voiced their displeasure with his anti-retentionist position. Allmand, in response, encouraged the officers to be

politically active and to “look for (political) candidates who respect your point of view” (Foster 1975b). He further told them that the stays were granted because the federal government was in the process of working on new legislation concerning capital punishment (Forster 1975b).

Like the refusal to hold a referendum, the move was slammed by police officers as undemocratic and unjust. “The whole thing is a travesty ... a disgusting exhibition”, noted a detective from BC. Then Police Chief Jack Gregory, of the Victoria Police Service, called the move “soft” and a “mockery of democracy” (Times Colonist 1975), while the BC Federation of Police Officers described it as a “hypocritical attempt at justice” (Times Colonist 1975). To them, federal politicians like Allmand needed to respect the existing laws surrounding capital punishment. While it had been effectively abolished in 1962, it had not been completely abolished on paper due to the efforts of these populations, who drew upon rhetoric and myth which set police and prison guards apart as heroes in the performance of social control (Manning 1977).

The stays did not catch all police by surprise. Meryle Cameron noted that police had expected and planned for them, and would take to Parliament Hill in response. In August 1975, during its annual week-long convention, the Police Association of Ontario approved a resolution calling for Allmand to resign. They also voted that if the federal government commuted Vaillancourt’s sentence again, police would march onto Parliament Hill in protest (McNulty 1975), holding a demonstration in support of the death penalty (Forster 1975b; McNulty, 1975). This foreshadowed officer’s marching onto the Hill for the inaugural memorial service in 1978.

The 1975 protest would occur on the same day as the association’s quarterly meeting in Ottawa, so representatives from at least 131 police services who planned to attend the meeting could participate. However, the demonstration was cancelled the following month after a CPA meeting in Montreal because of what the media described as “disagreement at the national and

local levels” (Forster 1975b). The CPA voted to recommend to all police that they participate in a four-hour “mourning session” for officers if any death sentences were commuted or if a bill to abolish this punishment was officially introduced (Windsor Star 1975; The Times 1975).

The “mourning session” resembled a gesture made by federal prison guards several months prior, when about 7,000 of them and other prison employees walked off the job nation-wide after four prison officers died on the job (The Province 1975). Disenchanted with these deaths – when as noted, the deaths of federal guards on the job were rare – and the official move towards rehabilitation at the perceived expense of officer safety, the action was part of a 24-hour commemorative day of mourning. The RCMP and armed forces personnel took over the prison operations. The prison guards and others participating also demanded a pledge from Allmand that people convicted of killing police or prison officers would be hung unless a jury recommended clemency (The Province 1975). Allmand rejected the pledge, essentially stating that deciding policy based on protests and referendums was a poor way to govern. He also urged the police not to follow through with the proposed four-hour, commemorative work stoppage if the cabinet commuted Vaillancourt’s death sentence. He requested police officers to express their views on the death penalty democratically. He also reminded the police that they were duty-bound to enforce the law as made by Parliament and “the duly-elected government” (MacPherson 1975).

After the death penalty had been officially abolished on 14 July 1976 by a majority of six votes because it was viewed as barbaric and ineffective, calls for re-instatement among officers dramatically increased in 1978 following the deaths of four CSC employees. For example, in late-February 1978 – about seven months before the first national memorial service for police and prison guards – PM Trudeau rejected a plea by Leonel Beaudoin (Social Credit Party-Richmond) to reinstate the death penalty “in order to protect innocent people ... prison guards and police

officers and re-establish the faith and trust that Canadians have in the penal institutions and legal institutions” (Vancouver Sun 1978). In other words, based on the mythology that it protected lives and to re-establish faith in a system that carceral officers themselves challenged and undermined.

These realities – in plural – in which certain police officers and federal prison guards were protesting, along with police spouses and widows, following the death of Sergeant McKean, Constable Kirkwood and others, set the stage for the inaugural police and prison guard memorial on Parliament Hill in 1978 in keeping with other attempts to preserve, perpetuate, and further entrench a nationalizing and carceral state. In contrast to the “mourning sessions”, I describe how organizers and participants at the national memorial adopted a different strategy. They were now silent about politics, or not willing to publicly associate the new memorial with a desire to promote punitiveness, even as they marched onto the national political stage (Tammemagi 2002).

#### **8.4. A Silent Fury of Remembrance: The Early Years of the Memorial**

On 17 August 1978, just over a month after the one-year anniversary of the death of OPS Constable Kirkwood – but also in the middle of the tumultuous political context that has been described – the following news article appeared in the *Ottawa Journal* and the *Ottawa Citizen*:

##### **POLICE MEMORIAL DAY WANTED**

Details of a memorial day for police officers and prison guards killed in the line of duty were unveiled Thursday by Ottawa Police Chief Tom Welsh. Welsh said a memorial service will be held Sept. 24. He said he envisions the memorial day becoming an annual event that will be held on the last Sunday in September. According to plans a memorial service will be held outdoors. Lansdowne Park has been mentioned as a possible location. Welsh said the idea for a memorial day stemmed from the death of Ottawa police constable David Kirkwood. Kirkwood was killed in July of last year (Ottawa Citizen 1978a).

There was no mention in the news at this time of police commemoration stemming from displeasure over the course of law reform, such as the police “mourning session” for deceased officers that occurred in 1975. The 24-hour commemorative walkout by prison guards and the

petition organized by the Collingwood police wives and endorsed by the Ottawa Police Association, as well as Dawna Kirkwood, were also not mentioned. The memorial day was portrayed as purely about remembrance (Ottawa Journal 1978; The Ottawa Citizen 1978a).

Lansdowne Park – the location suggested in the paper before Parliament Hill – was a 40-acre sports, exhibition, and entertainment venue owned by the City of Ottawa. Though not widely known across the country, with origins dating back to 1868, it is notably home to Aberdeen Pavilion, a grand exhibition building erected in 1898. Along with being historically important in the local area, there was also plenty of space at Lansdowne Park. A new \$100,000 (around \$430,000 in 2023) field had been installed that year beside the existing field for football, as well as other community activities. The city had received \$65,000 (around \$280,000 in 2023) in provincial grants on the condition that the new field would be multi-purpose (Casey 1977). For these reasons and perhaps others, Lansdowne Park was mentioned. Although details had yet to be determined, Chief Welsh stated that he would ask the CACP to approve this day framed as one of remembrance at its annual meeting at the close of the month (Ottawa Citizen 1978a).

About two weeks later – on 31 August 1978 – OPS Chief Welsh and some 200 high-ranking officers gathered in Ottawa for the 73rd annual convention of the CACP. Police chiefs at the meeting voted overwhelmingly in support for the return of the death penalty for people convicted of first-degree murder (McKinsey 1978). Confident in its role as a presentational strategy, the CACP urged the federal government to hold a referendum. Despite the country facing problems such as unemployment, separatism, inflation, and trade deficits – as well as two surveys by Statistics Canada showing that the incidence of homicide had *not* increased since July 1976 when the death penalty was totally banned (The Ottawa Citizen 1978c) – the death penalty remained a hot political issue largely due to efforts of police officers and associations. As one reporter put it,

“the cry for the return of the death penalty has increased to an almost deafening roar” (The Ottawa Citizen 1978c). Earlier, the CPA had pledged to spend about \$250,000 on a national advertising blitz – the equivalent of \$1,000,000 in 2021 – calling for the revival of the death penalty.

At some point between the announcement of a memorial day for police and prison guards on 17 August 1978 and the inaugural memorial on 24 September 1978, the Lansdowne Park suggestion never came to pass. On 23 September, the following article was released.

### **POLICE TO HONOUR SLAIN COMRADES**

More than a thousand policemen, prison guards, military personnel and their wives are expected to attend the first annual memorial service on Parliament Hill Sunday honoring 14 policemen and prison guards who have been killed on duty since 1977.

In addition to the groups of police and guards, the prime minister and all the members of Parliament have been invited to the open air service which was initiated by the Ottawa Police Force in the memory of Constable David Kirkwood who was gunned down on July 11, 1977.

Members of the forming committee stress that this is strictly a “memorial service and not a lobby for capital punishment”.

In the event of rain the service will be held at the Museum of Man at Metcalfe and McLeod Streets at 11 am.

The parade will form at the Supreme Court Building at 10:45 AM and the group will move off to Parliament Hill led by the Ottawa Police Pipe Band and 30 members of the Ottawa Police Force Male Chorus.

Policemen from all over the golden triangle, Toronto, and Montreal, as well as OPP and the RCMP, the Canadian Forces, and prison guards will be in attendance. Police will be remembering the deaths of...(McKay 1978).

The article went on to name the deceased officers who were the focus of the service, as well as note that Dawna Kirkwood would be in attendance. Below, an article titled “The Memories are Painful” recounted her experience after losing her husband. “Because of the publicity that surrounded her husband’s death, and the general push from police forces across the country for a return of capital punishment”, it noted, “Dawna gets a lot of attention from the news media. And she’s getting tired of it” (Whiteley 1978b). According to the reporter, Dawna “doesn’t want to be constantly reminded” about it, but puts up with it in “hopes it will do some good, that it will remind

people from time to time that policemen get killed during their jobs, and something needs to be done about it” (Whiteley 1978b). Dawna also did not care for the criticisms police departments had been getting recently, including the OPS after her husband’s death (see *Chapter 9*).

With police leaders and associations calling for a return of the death penalty based on “criminal justice” mythology – as well as Dawna Kirkwood and other police wives in attendance (French 1977) – the theme of the death penalty was present at the memorial service. Along with the CPA and CACP, it was well-known that that many in the OPS wanted the death penalty revived. In 1977, then Staff Inspector Lester Thompson had expressed to the media his belief that the death penalty might have prevented the killing of Constable Kirkwood (see *Chapter 9*). Additionally, that same year, when asked about a “rising homicide rate” in Ottawa, then OPS Police Commissioner Dan Chilcott remarked that the death penalty was the likely answer, not gun control. “You could always do it with a hatchet”, he noted. “Crooks will always get guns, although gun control might stop crimes of passion. It’s only my opinion, but this is happening because of the lack of capital punishment”, noted another OPS officer (Osmachenko and McLeod 1977).

As seen in the abovementioned article, though, Chief Welsh and other memorial service organizers denied any connection between the memorial service and the death penalty, as well as politics generally (Larochelle 1994). Although it was being held on Parliament Hill, the memorial was later described by Chief Welsh as being “in no way a political event” (see Prentice 1979). He elaborated after the inaugural service, noting: “We just wanted to participate in a memorial service for those who died on duty. It was just that and nothing more” (Doyon 1978). According to these remarks, the memorial had nothing to do with displeasure over the new “peace and security” program, despite his reported claim after the death of Constable Kirkwood about not knowing “what the police had to do to show politicians the desperate need for strong gun control legislation”

(Avery 1977). Though billed as apolitical, the mythology behind this claim could further be seen in the invitations. Invitations to attend the 40-minute inaugural memorial service were mailed to the Prime Minister, his cabinet, MPs, the Senate, and the judiciary, along with every police force in Ottawa-Hull region, the military, and the penitentiary service (Cote 1979). With the referendum for the death penalty not appearing, the memorial seemingly became a new police presentational strategy that happened to draw on the dramatic elements of this longstanding punishment.

A crowd of around 2,000 attended the first service, including “500 dignitaries” and “800 uniformed officers” (MacLeod 1978). Although it was presented as only about remembrance, the need for enhanced public support of police was also a perceptible theme. “To all of us who have criticized the police”, Reverend Norman Johnson reportedly said to the crowd, “may I suggest that there are very few of us who could stand the stress and the strain of driving a cruiser all day, much less the danger and death that lurk outside” (McLeod 1978). He went on to suggest that much of the public misunderstood the police. “You can do all you want to support a police force”, then Ottawa mayor Lorry Greenberg observed after the service, echoing Johnson. “You can buy adequate equipment and have the right personnel, but it all depends on how supportive the public is”, he added (McLeod 1978). A lack of police support was presented as a huge crisis:

Johnson emphasized [to onlookers during the memorial] that the public must increase its support for police rather than criticize their actions. He said that a police officer is often commended for stopping a breakin [sic], but when it comes to handing out a ticket for a speeding offence, he suddenly becomes a villain,

“The tragedy of our society is that our thinking works in this fashion”, he said. “Police should be thought of as instruments of peace, not hatred”.

“The possibility of being killed as a policeman far surpasses the possibility of a policeman killing somebody else” (MacLeod 1978)

As seen by the above comments, themes of police officers as heroes, misunderstood villains, and victims were present in the memorial service rhetoric that appeared to belie empirical evidence. Over a one-year period from August 1978 to August 1979, for example, it was reported elsewhere

that Toronto police officers had shot and killed 8 people (Windsor Star 1979). Meanwhile, only one police officer was killed – Constable Harry Snedden – who was shot with his own revolver during a domestic dispute on 15 September 1978. Indeed, no evidence seemed to exist to back up the reverend’s claim about the possibility of police officers dying on the job surpassing that of a police officer killing somebody else. Rather, it was supported by the police myth, which presents the possibility of police officers being killed by a violent lawbreaker as very high, if not ever-present, and police themselves as peaceful, as unwilling to use violence against citizens unless in the rarest and most extreme situations (Manning 1997, Marxoux and Nicholson 2017).

The memorial was mythological in the sense that it resisted and ignored empirical research, but also legitimized itself through it. According to Cote (1978) in the *Ottawa Citizen*, a study published in the *RCMP Gazette* at the time found that “there are six times as many killings in the police population as in the general population” (81). It also found that the most common month of death was September. The study also uncovered that the chance of a police officer dying on the job was about 1 in 9,000. If this were to occur, it would most likely be in Ontario or Quebec between 1:00 am and 5:00am. The culprit would most likely be a white, male tradesperson or labourer between the ages of 20 to 30 and will have a record of lawbreaking (Cote 1978).

After the findings of this study were published in the *Ottawa Citizen* in part to legitimize the memorial service and its underlying pro-police aims, Réal Jubenville – the Executive Director the Canadian Association for the Prevention of Crime – wrote to the paper, claiming the article “does not provide a complete picture of the facts” (Jubenville 1978). According to him, the *RCMP Gazette* report also showed that police work is only slightly riskier than working on a farm. Other occupations, he elaborated, are “much more ‘at risk’ than policemen, such as construction workers (at least three times as dangerous as police work), mining (13 times), and transportation (almost

four times) (Jubenville 1978). He claimed that police “in fact have a ‘good thing’ going for themselves”, and criticized the memorial and police themselves for presenting police work as excessively dangerous, suggesting it might dissuade young people from entering this work.

Nevertheless, the overall response to the inaugural memorial service, according to Chief Welsh, was tremendous. He expressed his desire to see similar memorials across the country. “Let the people realize police put their lives on the line all the time”, Welsh is reported as saying (Cote 1978). From this comment, it was apparent that the memorial day was not just about – also in his words – “remembrance and nothing more” (see Doyon 1978). Like the public execution, the day was also a dramatic performance for “the people” in the public square (Foucault 1977) aimed at enhancing respect for “criminal justice” institutions and the state. There was even a loud canon blast near the end (Larochelle 1994), which from my participant observation in 2019 I observed causes some spectators who are unused to such occasions to flinch, and some infants to cry.

After the second service, Government House Leader Walter Baker – who favoured the death penalty for certain acts – noted that one or more bills by Progressive Conservative MPs would be introduced when it opened the following week. In contrast, Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan, the first solicitor-general to attend, said the service in 1980 gave him no second thoughts. “I accept the decision made by Parliament four years ago and hope it doesn’t come back to be debated”. He then noted two predictions raised by pro-retentionists that never came true (see Ezzat 1983). First, that more police and prison guards would die on the job, and second, that some might take justice into their own hands. Ottawa Mayor Marion Dewar expressed her delight at how the memorial had grown. She also agreed with Kaplan about the need to bury the issue, noting her support for “having convicts make retribution to society, such as through a work program”. Chief Welsh claimed that the memorial was “no place for pondering the issue” (Butler 1980).

In 1984, an unusual five penal system officers were either stabbed or shot to death on the job in the three months leading up to the memorial (see *Appendix A*). This brought renewed calls for the death penalty and what appeared to be a record at the time of 2,500 people to the memorial service. Despite the calls, data suggested the deaths had nothing to do with abolition (Fattah 1983). In 1983, for example, there had only been two officers stabbed or shot to death. In the five years before abolition in 1976, the average number of police and prison guards stabbed or shot to death on the job was 4.8. In the five years after, the average was also 4.8 (see *Appendix A*).

In 1984 in total, however, an unusually high 9 penal system officers were stabbed or shot on the job. Shortly after the memorial service, on 8 October, Constable William Grant of the York Regional Police was also killed by a suicidal driver. Reverend Gerald Donegan opened the memorial with a prayer: “Guide our politicians and our elected officials in their decision that will enable police officers to carry out their inevitable duties” (May 1984). “The hymns, prayers and speeches”, one reporter at the memorial noted, “were laced with pleas for ways of bringing peace back to a violent society” (May 1984). “I’ve never seen so many members of the public here”, the wife of an OPS officer noted. “They’re finally realizing the problem and now that we have a new government, maybe people will have a chance to speak up” (May 1984). Indeed, by 1984, there had been changes in the federal government since the first memorial service in 1978.

In 1979, the Liberal government under the leadership of PM Trudeau was defeated by a PC party led by Joe Clark, who earned the right to form a minority government. However, this government lasted only about nine months. PM Clark was defeated by Trudeau in 1980, who formed another majority government until his eventual retirement in 1984. The next government was a PC party led by Brian Mulroney, who defeated a Liberal party led by John Turner, who briefly served as PM following Trudeau’s retirement, in a landslide (Taylor 1989). PM Mulroney

officially took power 17 September 1984 – about one week before the 1984 memorial service, leaving some attendees hopeful about the possibility of reversing the course of law reform, an aim that the memorial emerged in part to support and promote under the guise of remembrance.

Themes of dehumanization of the criminalized were also present, as they had been during earlier debates. Linda Shwaykowski – whose husband, Constable Dennis Shwaykowski, a member of Red Deer’s RCMP City Detachment, was killed in 1977 – noted to a reporter: “We must have a deterrent that will stand behind them (police) and say, we’ll take care of you and your family ... while were sleeping safely at home they’re out dealing with the animals of society” (May 1984). A few months later, on 5 November 1984, the Ontario Police Association organized an official, pro-death penalty protest on the Hill timed to coincide with the start of Canada’s 33<sup>rd</sup> session of Parliament. At least \$10,000 (around \$30,000 in 2023) was spent on national advertising to draw police officers, prison guards, and civilians nationwide to it (Marleau and Taber 1984). “With the referendum, we want Canadians, not just politicians, to decide the question of capital punishment”, noted Meryle Cameron. According to a news article describing it, the idea of the demonstration was brought home to him when attending the memorials of the slain officers. “We feel like we have to do something to get the message across”, he argued (Marleau and Taber 1984).

Along with bringing back the death penalty, the protestors asked for repealing mandatory supervision – which allowed automatic release of prisoners under certain conditions – and a review of parole procedures. “We want to put some teeth into the criminal code”, noted Cameron. The month prior, the CPA again called on the federal government to hold a referendum. Like PM Trudeau, PM Mulroney ignored and rejected these calls. While the death penalty was a priority for many Progressive Conservative backbenchers when they were Opposition, the issue was not a priority item for Mulroney’s government at the time (Marleau and Taber 1984).

## 8.5. Avoiding Disciplinary Action, Career Repercussions, and Counter-Protestors

To unravel further how penal system work is enacted through national commemoration, there is a need to further unpack the myth created by OPS Chief Welsh that the national memorial service is “in no way a political event” (see Prentice 1979) and that it is held on Parliament Hill purely because it is the site where laws are made that impact officer safety. Indeed, not all participants see the memorial service as apolitical. As Scott Moore, a Sergeant with the Hamilton Police Service in Hamilton, who has taken part in the memorial ride since 2015, explained to me:

The national memorial service on Parliament Hill is a time where policing and politics get to properly interact, because policing in Canada is not political. There’s no political control on how the police do their job. Yes, they write the laws but they do not have an input in the sense of, we want you to go and do this and don’t do that. You have to do this and not do that. It’s not like in the States where politicians have a lot of control on policing. So, personally, I think it’s important that the public who vote our political members in, and the police who don’t have that, its where they meet. That’s why it’s important to be where it is. Its where the two worlds come together.

In contrast to police and punishment commemoration explicitly used for political purpose and gain – namely, the police and prison guard “mourning session” in 1975 that was accompanied by unsuccessful demands to reinstate the death penalty for killers of police and prison guards (The Province 1975) – the national memorial is sometimes presented as at best quasi-political, or as manifesting a gentler and acceptable form of politics upholding the traditional, mythological divide between what Sergeant Moore called the “two worlds” of policing and politics. An entire history has been manufactured that supports this particular interpretation (see Larochelle 1994).

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to see events such as the 1984 police rally for the death penalty on the Hill as evidence that the memorial service was fundamentally about other issues and is at best, quasi-political. It is worthwhile to consider the memorial in relation to the rally. It suggests instead that the memorial was a subtle strategy, allowing officers to enter the “world” of politics while avoiding disciplinary actions, career repercussions, and counter-protestors.

The turn-out at the rally was lower than the national memorial service in 1984 by about 1,000 people (MacLeod et al. 1984). Although police organizers had anticipated 5,000 to 6,000 attendees, only around 1,500 police officers, prison guards, and civilians attended (MacLeod et al. 1984). Disappointed organizers blamed the rainy weather. However, at least one noted how disapproval from commanding police officers also played into the low attendance. Then RCMP Commissioner Simmonds warned that disciplinary action – albeit unspecified – might follow if his officers protested in uniform. A similar warning was delivered by the OPP (Egan 1984). Simmonds wrote a public letter outlining his opposition to the political rally. In part, it read:

I cannot help but express my discomfort when I see large bodies of uniformed police parading in support of their views, or in an attempt to arouse public support or bringing pressure on government. [It] has little place in a democratic society and, in the end, will likely work against the real concerns within the police ranks (see Egan 1984).

Simmons encouraged police to make their political views known through other means. While it was widely known that the OPS and other services wanted a return of the death penalty, there would have been disciplinary consequences for officers who marched in uniform in the memorial from the RCMP and OPP if Chief Welsh had publicly associated the memorial with politics. As noted earlier, while the 1984 protest on Parliament Hill went as scheduled, the 1976 protest at this location proposed by the OPA was cancelled due to “disagreement at the national and local levels” (Forster 1975b). While there were certain prohibitions on political activity by police officers, the rules were less explicit for municipal services than provincial and federal ones.

The national memorial supported the political interests of carceral state officers while maintaining their mythical appearance of political detachment and neutrality. Importantly, it allowed all police and prison guards to dramatically march together, in uniform – including the red serge of the RCMP that is said to symbolize the country (Taylor 1986) – into the political centre of the nation, but with zero threat of disciplinary action and little public criticism.

An association of the national memorial with a controversial political position – such as the need to reinstate the death penalty – would have also attracted counter-protestors, especially in Ottawa, which was a hot-bed of abolitionist support. In 1976, for example, Meryle Cameron debated Stuart Leggatt – an MP for New Westminster – in an event at Carleton University on the issue of the death penalty. Leggatt argued that the death penalty should be abolished because it failed as a deterrent and more emphasis must be placed on rehabilitation. The audience sided with Leggatt by a two-to-one margin (Ottawa Citizen 1976). However, with no political demands accompanying the memorial service, it was and remains devoid of counter-protestors. This presentational strategy has allowed the OPS to communicate organizational memories (Sierra-Arévalo 2019; Mulcahy 2000) the policing myth (Manning 1997) and messages to politicians and officers and families of the dead, as well as penal spectators, unchallenged, such as the idea that police were under attack from unjust public criticism and the acts of violent lawbreakers.

Indeed, as soon as activists caught wind of the 1984 police protest, counter-protesting measures were initiated. Gaston Nicholas, director of an organization called the Canadian Office of Human Rights (COHR), planned a rally with 1,200 ex-prisoners from across the country on the Hill on the same day in opposition to the death penalty (Henderson 1984). Solicitor General Elmer MacKay expressed concern over a potential “clash” between police and protestors. In response to this suggestion, an OPA spokesperson, drawing on the rhetoric of professionalism, said ex-prisoners had a right to protest and that police did not expect any trouble. This turned out to be the case (MacLeod et al. 1984). Before the retentionists arrived, a small gathering of about 200 people protested the death penalty. The aim of the protest was to challenge the policing myth by humanizing the incarcerated and drawing attention to the violent and unjust conditions of prisons that would be heightened with the reinstatement of the death penalty (Culhane 1977).

With warnings about protesting in uniform coming from high-ranking RCMP and OPP officers, those who attended the rally were mostly from municipal services. Led by a 15-man colour guard, they marched in the rain. “We’re sick and tired of what’s going on out there. We take the job, and we take the risks, but we need more protection”, said one police officer from Oakville, Ontario. Once on the Hill, police and civilians stood shoulder to shoulder. At 12:10pm, a moment of silence was observed for slain police and prison officers (MacLeod et al. 1984). After, attendees listened and applauded as more than a dozen speakers, including clergymen and politicians, called for a referendum on the death penalty. “We want action, and we want it now”, declared Meryle Cameron. “Our concern is not how it’s done, but when it’s done and done shortly” (MacLeod et al. 1984). “These kinds of organized demonstrations clearly give a message to Parliament”, noted then Conservative MP Bill Domm. As an organized demonstration, the 1984 police protest appeared to be similar to the national memorial that presented as apolitical.

#### **8.6. Boosting Police Organizational Morale and Memory in the Wake of Abolition**

In 1987, a motion to reinstate capital punishment nation-wide was introduced into the House of Commons. Along with the deaths of penal system officers that led to the memorial and other, more explicit political calls for harsher punishments, contributing to the push to reinstate the death penalty were the horrific acts of Clifford Olson in the early 1980s, who killed 11 children and teenagers in British Columbia. Dr. William Morrison, a criminologist at the University of Winnipeg, publicly argued that it would be better to reinstate the death penalty than make taxpayers pay to keep him alive. According to a news article, it was interviews with prisoners, not just the acts of Olson, that encouraged him to change his mind and support the death penalty for “first-degree murder” (Edmonton Journal 1984). There were also relevant cultural factors, including news and entertainment media sensationalizing violent criminalized acts (see Wills 1987).

In what was perceived to be an enhanced climate of insecurity, reinstating the death penalty was considered by certain people to be necessary. A tally of MP's by Amnesty International found that 135 were in favour of the death penalty for certain acts, 92 against, 47 unknown, and 8 undecided (Maser 1987). A poll by Angus Reid indicated that 73% of Canadians were in favour of this penalty, with support highest in Alberta at 84% and lowest in Quebec at 65% (Wills 1987). One of the leading advocates of the death penalty at the time was Progressive Conservative MP Bill Domm. His political allies included police leaders and associations, groups representing victims, and the leaders of some Pentecostal and Evangelical churches. Through what he claimed was reading and reflection – his opponents claimed he carefully followed polls and did not give the issues he advocated for deep enough thought – he came to the decision that the state executing people who commit certain harms is just. It is not about vengeance, he explained in the news, but “simple justice” (see Maser 1987). In short, Domm was unwilling to vote for abolishing the death penalty when approximately 70% of his constituents, he claimed, wanted it reinstated.

Compared to the 1970s – when some police officers spoke out against death penalty sentences being commuted – police were reportedly quiet at this time. The 1984 protest on the Hill that was dampened by warnings from high-ranking officers failed to inspire police to speak out. This led to Domm urging police in 1987 to “get off their butts” and promote their feelings about a return of the death penalty or be prepared to be the cause of its defeat. “There are either abolitionists riding around in police cruisers or they’re not saying anything”, he added (Calgary Herald 1987). Don Cassidy, then executive director of CACP, clarified that the association favours a return of the death penalty, but only for the most heinous acts and not necessarily everyone who kills a police officer. Unlike Domm, he suggested, they were less willing to get into a public debate and would instead likely make a presentation to the House of Commons (Calgary Herald 1987).

Calls for reinstatement grew further after Constable Emmanuel Aucoin, 31, of the New Brunswick Highway Patrol was shot to death on 8 March 1987 while writing a speeding ticket. It was the third shooting death of a police officer in just three months. Earlier, on 26 January, RCMP Special Constable Gordon Kowalczyk had also been killed during a traffic stop in Calgary, Alberta. This was followed by the death of Vancouver Police Sergeant Larry Young on 2 February, who was shot while assisting in an arrest. To improve the odds for re-instatement, the Canadian Police Association (CPA), representing around 35,000 members, mobilized common police presentational strategies – such as polls, petitions, and national advertising (Wills 1987).

At the time, the memorial operated as a stable presentational strategy annually bringing attention to the deaths of officers on the doorsteps of federal politicians, including Allmand, Basford, and other Liberals who had played a role in abolition. For them, it was never only about a personal dislike for execution. The argument for reinstatement was deeply entwined with myth, which the memorial upheld by emphasizing violent “crime” and a lack of respect for officers as crises impacting public safety more than poverty, addiction, and mental health. A Gallup poll at the time revealed that the public believed “the violent crime rate is seven times higher than it actually is” (Maser 1987). Most people had a highly distorted view of lawbreaking. This was known in the 1970s, leading some politicians like NDP Stuart Leggatt to encourage more research on the influence of the media on the attitudes of the public (see Ottawa Citizen 1976).

My findings suggest that the birth and early development of the CPPOM put a dramatic spotlight on dead police officers and prison guards partly because of a desire to not forget the names of those who died, but also because of a desire to challenge public criticism and protest a perceived refusal of federal government politicians to prioritize the political interests of penal system officers in the “peace and security” program. They were not lazy, as Domm had implied.

Police leaders, associations – as well as some police and prison officers and their wives – had been advocating for this penalty for over a decade, deploying the rhetoric of danger and professionalism, while attempting to maintain the appearance of political neutrality. By 1987, they were not lazy so much as unwilling to abandon the guise of neutrality. There may have also been more abolitionists, given that the prediction of more officers being killed never materialized (see *Appendix A*).

On 14 March 1987, a key figure in the drama of the memorial appeared in an article published in the *Montreal Gazette*, titled “Should Murderers Die?” (Wills 1987). It pitted the thoughts of two women against each other. Dawna Kirkwood, arguing on the side of “YES” – and Marilyn Wilson, another Ottawa woman, whose son had been strangled to death in the US, in 1978 on the side of “NO” (Wills 1987). In her argument, Marilyn – who at the time was the new executive director of the English-speaking section of Amnesty International, one of the main sponsors of the Coalition Against the Return of the Death Penalty (CARDP), underscored the adage: “Two wrongs do not make a right” (A4). “Why kill people to show that killing people is wrong?” (A4). Moreover, she argued that the penal system, in both the US and Canada, was inadequate in two senses: i) it sometimes convicts innocent people; and ii) it does not always prosecute certain people to the fullest extent of the law. The death penalty would not bring her son back to life, she noted, it would not make her miss him less, and it would not take away anger or grief. It would not teach people that killing other people is morally wrong (Wills 1987).

The section in which Dawna Kirkwood argued for a return of the death penalty begins as follows: “On July 11th, almost one year to the day after Parliament voted an end to the death penalty, a policeman was murdered a few blocks from Parliament Hill. He was 21. He’d been married 11 months. His wife was three weeks pregnant” (A4). It then introduces the annual memorial and describes it as being for “all policemen and prison guards since Parliament ended

the death penalty” (A4). Dawna is noted to have attended each service, along with her daughter, Patricia. “I can’t read about a policeman being killed without crying”, she noted. Additionally, she rejected “the defence of mental illness for most homicides” (A4). This defence was used in the killing of her husband, which she described as a miscarriage of justice. “They said his murderer was crazy ... But he wasn’t stupid. He had either a rifle or a shotgun at every window. He was going window to window holding [police] off” (A4; see *Chapter 9*). As will be discussed, most participants in this study also rejected the increasingly common argument that memorial criteria ought to be expanded to include mental health-related deaths of officers (see *Chapter 11*).

She also described the mass media as bias toward anti-death penalty stances. The media (not the memorial), she claimed, turned her husband’s funeral “into a circus” (A4). “They kept pushing cameras right in my face. I couldn’t get a private moment” (A4). On the fifth anniversary of his death, a reporter called her “out of the blue – he was trying to shock me into saying something sensational – and said: Did you know your husband’s killer is out on day passes?” (A4). She thought, “I don’t get day passes to see my husband” (A4). If the death penalty were brought back, she argued – based on police mythology – that it might, over the longer term, “make some potential murderers put down their weapons when facing the police, rather than risk the death penalty” (A4). It will also assist victims, she claimed, who do not want to be reminded by the media or other authorities, about the status of the individuals who killed their loved ones (see *Chapter 11*).

The article explained how each time a police officer or prison guard in Canada is slain on the job, their name is entered into the *Book of Remembrance* that was started after Constable Kirkwood’s death. The article underscores the number of officers who have been killed since the abolition of the death penalty. “Including the three policemen killed this year, there are 205 names of policemen inscribed in the book – 44 of them killed since capital punishment was abolished.

There are the names of 24 slain prison guards – 11 since 1976”, the news article observed (A4). It then noted how the book is kept “not on display in the Hall of Honour in the Centre Block, but in an out-of-the-way lobby in the East Block”. ‘It shouldn’t be here,’ one [security guard] noted. “[N]o one ever sees it” (A4). Finally, the piece compared this to Dawna’s concerns. “Forgotten, as it were, which is the point Dawna Kirkwood has almost given up trying to make” (A4).

Wills (1987) identified a “quiet frustration” (A4) within Dawna. Not only were victims – including penal system officers – still being “forgotten” in her view, but the dream she shared with other police wives and officers of a national re-instatement of the death penalty was fading. The article notes: “And what has happened to her since has persuaded Dawna Kirkwood that capital punishment will never be brought back; she has lost faith in the politicians and the press” (A4). Her concerns were reinforced when later that year, on 30 June 1987, the House of Commons voted 148 to 127 in favour of not reinstating the death penalty (MacFarlane 1988). This quashed any attempt to reinstate it in the near future and was argued to contribute to a decline in officer morale by police associations. In 1989, the following was published in the *Alberni Valley Times*:

The CPA is getting together in Saskatoon this weekend to figure out ways to boost police morale. The association plans to send Ottawa a list of recommendations that result from the meeting. One of the recommendations is for a police memorial. The association wants Ottawa to establish a \$300,000 memorial to police officers killed in the line of duty (1989).

As will be seen, the monument on Parliament Hill – proposed as early as 1989 – appeared to be in part an attempt to boost police morale in the wake of the 1987 death penalty vote and other police political concerns and frustrations oriented around the theme of criminalization not being more central, which were echoed by the spouses of officers (see *Chapter 10*). Like the service, it would be a new addition to the intensifying drama of policing and “crime control”, which sought to further entrench punishment and criminalization as integral to Canadian nation-building and identity, as well as address criminalized acts and other perceived threats to social order.

## 8.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I further elaborated how the memorial emerged and developed in a time when police chiefs and associations, as well as family members of officers, were engaging in political tactics and strategies oriented around shifting the material landscape of justice – and relatedly, a philosophical ideal PM Trudeau called a “just society” (Blakely 1968; Calgary Herald 1978) – to include enhanced punishment of lawbreakers, which forms the backdrop of the national memorial as a carceral and nationalizing spectacle. Like the theme of guns and gun control, the theme of the death penalty – which had been officially abolished on 26 July 1976 – is closely associated with the underlying politics of the CPPOM and its materialization on Parliament Hill in 1978. This theme was particularly relevant in the early days of the memorial when the issue was under active political debate. That is, from 1978 until approximately 1987, when a vote by the House of Commons defeated any hope of reinstating the death penalty in Canada in the near future.

Although the death penalty is no longer officially in practice, the CPPOM is staged and performed in such a way as if to mimic its traditional dramatic features (Foucault 1977). It occurs in a highly visible public area. It attracts numerous onlookers. It was and remains a serious and solemn service. There are prayers and religious elements. It communicates themes of pain and suffering, albeit towards officers and their spouses and not the criminalized, whose pains the public remains at a distance from (Brown 2009, 2017). It demands the highest respect for the law. Its role in this sense is also to mythologize “peace” officers as (inter)nationally heroic, boost the morale of officers, and shape public and political perceptions of this work through its rhetoric of sacrifice and professionalism (Taylor 1986). In the next chapter, I examine in more detail myths that the CPPOM constructs that naturalize and legitimize punitive responses to social harm, through an analysis of past and present representations of the influential death of Constable Kirkwood.

## **9. POLICE HEROISM AND THE MYTH OF REMEMBRANCE: REPRESENTATIONS OF THE DEATH OF CONSTABLE DAVID KIRKWOOD**

Ottawa police constable David Kirkwood last year walked into an ambush that cost his life moments after a fellow officer asked him to help in an arrest that would be “fun”, a court was told Wednesday.

“You want to have some fun, we have a person that’s possibly mental. He may have a gun and we have warrants for him”, Constable James McKenna testified he told Kirkwood and his partner when he asked their help in arresting Frederick Clifford Koepke. Moments later, Kirkwood layed sprawled outside the Koepke family home at 710 Gladstone Avenue, killed by a shotgun blast. McKenna was testifying at the second day of the trial of Koepke, 23, who faces a charge of first-degree murder in the July 11 slaying of the 21-year-old Kirkwood.

– Avery (1978b, 3)

### **9.1. Introduction**

Along with investigating how penal system work is staged and performed through the dramatic spectacle of national commemoration – and how support for punishment and the social distance between ordinary citizens and individuals in conflict with the law is maintained through the commemoration of penal system actors as heroes – I am concerned with examining in this doctoral dissertation what myths are constructed and perpetuated through these memorials that legitimize the existence, expansion, and domination of punitive ways of thinking about and responding to criminalized conflict and harms. Myths are not simply “beliefs that resist or deny ... empirical ‘facts’” (Manning 1997, 36), but are also beliefs that render the provisional and constructed natural, permanent, and legitimate. Some relevant myths which have I identified up to this point include the belief that “violent crime” is one of the biggest crises facing the country, the belief of a declining amount of respect for police and the law, the belief that there exists a single, heroic reality of this work that can be rather easily exhibited for public consumption, and the belief of police officer deaths on the job being the product of inadequate political decision-making.

I have described these beliefs as myths because they overlook the relationship of “violent crime” to more devastating problems of addiction, of mental illness, of poverty, of racism, and of the harms and limitations of policing and punishment (e.g. Christie 1981; Hulsman 1986; Clarkson and Munn 2021; Razack 2015; Piché 2014), exaggerate the extent to which the public has lost faith in policing (Loader and Mulcahy 2003; Rutland 2023), gloss over more complex political realities – in plural – associated with penal practices, including the CPPOM, as well as mystify that death is a normal part and product of policing (e.g. Henry 2004; Seigel 2018). In analyzing the birth and early development of the CPPOM, my findings up to this point suggest that the belief of such memorials being about “remembrance” or “not forgetting” officers is also deeply mythical.

It is this dominant myth about the memorial – as one survey respondent put it, as being about “not forgetting officers who have died” or as another noted, a “great way to remember the reasons you got into policing” or yet another “to remember, pay tribute to and highlight the ultimate sacrifice made by police officers” – which forms the focus of this chapter. To investigate it further, I examine one of the “organizational memories” (Sierra-Arévalo 2019; Mulcahy 2000) of the OPS that is also said to have led to the creation of the memorial – the death of rookie OPS Constable David Kirkwood on the evening of 11 July 1977. As Larochelle (1994) notes, “In the wake of Kirkwood’s death, the Ottawa Police inaugurated an annual memorial service for police officers killed in the line of duty, held on Parliament Hill” (216). An analysis of his death and the trial of Frederick Koepke is conducted, utilizing newspapers and material promoting the memorial activities. This leads me to further clarify how the CPPOM upholds support for policing and other penal system practices through the myth of “not forgetting” deceased officers, such as Constable Kirkwood. In short, I show how more has been forgotten and twisted through commemoration about Constable Kirkwood and what happened to him on 11 July 1977 than remembered.

## 9.2. Contemporary Representations of the Death of OPS Constable Kirkwood

The following line is often repeated by speakers during the national memorial activities: “The murder of Ottawa rookie Cst. David Kirkwood on July 11, 1977, launched a response that, today, has become the nationally recognized ceremony honouring police and peace officers killed in the line of duty” (Canadian Police Association 2020). The sentence or a similar one is also shared on various police and “law enforcement” websites, such as the one for the memorial ride. From this sentence, one does not get a sense of who Constable Kirkwood was as a person or the actual circumstances behind his death. These are beyond what is needed to construct and communicate the mythology of his “supreme sacrifice” (Larochelle 1994, 232). It is mythological not just because it resembles the language of war memorials and commemoration (Linke 2018), but also because it defines and constructs his death as more than profane – that is, as heroic (Terpstra and Salet 2020). OPS Ceremonial Sergeant Major and CPPOM Service Coordinator Major Boucher described to me the death of Constable Kirkwood as a key police organizational memory:

As a young officer in 1994, one of the first things that was taught to me when I got hired, or well, “taught” – no it was, it was, taught to me – as a new police officer, was about the death of Constable David Kirkwood, and the impact and legacy that he left on the then Ottawa Police Service, which has morphed into today’s Ottawa Police Service. I remember how members of the platoon, because a lot of them would have served with Constable Kirkwood in the 70s, and a lot of them had personal experience with the event that ended Constable Kirkwood’s life. Some of them were there and took part in it. It was important for them to convey that experience to my generation coming through, and I think in a sense it's important for my generation to continue to pass on that tradition going forward as well, and that those sacrifice aren’t lost or forgotten.

As this quote suggests, much of what is known today about Constable Kirkwood’s death comes not from the trial but the “experience” of police officers who claimed to have been at the scene and the “tradition” of passing this on to new generations of officers. His death is sometimes discussed in more detail in newspaper articles memorializing him and promoting the CPPOM (e.g. Yogaretnam 2013; Deachman 2019). These articles often feature his daughter – Tricia Kirkwood

– one of the living faces of the national memorial. Although Tricia never knew her father, she has attended each memorial service. She is the part-time Chair of the Constable Joe MacDonald Public Safety Officers Scholarship Fund, which she received. Constable MacDonald, 29, was a Sudbury police constable and graduate of Carleton University, who was killed during a traffic stop on the morning of 7 October 1983. Named in his honour, the scholarship supports children and spouses of police officers who have died “in the line of duty” (Government of Ontario 2022).

The information that is often present in contemporary representations of the death of Constable Kirkwood works to support the broader, mythological theme of ultimate service and sacrifice. Almost always mentioned is the age of Constable Kirkwood and his rookie status. His wife, Dawna, is noted to have been pregnant. The person who shot him is often described as uncooperative. Finally, his death is observed to have sparked a shoot-out, in which other police officers were injured. Sometimes, but less often, it is clarified that the person who shot him – Frederick Koepke – was found “not guilty by reason of insanity” (OPS 2013). Despite the verdict, Constable Kirkwood is often described as having been “murdered” by Koepke (e.g. Larochelle 1994; Egan 2010). Most of this information is present in the following story told in a promotional video for the CPPOM by the OPS, titled “In Memory of David Kirkwood”:

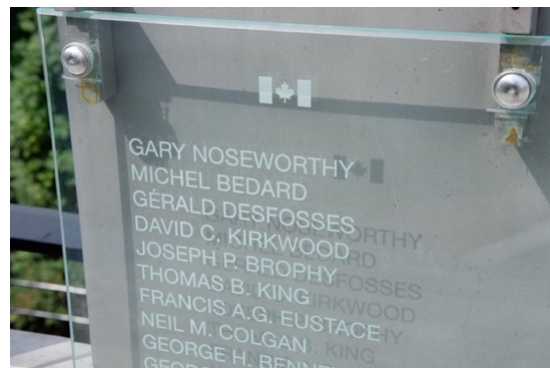
David Kirkwood was only 21 years old. He was a rookie with four months on the job, still with a training officer. His wife Dawna was pregnant. And on July 11, 1977, Kirkwood was assisting in executing an arrest warrant. The suspect refused to cooperate and shot Kirkwood killing him instantly. A three hour shoot out involved 50 officers. The man who shot Constable Kirkwood was captured and later found not guilty by reason of insanity. 36 years later, the loss of David Kirkwood is still being felt by his wife Dawna and daughter Trisha. For Dawna and Trisha, it feels like it happened yesterday. It’s important that we remember David Kirkwood’s sacrifice, and the sacrifice of all officers who died in the line of duty and every year on the last Sunday of September, we do, on Parliament Hill. It’s an event that’s inspired by Kirkwood’s death (OPS, 2013).

The story – as will be seen – is missing key information. It makes his death appear unavoidable, despite the OPS being warned before the arrest by the suspect’s lawyer that he was armed and

mentally ill (Warburton 1978a). Nevertheless, it upholds the image that the OPS and the CPPOM have accurately “remember[ed] David Kirkwood’s sacrifice” (OPS 2013). While stories about officers are shared among memorial participants and family members on the backstage (see *Chapter 11*), an official story around themes of service and sacrifice is often constructed and shared on the frontstage during the memorial service they are honoured. This story consists of a blend of official organizational memories, as well memories provided by close family members.

Police stations in Ottawa have also been known to display memorial boards in the foyer – such as on the thirty-sixth anniversary of his death – communicating “the story of how he was killed” (Yogaretnam 2013, 25). Also produced by the OPS, it resembles the video. It also clarifies that “police found a .22 calibre rifle, 12 gauge shotgun, and a .303 calibre-rifle in the home” (Yogaretnam 2013, 25). It neglects to note that the OPS knew he had guns beforehand – but not Constable Kirkwood, who was only told that he “may have a gun” (Warburton 1978b).

At the CPPOM “Honour Roll” Monument, the name “David C. Kirkwood” does not stand out (see *Figure 13*). The tablets hide the violence and senselessness in which he died. The glass is crystal clear and clean, not smeared with blood. A Canadian flag at the top of each tablet further ties penal system death and work to the nationalizing state (Osborne and Osborne 2004), reassuring onlookers that these deaths were heroic and for a noble and understandable higher cause.



***Figure 13: David C. Kirkwood on one of the tablets. A Canadian flag associates carceral officer deaths with the nationalizing state (photo by Matthew Ferguson)***

Finally, in contemporary times but not so much at the CPPOM, the death of Constable Kirkwood is also associated with the theme of systemic failure – not with police work, but as it pertains to the courts and mental health system. In the years after the incident, Koepke was re-arrested for various acts, convicted, treated at mental health facilities, and released multiple times. Upon learning that he had been re-arrested in 2010, Tricia made a statement expressing her anger, disappointment, and call for change. “32 years after murdering my father”, she writes, “Frederick Koepke is again making an appearance in an Ontario court. Koepke has been a free man while my family and I serve a life sentence of loss and sadness” (see Egan 2010). The letter communicates similar themes and myths as the CPPOM which promotes this interpretation, placing blame, as Tricia writes, on lawbreakers “who repeatedly inflict harm onto others” (see Egan 2010).

In the next section, I turn to examine older news depictions of Constable Kirkwood’s death and the trial of Koepke afterwards, identifying themes present. I explain how an “organizational memory” (Sierra-Arévalo 2019; Mulcahy 2000) of the former’s demise in 1977 was constructed by the national memorial that emerged in his name and other police mythological practices, such as the police press conference the next day, elaborating on what has been forgotten and twisted in contemporary depictions associating his death with carceral and nationalizing state heroism.

### **9.3. Constable David Kirkwood: The Death that Sparked a National Memorial**

David Kirkwood joined the OPS on 7 March 1977 (The Ottawa Citizen 1977b). He was a recent graduate of Nepean High School (NHS), where he was an avid hockey and football player. After his death, NHS vice-principal Ernie Zoppa described David as someone who “was in and out of school ... I had a few personal dealings with him which I’d rather not discuss ... [but] he was a really good kid. I enjoyed working with him. He was an excellent hockey player” (Ottawa Citizen, 1977b). Guidance counsellor Frank Vetter described David in the following way: “David was a

very fine lad ... he was at school trying to find himself in the school system but he was unable to fulfill his full potential and decided to go up to Inco” (Ottawa Citizen 1977b).

Growing out of the nickel mines in Sudbury, Ontario, Inco was a massive multi-national mining company. It produced the most nickel in the world for much of the 20th century. David interrupted his high school studies to work for them in Northern Ontario. The move was applauded by guidance counsellors and parents alike, who saw it as a good opportunity for him to grow and mature. David, it was said, was “well-liked by all people” (Ottawa Citizen 1977b).

The decision was said to be a good one. David returned to Ottawa a “changed” person (Ottawa Citizen 1977b). After graduating high school, he worked as a driver for a mobile catering firm called Frank’s Fine Foods for about a year. David was described by this employer as a “friendly, dependable person” (Ottawa Citizen 1977b). Next, he applied to the OPS. David had been preparing to become a police officer for years and was in excellent physical shape. “He was a fitness freak”, said a police colleague after his death. “He was into everything: broomball, basketball, you name it” (Gory 1977). “He was a good-natured, energetic person”, noted another police officer (Gory 1977). Like his decision to put high school on pause and work for Inco, his decision to pursue a career in public policing in Ottawa was supported by those around him.

David began active duty with the OPS on 20 May 1977 after returning from the first of two training sessions at the Ontario Police College (OPC) in Aylmer, a community located southern region of the province (Ottawa Citizen 1977b). Along with a college, the OPC is a principal site of initiation rites (Durkheim 1995) by which a person in Ontario enters the world of police work and its various myths, including of heroism and supreme sacrifice (see *Chapter 11*). He had completed the first leg of a 10-week course for probationary police officers and was to return to the OPC following a period of field service training in Ottawa. Around the same time,

David got married to Dawna. The pair were expecting their first child. His next task was to learn the ropes of police work on the job with his new training partner, Constable Terry Lynch.

David never returned to the OPC to complete his training. Nor did he get a chance to see the birth of his daughter, Tricia. According to testimony in the trial of Frederick Koepke the following year, on the evening of 11 July 1977, while assisting in Koepke's arrest, Constable Kirkwood was struck at close range by the blast of a 12-gauge Remington shotgun. The gun was described by a ballistics expert as "probably the most powerful weapon available in Canada" (Warburton 1978b). He died instantly, his service weapon "still in its holster when he was shot" (Warburton 1978b). In the shoot-out that erupted in the aftermath, Constable Lynch was uninjured. Constable James McKenna – the officer who asked Constable Kirkwood to assist in the arrest – was described as suffering "a serious gunshot wound to chest" (Marleau and Sinclair 1977). Many other officers suffered injuries. Constable Kirkwood, 21, was the youngest police officer shot and the only one to die. Captured alive at the scene, according to the newspapers, was Koepke.

#### **9.4. Frederick Koepke: A History of Criminalization and Mental Illness**

In past and present news representations, Koepke is for the most part depicted as the opposite of Kirkwood. While Kirkwood is said to be hard-working and well-liked, Koepke is implied to be evil and wicked. This is expressed through depictions of his wanted status, his continued arrests, and the enduring pain his actions are said to have caused the Kirkwood's and the policing family. He is the "villain" who killed a police "hero" (Terpstra and Salet 2020). Despite being found "not guilty by reason of insanity" (Larochelle 1994), Koepke is still described by Tricia, the CPA, Larochelle (1994), and others, as having "murdered" Constable Kirkwood, thus also painting the officer as a victim of a violent "crime" and not mental illness. Indeed, in the 1987 news article "Should murderers die?" published in *The Gazette* Dawna Kirkwood addressed this point:

Even before her husband was slain, she believed in capital punishment for first-degree murder. What happened to her husband transformed that view into an unshakeable conviction ... With her straightforward manner she rejected the defence of mental illness for most homicides, the defence used in her husband's slaying (Wills 1987, 4).

With a baby on the way and feeling on top of the world before losing the love of her life, Dawna reportedly "forever carried her anger, hurt and sadness" (Deachman 2019), the former of which was largely directed at Koepke. As suggested in the promotional CPPOM video, Koepke is the enduring evil which "refused to cooperate" (OPS 2013) with the forces of peace. According to the organizational memory informed by police mythology, Kirkwood and Koepke are opposites.

Frederick, however, had more in common with David than just age. He went first to St. Agnes Separate School, then switched to Glashan Public School and then to Ottawa Technical before troubles in the classroom led him to dropping out at the end of Grade 10 (Brady 1977). He enjoyed playing sports, including road hockey on Cumberland Street North across from his two-story home on Gladstone Avenue (Brady 1977). His neighbors and parents – Jessie and Clifford Koepke – were described in the newspapers as feeling "sick", "frightened", and "bewildered" in the immediate aftermath of the killing and shoot-out (Ottawa Journal 1977b; Brady 1977). They had arrived home that evening to learn that their only child had been arrested and taken by the OPS half-an-hour before under "one charge of murder and nine of attempted murder" (Ottawa Citizen, 1977b). To make matters worse, their home was on fire and practically destroyed. One neighbour described Frederick as a "bad one" as a child to a reporter at the scene, but others portrayed him as quiet and kind. "He never caused trouble that I'm aware of", noted one neighbour. "He got along fine, I'm astonished", the neighbour added (Ottawa Citizen 1977b).

Frederick, however, had had previous run-ins with police. On 8 August 1972, for example, when he was 17, Frederick and several other boys were charged with break, enter, and theft. According to police, Cambridge Street Public School was entered through an unsecured rear door

on three consecutive nights. \$1,400 of typewriters, projectors, tape recorders, and other school equipment was taken. Most of the stolen equipment was recovered (Ottawa Citizen 1972). Whether Frederick was found guilty is unclear, as this was not reported in the newspaper.

On 14 May 1975, as a 21-year-old, Frederick appeared in provincial court under the charge of forcible confinement and indecent assault on a woman. Police alleged that on 22 April of that year, he and another male picked up two women in a car. They drove to Bate Island on the Ottawa River. There, one of the males made sexual advances towards one of the women. She refused and the two women began screaming. They then drove back to Ottawa, happening to pass an RCMP vehicle along the way. At this time, one of the women opened the door and tried to jump out. The RCMP gave chase, arresting Frederick and the other male (Ottawa Citizen 1975c).

Frederick was seemingly found guilty of this and possibly other criminalized acts in the years leading up to the death of Constable Kirkwood on 11 July 1977. During his murder trial, Jessie Koepke noted how he had completed a four-month term in 1975 for “assault and weapons convictions” at the now-decommissioned Rideau Correctional Treatment Centre in Burritt’s Rapids. After experiencing episodes of paranoia that seemed to begin after this sentence, Jessie also noted that her son had received treatment from 12 January to 22 April 1976 at Oak Ridge, a mental health centre for the “criminally insane” in Penetanguishene, Ontario. His former lawyer, Robert Houston, further testified that Frederick had been checked into the Royal Ottawa Hospital (ROH) the next year, in 1977 – a specialized mental health centre – about five months before the police shoot-out. Frederick had met with him in preparation for his trial on two assault charges and an armed robbery charge stemming from an act in 1974 (Warburton 1978a).

Unlike David, Frederick had a history of criminalization and was experiencing mental health issues, which gives context to the contemporary claim at the memorial that the “suspect

refused to cooperate” (OPS 2013). According to Houston, it had been suggested to him by a psychiatrist at the ROH in March 1977 that Frederick could possibly be suffering from “paranoid schizophrenia” (Warburton 1978a). To most who were interviewed by the media after the shoot-out, though, Frederick was just a quiet young man who enjoyed fast and high-powered cars.

One neighbour suggested his chief joy in life was working on a greatly prized soup-ed up car in his backyard. “[Frederick] wouldn’t really talk much, but I would tease him about his car ... he was real proud of it”, another noted. While he had a nice, powerful car, it was also noted by his mother during the trial that he refused to drive it. This she suggested was more evidence of his strange behaviour. Frederick also chopped wood for his father Clifford, who owned a tree cutting and landscaping firm, and was also a hunter who kept firearms in the house (Brady 1977).

His neighbors – including Tommy Craig, a local bar manager, who had seen Frederick almost every Thursday, Friday, and Saturday for the past three months leading up to the shooting (Ottawa Journal 1977a) – struggled mightily to come up with an explanation for the violence and devastation that occurred at the home. According to all but one neighbour, Frederick was not the personification of evil or even a dangerous person. Like David, Frederick Koepke seemed well-liked by almost all until the shooting. After, multiple police officers at the scene broke down in tears upon hearing the news that the rookie had died. One involved in the siege remarked, “From now on, its shoot first and ask questions later” (Ottawa Citizen 1977a). Police headquarters was also filled with emotions. There was anger, as well as pride in bringing the siege to an end.

In a news conference the next day, then OPS Deputy Chief Thomas Welsh and Superintendent Les Thompson complimented the responding police officers. Drawing on police myth, both stated that if the death penalty had not been abolished, “there would have been a deterrent factor” (Ottawa Citizen 1977a). Along with immediately seeking further entrenchment

of the carceral state, Superintendent Thompson applauded the professionalism of carceral state officers: “we had the opportunity – we could have shot him – but the officers contained themselves” (Ottawa Citizen, 1977a). Along with demanding stronger gun control, Chief Welsh also said that officers “had anticipated no trouble in executing the warrant” (Ottawa Journal 1977b). It would become apparent during the trial, though, that the press conference was also a presentational strategy (Manning 1997) meant – like the national memorial service that emerged in his memory – to establish an organizational memory of Constable Kirkwood’s death, as well as frame responding officers as rising to the challenge for the sake of the public good.

### **9.5. The Trial, Part 1: Constructing and De-Constructing Police Mythology**

Along with the annual memorial day which would later become the CPPOM as we know it, the trial was a setting where organizational memory was created, but also de-constructed. At the outset, Frederick was treated as if he were the biblical giant Goliath. Although in this instance, Goliath had slayed David, the young but courageous police “hero” (Terpstra and Salet 2020). The same day as the press conference, following an interview with a psychiatrist, Frederick was led into court with his hands handcuffed behind his back surrounded by five police officers (McKay and Gory 1977). He was then transferred under close police watch back to Oak Ridge, about five hours away. He was remanded 60 days for psychiatric evaluation (Marleau and Sinclair 1977).

The OPS reportedly had a hard time finding volunteers for the job of transporting him. At one point during the ride, Frederick tried to speak, but was silenced. Shortly after his arrival – on 18 July 1977 – he was certified as “mentally ill” and committed to the hospital for further treatment (Wilson 1977). Crown prosecutor Andy Berzins noted that this did not eliminate the possibility for further action. Frederick would return to Ottawa before 9 September 1977 to hear evidence on his fitness to stand trial. Should he then be certified “mentally insane” he would return to Oak

Ridge under a lieutenants-governor's warrant, where he would remain in treatment until declared fit to stand trial. This was not an unusual practice. This situation, though, Berzins explained, would make it “virtually impossible” to prove that Frederick formed the intent to commit the acts he was charged with (Wilson 1977). Unlike at the CPPOM – which constructs officers as “heroes” but in doing so, also constructs “villains” (Terpstra and Salet 2022) – his “criminality” had to be proved.<sup>22</sup> Despite being certified as mentally ill, Frederick was still widely seen as a “violent criminal” and not actually mentally ill. For example, the following letter appeared in *The Ottawa Citizen*:

### **EASY OUT?**

After reading ... that Frederick Koepke, the 22-year old accused killer of Ottawa Police Constable David Kirkwood, has been certified mentally ill, I am wondering where all the psychiatrists were back in the 30s.

Possibly they could have found some reason why gangsters such as Al Capone, John Dillinger, and others too numerous to mention did such things as shoot people with no provocation than, say, Frederick Koepke.

In the '30s, gangsters just gunned down people who got in their way. But one wonders just how much different things really are today.

After all, the chances of being acquitted if caught are much better with so many “shrinks” to certify you temporarily insane. People really don't have too much to fear these days so is it any wonder that our crime rate is disgraceful (Tierney 1978).

Putting Frederick in the same sentence as Capone and Dillinger spoke to the power of police mythology to frame all “murderers” of police officers – understood as a personification of peace and goodness, as well as guardians of order– as the same, no matter the context behind the acts. That is, as “isolated and thoroughly evil persons” (Manning 1997, 279) deserving the harshest punishment. Recall the words of the judge in 1975 when sentencing the escaped prisoner Barry

---

<sup>22</sup> Under the provisions of the *Criminal Code* (sections 614-617) at the time, if an accused was found unfit to stand trial on account of mental insanity (when charged with a summary conviction or an indictable offense) or not guilty on account of insanity (when charged with an indictable offense), the court was automatically required by law to keep them in custody – usually at a secure provincial hospital – until the “pleasure of the Lieutenant Governor” of the province was known ” (Webster 1985). This could mean anything from a short-term stay to life-time confinement. In many cases, the length of detention for people found unfit to stand trial turned out to be longer than if the accused had been convicted and sentenced. A study conducted in the late 1970s found the average length of detention for such individuals across the country was eight years and up to eleven years in some provinces (see Webster 1985).

Forsyth for the “attempted murder” of an OPS officer who was trying to apprehend him near Parliament Hill: “an attack on a policeman, being an attack on society itself, must incur a serious penalty” (see *Ottawa Citizen* 1975). It was not legally relevant that the officer who almost died tried, in his own words, “to run him down” before he was shot four times (Wilson 1976b).

On 13 February 1978, the first day of the preliminary hearing to ascertain the evidence, a ban on the publication of evidence was ordered (*Ottawa Citizen* 1978a). In some circumstances – such as to protect the safety and privacy of a victim, as well as the fairness of a trial – judges are permitted, or sometimes required, to limit the publication of evidence disclosed in court proceedings. The exact reasoning for the ban was not noted in the newspaper. After two days of hearings, a notice in the paper reported that Koepke was officially declared fit to stand trial. He returned to Penetanguishene where he stayed until the trial began in May 1978.

On the first day of the trial – which took place in Ottawa several months before the inaugural memorial – the defense pushed back against the mythological depiction of Frederick as an evil, coldblooded killer, which helped to de-construct the mythology surrounding Constable Kirkwood’s death. Instead, they painted Frederick as bizarre, scared, and paranoid. He “believed he received messages through television sets and that people, including his mother, were out to get him” (Avery 1978, 1). His mother, Jessie, testified that Frederick would often use towels to cover up the television sets around the house. This is because he believed “they” were watching him. He never elaborated about who “they” were. Sometimes he would refuse to allow either of his parents to answer the telephone (Warburton 1978a). Jessie also testified that Fredrick kept three guns in his room and believed that she was also receiving messages through the television.

Frederick, she went on to explain, often refused to eat out of fear of being poisoned. At other times, Fredrick would go down to the basement to eat raw carrots and potatoes (Avery,

1978a). Evidence presented by Crown Attorney Cassells proved that Fredrick had been remanded by a judge to Penetanguishene and was there in 1976. Additional evidence proved that Frederick was admitted as a voluntary patient to the ROH in March 1977, about five months before the killing of Constable Kirkwood. At this time, a preliminary analysis of paranoid schizophrenia was conducted. A psychiatrist wanted him to stay for further testing. However, he declined and signed himself out. He was reluctant to go to the hospital in the first place because he believed – and continued to believe throughout the trial – that he was perfectly healthy (Avery 1977).

According to Jessie, on the day of the shooting, Fredrick was again concerned the food was poisoned. At one point when they opened the door to go outside, Frederick screamed, “Shut the doors, shut the doors!” (see Avery 1978a). He then shoved her and grabbed his father by the throat. The two managed to flee the house. They ran to a phone booth and called his lawyer. According to Jessie, this incident capped off a five-month period where Frederick “seemed to be odd” (Warburton 1978a), which began after his incarceration at the Rideau Correctional Treatment Centre. In short, he began insisting that unknown persons were watching and following him.

The lawyer who was contacted, Robert Houston, explained to the jury that he told the parents to stay where they were and called the OPS. As Warburton (1978a) recounts:

He told the jury he passed on information to police that Koepke was armed with three weapons, that he just had assaulted his parents, that he had been a patient at the mental health centre for the “criminally insane” at Penetanguishene the year before, and there were two outstanding warrants for his arrest” (12).

“I told the sergeant that I either had a bad one for him or a crazy one”, Houston is reported as saying (Warburton 1978a). Finally, he informed police that his parents could be found waiting by a phone booth. Houston would later be criticized by OPS Superintendent Thompson for not assisting the police. The officer responsible for Frederick’s case, he contended after the verdict, had made several trips to his parents’ home, but had been unable to locate him (see Hill 1978).

About 45 minutes after he called police, Houston testified that he received a call from a desk sergeant “to confirm whether Houston had told them Koepke had been at Penetanguishene” (Warburton 1978a). He replied “yes” and was then told the news that two police officers had been shot. Houston – speaking about an earlier case involving Frederick – also noted: “It occurred to me that he was probably not fit to stand trial. He was unable to give me even the simplest instructions” (Warburton 1978a). This account told in the courtroom clashed with how the event was described during the 12 July 1977 press conference, as reported by Avery (1977):

Deputy Police Chief Thomas Welsh said police had anticipated no trouble in executing the warrant. Inspector Les Thompson denied police had been told they should go to a nearby phonebooth before actually going to 710 Gladstone to execute the warrant (3).

Consequently, there seemed to be discrepancies between the version of events shared at the press conference versus the courtroom. Considering Houston’s remarks in 1978, it appears as if high-ranking OPS officers in 1977, at minimum, twisted or did not share the full story with the public because it could have caused criticism to be directed towards the OPS, thus further legitimizing scrutiny regarding their comments about the birth and role of the national memorial day they would later initiate as a supposed apolitical tribute to officers and nothing more (see *Chapter 8*).

As Manning (1997) notes, police presentational strategies include secrecy, which “helps keep the public at a distance ... and the police to maintain their power” (125). At the press conference, OPS leaders tied the killing of Constable Kirkwood instead to themes of preparedness, professionalism, and heroism, helping to construct an organizational memory of his death which preserved and entrenched a “criminal justice” response as rightful. Next, I note how testimony given by some police officers on the second day of the trial led police to be represented in the newspapers as unprepared. This clashed, I note, not just with information provided during the press conference, but also themes later communicated about police officers at the CPPOM service.

## 9.6. The Trial, Part 2: A Lack of Preparedness and Professionalism

As reported by Warburton (1978b) in the *Ottawa Citizen* in an article titled, “Police unprepared for shootout with sniper, court told”, the second day of the trial focused mainly on the procedures used by police to arrest Koepke (see also Avery 1978b). In part, Warburton (1978b) writes:

An Ottawa detective asked Constable David Kirkwood if he wanted to “have some fun” moments before the young policeman was gunned down by a sniper.

Evidence given during the second day of the trial of Frederick Koepke charged with first-degree murder in Kirkwood July 11 death, indicated the four-month rookie officer may not have realized the danger of the situation when he took up his position behind the house where the sniper was hidden.

Constable James McKenna, who advised Kirkwood, and his partner Terry Lynch that needed help resting kept going at 7:10 Gladstone told the Ontario supreme court jury that he anticipated “at the most” a physical fight from the suspect even though he knew he was armed (20).

Warburton (1978b) goes on to explain how Constable McKenna, a police officer for almost nine years, along with Sergeant Thomas McKay, had attempted to arrest Frederick around 9:15pm on two outstanding bench warrants. After arriving and knocking at his home, no one answered the door. Constable McKenna saw a man peak out of the venetian blinds of a window (Avery 1978b). Sergeant McKay – an officer of fourteen years – sent him to get some assistance.

It was at this time, according to his testimony, that Constable McKenna walked to a nearby police car to request assistance with arresting Koepke. Constables Kirkwood and Lynch were sitting inside filling out reports. Constable McKenna approached the vehicle and said to Constable Kirkwood: “You wanna have some fun? We have a person that’s possibly mental. He may have a gun and we have warrants for him” (Warburton 1978b; Avery 1978b). Constable McKenna then noted how Sergeant McKay had had previous dealings with Frederick and told him that Koepke was a “mental case” (Warburton 1978b), which supposedly added to the thrill of the arrest.

According to Warburton (1978b), Constable McKenna told the jury that he said nothing more about Frederick possibly being armed because, based on his experience, “I didn’t think that

there were going to be guns used” (Warburton 1978b). Next, Constable McKenna directed Constable Kirkwood and Constable Lynch to walk around the back of the home in case Frederick tried to escape from arrest. Constable Lynch testified that he and Constable Kirkwood walked down an alley at the side of the house, pausing at the corner to assess the situation. Constable “Kirkwood appeared to decide to position himself beside a parking shack in the southwest corner of the backyard where he could watch the back door”, Constable Lynch told the jury. With Constable Lynch remaining at the corner, Constable Kirkwood, his gun still holstered – suggesting he was unaware of the danger – walked to the side of the shack upon which time he stopped and turned around for about five seconds. He was then struck by the blast of a gun and killed.

Early testimony at the trial – namely from Robert Houston and Constable McKenna – conflicted with the rhetoric of police preparedness and professionalism that then Deputy Chief Welsh and Superintendent Thompson had emphasized at the press conference the year prior. Additionally, it would conflict with such themes as they manifested through the national memorial later on, like the headline on the third page in an issue of the *Ottawa Journal* detailing the second day in court which read, “‘Fun’ arrest ended in policeman’s death” (Avery 1978b).

After his death, there were thus two distinct re-constructions. On the one hand, there was a rendering informed by police mythology created in part through the police press conference and, later, the memorial and content promoting it. It re-constructed his death and police actions afterward as heroic. It was spoken about by police in a manner perceived appropriate – as selfless acts of service and sacrifice. This rendering became embodied in the extreme professionalism and preparedness of the national memorial. In contemporary times, organizers spend significant time meeting and planning the memorial that emerged in Constable Kirkwood’s name to ensure each run smoothly. As Ceremonial Sergeant Major Boucher explained to me in an interview:

My role is to literally coordinate the service. There's a lot of hands involved in it because it is a national service. It is overseen by a board. The board represents the three major associations that represent most, if not all, police and "peace" officers in the country [i.e. the CPA, the CACP, and the CPOMA]. I answer to that board. My job is to run the service the day of. It takes a lot of work leading up. Of course, under all that is a committee. Because it's on Parliament Hill, it's under a completely different jurisdiction. It falls under the Parliamentary Precinct. You have a lot of partners at play. You have the Parliamentary Protective Services that provides security on the Hill. You have Public Works, because it's their grounds. You have the Speaker's of the House and Senate, who would have a say on anything going on at the Hill. Naturally, there's all the hands involved in making the day run, which could be anything from Public Works to the sound system, the social media aspect of things, to Parade Marshalls that muster up the troops and get them up and off the Hill, the bands as well. All those partners are involved. To take an obvious sports analogy, it's like quarterbacking all those pieces.

Despite the complexities and various "hands" involved, organizers manage to ensure each service runs properly. The service is also serious and solemn. It is not "fun" occasion. I was reminded of this through one of my survey respondents, who suggested that my question of what the participant "liked" most about the CPPOM activities was "not all that appropriate". This helps to strategically reinforce "peace" officer identity and solidarity, associating it with national identity and solidarity, as well as helping reinforce the legitimacy of the carceral state, as well as its punitiveness.

On the other hand, there was a less mythological rendering of the death of OPS Constable Kirkwood that was constructed through the critical nature of the trial. One of the themes emerging from the 1978 trial in clear contradiction to the mythological rendering was this notion that the OPS lacked preparedness and professionalism in the moments before his death. While many things are checked and re-checked and agencies consulted for the CPPOM service, there was not a similar level of organization and concern when it came to the approach used to arrest Koepke.

In the organizational memory of the event that informs depictions of it today, police are described as prepared and professional guardians of communities and the country. Accordingly, information which might disrupt this is disregarded. There is no mention, for example, of the OPS knowing that Koepke was mentally ill before the arrest. There is no mention of the OPS knowing

that Koepke was or at least might be armed before the arrest. There is no mention that Koepke's parents were expecting the OPS to meet them at the phonebooth before the arrest (see McKay and Gory 1977). There is no mention about the arrest being described to Constable Kirkwood as "fun" – which might disrupt the image of professionalism – and there is no mention that he died with his gun still in its holster, suggesting that he did not know the true danger of the situation. The mythological account of his death emphasizes details which speak to the magnitude of the sacrifice he is described as willingly making in the name of the carceral and nationalizing state. That is, it is only *after* his shooting death that Koepke is found by the OPS to have guns and later, found at the trial "not guilty by reason of insanity". As then OPS officer Larochelle (1994) writes:

[David] was shot dead ... when he was aiding in the arrest of Koepke on an outstanding warrant for assault causing bodily harm. Shortly after 9:00 in the evening, Constable David Kirkwood accompanied by his training officer, Constable Terry Lynch, engaged themselves at 710 Gladstone Avenue, west of Brownson Avenue. Upon approaching the side of the two-story red brick house, he was shot through a side window and he died at the scene. Other officers arrived at the scene shortly afterward. An exchange of gunfire persisted during a three-hour standoff. Several officers were wounded with buckshot pellets. The sporadic exchange of gunfire ended when teargas canisters were thrown into the house, which caused a fire, forcing Koepke to surrender. At the scene, police recovered an arsenal of weapons ... Koepke was later found not guilty by reason of insanity (215).

Depictions of his death constructed by his colleagues leave out aspects which might place officers and the institution in a negative light. At the CPPOM and elsewhere, those who question or fail to support such work have instead been consistently presented as the problem. Like the inaugural memorial, a lack of public and political support was also a theme emphasized at the trial.

### **9.7. The Trial, Part 3: Mobs and the Memorial**

In his testimony, Sergeant McKay brought attention to the behaviour of the crowd of spectators during the incident. A mob of about 400 penal spectators keen to watch the spectacle gathered minutes after Constable Kirkwood had been shot. According to the police and media, the crowd was unlike that which would be seen at the national memorial. Instead, they were rude to police

and oblivious to the dangers of the situation. Indeed, one of the headlines on the front page of the *Ottawa Citizen* the day after the shoot-out was, “Screaming mob ignored danger, jeered at police” (Mitchell 1977). At one point a fight even broke out among the crowd. According to the reports, what seemingly upset officers most was how the spectators interfered. Some were also against police. “Hang in there, Freddie!”, some penal spectators were reported as yelling (Best 1978). A letter titled “Crowd’s Actions at Shooting Appalling” was published in the *Ottawa Citizen* several days later. In part, they reflect on the lack of respect shown toward police in “our nation’s capital” suggesting the capital ought to be reflecting support for the carceral state and its agents:

I’m greatly appalled that citizens of Ottawa, our nation’s capital, would be happy and cheer when a police officer is shot. I was angry that people who police officers asked to stay back for their own safety laughed at them and ran in the range of fire. I’m sorry that people don’t have more respect for our police officers who risk their lives every day to protect ours. I understand the officer who was killed was only 21 – the suspect 22 (Weller 1977, 7).

In 1999 – more than 20 years later – the *Ottawa Citizen* posted the letter again in a section titled “1977: A Century of Opinions” (The Ottawa Citizen 1999). The re-printed letter was accompanied by a note from the editor claiming that Weller (1977) “didn’t get it quite right” (17). According to the editor, “the crowd became impatient for police action, and at times jeered and taunted them to move in. The level of impatience rose once Kirkwood was shot. But there were no reports of cheering” (The Ottawa Citizen 1999, 17). The editor then mistakenly wrote, “the sniper, Frederick Koepke, was sentenced to life in prison” (17).

In response, Ridley – a former OPS officer who claimed to be at the scene that evening – wrote a long, irritated letter to the *Ottawa Citizen* (Ridley 1999). It was published beside a photo of Dawna Kirkwood at the funeral. In the letter, Ridley (1999) expresses his amazement regarding “how journalists can be so inaccurate” (A17). It is worthwhile to quote part of the letter, as it expresses organizational memories and myths that remain present at the memorial today:

Your comments today contradict those of the original articles of 1977. The standoff didn't lead to the shooting; the shooting of Constable Kirkwood led to the standoff ... Each time the police risk their lives to move these people to safety, they were jeered and taunted. ... Your statement that "Soon after, police fired teargas into the home, setting it ablaze and sending the sniper fleeing into the street, where he was quickly captured" gives the impression that the gunman ran out of the burning house and was captured as he ran down the street. Fred Koepke was arrested after he shouted, "I'm coming out" and he started walking backwards out of the house with his hands up. He was apprehended by police who risked their lives by partially entering the burning building to arrest him. The memory of Constable David Kirkwood should not be sullied by your lessening of the seriousness of the situation. The mob of interfering, blood thirsty rubbernecks played a significant role in complicating an already deadly situation. Unfortunately, the type of mob mentality witnessed in 1977 still exist in current-day society. Fortunately, the police haven't changed: they remain professional protectors of our society (Ridley 1999).

Noticeably, Ridley (1999) does not correct the mistake made by the editor about the result of the trial. He is concerned about the newspaper "sully" the memory of Constable Kirkwood by "lessening of the seriousness of the situation". This memory is an organizational memory, which is based on police mythology and the memories of responding officers who arrived at the scene after Constable Kirkwood was already dead. It is a memory organized around themes of danger and death, professionalism and preparedness, and the fight against lawbreakers or the "thin blue line" (Wall 2015), which ignores information shared at the trial. Ridley (1999), for example, does mention how OPS Constable McKenna lessened "the seriousness of the situation" by describing the arrest to Constable Kirkwood as "fun" as this is not part of the organizational memory of his death nor of the CPPOM that preserves the mythology of the carceral and nationalizing state.

In the aftermath of the shooting, one news article compared the scene of the shoot-out to "the carnival that once surrounded public executions" (Ottawa Journal 1977). While most condemned the unruly behaviour, on the day of the funeral, one letter-writer in attendance called the police "chicken" for not ending the gunfight sooner, prompting responses from Dawna and Karen – Constable Kirkwood's sister – who instead called the police heroic (Kirkwood 1977). Therefore, as seen, an important theme in the mythological re-construction of his death by police

and his family members afterwards – including at the inaugural memorial and thereafter – was a lack of public and political support for the police role. A main theme at the trial, meanwhile, was the failure of police and mental health authorities to properly handle Koepke and thus protect Constable Kirkwood’s life, which challenges police presentational strategies and organizational memories in ways that undermine the reproduction of the nationalizing and carceral state.

#### **9.8. The Trial, Part 4: Systemic Failure and Forgetting**

On the third day of the trial, the prosecution closed their case based on organizational memory. An OPS sergeant testified that Koepke admitted that he shot a police officer because the officer had his gun drawn (Best 1978; Ottawa Journal 1978b). This confession – which clashed with the finding that Constable Kirkwood was killed before he had a chance to draw his service gun – was made in a police car after his arrest on route to the station after Koepke was informed that he would be charged with first-degree murder. Later, Koepke told police he had worked all day on the date of the shooting and was not “feeling well” when he arrived home. He admitted having an argument with his parents, who “left” him afterwards (Best 1978). Koepke explained that he had been a patient at the ROH and at Penetanguishene, and “was not afraid to go back” (Best 1978).

On the fourth day of trial, attorney Milloy solidified his defence that was based on psychiatric testimony and memory. He reminded the jury that it was the contention of the defence that Koepke was insane according to the law on 11 July 1977. Despite what the prosecution had argued and suggested through the memory of police officers, no “crime” in fact took place that evening, he suggested, as Koepke was unable to decipher right from wrong. He did not possess *mens rea*, or criminal intent. To prove this, the defence called to the stand three psychiatrists who had interacted with Koepke, each of whom testified that he was suffering from paranoid schizophrenia (Warburton 1978c). These interpretations of Koepke being sick instead of a “violent

criminal” bent on killing Constable Kirkwood, disrupted the myth of police work being the line separating the good from the bad, and order from chaos, within the community and country.

On 30 May 1978 at about 5:00pm, the Ontario Supreme Court jury – composed of six men and six women – began its sitting. In his charge to the jury, Justice Thomas Callon underscored the psychiatric testimony and memory, as it was more legally relevant than the individual and organizational memory of OPS officers. He pointed out that all doctors who testified in the case agreed that Frederick was mentally ill on the evening he killed Constable Kirkwood. Two of them – Dr. Smith of the ROH and Dr. Barker of Penetanguishene – stated that Frederick was legally insane within the meaning of the *Criminal Code* and could not be convicted due to this.

While Callon noted that the jury was free to reject the insanity evidence, he said: “If you reject the insanity evidence, you will be rejecting the evidence of some of the most pre-eminent people in Ontario” (Warburton 1978e). Speaking to the jury, defense attorney Scott Milloy admitted that Frederick shot Constable Kirkwood as he walked around to the back of his family home and engaged the police in a shoot-out afterwards, injuring several officers. However, he underscored that Frederick did not possess the intent to be convicted. The schizophrenia he suffered from led him to believe his life was in danger. Milloy reiterated how Frederick was in the grip of a delusion about the police coming to kill him and transport his body to the dump.

When it was his turn, Crown Attorney Cassells again stressed the individual and organizational memory of police officers, framing the incident as a possible result of a dangerous lawbreaker attacking police officers. He acknowledged to the jury that Frederick was mentally ill at the time of the shooting and indeed had been for several months. However, when it came to the core of the defence – that, because of this illness, he could not grasp or appreciate what he was doing – Cassells encouraged the jury to consider what he described as a “big hole in the defense

evidence” (see Warburton 1978d). During his arrest on route to the police station, Cassells reminded them, Frederick had confessed to police officers that he had shot a police officer.

Shortly later, he was transported to Penetanguishene. Here, in the presence of Dr. Barker and other psychiatrists who had the power to determine him mentally ill, he did not confess to the shooting again. Instead, he was guarded and spoke about possessing psychic powers, along with receiving messages from a radio. “The only person who knows what was going on in his mind at the time he shot is the accused”, Cassells argued. After the final statements were done, the jury was provided with five possible verdicts: i) Guilty of first-degree murder; ii) Guilty of second-degree murder; iii) Guilty of manslaughter; iv) Not guilty; or v) Not guilty by reason of insanity.

Beginning at 5:00 PM, the jury deliberated for nine hours without a decision (Warburton, 1978e). The failure to produce a quick verdict of not guilty by reason of insanity was widely viewed as shocking, as “all pointed strongly in that direction” (Hill 1978). Even Crown Attorney Cassells in his closing address had noted that he would “rest content” (Ottawa Journal 1978) with a verdict of not guilty by reason of insanity, as it would ensure Frederick would be confined to a mental hospital for an indefinite period, possibly until his death. The jury had told the court it would be ready at about 11:30pm (Warburton 1978e). At 1:30am and still no decision, Justice Callon ordered the jury sequestered to a hotel to sleep. Jury foreman Leslie Jolliffe noted to him that “it isn’t any points of law” that were stopping agreement (Warburton, 1978e). The next day, when the jury still had not arrived at a verdict, Justice Callon suggested that someone on the jury must be considering “extraneous material” (Hill 1978) or was simply not applying the law as he strictly explained it. He said the evidence had been presented meticulously to them.

Around this time, the City of Ottawa and Dawna Kirkwood announced a joint \$350,000 (around \$1.5 million in 2023) claim for damages against Frederick Koepke based on police

organizational memory. The lawsuit alleged that Koepke was responsible for Constable Kirkwood's death. The city lawyer who drew up the claim acknowledged his hesitancy regarding whether the city could ever collect it. If Koepke was convicted of the killing, he would spend decades in prison. If acquitted, his future work, described as a "spotty career as a tree surgeon" (Warburton 1978d), would likely never earn him enough money to pay the \$350,000 he believed they owed. The point of the lawsuit, he clarified, was to "protect" Dawna and her daughter, Tricia, should Frederick ever acquire enough assets or wealth in the future to pay them. "It would be upsetting to give up your right to sue someone and find out the next day they've won a million dollars [in the lottery]", Wallace noted (see Warburton 1978d).

After his death, the City of Ottawa set up a \$20,000 (around \$87,000 in 2023) pension fund for Dawna, which was said to likely increase upon the birth of her daughter. Under the *Workman's Compensation Act* (WCA), Dawna then had the option to reject her benefit and sue Frederick privately. She chose to accept the pension and give the city the right to sue on her behalf. The *Fatal Accidents Act* (FAA) allowed surviving relatives to sue on behalf of the relative who was killed. If the city ever claimed its \$350,000 from Koepke, it would collect the \$20,000 paid to Dawna in pension benefits and give her the rest. While the city had launched numerous lawsuits on behalf of employees who had been injured on the job, the suit was the first involving an employee who died because of a possible "crime" (Warburton 1978d). In the middle of the creation of this lawsuit, following more than 17 hours of deliberations – the verdict was ready.

As acknowledged, Koepke was found "not guilty by reason of insanity" (Hill 1978). Nevertheless, the verdict was not a feature of the memorial, where participants continue to claim that Constable Kirkwood was "murdered" – encouraging support for "criminal justice" practices and institutions and other historical inaccuracies, such as the editor writing that "Frederick Koepke,

was sentenced to life in prison” (Ottawa Citizen 1999, 17). Other sources reveal the extent to which the verdict and the trial was downplayed and OPS organizational memory foregrounded. In 1980, for example, it was announced in the newspaper that Constable McKenna was one of 12 victims of “violent crime” (McLaughlin 1980, 3) compensated by the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board – despite the trial suggesting he was more the victim of mental illness. A description of the event shared at this time was also informed by police myth and organizational memory:

When they arrived at the house, they saw a cruiser with two constables in it, one of them Kirkwood. McKenna asked them to cover the back door in case the suspect tried to run out that way. A few moments later, “We just heard a loud bang”, McKenna recalled. McKenna and McKay radioed for assistance. Meanwhile, bullets were flying. McKenna was hit as he tried to help another wounded officer. Pellets lodged in his ear, jaw, elbow, chest, and upper abdomen on the right side of his body. He was in hospital three days and was discharged at his own request so he could attend Kirkwood’s funeral (Jackson 1980, 3).

The passage shared in the paper was based on an interpretation by Constable McKenna. Compared to his remarks during the trial, it was infused to a greater degree with the mythology of police work as a professional and heroic fight against lawbreaking (Manning 1997). Like the memorial, it encouraged solidarity with officers and social distance with the criminalized (Chen et al. 2016). Frederick was described in it as a “sniper” and “distraught” as opposed to mentally ill.

Speaking about the reaction to the verdict several months after it, the defence attorney Milloy criticized those who refused to accept the result and described the public as being uninformed about mental illness. “There was a lot of people upset about Koepke, people from all segments of the community made it known they weren’t happy with the decision ... people who knew better wondered how I could do it” (Avery 1978d). He clarified that it was not something that can be faked. Koepke spent 18 months receiving treatment at Oak Ridge before being transferred to Brockville Psychiatric Hospital. He was then allowed to be an outpatient and given a full release into the public in either late 1987 or early 1988. His continued arrests – mainly for

assault and drug charges – have sparked heated debates over the years about “whether Ontario’s forensic health care system ... is properly protecting the public” (Butler 2012). In her 2010 statement in the *Ottawa Citizen*, Constable Kirkwood’s daughter, Tricia – a frequent attendee of the CPPOM service along with her late-mother – also draws from police organizational memory and mythology. She describes Koepke as a “repeat offender” who has been “free” and “repeatedly inflict[ing] harm”, while her family has “served a life sentence of loss and sadness” (see Egan 2010). She urges that changes must be made to the “mental health and justice systems” (Egan 2010) to prevent this harm, without suggesting that the harm lies in these systems.

Tricia’s statement echoed a headline printed on the front page of the *Ottawa Citizen* on 1 June 1978 – “System Failed: Lawyer” (Hill 1978) – just a few months before the first national memorial service. In sharp contrast, Milloy was also referring to the failure of police themselves, who he believed could have done more to prevent the death of Constable Kirkwood:

“The system failed at every turn in this case”, defence lawyer Scott Malloy said wearily Wednesday after Supreme Court jury had found his client, Frederick Koepke, not guilty by reason of insanity in the shotgun murder of Constable David Kirkwood in July last year.

He was pleased that the jury had decided his client needs treatment for his paranoid schizophrenia – not punishment for his actions. But he was also depressed because safeguards that should have prevented the two hour shootout in Centertown had failed.

The police had warrants for Koepke’s arrest on assault and weapons charges for several months prior to the incident but they weren’t pursued. “The warrants were filed in a drawer in the Ottawa police station”, Milloy said. He didn’t get into trouble with the police, so they weren’t used”.

Ottawa police superintendent Lester Thompson said this morning there are thousands of outstanding warrants on file at Ottawa police headquarters. ... He said the officer responsible for Koepke case had made several trips to the home but had not been able to find him. Thompson said that Koepke’s lawyer knew prior to the shooting that the man was at his parent’s home but had not called the police until his parents ran into trouble with him. He said that the police department executes about 700 warrants a month. “It’s simply not true that the warrants got left in a file here” ...

Milloy said there were other points when the authorities could have stepped in – when Koepke was ordered to get psychiatric treatment as condition of bail but then stopped going, and when his probation officer could have read psychiatric reports warning of his client’s mental condition but didn’t ... (1).

The idea that the OPS failed Constable Kirkwood clashes with the rendering of events constructed through police presentational strategies like the CPPOM activities, as well as the press conference. Through organizational memory, the CPPOM painted – and continues to paint – Constable Kirkwood’s death as a sacrifice, blaming the “suspect” who “refused to cooperate” (OPS 2013). In particular, what has been forgotten is that Constable Kirkwood’s sacrifice was also made for him, in part through the lack of preparedness and professionalism of his colleagues (Warburton 1978b; Avery 1978b). The role of the CPPOM is to paint police and other “peace officers” – including probation officers – as prepared and professional heroes for their communities and country, not failures, as Milloy suggested in 1978, just a few months before the first memorial service. When it comes to police deaths, if failure is involved, it is sometimes placed upon the shoulders of the dead officer. As Wetzel (2013) writes in *Blue Line Magazine*:

My friend Kevin was recently promoted to sergeant and has started a novel practice ... He reviews the Officer Down Memorial Webpage, chooses an officer who was killed in the line of duty and talks about them and their circumstances that led to their death. He addresses what the officer may have done wrong and uses it as a teaching moment ... I encourage others to follow his lead in studying the lives of those who have made a great sacrifice for us all. Visit the Canadian Peace Officers Memorial... (38).

The article promoting this practice of learning about dead officers and “their mistakes” (38) to bolster police institutions, not challenge them, was accompanied by a photo of the CPPOM. Yet if Constable Kirkwood – the face of it – made any mistake, it was only his choice of career.

## **9.9. Conclusion**

From the outset, the service now known as the CPPOM has helped to further expand and entrench “criminal justice” practices – or what has been called the “carceral state” (see Sim 2009; Fortner 2013; Ross 2017) – as central to the Canadian national identity through myths which portray this work as efficient, effective, prepared, professional, heroic, and united. In addition, this chapter has further shown how national memorials like the CPPOM are characterized by forgetting – or a myth

of remembrance – which extends beyond forgetting the violence of such work towards the criminalized (see Brown 2009; Jackson 2017). During my fieldwork in 2019, for example, I witnessed Paul Pederson, Sudbury Chief of Police, passionately emphasize to memorial riders in a speech: “This is all about not forgetting” in relation to the national memorial activities.

My analysis suggests that, with the assistance of the CPPOM, more has been forgotten and twisted through organizational memory about OPS Constable Kirkwood and what happened to him on the evening of 11 July 1977 than remembered. Along with myths and expressing certain themes that entrench them, police organizational memory (Sierra-Arévalo 2019; Mulcahy 2000) has been shown to be organized forgetting in the sense that it occurs in such a way to support the preservation and further entrenchment of the nationalizing and carceral state. Overlooked realities of officer deaths could undermine police identity and solidarity, as well as challenge system legitimacy and the notion that penal intensification would remedy the issues this disastrous incident revealed. In the next chapter, I turn to examine the expansion of the memorial in the mid-1990s – a period when it became more deeply associated with the nationalizing state – discussing these changes and showing how the memorial encourages forgetting in various other ways.

## **10. THE BUREAUCRATIC SPIRIT: BELONGING AND EXCLUSION IN A TIME OF MEMORIAL EXPANSION**

Organizations that wish to have the name of a police or peace officer recorded on the National Police and Peace Officers Memorial and Roll of Honour should complete this application, attach all supporting documentation, and submit the package ...  
Note: For greater clarity, [the memorial] does not include private agencies, auxiliary personnel or volunteers.

— National Memorial Application Form (2019)

### **10.1. Introduction**

For about the first 17 years of its existence, the memorial did not experience much growth in terms of audience size. During this time, there was the commemorative service, which was accompanied in East Block by the *Book of Remembrance* and a bronze plaque. According to news reports, attendance at the service fluctuated between 2,000 to 2,500 people. The record crowd of 2,500 over this period, observed in 1984, was driven by four police officers and two prison employees being fatally shot or stabbed in the months before (May 1984). In 1985 and 1986, as well as in the early 1990s, attendance was observed by reporters to be about 2,000. This was similar to the first service in 1978, which attracted at least this number (MacLeod 1978; Doyon 1978).

Starting in the mid-1990s, however, there was noticeable expansion in attendance at the service. Unlike in 1984, it could not be accounted for through a spike in the number of police or prison officers dying on the job, as this number was declining, not rising. In the 1990s, 56 police or prison officers died on the job, compared to 103 during the 1980s (see *Appendix B*). Nevertheless, in 1995, “more than 2,500” people were observed at the memorial service (Pugliese, 1995). In 1996, “at least 3,000” police officers alone were there (Stern 1996). In 1997, “close to 5,000 officers” (The Province 1977). In 1998, “an estimated 5,000 officers” (Egan 2010). Within a span of four years – 1995 to 1998 – the memorial service more than doubled in size.

As this chapter explains, the expansion in memorial attendance was due to an increased presence of US-based officers, as well as its transformation into a more nationalizing “peace officers” memorial. The memorial changed its criteria to include other “peace officers” beyond police and federal prison guards as defined in Section 2 of the *Criminal Code of Canada*, becoming more representative of the division of labour characterizing the carceral state (see *Appendix C*). Added to the “Honour Roll” were new names and titles, including forest ranger, fisheries officer, conservation officer, customs officer, and probation officer. The first unified commemorative service for all “peace officers” was held on Parliament Hill on 29 September 1996 (CPOMA 2021).

Earlier – on 22 March 1994 – the CPA had also unveiled a reconstructed historic structure once known as the Summer Pavilion that was primarily used by the Speaker of the House of Commons and his family on the western edge of the Hill, which had been re-built through funds from the policing community and dedicated to police officers killed on the job as a gift to citizens (*Chapter 1*). On 14 October 1998, the federal government also proclaimed the last Sunday in September “Police and Peace Officers’ National Memorial Day” (Minister of Justice 1998).

In this chapter, I thematically analyze representations of these developments to better understand them and the meanings and contemporary role of the memorial, as well as address the research questions. I observe how as the memorial expanded, it became characterized by a more complex bureaucracy or back-stage management oriented around deciding and controlling who can be a part of the memorial and who cannot. A bureaucratic spirit – as opposed to merely the spirit of remembrance – helped grow and legitimize the memorial as a service, organization, and international institution, further entrenching the nationalizing and carceral state in the process through its myths, which are not a given but forged through struggle in the form of presentational strategies, forgetting, lived experience and participation, as well as organizational memory.

## 10.2. Blue Line Magazine and the Emergence of a Totemic Memorial Pavilion

In 1988, a man named Morley Lymburner created a publication covering policing issues called *Blue Line Magazine*. Lymburner – who recently sold its rights to Annex, a huge business media company – was an 18-year veteran police officer in Toronto with a background in police publications. Lymburner had previously published *The Police Informant*, a monthly trade publication financed by the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force. As a police officer, he claimed to have noticed a void of information for officers that was not “propaganda from the police chief or the union” (Martin 2018). The name of the new magazine was in reference to the mythological idea of police work being the “thin line” which prevents society from descending into anarchy, an idea which the national memorial had helped fuel among police in Canada since the late-1970s. Wall (2015) describes it as a police revision of an older tale about government having emerged to prevent a return to a way of human life that was violent and chaotic (see Hobbes 1984).

The “line” is also what the sociologist Durkheim (1995) describes as a “totem” (127). A totem is an emblem – often a plant or an animal, as well as occasionally an inanimate thing – associated with a clan, meaning a “particular society” (208). The totem has a religious character in the sense that “things are classified as sacred and profane by reference to the totem. It is the very archetype of sacred things” (118). The image of “the line” splits the world into precisely these two domains – a sacred and profane world – designating police as a sacred institution keeping profane forces of evil at a distance. As Sierra-Arévalo (2019) notes, the police emphasis on danger and death produces a “warrior mentality” with roots in white nationalism towards certain members of the public – often racialized or other groups who have been pushed to the margins – which can lead to concerning and detrimental police practices, such as “secrecy, corruption, and brutality” (633). According to memorial participants, this image captures the dangerous “reality” of this work

and is often misrepresented by non-police persons unable to appreciate its sacred meaning. The former police officer who was critical of the CPPOM elaborated to me about this idea:

The first thing I was shown when I was hired years ago was a film on police deaths. You see them in their uniforms and white gloves and parading. It was like trying to get you into the brotherhood. The way you're "supposed" to act. The problem is when you protect the brotherhood, you'll end up doing the wrong thing. I've seen police drive drunk being released – they didn't charge them ... They also become too aggressive. They might use excessive force, kill somebody, injure them badly. I've seen it for Aboriginals. They become so-called "Indian Hunters". They lay unjustifiable criminal offences against people ... I dislike the brotherhood. Just do your job. They hate criticism of the "thin blue line".

As a private venture originating in Toronto, the magazine was not materially associated with the memorial. It nevertheless grew in popularity alongside the memorial in the 1990s. From its inception in 1989 with a circulation of 1,500, the magazine has grown to a per issue circulation of more than 8,000 (Blue Line Magazine 2021). Early on, the magazine reported on and assisted with the creation of a police memorial pavilion at the Hill. Volume 1, Issue 10 contains an article titled, "Canadian Police memorial fund off to a good start" (1989). According to the editor, on 24 September 1989, the CPA donated \$50,000 toward the construction of a national police memorial at Parliament Hill. The project opening date was expected to be in September 1992. Earlier, in February 1989, the CPA had met in Saskatoon to figure out ways to boost police morale, with a \$300,000 memorial in Ottawa one of the recommendations (Alberni Valley Times 1989).

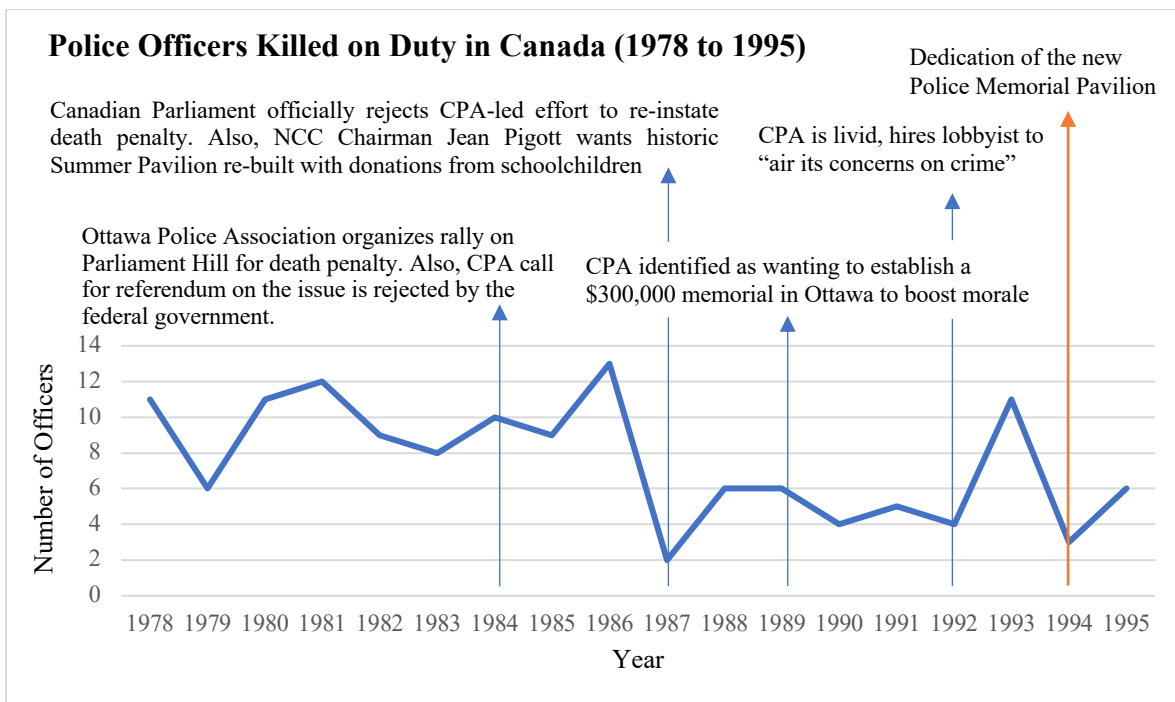
As early as May 1989, it was decided that the police memorial would be a replica of a building known as the Summer Pavilion. On 13 May, an article in the *Ottawa Citizen* announced plans by the National Capital Commission (NCC) to re-create the structure at an estimated cost of \$300,000 to be paid by a "private-sector sponsor" (Evenson 1989, A8). The NCC refused to release the name of sponsor at the time (Evenson 1989). Constructed in 1876 under the direction of Canada's first Chief Architect of the Department of Public Works – Thomas Seaton Scott – the original pavilion was made from white pine and had a copper roof. Perched on a raised grassy

knoll near the Ottawa River toward the back of the Parliament Buildings, the pagoda-like structure was meant for the Commons speaker to hold salons on summer evenings. The seven meters by five building remained standing until 1956 when it was taken down due to years of disrepair. “It was the focal point of the social life in Ottawa”, noted Maxwell Kalman, a retired architect who was credited as designing Canada’s first shopping centre, located in Montreal. “I’m elated. I resurrected it from the dead” (Evenson 1989), he added to a reporter covering the story.

A thematic analysis of earlier newspaper articles reveals that Kalman indeed had been attempting to resurrect this specific building on the Hill due to its “architectural” and “historical” significance (e.g. Robb 1987). He had moved from Montreal to Ottawa in the late 1970s, where he became infatuated with the Parliament buildings. When it came to the summer pavilion, Kalman was convinced that it belonged on the Hill because it was one of the original buildings, built around the same time as the Parliamentary Library was completed. According to Kalman, its true purpose was to appease an irascible Commons speaker. Specifically, the speaker would complain that his apartment in the Centre Block was too hot in the summer months. The speaker desired a site where he and his family could cool off on a warm evening. Kalman built a scale model of the pavilion and, in May 1986, approached the NCC about the project and its estimated cost. Then NCC Chairman Jean Pigott was described as “crazy about the idea” (Robb 1987).

Pigott initially wanted to have the historic structure re-built with donations from Canadian schoolchildren (Robb 1987). However, the high cost was likely a major barrier to this idea. The CPA took hold of the opportunity, with *Blue Line Magazine* also urging readers “to donate as their conscious dictates” (Blue Line Magazine 1989). With approval from the NCC and funds gathered from police officers nation-wide to dedicate the structure as a memorial to deceased police officers, Kalman managed to place the historic structure back in its original spot.

The magazine article explains that the NCC would donate the land and provide ongoing maintenance of the site and structure. The police community at large would be responsible for raising the \$500,000 (just over \$1 million in 2023) to construct the memorial (Blue Line Magazine 1989). Although Kalman had estimated the cost to be half that – about \$250,000 – the Department of Public Works estimated it to be more than \$300,000 (Robb 1987). It therefore required significant fundraising to build. The article identified Doug Ramsey of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Association as the person selected as chairman of the National Fund-Raising Committee on behalf of the CPA. Details were also noted to be forthcoming as to how donations will be received in future additions of the magazine (Blue Line Magazine 1989).



*Figure 14: Police Officers Killed on Duty in Canada (1978 to 1995) (see Appendix B)*

Like the memorial service – but this time, with no prison officers – the pavilion was a police presentational strategy. The CPA used its significant political and bureaucratic power to establish a permanent monument on the Hill in the wake of the 1987 rejection by Parliament to re-

instate the death penalty, as well as other political frustrations associated with justice. I present a timeline of the broader context in which the pavilion emerged above (see *Figure 14*). This dissatisfaction could be seen in 1992, when police officers nation-wide were described as “mad as hell and not going to take it anymore” (Mulgrew 1992) on the eve of the 44th annual CPA convention. It echoed the feeling of officers before the creation of the original memorial service in 1978, when police were described as “mad ... damned mad!” (Collins 1977) as it regarded Bill C-51, a proposed gun law. Along with pushing for a second and permanent memorial on the Hill, the CPA hired a lobbyist in Ottawa to “air its concerns on crime” (Mulgrew 1992).

Around the time of the creation of the memorial pavilion, the CPA was described as “becoming more active in promoting issues of concern to police” (Mulgrew 1992). CPA President Mike Dungey stressed accountability for lawbreakers (not police). According to reports, he declared, “it’s time those lawmakers and others of their ilk are made accountable for their actions” (Mulgrew 1992). Dungey went on to criticize the *Young Offenders Act* and what he suggested was a pampering of prisoners at the expense of the law-abiding poor.<sup>23</sup> The convention was attended by over 200 officers and about 100 guests from the US and Australia. The erection of a permanent memorial in the form of a pavilion on the parliamentary grounds was among the numerous topics discussed during the five-day convention (Mulgrew 1992).<sup>24</sup>

The next call for memorial funding was in Volume 4, Issue 4 (1993), which emphasized the theme of the memorial requiring more financial support to achieve its commemorative and nationalizing aims. An article titled, “Support Needed for Police Memorial Fund” (Blue Line

---

<sup>23</sup> This occurred at a time when youth incarceration in Canada was high (Doob and Sprott 2006) (see also *Figure 7* of <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/cj-jp/yj-jj/tools-outils/back-hist.html>).

<sup>24</sup> Palmer (2012) also identifies how in the leadup to the construction of the pavilion, the Oppal Inquiry into problems of policing in British Columbia (1992 – 1994) was concluded. The Inquiry, he notes “had national consequences as the RCMP provided BC provincial policing services” (196). Oppal (1994) contends that “policing is undergoing greater scrutiny than at any previous time in history” (4). Palmer (2012) cites Palango (1994), who describes the RCMP being “Above the Law” and there being a “Crisis in the RCMP . . . and in Canada” (1998) (Palmer 2012, 196).

Magazine 1993) notified readers that the CPA and the CACP had received final approval to reconstruct the summer pavilion and dedicate it as police memorial to “commemorate the more than 200 police officers killed in the line of duty since Confederation” (17). The pavilion would also have a plaque showing the police officers’ name, police service, and year of death. The construction was noted as scheduled to commence in the spring with a fall completion. The pavilion, the article underscored, “will serve as a lasting tribute to the profession of law enforcement in Canada. Your help is needed to financially support this memorial construction” (17). Finally, the magazine article noted that donations over \$20 will receive a tax receipt.

Along with asking for donations, the magazine assisted with funding through sales. For example, in Volume 6, Issue 9 (1994), a poem by Irish Canadian poet Terry McGarry printed on a background of a child reaching up to a police officer was also advertised in the magazine for purchase. A few years later, in Volume 9, Issue 5 (1997), it was announced that a donation of \$1,000 was made to the memorial fund from sales of the poem. With the assistance of the magazine, the required \$570,000 was soon raised to construct the police memorial pavilion.

One reason why the cost of the pavilion was more than double what Kalman had estimated was perhaps due to whose firm was selected for the job. This was Julian Smith, one of the foremost conservation architects in the country (see Dare 1994). His past projects had included high-profile sites like the PM’s residence at 24 Sussex Drive and the St. Louis Hotel in the Byward Market (Dare 1994). Adopting a similar approach, his firm engaged in extensive historical research and used old sketches, along with black and white photos from the National Archives of Canada (NAC), to re-create the historic summer pavilion as it once was, helping to naturalize as historic the association between public police work and the nationalizing state (Dare 1994).

The summer pavilion was dedicated on 22 March 1994 (for a picture of it, see *Chapter 1*).

Brown (1994) in the *Ottawa Citizen* describes the event. In part, she writes:

### **Memorial to slain officers dedicated on Parliament Hill**

Canada's slain police officers were honored Tuesday in a ceremony marking the dedication of a memorial on the grounds of Parliament Hill. "The memorial reminds tourists the safe streets of Canada come at a price", said Jim Kingston, chief executive officer of the Canadian Police Association. "It's a symbol of our togetherness". The ceremony was attended by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, various police associations and family members of officers killed in the line of duty. The stone plaque will be fixed at the site in recognition of the 226 police officers slain since Confederation. "The police memorial pavilion is a gift to the people of Canada from its police officers", said Kingston. "It will be a peaceful resting place". Fred's Schultz, Executive Director of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police said discussions are underway to include the names of all police, prison guards, customs officials and other peace officers killed in the line of duty (A4).

As the above description suggests, the monument further expanded and entrenched the carceral state, especially the police role, associating it with themes of the nationalizing state, notably "peace" and "togetherness" (Osborne and Osborne 2004). Its establishment also suggests that the annual service was regarded as unsatisfactory in its role. While "the thin blue line" (Wall 2015) is a more prominent totem in the police performance – in the sense that it has become an international trademark or badge used to bolster this work in the face of criticism – the pavilion also possesses totemic properties and has since also become the official logo of the CPPOM (see *Chapter 1*).

### **10.3. Police Weeks and Penal Tourism: Unravelling the American Influence**

With the dedication of the pavilion on 22 March 1994, Taylor's (1986) earlier description of the annual memorial service as broadcasting the theme of a "strong police force standing apart from, and even above, society" (75) was even more appropriate. According to him, this mythological apartness from society also appeared to speak to the theme of "Americanization" of policing in Canada, in the sense of resembling a more authoritarian model like in the US, or a paramilitary structure that is hostile to democratic values and accountability. Likewise, the influence of the US

also became more prominent in the 1990s with the increased attendance of US officers and penal system organizations (Laroche 1994). Today, the memorial depicts the US-Canada relationship in maintaining order as sacred, with the Canadian nationalizing and carceral state bolstered by an international power represented by its officers and its flag (see for example, *Figure 15*).



*Figure 15: Flags at the 2019 National Memorial Service (photo by Matthew Ferguson)*

The memorial thus “has now become a North American institution” (Adam 2001), as it was described in the obituary of OPS Chief Welsh. Historically, the CPPOM service pre-dates the comparable service on Capitol Hill – the seat of the US government in Washington, D.C – which began four-years later, in 1982 (Ashabranner 2000). Twenty years earlier, however, in 1962, a proclamation signed by US President John F. Kennedy declared 15 May National Peace Officers Memorial Day. It followed the observance of Law Day on 1 May. This is a day celebrating the US legal system and the so-called “peaceful” settlement of disputes through the law, which had been proclaimed by President Dwight Eisenhower in 1958 (The Evening Sun 1958).

President Kennedy also proclaimed the calendar week in which 15 May falls as National Police Week (Ashabranner 2000). Politicians throughout other US jurisdictions did the same, initiating a wave of “penal tourism” (Welch 2015) and “penal spectatorship” (Brown 2009). Police services created open-house activities, such as exhibitions and movies at headquarters, as well as held guided tours of various departments and divisions, including the cells (e.g. El Paso Times

1962; The Bedford Daily Times-Mail 1962). Speaking to the machoism and male superiority associated with carceral and nationalizing states, the week was described in US newspapers as a week “for all Americans to pay respect to the men whose lives of service and sacrifice are devoted to turning law into reality” (Haskell News 1962). During this week, US citizens are expected to celebrate such work, as well as the “brave deeds of officers who have paid the supreme sacrifice” (Haskell News 1962), not the sacrifice of prisoners or other criminalized persons (Brown 2009).

These US developments in the early 1960s appeared to have minimal immediate influence on police practices in Canada. However, by the end of the decade – when rates of violent criminalized harm were rising, a national dilemma which challenged the police performance of control (Manning 1997; see *Chapter 7*) – some chiefs and organizations of Canadian police began calling for “a national police week to be held in Canada as in the United States” (The Leader-Post 1968). As a police presentational strategy, a police week was justified by policing officials as “necessary to acquaint citizens with the problems confronting law enforcement and the need of continuing co-operation” (see The Leader-Post 1968b). Not long after – in 1970 – an official National Police Week was established in Canada from May 9 to 15. It coincided with the US-version, ending on the US Peace Officers Memorial Day. Like in the US, police in Canada created new open-house activities oriented around the theme of promoting knowledge and understanding to further “public understanding of the scope and services” offered by the police (e.g. The North Bay Nugget 1970). These penal tourism activities also promoted penal spectatorship and enhanced support for punishment and criminalization (see Papazoglou and Tuttle 2018; Welch 2015).

Along with adopting similar penal tourism activities, some Canadian police services also began to recognize US Peace Officers Memorial Day. In 1970, for example, some members of the RCMP wore the traditional Scarlett Tunic on this day in recognition “of brother officers who have

been killed in the line of duty” (see Houston Today 1970). Overall, however, National Police Week in Canada was not explicitly concerned with the theme of remembrance. As described in a proclamation from Brantford, Ontario, the aim of police week was three-fold: i) encourage police-citizen partnerships to “prevent crime”; ii) foster a mutual understanding between police services and the community; and iii) “help the police help you” (The Brantford Expositor 1972).

Thus, while Canada and the US had both established National Police Weeks by 1970 as presentational strategies, the US-week was more oriented around memorialization and commemoration. As I have argued, the CPPOM at Parliament Hill that emerged separately in 1978 had its origins in Canadian, not American, law reform and politics. In contrast to the US, it was not originally concerned with memorializing all “peace officers” and took place in a different month. Additionally, at the beginning, there was little ties between police memorialization in Canada and the US. According to *Blue Line Magazine*, it was not until 1992 that Canadian police officers were invited for the first time to participate in the US national service, which also began to honour and remember Canadian police officers (see Rozoski 1992; Blue Line Magazine 2008b).

With the invitation, organizers of the US service – predominantly the Grand Lodge Auxiliary of the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), a national organization of police officers that engages in activities such as collective bargaining, as well as acts a social club – were perhaps being more than just neighbourly. For the first decade of the memorial service at Parliament Hill, the presence of US-based police officers and symbolism (e.g. US flags) was not emphasized in newspaper depictions and may not have been as prominent or respected as they desired.

Unlike contemporary CPPOM services – which have staged a US flag at the front of the ceremony beside a Canadian flag – a photo shared by Laroche (1994) of one of the earliest memorial services shows only Canadian flags and flags of various provinces. In 1989, Laroche

(1994) notes how police officers from Detroit, Chicago, and Cleveland, began attending. Later, but still around this time, it would be noted by Rozoski (1992) in *Blue Line Magazine* that the “FOP executive ... have tried to convince the Canadian government leaders to produce a medallion which could be awarded posthumously to officers killed in this country” (7). The FOP was trying to shape in this fashion and perhaps others how Canada mythologized and memorialized its police, which is another example of the US exporting their means of preserving and further entrenching the nationalizing and carceral state to Canada (Wacquant 2009; Palmer 2012).

The invitation in 1992 also speaks to police memorials as an international phenomenon and policing movement shaped by US, as well as other national interests (see Palmer 2012; Wacquant 2009). After the service, most in attendance made the 10-minute car ride to the NLEO Memorial in Judiciary Square. The memorial had been dedicated by President Bush the year prior – on 8 October 1991 – in front of a crowd of 20,000 people, including officers from Canada (Pfiffer 1991). Although some police officers wanted a “similar permanent tribute” (Rozoski 1992) in Canada, there was also acknowledgement that a police memorial as grand as the US NLEO Memorial was financially unfeasible. The pavilion cost \$500,000 to re-build, while the US NLEO Memorial cost over \$11 million US-dollars (Ashabranner 2000). These funds were raised from 300 corporate sponsors – from Pepsi-Cola to the BorgWarner auto corporation – and over one million private citizens. In more recent times, CPPOM-related activities such as newer commemorative rides and run also relied heavily corporate sponsorship (see *Chapter 11*).

In a history of the US NLEO Memorial, Ashabranner (2000) writes about how the need for a national memorial honouring police and other officers killed on duty had been felt by certain people in the US for a long time. Not unlike police associations and leaders in Canada, he accuses the media of nourishing a violent and negative atmosphere towards police by putting spotlight on

incidents of police corruption, excessive force, and false arrests. Largely ignored was the “faithful, courageous, and skilful service of the overwhelming percentage of ... officers” (17), he argues.

These qualities had been taken for granted by the country, Ashabranner (2000) further argues, which tended to romanticise illegal actions. Like in Australia with the infamous Kelly Gang (Linke 2018), certain figures had “attained a kind of status as folk heroes” (16). The memorial was an attempt to combat this, like National Police Week. It portrayed officers as the real “heroes” – especially those who died in the “line of duty”. They are of the nation, defending the nation, unlike the “criminal” element. Without a memorial, Ashabranner (2000) observes, who would remember the eleven police officers killed by Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow (Bonnie and Clyde), the six by William H. Bonney (Billy the Kid), or the four officers, one trooper, and numerous federal agents killed by John Dillinger and his group (The Dillinger Gang)? Ashabranner (2000) describes how US NLEO Memorial emerged through efforts and myths of police.

The biggest influence of the US NLEO Memorial on the CPPOM at Parliament Hill is seemingly the decision to create a permanent monument that displays not just a plaque, but all names of the dead. Like in the US (Ashabranner 2000), in Canada, research continues to be conducted to include the names of past officers whose deaths match the inclusion criteria. The “roll call” of officers is also present during the memorial service. Several attendees believe that the CPPOM monument needs more signage and accessibility. As one widow noted to me:

It would be nice to have some sort of accessibility, because someday in the future I’m not going to be able to make that walk up there either ... because its way up there, there’s lots of tourists that go through [the parliamentary grounds] that don’t even see it. They have no idea it’s there. They never see it.

Criticisms of the CPPOM by widows of “peace” officers represented on it are rare but tend to surround things such as the speeches and presence of certain politicians. Sometimes, at other memorials as well, a widow will not want to hear or find “bothersome” as one put, speeches by

certain politicians they dislike. A few widows described the memorial service script as needing to be “updated” and “a bit repetitive”. Historically, the location of the CPPOM monument has also been criticized by others as well. In 1996, Volume 8, Issue 7, of *Blue Line Magazine* contained a lengthy, two-page feature article on the topic of Canadian police attendance and reflections at the US NLEO Memorial during National Police Week. It was written by Bob Whitman (1996), an officer with the York Regional Police (YRP) and was titled “Never Let Them Walk Alone”.

The article recounts being invited to the US for various memorial services. These moving experiences in the US, Whitman (1996) admits, caused him to question several characteristics of the Canadian memorial at Parliament Hill. He notes that he does not intend to “find fault with the effort and work done to date by many dedicated and responsible persons to memorialize and honour our fallen officers” (15). He hopes his thoughts will encourage people to look at the national memorial in Ottawa from a fresh perspective. Adopting a similar view as some memorial participants interviewed for this study – who recounted attending and being emotionally moved by US police memorials – he writes, “we may have something to learn from the American way of organization and presentation” (15). Mostly, he scrutinizes the location of the pavilion:

Do we provide quiet, honoured ground to reflect or contemplate times passed with our fallen officers? Is this accomplished at the rear receiving area and parking lot of the Parliament Buildings? Our plaque with names engraved so grandly and ceremoniously lying at ground surface so near to the travel area of the parking lot, presents a danger to those standing in front to pay their respects. Weather and the elements, together with road grime splashing from the parking lot as vehicles motor by in winter makes me ask questions! Or was this location a secondary thought from politicians to appease the police profession? (Whitman 1996).

The stone plaques that once laid at ground level were replaced with the glass tablet monument, several years later, in 2000. At the time, it was not as peaceful a setting as its US-counterpart, whose displayed names were also not lying at ground level. The editor of *Blue Line Magazine* – Morley Lymburner – would later claim that he also expressed concerns about its location,

observing that on one visitation to the memorial, a garbage truck “came perilously close to backing into the name plaques embedded in dirt” (5). Since then, the environment of the Hill has changed significantly. With no parking lot, criticisms now often revolve around its accessibility instead of its inability to “grandly” and “ceremoniously” represent the carceral and nationalizing state.

Whitman (1996) also observes how in 1996, the CPA in conjunction with the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CACCP) had taken on the responsibility of hosting the CPPOM annual service. He claims that in the past, it has been used as “political forum” (15). This, he explains, “debases the memory of the fallen officers” (15). He hopes the service will be directed more to the surviving family members. He suggests that a major aim of the memorial service should be to assist survivors in coming to know “the reality that a death of an officer affects the whole nation. Survivors should be assured that in Ottawa, a city shrouded in this nation’s history, their loved ones are now part of that history” (16) – that is, to associate the violence of carceral work with the nationalizing state, mythologizing and glorifying the deaths of officers as part of nationalizing history and identity represented in Ottawa. In this way, the memorial is not just about pain and heartbreak, but also knowing that a “police officer had meaning and purpose having accepted the ultimate sacrifice” (15). Whitman (1996) then recounts in detail his experience attending the US NLEO Memorial, which reinforced to his group the motto adopted by the FOP Auxiliary and noted by Rozoski (1992) – “Never Let Them Walk Alone” (Whitman 1996).

A few months later, R.J. Lyon – a Detachment Commander in Ottawa – wrote to *Blue Line Magazine* criticizing his article, calling it “very difficult and disappointing to read” (4):

The location was decided after many hours of consideration and input from officers across this great land. The site was picked because of the beautiful and unequal view. The memorial pavilion is a quiet and honoured location for all officers, next of kin in the public to reflect on the death of all the peace officers who have sacrificed their lives while performing their duties.

The plaque with the names engraved is too close to the travel portion and should be enclosed. Weather and the elements, I agree, are a problem. However, they are here to stay. I assure you it was not “a secondary thought for politicians to appease the police profession”.

I do find it extremely disturbing that Whitman would write that the service is not directed to those survivors of the deceased officers. He also stated “Let’s recognize the need to include the deceased officers surviving family members at our service, offer support to surviving families, provide opportunities for them to attend and have planned programs”. Whitman either never attended our memorial or was at the wrong one. This is exactly what we do. The whole service is for the next-of-kin and the police officers who are also grieving because of the loss of a police family member. Surviving family members are always personally invited, have reserve seating, and are looked after on a personal basis. In addition, this year we have included COPS (Concerns of Police Survivor) seminar at the Canadian police College in Ottawa.

In conclusion it would appear that Bob Whitman has more pride in the United States NLEO Memorial than he does in the Canadian Memorial. This is extremely sad. However I do believe we honour peace officers who have died in the line of duty in a stately and compassion ceremony that ensure that they are not forgotten. Perhaps the Americans have something to learn from the Canadian way of organization and presentation (4).

While the role and meanings of US and Canadian police memorialization are similar – associating such work with effectiveness, efficiency, peacefulness, heroism, preparedness, professionalism, and togetherness, as well as staging “violent crime” as a crisis stemming mainly from a lack of respect for police and the law – the birth and development of such practices are different. This unique context is hidden when attending the CPPOM today, where numerous symbols depict the US prominently and its array of “peace officers” as vital to Canada’s peace (Taylor 1986), from flags to the playing of the US National Anthem alongside O Canada.

Walking over to the tablets during my fieldwork, I noticed a wreath with white and red roses. At the centre hole was a piece of paper with the sentence: “In Memory of Those Who Made the Supreme Sacrifice” at the top. Below the photos was the date and another sentence noting that the wreath had been donated by the Grand Lodge FOP, “brothers and sisters in law enforcement” (see *Figure 16*). Below, there was a logo of the FOP and a photo merging the national flags of the countries. The meanings and role of police memorials in the US and Canada are aligned, with

police officers in these neighbouring countries working together to improve their comradery and legitimacy (Linke 2018). Also, to mythologize this work, the carceral state is promoted as a key aspect of Canadian and US national identity and security – depicted by merged flags – as well as conceptualizing and responding to criminalized acts and other perceived threats to order.



*Figure 16: A Memorial Wreath from the US-based FOP (photo by Matthew Ferguson)*

#### **10.4. Roadblocks and Resistance: A Forced Expansion to a “Peace Officers” Memorial**

Police officers killed on duty, armed forces personal who died in battle; we are long accustomed to honouring these. But the movement to have the public, media, and governments formally acknowledge the ultimate contribution of “peace officers” started in earnest just a few years ago. This movement was kicked out of the starting blocks, urged along the way, and driven home principally by Vince Murray.

— CPOMA website (2021)

Despite the relevance of the theme of “Americanization” (Taylor 1986), the expansion of the national memorial was not just a product of the US. In Canada, comparable recognition for the wider division of carceral officer labour – forest rangers, fisheries officer, conservation officers, customs officers, probation officers, and more – did not take place until after the US became more prominent in the service in the mid-1990s (Larochelle 1994). However, according to the Canadian Peace Officers Memorial Association (CPOMA) – the non-profit organization who represents non-

police “peace officers” – the expansion of the national memorial to a “peace officers” memorial in the mid-1990s was largely the result of the efforts of a single man named Vince Murray.

From the beginning, the memorial service was managed by the OPS, who seemingly had no interest in expanding it to include people in similar or other lines of work (Taylor 1986). In 1985, for example, a young worker named Celia Ruygrok, 21, was slain on the job at Kirkpatrick House in Ottawa, a half-way house operated by the John Howard Society. A recent graduate of the criminology program at Carleton University, Ruygrok was sexually assaulted and stabbed to death while working the overnight shift alone with minimal training. A resident of the house was arrested and eventually sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole for 25 years (Brown 1985). After her death, a half-way house worker named Dan McDade wrote a letter to the Solicitor General. He argued that Ruygrok, though not officially an “officer” by title, was killed in the performance of her duties and should be included at the memorial service and its book.

The letter was part of what was described in the *Ottawa Citizen* as a “one-man campaign” (Brown 1985) to have Ruygrok’s name added to the *Book of Remembrance for Police and Correctional Officers* killed on the job, which was in a room at the East Block (see Wills 1987). McDade believed that the omission of Ruygrok in the book was an injustice. He pointed out in the letter that Ruygrok worked in the field of “corrections” like others memorialized. “Granted, she did not work in an elaborate bureaucracy and was not protected by a powerful union”, McDade said in support of her inclusion. “Conversely”, he went on, “she worked alone with parolees with records of considerable violence, for \$4.50 an hour and without employee benefits” (Brown 1985). McDade also pointed out that the seventeenth name added to the national memorial book was a penitentiary cook who was stabbed to death on the job (see Gazette 1978). Ruygrok’s job, McDade believed, “was at least as involved in the correctional field” (Brown 1985, C1) as his was.

Despite his efforts, Solicitor General Warren Beatty would not – or could not – force the OPS to include her name. In contemporary times, Ruygrok is memorialized through the Celia Ruygrok Memorial Scholarship at Carleton University, which was started by her family. The award is given annually to a promising student in the Criminology and Criminal Justice program who has been accepted for a field placement. Meanwhile, during the memorial service, the prison cook is described as a “food services officer” and his inclusion thus legitimized as such.

Despite being exclusive from the start, as the mid-1990s came around, and the CPA and CACP took control of the memorial service from the OPS, it would expand to include all “peace officers” but also remain exclusionary in certain ways. The exclusion of Ruygrok and others is legitimized through the memorial guidelines. The most up-to-date ones are the following:

1. The deceased must have been a sworn, paid full-time peace officer in Canada serving as a regular member or employee of a federal, provincial, municipal law enforcement agency or service and died as a result of an external influence (For greater clarity, this criteria does not include private agencies, auxiliary personnel or other volunteers).
2. The deceased must have been on duty at the time of death, or if off duty, acting in the capacity of a police or peace officer or the circumstances leading to the death must have been brought about because of the officer’s official status.
3. The deceased officer must have acted in good faith in doing everything that could have been reasonably expected.
4. Notwithstanding the above, any set of circumstances which led to the death of an officer may be considered.
5. The application must be approved by the organization concerned and submitted to “the Memorial”.

From the beginning, a select group of people on the backstage have controlled how the memorial looks on the front stage (Manning 1997). They have since created a set of guidelines to legitimize their actions, of which the fourth suggests they are allowed to ignore when they deem appropriate.

They have also permitted US officers to become a bigger part of the national service, while Canadian workers like Ruygrok remain ignored and excluded, as it is perhaps not in their interest to stretch the police mythology too wide. Consider, for example, former OPS Chief Thomas Welsh. It is him, Larochelle (1994) notes, who “felt it was appropriate” (234) to include federal prison guards. If he did not feel this way, it would have just been a police memorial. Indeed, the CPA initially had no interest in including non-police at the pavilion, nor were non-police included in a \$675,000 bronze-statue project known as the Ontario Police Memorial (OPM) in Toronto funded by a grant from the Government of Ontario and unveiled in 2000 (see *Chapter 11*).

According to web sources, while McDade had been unsuccessful in the 1980s, a man named Vince Murray in the early 1990s achieved success at changing the memorial inclusion criteria by drawing attention to the legal term “peace officer” (CPOMA 2021). It perhaps also helped that memorial ties were growing at this time with the US – which had memorialized “peace officers” alongside police officers for decades. However, it still took significant effort on the part of Murray to convince those in charge that the memorial ought to be more like in other countries. Originally from Ireland, Murray worked as a “peace officer” with what is now the Ontario Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services (MCSCS). He believed it was unacceptable that the contributions of police officers and military personnel were honoured and remembered by the public, media outlets, and governments in Canada, but rarely other forms of “peace officers” more generally. Later, in 1999, he publicly described the refusal of OPM organizers to include slain prison guards as a “bloody disgrace ... we both protect the public” (Younger-Lewis 1999). He also criticized the OPM for refusing to include other “peace officers” (Younger-Lewis 1999).

Murray therefore questioned the close ties between police mythology and national mythology. He claimed that federal and provincial prison guards – not just the RCMP or other

police officers – as well as border agents, park wardens, and other forms of “peace officers” were also “critical in establishing a free and law-abiding country that had emerged to be the envy of the world” (CPPOM 2022). In the early 1990s and perhaps earlier, he embarked on a campaign to ensure such populations were recognized alongside other forms of “peace officers” in Canada. According to the CPOMA (2022), when it came to the national memorial, standing in the way of the changes Murray desired was “contrary government policy, inter-organizational jealousy, bureaucratic intransigence and more than a couple of inflexible individuals”. In this sense, the expansion of the national police and prison officer memorial to a wider “peace” officers memorial was forced. Often times, during the memorial activities, it is instead talked about as if it was a consensual decision made by those in charge based on discussions (see also Brown 1994).

Despite such roadblocks and resistance – as well as the lack of cohesion that surrounds the structure of the “criminal justice system” generally (see Hulsman 1986) – today, the CPPOM is characterized by themes of unity and togetherness. On the front stage, the various organizations and associations associated with the CPPOM are depicted as a cohesive unit, all working together and putting their lives at risk in the supposedly endless fight against “crime” (Manning 1997).

On the backstage, according to the CPOMA and as seen in news depictions, the relationship between police and other “law enforcement” occupations in the area of memorialization has been conflictual, not consensual. For example, in response to Murray’s criticism of the OPM for only including police and neglecting the contributions of prison guards to public safety and security, Richard Houston – executive manager of the Police Association of Ontario (PAO) – remarked, “This is not an issue with us, we’re not prepared to change anything and it is not my problem”. (Younger-Lewis 1999). This statement occurred a few years after the national memorial had already been expanded to include prison guards and others due to the efforts of Murray.

The specific nature of the roadblocks and resistance faced at this time is best known to Murray, who is now deceased. To get the job done, however, he had earlier created a national organization – what would later become the CPOMA – whose sole purpose was to see that “peace officers” were memorialized in Ottawa and elsewhere, commemorating them alongside police. The first meeting was on 14 September 1995. With a group established, it was only a matter of time before the national memorial service that emerged to recognize only police officers and federal prison guards expanded into a more inclusive “peace officers” memorial. On the CPOMA website – but seemingly nowhere else, perhaps as it damages the memorial myth of carceral unity and togetherness – one can read about Murray’s intense determination that led to success and the apt motto of the organization – “In Arduis Fidelis”, which is Latin for Faithful in Adversity.

On 26 September 1994, a stone plaque with the names of 51 prison guards, conservation officers, and customs officials was unveiled at the Police Memorial Pavilion during a separate ceremony “commemorating federal and provincial law enforcement personnel who risk their lives” (Vancouver Sun 1994). The ceremony was attended by about 150 prison workers, game wardens, conservation officers, and customs agents, along with about 300 other guests (Vancouver Sun, 1994). It was presided over by then federal Solicitor-General Herb Grey and occurred a day after the Sunday ceremony, when the names of ten police officers killed were added to the memorial.

The first unified commemorative ceremony for police and “peace officers” was held on Parliament Hill on 29 September 1996 in front of a crowd of at least 3,000 (Stern 1996). Speaking to the crowd, Solicitor-General Herb Grey remarked that “terrible sacrifice” of the recognized officers would be felt across the country. “The security we enjoy does not occur by chance”, he noted (Stern 1996). After the service, then OPS Chief Brian Ford refused to comment after being

asked if those in charge of the memorial would consider honouring OPS Constable Shawn Wilson, who died by suicide on 9 May 1995 while under internal investigation in the death of a suspect.

I thus conclude this chapter focusing on the development of the memorial by discussing the exclusion of two populations from recognition. First, auxiliary police officers (i.e. volunteer officers) and second, police and “peace” officers who died by suicide. I explain how some deaths of officers are mythologized and glorified and others not, especially those which did not occur in what participants call the “line of duty”. These exclusions work to uphold an image of this work – and the so-called “thin line” between order and chaos – as strong, heroic, and professional.

### **10.5. Auxiliaries and Deaths by Suicide: Rejection in a Time of Memorial Expansion**

By the early 2000s, the bureaucratic apparatus behind the memorial and symbolized at the new glass monument “designed not to impede the dramatic views from Parliament Hill” (O’Connell 2001, 102) – which was created by Phillips-Farevaag-Smallenberg (PFS Studio) to replace the stone tablets that were originally located at ground level and deemed to pose “an out-of-scale impediment to Parliament Hill’s summer pavilion” (102) – had expanded alongside attendance at the service and other practices. A triad of associations now exercised administration over the memorial. While new types of carceral officers were included and recognized, the memorial also seemed to become more concerned than ever before with theme of paid, public professionalism. This could be seen with the multiple rejections of RCMP Auxillery Constable Glen Evely.

Constable Evely, 39, was an auxiliary officer in the North Okanagan city of Vernon, BC. An auxiliary constable with the RCMP is an unarmed, specially trained volunteer at least 19 years of age who donates their time to assist the police (RCMP 2021). In the early morning hours of 13 November 2004, a man stole a pick-up truck (Knox 2006). He drove the truck dangerously, prompting a concerned motorist to call the police. The pursuit was called off after he drove at

speeds more than 100 km/hour and ran four red lights. At the last one, he momentarily took his eyes off the road. The truck entered the intersection and slammed into a police cruiser, which had responded to a call for assistance. Inside the cruiser was Constable Evely, who was killed..

Following his death, the Okanagan Lake Recreation Site, a camping site near Vernon, was renamed the Evely Recreation Site. He was also memorialized at the RCMP Memorial in Regina, Saskatchewan. While his “service” and “sacrifice” was widely recognized, there seemed to be one glaring omission – the CPPOM in Ottawa. To this date, the memorial committee has rejected at least three applications to recognize him by including him on the CPPOM “Honour Roll”.

According to media representations, this is because Constable Evely was not a full-time, paid, police professional. He did not carry a gun, for example, or attend police college. According to a memorial representative, this was an original criterion. “We don’t change the criteria every time someone is killed just to get them on. But it is a grey area”, Bob Lyon, a memorial representative, noted to the media (Rolke 2006a). “Nothing has changed that I’m aware of”, Lyon said, describing the memorial as being for “full-time police and peace officers” (Rolke 2006b).

The most outspoken objectors to the rejections of Constable Evely were the Vernon RCMP Detachment, the BC Association of Chiefs of Police, journalists and residents of Vernon, and Lymburner at *Blue Line Magazine*. Various police officers, active and retired, as well as media members and politicians also voiced – whether over the phone or through writing and petitions – support for his inclusion (e.g. Blue Line Magazine 2007a; 2007b; 2008; 2009). The majority of those interviewed in this project also expressed support for the inclusion of auxiliary officers who died while performing this role. The following is a representative remark from a participant:

Auxiliary officers, I feel like they should be included. The way auxiliary officers are set up is that they’re volunteering their time, but in an emergency situation they can be called upon to assume the role of a regular officer at any time. So, I don’t see the reason why they

wouldn't be included. That's just my personal opinion. I'm not involved in the decision-making process and I don't even know who the people who make these decisions are.

Another interviewee noted another time an auxiliary officer was not honoured:

I don't think many have died. There was one auxiliary who got shot with David Wynn. This auxiliary was shot and wounded. But they put David up for an award and they didn't do anything for his auxiliary partner. So I personally thought that was not right.<sup>25</sup>

Awareness of Constable Evely's rejections grew in 2007 through the assistance of *Blue Line Magazine* (Lymburner 2007), which helped fund but was not afraid to critique the memorial. In Volume 11, Issue 5, for example, a response was published to the letter, "How come no police memorial announcements" (Blue Line Magazine 2000). Pat Hayes, a police officer, wrote to the magazine noting his surprise regarding the lack of promotion by the magazine for the memorial. "The Police Memorial Service for all officers across Canada has been recognized by the government and if you open a normal calendar, you will find the date highlighted", he wrote. However, he went on to point out, he had yet to see the event highlighted in the magazine, nor had he seen any announcement in the April edition for the dedication of the OPM in Toronto that was to occur on 7 May 2000. "This message is more from curiosity of why a police-centered medium is not promoting the purest of police events", Hayes concluded. "I am presuming someone on staff knows that the Memorial Service exists!" The letter received a detailed response:

The reality of this situation is sensitive in that, frankly, the organizers really don't want our help. The essence of your letter is the main concern of ours and that is the phrase "the purest of police events". Both the Ontario [Police] Memorial and the National Memorial in Ottawa has been advised for many years now that if they want our assistance it will be given without cost, without hesitation, and with no strings attached. They have never asked for our help and by their silence we have taken the simple message to "butt-out". In spite of this it does not reduce our wish to help.

The true answer to your question lays with the CACP, PAO and CPA. You can call them and ask them why Blue Line has never been asked to help. I am sure they each have a very rational and convincing statement that will satisfy you completely.

---

<sup>25</sup> An online search reveals that RCMP Auxiliary Constable Derek Bond did indeed receive the RCMP Commissioner's Bravery Award for his actions, though perhaps he was not immediately nominated for it.

It should be pointed out that these memorials are built for the living, not the dead. They are there to remind the living about the sacrifices of these officers and that sacrifices are continually being made for their benefit. Unfortunately, they are also seen as a high profile lobby pressure tactic to gain advantages for the living. They get the sympathy of politicians and the public toward causes of the police. On one hand this is good because it gets things changed that need to be changed. On another level it can be used to promote the image of leaders and organizations for their personal or organizational advantage. Regardless of all of the politics between Union and Management lobby groups we decided to stay out of the fray and let them have their limelight.

When we made the offer to do whatever we could it was not for any recognition at all. We did not want to be placed on a pedestal or use it to further the name of Blue Line Magazine. We would simply be satisfied to place the promotional material in the book and leave it at that. We simply feel it would be our mandate to assist.

While we are on the subject I might as well tell you a few other things we feel should happen. We still think the national monument should be on the front lawn of the Supreme Court of Canada and not in the back ally of parliament. On a personal level I sincerely believe that if any monument is true to its intent it will be erected without any organizational logos of any kind. It detracts from the true purpose of the monument. Unfortunately the dead are too often captive to the whims of the living. Enough said! (Lymburner 2000, 4).

The publisher's reaction to the multiple rejections of RCMP Auxiliary Constable Evely almost a decade later built on this previous criticism. "I have had many concerns over the Canadian Police and Peace Officer's Memorial in the past", Lymburner (2007) begins. "I now have one more reason to question [it]", he writes. "It has turned into a photo op for the media, a political tool of gamesmanship, and a labour relations platform whose true value has outstripped any true recognition of the officers who gave their lives" (5). He then draws attention to the first guideline of the memorial. This guideline, Lymburner (2007) writes, is a "disgraceful, twisted, politically correct testament to the living and does nothing to honour fallen officers" (5). He questions why the rules would have so many special caveats – such as "full-time" and "external influence" and no "private agencies" – suggesting they are designed to appease special interest groups. Given these rules, Lymburner (2007) points out that officers from the Canadian Pacific Railway Police (CPRP) and Canadian National Railway Police (CNRP) should be excluded from the memorial, as these are private police services. At present, though, there were five names on the memorial

from these two private agencies. As the rules now excluded them, this suggested that concern with the theme of “public service” has become more prominent at the memorial.

It also seemed to be the case with the theme of paid professionalism. Lymburner (2007), for example, identifies two RCMP Auxillary Constables who were *already* recognized on the memorial, making Constable Evely’s rejections head-scratching. On 4 April 1986, RCMP Auxiliary Constable and criminology student Frederick Abel, 23, died when a truck with no lights on driving the wrong way slammed into his cruiser. Additionally, on 29 August 1992, RCMP Auxiliary Constable Joseph (Sam) Balmer, 25, was killed in a head on collision. “Someone, at sometime, on the Board of the Police Officer Memorial has determined these two officers warrant a place on the memorial”, Lymburner (2007) writes. However, for some reason – when it comes to Constable Evely – “Inclusion denied!” (5). He finishes by claiming that organizers have insulted Constable Evely’s memory – which in the previous chapter, I suggested they have also done with OPS Constable Kirkwood due to a similar concern with emphasizing the “heroism” involved in “professional” carceral work – and do not appear to “understand what sacrifice is” (5).

Adding to the claim that themes of “public service” and “paid professionalism” had become more important aspects of the memorial as a presentational strategy, is the fact that there appears to have been no parenthesis in the inclusion guidelines before the death of Constable Evely. According to some supporters of his inclusion, this parenthesis was added afterwards by the memorial administration to clarify that such people were not or no longer welcome on the memorial. As Mannella (2014) noted in a more recent *Blue Line Magazine* article in support of his inclusion: “Evely met all but one of the memorial’s retroactively changed criteria” (38), nor does there appear to have been anything about the officer needing to be full-time. In 2006, an opinion writer remarked about the guidelines, “notice that it doesn’t say full-time anywhere” (Vernon

Morning Star 2006). Moreover, I have not located an older news article that specifies any specific rules beyond the deceased officer needing to have been killed while on duty. According to the memorial coordinator Bob Lyon, though, the rules were clear from the start. He therefore suggested that it had been a mistake by past committee members to include Frederick Abel and Joseph (Sam) Balmer. With him and others at the helm, this mistake would be fixed.

It is perhaps less likely that these inclusions were mistakes, and also likely that the memorial committee rejected Constable Evely because they were not obligated to include him. In contrast, an original founder of the memorial – the former OPS Chief Thomas Welsh, who had died a few years earlier, on 12 February 2001 (Adam 2001) – might have had no problem with accepting Constable Evely. I have argued that a central role of the memorial from the outset was not just to honour police officers killed on duty. Rather, its role in the beginning was also to bring police and prison officers together during a time when officers were facing public pressure and criticism – due to a rising “crime” rate, acts of brutality, and more – and certain federal politicians were refusing to prioritize their interests as police themselves saw them when it came to addressing and punishing criminalized harm, namely in the areas of gun control and the death penalty (see *Chapters 7, 8, and 9*). The service was not supposed to cause controversy or be an avenue for some police officers to criticize others, which the rejections of Constable Evely had caused.<sup>26</sup>

According to OPS Ceremonial Sergeant Major Steve Boucher – the lead organizer of the annual CPPOM Service who recently took over this position (see *Chapter 6*) – another possible reason for the contemporary exclusion of auxiliaries is terminology surrounding the role:

I don’t know the history of the criteria. As it exists now, I don’t know how it came to be that way. For auxiliaries, some of it could be terminology. For us in Ottawa, auxiliary

---

<sup>26</sup> On 4 June 1980, another RCMP Auxiliary Constable, named Dennis Fraser, was killed by an impaired motorcyclist. He was not honoured on the memorial. However, a news article at the time describes Constable Fraser as “off-duty” when he was struck (The Vancouver Sun 1980). It is perhaps possible that other memorial committee members deduced from him not being recognized that the memorial was reserved only for “full-time” officers.

officers are not sworn, full-time, paid officers. They're volunteers. Whereas for other agencies, auxiliary may take on a different meaning ... In Ottawa, they're not given the same tasks [as paid professional officers] ... their tasks are not "front line" oriented. They wouldn't be put in a position where they would end up on the road effecting arrests, doing court files, that sort of stuff. In other agencies, however, they may.

With an emphasis on themes of "public service" and "paid professionalism", the exclusion guidelines added another layer of bureaucracy to the memorial, heroizing certain professions and people in relation to the carceral and nationalizing state (Terpstra and Salet 2022). It did not matter to the committee that Constable Evely had died with the word "police" on his uniform, as Lymburner (2007) points out, or that he decided to wear the police uniform when things like a gun and pay were denied to him, or that he "risked his own livelihood and the support of his family" (5), or that other auxiliary police officers had been permitted onto the memorial in the past. What mattered was that Constable Evely was not a paid, police "professional" who are considered to be the essential agents of the carceral state that protect citizens from lawbreakers, working on the so-called "front line" – as OPS Ceremonial Sergeant Major Steve Boucher and other officers put it (e.g. Closs 2009) – in the mythical "fight" against "crime" and the battle of good against evil.

Focus on the exclusion of a single auxiliary killed in this role in the 2000s while chasing after a so-called "lawbreaker" – a tragic but exceedingly rare event – in part detracted focus from the continued exclusion of another population from the memorial, whose deaths are much more common but in certain ways disrupt the mythological image that the CPPOM has historically sought to construct of strong, professional, carceral organizations and members serving and sometimes perishing to protect communities and the country. This is officers who have died by suicide after suffering a traumatic – or years of traumatic experiences – on the job. In recent years, increasing media attention due to upset family members of such people continue to shed light on this exclusion (see Grimaldi 2022; Casey 2021; Molina 2019; Payette 2021). As will be discussed

more in the next chapter, mental health is a hidden aspect of the memorial, with some participants having experienced psychological injuries and contemplated suicide due to the job themselves. Of those interviewed in this study (n=19), the table below sums up their beliefs as to whether the CPPOM “Honour Roll” should expand to recognize “peace” officers who died by suicide.<sup>27</sup>

**Table 2: Positions of Interviewees on Including Suicide at the CPPOM**

	Number of Respondents
YES	3
NO	10
MAYBE	4
REFUSE TO ANSWER	2

All family members of officers already recognized on the CPPOM “Honour Roll” and interviewed in this study were against the idea of including deaths by suicide. This, it was suggested to me, is the official stance of the widow’s group known as the Survivors of Law Enforcement (SOLE) on this issue. At least two participants had written letters to politicians or high-ranking officers asking them not to include deaths by suicide. Nearly all, however, followed this refusal up with a claim expressing their support for the creation of “separate” memorials recognizing such deaths (see *Chapter 12*). The main reason for this position is the belief that the CPPOM should be reserved for officers who died “on duty” – in this specific interpretation, meaning going to work and then, because of some external influence, not returning home. However, resistance is also more complex. The following are some representative remarks:

---

<sup>27</sup> The participants who refused to answer (and in both cases, changed the subject) – one of which being the former police officer who was critical of the CPPOM – did so because they had no strong feelings either way. Additionally, the memorial excludes another large population – the names of citizens killed by police and other forms of “peace officers” through what is often classified as legal intervention. This absence is discussed more in *Chapter 11*.

There are many different aspects as to why somebody would take their life ... their medical history ... family life ... marital issues ... there's so many aspects I don't think you can narrow it down and because of that you can't put them on the same wall.

When we go, the family members [of officers who have been killed "in the line of duty"], that's where we connect and get together. They need somewhere separate for them to connect and get together, as they are dealing with the same sort of issues.

NO WAY are they getting on that wall. [My loved one] didn't choose to take his life. They can have their own wall ... [my loved one] had his life taken from him.

I know of many suicides where the police officers were being investigated criminally ... You want to put a person like that beside my husband?

As the above remarks suggest, opposition to the inclusion of suicide at the CPPOM is so strong that according to Andrea Lamothe – Director of the Ottawa Police Association (OPA) and the organizer of the widow and widowers' dinner: "If you put suicide on the wall, you will have widows taking their husband's names down" – which she then suggested to me would cause more problems, as no one has the authority to remove a name from the memorial. The CPPOM is associated with a myth of eternalness. No one can remove a name, let alone the entire thing.

In part, this opposition is rooted in the myths that the CPPOM has helped to construct. According to one interviewee and memorial participant – who is not related to an officer who died on the job – "there is so much hatred and so much resentment from victims' families towards the 'bad guys' who hurt or killed their loved ones" that they are unable to recognize the point of view of family members whose loved ones have died from suicide, which is that physical injuries suffered "in the line of duty" should not trump mental health injuries that sometimes lead an officer to the decision to end their life. On the other hand, the interviewee also suggested that family members of the latter population are in so much pain that they fail to see that they – according to this interviewee – do *not* belong at this specific memorial, as their loved ones died "because" of the line of duty, which in police mythology is not the same as dying "in" the line of duty.

This was not the position of three interviewees, however, as well as another four who suggested that they were thinking about supporting the inclusion of suicide but were still on the fence due to issues noted above. The following are some comments by the interviewees:

This job takes lives regardless of it's a guy with a knife in an alley or it's the impact of seeing the horrible things we see on a daily basis. It does take lives. We need to recognize that ... It needs to be recognized on Parliament Hill.

With a member who has taken their own life, suffering from PTSD or any mental health issues, right now it is being discussed. I think it would be a positive ... I think it is an "on duty" loss of life and I would like to see that happen.

From a policing perspective, it can be extremely difficult to manage our mental health and some officers unfortunately feel like the only solution is suicide ... you cannot understate that sacrifice ... I don't think that should be forgotten.

As these remarks suggest, the divide between positions appear to be related to motivations for visiting and attending the CPPOM. On the one hand – according to my interviewees with memorial participants and organizers – those strongest against this change tend to be those who attend the CPPOM predominantly to honour and pay respects to a single loved one who is represented on it, who is perceived as having earned the special right to be nationally recognized as a hero due to the myth of them dying in "the line of duty" which it constructs and upholds. To some of them, there can be another memorial on Parliament Hill to suicide, but it cannot occur at the same time.

On the other hand, those in favour of this change – or considering it – tend to be those who attend the memorial predominantly to honour and pay respects to all deceased officers. They believe that a focus on physical injuries is outdated or discriminatory and that mental health injuries deserve recognition, especially from police services which have historically denied the families of officers this (see also Grimaldi 2022; Casey 2021; Molina 2019; Payette 2021).

It was sometimes noted by participants that discussions were "ongoing" on the issue of suicide. However, according to a news report, they have been ongoing at the CPPOM since at least

the 1990s with no changes (Molina 2010). While the position of SOLE is influential, there seems to be more to it than just this. If suicide was included at the CPPOM it would impact the myths it constructs to promote carceral and nationalizing state expansion. Organizers would not be able to draw such a hard line between good and evil. They would perhaps be forced to admit that so-called “lawbreakers” like Frederick Koepke (see *Chapter 9*) also suffer from mental illness and that the state have been the “bad guys” – in the sense that, as the same interviewee observed, “until the last few years, the majority of services in Canada didn’t do a good job at helping the officers who have taken their own lives”. As seen with the death of OPS Constable Kirkwood, the memorial did not emerge to recognize the failures of the carceral and nationalizing state – it hid them.

Whether an interviewee was for or against the “hot potato” issue of suicide – as one interviewee described it – all stressed that the CPPOM is characterized by a spirit of remembrance. While reasons have been presented to justify the continued “forgetting” at the CPPOM of auxiliary officers and officers who have died by suicide, both are in certain ways at odds with presentational strategies and themes that manifest through its symbolism, namely public service, paid professionalism, and the mythology of carceral officers dying in the “fight” against criminalized harm. Yet even when an officer dies according to these circumstances, according to protocol, extensive information is required. For any person to be honoured at the CPPOM, a memorial “Application Package” (2019) must be currently completed that includes the following:

**A - PEACE OFFICER STATUS AT TIME OF DEATH: (item 5)**

(a) enclose a brief description of the peace officer's law enforcement duties (b) enclose documentation confirming the peace officer status of officer (c) enclose copies of applicable legislation with the pertinent citations (d) if the officer's peace officer authority was restrained or limited in any way by the employing agency or by law, describe those restrictions.

**B - DESCRIPTION OF THE INCIDENT: (item 12)**

Attach a complete, detailed and full description of the circumstances and events preceding, during and subsequent to the incident that resulted in the officer's death, including the dates, times, localities, names of witnesses, subsequent events pertaining to the case, court proceedings and all other pertinent information.

#### **C - MEDIA INFORMATION**

Attach copies of all available print media articles or references to this incident including published obituaries, death notices including dates and sources. Also include any audio or visual material that provides information supporting this submission.

#### **D - OFFICIAL REPORTS**

Attach copies, where available, of (a) police accident or investigation reports (b) post mortem findings (c) coroner's report (d) summaries and results of internal investigations.

#### **E - LACK OF INFORMATION**

Where it is not possible to provide the information requested in any item or sub-item from items 3 to 18, attach a written explanation as to why each item or sub-item was not addressed or was not pertinent to this case.

#### **F - POINTS WHICH MUST BE ADDRESSED IN THE OVERALL SUBMISSION**

Sponsoring agencies and contact persons should be cognizant of a number of significant factors that will be considered in the review of this application package and take care to ensure that these points are addressed satisfactorily in their submission. They are: (a) the deceased officer must have been a sworn, paid, and full time peace officer in Canada, serving as a regular member or employee of a federal, provincial, or municipal law enforcement agency or service (1) (b) the deceased officer must have died as a result of an external influence. (c) the deceased officer must have been on duty at the time of death, or, if off duty, acting in the capacity of a peace officer; or the circumstances leading to the death must have been brought about because of the officer's official status, and (d) the deceased officer must have acted in good faith, in doing everything that could have been reasonably expected, leading up to or at the time of his death.

#### **G - SUBMISSION DEADLINES**

Historical applications must be approved by the organization concerned and submitted to the CPOMA Awards Committee before August 1st in any year.

The exact reasoning behind the need to collect this information is unclear, aside from perhaps having empirical "evidence" to bolster the mythology of the tablets and a backstage database to use however the CPA, the CACP, and CPOMA wish based largely on organizational memory of

“what happened” to officers and how the authority of the officer was “restrained or limited in any way by the employing agency or by law” (National Memorial Application Form 2019.). Intentionally or not, it makes the application process difficult, ensuring the CPPOM remains exclusive and appears official, legal, and professional. In this sense, the CPPOM is marked not by a spirit of remembrance, as participants often claimed, so much as a spirit of bureaucracy.

## **10.6. Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the expansion of the memorial that occurred in the mid-1990s, a period in which the development, meanings, and role of the memorial changed in complex ways. There was an increased presence of US-based officers, who exported their means of preserving and further entrenching the nationalizing and carceral state to Canada. It also transformed into a national “peace officers” memorial service and day through the efforts of the CPOMA that was more representative of the division of labour characterizing the carceral state (see *Appendix C*). Around this time, the CPA also unveiled a reconstructed historic structure once known as the Summer Pavilion as a “symbol of our togetherness” – further entrenching the nationalizing state – and meant to remind tourists “that the safe streets of Canada come at a price” (Brown 1994) – further entrenching the carceral state and elevating the supremacy of the police role.

These developments in Ottawa would go on to influence the creation of new provincial memorials and services for officers – such as the OPM in Ontario and the NBPOM in New Brunswick, which I also visited (see *Chapter 1* and *12*) – further entrenching the myth that carceral work is effective, peaceful, heroic, prepared, professional, and united, especially through the myth of officers forming the “thin line” between so-called civilization and savagery, and dead officers having sacrificed themselves to this end. Additionally, this period of the CPPOM staged “violent crime” as a national and international crisis stemming from disrespect for police and the law.

As the memorial expanded, it also became characterized by a more complex bureaucracy or backstage management concerned with controlling who is recognized at it through a series of guidelines. These guidelines enhance the legitimacy of the memorial as an institution and protect it from change, with some participants describing them as if they are sacred and immutable. In reality, they are vague and can be bypassed by those in control. The “bureaucratic ideal” (Manning 1997), along with the themes of “public service” and “paid police professionalism”, help to naturalize its mythology, which is not natural or a given but is forged through struggle. In the final findings chapter, I examine how the CPPOM continued to expand in the 2000s through the creation of new activities, which reveal further insight into how penal system work is staged and performed through commemoration, how the commemoration of penal system actors as heroes generates and maintains support for the punishment and the social distance that exists between ordinary citizens and people in conflict with the law, as well as myths around this work, which legitimize the existence, expansion, and domination of punitive ways of thinking and acting in the world.

## **11. THE THRILL OF REACHING THE HILL: FEELINGS OF HEROISM AND COURAGE AT THE MEMORIAL TODAY**

I remember, especially the first time, riding up onto the Hill ... there were people lining the streets, there were people up on Parliament Hill, you could barely move. They were lining the path all the way up to the memorial at the top ... It was almost indescribable ... [I was] overtaken with emotion.

— Memorial Ride Interview Participant, 2020

### **11.1. Introduction**

In this final findings chapter, I briefly discuss some newer memorial activities as part of this study that aims to demystify, demythologize, and debunk the birth, development, meanings, and role of the CPPOM. I predominantly draw on data collected through fieldwork at the 2019 National Memorial – the last “normal” year before the COVID-19 pandemic drastically altered the activities for two years before all events again took place in September 2022 (see *Chapter 6*), as well as interviews with participants. First, I begin by discussing themes associated with the Canadian Police Memorial Ride to Remember (CPMRR), a cycling event established in 2000, which departs a few days before the national service from the Ontario Police College (OPC) in Aylmer, Ontario. The cyclists ride 700 kilometers, sometimes more, stopping at the Ontario Police Memorial (OPM) at Queen’s Park in Toronto before arriving at Parliament Hill in Ottawa. The day after cyclists depart, a ceremony at the OPM marks the beginning of the National Peace Officers Memorial Run (NPOMR), established in 2005, a 460-kilometer relay event which I discuss next. Finally, I discuss two private or “backstage” events during the CPPOM weekend for family members of officers on the memorial: i) a dinner for widows and widowers; and ii) a family vigil on Parliament Hill.

In discussing these activities, this chapter demonstrates how the CPPOM has evolved at the beginning of this century to incorporate pilgrimages and other uplifting social activities, helping it become a more established carceral and nationalizing state institution. Some newer

memorial activities occur in public on the frontstage, while others take place in backstage areas (Goffman 1959). No matter what “stage” an event operates on, I explain how the activities foster powerful emotions, such as feelings of heroism and courage among participants – feelings which Larochelle (1994) only briefly touches on and Taylor (1986) neglects. These feelings often peak upon reaching the Hill for the first time on the last weekend in September. The CPPOM activities, I clarify, do not just represent dead officers who are mythically remembered by participants as heroes for communities and the country. Its role is also to make officers and family members of slain officers feel proud, courageous, and like national heroes themselves. The feelings it generates are often depicted and expressed through the symbol of the “thin blue line” that characterizes the mythology of the carceral state being situated beside or in close relation to the national flag.

### **11.2. The Birth and Meanings of the Canadian Police Memorial Ride to Remember**

Aylmer – the home of the OPC and start of the ride – is a small town in Elgin County, Southwestern Ontario with a population of less than 10,000. For much of its history, it was more informally known as Aylmer West to distinguish it from a community of the same name in Quebec on the north shore of the Ottawa River. In 2002, this community merged with four other cities to become Gatineau. Aylmer, Ontario is located on Highway #3 at the mid-point between Detroit, Michigan and Buffalo, New York. Along with hosting the central training academy for police officers in the province, the small town is known for its parks, museums, gift shops, and wildlife management areas. The OPC is about an eight-minute drive northeast from its main strip.

de Lint (1997) analyzes the OPC in a doctoral dissertation exploring how police constables have been “shaped” over time through changes in styles of policing, including with the creation of residential police training academies. According to him, the police academy or college is “(ideally) designed to produce, out of men and women with diverse backgrounds, values and interests, police

constables who make evaluations and distinctions (judgements) which are consistent with institutional aims and knowledges” (166). In this respect, de Lint (1997) describes them as having the same aim as “total institutions” or those institutions, where “a large number of like-situated individuals cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time together lead an enclosed formally administered round of life” (Goffman, 1961, 22), such as prisons and military barracks. They act as a “‘forcing house’ for changing persons” (1961, 12) – in this case, into police officers. Attendance at the OPC was sometimes described in interviews as one of the “sacrifices” police make, as one widow of an officer recognized on the memorial noted to me:

When he joined the police force, our son was 7 months old. The moment he joined, our life went into a complete change. He had a 9 to 5 job that was pretty well paid. When he joined the police he was only starting at \$36,000. That was probably half of what he was making in the other job ... that’s a sacrifice right there. Another sacrifice is when he left to attend the OPC in Aylmer – see, I thought when he said he was going to Aylmer, he was going to Aylmer, Quebec – I didn’t know there was a town called Aylmer in Ontario. I wasn’t tremendously worried. Well, guess what? He was far away and I was left alone at home with a 7-month-old. I had no other family to help me. He did occasionally come home, but it was rare and a really long drive ... the sacrifice with policing starts very early.

According to de Lint (1997), police academies like the OPC emerged in the mid-twentieth-century as “near-total” institutions – “time and space governance is not total” (167) – for the “shaping of habits and conduct” (162). According to de Lint (1997), such devices are comparable to those used in actual total institutions. However, the former is marked by “voluntary attendance” (167). According to another interviewee, cadets are permitted to leave “basically whenever you don’t have class. There is a lineup at 5pm of cars waiting to go back. Some people who live close by don’t sleep there”. Thus, most cadets are not “cut off from the wider society” (Goffman 1961, 22), but for some spouses it has felt like they were cut off from them. At the same time, attendance is also not voluntary in the sense that Ontario police recruits hired by the OPP and municipal or

Indigenous police services are required – that is, forced – to attend, as a condition of their employment, the 12-week Basic Constable Training (BCT) Program at the institution.

Before WWII (1939 to 1945), the location where the OPC now sits was nothing but corn fields and a forest visited by rabbit hunters. The hunters disappeared after the site transformed into a Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) Station, built between 1940 and 1941. Also known as the No. 14 Flying Training School, it graduated pilots from countries such as Canada, England, and Australia. This aspect of its history is memorialized at the entrance of the college. There is a long road – which CPMRR participants ride down – at the beginning of which is an aircraft-shaped structure. It resembles the shape of a “T” and has a concrete base. Beside it are two flags, one powdered blue containing the symbol of the union jack and the other a Canadian flag. A plaque identifies the structure as a wind tee, a visual aid for pilots. Specifically, the plaque reads:

The Ontario Police College now occupies the site that was formerly the location of the Royal Canadian Air Force Station Aylmer. Between 1941 and 1961, thousands of aircrew and ground support personnel received their training here. Many of these graduates went on to give their lives in supreme sacrifice for democracy and freedom during the Second World War and the Korean War. It is to these courageous spirits who hailed from Canada, the United States, and all parts of the British Commonwealth that this restored and re-located wind tee is dedicated.

Associating police and military work, the monument encourages feelings of heroism and courage among those who attend the college, while promoting the myth that police also uphold “democracy and freedom”, rather than the interests of the powerful and the status quo (Manning 1997). In the early 1950s, a group from the Chief Constables’ Association – later re-named the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police (OACP) – developed a plan to establish a centralized police training college to improve and standardize training (North Bay Nugget 1963). A college was also a presentational strategy to enhance public trust and confidence in the police by transforming it from a job into a profession. The institution was justified through the claim that criminalized acts

were evolving, becoming sophisticated, and diverse. The untrained officer was helpless against “intelligent and frequently well-educated criminals” (North Bay Nugget 1963), it was claimed at the time.

As the facility where all police in the province have been trained since the 1960s, participants in the CPMRR have fond memories and a feeling of nostalgia upon returning to the college, seeing other officers, and viewing its extensive memorialization. This includes a recent area of the OPC known as the “Memorial Path” or the “Path of Honour”. As one explained:

The college houses the Memorial Path. I know the Ride and Run to Remember are the only sources of funding for that Path of Honour. Every year, that’s one of the main focuses of the fundraising, to be able to give a check to maintain and upgrade the Path of Honour for remembering officers in Ontario that have made those sacrifices. As the Ride started to gain momentum [in the early 2000s] and more and more got involved, it kind of made sense to have the OPC as a starting point because that was one of the focuses of the fundraising. It is also one of the places that all police officers in Ontario have attended.

The path was an idea brought to the OPC by Ric Wellwood in 2005, who was the Fundraising and Communications Coordinator for the Catfish Creek Conservation Authority (CCCA) in Aylmer. Wellwood suggested the idea of a “living memorial” consisting of trees dedicated to deceased police officers in the province (see *Figure 17*). In 2007, 220 sugar maple sapling were planted along a path, one tree for each police officer killed on duty in the province. Like the monument to the so-called “courageous spirits” who trained at the college for war, the police college mythically describes it as a “living symbol of sacrifice ... [and] a further reminder of the human cost of policing” (OPC 2021), which participants also re-iterated.



*Figure 17: Entrance to the “Path of Honour” at the OPC (photo by Matthew Ferguson)*

It is sometimes said that CPMRR participants begin their journey to Ottawa by cycling down this path. However, this did not happen the year I attended, as participants departed from the gym. While acknowledging “the human cost of policing”, the path – like most other official police memorials (Jackson 2017) – does not acknowledge citizens who have been slain by officers themselves (aside from police officers who were accidentally shot and killed by their colleagues, such as Constable Jeffrey Armstrong of the Ottawa Police, who died in 1963) and upholds penal spectatorship by emphasizing the sacrifices made by officers while ignoring losses of the criminalized and their loved ones (Brown 2009). The college also emphasizes sacrifices of US police officers. Not far from the path is another memorial, in remembrance of officers who perished on 11 September 2001. The memorial is a small, circular area located close to the main entrance and partly surrounded by blocks of stone. The national flags of both countries, as well as a provincial flag are present. It was established with contributions from two recruit classes.

Nearby, a rock with a plaque sits underneath a tree next to a shrub. The plaque reads, “In memory of Allan Christiansen”. Christiansen, 22, was a cadet with the Durham Regional Police who was driving eastbound on his way home after graduating from the college in 1998. A car suddenly crossed the highway median, hitting Christiansen’s vehicle. As he was not on active duty,

he is not recognized on the CPPOM and is remembered separately at the college. It is an example of how carceral officers split remembrance into “line of duty” deaths and “non-line of duty” deaths, with the former often seen as more prestigious and heroic (Henry 2004) (see *Figure 18*).



***Figure 18: A plaque in memory of police officer Allan Christiansen at the OPC.***

While Christiansen is commemorated on a small rock in a quiet and less visited location, just inside the main entrance of the OPC for everyone to see is a sign reading: “Attention Area: Wall of Honour, Quiet Please”. At the start of every recruit training program intake, recruits are instructed to be quiet when walking by this area. There are two large “Honour Roll” displays in the silent entrance area. One is dedicated to OPP officers who “gave their lives in service of the people of Ontario”. It was erected by the Ontario Provincial Police Association (OPPA). The other plaque is dedicated to deceased municipal police officers, who “gave their lives in the performance of police duty”. “It is for the living to ensure these honoured dead”. the plaque reads, “shall not have died in vain”. It was dedicated in 1983. Both displays consist of many small plaques which identify the name and rank of each deceased police officer, the service, as well as the date they perished. On opposite sides of them are a Canadian flag and the flag of the OPC, further associating police work and deaths on duty with the nationalizing state (Osborne and Osborne 2004).

There are also photos on the wall, including a framed photo of the memorial pavilion on the Hill, as well as a painting of a newer police memorial – the OPM at Queen’s Park – by oil painter James Keirstead, which was donated by the OPM Foundation on 26 November 2008. The pavilion photo was dedicated by the memorial ride in recognition of assistance and support of the event. There is also a photo of the “Path of Honour” Dedication Ceremony, which took place on 11 June 2009, as well as a display listing recipients of the Ontario Police Medal for Bravery.

At the OPC, feelings of heroism and courage are constructed through cultural practices and artifacts that emphasize “heroic” people – many of whom at one point walked the same halls, studied in the same classrooms, and ate in the same cafeteria. According to Sierra-Arévalo (2019), the commemoration of dead police officers that are “temporally and geographically distant ties departments and their officers to the wider occupation of policing, connecting local departments and officers to the broader occupational culture of police and its long-standing emphasis on danger and death” (650). While there is a reliance on the particular intake group or “the in-group” (de Lint 1997) for the inculcation of recruit conduct, there is also a strong dependence at the OPC on the “dead group” – or officers who are said to have made the “supreme sacrifice” and are honoured at the Path and Parliament Hill in Ottawa. This is also the central focus of the CPMRR.

Participants in the CPMRR are intentionally easy to spot. Along with having racing bicycles, most riders wear red, black, and grey cycling uniforms with symbols. In 2019, on the centre-back and in a smaller position at front of the uniform was a black ribbon with a thin blue line running through it and the words “They are our heroes. We shall not forget them” – a phrase also on the CPPOMR “Honour Roll” monument at the Hill. The “thin blue line” that also represents the police myth was present in two other places on the uniform: i) horizontally, on a black band wrapped around the left arm of riders; and ii) vertically, separating three quarters of the uniform

that contained many small depictions of red maple leaves – a symbol of the Canadian identity further associating the carceral and nationalizing state – with the other, smaller grey section. The main CPMRR symbol is a memorial ribbon with a cog behind it. As one participant noted to me:

Year on year, [the uniform] changes slightly, depending on who the main corporate sponsors are. The money from the sponsors is basically all being funnelled into the cheque donations. The symbol for the ride, the ribbon with the cog behind it. The first time I saw it, it just really made sense to me that there was a ribbon for remembrance and a cog behind it to represent the cyclists. The fact that they also have “Heroes in Life, Not Death” and “We Will Remember them” [on the uniform] – they are always the big messages every year on the ride. It’s nice to be riding and wherever you look, you always see it.

The uniforms match a Ford SUV that assists and promotes the event, which has the same logo and a strip of blue running through red maple leaves, as well as the words “Canadian Police Memorial Ride to Remember” on its side (see *Figure 19*). Also painted on the vehicle were the logos of numerous police services that had members participating in the CPMRR and corporations, such as: i) AXON – a police technology and weapons company; ii) Scotiabank – a banking and financial services company; iii) Motorola, Inc. – a multi-national telecommunications company; iv) Futurecom Systems Group – another telecommunications company; and iv) Wounded Warriors Canada – a mental health company for veterans and first responders. On the bumper was “They are our heroes. We shall not forget them” below a large photo of four riders with their arms placed around the backs one another. The image further links the CPPOM and the work it represents to themes of support and togetherness, hiding conflict among and by officers, and associating policing with the same mythical themes as those which are broadcasted at the Hill (see *Chapter 10*). According to an interviewee, the vehicle was purchased in 2016 through funds donated from the Canadian Tire Jumpstart Program, a registered charity. During the ride, members often stop at Canadian Tire and assist with charitable events, such as bike rides and donations for kids organized by the Jumpstart Program. Founded in 2005, the program aims to help children be active.



*Figure 19: The CPMRR Support Vehicle (photo by Matthew Ferguson)*

These observations support the work of Fridman and Luscombe (2017), who note that in Canada “donations to police departments have been increasingly pursued to fund projects, purchase equipment, and help enhance relations with the community” (508). They consider this practice to be a form of what Rossman (2014) calls “disreputable exchange” – in the sense that it is permitted, but “laden with the potential for controversy” (508). This is because gift-giving in police work can conflict with key principles, such as impartiality and equality before the law. As noted by Walby and colleagues (2018), transparency is also an issue. For those who wish to learn about who is giving money to police, how much, where it is going, and so on, public access to this information is “regularly denied or severely restricted” (834) on the grounds that it is often held by municipal police foundations, which are private, non-profit organizations. This is but one example of a “carceral-charity symbiosis” (Piché et al. 2019, 98), whereby the nationalizing and carceral state is reinforced by and reinforces private property relations through charitable work.

At the waist of the riders is a national flag with the silhouettes of two police officers saluting it. Below is the phrase “Heroes in Life, Not Death”. According to participants I interviewed, this popular police memorial phrase essentially means that those officers whose lives are being celebrated and remembered are not heroes because of how they died, but because of how

they lived. Officers were described as heroic for responding to those who need emergency assistance, for educating children about drugs, bullying, social media safety, and other topics, and for being adored family members. Most of all, they are revered for doing a job that not everyone, it was often claimed, has the ability or character to perform. The life of a police officer, according to them, is well-encapsulated by the notion of police as a “thin blue line”. This totemic image which mythologizes police work also constructs and expresses feelings of heroism and courage.

As noted in *Blue Line Magazine*, the phrase “Heroes in Life, Not Death” is a new addition to Canadian police culture (see Dunnill 2006). Its origins are a eulogy made by the widow of Waterloo Regional Police Constable David Nicholson – Wendy – as well their sons. Constable Nicholson was a police diver who died on 12 August 1998 while trying to locate the body of a boy who drowned at a dam. Like the boy, Constable Nicholson’s death occurred when he became trapped in an underwater sluice opening. During the eulogy, Wendy noted: “Dave’s death has been painful and devastating. He was our hero in life, not death. Our memories of him are rich and immeasurable, filling our hearts with both deep joy and profound pain” (Dunnill 2006). The phrasing implies that she was describing him as heroic also in the context of his family role and not simply because he was a police officer. While anyone can be a “hero in life” to those around them, the phrase soon became mythologized as depicting the specific police role and adopted in policing commemorations to further entrench the myth bolstered through feelings that police officers are nationally heroic, as opposed to engaged in “violence work” (Seigel 2018).

The shortened phrase “Heroes in Life” has gradually become more popular, in part, because police commemoration involves boosting the morale and spirits of the living. The latter part – “Not Death” – also clashes with the basic myth that “line of duty” death is the ultimate act of heroism,

or “supreme sacrifice” (Larochelle 1994). With its exclusion criteria, the CPPOM constructs and upholds a definition of “heroism in death”, which is easily overlooked due to this phrase.

Like the CPPOM service, the opening ceremony is a penal spectacle. At the 2019 opening ceremony, the gym was filled with riders, uniformed cadets, and journalists. There were also many people wearing black t-shirts. On the back was a Canadian flag with an outline of a rider and a blue line underneath, as well as the names “Robb Costello” and “Sara Burns” in white writing, along with their badge numbers. They had come from Fredericton, New Brunswick to honour these two deceased police officers of the Fredericton Police Force (FPF), who were both killed in 2018 and whose memorialization activities I had attended the year prior (see *Chapter 1*). Like OPS Constable Kirkwood (see *Chapter 9*), Constable Burns and Costello died after being shot from above by a man in his home who was living with a mental illness (Ibrahim 2020).

Sergeant Shawn Briggs – the Master of Ceremonies from the Niagara Regional Police Service (NRPS) – opened with a greeting. He then went into the history of the CPPOM. Drawing and strengthening police organizational memory (Mulcahy 2000) that presents officer deaths as largely unpredictable, he described how it emerged after “the murder of Constable David Kirkwood of the Ottawa Police Service on July 11<sup>th</sup>, 1977”. After, he shifted to the memorial ride, which he described as having begun in the early morning hours of 21 September 2000. At this time, a handful of cyclists from the NRPS set out on a three-day journey to Parliament Hill. The purpose was threefold: i) enhance the public’s awareness of police officers killed on the job; ii) recognize surviving family members; and iii) focus attention on the annual national memorial service. Throughout the ceremony, Sergeant Briggs would go on to introduce and thanked many people and organizations for supporting the event. The main thing he expressed, however, was that the memorial ride was a “journey of remembrance” with the three aforementioned purposes.

The creation of the CPMRR on 21 September 2000 was thus in part a reaction to a perceived lack of public and police officer knowledge about the CPPOM, despite the memorial having doubled in attendance by the mid-1990s and becoming an official national day, and thus a more developed nationalizing spectacle of carceral power (see *Chapter 10*). Any lack of awareness was also in part due to the memorial organizers themselves. According to Lymburner (2000) – the publisher of *Blue Line Magazine* – the organizers of both the federal and provincial memorial ignored his offers to assist in promoting the memorial at no cost and with no strings attached. There are a few other potential reasons behind this. The CPPOM was already expanding and reaching its targeted audience – federal politicians and family members of deceased officers. There is also a possibility that organizers wanted to avoid additional criticism for neglecting certain groups. Indeed, a few participants said to me that they did not want more people to know about the memorial or for the memorial to expand, due to the attention and potential criticism or change this would bring, namely change which might disrupt the myths it constructs and safeguards.

After the opening speech and a welcoming note from OPC Director Paul Hebert, Chief Paul Pedersen of the Greater Sudbury Police Service suggested that the ride is significant on three levels. First, in its capacity to foster teamwork and comradery in a time when “a lot of forces” were trying to pull apart the profession. He therefore implied that what is destructive is not police brutality, corruption, and so on, but criticisms of police work. Second, the “sacrifice” involved for participants also included the ride and the training involved. Riders – who are all volunteers and were not guaranteed to have the time off from work to participate – described to me during interviews the training regimens they follow as dedicated members of police cycling teams to prepare for the ride and other events. Third, Chief Pedersen highlighted its significance in relation to the remembrance of police killed on the job and respect for the family members of those officers.

This, he said to onlookers, was the “ultimate sacrifice” – one made in the name of the communities who “ask” the police to serve them. Accordingly, Chief Pedersen dramatically and mythologically framed police work, including the deaths associated with it, through the nationalizing state myth of an “imagined community” (Anderson 1994) of people supporting and asking the police to serve their interests – not powerful people or groups (Manning 1997).

Speaking after Chief Pedersen, two SOLE members discussed their experiences as widows of police officers killed on the job, thanked riders for their support, and wished them well. This was followed by remarks from a representative of the memorial run, as well as AXON, both of whom conveyed support. Finally, following Father Jim Mockler of the OPC – who asked God to bless the province and the country – reminded participants that nothing dies, as life is merely transformed into new life, ensuring those who have “given” their lives in the service of policing were at peace. From there, he asked God to keep the participants in the ride safe on their journey and the riders were off. In the background played “Story of a Hero” by the American country music singer Kayley Hill, a song written in memory of Constable Sara Burns. The lyrics tell the story of how Constable Burns, a former stay-at-home mom, decided to become a police officer to help “the lost, broken, and ashamed”, and how her memory lives on through commemoration.

The riders were accompanied by motorcycle escorts, who rode at the front and back of the peloton, altering motorists of the ride. The riders headed to Toronto and then on to Ottawa, stopping at pre-determined checkpoints, such as hotels to sleep and other police memorials. Filled with reflection, there was occasional chatting between riders and waving at supportive onlookers in the communities they rode through. Some riders were close family members of the dead who ride in memory of their loved one. Many are police officers who have experienced trauma and find cycling therapeutic. Some are rookie cyclists. Others, it is said, are simply “insane” in an athletic

sense. All enjoy the sport and the sense of “freedom” that two wheels and an open road brings.

Many participants shared stories with me about their experience. For example, one noted:

We want everybody to get there. A few years ago, the year before I was on the organizing committee, when we got to Ottawa, I don't know what was going on. We were hammering into Ottawa. As soon as Ottawa took over the motorcycle escort, all of a sudden the speed cranked up ... by like 10 kilometers per hour, which for me is okay but it is not okay for an inexperienced rider. It's too much. More importantly, the road was terrible and full of potholes. I'm like “WOAH”. So, I pull out of the peloton and there are people with radios and they're part of the organizing committee who patrol the peloton throughout in the back and communicate at the front – we call this “taking a log off the fire” – so, I pull out and say to em’ “what are you doing here? People are gonna end up with flat tires”. There's people here, it's their first time, they literally got to day 4. The last thing they need is a flat tire because they've hit a pothole and not be able to ride up onto the Hill. Because it's all about riding onto the Hill. You've put in this sacrifice in memory of your fallen officers. Last year, for example, it was our team captain's final year on the Ride ... He had a pedal malfunction, so he rode onto the Hill with only one pedal working. And he didn't want to quit because he's ridden onto the Hill 15 times. He was going to ride onto the Hill if he had to push the bike onto it. He literally rode onto the Hill with one pedal on his bike, one leg going around and around ... everyone has their own story and reason for riding. I rode onto the Hill last year with my hands black from grease from trying to fix someone's bike.

The ride, in short, is a penal pilgrimage, a collective journey of carceral remembrance from one place to another, and also a performance of penal tourism (Welch 2015). It produces powerful feelings, including of heroism and courage. Along with supporting the tourism industry by staying in hotels and eating at restaurants, I observed how once in Ottawa, many participants tour and visit popular sites such as the National War Memorial. There are many reasons for participating, which tend to be unique to the participant. The bravery and sacrifice involved is always said to pale in comparison to that made by the deceased. As a survey respondent anonymously wrote:

The ride and run events create a bonding effect that any person or group gets from sharing a challenging experience together. It is also a way for us to meet officers from other services and share our message to the public on our trip to Ottawa. I like the ceremony on Parliament Hill because it makes me proud to be Canadian and proud to wear the uniform. The ceremony makes me proud that I chose the policing profession and that if I one day pay the ultimate sacrifice that there is something in place for my family to know that the citizens of Canada appreciate the sacrifice. The ceremony is also a way for me to show my children that being a police officer matters.

In growing numbers, police officers are returning to the college to participate in an annual pilgrimage on two wheels, promoting the CPPOM and recognizing the fallen. They ride to Ottawa as a unit, a pack and line of riders known as a peloton, serving as another manifestation of the powerful and versatile myth of “the line” that riders describe as capturing the reality of policing and link to the Canadian national identity, one dramatized and depicted by the myth of “the flag” – a key symbol on their clothing and vehicle. Then, when they arrive, as tourists, many line up for photos (see *Figure 20*). The CPMRR is integral to broader efforts by police officers – as police tend to have dedicated cycling teams – to recognize and heal from the violent realities of the occupation, but also to preserve and further entrench the nationalizing and carceral state.



*Figure 20: Some members of the 2019 CPMRR pose for a photo after reaching Parliament Hill the afternoon before the National Service (photo by Matthew Ferguson)*

### **11.3. The Birth and Meanings of the National Peace Officers Memorial Run**

The opening ceremony of the National Peace Officers Memorial Run (NPOMR) takes place the following morning at Queen’s Park. Queen’s Park is a large, oval-shaped park home to the Ontario Legislative building, which is the seat of Ontario’s Parliament. It is nicknamed the “Pink Palace” because of its sandstone façade. Like Parliament Hill, the park is also home to several plaques,

monuments, and statues. Along with the Ontario Police Memorial (OPM), it is home to the Notre Place Monument, for example, which is dedicated to Franco-Ontarians, the Ontario Firefighters Memorial, and the Northwest Rebellion Monument, which recognizes those who died during the 1885 Rebellion led by Louis Riel. The park is also host to ceremonies in which police officers, firefighters, and paramedics working in the province receive non-monetary awards for acts of bravery. According to Terpstra and Salet (2022), the meaning of these events is emphasized in the messages in the speeches. The bravery awards “explicate and confirm the moral meaning of the police for the local community” (17). They are another form of commemoration that constructs and safeguards realities, identities, and organizational memories of penal system work.

While the bravery awards ceremonies take place inside the building at the bottom of a grand staircase, the NPOMR begins outdoors in a square section of the park at the corner of Queen’s Park Crescent and Grosvenor Street known as Ontario Police Memorial Park. Emerging after the PMP, the OPM was the result of a two-year effort by the Ontario Police Memorial Foundation to raise public awareness of provincial police officers who died on the job, with the assistance of various police associations and the Ontario Chiefs of Police. The memorial was constructed at a cost of \$700,000 and built with assistance from a provincial grant. On 7 May 2000, it was dedicated in a ceremony in front of 2,000 police officers (Gollom 2000). Although most were from various parts of the province, some travelled from the US and Great Britain.



*Figure 21: The Ontario Police Memorial (photo by Matthew Ferguson)*

The memorial consists of two bronze statues, one depicting a male officer in a uniform circa 1950 to 1990. The other depicts a female officer in a more contemporary uniform (see *Figure 21*). The statues sit on a granite pedestal base with a plaque reading in both languages, “Dedicated to those police officers who served the people of Ontario” and below this, “Heroes in life not death”. Four cascading slabs of granite on each side of the base give the memorial width and form a horseshoe shape. Etched onto these slabs are the name, rank, and service of police officers killed on the job in Ontario dating back to 1804, as well as the year of death. Running along the top of the slabs are small trillium flowers— the provincial flower – etched into the stone, interrupted only by a single maple leaf symbolizing the nationalizing state that is positioned at the centre between the two statues. There is a large, circular stone gathering area at the front which fills the space in the horseshoe, as well as a national and provincial flag. Finally, there are also ground lights below the granite slabs which direct light up onto them to allow for easier reading in the dark.

Although it is sometimes called Ontario Police Memorial Park, the area also contains a new carceral state monument “recognizing the contribution correctional services staff make to Ontario’s justice system, and to keeping our communities safe” (Ontario 2017). The monument is

titled *Hours of the Day* (HOTD) (see *Figure 22*). It was completed in 2017 by Paul Raff Studio, a Toronto-based architecture firm who was commissioned by Infrastructure Ontario, with a budget of \$610,000 (Codaworx 2017). Tall and three-dimensional, it is also a sundial. There are at least eight bronze “fins” which each correspond to an angle of the sun during the day. They fan out from a strong, stainless-steel spine. The sundial is anchored between two granite benches.



*Figure 22: Hours of the Day Monument (photo by Matthew Ferguson)*

The words “Honouring Ontario Correctional Workers Past and Present” are etched onto its sturdy, granite base, in both official languages. There is also the sentence, “their dedication and service play a vital role in our justice system”, on the side. According to an art and architectural website, HOTD officially presents three themes. First, “the unifying and collective experience of time, as the hours, days, seasons and years spent in patient public service march on” (Codaworx 2017). Second, “how time is made visible – through measurements and systems for recording the passage of time” (Codaworx 2017). Third, “the idea of many individual components come together to make a whole” (Codaworx 2017). Adding to the overall theme of time and its passing at the monument, the granite base also holds a time capsule that was prepared by the province’s Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services.

The OPM focuses more specifically on officers who have died on the job. In contrast, there are no names displayed at HOTD, despite – according to *Blue Line Magazine* (2018) – 19 officers having died in this line of work within the province since 16 March 1884. This is because there was a desire to create something unique. According to its creator, the aim was not simply to recognize the dead, but also “the vital role that correctional workers play in the health of our society” (Paul Raff Studio 2017) that police leaders refused to recognize by excluding them from the OPM (see Younger-Lewis 1999). This led to the decision to focus on the theme of time. While the timing of the dial is accurate – its geometry is the product of a high-tech computer program – the theme of time is described as more important at the monument than being able to tell it.

The monuments are of course alike, though, in focus on heroizing certain lines of work deemed essential for public safety and security in relation to the good-against-evil, law enforcement versus law-breakers mythology, or what Paul Raff describes as the “health” of society (Paul Raff Studio 2017). Like at the OPC, there is no interest in also acknowledging at the OPM the hundreds of citizens who have been killed by police officers in the province since the 1880s (Taylor 1986). There is also no recognition at HOTD of the gruelling days and hours prisoners pass behind bars or deaths of the imprisoned. In a sense, they are the darkness in or shadow cast by the monuments, which exist to put light on the “sacrifice” of those deemed heroic.

Like the colourful Ford SUV with the CPMRR, the NPOMR also has a support and promotional vehicle. It is large recreational vehicle (RV) with the words “NATIONAL PEACE OFFICERS MEMORIAL RUN” on its bumper. The vehicle was parked beside the OPM for the opening ceremony and was the focus of preparation and media interviews. Unlike the SUV, there was no visible sponsors on the vehicle when I saw it. However, on the side was a large picture of four people wearing memorial run t-shirts. A banner at the top read: “The 15th Annual Peace

Officers Memorial Run”. Two women who I did not recognize were sandwiched between two hockey celebrities – Don Cherry and Ron MacLean. All of them were smiling and giving the thumbs up sign – something Cherry is known for. Later, I would learn through interviews that Don Cherry is the “Honorary Chair” of the NPOMR, a position he has held since 2016.

Cherry is a hero in more than just the hockey world. Known for his outlandish suits and rants, he is also a huge supporter of the police and military. As noted by Taylor (2019) in the military magazine *Esprit de Corps*, “he would use his weekly pulpit on *Coach’s Corner* to heap praise on Canadian troops and during the Afghanistan conflict he made it a point to recognize and mourn every soldier killed on duty” (1). He also drew attention to police officers killed on duty. In 2004, he was voted the 7th “Greatest Canadian” ever in a competition (CBC 2004). After one infamous rant, however, Cherry was fired due to a xenophobic remark made about certain people not wearing the symbolic red poppy on Remembrance Day that is observed on November 11th of each year in memory of those who died in WWI and II, and subsequent conflicts.

Although Cherry was fired from the show and has a controversial reputation, he remains the “Honorary Chair” of the NPOMR because of his national popularity and passionate support for police officers, which further entrenches the link between this work and the nationalizing state. Interviewees in my study noted that his role consists of assisting in generating awareness of the run, the CPPOM, and deceased officers generally. His involvement started with organizers having a contact and Cherry agreed to participate. Along with being the public face, behind the scenes, he is known to ask for the names and addresses of the children of the officers’ who died so that he can send them an autograph and a personalized note to lift their spirits. Other things Cherry has done as the “Honorary Chair” include modelling t-shirts, as well as signing pucks and sending them to police chiefs, informing them about the memorial run to help to spread awareness.

As seen at the US national police memorial that has featured speakers such as John Walsh, host of *America's Most Wanted* – the US version of a national police “hero” – and icon of “crime-fighting” (see Rozoski 1992), the practice of using celebrities or well-known figures to attract public attention is a common strategy of cultural representation at penal tourism and memorialization activities. First, there are celebrities or well-known people whose positive, nationalizing image and heroic qualities are used as inspirational promotional material. Among the participants in the memorial ride in 2019, for example, was Steve Bauer, a well-known Canadian athlete who won a silver medal at the 1984 Olympics in road cycling and participated nine times in the *Tour de France*. Second, when it comes to penal tourism and commemoration, there are celebrities or well-known people whose negative image is exploited. In public police museums, for example, this involves drawing attention to certain notorious figures police have once dealt with (Ferguson et al. 2019), while the representation of infamous prisoners is a “staple device of prison museum representation” (Wilson 2008, 132; see also Ferguson and Madill 2017)

Wilson (2008) explains how decisions to capitalize on notorious prisoners can foster a tourism environment wherein the pain and suffering of others is little more than a voyeuristic spectacle, one also neglecting the experiences of the “silent majority” (Strange and Kempa 2003, 401) or less well-known prisoners (Wilson 2008; Brown 2009). Likewise, the focus on Cherry and participants giving the thumbs up gesture, along with smiling faces, points to the nature of the NPOMR as a presentational strategy challenging negativity and criticism surrounding police work. Several interviewees noted criticism of police as a reason why events that focus on associating carceral work with nationalizing themes were growing. As one NPOMR participant noted:

Part of the rise in memorials is that we are in a time where there seems to be more and more content in the press about things police are doing that aren't really good. I'd say there are less incidents but they are still there. Perception, maybe that's why. Part of the memorial is also coming together as a group to remember. Although it's also to publicize it and

communicate it and interact with the public, it's also coming together to remember the fallen. As memorials grow more people think about and want to get involved.

As another participant in the NPOMR explained to me:

I think a big part of it is self-preservation for officers. There is so much bad media. There is so much hatred out there. Things have changed. When I first started, it's like teenagers were very respectful of the police. Now, it's a totally different world. Maybe this is self-preservation, to try and let us know to each other that people care, there is still good, and we're doing this for the right reasons. We need to stick together and support each other. We need to have the "thin blue line" – we need to have that comfort of each other.

The memorial activities were described as helping to combat the perceived villainization of this work in the press, or interpretations challenging police presentational strategies built around myth and organizational memories. The idea often communicated was that the media and the public generally have gotten *more* critical of carceral work. Yet there is a need to question this narrative, considering there was also significant criticism of policing and punishment in the supposedly more tolerant 1970s (e.g. Culhane 1978), including following the death of OPS Constable Kirkwood that led to the memorial and one of the first speakers at it to claim "that the public must increase its support for police rather than criticize their actions" (see *Chapter 10*). In this sense, the belief of criticism of police work being unprecedented or a sign of a so-called "totally different world" from when some officers started is a myth. What is increasing and unprecedented is not criticism of carceral work, but rather memorial events for such occupations seeking to preserve them.

Along with officers and their family members – who pay a registration fee and sign a waiver in case of accidents – college students in relevant programs such as police foundations also participated in the start of the NPOMR. In 2019, most of the runners wore red t-shirts, the design of which was similar but less complex than the ride uniform. There were also no sponsor logos. On the back of the t-shirts was a black-and-white map of the country with a blue line horizontally placed through it. Below this were the words, "Heroes live forever" and "Run to Remember". On

the front of the t-shirt at the top left was a NPOMR logo. It consists of a blue badge, at the bottom of which is a banner with the name of the event and “Toronto—Ottawa”. Inside the badge is a white star, whose points touch the sides of the badge. A white circle is placed over the star, containing the phrase, “They are our heroes, we shall not forget them”, a sentence which also exists on the CPPOM “Honour Roll” monument at the Hill. At the top there are two large Canadian flags, coupling the nation and police as synonymous, while not acknowledging the emergence and role of police in Canada in white settler colonialism and genocide (McLaren 2022).

In contrast to regular carceral uniforms, memorial uniforms and the activities make officers appear ordinary, unified, and peaceful. Participants carry water bottles, not firearms. They use their hands to wave, not arrest. The helmets worn are those for cycling, not riot control. Before the ceremony begins, two firetrucks pulled up close to where most of the runners were gathering and doing interviews with journalists. The firefighters hung a huge national flag over the street for participants to run under and around, signaling the start of the run. Additionally, both ladders lit up with a bright blue light. It was therefore another police presentational strategy and totemic gesture of the “thin blue line” that pervades the memorial activities, depicting the purported importance of this work in relation to the safety and health of the country (see *Figure 23*).



*Figure 23: A “thin blue line” representation at the NPOMR opening ceremony.*

Like the CPMRR, the opening ceremony of the NPMRR had a lineup of speakers. Constable Akhil Mooken, the MC from Peel Regional Police, welcomed everyone. He began by reading the official City of Toronto land acknowledgment and then asked everyone to stand for a singing of the national anthem – sung by a constable from the Toronto Police Service – after which time Constable Mooken passed along regrets from Cherry for not being able to attend.

Constable Mooken did not delve into the history of the run as Sergeant Briggs had done with the ride. However, it was elaborated to me by a few interviewees, including Detective Sergeant Bob Hackenbrook – the Co-Chair of the NPOMR – which, like the lead organizer of the national service, is a “jack of all trades” role that ensures the event runs safely and properly:

In 2005, a guy who is now our Deputy Chief – his name is Randy Patrick – and I gotta tell you about Randy, because without Randy there would be no run. One day Randy went for a run in 2005 and he was just on his everyday run and he was thinking, how can we get people more interested in the memorial? He thought “I know, maybe we’ll run from Toronto to Ottawa in 3 days”. Him and his best buddy – a guy named Johnny Walker, believe it or not – they got in Johnny’s little beat up car and mapped it out over a weekend. They decided they were going to try and get people to come out to this run. So, they got 24 officers from Peel and they were called the Peel Pacers. It was the running team. They volunteered and they worked it out to a relay style. So, each officer would run 10 kilometers or so at a time. They ran all the way to Ottawa in 3 days. Then, it started to evolve. Those participants told friends, who told more friends, who told more friends, and now from the beginning of 2005 we had 24 officers from Peel. Now, we’ve got over 30 different police or peace officer services participating. and we have about over 300 participants.

Christine Hogarth, a member of the Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario and then Parliamentary Assistant for Ontario’s Solicitor General, Silvia Jones, congratulated participants for taking on the challenge of running the 460-kilomtere route. She described the event as a journey across “our beautiful province” to recognize and reflect about “those peace officers who have made the ultimate sacrifice”, as well as to support family members of the dead. She described the strength, courage, and heroism of such work as inspiring and not going unnoticed, concluding by thanking participants on behalf of Jones, who would officially be meeting them in Ottawa.

Next, Superintendent Rob Shear – another Co-Chair of the NPOMR Committee – took the microphone. He welcomed and thanked everyone on behalf of Randy Patrick and the organizing committee, expressing delight at how the ride had grown and inspired others, observing that two similar runs were taking place that week in British Columbia and Newfoundland. Superintendent Shear also reiterated that the main official objectives of the run: i) to raise awareness of the national memorial service; and ii) to raise money for trust funds and memorials established in memory of officers. At that point, they had donated over \$370,000 to various initiatives in this regard.

After, Detective Sergeant Hackenbrook recognized two of what he described as “special people” who would be running with them. The first was Kim Coffin, whose husband – Constable Tom Coffin – he noted, was “shot and killed by a culprit who sought retribution for being charged with impaired driving” (see Rupert 1997). The second was Barbara Irwin, whose husband – Toronto Police Detective Michael Irwin – and his partner Detective Douglas Sinclair were both shot and killed on the job in 1972 (see Palamarchuk 2012). Detective Sergeant Hackenbrook described the family members of deceased officers – some of whom were present at the ceremony – as providing the inspiration to push through the muscle cramps and other pains experienced. Finally, Detective Sergeant Hackenbrook also described the NPOMR as a “journey of remembrance”, and told participants to make lots of noise when they approach the Hill to ensure that those in and around the parliamentary area heard them when they arrived in Ottawa.

Several other speakers took the microphone, conveying similar messages as others. The second last speaker was Erin Ochakovsky, a founding member of the SOLE. Erin had also spoken at the OPC the day prior for the ride ceremony alongside Brenda Carey, whose husband – OPP Constable Dave Mounsey – was killed on the job in 2006 in another vehicle collision. Like the previous speech, Erin explained how when her husband was killed, she was alone with their three-

year-old son, Owen, sad and with “no hope for the future”. During this time, she told the quiet crowd, she received a supportive letter from Barbara Irwin, which resulted in a decision to found SOLE, so that “no other survivor in this country would ever feel alone, would never go through the black hole”. She concluded her speech by thanking the runners and others in attendance for the constant support they show to family members of the deceased, hoping that it could be repaid by survivors also providing support to them – both through their presence and participation.

Like at the OPC, the ceremony finished with a prayer. Constable Mookan concluded the ceremony by encouraging runners to post their experience for others to see on social media. It ended with bagpipers playing “Amazing Grace” and a moment of silence. Onlookers were then asked to clear space. Several widows – including Jackie McLean, the widow of deceased Fredericton Police Constable Robb Costello – with a SOLE and “Run to Remember” banner with sponsorship logos walked down the centre space. Along the outside were officers in ceremonial uniforms. There was a blast of a horn and then the huge crowd of runners quickly departed. I watched as they trailed off into the distance. While members of the public can sign up to run in the NPOMR, the event is crowded, and organizers prefer they instead cheer from a distance. Brenda Carey later explained to me in an interview what participating in the NPOMR is like:

Having gone to police college, running is a big part of your training when you start out. Running is also very cathartic, helping to manage the stress of the job. When you’re running beside someone – and I think 10 kilometers is perfect but you know, enough to get you sweating and your heart rate up but not enough that you’re not going to do it – for people to be running beside one another and encouraging them. Like I said, it doesn’t matter what police or peace officer service you’re from or what rank you are. Everybody is running together as a group ... the group has to stay together. One year when I was running it was really hot out and I hadn’t drunk enough liquids. I thought bleh, I just want to stop. Then, I looked over and there was a complete stranger – they could have been a police officer, a correctional officer, or a CBSA I don’t know – but they were wearing Dave’s name on an armband. So, I was like wow, okay. I can keep going. If this person is running for Dave, then I can keep going. The route is beautiful as well. The scenery and fresh air. There’s also a bagpiper who lives along the route who pipes as we go past. There’s not a dry eye when it happens. It’s beautiful. He’s in his full kilt. It’s so beautiful.

From an outsider perspective, the CPMRR – which passed by the opening ceremony as a show of support for the runners – and the NPOMR appear equally challenging. On the one hand, for most days, riders cycle approximately 50 kilometres in two hours between rest stops. The hotel in Toronto the riders were sleeping at was about 200 kilometers from the OPC in Aylmer. Thus, the first day of the CPMRR requires eight hours of cycling, not including rest. This number would be influenced by weather conditions, such as winds. On the other hand, the runners begin by running to Cobourg, where they stop off at the Chris Garrett memorial.<sup>28</sup> There, they pay their respects to this deceased officer and his family. Often, the Chief of Cobourg Police meets them at this location. The next day, they run from Cobourg to Brockville, where interviewees note they get a great reception at the town hall. Then they run from Brockville all the way to Ottawa.

Like the ride, then, the run is a journey of remembrance, as well as penal tourism and pilgrimage event with similar presentational strategies, motives, and feelings of heroism and courage. For participants, the final moments – when participants in the CPMRR and NPOMR reach the Hill and burst onto it together in support of the carceral and nationalizing state in front of a crowd of supporters – are described as an incredibly thrilling and emotional experience, especially the first time. One participant in the CPMRR described it to me it as such:

It's one of those things that year on year, it seems to get more emotional. We aim to get to the Ottawa Police Headquarters around 2:00pm. We usually stay there and then runners come up. Once they've gone past, we file in behind them with the bikes. Our last couple of kilometers from headquarters up to Parliament Hill are very slow because they're behind the runners ... when you finally get there, it's just a huge feeling of euphoria, that you did it. Everyone's going around congratulating everyone. There's a huge buzz and high that comes it. The emotions are almost indescribable.

---

<sup>28</sup> Cobourg Police Constable Chris Garrett was stabbed to death on 15 May 2004 during a robbery call. He is memorialized at the CPPOM and in Cobourg at the Chris Garrett Memorial Park, which contains a sculpture called “Hero’s Flight, that is a composition of twenty-four birds and is an expression of life in random action, as was Cst. Garrett’s” (Cobourg Police 2019).

While participants in the CPMRR and NPOMR claim to be engaging in these events mainly to honour and recognize deceased officers, it is not the dead who receive a hero's welcome upon reaching the parliamentary grounds. Nor is it the dead who are cheered for as they pass through communities or who decorate themselves in carceral and nationalizing state symbols. In a wider context where policing is subject to constant and robust scrutiny (e.g. Maynard 2017), they also participate in these events to drown out criticism and to dramatically construct themselves as part of the "ever-expanding pantheon of national heroes" (Osborne and Osborne 2004, 43) on the parliamentary grounds. The CPPOM is an elaborate ritual in self worship, as well as worshipping and heroizing the living spouses and family members of slain officers, under the myth that it is predominantly about "not forgetting" the dead. In the next section, I elaborate by concluding the chapter by discussing some recent CPPOM activities for family members of the deceased.

#### **11.4. A Private Dinner and Vigil: Heroizing the Survivors of Law Enforcement**

Although much of the memorial takes place in open view, there are two sorts of backstage aspects to the CPPOM. They are "backstage" in the sense that they are completely or mostly hidden from public audiences (Goffman 1959). To varying degrees, participants feel more comfortable "being themselves" in these settings, as opposed to on the "frontstage" where certain standards of behaviour are expected to be upheld (Manning 1997). First, there are aspects oriented around preparation and planning (see *Chapter 9*). Second, there are backstage activities for participants. Most can be found on annual memorial timetables that can be accessed through the CPA website that also provides a Coordinators Message, which provides some basic information about the national memorial, such as noting how in 2003 "Canadian Heritage declared the last Sunday of September of every year as a nation-wide half-masting of flags on all federal buildings and establishments in Canada, including the Peace Tower, from sunrise to sunset" (Boucher 2022).

The backstage activities for participants in the CPPOM events and activities tend to receive no media attention. After the CPMRR opening ceremony at the OPC, for example, there is a “VIP” reception in one of the classrooms. When guests arrive during the memorial weekend, there is a hospitality suite, as well as what was described to me by more than one participant as night-time “partying” and a memorial breakfast for attendees that occur at *Russell’s Lounge* at the Meryle Cameron Hall in the Ottawa Police Association’s headquarters on Catherine Street. There is also a reception for attendees that occurs following the annual CPPOM service, which is hosted by Public Safety Canada and takes place in the Sir John A. MacDonald Building on Wellington Street. Additionally, there is also a private dinner for widows and widowers at the OPA headquarters, as well as a family vigil at Parliament Hill, the day before the annual service.

The backstage activities for participants are not police presentational strategies, as such strategies involve the dramatization of the police “mission, mandate, and actions to the public at large” (Manning 1997, 119). The two backstage activities reserved for family members are extremely private, so much so that they are omitted from the publicly accessible timetable of the memorial weekend. To attend them requires a personal invitation. One must be part of what some interviewees described to me as a “special club” – one that, unlike police work, no one would ever willingly join. While not a presentational strategy, it remains a nationalizing practice, connecting certain “survivors of law enforcement” from across the country. These backstage activities also reflect and construct similar feelings among attendees, including heroism and courage, as well as what Lord and colleagues (2004) in the context of police funerals describe as “an aura of solidarity, unity, and fellowship” (358). I elaborate this beginning with the dinner, as it happens first.

On the Saturday afternoon of the memorial weekend for about the last 15 years, a dinner has been held for widows of officers recognized on the memorial. Although widowers are also

welcome and at least one regularly shows, traditionally, almost all spouses of deceased officers were women. Considering that the number of women who are “peace officers” – who do not appear to be any more or less likely to die on the job than male officers – is growing with evolving hiring practices (Conor et al. 2020), more men are likely to be attendees at the dinner in the future. 2018 marked the first year in history that an equal number of “peace officers” who were women and men were killed on the job (see *Appendix A*). At this time, however, the memorial dinner is almost exclusively composed of attendees who are women. Andrea Lamothe – Director of the Ottawa Police Association (OPA) and host of the dinner – spoke to me about it in an interview:

The widows’ dinner is, well I’ve been 12 years, so at most two years before that. About 14 years now, I think. I also host on Friday and Saturday night of the memorial a hospitality suite in our office for other associations and the widows to come back to afterwards. So it’s kind of a safer place, where its more closed off compared to everybody else in town for it ... as the Director, we get an honorarium but I volunteer. I love these widows, so I would do it for free, even when I retire. I will still continue to host it. It’s a good place. They can talk, catch up with each other. I do sit on the SOLE board as well. So, I do communicate with the widows regularly throughout the year. It’s not just once a year I see them.

The basic point of the dinner – according to my interviews with Andrea, Brenda, Shelley, Heather, and others who attend – is to provide a relaxing, backstage setting during the memorial, or a time when people who have lost a spouse “in the line of duty” can relax while enjoying a meal and one another’s company. It is closely associated with the support group known as SOLE that has become a prominent actor in the CPPOM activities since its founding in 2010, with Andrea – as the organizer of the dinner – serving on the SOLE board despite not having lost a close family member. Although members recognize themselves as victims of a loss, the word “survivor” is emphasized because it recognizes the resiliency of such people to overcome the tragedy that has befallen them. Its symbol is a black ribbon with a “thin blue line” running through it.

As clear through things such as the location of the dinner and the symbol of the group, as well as confirmed through interviews, SOLE is not just a collection of friends connected through

loss who provide support to one another. The main point of SOLE is to assist these victims on their long journey of healing, ensuring through friendships and partnerships that those who experience a similar death are never alone. Yet not unlike the Collingwood police wives in the 1970s (see *Chapter 10*) and the late Dawna Kirkwood – who it is said “forever carried her anger, hurt and sadness” (Deachman 2019) – the SOLE organization is also a collection of passionate “supporters of law enforcement” who, along with friendship towards one another, also lend support for penal system practices by encouraging enhanced criminalization and punishment, especially for people who kill “peace” officers. In an attempt to find interview participants, I joined and was accepted into the private SOLE Facebook Page. In 2023, for example, one post reads as follows:

Yesterday, members of SOLE were invited to the Ontario Legislature to hear Solicitor General Michael Kerzner speak to the house in support of a motion to have the Federal Government make meaningful changes to the rules around granting bail. He pointed to a disturbing trend of people committing violent crimes, frequently resulting in serious injury or death, while out of custody on bail for other violent crimes. SOLE stands behind the Minister in his quest to have the Federal Government review the Criminal Code bail system and make changes to keep Canadians safer.

While the SOLE are happy to support the police and are grateful for the support given back to them through events such as the dinner, they also believe it is important and therapeutic to receive support directly from people who have been through similar personal tragedies as them.

Like the symbol of the group, the notion of similar personal tragedies is entwined with the police myth of ultimate sacrifice and heroism. If an officer does not die according to the guidelines for inclusion at the CPPOM – in short, a “line of duty death” – the spouse of this person is usually not perceived as having gone through a similar experience. That is, they are not welcomed into the SOLE network of mutual support. Whether a spouse is officially associated with SOLE or not, spouses of “peace” officers already commemorated on the national memorial are the strongest opposition to including officers who die by suicide on it (see *Chapter 10*). Although in the last

chapter, I outlined complex reasons and justifications for this continued exclusion, there is also a simple, unspoken reason – they do not want to invite their spouses to the memorial dinner.

Along with spouses of deceased officers whose deaths are not constructed as heroic and thus relatable (Terpstra and Salet 2022), also not invited to the dinner are all others, including reporters. “[The dinner] is very private”, Andrea clarified to me. “It is done in [the police association] office. It’s just [widows]. There’s no spouses, there’s no kids”. The dinner is a time where a select group of people who perceive themselves as having a sacred and permanent bond forged through the “supreme sacrifice” (Larochelle 1994) gather to eat and share stories.

According to what I gleaned through interviews, the dinner is not a dark scene where a group of women sit around a table crying on one another’s shoulders. They are normal people – thus, attendees chat about work and family life, as well as support one another by filling others in as to how the year went for them, such as the ups and downs. If there is a new widow or widower from that year in attendance, those present will go around the table introducing themselves, welcoming them into the SOLE “family” and introducing their loved one who was killed. The widow’s dinner can therefore indeed be a very emotional and intimidating event – especially for guests attending for the first time. It can also be emotional for those helping to serve guests with drinks and food. “For me, it was very overwhelming, cause they kind of have it down to a science. They were talking about their stories ... all I did was cry”, Andrea noted to me. Though of course at times sad, it was also described by other SOLE members to me as an enjoyable, pleasant, and informative time where life announcements and friendships are made and maintained.

With a membership mostly in Ontario but expanding nation-wide with each death on the job, SOLE is an increasingly well-connected and influential pro-police and punishment network and CPPOM actor, which is oriented around healing and moving on from death but also assists in

its aim of further expanding and entrenching police work and other “criminal justice” practices as central to the Canadian national identity. Along with sharing stories, those present at the dinner discuss subjects like the benefit plans awarded to the families – which are complex and differ across federal, provincial, and municipal services. Also, frustrations are sometimes voiced about the penalties given or not given to those involved in “peace” officer deaths. As Shelly pointed out to me, “it’s not just widows that get upset with that. It’s everyone”, suggesting that “everyone” is unsatisfied with the leniency of the penal system. As Brenda explained in more detail:

The widow’s dinner is where that sort of stuff comes out, not the larger public arena, it’s usually just when it’s the families together ... Many of the widows feel re-victimized by the criminal justice system. Completely re-victimized. Like, Sonia Plunkett’s husband was murdered and the guy’s out in 7 years walking the streets free. Christine Russell’s husband is murdered, the guy’s found not criminally responsible. Like 6 years later, he’s free without a criminal record or anything. It just – Jackie McLean the same thing – it’s just so frustrating. Well, Melissa Styles too. He was convicted of first-degree murder and there was a re-trial, and then now it’s manslaughter because – and he never served a day because he’s paralyzed but that was his own doing – her husband’s dead and this guy got to go to school, live in the dorm. Now he can cross the border, that’s why he wanted it switched from murder to manslaughter, cause he still wanted to travel. It’s very frustrating. The person who murdered your husband has all these rights and freedoms and you’re alone.

As seen with these references to other women who have lost spouses to the violence of policing, Brenda and others, drawing on the police myth that views “an attack on a policeman, being an attack on society itself, must incur a serious penalty” (The Ottawa Citizen 1975), often feel re-victimized and find it frustrating when those who kill police officers are not sentenced to the fullest extent of the law, including those found not legally responsible. This has been a consistent theme at the memorial for widows (e.g. Wills 1987; see *Chapter 8*). Brenda went on to note:

I know Christine actually got up and left one of the hearings ... because they told her, like she had her Victim Impact Statement and they’re like: “You can’t say that, you can’t say that, you can’t say that, and you can’t say that. You can’t call him a murderer ... he wasn’t found guilty of murder. He’s not criminally responsible”. Well, he is a murderer. And she’s literally like 5 feet away from him. I went to a couple of the hearings with her. He won’t look at her and she’s saying, I just want him to look me in the eye. Like he’s never even apologized for murdering my husband and leaving me with a two-year-old with no dad.

As Heather put it:

Many have not been held responsible, that's the frustration. Getting exempted on technicalities, or mental health. Those are definitely frustrations. I don't know that I would want to have a say in that. It's not my field of expertise, but Victim Impact Statements definitely I feel are important and should be weighted more heavily. We try to make the memorial about our loved ones. I suppose those frustrations come out at dinner when we're all catching up with each other. The actual ceremony, we don't want to lend any of our attention to that portion. We try to keep it about our loved ones. Or, at least I do.

While presently not having a large (or any) impact on sentencing – contributing to members sometimes feeling unheard and unacknowledged – the SOLE is primed to become an influential pro-police and punishment network because of the cultural and national prestige afforded to “peace” officers who die on the job (Fraser 2018). According to my interviewees and fieldwork, when an officer dies under what are considered heroic circumstances, it is as if the sacred meaning of the death is transferred to the closest family member. For example, during the national memorial service, the next-of-kin of those on the memorial sit in a reserved “VIP” section at the front that cannot be accessed by ordinary citizens. While this is described as a common courtesy, as the service is geared towards them (Lyon 1996), it goes beyond this. They are almost treated as if they were a celebrity – or as if they were a living manifestation of the dead “hero” officer themselves. As one widow noted to me in an interview, “you're treated like a really, really, important person. You're picked up at the hotel in a limo, with police escort. All the streets are blocked for you. It really is very, very emotional”. The spouses are also given a personal assistant, who attends to their questions and needs. As Heather put it, during the NPOMR, widows are also “treated like honorary members” who can participate in the running event as much or little as they want.

The dinner, in this sense, held at the OPA headquarters, is also something of a hero's feast. According to the mythology of the memorial, the SOLE network consists of a collection of people who represent heroic officers. It is thus not surprising that some widows described to me feeling

“pressure” or a “sense of obligation and responsibility” to participate in as many provincial and federal memorials as they could, which they interpreted as a product of their own doing and the expectations they placed on themselves to honour their former spouse. It is also a product of the CPPOM, which heroizes and worships them, encouraging them to support rather than question the carceral and nationalizing state, despite its role in the death of their spouse (Seigel 2018).

After the dinner, many attendees attend a vigil at the Hill around 7:00pm. The word vigil means to “keep watch” and traditionally denotes a period where one stays awake during the night. It is closely related to “vigilance”, and frequently involves the lighting and holding of candles. These services and the candles hold special symbolic significance. In the Christian religious tradition, a vigil is a service held on the eve of an important religious day, such as Sunday, or festival. Heidish (2001) observes that keeping vigil is “an offering of your time and presence to be especially aware of God” (34). Staying awake, as well as lighting a candle, is a symbolic means of keeping darkness at bay. Candles are also a metaphor for the human spirit or soul, in the sense of the flame moving and flickering as if it were alive (Heidish 2001). It is the product of a predominantly white, Christian tradition, and a desire to further associate carceral work with themes of national heroism and fighting against evil, or darkness. This is where, it appears, the tradition of the family vigil materialized from. One participant described it to me as such:

The vigil is basically for families attending. It’s by invitation for families. It happens on Parliament Hill, like inside the buildings. ... There’s a choir that sings. For years, it used to be inside the buildings ... In 2019, since the renovations started, it’s actually under the Hill ... Basically, when you’re facing Parliament on the left-hand side, there’s an underground entrance to the Parliament Hill. It’s a very nice hall, a very nice space. That’s where it was hosted for the first time and the last one now, because last year it didn’t happen. The vigil is hosted by Ottawa Police and, basically, they sort of run the ceremony. They have some introductions and very brief prayers, speeches, things like that. But very brief. Usually, there’s a presentation. One of the family members is asked to speak about their loved one. And then there’s choir from Canterbury High School in Ottawa that sings. Going back a bit, now families who are attending, they’re all asked to place a flower on a wreath as they enter the vigil. There’s a wreath that sort of empty. We place flowers, just

the top of it, the buds, on the wreath. That wreath is later laid on the memorial from all the families together. It's very nice. The full ceremony is about 45 minutes. Then we all go outside.

When the ceremony is finished, everyone moves outside to the memorial tablets. This part is broadcasted to the “frontstage” on social media, so everyone – including families not in attendance – can observe it. There is a podium and several police and “peace officers” standing in front of them in ceremonial outfits. Behind them, the sun can often be seen setting over the Ottawa River and a portion of the Supreme Court of Canada is visible between the trees. There are also people singing off to the side. At the 2021 vigil – which instead of attending the private event I watched live through social media – Reverend Canon Robert Heard, the OPS Chaplain, prayed:

Our gracious God, we have gathered together this evening to remember our loved ones who have faithfully served the community. We thank you for their memory and their lives, even as our hearts ache this evening, we remain grateful for the time we shared with those we loved. Send your spirit of comfort to embrace us, as we spend these moments together. Your promise that you walk with us through the darkest valley, extends even to this evening. So, we present our weariness and our heartache to you, as we seek rest and peace that only you can provide. Now we share a moment of silence in their memory.

Eventually, all families in attendance get a little candle, which they place under the names of their loved ones. The whole ceremony takes about an hour from start to finish. Following this, the vigil is complete and they head home to get some rest before the CPPOM service the next morning. While families at the memorial tend to see their loved ones as the heroic ones whose soul is represented by the flame, it is them who are given the candle in what Tammemagi (2002) calls “the heart of Canada” (5), a powerful symbolic gesture of helping keep the darkness or “evil” at bay (Heidish 2001), transforming them into heroes for the nationalizing and carceral state. New CPPOM activities such as the memorial ride and run, as well as the dinner and the family vigil encourage feelings of heroism and courage, helping to provide comfort and meaning in violent death. Along with spouses, this includes for children as well. As Brenda elaborated to me:

For them, one day their Dad or Mom is there and the next day they are gone. I think the Memorial helps them understand the importance and magnitude of the sacrifices that were made. My boys were 9 and 10 when Dave died. They cried the first week, but never cried again until we went to Ottawa for the Memorial. Then they both had meltdowns at the wall. I asked them why they were crying then and they said that seeing Dave's name on the wall and the ceremony made them realize that he really wasn't coming back. They are 23 and 25 now, and they said that the ceremony helped them feel better knowing that Dave died as a hero.

Unlike the courtroom (Christie 1977; Hulsman 1986), the memorial puts the families of officers first. Surrounded by symbols of the state, the private family vigil and the CPPOM more broadly, which stages both officers and their families as heroic, are known to elicit powerful feelings and emotions, including collapsing in tears at the tablets. "To all the families who are with us for the first time, thank you for your courage for coming" – Laurie Dinning noted in a 2018 speech to attendees at the vigil, which she shared with me – "We all remember how difficult it was to walk into this room, our first time. The unknown, the anxiety, and the overwhelming grief is something we have all experienced ... Gradually, our darkness has been replaced by moments of light". Along with feelings of heroism and courage, the memorial is also known to elicit hope, including hope for a more peaceful and safe future, where no "peace" officers die. As noted earlier, it is mythological, as death is a normal part and product of policing (Seigel 2018). Speaking to this, the CPPOM monument which the vigil concludes at, has been constructed to ensure there is ample room for the names of officers who will inevitably be killed (see O'Connell 2001).

### **11.5. Conclusion**

This chapter has briefly discussed some of the more recently established national memorial activities, which now form an important part of the CPPOM. From the 2000s onwards, I have discussed how the CPPOM has developed into a more complex, popular, and recognized carceral and nationalizing state service, organization, and institution, spawning penal pilgrimages and other uplifting social activities. While some of these newer events – such as the memorial ride and run

– are “presentational strategies” (Manning 1997) that occur in public and others in backstage areas (Goffman 1959) – such as the widow and widower’s dinner, as well as much of the family vigil – no matter what “stage” an event operates on, I have described how the events foster powerful emotions and feelings of heroism and courage, which often peak upon reaching the Hill for the first time on the last weekend in September. Such feelings can produce solidarity and collective identity among penal system actors (Crank 2004), as well as help with the grieving process (Larochelle 1994; Henry 2004), but can also promote uncritical acceptance of penal practices and the social distance between everyday citizens and the criminalized. Indeed, for the later are (largely implicitly) constructed through the CPPOM activities – with their emphasis on constructing “Heroes in Life” – as the opposite. That is, as failures, or “villains” in a war against the forces of good, peace and justice. I elaborate on this and other key insights stemming from this study in the final chapter, where I conclude the doctoral dissertation by discussing my findings in relation to my research aims and questions, followed by a discussion on future directions for research.

## 12. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

There's something about having all those hundreds of people in a line in front of you and seeing everyone marching in step ... it brings the feeling that we're all there for a common purpose. As [we're] marching up onto Parliament Hill, everyone is completely in tune. Everyone is in a straight line, with their feet and arms moving at the same time. For me, it always drives home the reason that we're there ... to honour officers who were killed in the line of duty ... those people that go out there and put their lives on the line ... who stand between good and evil, keeping people safe.

– Steven Brown (Interview with Matthew Ferguson)

### 12.1. Introduction

This final chapter begins with a brief overview of the doctoral dissertation, which examined the Canadian Police and Peace Officers Memorial. This is followed by three sections organized around major themes identified through the literature review, which elaborate these contributions and answer the research questions that were the focus of this study (see *Chapter 6*). These sections situate the dissertation in relation to the existing research. First, I discuss how penal system work is staged and performed through national commemoration. I argue that this process largely occurs through the nature of the CPPOM as a presentational strategy, one that also communicates and welds themes of carceral state unity and nationhood. Next, I discuss how the commemoration of penal system actors as heroes generates and maintains support for punishment, as well as the social distance that exists between ordinary citizens and people in conflict with the law, by also constructing the latter as “villains”, inverting the pains of punishment towards officers and the families of slain officers, and providing opportunities for penal pilgrimage and tourism.

Finally, I re-visit and discuss the many myths that are constructed and safeguarded through these memorials, which legitimize the existence, expansion, and domination of punitive ways of thinking about and responding to criminalized conflict and harms. After, there is a section briefly identifying some of the main implications of the study, its limitations, as well as gaps in knowledge

that became evident. This doctoral dissertation concludes with a reflection about pathways for future research, including the importance of demystifying, demythologizing, and debunking other activities which promote punitiveness in an era of commemoration and carceral expansion.

## **12.2. Overview of Dissertation**

In an era where memorials and memorialization are widespread, including forms of national commemoration (Nora 1989), as well as practices of “crime control” and criminalization (Taylor 1986), this doctoral dissertation set out to demystify, demythologize, and debunk “The Canadian Police and Peace Officers Memorial” (CPPOM), specifically its birth, development, meanings, and role. In *Chapter 1*, I introduced this research aim and the memorial activities, as well as identified the lack of research on police memorials and an interest in helping to fill this gap by examining them, especially the CPPOM at Parliament Hill, and challenge misleading beliefs and promote attempts to move beyond the violence, as well as failures of policing and imprisonment (e.g. Cobbina-Dungy and Jones-Brown 2021; Totten 2020; Anthony and Chartrand 2022). As will be further discussed in this concluding chapter, I also clarified its contributions to criminology, which I separated into empirical, theoretical, and methodological contributions. Briefly, I observed how it contributes empirically by providing a novel account of the CPPOM that addresses empirical gaps identified in chapters 2 to 5. It contributes theoretically by advancing understanding of relevant concepts and their interrelationships. Finally, it contributes methodologically through its qualitative approach to the analysis of police and carceral state legitimacy, which expands the data collected on the CPPOM by Larochelle (1994), Taylor (1986), and Palmer (2012).

In “Part I: Reviewing Research on the Memorial”, I reviewed this literature, beginning with *Chapter 2: Larochelle’s Official History of the Memorial*, where I examined and demythologized the official history of the origins of the memorial, claiming that it is not a history, so much as an

act of commemoration in the face of criticism and institutional changes to the OPS which lacks analysis and criticism. Along with change, I identified the theme of comfort and healing that Larochelle (1994) ties to the memorial, and showed how he constructs and perpetuates various policing myths, namely the myth that police are the experts in all “cop things” (Crank 2004), the myth that penal system history – and history generally – is an enlightened story of progress (see Foucault 1977), and the myth that police officers are heroic guardians of law and order (see Manning 1977). In *Chapter 3: Taylor’s Critique of the Memorial as Ideological*, I reviewed an earlier attempt and call by Taylor (1986) to demythologize the memorial and other Canadian police ideological practices. Along with identifying more empirical gaps and the themes of Americanization, martyrdom, and a crisis in police legitimacy, I critiqued his approach on the basis that it did not stress what is even more apparent today – that the CPPOM is a complex and powerful policing service, organization, and institution in its own right and not simply a collection of misleading representations of public policing. I suggested the need to recognize that multiple and constructed “realities” of policing exist, connecting this project with one of debunking these realities and demystifying their relationship to power. In *Chapter: 4: Palmer’s Global Studies of Police Memorialization*, I reviewed a final study touching on the CPPOM, identifying the themes of the politics of policing and memory, as well as symbolic displays of legitimacy. While Palmer (2012) plans on analyzing planning materials and conducting interviews with police memorial organizers, I suggested a need to study the experiences of ordinary participants, which Larochelle (2012) only briefly touches on and Taylor (1986) neglects. Also, to examine the theme of legitimacy as it relates to carceral and nationalizing state broadly – not just public policing.

In “Part II: On Research Design”, *Chapter 5: Demystifying, Demythologizing, and Debunking the Memorial in an Era of Commemoration and Carceral Expansion* elaborated the

conceptual framework of the study and concluded the literature review. First, I further introduced and defined concepts borrowed from a dramaturgical analysis of policing (Manning 1997). The main gap I identified was the need to examine how penal system work is enacted through national commemoration. Next, I elaborated the concept of penal spectatorship (Brown 2009) and others borrowed from critical prison studies, such as penal (and dark tourism), as well as the carceral state. The gap I identified was a need to explore how support for punishment is maintained and generated, as well as the social distance between ordinary citizens (i.e. penal spectators) and people in conflict with the law, through commemorative activities staging penal system actors as heroes for the carceral and nationalizing state. Finally, I defined and elaborated concepts from a transdisciplinary field known as memory studies, namely dominant site of memory and organizational memories (Nora 1989). The main gap I identified was a need to identify the myths that are upheld and perpetuated through memorial activities which have become an important element in the memorial heritage of the police and “peace” officer community in Canada.

The literature review led to the construction of three specific research questions:

- i) How is penal system work staged and performed through the dramatic spectacle of national commemoration?
- ii) How does the commemoration of penal system actors as heroes maintain support for punishment and the social distance that exists between ordinary citizens and people in conflict with the law?
- iii) What myths are constructed and perpetuated through these memorials that legitimize the existence, expansion, and domination of punitive ways of thinking about and responding to criminalized conflict and harms?

In *Chapter 6: Outlining a Method*, I outlined the methods adopted in this dissertation, explaining how they were well-suited to address the research aim and these questions. First, I clarified that the appropriate approach was qualitative, one that made use of but also added to the main forms of data collection used by Larochelle (1994)(i.e. newspapers and interviews with police officers),

Taylor (1986) (i.e. observation at the memorial), and Palmer (2012) (i.e. interviews with memorial organizers and contemporary documentation). Clarifying that the study was informed by a critical interpretivist epistemology and a constructivist, anti-foundationalist ontology, I elaborated how data was collected from newspapers and magazine articles, memorial websites, and interviews with memorial participants and organizers, as well as one with a police officer who was critical of the CPPOM – largely because it presents as a problem people critical of police work, as opposed to its own “brotherhood” that demands loyalty and promotes a culture of violence and secrecy (Sierra-Arévalo 2019). Also, data was collected from a survey and participant observation at the public events. Next, I explained how this data was analyzed by identifying and reporting patterns (i.e. thematic analysis – see Clarke and Braun 2013), as well as sorting out these patterns and the meanings tied to them in a layered and compelling manner (i.e. thick description – see Geertz 1973). Finally, I noted how I attained informed consent and other ethical considerations.

In “Part III: Outlining Findings and Discussion”, *Chapter 7: “They’re Mad ...Damned Mad!”: Government and Gun Control in the Lead-up to a Memorial*, I discussed how debates around gun control involving police officers, associations, and leaders, as well as politicians, in part set the stage for the emergence of the national memorial service as a spectacle which linked and assisted in the entrenchment of the carceral and nationalizing state, namely by encouraging the idea that the way to promote peace in the country is through harsher sentencing provisions rather than a more lenient, rehabilitative penal system and more stringent gun control or alternative approaches to preventing and responding to criminalized acts. In *Chapter 8: Demonstration and Commemoration: Capital Punishment and the Early Years of the Memorial*, I elaborated the theme of capital punishment – specifically its official abolition on 26 July 1976 for individuals convicted of killing “line of duty” police and prison officers – as also key to its emergence, with its content

and form contributing not simply to remembrance, but also to the perpetuation and entrenchment of a nationalizing and carceral state, which entails fostering solidarity with officers and social distance with the criminalized through commemoration, memorialization, and spectacle.

These findings ran against the account of the birth of the memorial by Laroche (1994) and lent credence to Taylor's (1986) claims that the CPPOM is tied to attempts to increase punitiveness in Canadian society and efforts to restore the death penalty, as well as legitimate policing and surveillance. The "murder" of OPS Constable Kirkwood on 11 July 1977 – was examined in more detail in *Chapter 9: Police Heroism and the Myth of Remembrance: Representations of the Death of Constable David Kirkwood*. An analysis of his death and the trial of Frederick Koepke who was living with mental health issues and was ultimately found to be not criminally responsible led me to argue that more has been forgotten and twisted through police "organizational memories" (Sierra-Arévalo 2019; Mulcahy 2000) about OPS Constable Kirkwood and what happened on 11 July 1977 than remembered. It also led me to further clarify how the memorial upholds support for the preservation and entrenchment of the nationalizing and carceral state, as well as myths about policing and punishment, under the guise of remembrance.

In *Chapter 10: The Bureaucratic Spirit: Belonging and Exclusion in a Time of Memorial Expansion*, I examined the expansion of the memorial in the mid-1990s. Along with front stage changes to the memorial – such as its transformation into a "peace" officers memorial and the unveiling of a police memorial pavilion – I observed how it became characterized by a more complex back-stage management oriented around deciding and controlling who can be a part of the memorial. A bureaucratic spirit – as opposed to merely the spirit of remembrance – helped grow and legitimize the memorial as a North American institution, further entrenching the nationalizing and carceral state in the process through its myths, which are not a given but forged

through struggle in the form of presentational strategies, forgetting, lived experience and participation, as well as organizational memory. Finally, in *Chapter 11: The Thrill of Reaching the Hill: Feelings of Heroism and Courage at the Memorial Today*, I briefly discussed and analyzed the birth and meanings of the CPMRR, the NPOMR, the widows and widower's dinner, as well as the private family vigil. I explained how the CPPOM has evolved to incorporate pilgrimages and other uplifting social activities, helping it become a more established carceral and nationalizing state institution through the powerful emotions it fosters, such as feelings of heroism and courage among participants – feelings which Larochelle (1994) only briefly touches on and Taylor (1986) neglects. The feelings it generates are often depicted and expressed through the symbol of the “thin blue line” that characterizes the mythology of the carceral state being situated beside or in close relation to the national flag, which symbolizes the nationalizing state.

In the next three sections, I briefly discuss the findings and contributions of this doctoral dissertation in relation to the specific, conceptually oriented research questions. I begin with a discussion surrounding the memorial a spectacle of national commemoration through which the drama of penal system work that also manifests in other cultural settings is staged and performed. This is followed by a discussion about how such activities generate and maintain support for punishment and the distance between penal spectators and the criminalized, followed by revisiting the myths that “peace” officer memorials construct and promote that legitimate punitiveness.

### **12.3. The Memorial as Dramatic Staging and Performance of “Crime Control”**

The findings of this study have shown that police and punishment memorialization is shaped by concerns for maintaining and managing appearances. In the face of various uniquely contemporary dilemmas, such as the dilemma of controlling “crime” – a phenomenon “with no ontological reality” (Hulsman 1986, 71) that also cannot be controlled because of structural reasons (Manning

1997) – there exists a desire to uphold an appearance of control and memorialize carceral work as peaceful, prepared, united, professional, apolitical, and heroic. In Manning’s (1997) terms, following Goffman (1959), it is an example of the dramatic staging and performance of “crime control” that involves actors, audiences, presentational strategies, myths, and a metaphorical stage where people adopt organized roles and play them out in close interaction with one another. In considering how this performance is specifically staged and accomplished through national commemoration, a few original points can be observed stemming from my study.

To begin, debates about the CPPOM connect back to the general literature on institution-building, commemoration, and the social-political culture shift referred to earlier in the literature review. For example, Hulsman (1986), as I pointed out, observes how critical criminology has problematized and debunked many normal beliefs about “crime” and “criminal justice” practices. Yet, he also claims that the ontological reality of “crime” has escaped problematization. I have advanced this work by arguing that what has also escaped problematization is the CPPOM and its related commemoratives practices, or what Taylor (1986) describes as police ideological and social activities, which contribute to myths about the penal system (e.g. that its workers are deeply prepared, professional, heroic, and unified), along with fabricating and constructing the ontological reality of “crime” and “criminals” to advance the mission of penal institutions (Hulsman 1986).

Additionally, Manning (1997; 2015) argues that police funerals and commemorative activities are complex symbolic acts which should be demystified for the insights they provide about how police work and how society at a broader level is organized and justified. A key debate here is how the public police maintain, and in some instances gain and control power in the face of many obstacles and dilemmas. Adopting a dramaturgical approach, my research shows the role of the CPPOM in this and national commemoration more generally, which is a new “presentational

strategy” mobilized by police in combination with others, such as crime statistics and police professionalism. In contrast to Manning (1997; 2015), I focused more on the historical and political conditions of the emergence and development of police memorials in the Canadian context.

Finally, as for Goffman (1959), the dramaturgical approach I adopted is based on his face-to-face view, in which he suggests our behaviour in public is based on how we wish to be perceived. While I am not suggesting Goffman (1959) is incorrect, one relevant debate is how this works on a broader, institutional level in complex capitalist societies. My thesis contributed to this, discussing the role of politics, institutional dilemmas, and the media, for example, as well as who the performance is directed at (e.g. police and the public). Also, in part by drawing on his concepts of front and backstage of performance, as well as incorporating concepts from memory studies and Nora (1989). His influential notion of “site of memory” in the form of the CPPOM provides a stage or background for dramaturgical action to play out (Goffman 1959), which also involve penal tourism and pilgrimage. The CPPOM is therefore both a site of memory and performance.

In conjunction with more well-researched presentational strategies, such as the rhetoric of professionalism, the bureaucratic ideal, the construction and control of “crime” statistics, and the use of technologies (Manning 1997), national commemoration is a relatively new and complex strategy that penal system actors and their families have adopted from the 1970s onwards to help build and maintain credibility with the communities and nationalizing state they purport to serve (Palmer 2012). While maintaining a frontstage appearance of penal system work as a practice – not simply a performance – organized around the (impossible) mandate of “crime control” is central to the memorial, its birth, development, meanings, and role is also shaped by what Manning (2015) calls “multi-faceted modernity” (41) more broadly. As seen, the CPPOM is inseparable from other complex and multi-faceted institutions that hold power and influence over people, such

as family, work, law, religion, government, and the media. For participants, it helps to construct and stabilize identities (Nora 1986) through its ties to dominant and traditional institutions.

The hidden and dramatic dilemmas that gave rise to the CPPOM as a service, organization, and institution took at least three overlapping forms: national, local, and structural. In the 1970s, it was shown that police were struggling to fulfil their mandate nation-wide. Though also an international phenomenon, police associations and leaders were frequently pointing to rising “violent crime” rates in Canada (The Ottawa Citizen 1975a; Vancouver Sun, 1976), criticizing the perceived leniency shown towards the criminalized in a time when the federal government and researchers were emphasizing rehabilitation, and were thus also questioning the construction of a what PM Pierre Trudeau called a “just society” (e.g. Calgary Herald 1978). The official abolition of corporal punishment inside federal penitentiaries in 1972 and capital punishment for people convicted of killing “on duty” police and prison guards in 1976 – the latter as part of the “peace and security program” – was challenged by many carceral officers and associations, who presented these officially decommissioned practices as effective and just on account of organizational memories and knowledge (Ottawa Citizen 1975e). My analysis shows that the national memorial emerged as a presentational strategy precisely at a time in Canadian history – 1978 – when the legitimacy of policing and the penal system more broadly was being questioned.

There were also local dilemmas identified that set the stage for the memorial. Prior to its establishment, Justice Minister Ron Basford had used the death of OPS Constable Kirkwood to help pass Bill C-51 – the revised gun control bill which was being debated at the time and was widely viewed by police officers who attended his funeral as a “mockery” (see *Chapter 7*) because it sought to reduce gun misuse through education and licensing, as opposed to explicitly targeting lawbreakers. Following his death, spectators at the scene were also observed to be criticizing and

interfering with police actions, while the trial highlighted a lack of police preparedness and professionalism when it came to the arrest of Frederick Koepke on outstanding warrants. On the day of the funeral, when Constable Kirkwood was buried, a letter published in the paper called the police “chicken” for not ending the gunfight sooner, prompting responses from his wife Dawna and sister Karen, who instead called them “heroic” (Kirkwood 1977; see also *Chapter 9*).

In addition to this, there were structural dilemmas. It was observed how the structure of police organizations in relation to its mandate restricted the ability for police – especially the RCMP and OPP – to openly engage in politics and political demonstrations to challenge the course of law reform in support of harsher punishments. After the Collingwood police wives and Dawna Kirkwood failed to move Minister Basford about the so-called “changed attitude towards capital punishment and voluntary violation of the Criminal Code of Canada” (Chevers et al., quoted in French 1977), a memorial permitted officers to march together in uniform – including the red serge of the RCMP that symbolizes the nationalizing state (Taylor 1986) – beside their loved ones, and anyone else on their side, onto the Hill. The myth of an apolitical remembrance ceremony ensured there would be limited questioning of the role of politics in policing, or the threat of internal disciplinary action, or encountering counter-protestors, as would later occur at the police protest for the death penalty on the Hill in 1984 (see *Chapter 8*). Today, according to my interviews and surveys, the number one wish of participants is for the sitting PM – who historically and in the present has not attended the memorial, unlike the US President for the US NLEO Memorial – to start attending and showing support, which would bolster these problematic activities further. As it stands, the PM is typically represented at the service by the Minister of Public Safety.

Emerging and achieving instant popularity – in other words, it was not originally a small gathering of officers wanting to pay tribute to Constable Kirkwood, as is sometimes mistakenly

believed – due to national, local, and structural dilemmas, the memorial as a police presentational strategy constructs and stabilizes identities, as well as broadcasts messages about carceral work as peaceful and honourable, which boosts organizational morale and memory, in part through the mythological tale of Constable Kirkwood’s heroic “sacrifice” in the good-against-evil narrative. As the findings of this study suggest, the memorial cannot be easily separated from other strategies, such as the rhetoric of professionalism, the bureaucratic ideal or spirit, and the construction and dissemination of “crime” statistics, which are tied to it and give it enhanced legitimacy (Manning 1997). Along with these, two different presentational strategies can also be identified:

1. **Carceral State Unity** – In times when penal system work has been the focus of restructuring and robust critique, one of the strategies employed by carceral actors is to associate themselves with one another through memorialization. The CPPOM service and related activities (e.g. the memorial ride and run) bolster the myth of “criminal justice” as a united and cohesive system of hardworking people whose product is peace and stability, and not “the infliction of suffering and stigmatisation” (Hulsman 1986, 64). It enhances what Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) call “audience legitimacy” (124) or the recognition by citizens of the “right” of police to exercise power through an association of the penal system with broader, universal ideals of peace, security, and justice. It also enhances what these researchers call “power-holder legitimacy” or the need for police and other power-holding actors to believe in their own hearts and minds that such work is legitimate and morally acceptable (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012).
2. **Nationalizing Identity** – Due to the unique mythology it has generated and maintained, the RCMP in Canada are traditionally understood as national symbols (Taylor 1986). Nevertheless, the findings of this study suggest that associating carceral work and its

myths with the “nationalizing state” (Osborne and Osborne 2004) is a more widespread presentational strategy. The CPPOM associates this work with the broader myth of the nation as an imagined, consensual community (Anderson 1994) and the state as the guarantors of the safety of the citizenry. Participants routinely sport national flag patches, often coupled with the “thin blue line” image that is banned from most police uniforms, but not the uniforms of the memorial (Global News 2022). The location of the CPPOM beside statues of monarchs and prime ministers, as well as numerous war memorials and monuments, and other heroized citizens, speaks to this strategy.

Although recognizing its influence on officers themselves, the dramaturgical perspective argues that police presentational strategies are aimed at public audiences, especially those with political power (Manning 1997). The findings of this study lend support to this claim. In this sense, they also clash with those who contend that police funerals and other police ritual activities are primarily aimed at police officers – not the general public. As Lord and colleagues (2004) note, “themes and ritual activities are primarily aimed at the police themselves – though they may carry important symbolisms that carry meaning to outsiders, the primary audience for those meanings is cops” (336). In short, they suggest that police rituals are best understood as “cop things” (358) that invoke and construct feelings of organizational solidarity and collective grief.

The findings of this study show they do both. From the beginning, the CPPOM was not just a “cop thing” considering its public location and political invitations (Cote 1979). OPS Chief Welsh stated to the media after the first service: “Let the people realize police put their lives on the line all the time” (Cote 1978), while the police pavilion was later described as a “gift” to the public. New events such as the CPMRR and NPOMR focus on promoting the CPPOM to penal spectators. This performance is stimulated and amplified through the power of news and social

media, which along with combatting critical depictions of penal system practices (see Mawby 2014) allows its messaging to reach a broad public audience. Yet findings also uncovered that the CPPOM is also a “cop thing” (Lord et al. 2009, 337), which is experientially significant for the participating carceral officers and loved ones of fallen colleagues, which Taylor (1986) due to his reductionist perspective that conceptualizes the CPPOM to being mostly mystification dismisses.

#### **12.4. The Memorial as a Spectacle of Punishment, Pilgrimage, and Tourism**

As this doctoral dissertation has illuminated, the CPPOM is also a dramatic political and penal spectacle that has evolved but remains predominantly fixated on the Hill, a major site of tourism and leisure due to its political and cultural significance in Canada (Osborne and Osborne 2004). In recent years, representations conveyed at penal tourism settings, such as prison museums, have received a growing amount of research attention because these are settings where, along with policing, “much of the popular knowledge about punishment is constructed” (Brown 2009, 4). In contrast, only a small amount of penal tourism research has been conducted on memorials and ceremonies of remembrance, which this project has found are directly aimed at the public.

This gap in the research literature that this study helped to address is significant in a time when penal system institutions and practices of punishment persist – and in countries such as Canada thrive as evidenced by continually rising police budgets despite the popularization of calls to “defund the police” (e.g. Pasternak et al. 2022; Rutland 2023) – in the face of corruption scandals, miscarriages of justice, declining “crime” rates, incidents of brutality, and more. To explore these questions, some critical criminologists have turned their research attention towards the past, illustrating the diverse ways that the past is memorialized at tourism settings in ways that support the carceral state (e.g. Walby et al. 2021). In Canada and elsewhere, the literature on representations of punishment in penitentiary, prison, and jail museums (e.g. Wilson 2018; Welch

2015) has revealed how decommissioned carceral facilities-turned-museums and other tourism sites are widespread and communicate polysemous meanings (see Walby and Piché 2011).

While penal tourism can promote critical reflection by foregrounding the perspectives of the criminalized, for example (see Fiander et al. 2016), as seen in this analysis of the CPPOM, carceral state memorialization and commemoration tends to “contribute to the popular culture of prisons, [and] perpetuate the myths, misperceptions, and stereotypes” (Ross 2017, 948) that support the normalization and proliferation of confinement both inside and beyond the penal system. Along with these, this doctoral dissertation uncovered three means through which penal spectatorship (Brown 2009; 2017) is bolstered and supported through the commemoration of penal system actors as heroes: i) constructing villains; ii) inverting the pains of punishment towards officers and their families, ii) providing opportunities for penal pilgrimage and tourism.

First, researchers investigating penal tourism and the politics of commemoration have identified how controlling history or representations of the past is a means of maintaining control in the present adopted by governing elites (e.g. Wilson et al. 2017; Bodnar 1994; Ashplant et al. 2000). Likewise, this study revealed how the penal past is remembered and memorialized by authorities according to contemporary concerns, interests, and beliefs, which involve framing penal system work as a heroic battle of good-versus-evil (Manning 1997). While history is always a reconstruction (Nora 1989), the CPPOM and representations it conveys also normalize punitive responses by mythically framing such representations and rhetoric as the “reality” of carceral work (see *Chapter 3*). The CPPOM, in other words, is described as preserving the memories of penal system officers, honouring them, and maintaining a close connection with the past. Yet, with its focus on so-called “Heroes in Life”, it also constructs people and groups who oppose them as villains. These are not just people like Frederick Koepke, who was found not guilty due to his

mental illness, yet is still often said by the OPS and memorial participants today to have “murdered” Constable Kirkwood (see *Chapter 9*). The villainized are also social movements and community organizers, as well as researchers and politicians – especially in recent years where deaths of Black and Indigenous peoples such as Greg Ritchie (see Nease 2023), Anthony Aust (see Andrews 2022), and Abdirahman Abdi (see Jones and Glowacki 2020) in Ottawa – who support defunding the police and other carceral institutions in order to re-allocate resources to housing, education, mental health care, and other social supports to enhance community well-being and safety.

The myth that there exists a knowable and presentable “reality” of the carceral state that is upheld through commemoration is also upheld by Laroche (1994) and Taylor (1986) – who puts the word in quotation marks. As part of the critical process of demystification, demythologization, and debunking, I have shown how there is not a single “reality” of the CPPOM and the work it represents, so much as multiple and complex “realities” associated with its birth, development, meanings, and role. These findings support the work of Chen and colleagues (2015) and Jackson (2017), the latter of which also observes how “police museums and memorials ... promote a “tourist relationship” to policing, one that allows for proximate feelings of pleasurable excitement and national pride, while placing the structural violence of policing at a distance” (178). Although the deaths of officers are represented at memorials as especially tragic, the structural violence of policing itself is overlooked. Superficially, officer deaths are constructed as preventable through enhancing law and order practices (see *Chapter 7* and *8*). On another level, they are presented as inevitable in the mythological journey of public policing and settler-colonial societies into a more advanced cultural form (see *Chapter 2* and *Chapter 9*). While such depictions construct police as heroic, the many more deaths of those who have been killed by officers (Tracking (In)Justice,

2023), died behind bars (Tracking (In)justice 2022), and so on, are ignored. When immortalized at penal tourism settings, they are “often relegated to a dangerous, demonic, and ghostly “othered” status” (Chen et al. 2016, 33). This promotes solidarity with penal system officers and furthers the social distance between penal spectators and criminalized people (see Chen et al. 2016).

Second, it was also found that the national commemoration of penal system officers in a certain sense inverts the spectacle of punishment. Although involving the police and other penal system institutions, as well as hundreds of spectators, the CPPOM is not a form of penal spectatorship in the sense Brown (2009) understands it. It is not a cultural representation like a television show, movie, photograph, or decommissioned prison, where those who are distanced from formal institutions of punishment witness pain-delivery and suffering from a distance. It is nevertheless a site where representations of pain and suffering – that of officers and their families – are positioned and consumed on the frontstage (Goffman 1959), as well as judgements about officer behaviour and also – as interviews revealed – opinions and thoughts about punishment and justice. The pain and suffering that penal spectators witness from a distance is not the pain of the criminalized. It is the pain of the innocent child or widow, whose connection to an officer who died in what is considered a heroic “line of duty” circumstance transforms them into a sort of penal celebrity in the culture of the police (Crank 2004). Over time, for some widows, this brings subtle pressure to attend provincial and federal memorials. It also brings pressure to support, rather than challenge the political interests of the carceral state, as blame for the deaths of officers is placed primarily on human “failures” or “villains” and not the state itself. While memorialization represents and promotes punishment from a social distance, it does so with a focus on those who, according to police mythology, have paid the ultimate price or penalty to keep society safe.

Third, this study also uncovered that penal spectatorship occurs through what was termed penal pilgrimage. The new memorial ride and run events are examples, as participants build and maintain relationships with one another and individuals in the communities they journey through. The motivations behind penal pilgrimage are personal and numerous, but intersect with penal and dark tourism (Welch 2015; Dalton 2015). Like penal tourism, penal pilgrimage promotes and encourages forms of penal spectatorship by emphasizing the sacrifice of “peace” officers, not the criminalized. This is also relevant to police funerals and other memorial activities, such as those I attended earlier in Fredericton (see *Chapter 1*), where officers from across Canada and the US journeyed to the “sacred” funeral destination that was under heavy, armed surveillance.

While these are means through which penal spectatorship is maintained, the CPPOM does more than just reproduce punitive mentalities and support for “peace” officers. It also maintains and generates myths, which I defined not simply as misleading beliefs, but beliefs that render natural, permanent, and legitimate, activities which are provisional and socially constructed.

### **12.5. The Memorial as a Dominant Site of Memory and Mythmaking**

This study uncovered that the national memorialization of police and other forms of penal system work constructs many powerful and problematic myths which naturalize and legitimize the existence, expansion, and domination of punitive ways of thinking about and responding to criminalized conflict and harms. Myths include the belief that “violent crime” is one of the biggest crises facing the country, that there is a declining amount of public respect for police and the law, that penal system work is one of the most dangerous forms of work, that police officers are often subjected to unfair public and political criticism, that penal system officers are the experts in public safety, that such work is evolving and improving over time, that it is inherently peaceful and just and serves all people and populations equally, that there is a single, true, heroic reality of this work

that can be rather easily and neatly exhibited for public consumption, that police officer deaths are largely the product of inadequate political decision-making, and that national memorialization and commemoration is mainly about “not forgetting” or remembering the deaths of past officers. While remembrance is a primary motivation for organizers and participants, along with forming social relationships, the memorial activities are also the product of underlying political processes and agendas, organizational forgetting, and image management concerns (see Manning 1997).

In examining the myths upheld through memorialization, I have also borrowed from and contributed to growing research on the movement of “police memorialization” (Palmer 2012, 188) that Palmer (2012) identifies as occurring in Canada, the United States, Canada, Northern Ireland, Scotland, England, Australia, India, China, and elsewhere over the past two decades. The findings of this dissertation lend support to the research of Palmer (2012) and Linke (2018) in Australia, further showing how “police legitimacy has been and continues to be shaped by police memorials and remembrance practices” (Linke 2018, 6). Palmer (2012) had previously observed how the dedication of the Police Memorial Pavilion (PMP) on Parliament Hill in 1994 occurred when the Oppal Inquiry into problems of policing in British Columbia (1992 – 1994) was being concluded, which “presented competing narratives of Canadian policing” (196). While relevant to the broader context of Canadian policing being under what Oppal (1994) claimed was the highest level of scrutiny in history, I have also noted, for instance, how the CPA was reported to have met in 1989 in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, to figure out ways to boost police morale, which I suggested was also negatively influenced by the House of Commons voting 148 to 127 in favour of not to reinstate the death penalty in 1987, after pressure to re-instate it had built through the memorial activities. One of the main recommendations to address this dilemma was to establish another, permanent memorial in Ottawa to police officers killed on duty that became the PMP (see *Chapter 8*).

The re-construction of the Summer Pavilion that was originally built in 1877, which an architect, along with police associations, “resurrected ... from the dead” (Evenson 1989) and transformed into a police memorial, bolstered the CPPOM as an “invented tradition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992) – by making these commemorative acts that essentially started in 1977 appear a century older – or as a deeply-rooted “site of memory” (Nora 1989). Palmer (2012) and Linke (2018) distinguish between “active and “inactive” sites of memory and observe how police memorials are “mostly inactive” (Linke 2018, 223) as they tend to be widely visited only on memorial days. I have suggested that the distinction between “dominant” and dominated” sites of memory that emphasizes the symbolic aspects, suggested by Nora (1989) is also relevant.

More specifically, the CPPOM is what Nora (1996) describes as a dominant and mostly public site of memory, which tend to be imposed “from above by the government or some official organization, and are typically cold and solemn, like official ceremonies” (19). He also contends that “one doesn’t visit such places; one is summoned to them” (19). While this is perhaps an accurate description of the annual service – which one attends as opposed to “visits” – I described how the CPMRR and the NPOMR are newer aspects of the CPPOM created by participants themselves to promote the service in a process that was not “from above” but bottom up.

As my fieldwork uncovered, the main and official reason for the creation of the memorial ride and run was to promote and assist in the aims of the CPPOM. There is an argument to be made, however, drawing on Nora’s (1989) distinction, that memorial rides and runs are more incongruous with the service than representations suggest. Along with being created bottom-up by participants who wanted to engage in and encourage remembrance, the memorial ride and run have popularized the phrase “Heroes in Life, Not Death” to boost the morale and spirits of the living. The latter part – “Not Death” – was observed to clash with the myth upheld at the service that

death is the ultimate act of heroism, or “supreme sacrifice” (Larochelle 1994). It is only when an officer dies that he is said to have performed it. With its exclusion guidelines, the CPPOM “Honour Roll” constructs and upholds a basic definition of “heroism in death”. Also, the run and ride were described as less “political” by some participants, as expressed in the following remark:

I think it’s tremendous. They are really, truly honouring them. There’s no politics in those runs. There’s no Premier. There’s no Minister of Safety. It’s just the cops. It’s just the families and friends. To me this is a deeper and more honest way to honour those officers ... Don’t get me wrong. On Parliament Hill, a lot of it is publicity, but it’s needed. The public should be aware ... Most police families do not even know about it.

The above interviewee went on to suggest that the memorial rides and runs, combined with the official annual service, were a good “mix” of remembrance activities because they are so dissimilar. As penal pilgrimages, the memorial rides and runs are perhaps best understood as a form of “dominated” site of memory, despite its nature as a presentational strategy. Like other activities, in the official timetable, they are secondary to the original, formal, national ceremony, but interviews uncovered they are also looked forward to just as much by their participants.

On a broader level, therefore, this study also utilized and contributed to a larger body of growing research collectively known as memory studies. The findings affirm the important argument of Nora (1989) and those who influenced him, such as Halbwachs (1992) – a student of the sociologist Durkheim – that memory is more than just an individual capacity or phenomenon. It is impossible for individuals, Halbwachs (1992) argues, to remember in any coherent or meaningful way outside of the unique social groups they belong to. In contemporary societies, individuals belong to many social groups or affiliations, which provide them with what he calls “social frameworks” (*les cadres sociaux*) that stimulate, shape, and constitute their memories. As Nora (1989) puts it, “there are as many memories as there are groups ... memory is by nature multiple and yet specific; collective, plural, and yet individual” (9). In other words, individual

memories are influenced by group membership (Halbwachs 1992). Even when we remember alone, Halbwachs (1992) argues that we do as social beings who create and interpret memories through tools, languages, and symbols acquired and learned through our social interaction.

The study revealed how members of public police and other penal system organizations also have – or more precisely construct – a shared and collective memory through which they derive comradery and awareness of their unity. These memories, as Kansteiner (2002) explains, “originate from shared communications about the meaning of the past that are anchored in the life-worlds of individuals who partake in the communal life of their respective collective” (188). Sierra-Arévalo (2019) and others (e.g. Mulcahy 2000) suggest that the shared memory of police work is best described through the phrase “organizational memory” as the social framework that influences it is the police organization. This problematic memory is maintained through death and its commemoration. Although consisting of shared meanings, it is also an example of what de Lint (1997) describes as a disciplinary “shaping technology” such as the drill and the oath.

The CPPOM – as well as related activities, such as the commemoration of officers at the OPC – shape the police constable through “public display of the importance of danger and death” (Sierra-Arévalo 2019, 637). In this sense, the organizational memory of police and other penal system organizations is a form of what Assmann (2006, 23) calls “political memory” which the state produces as a means of validating political actions and supporting identity formation. As Assmann (2006) elaborates, political memory is “highly normative, prescribing what, in the interest of forming and belonging to a political identity, must never be forgotten” (23). To be a police or penal system officer, one is encouraged to “not forget” the heroism and sacrifice made by those who came before. These “top-down” memories, according to Assmann (2006) are marked by a high degree of homogeneity, compelling appeal, and can be used and abused for political

action. While parts of it were created bottom up, the CPPOM is “top-down” in this sense because penal system authorities establish and uphold it through ritual actions and compelling myths about penal system officer heroism and sacrifice, as well as victimization (see Jackson 2017).

As Mulcahy (2000) notes, police organizational memory “effectively silences alternative accounts and diminishes the ‘consent’ of those adhering to such accounts to an irrelevancy” (85). Along with influencing how deaths are commemorated, it was also uncovered that the myth of remembrance masks the exclusion of certain populations, such as auxiliary officers and those officers who have died by suicide. These exclusions are related to the myth of “the line” – the former, in the sense that auxiliary officers like RCMP Constable Evely, are not considered to be the essential agents of the carceral state, working the “front line” in the mythical battle of good versus evil, and the latter due to the belief that the CPPOM should be reserved for officers who died “in the line of duty” and not so much “because” of it. Sierra-Arévalo (2019) notes the exclusion of the latter populations at police memorials in the US, which he argues “further entrenches understandings of valorous, heroic police work while obfuscating its emotional toll and engraining norms that denigrate emotion as weak and feminine” (652). Despite this, support and consideration were also found in this study for the future inclusion of both populations.

While focusing on them due to the large amount of publicity their exclusions have received in the media over the years, auxiliary and deaths by suicide should not be mistaken as the only ones being presently excluded from possible recognition at the CPPOM. Despite a push to have her recognized in the 1980s, for example, half-way house workers like Celia Ruygrok – the criminology graduate from Carleton University who was slain on the job on 6 July 1985 by a former prisoner and resident at Kirkpatrick House in Ottawa (see *Chapter 10*) – remain not recognized at the memorial service. Also excluded from recognition at the memorial due to the

guidelines followed by the memorial committee are students themselves, like Sophia Rigas, a Police Foundations Student at John Abbot College in Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, Quebec, who died in a crash on 14 November 2010 (The Gazette 2010). Rigas was enrolled in an internship with the *Sûreté du Québec* in preparation for becoming a future police officer when she was killed during a ride-along. The officer driving the vehicle – Sébastien Coghlan-Goyette, of the *Sûreté du Québec* – was also killed. He was recognized and honored at the CPPOM, while Rigas was not.

In addition to these, there are security guards, such as Richard Chabot, who was shot to death on 14 March 1998 in an unsolved case while working at a half-way house for federal parolees run by Correctional Service Canada (CSC) (Lalonde 1998). Civilian members of police services, such as RCMP Helicopter Pilot David Brolin, who died in a crash while on a police training exercise in British Columbia on 17 January 2012 (Ferguson 2012) and Georges Doneys, a helicopter pilot hired by the *Sûreté du Québec* and the Quebec City Municipal Police who died in a crash on 25 October 1993 (Branswell 1993) are also excluded from the CPPOM. With respect to the latter incident, Doneys was the only name left off the memorial that also killed three police officers. Officers who died in traffic accidents to and from work that are not in the “line of duty” are also left out, such as Allan Christiansen, the cadet with the Durham Regional Police who was killed in a car accident while on his way home from the OPC after graduating from the college on 28 October 1998 (see *Chapter 11*). Another recent example is Constable Travis Gillespie of the York Regional Police, who was killed on 14 September 2022 on his way to work by an alleged impaired driver who is unlikely to be included on the official “Honour Roll” (Powell 2022).

The notion of “off-duty” extends to officers who die during police-supported community volunteering, such as Robert Tétrault, a Constable with the *Service de police de la Ville de Montreal*. He collapsed and died “probably of a heart attack” on 3 October 1998 while taking part

in a relay race with other police officers to raise money for Canadians participating in the Special Olympics (see Parkes and Jelowicki 1998). His death occurred on the same day as Constable Dominique Courchesne of the nearby Joliette Municipal Police, who was fatally struck by a police car during a chase. While Constable Courchesne is recognized at the memorial, Constable Tétrault is not. RCMP Constable Albert Chartrand, OPP Corporal James McDonald, as well as OPP Constables Michael Siydock and William Shores are some officers recognized on the memorial who died from heart attacks. Meanwhile, Constable Joseph Prevett of the Thunder Bay Police Service, Customs Inspector Adam Angel of the Canada Customs and Revenue Agency, Constable Daniel Rathonyi of the Niagara Regional Police, and Joseph McKeown, a prison officer with the Alberta Solicitor General and Public Security, are some officers who died from heart attacks or other emergencies at work but – for whatever reason – are not recognized on the memorial.

The CPPOM is thus also a site of forgetting, overlooking certain carceral actors and aspects of the past – such as the lack of police professionalism and preparedness leading to the death of rookie OPS Constable Kirkwood, who was told that the arrest would be “fun” (see *Chapter 9*) – while appearing solemn and serious. New names from the past are consistently added to the wall, upholding its myth of remembrance. For example, Landing Waiters (i.e. an officer who oversees the landing of goods from vessels), Hugh MacLean and Andrew Wilson, who died on the job in the 1800s were recognized in 2017 for being part of the Department of Customs, a pre-cursor to the CBSA. The administration is more focused on adding names with no close family members alive to attend than any of the names noted above. This is in part due to resistance from members of SOLE, along with other widows and family members of those recognized, who appear to be the main reason why deaths by suicide are not a part of the CPPOM. This opposition is rooted in myths the CPPOM has helped to construct, such as the myth that suicide is not a “line of duty” death, or

that if an officer died by suicide while under police investigation, they might or were a “villain” and therefore do not deserve to be memorialized beside actual “heroes” (see *Chapter 11*).

In borrowing from and contributing to existing research, this study has made an empirical, theoretical, and methodological contribution to criminology. Following criteria outlined by Ågerfalk (2014), the empirical contribution emerges from providing a novel account of the CPPOM, one which delved into its birth, development, meanings, and role that challenges both dominant understandings of them informed by myths and organizational memories (e.g. Larochelle 1994) and critical accounts that fail to grasp the full significance of the memorial (e.g. Taylor 1986). This account is original and useful for researchers and political activists concerned with understanding and challenging carceral and nationalizing state growth. It suggests resistance and contestation should be aimed not simply at providing alternate accounts of the past which challenge myths that naturalize and legitimate penal system work (Fiander et al. 2016), but also through debunking and demystification, showing through historical and sociological research how carceral state practices “are not what they seem” (Berger 1963, 23) – that is, how they contain unofficial and hidden realities – and how dominant accounts of the past emerge from dilemmas other than “not forgetting” and are used to entrench and expand relations of domination.

Second, this study has made a theoretical contribution by advancing understanding of concepts described above related to the dramatic performance of penal system work, penal spectatorship and the culture of punishment, as well as sites of memory and organizational memories. Third, and finally, this study has offered a methodological contribution (Bergh et al. 2022). As noted by Palmer (2012), research on the legitimacy of police relies predominantly on “large-scale surveys and quantitative analyses” (188). By examining how carceral and nationalizing state legitimacy is manufactured through symbolic displays, this dissertation has also

contributed to addressing what Ferrell (2016) calls the “crisis of contemporary criminology” (285). Demystification, demythologization, and debunking promotes analysis and much needed critique, as well as a deeper or “thicker” understanding of social realities in times of rising insecurity and exclusion through multiple forms of data collection coupled with thematic analysis and thick description (Côté-Lussier, Moffette, and Piché, 2020). Without my doctoral dissertation, much would remain unknown about the birth, development, meanings, and role of the CPPOM.

## **12.6. Study Limitations, Future Directions, and Other Concluding Remarks**

Before proposing future research directions based on the implications of this study and making other concluding remarks, some limitations must be identified. One limitation pertains to the sampling method or the selection of participants in the study. All of the interviewees (n=19) were either i) active or retired police officers, ii) civilian members of police services, or iii) close relatives of police officers. No federal or municipal prison workers, game wardens, conservation officers, customs agents, and other forms of “peace officers” – or relatives of deceased members of these occupations recognized on the memorial – were interviewed in this project. This is a limitation because these populations are a part of the memorial (see *Chapter 10*), and might experience and understand it differently due to the occupational culture they associate.

This limitation was a result of the study design and the activities themselves. As the name of the CPPOM implies, not all “peace officer” occupations are presented as equal. This is due to its history and the number of police officers dying on the job surpassing these other carceral state occupations (see *Appendix A*). It is also because the memorial is predominantly organized by active and retired police officers. It is difficult to get in contact with anyone involved in the memorial who is not police-associated. Snowball sampling – or the recruitment technique adopted where interviewees were encouraged to refer me to others who might be interested in participating (Noy

2008) – allowed me to get into contact with participants in the memorial, including relatives of deceased officers, but also restricted the sample. Due to the study aims, my main concern at this stage was with interviewing participants and organizers, rather than also pursuing interviews based on occupation or other markers of difference, such as age, race, gender, sexuality, and so on, which could reveal how a wider swath of national memorial participants experience the events.

Another limitation of the study was that it did not fully go “behind the scenes” and explore the National Memorial Weekend ethnographically from the point of view of participants. I did not accompany, for example, memorial riders and runners in their training or journey, nor did I analyze extensive social media content that they share on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and other platforms. Additionally, the CPPOM Insignia Collectors Show that is held on the Saturday morning before the service organized by the Canadian Police Insignia Collector’s Association was not discussed at all (Timetable 2020). Nor was the CPA Memorial Golf Tournament – a sporting event established in 1995 – that also takes place on this day. While such activities were not examined, their existence lends more support to the argument presented that the CPPOM has evolved into a multi-faceted and complex service, organization, and institution whose concern is not solely with “remembrance” – which I described as a myth – so much as further entrenching the carceral and nationalizing state. The significant effort undertaken in this doctoral dissertation to map the historical foundations of Canadian police commemoration provides a foundation to facilitate future research on these events and other forms of penal system commemoration.

In part due to the cultural influence of the CPPOM there are now similar memorial services in every province, as well as permanent monuments in most of them, all of which deserve future research into their birth, development, meanings, and role. Most provincial police memorials were established following the proclaiming of the last Sunday in September a National Memorial Day

in 1998 (see *Chapter 10*). Both the BC Law Enforcement Officers Memorial in Victoria and the Newfoundland and Labrador Police and Peace Officers' Memorial in St. John's were unveiled in 2004, while the Manitoba Peace Officer Memorial in Winnipeg was erected in 2018. The New Brunswick Peace Officers Memorial – which I encountered in Fredericton (see *Chapter 1*) – was dedicated in 1997. There are also monuments inside police stations, colleges, and museums (e.g. Nettelbeck and Foster 2012) walks, runs, and funds in memory of deceased “peace” officers (e.g. Armstrong 2015), as well as memorials to deceased RCMP officers, including large monuments like the “RCMP Memorial and Honour Roll” at Depot Division in Regina, Saskatchewan.

Future studies of police and penal system commemoration could build on the empirical and conceptual insights provided in this study. This research must not overlook the memorialization of ordinary citizens victimized by police and penal system violence (see Jackson 2017), as well as the memorialization of officers – and in many cases, the refusal to memorialize – officers who have died of suicide, which, in part due to rising media attention, researchers in other countries have suggested future research ought to explore (e.g. Linke 2018; Sierra-Arévalo 2019). This study has provided insight into why applications to recognize such officers are presently denied. Additional research is required on justifications for memorial exclusions, as well as on separate suicide memorials, such as a recent one constructed at the OPP headquarters in Orillia (Payette 2021). Additionally, in 2020, a new memorial was created called the *Heroes in Life Memorial* that recognizes such individuals. It records the names on a separate memorial wall in Toronto. “The isolation and shame that is endured by these bereaved families is deepened when they lose the opportunity to see their police member forever memorialized”, its website notes (Heroes in Life Memorial 2019). The memorial was spearheaded by Canada Beyond the Blue, a non-profit

organization dedicated to supporting families of police officers in Canada. The desire to publicly memorialize deaths by suicide is bolstered when viewing memorials like the CPPOM.

Whether it is the dramatic dilemmas that offer context behind “peace” officers marching, running, and riding onto the Hill each year on the last weekend in September (see *Chapter 7* and *Chapter 8*), the systemic policing and mental health failures which led to the death of OPS Constable Kirkwood whose colleagues started the memorial (see *Chapter 9*) – which continue to happen, as seen in the deaths of Fredericton Constables Burns and Costello in 2018, who were also shot from above by a man in his home suffering from a mental illness (see *Chapter 1*), the names of people who fail to meet the guidelines for inclusion on the mythical “Honour Roll” (see *Chapter 10*), or the observation that the memorial is also about constructing villains and feelings of heroism and courage among the living (see *Chapter 11*), this doctoral dissertation has uncovered much which has been overlooked or forgotten through the CPPOM activities. The CPPOM is evolving, but at its core the commemoration of dead officers offers an anchor of support for criminalization, incarceration, and other punitive, enforcement-based approaches (see CBC News 2023).

As Côté-Lussier and colleagues (2020) argue, criminology “should be at the forefront of documenting and providing alternatives to the damage wrought by the existing capitalist order, as part of a larger movement working to address the challenges before us” (3). In a time when policing and punishment work remains deeply un-peaceful as evidenced not only by a recently rising number of police officers killed on the job (CPEP 2023), but in the large number of victims of police killings and other deaths in custody that disproportionately impact Indigenous peoples in Canada (Razack 2015), future research must continue to demystify, demythologize, and debunk activities which draw on organizational memories and myths to represent carceral expansion as natural and acceptable and the work of officers as prepared, professional, heroic, effective, and

united. Instead of concentrating on “matters of ‘security’ as officially constructed” (Côté-Lussier et al. 2020, 1), future studies should encourage new visions of justice, peace, and security for everyone, no matter what side of the “thin blue line” they are presently imagined to be on. While the “thin blue line” symbol and the CPPOM activities broadly are said by officers to be about remembrance, as I have paradoxically shown, police memorialization work also remains animated by forgetting, or a denial of certain realities that have the potential to undermine solidarity with people who are themselves targeted and killed by the police, as well as undermine movements that aim to challenge, dismantle, and build alternatives to the penal system and its intensification.

## REFERENCES

- Abbotsford News. 2000. "Police Beat: In Brief". *Abbotsford News*. 18 January, 2000, A3.
- Adam, Mohammed. 2001. "Obituary: Thomas Emmett Welsh: Police Chief Put Duty, His Men First". *The Ottawa Citizen*, 14 February, 2001, F7.
- Ågerfalk, Pär J. 2014. "Insufficient Theoretical Contribution: A Conclusive Rationale for Rejection?" *European Journal of Information Systems*, 23, no. 6: 593-599.
- Alberni Valley Times. 1989. "Police Want Memorial to Their Slain". *Alberni Valley Times*. 30 January, 1989, 2.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1994. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Andrews, Ben. 2022. "'He Didn't Die for Nothing': Anthony Aust's Family Files Lawsuit Against Police Board." *CBC News*. October 8, 2022.  
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/anthony-aust-2-year-anniversary-1.6610785>
- Anthony, Thalia and Vikki Chartrand. 2022. "States of Prison Abolition: COVID-19 and Anti-Colonial and Anti-Racist Organising". *Justice, Power and Resistance*, 5, no. 1-2: 46-66.
- Armstrong, Patrick. 2015. "On a Mission to Save Lives: Dave Mounsey Memorial Fund". *Blue Line Magazine*, February 2015, 23.
- Ashabranner, Brent. 2000. *Badge of Valour: The National Law Enforcement Officers' Memorial*. Twenty-First Century Books: Brookfield, Connecticut.
- Ashplant, TG, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper. eds. 2000, *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*. Routledge: London.
- Assmann, Jan. 2006. "Communicative and cultural memory". In *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View*, edited by Peter Meusbürger, Michael Heffernan, and Edgar Wunder, 15-28. New York: Springer.
- Avery, Bob. 1975. "The Lash: Why Forsyth Would Rather Die Than Return to Prison". *Ottawa Journal*, 30 October, 1975, 1.
- Avery, Bob. 1977. "Sombre Goodbye to Slain Constable". *Ottawa Journal*, 15 July, 1977, 31.
- Avery, Bob. 1978a. "Accused Killer Believed TV was Watching Him—Mother". *Ottawa Journal*, 24 May, 1978, 1.
- Avery, Bob. 1978b. "'Fun' Arrest Ended in Policeman's Death". *Ottawa Journal*, 25 May, 1978 3.

- Avery, Bob. 1978c. "On Day Constable Slain: Koepke's "Clear Crazyness" Documented for Trial Jury". *Ottawa Journal* [First Revision], 30 May, 1978, 3.
- Avery, Bob. 1978d. "Violent, Insane Crime on Increase in Ottawa". *Ottawa Journal* [Revised], 2 December, 1978, 53.
- Avery, Bob, and Chris Cobb. 1975. "Poulin Smiled as he Shot Schoolmates, Inquest Told". *Ottawa Journal*, 2 December, 1975, 1.
- Barthes, Roland. 1973. *Mythologies*. Reprint. New York: Jonathan Cape Ltd.
- Barrett, Paul. 2017. "In Canada, the Killing of Black Men by Police Never Seems to be About Race". *Rabble*, February 23, 2017. <https://rabble.ca/news/2017/02/canada-killing-black-men-police-never-seems-be-about-race>.
- Beckett, Katherine and Naomi Murakawa. 2012. "Mapping the Shadow Carceral State: Toward an Institutionally Capacious Approach to Punishment". *Theoretical Criminology*, 16, no. 2: 221-244.
- Bedford Daily Times-Mail. 1962. "Police Invite Public to Open House". *The Bedford Daily Times-Mail*, 18 May, 1962, 1.
- Bell, Jeff. 2010. "Police March for Fallen Comrades". *Times Colonist*, 24 September, 2010, A3.
- Berger, Peter L. 1963. *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanist Perspective*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Bergh, Donald D. Brian K. Boyd, Kris Byron, Steve Gove, and David J. Ketchen. 2022. "What Constitutes a Methodological Contribution?" *Journal of Management*, 48, no. 7: 1835–1848
- Best, Patrick. 1978. "Sergeant Testifies Koepke Admitted Shooting Officer". *The Ottawa Citizen*, 26 May, 1978, 5.
- Bevier, Landon. 2015. "The Meaning of Cultural Criminology: A Theoretical and Methodological Lineage". *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Criminology*, 7, no. 2: 34-48.
- Bevir, Mark. 2010. *Encyclopedia of Political Theory*. New York: Sage Publications.
- Binkley, Alex. 1977. "Gun Bill Passes Final Commons Hurdle". *The Ottawa Citizen*, 19 July, 1977, 8.

- Bissett, Kevin. 2020. "Fredericton Mass Shooter Deemed 'High Risk' and Ordered Detained in Hospital". *CP24*, 17 December, 2020, <https://www.cp24.com/news/fredericton-mass-shooter-deemed-high-risk-and-ordered-detained-in-hospital-1.5235221?cache=agylcuxajqn>.
- Bittle, Steven, Ashley Chen, and Jasmine Hébert. 2018. "Work-related Deaths in Canada." *Journal of Canadian Labour Studies*, 82: 1-31.
- Blair, Carole, William V. Balthrop, and Neil Michel (2011) "The Arguments of the Tombs of the Unknown: Relationality and National Legitimation". *Argumentation*, 25, no. 4: 449–468.
- Blakely, Arthur. 1968. "Trudeau's 'Just Society' Lacks Specific Proposals in Outline of Party Plan". *The Gazette*, 20 June, 1968, 5.
- Blue Line Magazine. 1989. "Canadian Police Memorial Fund Off to a Good Start". *Blue Line Magazine*, October, 1989, 16.
- Blue Line Magazine. 1993. "Support Needed for Police Memorial Fund." *Blue Line Magazine*, April, 1993, 17.
- Blue Line Magazine. 1994. "Poem a True Treasure for All Cops". *Blue Line Magazine*, December, 1994, 13.
- Blue Line Magazine. 1997. "Donation to Police Memorial". *Blue Line Magazine*, May, 1997, 20.
- Blue Line Magazine. 2007a. "Letters". October, 2007, 13.
- Blue Line Magazine. 2007b. "Letters". November, 2007, 31.
- Blue Line Magazine. 2008a. "Letters". January, 2008, 21.
- Blue Line Magazine. 2008b. "1992: January". December, 2008, 11.
- Blue Line Magazine. 2009. "Letters". January, 2009, 37.
- Blue Line Magazine. 2018. "Ontario Unveils "Hours of the Day," Correctional Workers' monument." *Blue Line Magazine*. 25 March, 2018. <https://www.blueline.ca/ontario-unveils-hours-of-the-day-correctional-workers-monument-5460/>.
- Blue Line Magazine. 2021. "About" *Blue Line Magazine*. <https://www.blueline.ca/about/>>.
- Bodnar, John. 1992. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bogdan, Robert. 1973. "Participant Observation". *Peabody Journal of Education*, 50, no. 4, 302-308.

- Bormanis, Katrina. 2016. "What Remains: Repatriating and Entombing a Canadian Unknown Soldier of the Great War in the Nation's Capital". *War and Society*, 35, no. 3: 219-240.
- Bottoms, Anthony, and Justice Tankebe. 2012. "Beyond procedural justice: A dialogic approach to legitimacy in criminal justice", *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 102, no.1, 119–170.
- Boucher, Steve. 2022. "The Memorial: Coordinators Message".
- Brady, Sheila. 1977. "A Son in Custody, a Home in Ruins, and Two Very Shocked Parents". *Ottawa Journal*, June 12, 1977, 48.
- Braid, Don. 1977. "Gun Control Remarks Enrage Pcs". *The Ottawa Journal*, July 13, 1977, 3.
- Branswell, Jack 1993. "Helicopter Crash Near Falls Kills 4". *The Gazette*, October 26, A6.
- Brantford Expositor. 1972. "Proclamation: National Police Week". *The Brantford Expositor*. May 6, 1972, 5.
- Braun, Virginia & Victoria Clarke. 2013. *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide For Beginners*. London: SAGE.
- Brown, Dave. 1985. "Brown's Beat: A Name Missing?" *The Ottawa Citizen*, 4 October, 1985, C1.
- Brown, Karen. 1994. "Memorial to Slain Officers Dedicated on Parliament Hill". *The Ottawa Citizen*, 23 March, 1994, A4.
- Brown, Michelle. 2009. *The Culture of Punishment: Prison, Society, and Spectacle*. New York: NYU Press.
- Brown, Michelle. 2017. "Penal Optics and the Struggle for the Right To Look: Visuality And Prison Tourism In The Carceral Era". In Jacqueline Wilson, Sarah Hodgkinson, Justin Piché and Kevin Walby, 153-167. *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison Tourism*, Palgrave, New York.
- Brown, Michelle and Eamonn Carrabine, eds. 2017. *The Routledge International Handbook Of Visual Criminology*. New York: Routledge.
- Buffington, Robert M. 2012. "Institutional Memories: The Curious Genesis of the Mexican Police Museum". *Radical History Review*, 2012, no. 113: 155-169.
- Butler, Don. 2016. "NCC Signs Off on Massive New Underground Visitor Centre on Parliament Hill". *Ottawa Citizen*, January 20, 2016. <https://ottawacitizen.com/news/local-news/ncc-signs-off-on-massive-new-underground-visitor-centre-on-parliament-hill>.

- Caimari, Lila. 2012. "Vestiges of a Hidden life: A Visit to the Buenos Aires Police Museum". *Radical History Review*, 113: 143-154.
- Calgary Herald. 1975a. "Service in Protest of Abolition: Police Honour their Fallen". *The Calgary Herald*. 27 October, 1975, 29.
- Calgary Herald. 1975b. "Details Bog Security Plan Down". *The Calgary Herald*, November 26, 1975, 94.
- Calgary Herald. 1978. "Pierre's Just Society Program Now Shown to be Just Rhetoric". *The Calgary Herald*, April 6, 1978, 45.
- Calgary Herald. 1987. "Domm Says 'Quiet' Police Can Kill Moose Campaign". *The Calgary Herald*, March 10, 1987, A7.
- Canadian Press. 1977. "Gun Bill Criticism, Police Death Linked: Basford's Comments Anger Tories". *The Ottawa Citizen*, July 13, 1.
- Casey, Liam. 2017. "Toronto Police Officers Who Die by Suicide Will Now be Eligible for Memorial Wall". *Global News*. 20 April, 2017.  
<https://globalnews.ca/news/3391681/toronto-police-officers-who-die-by-suicide-will-now-be-eligible-for-memorial-wall/>
- Casey, Liam. 2021. "Families Push for Memorial to Recognize Police Officers who Died by Suicide". *City News Winnipeg*. March 21, 2021.  
<https://winnipeg.citynews.ca/2021/03/21/families-push-for-memorial-to-recognize-police-officers-who-died-by-suicide/>
- Casey, Tom. 1977. "New, \$100,000 Practice Field for Landsdowne Park". *The Ottawa Citizen*, November 11, 17.
- CBC News. 2004. "I'm Good, But I'm Not the Greatest". *CBC News*. 22 October, 2004.  
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/i-m-good-but-not-the-greatest-don-cherry-1.513857>
- CBC News. 2012. "Pilot Dies in BC Helicopter Crash". *CBC News*, January 17, 2012.  
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/pilot-dies-in-b-c-helicopter-crash-1.1194580>
- CBC News. 2018. "Bobbie Lee Wright was selfless and caring, obituary says". *CBC News*. August 13, 2018. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/bobbie-lee-wright-obit-info-1.4783020>
- CBC News. 2023. "'The system needs to change': Police associations join forces to decry officers' deaths". *CBC News*, January 6, 2023.  
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/canadian-police-joint-statement-officers-killed-line-of-duty-1.6705678>

- Chamberlain, Kerry. 2015. "Epistemology and Qualitative Research". In *Qualitative Research in Clinical and Health Psychology*, edited by Poul Rohleder and Antonia Lyons, 9-27, New York: Palgrave.
- Chan, Janet and Richard V. Ericson. 1981. "Decarceration and the Economy of Penal Reform". Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto, Research Report No. 14.
- Chen, Ashley, Sarah Fiander, Justin Piché and Kevin Walby. 2016. "Captive and Captor Representations at Canadian Penal History Museums". *Qualitative Sociology Review* 12, no. 4, 22-43.
- Christie, Nils. 1977. "Conflicts as Property". *The British Journal of Criminology*, 17, no.1, 1-15.
- Christie, Nils. 1981. *Limits to Pain. The Role of Punishment in Penal Policy*. Wipf & Stock.
- Clarke, Victoria, and Virginia Braun. 2013. "Teaching Thematic Analysis: Overcoming Challenges and Developing Strategies for Effective Learning". *The Psychologist*, 26, no. 2: 1-13.
- Clarkson, Christopher, and Melissa Munn. 2021. *Disruptive Prisoners: Resistance, Reform, and the New Deal*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Cleland, David. 1977. "A Widow Makes Plea: Bring Back Death Penalty". *The Kingston-Whig Standard*, November 15, 1.
- Closs, Bill. 2009. "Walking Amongst Heroes." *Blue Line Magazine*. February 2009, 62.
- Cobbina-Dungy, Jennifer E. and Delores Jones-Brown. 2021. "Too Much Policing: Why Calls are Made to Defund the Police". *Punishment & Society*, 25, no. 1-18.
- Cobourg Police Service. 2019. "The Park" <https://cobourgpolicesservice.com/the-park/>.
- Codaworx. 2017. "Hours of the Day". <https://www.codaworx.com/projects/hours-of-the-day/>
- Cohen, Stanley. 1988 [1981]. "Footprints in the Sand: A Further Report on Criminology and the Sociology of Deviance in Britain". In *Against Criminology*, 67-92. Oxford: Transaction.
- Colbran, Marriane. 2014. *Media Representations of Police and Crime: Shaping the Police Television Drama*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Collins, Kit. 1977. "They're Mad ... Damned Mad! Basford's Gun Law 'Mockery'". *Ottawa Citizen*, July 15, 1977, 3.
- Commission of Inquiry Concerning Certain Activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Second Report: Freedom and Security under the Law, Vol. 1 (1981), at 474.

- Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Conor, Patricia, Sophie Carrière, Suzanne Amey, Sharon Marcellus, and Julie Sauvé. 2020. "Police Resources in Canada, 2019". *Statistics Canada*. December 8, 2020: <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2020001/article/00015-eng.htm>
- Cote, Tony. 1978. "Lest We Forget: Remembrance Day Services to Remind us of Policemen Murdered". *The Ottawa Citizen*, September 23, 1978, 81.
- Côté-Lussier, Carolyn, David Moffette, and Justin Piché. 2020. "Challenging Criminology, Insecurity and Exclusion". In *Contemporary Criminological Issues: Moving Beyond Insecurity and Exclusion*, edited by Carolyn Côté-Lussier, David Moffette, and Justin Piché, 1-10. Ottawa: uOttawa Press.
- Cote, Tony. 1979. "Police Prepare Memorial". *Ottawa Citizen*, July 9, 1979, 2.
- CPEP 2023. "On-Duty Police Officer Deaths Across Canada" CPEP: Criminalization and Punishment Education Project. February 3, 2023.
- CPOMA. 2021. "CPOMA Executive Board History". <https://www.cpoma.ca/cpoma-history.html#:~:text=On%20September%2014%2C%201995%2C%20in,for%20police%20and%20peace%20officers.>
- Crank, John P. 2004. *Understanding Police Culture*. (Second Edition). New York: Routledge.
- Culhane, Claire. 1979. *Barred From Prison: A Personal Account*. Vancouver: Pulp Press.
- Culzac, Natasha. 2014. "Ottawa Shooting: Suspect Zehaf-Bibeau's Attack was 'Ideologically and Politically Motivated.'" *The Independent*, October 27, 2014. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/ottawa-shooting-suspect-zehaf-bibeau-s-attack-was-ideologically-and-politically-motivated-9820215.html>.
- Cyr, K., Ricciardelli, Rosemary, and Dale Spencer. 2020. "Militarization of Police: A Comparison of Police Paramilitary Units in Canadian and the United States". *International Journal of Police Science and Management*, 22, no. 2: 137-147.
- Da Silva Catela, Ludmila. 2015. "Staged Memories: Conflicts and Tensions in Argentine Public Memory Sites". *Memory Studies* 8, no. 1: 9-21.
- Dalton, Derek. 2015. *Dark Tourism and Crime*. New York: Routledge.
- Dare, Patrick. 1994. "Historical Reminders: Buildings and Neighborhoods Have Stories to Tell, Says Conservation Architect". *The Ottawa Citizen*, March 13, 1994. 13.

- Davidson, Tonya. 2016a. "Imperial Nostalgia, Social Ghosts, and Canada's National War Memorial". *Space and Culture*, 19, no. 2: 177–191.
- Davidson, Tonya. 2016b. "Mica, Pedagogy, and Defacement: Learning from Canada's National War Memorial". *The Public Historian*, 38, no. 2: 42-61
- Deachman, Bruce. 2019. "Officer Down: The Fallen Remembered". *Ottawa Citizen*. September 28, 2019. <https://ottawacitizen.com/news/local-news/officer-down-the-fallen-remembered>
- de Lint, Willem. 1997. "Shaping the Subject of Policing: Autonomy, Regulation, and the Police Constable". PhD diss. University of Toronto.
- Delisle, Jennifer. "For King and Country: Nostalgia, War, and Canada's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier". *The Dalhousie Review*, 85, no. 1, 15-32.
- Detre, Laszlo Stephane. 1975. "Capital Punishment (A Case for Retention and Extension)". *The Ottawa Citizen*, October 16, 47.
- DeWalt, Kathleen M. and Billie R. DeWalt. 2001. *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers*. Lanham: Altamira.
- Doob, Anthony and Jane B. Sprott. 2006. "Punishing Youth Crime in Canada: The Blind Men and the Elephant". *Punishment & Society*, 8, no. 2: 223-34.
- Doyon, Richard. 1978. "Policemen Killed Performing Duty Honored on the Hill". *The Ottawa Journal*, September 25, 1978, 2.
- Drolet, Daniel. 2005. "The Beat". *Ottawa Citizen*, April 30, E2.
- Dunnill, Michael. 2006. "For Taking Risks on My Behalf – You Are My Hero". *Blue Line Magazine*, June/July, 18-19.
- Durkheim, Emile. 1995[1912]. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: The Free Press.
- El Paso Times. 1962. "National Police Week Starts in EP Sunday". *El Paso Times*. 13 May. 1962, 7.
- Egan, Kelly. 1984. "RCMP Head Hardens Line on Police Protest". *The Ottawa Citizen*. October 26, 1984 (2)
- Egan, Kelly. 2010. "When Jail Doesn't Work". *Ottawa Citizen*. April 18, 2010.
- The Evening Sun. 1958. "President Hails First Law Day". *The Evening Sun*, 30 April, 1958, 4.

- Evenson, Brad. 1989. "NCC to Recreate Building on Parliament Hill". *The Ottawa Citizen*, May 13, 1989, A8.
- Fattah, Ezzat A. 1983. "Canada's Successful Experience with the Abolition of the Death Penalty". *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 25, no. 4: 421–31.
- Ferguson, Matthew and Devon Madill. 2017. "From Shame to Fame: 'Celebrity Prisoners' and Canadian Prison Museums." *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison Tourism*, edited by Jacqueline Z. Wilson, Sarah Hodgkinson, Justin Piché, and Kevin Walby, 415-434. London: Palgrave.
- Ferguson, Matthew, Justin Piché and Kevin Walby. 2019. "Representations of Detention and Other Pains of Law Enforcement in Police Museums in Ontario, Canada". *Policing and Society*, 29, no. 3: 318-332.
- Ferrabee, James. 1975. "New Cabinet Will Tackle Two Issues". *The Sault Star*, September 27, 1975, 27.
- Ferrell, Jeff. 2016. "Manifesto for a Criminology Beyond Method". In *The Poetics of Crime: Understanding and Researching Crime and Deviance through Creative Sources*, edited by Michael Hviid Jacobsen, 285-302. London: Routledge.
- Fiander, Sarah, Ashley Chen, Justin Piché, and Kevin Walby. 2015. "Critical Punishment Memorialization in Canada" *Critical Criminology*, 24, no. 1: 1-18.
- Flanagan, Thomas. 1992. "To All Citizens of Ottawa and Vanier". *Ottawa Citizen*, 8 May, 1992, F8.
- Forster, Steve. 1975a. "SHOOTOUT—Three Wounded in Parking Lot Melee". *The Ottawa Citizen*, January 16, 1975, 1.
- Forster, Steve. 1975b. "Police Delegates Walk Out on Allman Over Cabinet's Stay of Execution Decision". *The Ottawa Citizen*, October 23, 16.
- Forster, Steve and Kitty McKinsey. 1975. "Jailbreak: 4 'Dangerous Men' Hunted; 3 Caught After Guards Shot". *The Ottawa Citizen*, June 6, 1.
- Fortner, Michael J. 2013. "The Carceral State and the Crucible Of Black Politics: An Urban History of the Rockefeller Drug Laws". *Studies in American Political Development*, 27, no. 1: 14-35.
- Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Penguin Books: London.
- Franz, Margaret. 2021. *Between Blade and Bullet: The Mary Steinhäuser Story*. Altona: FriesenPress

- Fraser, Elizabeth. 2018. "Heroes for a Nation: 2 Fredericton Police Officers Honoured at Regimental Funeral". *CBC News*, August 18, 2018. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/police-officers-funeral-fredericton-1.4788856>
- French, Orland. 1975. "Allmand Still Opposes Noose". *The Ottawa Citizen*, January 13, 1975, 16.
- French, Orland. 1976. "Mails Pours in to Basford on Peace Bill". *The Ottawa Citizen*, April 2 1976, 39.
- French, Orland. 1977. "Wives Petition Basford, Seek Death Penalty". *The Ottawa Citizen*, November 29, 1977, 5.
- Fridman, Daniel, and Alex Luscombe. 2017. "Gift-giving, Disreputable Exchange, and the Management of Donations in a Police Department". *Social Forces*, 96, no. 2: 507–528.
- Friscolanti, Michael. 2014. "Uncovering a Killer: Addict, Drifter, and Walking Contradiction". *Macleans*. October 30, 2014. <https://macleans.ca/news/canada/michael-zehaf-bibeau-addict-drifter-walking-contradiction/>
- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. 3rd edition, New York: Basic Books.
- Gerard, Warren. 1979. "To serve and protect and sometimes to shoot and kill". *Macleans*. 24 September, 1979. <https://archive.macleans.ca/article/1979/9/24/to-serve-and-protect-and-sometimes-shoot-to-kill>.
- Gill, Jordan. 2018. "Memorial ride and fundraiser held for 'real nice guy' Donnie Robichaud". *CBC News*, August 18, 2018. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/memorial-ride-donnie-robichaud-1.4790564>
- Global News. 2022. "RCMP Officers Reminded About Thin Blue Line Patch Ban After Rally Photo". *Global News*, 12 October, 2022. <https://globalnews.ca/news/9194150/rcmp-thin-blue-line-patch-ban/>.
- Glowacki, Laura. 2019. "Fixing Morale at Ottawa Police Will Take More Than Money, Union Says". *CBC News*, November 7, 2019. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/police-budget-morale-1.5350297>
- Gobo, Giampietro. 2010. "Ethnography". In *Qualitative Research: Issues of Theory, Method, and Practice*, 3rd Edition, edited by David Silverman, 15-34, London: SAGE.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Random House.
- Goffman, Erving. 1961. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. New York: Anchor Books.

- Goldman-Segall, R. 1994, "Whose story is it anyway? An ethnographic answer". *IEEE Multimedia*, 1, no. 4: 7-12.
- Gollom, Mark. 2000. "Officers Eulogized on Wall of Honour". *National Post*, May 8, A24.
- Gordon, David A. and Brian S. Osborne. 200. "Constructing National Identity in Canada's Capital, 1900–2000: Confederation Square and the National War Memorial". *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30, no. 4: 618–642.
- Gory, Brian. 1977. "Constable David Kirkwood: It Was Just Another Routine Assignment". *Ottawa Journal*, July 12, 1.
- Green, Reina. 2016. "Tributes and Temporality at Canada's National War Memorial". In *A Body Living and Not Measurable: How Bodies are Constructed, Scripted and Performed Through Time and Space*, edited by Kathleen Glenister Robers, Ya-hui Irenna Chang, and Łukasz Matuszyk, 131-143, Inter-Disciplinary Press.
- Grimaldi, Jeremy. 2022. "Why Do Police Killed in the Line of Duty Get Memorialized, and Not Those Who Die By Suicide?" *Toronto Star*, July 8, 2022. <https://www.thestar.com/local-newmarket/news/2022/07/08/why-do-police-killed-in-the-line-of-duty-get-memorialized-and-not-those-who-die-by-suicide.html>.
- Guest, Greg, Arwen Bunce, and Laura Johnson. 2006, "How Many Interviews Are Enough? An Experiment With Data Saturation and Variability". *Field Methods* 18, no. 1: 59–82.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. 1992[1925]. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Harding, Gail. 2018. "Community Members Line up to Pay Respects to Fallen Fredericton Officers". *CBC News*, August 16, 2018. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/community-respect-fallen-officers-1.4787749>.
- Haskell News. 1962. "May 13 Through 19 National Police Week". *Haskell News*, May 3, 1.
- Heidish, Mary. 2001. *A Candle at Midnight*. Ave Maria Press: Notre Dame.
- Henderson, Gord. 1984. "Clash Feared on Hill". *The Windsor Star*, October 19, 1984, A10.
- Henry, Vincent E. 2004. *Death Work: Police, Trauma, and the Psychology of Survival*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Herbert, Steve. 2006. "Tangled up in Blue: Conflicting Paths to Police Legitimacy". *Theoretical Criminology*, 10, no. 4: 481-504.

- Heroes in Life Memorial. 2019. "What is Canada Beyond the Blue Police Suicide Memorial?" <https://www.heroesinlife.com/about>
- Higgins, EG. 1978. *Twelve O'Clock and All's Well: A Pictorial History of Law Enforcement in the Sudbury Area 1883-1978*. Sudbury: Sudbury Regional Police Association.
- Hill, Bert. 1978. "Koepke Ruled Insane but ... System Failed: Lawyer". *The Ottawa Citizen*, June 1, 1978, 1
- Hinds, Lyn and Kristina Murphy. 2007. "Public Satisfaction with Police: Using Procedural Justice to Improve Police Legitimacy". *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 40, no. 1: 27-42.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terrance Ranger, eds. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Houston Today. 1970. "Canadian Police Week" *Houston Today*, May 13, 1970, 8.
- Hopes, Vikki. 2019. "From Abbotsford to Victoria: Police Embark on Cycling Trip to Honour Fallen Officers: Three-Day Cycling Trip Ends In Victoria; Memorial Service On Sunday". *Victoria News*, 27 September, 2019. <https://www.vicnews.com/news/from-abbotsford-to-victoria-police-embark-on-cycling-trip-to-honour-fallen-officers/>.
- Horrall, SW. 1973. *The Pictorial History of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.
- Hulsman, Louk. 1986. "Critical Criminology and the Concept of Crime". *Contemporary Crises* 10: 63-80.
- Hunter, Nick. 1977. "A Mother Sobs for her Son: I Hope Something Good Comes of This". *The Ottawa Journal*, July 15, 1977, 1.
- Hurley, Meghan. 2013. "Larochelle to Head Kingston Police". *The Ottawa Citizen*. May 11, 2013.
- Ibrahim, Hadeel. 2020. "Matthew Raymond Not Criminally Responsible for Killing 2 Constables, 2 Civilians". *CBC News*, November 20, 2020. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/matthew-raymond-fredericton-shooting-1.5806466>.
- Jabareen, Yosef. 2009. "Building a Conceptual Framework: Philosophy, Definitions, and Procedure". *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8, 49-62.
- Jackson, Jessica L. 2017. "Uniform Feelings: Emotion Management and Police Work". *PhD diss.* The University at Buffalo (SUNY).

- Jackson, Ronald, Darlene K. Drummond, Sakile Camara. 2007. "What is Qualitative Research?" *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication*, 8, no. 1: 21-28.
- Jackson, Wendy. 1980. "Constable Wins Injuries Award". *The Ottawa Citizen* [revised edition]. January 11, 1980, 3.
- Jennings, Harry. 1980. "Gun Laws: Where to From Here?" *The Ottawa Citizen*, September 11, 32.
- Jonathan-Zamir, Tai, Stephen D. Mastrofski, and Shomron Moyal. 2013. "Measuring Procedural Justice in Police-Citizen Encounters". *Justice Quarterly*, 32, no. 5:1-27.
- Jones, Ryan Patrick, and Laura Glowacki. 2020. "Sadness, Outrage, After Officer Acquitted in Abdirahman Abdi's Death." *CBC News*. October 20, 2020.  
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/officer-monstion-judgment-abdirahman-abdi-family-supporters-reaction-1.5758515>
- Jubenville, Réal. 1978. "Police Work Not Most Risky". *The Ottawa Citizen*. 7 October, 1978, 7.
- Juliani, TJ, CHS Jaywardene, and Chuck Talbot. 1982. "Teaching Applied Criminology in Canada". *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 6, no. 1-2: 45-51.
- Kansteiner, Wulf. 2002. "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies." *History and Theory* 41, no. 2: 179-97
- Keister, Douglas. 2004. *Stories in Stone: The Complete Guide to Cemetary Symbolism*. London: Gibbs Smith.
- Kelly, Susan E. 2010. "Qualitative Interviewing Techniques and Styles". in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Methods In Health Research*, edited by Ivy Bourgeault, Robert Dingwall, Ray de Vries, 307-326, London: SAGE.
- Kempa, Michael. 2010. "The Political Economy of Human Security: A Conceptualist Approach to Police Studies and Reform." In *Rights and Voices: Criminology at the University of Ottawa*, edited by Veronique Strimelle and Francoise Vanhamme, 101- 117. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
- Kessel, Jochen. 1991. "400 March in Shooting Protest". *The Ottawa Citizen*, December 15, A10.
- Kingston Whig-Standard. 1975. "Reinstate Capital Punishment: Guards". *Kingston Whig-Standard*, September 20, 1975, 22.
- Kirkwood, Karen. 1977. "Praiseworthy Police." *Ottawa Citizen*. July 20, 1977.

- Kleuskens, Shanisse, Justin Piché, and Ashley Chen. 2016. "Reconsidering the Boundaries of the Shadow Carceral State: An Analysis of the Symbiosis Between Punishment and its Memorialization". *Theoretical Criminology*, 20, no. 4: 566-591.
- Knox, Roger. 2006. "Judge Gives O'Brien Seven Years". *The Morning Star*, 12 November 12, 1.
- Lalonde, Michelle. 1998. "Few Clues in Slaying of Guard". *The Gazette*. 16 March, 1998.
- Lamoureux, Mack. 2018. "Fredericton Shooting Victim's Ex-Wife Called Trudeau a POS in Condolence Call". *VICE*, August 17, 2018.  
<https://www.vice.com/en/article/9kmvb3/fredericton-shooting-victims-ex-wife-called-trudeau-a-pos-in-condolence-call>
- La Presse. 1977. "Recherche Pour Meurtre, il Abat un Policier au Cours D'un Fusillade". *La Presse*, September 13, 1977, A3.
- Larochelle, Gilles. 1989. "The Nature of the Control Role in Combatting Terrorism: Should the Use Of Force be Assigned to Law Enforcement Agencies or Special Units Of The Armed Forces?" MA thesis. Ottawa: University of Ottawa.
- Larochelle, Gilles M. 1994. *The History of the Ottawa Police: 1826-1993*. Gloucester: Tyrell Press.
- Latta, Allyson. 1988. "Police Urge Crackdown on Guns". *The Ottawa Citizen*, September 26, 1988, 1.
- Laver, Ross. 1977. "Petition Seeks Return of Death Penalty". *The Ottawa Citizen*, November 21, 1977. 2.
- Leader-Post. 1968. "National Police Week Backed". *Leader-Post*, 22 July, 1968.
- Le Goff, Jacques. 1992. *History and Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lennon, John and Malcolm Foley. 2000. *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. London: Continuum.
- Le Petit Journal. 1977. "Un Troisième Policier en Devoir est Assassine Par Des Bandits". *Le Petit Journal*, April 2, 1977, 2.
- Linke, Chris. 2018. *Victoria Police Memorialisation: Commemoration and Remembrance*. PhD diss. Deakin University.
- Loader, Ian and Aogan Mulcahy. 2003. *Policing and the Condition of England: Memory, Politics and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Logan, Ron. 2000. "Crime Statistics in Canada, 2000". *Juristat: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics*. 21, no. 8: 1-21.
- Lord, Craig. 2021. "Ottawa police chief bans officers from wearing 'thin blue line', other patches" *Global News*, 22 February, 2021. <https://globalnews.ca/news/7656019/ottawa-police-chief-bans-thin-blue-line-patch/>.
- Lord, Stephanie, John Crank, and Ronald Evans. 2004. "Good-bye in a sea of blue" In *Understanding Police Culture (2<sup>nd</sup> edition)*, edited by John P. Crank, 353-363. New York, Routledge, 353-363.
- Lymburner, Morley. 2000. "How Come No Police Memorial Announcements?" *Blue Line Magazine*. May 2000, 4.
- Lymburner, Morley. 2000. "An Honour Removed by Parenthesis" *Blue Line Magazine*. May, 2007, 5.
- Lynch, Michael J. 2014. "Critical Criminology". *Oxford Bibliographies*. August 14, 2014. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780195396607/obo-9780195396607-0064.xml>
- Lyon, RJ. 1996. "Letters to the Editor". *Blue Line Magazine*. October, 1996, 4.
- MacAlpine, Ian. 2013. "Is this our New Police Chief?" *Kingston Whig-Standard*. 2 May. 2013. <https://www.thewhig.com/2013/05/02/is-this-our-new-police-chief>.
- MacKinnon, Bobbi-Jean. 2018. "Justin Trudeau Meets with Families of Fredericton Police Officers Killed in Shooting". CBC News. August 12, 2018. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/fredericton-shooting-police-justin-trudeau-1.4782506>
- MacLeod, Ian. 1978. "2,000 Pay Homage to Fallen Lawmen". *The Ottawa Citizen*, September 25, 1978, 1.
- MacLeod, Ian, Jane Defalco, and Jane Taber. 1984. "Low Turnout Dampens Police March on Hill". *The Ottawa Citizen*, 6 November, 1984, 1.
- MacLeod, Ian. 2016. "Could Zehaf-Bibeau Have Made it Past Today's 'Armed to The Teeth' Hill Security?" *Ottawa Citizen*, October 21, 2016. <https://ottawacitizen.com/news/national/could-zehaf-bibeau-make-it-past-todays-armed-to-the-teeth-hill-security>.
- MacLeod, Steward. 1977. "Justice Minister Ron Basford Goofed with Emotional Comments". *Nanaimo Daily Free Press*, July 16, 4.

- MacPherson, Don. 1975. "Act 'Democratically,' Allmand Asks Police". *The Gazette*. September 24, 1975, 5.
- Maksymchuk, Andrew F. 2021. *TRU: Tactics and Rescue Unit: The Last Resort in Policing*. Renfrew, ON: General Store Publishing House.
- Mandel, Michael. 1982. "The Discrediting of the McDonald Commission". *The Canadian Forum*, March: 14-17.
- Mannella, Michael. 2014. "Remember Glen Evely". *Blue Line Magazine*. November 2014, 38.
- Manning, Peter K. 1977. *Police Work: The Social Organization of Policing*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Manning, Peter K. 1997. *Police Work: The Social Organization of Policing*. [2nd edition]. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Manning, Peter K. 2001. "Theorizing Policing: The Drama and Myth of Crime Control in the NYPD". *Theoretical Criminology*, 5, no. 3: 315-344.
- Manning, Peter K. 2003. *Policing Contingencies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Manning, Peter K. 2015. "Police and Public Funerals". *Russian Sociological Review*, 14, no. 1: 9-43.
- Marcoux, Jacques and Katie Nicholson. 2017. "Deadly Force: Fatal Encounters with Police in Canada: 2000-2017". *CBC News*. <https://newsinteractives.cbc.ca/longform-custom/deadly-force>
- Marenin, Otwin. 2005. "Building a Global Police Studies Community". *Police Quarterly*, 8, no. 1: 99-136
- Maser, Peter. 1987. "Capital Punishment Revisited". *The Ottawa Citizen*. 21 February. B4).
- Mawby, Rob C. 2014. "The Presentation of Police in Everyday Life: Police-Press Relations, Impression Management and the Leveson Inquiry". *Crime, Media, Culture*. 10, no. 3: 239- 257.
- May, Katheryn. 1984. "Record crowd turns out to honor slain law officers". *The Ottawa Citizen*, October 1, 1984, 1.
- Maynard, Robyn. 2017. *Policing Black Lives: State Violence in Canada from Slavery to the Present*. Black Point: Fernwood.
- McCabe, Aileen. 1986. "Sherbrooke Mayor Protects Police Despite Negligence in Shooting Man". *Edmonton Journal*, September 15, 1986, A4.

- McDevitt, Michael. 1984. "The Anatomy of a Shoot-Out". *Macleans*, February 27, 1984, 21.
- McKay, Dave. 1975. "Two Policemen Gunned Down". *Ottawa Journal*, January 16, 1.
- McKay, Dave. 1978. "Police to Honour Slain Comrades". *The Ottawa Journal*, September 23, 1978, 59.
- McKay, Dave, and Brian Gory. 1977. "Sniper Kills Rookie Policeman". *Ottawa Journal*, July 12, 1977, 1.
- McKinsey, Kitty. 1975a. "Forsyth Trial: Prison Fugitive Identified as Man Who Shot at Police". *The Ottawa Citizen*, October 29, 2.
- McKinsey, Kitty. 1975b. "Forsythe Admits Shooting but After Police Shot First". *The Ottawa Citizen*, October 30, 2.
- McKinsey, Kitty. 1975c. "Man Gets 15 Years, Says He'd Rather Die". *The Ottawa Citizen*, November 2, 2.
- McKinsey, Kitty. 1978. "Affirm Allegiance to Queen: Chiefs Support Death Penalty". *The Ottawa Citizen*, September 1, 8.
- McLaughlin, Eugene and Karim Murji. 1998. "Resistance Through Representation: 'Storylines', Advertising and Police Federation Campaigns". *Policing and Society* 8, no. 4: 367-99.
- McLaughlin, Paula. 1980. "Bus Driver Gets \$5,000 Compensation for Beating". *The Ottawa Citizen*, January 11, 1980, 3.
- McLaren, Peter. 2022. "Some Thoughts on Canada's 'Freedom Convoy' and the Settler Colonial State". *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 54, no. 7: 867-870.
- McNeil, Gerard. 1976a. "Spotlight on Basford as Commons Considers Justice Issues". *The Ottawa Citizen*, January 24, 1976, 16.
- McNeil, Gerard. 1976b. "Basford of a Bill: Minister Gives Blow By Blow Rational For Gun Controls". *The Ottawa Citizen*, May 7, 1976, 70.
- McNulty, Jim. 1975. "Police Favored a Hard Legal Line". *The Windsor Star*, August 16, 1975, 5.
- Miller, Jim. 1992. "A Question of Color". *The Ottawa Citizen*, May 23, 1992, F-1.
- Minister of Justice. 1998. "Proclamation Declaring the Last Sunday in September of Each Year to be 'Police and Peace Officers' National Memorial Day". Minister of Justice, October 4, 1998. <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/SI-98-97.pdf>.

- Molina, Kimberly. 2019. "Call to Commemorate Officers who Died by Suicide Persists". *CBC News*, October 9, 2015. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/national-memorial-officers-suicide-1.5307588>.
- Montreal Star. 1976. "'War Salesmen' Bring Guns to Canada". *The Montreal Star*, May 5, E16.
- Mulcahy, Aogan. 2000. "Policing History: The Official Discourse and Organizational Memory of the Royal Ulster Constabulary". *British Journal of Criminology*, 40, no. 1: 68-87.
- Mulgrew, Ian. 1992. "Cops Protest 'Inane' Sentences Under Young Offenders Act". *Edmonton Journal*, September 16, B3.
- National Memorial Application Form. 2019. "National Memorial Application Form." *The Canadian Peace Officers Memorial Association*.
- Nease, Kristy. 2023. "Lawsuit Settled in Ottawa Police Killing of Indigenous Man with Mental Illness". *CBC News*. March 30, 2023. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/greg-ritchie-lawsuit-against-ottawa-police-settled-1.6796032>
- Nettelbeck, Amanda and Robert Foster. 2013. "On the Trail of the March West: The NWMP In Western Canadian Historical Memory". In *Place and Replace: Essays on Western Canada*, edited by Adele Perry, Esyllt W. Jones, and Leah Morton, 76-92, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Nichols, Marjorie. 1976. "Gun Control Bill Aims Down the Centre". *The Vancouver Sun*, February 26, 1976, 6.
- Noonan, Alfred. 1977. "The Only, Forgotten Deterrent". *Ottawa Journal*. July 19, 1977, 6.
- Nora, Pierre. 1989. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire". *Representations*, 26: 7-24.
- Nora, Pierre. 1996. 'From *Lieux de Mémoire* to Realms of Memory". In *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past: Vol. 1 – Conflicts and Divisions*, by Pierre Nora, xv-xxiv. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Nora, Pierre. 2002. "Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory". *Eurozine*, April 19, 2002. <https://www.eurozine.com/reasons-for-the-current-upsurge-in-memory/>
- North Bay Nugget. 1963. "Ontario's Police College to Rank With Best—Cass". *The North Bay Nugget*. January 8, 1963, 17.
- North Bay Nugget. 1970. "Numerous Visitors at OPP Office For Police Week". *The North Bay Nugget*, May 15, 6.

- Novick, Gina. 2008. "Is There a Bias Against Telephone Interviews in Qualitative Research?" *Research in Nursing & Health*, 31, no. 4: 391-398
- Noy, Chaim. 2008. "Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research". *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11, no. 4: 327-44.
- O'Connell, Kim A. 2001. "Layers Revealed". *Landscape Architecture Magazine*. *American Society of Landscape Architects*, 91, no. 9: 98-103.
- O'Connor, Christopher D., and Zaidi, Huda. 2021. "Communicating with Purpose: Image Work, Social Media, and Policing". *Police Journal: Theory, Practice, Principles*, 94, no. 3: 333-352.
- Olick, Jeffrey. 1999. "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures". *Sociological Theory* 17, no. 3: 333-48.
- Olick, Jeffrey, Vared Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy. 2011. "Introduction". In *The Collective Memory Reader*, edited by Jeffrey Olick, Vared Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, 3-62. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Oppal, Wallace T. 1994. *Closing the Gap: Policing and the Community: Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia*. No publisher.
- Osborne, Brian S. and Geraint B. Osborne (2004). "The Cast[e]ing of Heroic Landscapes of Power: Constructing Canada's Pantheon on Parliament Hill". *Material History Review*. 60, no. 1: 35-47.
- Osmachenko, Ron and Bruce A. McLeod. 1977. "Weekend Murder 3rd in City in 3 Weeks". *The Ottawa Journal*, August 2, 1.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1972. "Stolen Equipment Recovered". *The Ottawa Citizen*, August 9, 1975, 56.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1975a. "Bravery in Blue". *The Ottawa Citizen*, January 17, 1975, 6.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1975b. "Shopping Plaza Shooting". *The Ottawa Citizen*, February 6, 5.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1975c. "One Man Charged, One Sought for Offences Against Women". *The Ottawa Citizen*, May 14, 1975, 3.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1975d. "Union Cites Weak Links Which Led to Jailbreak". *The Ottawa Citizen*, June 11, 1975, 4.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1975e. "Guards Want Death Penalty for Murderer". *The Ottawa Citizen*, September 19, 1975, 3.

- Ottawa Citizen. 1975f. "Peace and Security: Prisons Prime Area of Increased Spending". *The Ottawa Citizen*, October 15, 1975, 49.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1975g. "Too Many Guns: Police Inspector Deeply Concerned Over Increase in Firearms Used in Crime". *The Ottawa Citizen*, December 4, 1975, 49.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1976. "Media Blamed for Violence". *The Ottawa Citizen*, February 17, 1976, 4.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1977a. "Basford Watches Battle, Presses for Gun Control". *The Ottawa Citizen*, July 12, 1977, 18.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1977b. "Brief Career Ends with a Shot". *The Ottawa Citizen*, July 12, 1977, 35.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1977c. "More Than 500 Policemen at Funeral". *The Ottawa Citizen* October 17, 1977, 8.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1978a. "Tribute to Dead Police". *The Ottawa Citizen*, August 18, 1978, 12.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1978b. "The Safeguards Fail". *The Ottawa Citizen*, June 6, 1978, 6.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1978c. "Prevention is Better". *The Ottawa Citizen*, September 1, 1978, 6.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1984. "71% Favor Death Penalty". *The Ottawa Citizen*, November 8, 1984, 2.
- Ottawa Citizen. 1984. "1,500 Attend Rally on Hill". *The Ottawa Citizen*, November 6, 1984, 1.
- Ottawa Journal. 1977a. "Basford Meeting 'Frustrating' to Police Wives". *Ottawa Journal*, November 19, 1977, 4.
- Ottawa Journal 1977b. "Officer's Funeral Thursday". *Ottawa Journal*, July 13, 1977, 3.
- Ottawa Journal 1978. "Police Memorial Day Wanted". *Ottawa Journal*, August 18, 1978, 3.
- Palamarchuk, Andrew. 2012. "Cop Killings Spark Battle for Better Compensation for Spouses". *Toronto.com*, August 20, 2012. [https://www.toronto.com/news/behind-the-crimes-cop-killings-spark-battle-for-better-compensation-for-spouses/article\\_a7006fd9-ca8b-5469-b3a8-d4505d6c170b.html](https://www.toronto.com/news/behind-the-crimes-cop-killings-spark-battle-for-better-compensation-for-spouses/article_a7006fd9-ca8b-5469-b3a8-d4505d6c170b.html)
- Palmer, Darren. 2012. "Police Memory as a Global Policing Movement". In *Global Environment of Policing*, edited by Darren Palmer, Michael M. Berlin, & Dilip. K Das, 187-205. Boca Raton: Taylor & Francis.
- Palmer, Darren, Michael M. Berlin, & Dilip. K Das. 2012. "Introduction". In *Global Environment of Policing*, edited by Darren Palmer, Michael M. Berlin, & Dilip. K Das, xvii - xxvii. Boca Raton: Taylor & Francis.

- Papazoglou, Konstantinos and Brooke McQuerry Tuttle. 2018. "Fighting Police Trauma: Practical Approaches to Addressing Psychological Needs of Officers". *SAGE Open*, 8, no. 3: 1-11.
- Parliament of Canada. 2020. "Explore the Peace Tower". <https://www.tpsgc-pwgsc.gc.ca/citeparlementaire-parliamentaryprecinct/decouvrez-discover/paix-peace-eng.html>
- Pasternak, Shiri, Kevin Walby, and Abby Stadnyk. 2022. *Disarm, Defund, Dismantle: Police Abolition in Canada*. Between the Lines: Toronto.
- Paterson Evening News. 1962. "To Present Awards in Police Week Poster Contest". *Paterson Evening News*, May 17, 1962, 12.
- Paul Raff Studio. 2017. "Monument Design Unveiled". <https://paulraffstudio.com/monument-design-unveiled/>.
- Payette, Lorraine. 2021. "OPP Honouring their Members Who Have Died by Suicide". *The Gananoque Reporter*. October 25, 2021. <https://www.gananoquereporter.com/news/local-news/opp-honouring-their-members-who-have-died-by-suicide>.
- Pfiffer, Jim. 1991. "Fallen Officers Honored". *Sunday Star-Gazette*, October 20, 1991, 4.
- Piché, Justin. 2014. "A Contradictory and Finishing State: Explaining Recent Prison Capacity Expansion in Canada's Provinces and Territories". *Penal Field* XI. 1-26.
- Piché, Justin, Matthew Ferguson, and Kevin Walby. 2019. "A 'Win-Win for Everyone...' Except Prisoners: Kingston Penitentiary Tours as a Staff, Media and Public Relations Campaign". *Annual Review of Interdisciplinary Justice Research*. 8, 91-119.
- Pickering, Mary. 2019. "Positivism in European Intellectual, Political, and Religious Life". In *The Cambridge History of Modern European Thought: Volume 1, The Nineteenth Century*, edited by Warren Breckman and Peter E. Gordon, 151-171. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.
- Pinsent, Andrew. 2012. "3 Most Dangerous Job Sectors in Canada". *CBC News*. April 25, 2012. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/3-most-dangerous-job-sectors-in-canada-1.1166583>
- Powell, Betsy. 2022. "Alleged Impaired Driver Denied Bail in Death of York Region Police Const. Travis Gillespie". *Toronto Star*, October 13, 2022. <https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2022/10/13/alleged-impaired-driver-denied-bail-in-death-of-york-region-police-const-travis-gillespie.html>.
- Prasad, Pushkala. 2018. *Crafting Qualitative Research: Beyond Positivist Traditions*. 2nd edition. Routledge: New York.

- Prentice, Michael. 1979. "Baker Tells Policemen: Death Bill Incoming". *The Ottawa Citizen*, October 1, 1.
- Pugliese, David. 1995. "Police Memorial Service Gives Families Strength". *The Ottawa Citizen*, September 25, 1995, A5.
- Rands, Chris. 2020. "Commons Board Recommending \$733M Plan to Build Parliament Hill Visitors Centre". *CBC News*. June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2020.  
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/parliament-commons-renovation-1.5617453>
- Razack, Sherene. 2015. *Dying from Improvement: Inquests and Inquiries into Indigenous Deaths in Custody*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- RCMP. 2020. "History of Firearms in Canada". *RCMP*. <https://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/en/history-firearms-canada>.
- Red Deer Advocate. 1998. "Fallen Officers Remembered". *Red Deer Advocate*, September 28, 1998, B2.
- Reiner, Robert. 2010. *The Politics of the Police*. 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ridley, Graham L. 2019. "Memory of Slain Constable Sullied by Inaccurate Report". *Ottawa Citizen*, December 18, 1999, 17.
- Riceour, Paul. 2004. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Robb, Jim. 1987. "Architect Wants Parliament Hill Pavilion Rebuilt". *The Ottawa Citizen*. October 1, 1987, B1.
- Rogers, Dave and Leonard Stern. 1994. "Ottawa Police Morale Low, Surveys Says". *Ottawa Citizen*. October 20, 1994, B3.
- Rolke, Richard, 2006a. "Memorial Committee Stands Pat". *The Morning Star*, August 2, 2006, A3.
- Rolke, Richard. 2006b. "Vernon Officer Ignored at Ottawa Service". *The Morning Star*, September 20, 2006, 1.
- Rolke, Richard. 2006c. "Fourth Push Made to Honour Evely". *The Morning Star*, November 26, 2006, A12.
- Ross, Jeffrey Ian. 2017. "Why and How Prison Museums/Tourism Contribute to the Normalization of The Carceral/Shadow Carceral State: The Primacy Of Economic Realities". In JZ Wilson, S Hodgkinson, J Piché, & Kevin Walby (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison Tourism*, Palgrave: New York, 947-968.

- Roy, Gabriele. 2018. "He Said He Would Always Come Home, Says Spouse of Officer Killed in Fredericton". *Montreal Gazette*, August 10, 2018. <https://montrealgazette.com/pmn/news-pmn/canada-news-pmn/he-said-he-would-always-come-home-says-spouse-of-officer-killed-in-fredericton/wcm/20542eb0-49a6-4999-9f56-ee04eb266629>.
- Rozoski, Rick. 1992. "Never Let Them Walk Alone". *Blue Line Magazine*, August/September, 1992, 6.
- Rupert, Jake. 1997. "Police Officers Gather to Honour Colleagues Slain in Line of Duty". *The Windsor Star*, September 29, 1997, 20.
- Rushby, John. 1977. "Whose Guns Should be Outlawed" *Ottawa Journal*, July 19, 1977, 6.
- Rutland, Ted. 2023. "Two Years After the Defund-the-Police Movement, Police Budgets Increase Across Canada." *TVO Today*, January 10, 2023. <https://www.tvo.org/article/two-years-after-the-defund-the-police-movement-police-budgets-increase-across-canada>
- Ryan, Gery W. and H. Russell Bernard. 2003. "Techniques to Identify Themes". *Field Methods*, 15, no. 1: 85-109.
- Savelsberg, Joakim and Ryan King. 2011. *American Memories: Atrocities and the Law*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Sawatsky, John. 1980. *Men in the Shadows: The RCMP Security Service*. Toronto: Doubleday.
- Schwartz, Barry. 2000. *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schept, Judah. 2014. "(Un)seeing like a prison: Counter-visual ethnography of the carceral state". *Theoretical Criminology*, 18, no. 2: 198-223.
- Seigel, Micol. 2018. *Violence Work: State Power and the Limits of Police*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Shearing, Clifford. 2012. "Foreward: Tapestries of Policing". In *Global Environment of Policing*, edited by Darren Palmer, Michael M. Berlin, & Dilip. K Das, xiii - xv. Boca Raton: Taylor & Francis.
- Shearing, Clifford, and Philip Stenning. 1983. "Private Security – Implications for Social Control". *Social Problems*. 30, no. 5: 493-506.
- Sierra-Arévalo, Michael. 2019. "The Commemoration of Death, Organizational Memory, and Police Culture". *Criminology*, 57, no. 4: 632-58.
- Sim, Joe. 2009. *Punishment and Prisons: Power and the Carceral State*. London: Sage.

- Sellar, Don. 1972. "Lash Vanishes from Canada's Prisons". *The Gazette*, August 3, 1972, 7.
- Sellar, Don. 1976. "Harsh Measures in Crime Bill: Ottawa's Compromise Would End Hanging". *The Owen Sound Sun-Times*, February 25, 1976, 1.
- Sillince, John A. and Andrew D. Brown 2009. "Multiple Organizational Identities and Legitimacy: The Rhetoric of Police Websites". *Human Relations*, 62, no. 12: 1829-1856.
- Sinclair, Rob. 1977. "Hundreds View Death Scene". *The Ottawa Citizen*, July 13, 1977, 51.
- Skinns, Layla, Lindsay Rice, Amy Sprawson, Andrew Wooff. 2017. "Police legitimacy in context: An exploration of 'soft' power in police custody in England". *Policing: An International Journal*, 40, no. 3:480-513.
- Smith, Marie-Danielle. 2023. "Premiers Urge Ottawa to Reform Bail System after Killing of OPP Officer". *Global News*, January 14, 2023.  
<https://globalnews.ca/news/9410933/premiers-ottawa-reform-bail-system-opp-officer/>
- Statistics Canada. 2022a. "Number, Rate, and Percentage Changes in Rates of Homicide Victims". *Statistics Canada*. August 2, 2022.  
<https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tb11/en/tv.action?pid=3510006801>.
- Statistics Canada. 2022b. "Population estimates, quarterly". Last retrieved 20 December 2022.  
*Statistics Canada*.  
<https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tb11/en/tv.action?pid=1710000901&cubeTimeFrame.startMonth=01&cubeTimeFrame.startYear=1975&cubeTimeFrame.endMonth=10&cubeTimeFrame.endYear=1975&referencePeriods=19750101%2C19751001>
- Steinmetz, Kevin F., Brian P. Schaefer, and Howard Henderson. 2017. "Wicked Overseers: American Policing and Colonialism." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 3, no. 1: 68–81.
- Stern, Leonard. 1996. "Lost: In the Line of Duty". *The Ottawa Citizen*, September 30, 1996, D1.
- Still, Larry and Dave Stockland. 1976. "Protection of Public Main Purpose of New Bill, Basford Says". *The Vancouver Sun*, February 28, 1976, 38.
- Stone, Philip. 2006. "A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a Typology of Death and Macabre Related Tourist Sites, Attractions and Exhibitions". *Tourism*, 54, no. 2: 145-160.
- Stuckey, Heather L. 2013. "Three Types of Interviews: Qualitative Research Methods in Social Health". *Journal of Social Health and Diabetes*, 1, no. 2: 56-59.
- Sukamolson, Suphat. 2007. "Fundamentals of Qualitative Research". Language Institute Chulalongkorn University.

- Swadden, Patrick. 2022. "Number Of Police Officers Killed While On Duty 'Unprecedented,' Says Ontario Police Association President". *CBC News*, December 29, 2022. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/number-of-police-killings-unprecedented-1.669903>
- Szpunar Piotr M. 2010. "Monuments, Mundanity and Memory: Altering "Place" and "Space" at The National War Memorial (Canada)". *Memory Studies*, 3, no. 4: 379–394.
- Tammemagi, Hans. 2002. *Exploring the Hill: A Guide to Canada's Parliament Past and Present*. Markham: Fitzhenry & Whiteside.
- Taylor, Ian. 1986. "Martyrdom and Surveillance: Ideological and Social Practices of Police in Canada in the 1980s". *Crime and Social Justice* 26: 60-78.
- Taylor, Ian, Paul Walton, and Jock Young. 1973. *The New Criminology*. London: Routledge.
- Taylor, Scott. 2019. "On Target: Don Cherry Saga Divides Military Community" *Espirit de Corps*. November 18, 2019. <http://espritdecorps.ca/on-target-4/on-target-don-cherry-saga-divides-canadian-military-community>.
- TCPS 2010. "Tri-Council policy statement: Ethical conduct for research involving humans". Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. December 2010.
- Terpstra, Jan. 2011. "Two Theories on the Police: The Relevance Of Max Weber And Emile Durkheim to the Study of the Police". *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, 39, no. 1: 1-11.
- Terpstra, Jan and Renze, Salet. 2020. "The Social Construction of Police Heroes". *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 22, no. 1: 16–25.
- Terpstra, Jan, and Willem Trommel. 2009. "Police, Managerialization and Presentational Strategies". *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 32, no. 1: 128–43.
- Tewksbury, Richard. 2009. "Qualitative Versus Quantitative Methods: Understanding Why Qualitative Methods are Superior for Criminology and Criminal Justice". *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Criminology*, 1, no. 1: 38-58.
- The Albertan. 1975. "A Sordid and Dismal Ceremony at Dawn ... Allmand Reiterates no Hanging Stand". *The Albertan*, 9 August, 1975, 1.
- The Gazette. 1978. "Fearless Worker Knew of Dangers". *The Gazette*, November 28, 1978, 5.
- The Gazette. 2010. "Abbott Student Remembered". *The Gazette*, November 15, D3.

- The Province. 1975. "RCMP, Forces, are Filling in for 'Mourning Prison Guards'". *The Province*, July 2, 1975, 1.
- The Province. 1977. "Group Wants Basford Out" *The Province*, May 13, 1977, 11.
- The Times. 1975. "Walkout Threat by Policemen". *The Times*, September 24, 1975, 12.
- Thomas, Eileen, and Joan Kathy Magilvy. 2011. "Qualitative Rigor or Research Validity in Qualitative Research". *Journal for Specialists in Pediatric Nursing* 16, no. 2: 151–55.
- Times Colonist. 1975. "Execution Stays 'Travesty'". *Times Colonist*, October 23, 1975, 23.
- Tomiak, Julie. 2016. "Unsettling Ottawa: Settler Colonialism, Indigenous Resistance, and the Politics of Scale". *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 25, no. 1: 8-21.
- Totten, Adonis. 2020. "Defunding the Police: A 'Snappy Slogan' or a Way Forward for People of Color?" *Public Interest Law Reporter*, 26, no. 1: 40–46.
- Tracking (In)Justice. 2022. "December 2022 Report: Ontario Deaths in Custody on the Rise." *Tracking (In)Justice*, February 10, 2023. <https://trackinginjustice.ca/analysis-ontario-deaths-in-custody-on-the-rise/>
- Tracking (In)Justice. 2023. "Police-involved Deaths are on the Rise, as are Racial Disparities in Canada." *Tracking (In)Justice*, February 10, 2023. <https://trackinginjustice.ca/analysis-increase-in-deaths-and-racial-disparities/>
- Turner, Justin. 2016. "Killing the State: The Cultural Afterlife of Edward Byrne". PhD diss. Old Dominion University.
- uOttawa. 2021. "SurveyMonkey". <https://www.uottawa.ca/about-us/information-technology/services/software/surveymonkey>
- Vancouver Sun. 1975. "Will Police Killer Ever Walk Last 30 Feet?" *The Vancouver Sun*, 23 October 23, 1975, 54.
- Vancouver Sun. 1976. "MP's Open Hanging Debate Calmly". *The Vancouver Sun*, May 4, 1976, 39.
- Vancouver Sun. 1978. "Trudeau Rejects Death Penalty Plea". *The Vancouver Sun*, February 24, 1978, A14.
- Vancouver Sun. 1980. "Cycle Kills Auxiliary". *The Vancouver Sun*, June 5, 1980, 70.
- Vancouver Sun. 1994. "Slain Guards Added to Memorial: Game Wardens, Customs Agents Also on List". *The Vancouver Sun*, 27 September 27, 1994. A4.

- Vernon Morning Star. 2006. "Bestowing Honour Where it's Due". *Shuswap Market News*, November 3, 2006, 6.
- VWC. 2020. "Interesting Facts". *Government of Canada*.  
<https://www.tpsgc-pwgsc.gc.ca/citeparlementaire-parliamentaryprecinct/rehabilitation/visiteurs-visitors-eng.html>
- Vyhnak, Carola. 2017. "Once Upon a City: The 1992 Riot that Served as a Wake-up Call for Police". *The Toronto Star*, May 19, 2017. <https://www.thestar.com/yourtoronto/once-upon-a-city-archives/2017/05/04/once-upon-a-city-the-1992-riot-that-served-as-a-wake-up-call-for-police.html>
- Wacquant, Loïc. 2009. *Prisons of Poverty*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Walby, Kevin, and Blair Wilkinson. 2021. "The Visual Politics of Public Police Instagram Use in Canada". *New Media and Society*, 25, no. 5: 898-920.
- Walby, Kevin, Randy K. Lippert, and Alex Luscombe. 2018. "The Police Foundation's Rise: Implications of Public Policing's Dark Money". *British Journal of Criminology* 58, no. 4: 824-44.
- Walby, Kevin, and Justin Piché. 2015. "Making Meaning out of Punishment: Penitentiary, Prison, Jail, and Lock-up Museums in Canada". *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 57, no. 4: 475-502.
- Walden, K. 1982. *Visions of Order: The Canadian Mounties in Symbol and Myth*. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Wall, Tyler. 2020. "The Police Invention of Humanity: Notes on the "Thin Blue Line". *Crime, Media, Culture*. 16(3), 319-336.
- Warburton, Wendy. 1978a. "Accused Feared TVs Were Spies, Jury Told". *The Ottawa Citizen*, May 24, 1978, 12.
- Warburton, Wendy. 1978b. "Police Unprepared for Shootout with Sniper, Court Told". *The Ottawa Citizen*, May 25, 1978, 20.
- Warburton, Wendy. 1978c. "Diagnosis Revealed: Koepke 'Insane' in 1975". *The Ottawa Citizen*, 30 May 30, 1978, 1.
- Warburton, Wendy. 1978d. "City, Police Widow Launch Koepke Suit". *The Ottawa Citizen*, May 31, 1978, 3.
- Warburton, Wendy. 1978e. "9 Hours Without Decision, Koepke Jury Resumes Work". *The Ottawa Citizen*, May 31, 1978, 3.

- Ward, Bruce. 1993. "Constable Acquitted in Gardner Death: 'No Justice' Victim's Son Tells Court". *The Ottawa Citizen*, October 9, 1993, 1.
- Weber, Max. 1948. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Translated and Edited by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd.
- Webster, Cheryl M. and Anthony Doob. 2015. "US Punitiveness 'Canadian Style'? Cultural Values and Canadian Punishment Policy". *Punishment & Society* 17(3): 299-321.
- Welch, Michael. 2015. *Escape to Prison: Penal Tourism and the Pull of Punishment*. University of California Press, Oakland.
- Weller, Sue. 1977. "Crowds Actions at Shooting Appalling". *The Ottawa Citizen*, July 16, 1977, 7.
- Wetzel, Tom. 2013. "Fallen Officers Can Save Our Lives". *Blue Line Magazine*. January 2013, 38.
- Whitely, Don. 1978a. "RCMP Chief Lashes Out at Shadow Critics". *Ottawa Journal* [Revised], September 1, 1978, 3.
- Whitely, Don. 1978b. "The Memories are Painful". *Ottawa Journal*, September 23, 1978, 59.
- Whitman, Bob. 1996. "Never Let Them Walk Alone". *Blue Line Magazine*, August/September, 1996, 15.
- Whitehorse Star. 1976. "Firearms Control: The Pro and Con" *The Whitehorse Star*. May 12, 1976, 6.
- Whittington, Les. 1975. "Shotguns, Rifles Top Record Gun Sales in Canada". *Edmonton Journal*, August 6, 1975, 71.
- Wilkins, Charles. 2012. *The Wild Ride: A History of the North-West Mounted Police: 1873-1904*. Vancouver: Stanton, Atkins & Dosil.
- Wills, Terrance. 1987. "Should Murderers Die? YES, Says a Slain Policeman's Wife". *Montreal Gazette*, March 14, 1987, A4.
- Wilson, Jacqueline, Sarah Hodgkinson, Justin Piché, and Kevin Walby. eds. 2017. *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison Tourism*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Wilson, James Q. 1976a. "Coping with Crime". *Criminal Justice Review*. 1(2), pp. 1-12.
- Wilson, Ralph. 1976b. "The High Cost of Being a Cop". *The Ottawa Citizen*. November 6, 1976, 53.

Wilson, Ralph. 1977. "Koepke Ruled Mentally Ill, Treatment Set". *The Ottawa Citizen*, 19 July 19, 1977, 1.

Windsor Star. 1975. "Planned Protest Cancelled". *Windsor Star*, October 11, 1975, 5.

Windsor Star, 1979. "Police Bullets Kill 8 in a Year in Toronto". *Windsor Star*. September 11, 1979, 2.

Winlow, Simon. 2014. "The National Deviancy Symposia". *Oxford Bibliographies*.

Wylie, John. 1977. "710 Gladstone: Magnet for the Curious". *Ottawa Journal*. 13 July 13, 1977, 1.

Yogaretnam, Shaamini. 2013. "Still Very Raw for Her Mom: A Daughter Talks About the Father She Never Knew, Which Led to the Annual Police Memorial". *The Ottawa Citizen*, July 12, 2013, C3.

Yogis, John A. and Catherine Cotter. 2009. *Canadian Law Dictionary*. New York: Barron's Educational Series.

Young, Jock 2001. "Obituary: Ian Taylor: Sociologist Pioneering Radical Approaches to the Study of Crime, Sport and Popular Culture". *The Guardian*, January 24, 2001.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2001/jan/24/guardianobituaries2>

Younger-Lewis, Greg. 1999. "It's a Bloody Disgrace: Peace Officers Angry that Fallen Officers Excluded from Ontario Police Monument". *The Ottawa Citizen*, August 9, 1999, 4.

**APPENDIX A:  
THE UNOFFICIAL “HONOUR ROLL” SINCE 1962<sup>29</sup>**

Year	Deceased Officer
1962	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Roger Robidoux – 9 January – Detective, Sûreté du provinciale Québec</li> <li>2. Dennis Winstanley – 3 February – Constable, Stamford Township Police</li> <li>3. Lawrence Short – 8 February – Detective, Vancouver Police</li> <li>4. Frederick Nash – 12 February – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>5. Elwood Keck, 25 – 18 June – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>6. Donald Weisgerber – 18 June – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Gordon Pedersen – 18 June – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>8. Archille Lepine, 24 – 19 July – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>9. James McDonald – 28 August – Corporal, OPP</li> <li>10. David Gregory – 29 August – Constable, Hamilton Police</li> <li>11. Marcel Roch – 1 September – Constable, Joliette Police</li> <li>12. Thomas Black – 17 October – Constable, Woodstock Police</li> <li>13. John McNutt – 29 November – Constable, Halifax Police</li> <li>14. Claude Marineau – 14 December – Constable, St-Laurent Police</li> <li>15. Denis Brabant – 14 December – Constable, St-Laurent Police</li> <li>16. Marius Trépanier – 18 December – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> </ol>
1963	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. James Foreman – 24 April - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Raymond Tellier – 2 May – Guard, CSC</li> <li>3. Harley Hyland – 2 May – Sandwich East Township Police</li> <li>4. Philippe Mailhot – 10 May – Constable, Sûreté provinciale du Québec</li> <li>5. Jeffrey Armstrong – 13 May – Constable, Ottawa Police</li> <li>6. Kenneth Laughland – 13 July – Sergeant, RCMP</li> <li>7. Robert Asbil – 13 July – Corporal, RCMP</li> <li>8. Proctor Malcolm – 13 July – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>9. William Annand – 13 July – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>10. Arthur Truman – 3 August – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>11. Patrick Armstrong – 11 September – Constable, OPP</li> <li>12. Arthur Trentham – 16 September – Inspector, Vancouver Police</li> <li>13. Émile Lachance – 3 October – Constable, Sûreté provinciale du Québec</li> <li>14. Roy Jennex – 29 November – Constable, Halifax Police</li> <li>15. Kenneth Evans – 30 November – Detective, Toronto Police</li> <li>16. John Bassett – 30 November – Detective Sergeant, Toronto Police</li> </ol>

<sup>29</sup> The official, up-to-date CPPOM “Honour Roll” is not available online at the present moment. To assist with this project, I have consulted numerous “peace officer” memorialization websites and a few pamphlets from past national memorial services to produce this version of the list, dating back, like the timeline, to 1962. Highlighted in yellow are names of penal system actors that are mentioned in the doctoral dissertation but to the best of my knowledge are not officially recognized on the “Honour Roll” as of 2023 because they fail to meet certain aspects of the official “exclusion” guidelines (*Chapter 10*). Names of “peace” officers who died according to the guidelines after the 2022 CPPOM service have yet to be added to the official “Honour Roll” and will be done so by the 2023 service.

1964	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Joseph Dubois – 3 January - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Walter MacAulay – 5 April – Constable, Guelph Police</li> <li>3. Calvin Byam – 10 June – Constable, Lethbridge City Police</li> <li>4. Ervin Giesbrecht – 20 June - Corporal RCMP</li> <li>5. Alexander Prodan – 30 August – Constable, OPP</li> <li>6. Edwin Masterton – 23 September – Guard, CSC</li> <li>7. David Chenard – 31 October – Corporal, Sûreté provinciale du Québec</li> <li>8. William Munro – 5 December – Conservation Officer, Ontario Department of Lands and Forests</li> <li>9. Robert Amey – 17 December - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>10. Reginald Williams – 19 December – Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>
1965	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. David Robinson – 2 February - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Neil Bruce – 14 April - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Kenneth Kornelson – 17 May – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>4. Bob Guenther – 1 October - Conservation Officer, Ontario Department of Lands and Forests</li> <li>5. Carl Liddle – 1 October - Conservation Officer, Ontario Department of Lands and Forests</li> <li>6. Laurier Quesnel – 14 October – Sergeant, Sudbury Police</li> <li>7. Guy Renaud – 25 October – Constable, Sûreté provinciale du Québec</li> <li>8. Georges Hélie – 6 November – Corporal, Sûreté provinciale du Québec</li> <li>9. Alfred Newland – 19 November – Conservation Officer, Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources</li> </ol>
1966	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ronald Webster – 18 January – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>2. Thomas Carroll – 11 February – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Charles Morrish – 3 April – Conservation Officer, Manitoba Department of Lands and Forests</li> <li>4. John Maki – 4 April – Constable, OPP</li> <li>5. Philip Tidman – 20 April – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>6. Edward Holdsworth – 15 May – Constable, Whitchurch Township Police</li> <li>7. Larry Esau – 29 June – Constable, Vancouver Police</li> <li>8. Ian Collinson – 18 July – Special Constable, City of Kelowna</li> <li>9. Thomas Emery – 25 July – Constable, OPP</li> <li>10. Claude Guay – 8 September – Special Constable, Sûreté provinciale du Québec</li> <li>11. Roger Beausoleil – 20 October – Constable, Town Police Willow Bunch</li> <li>12. Gordon Pearson – 22 November - Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>
1967	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. William McLeod – 12 May – Conservation Officer, Manitoba Department of Lands and Forests</li> </ol>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Gérald Paradis – 21 May – Constable, Sept-Iles Police</li> <li>3. Terry Tomfohr – 3 June - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>4. Donald Harvey – 23 June – Corporal, RCMP</li> <li>5. Donald Martin – 29 June – Chief, Acton-Vale Police</li> <li>6. Frederick Harris – 3 July – Customs Officer, Canada Customs</li> <li>7. Yves St-Germain – 26 July – Constable, Repentigny Police</li> <li>8. Roger St-Jean – 29 July – Constable, Repentigny Police</li> <li>9. Robert Varney – 17 August – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>10. James Hamilton – 19 August – Constable, OPP</li> <li>10. Al Comfort – 11 October – Conservation Officer, Ontario Department of Lands and Forests</li> <li>11. Austin Letcher – 18 October – Game Warden, Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests</li> </ol>
1968	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Charles Jeary – 25 January – Detective, Greenfield Park Police</li> <li>2. Ghyslain Martineau – 9 March – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>3. Gilles Jean – 8 May – Detective Sergeant, Montreal Police</li> <li>4. Gerald Mills – 29 May – Constable, Whitchurch Township Police</li> <li>5. George Hawkins – 6 June – Corporal, RCMP</li> <li>6. Gérard Deschamps – 9 June – Constable, Repentigny Police</li> <li>7. Peter Kirk – 9 June – Constable, OPP</li> <li>8. Samuel Ankenmann – 29 June – Constable, OPP</li> <li>9. André Duhaime – 1 July – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>10. Bradford Browne – 13 November – Constable, OPP</li> <li>11. Alain Falardeau – 27 November – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>12. James Kerr – 11 December – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>13. James Smith – 11 December – Corporal, OPP</li> <li>14. Lorne Chapitis – 11 December – Detective Sergeant, OPP</li> <li>15. John McMurrich – 22 December – Sergeant, Hamilton Police</li> <li>16. Stan Christie – 22 December – Constable, Pointe Claire Police</li> </ol>
1969	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Gilles Boutin – 12 May – Constable, Montreal Police</li> <li>2. Terry Williams – 8 June – Corporal, RCMP</li> <li>3. Leonard Shakespeare – 18 July – Constable, St. Boniface Police</li> <li>4. Robert Carrick – 23 August – Constable, Sandwich West Township Police</li> <li>5. David Goldsworthy – 6 October – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>6. Robert Dumas – 7 October – Corporal, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>7. Silas Baikie – 16 December – Assistant Forest Ranger, Wildlife Division, Newfoundland Department of Natural Resource</li> </ol>
1970	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. David Tuckey – 21 January – Sergeant, Ottawa Police</li> <li>2. William Rodgers – 25 February – Constable, OPP</li> <li>3. Ronald Houston – 27 June – Detective, Winnipeg Police</li> </ol>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Stefan Schultz – 19 July – Constable, OPP</li> <li>5. Mark Houlden – 29 July – Constable, Trenton Police</li> <li>6. William Green – 4 October – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Robert Schrader – 9 October – Sergeant, RCMP</li> <li>8. Douglas Anson – 9 October – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>9. James O'Malley – 28 October – Sergeant, RCMP</li> </ol>
1971	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Derek Ivany – June 25 - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Harold Seigel – 26 September - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. John Verral – 8 October – Constable, OPP</li> <li>4. Gabriel Labelle – 12 October – Constable, Ste-Therese Police</li> <li>5. Bernard Charlebois – 5 November. – Constable, Montreal Police</li> <li>6. Michael Mason – 26 November - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Jean Sabourin – 16 December – Constable, Montreal Police</li> </ol>
1972	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fernand Bertrand – 8 January – Constable, Hull Police</li> <li>2. Donald Lewis – 11 February – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>3. Michael Irwin – 27 February – Detective, Toronto Police</li> <li>4. Douglas Sinclair – 27 February – Detective, Toronto Police</li> <li>5. Leslie Gardner – 5 May – Constable, Moose Jaw Police</li> <li>6. John Starchuk – 2 June – Jail Guard, RCMP</li> <li>7. Clare Lackey – 16 July – Constable, OPP</li> <li>8. Ernest St. Pierre – 10 September – Game Warden, Quebec Ministry of Resources</li> <li>9. Mederic Côté – 10 September – Game Warden. Quebec Ministry of Resources</li> <li>10. Robert Marak – 2 December – Park Warden, Parks Canada</li> <li>11. James Brink – 2 December – Park Warden, Parks Canada</li> </ol>
1973	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. James Lothian – 10 January – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>2. Leslie Maitland - 1 February – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>3. Marc-André Gagnon – 10 February – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>4. John Young – 2 June – Fishery Guardian, Fisheries and Oceans Canada</li> <li>5. Calvin Swyers – 2 June – Fishery Guardian, Fisheries and Oceans Canada</li> <li>6. J.P. Richard Mérette – 12 June – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>7. Richard Larente – 14 June – Constable, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> <li>8. Evan Gilmore – 5 November – Corporal, OPP</li> <li>9. Thomas Cooper – 8 November – Detective, Kingston Police</li> <li>10. George Mullally – 15 November – Constable, University of PEI Police</li> <li>11. Leonard Slater – 1 December – Constable, North Bay Police</li> <li>12. Normand Tremblay – 4 December - Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>13. Vaughn McKay – 20 December – Constable, OPP</li> </ol>

1974	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Roger Pierlet – 29 March - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Joseph Létourneau – 2 April - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Joseph Tremblay– 2 April - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>4. Luciano DeSimone – 2 May – Constable, Niagara Regional Police</li> <li>5. Stanley Green – 22 July – Carpentry Instructor, CSC</li> <li>6. John Draginda – 29 September - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Ronald McKay – 2 November – Staff Sergeant, Delta Municipal Police</li> <li>8. Aimé Pelletier – 2 November – Constable, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> <li>9. Michael O’Leary – 13 December – Constable, Moncton Police</li> <li>10. Aurèle Bourgeois – 13 December – Constable, Moncton Police</li> <li>11. Boyd Davidson – 20 December – Detective, Calgary Police</li> </ol>
1975	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Gerald Thompson – 31 March – Constable, OPP</li> <li>2. Georges Nadeau- 8 April – Chief Trade Instructor, CSC</li> <li>3. Garry MacDonald – 2 May – Constable, OPP</li> <li>4. Maurice Chatterson – 2 May – Constable, OPP</li> <li>5. Gilles Beauvais – 3 June – Detective Sergeant, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> <li>6. Roy Eddy – 6 June – Correctional Officer, CSC</li> <li>7. Mary Steinhauer – 11 June – Classification Officer, CSC</li> <li>8. Paul Gosselin – 27 June – Correctional Officer, CSC</li> <li>9. Ronald Sproule – 29 July – Detective, Peel Regional Police</li> <li>10. Gary Noseworthy – 5 August – Forest Ranger, Wildlife Division, Newfoundland Department of Natural Resources</li> <li>11. Carl George – 7 August – Assistant Forest Ranger, Department of Forestry and Agriculture</li> <li>12. Lee Wilson – 25 September – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>13. John Baldwinson – 28 October - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>14. Eric Spicer – 23 December – Corporal, Dartmouth Police</li> </ol>
1976	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Donald Irwin – 20 February – Corporal, OPP</li> <li>2. Michel Bédard – 4 December – Corporal, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>3. Keith Harrison – 12 March – Staff Sergeant, Calgary Police Service</li> <li>4. Allan Assiniboine – 27 July – Conservation Officer Trainee, Manitoba Department of Natural Resources</li> <li>5. Ronald Lee – 28 August – Corporal, OPP</li> <li>6. Paul Gosling – 5 November – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>7. Gérald Desfossés – 6 November – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> </ol>
1977	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Bernard Brassard – 25 March – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>2. Robert Brabant – 30 March – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> </ol>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Dennis Shwaykowski – 6 April - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>4. William Shelever – 24 May – Constable, Calgary Police Service</li> <li>5. David Kirkwood – 11 July - Constable, Ottawa Police</li> <li>6. George Foster – 4 September – Senior Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Guy Samson – 12 September – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>8. Ronald McKean – 12 October – Sergeant, Collingwood Police</li> <li>9. John Roscoe – 30 December – Highway Patrolman, BC Ministry of Transport and Highways</li> </ol>
1978	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Barry Lidstone – 6 January – Corporal, RCMP</li> <li>2. Joseph Brophy – 6 January – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. John Kuszniar – 15 January – Constable, Thunder Bay Police</li> <li>4. Dennis Onofrey – 23 January – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>5. Michel Roy – 7 February – Warden, CSC</li> <li>6. William Seward – 15 February - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Jean-Claude Phoenix – 31 March – Constable, Saint-Jean Police</li> <li>8. Thomas King – 25 April – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>9. James Begbie – 22 June – Constable, Trenton Police</li> <li>10. Guy Fornier – 11 July – Correctional Officer, CSC</li> <li>11. John Lau – 29 July – Constable, Kingston Police</li> <li>12. Henry Snedden – 15 September – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>13. Paul Patterson – 28 October – Constable, OPP</li> <li>14. Paul Maurice – 26 November – Food Services Officer, CSC</li> <li>15. Frank Eustace – 26 November – Senior Correctional Officer, CSC</li> </ol>
1979	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lindberg Davis – 8 January – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Mark McLachlan – 2 February – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. René Vallée – 16 February – Constable, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> <li>4. Neil Colgan – 25 July – Park Warden, Parks Canada</li> <li>5. Joseph Doucet – 18 August – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>6. Gordon Brooks – 12 November – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Ningeoseak Etidloi – 12 November – Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>
1980	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Duncan McAleese – January 23 – Constable, OPP</li> <li>2. George Bennett – 12 February – Constable, OPP</li> <li>3. Michael Sweet – 14 March – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>4. Albert Roy – 23 May – Forest Warden, New Brunswick Department of Natural Resources</li> <li>5. Marc Comeau – 24 May – Forest Warden, New Brunswick Department of Natural Resources</li> <li>6. Roy Karwaski – 24 May – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Dennis Fraser – 4 June – Auxillary Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. Georges Alary – 11 August – Customs Inspector, Revenue Canada</li> <li>9. Richard Sedgwick – 16 August – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>10. Gilles Lamarre – 19 September – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>11. Thomas Agar – 19 September – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>12. William Morrison – 10 October – Correctional Officer, CSC</li> <li>13. André Simard – 2 November – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>14. Thomas Hicks – 7 November – Constable, OPP</li> <li>15. William Shores – 30 November – Constable, OPP</li> </ol>
1981	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Richard Verdecchia – 2 January – Constable, OPP</li> <li>2. Pierre Brulé – 1 April – Constable, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> <li>3. Serge Lamy – 23 May – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>4. Perley Calhoun – 5 July – Constable, Fredericton Police</li> <li>5. Kenneth Swett – 17 July – Constable, OPP</li> <li>6. Joseph Tremblett – 5 August – Fishery Officer, Fisheries and Oceans Canada</li> <li>7. Ole Larsen – 11 August – Corporal, RCMP</li> <li>8. James Thomas – 31 August – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>9. Roger Oneski – 17 September – Forest Officer, Alberta Forest Services</li> <li>10. Percival Cummins – 23 September – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>11. Jacques Martin – 15 October - Sergeant, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>12. Michel Vincent – 3 November – Constable, Longueuil Police</li> <li>13. Emmanuel Cloutier – 6 November – Constable, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> <li>14. Barry McKinnon – 16 December – Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>
1982	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Pirthipaul Sanghera – 8 January – Constable, Vancouver Police</li> <li>2. Laurier Bédard – 20 January – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>3. William Smith – 16 February – Constable, OPP</li> <li>4. Lorne Foran – 4 May – Detective Inspector, OPP</li> <li>5. Richard Hopkins – 9 May – Constable, OPP</li> <li>6. Robert Leblanc – 24 May – Park Warden, Parks Canada</li> <li>7. David Van Den Abeele – 25 July – Correctional Officer, CSC</li> <li>8. J.B. Denis Rivard – 25 July – Correctional Officer, CSC</li> <li>9. Léandre Leblanc – 25 July – Senior Keeper, CSC</li> <li>10. Douglas Butler – 16 October - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>11. William Hawkins – 19 November – Detective, Peel Regional Police</li> <li>12. Volker Scheja – 19 November – Detective, Peel Regional Police</li> <li>13. Serge LaForest – 24 November – Constable, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> </ol>
1983	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. J.R. Serge Delorme – 22 April – Correctional Officer, CSC</li> <li>2. Richard Dubé – 27 May – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>3. Richard Bourgoïn – 31 August – Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Russell O'Connor – 7 September – Constable, Ottawa Police</li> <li>5. Bruce Crew – 25 September – Constable, OPP</li> <li>6. David Utman – 14 October – Constable, Nepean Police</li> <li>7. Daniel Keough – 27 October – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>8. Robert Logan – 3 November – Officer, Manitoba Department of Natural Resources</li> <li>9. Wayne Myers – 14 December – Senior Constable, RCMP</li> <li>10. Francis Jones - 14 December – Corporal, RCMP</li> </ol>
1984	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Graham Jackson – 14 March – Vehicle Inspection Officer, BC Ministry of Transportation and Highways</li> <li>2. William McIntyre – 21 April – Corporal, OPP</li> <li>3. Robert Anderson – 4 May – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>4. Joseph Wendl – 13 July – Living Unit Officer, CSC</li> <li>5. Werner Friesen – 13 July – Living Unit Officer, CSC</li> <li>6. Douglas Tribbling – 21 August – Constable, York Regional Police</li> <li>7. Dwayne Piukkala – 26 August- Constable, Peel Regional Police</li> <li>8. David Dunmore – 18 September – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>9. Pierre Beaulieu – 6 October – Patrolman, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> <li>10. John Ross – 7 October – Constable, OPP</li> <li>11. William Grant – 9 October – Constable, York Regional Police</li> <li>12. Vernon Miller – 16 November – Constable, OPP</li> <li>13. Robert Larue – 1 December – Detective Sergeant, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> </ol>
1985	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Allen Giesbrecht, 13 January – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Michael Buday – 19 March – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Richard McLaughlin – 29 June – Constable, OPP</li> <li>4. Yves Têtu – 3 July – Constable, Quebec City Police</li> <li>5. Jacques Giguère – 3 July – Constable, Quebec City Police</li> <li>6. Celia Ruygok – 6 July – Halfway House Worker, Ottawa</li> <li>7. Jacques Philion – 27 July – Sergeant, Aylmer Police</li> <li>8. Donald Campbell – 3 August – Constable, OPP</li> <li>9. Jacinthe Fyfe – 26 October – Constable, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> <li>10. Alain Chouinard – 10 November – Game Warden, Quebec Ministry of Resources, Fish, and Game</li> <li>11. Mario Tessier – 27 December – Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>
1986	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Wayne Boskill – 8 January – Special Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. James Wilson – 8 January – Special Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Randall Skidmore – 14 February – Constable, OPP</li> </ol>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Robert Thomas – 6 March – Special Constable, RCMP</li> <li>5. Maurice Leavoy – 28 March – Corporal, OPP</li> <li>6. Budd Johanson – 4 April – Corporal, RCMP</li> <li>7. Frederick Abel – 4 April – Auxiliary Constable, RCMP</li> <li>8. Claude St. Laurent – 10 May – Constable, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> <li>9. Scott Berry – 29 June - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>10. Marcel Simard – 24 July – Constable, Saint-Hubert Police</li> <li>11. Robert Baril – 13 November – Constable, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> <li>12. Danny Tremblay – 19 November – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>13. Jacques Hamel – 19 November – Corporal, Sûreté du Québec</li> </ol>
1987	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Gordon Kowalczyk – 26 January – Special Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Larry Young – 2 February – Sergeant, Vancouver Police</li> <li>3. Emmanuel Aucoin – 8 March – Constable, New Brunswick Highway Patrol</li> <li>4. Alvin Frank – 3 June – Corrections Officer, Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional Service Saskatchewan</li> <li>5. Henry Kujala – 5 October – Conservation Officer, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources</li> </ol>
1988	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Stephen Peazel – 25 January – Constable, Niagara Regional Police</li> <li>2. Roland Larochelle – 6 February – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>3. Hugh Lynn – 6 March – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>4. Gaétan Boutin – 19 April – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>5. Mario Camiré – 19 April – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>6. Richard Rochefort – 26 June – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>7. Donat Lalonde – 29 June – Forest Officer, Alberta Forest Services</li> <li>8. Donald Wood – 9 September – Conservation Officer, Nova Scotia Department of Lands and Forests</li> </ol>
1989	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. John Gregovski – 4 January – Constable, OPP</li> <li>2. Derek Flanagan – 20 February – Corporal, RCMP</li> <li>3. Della Beyak – 15 March – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>4. Grant Martin – 29 April – Investigator, Canadian Pacific Railway Police</li> <li>5. Luc Guindon – 10 October – Game Warden, Quebec Ministry of Resources, Fish, and Game</li> <li>6. Keith Bartley – 29 November – Officer, Manitoba Department of National Resources</li> <li>7. Nancy Puttkemery – 9 December – Special Constable, RCMP</li> <li>8. Vincent Timms – 9 December – Special Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>

1990	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Murray Doell – 19 April – Conservation Officer, Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources</li> <li>2. Ezio Faraone – 25 June – Constable, Edmonton Police</li> <li>3. Marcel Lemay – 11 July – Corporal, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>4. Gerald Breese – 24 October - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>5. Jean-Claude Cadieux – 21 November – Sergeant, Sûreté du Québec</li> </ol>
1991	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Daniel Lennon – 25 February – Correctional Officer, Solicitor General Correctional Services Ontario</li> <li>2. Yves Phaneuf – 19 June – Constable, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> <li>3. Tom Cooper – 25 July – Sergeant, OPP</li> <li>4. Arthur Haugen – 26 July – Conservation Officer, Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources</li> <li>5. Brian Hutchinson – 16 August- Constable, RCMP</li> <li>6. Scott Rossiter – 20 September – Constable, Ingersoll Police</li> <li>7. Christopher Riglar – 28 September - Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>
1992	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Andrew Gordon – 3 May – Constable, OPP</li> <li>2. Joseph Balmer – 29 August – Auxiliary Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Patrick Poirier – 15 September – Game Warden, Quebec Ministry of Resources, Fish, and Game</li> <li>4. Robert Vanderwiel – 22 September – Constable, Calgary Police</li> <li>5. Patrick Sheehan – 26 November – Park Warden, Parks Canada</li> <li>6. Chantal Mattio – 7 December – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> </ol>
1993	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Jeffrey Paolozzi – 6 February – Constable, Niagara Regional Police</li> <li>2. Brent Veefkind – 11 March – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Bill Kennedy – 18 June – Probation Officer, Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional</li> <li>4. Eric Nystedt – 3 July – Constable, OPP</li> <li>5. Joseph MacDonald – 7 October – Constable, Sudbury Police</li> <li>6. Richard Sonnenberg – 8 October – Constable, Calgary Police</li> <li>7. Richard Jean – 24 October – Constable, OPP</li> <li>8. Alain Desforges – 24 October – Constable, OPP</li> <li>9. Yvan Filteau – 25 October – Constable, Quebec City Police</li> <li>10. Paule Simard – 25 October – Detective Sergeant, Quebec City Police</li> <li>11. Gaston Paradis – 25 October – Officer, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>12. Georges Doneys – 25 October – Pilot, died on a mission for the Sûreté du Québec and the Quebec City Municipal Police Department</li> <li>13. Albert Taylor – 9 November – Constable, Naicatchewenin First Nations Police</li> </ol>

1994	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Stéphane Roy – 24 February – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>2. James Finnamore – 16 April – Customs Superintendent, Revenue Canada</li> <li>3. David Moore – 16 April – Customs Inspector, Revenue Canada</li> <li>4. Ruth Korum – 24 May – Customs Inspector, Revenue Canada</li> <li>5. Todd Baylis – 17 June – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>6. Simon Parboosingh – 31 August – Park Warden, Parks Canada</li> <li>7. John Knight – 28 September – Constable, Toronto Police</li> </ol>
1995	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. J.G.E. Denis Nadeau – 28 April – Chief, Sainte-Marie Police</li> <li>2. Malcolm Williams – 28 April – Sergeant, RCMP</li> <li>3. Kenneth Roy – 23 May – Constable, OPP</li> <li>4. Ken Skwark – 28 June – Natural Resources Officer, Manitoba Ministry of Natural Resources</li> <li>5. Norman Atkins – 8 July - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>6. Joseph Gagné - 6 September - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>8. Odette Pinard – 27 November – Constable, Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> </ol>
1996	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lynn Sharber – 17 February – Saskatchewan Department of Social Services</li> <li>2. Michael Gula – 2 April – Senior Constable, OPP</li> <li>9. Andre Lalondé – 29 April – Constable, Montreal Police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal</li> <li>3. Derek Burkholder – 14 June – Sergeant, RCMP</li> <li>4. Leo Francis – 5 July - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>5. Dean Miller – 18 September – Fishery Officer, Department of Fisheries and Oceans</li> </ol>
1997	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Kevin Misfeldt – 24 January – Conservation Officer, Saskatchewan Environment and Resource</li> <li>2. Breton Thomas– 24 January – Conservation Officer, Saskatchewan Environment and Resource</li> <li>3. Arnold Harrison – 28 January – Correctional Officer, CSC</li> <li>4. Thomas Coffin – 31 May – Senior Constable, OPP</li> <li>5. Diane Lavigne – 26 June – Correctional Officer, Direction générale des services correctionnels</li> <li>6. Pierre Rondeau – 8 September – Correctional Officer, Direction générale des services correctionnels</li> <li>7. Daniel Brink – 20 October – Forest officer, Alberta Environmental Protection</li> <li>8. Gordon Brown – 20 October – Forest officer, Alberta Environmental Protection</li> <li>9. Joseph Carrière – 30 November – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>10. Gerald Fortis – 25 December – Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>

1998	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Richard Chabot – 14 March – Security Guard, CSC Halfway House</li> <li>2. William Hancox – 4 August – Detective Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>3. Graeme Cumming – 12 August – Corporal, RCMP</li> <li>4. David Nicholson – 12 August – Constable, Waterloo Regional Police</li> <li>5. Dominique Courchesne – 3 October – Constable, Joliette Municipal Police</li> <li>6. Robert Tétrault – 3 October – Constable, Service de police de la Ville de Montreal</li> <li>7. Allan Christiansen – 28 October – Cadet, Durham Regional Police Service</li> <li>8. Keith Badger – 9 December – Detective Constable, OPP</li> </ol>
1999	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. James Askew – 1 May – Deputy Sheriff, Attorney General</li> <li>2. Joseph Bourdon – 7 May – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Richard McDonald – 28 July – Sergeant, Sudbury Police</li> <li>4. Charles Mercier – 30 September – Constable, OPP</li> <li>5. Daniel Rowan – 12 November – Senior Project Officer, CSC</li> <li>6. James McFadden – 31 December – Senior Constable, OPP</li> </ol>
2000	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mark Nieuwenhuis – 8 April – Constable, Delta Police</li> <li>2. Margaret Eve – 9 June – Sergeant, OPP</li> <li>3. Noel Sadée – 24 July – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>4. Edwin Mobley – 15 August – Sergeant, RCMP</li> <li>5. Timothy Nicholson – 15 August – Special Constable, RCMP</li> <li>6. Alain Forget – 15 August – Constable, Saint Hubert Police</li> <li>7. Alain Matte – 15 September – Constable, Montreal Urban Police</li> <li>8. John Petropoulos – 29 September – Constable, Calgary Police</li> <li>9. Sigurd Holtan – 14 October – Constable, Halifax Regional Police</li> </ol>
2001	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Deidre Dunsford – 26 January – Park Warden, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources</li> <li>2. Jurgen Seewald – 5 March – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. John Graham – 25 May – Forest Officer, Alberta Sustainable Resource Development</li> <li>4. Darren Beatty – 17 October – Constable, Calgary Police</li> <li>5. Peter Magdic – 18 November – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>6. Dennis Strongquill – 21 December – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Martin Lefebvre – 23 December – Constable, Shawinigan Police</li> </ol>
2002	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Michael Wynn – 12 January – Park Warden, Parks Canada</li> <li>2. Laura Ellis – 18 February – Constable, Toronto Police</li> <li>3. Benoit L'Ecuyer – 28 February – Constable, Montreal Police Service</li> <li>4. Christine Diotte – 12 March – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>5. Wael Audi – 29 March – Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. Paul Neudert – 7 May – Walpole Island First Nations Police</li> <li>7. Alan Kuzmich – 21 August – Constable, South Simcoe Police Service</li> <li>8. Michel Legacé – 11 September – Sherrif’s Officer, New Brunswick Sherriff’s Office</li> <li>9. Jimmy Ng – 15 September – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>10. Antonio Arseneault – 6 October – Corporal, Sûreté du Québec</li> </ol>
2003	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Walter Ceolin – 21 January – Conservation Officer, Ontario Ministry of Resources</li> <li>2. Philip Shrive – 23 May – Senior Constable, OPP</li> <li>3. Ghislain Maurice – 10 June – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>4. John Flagg – 20 September – Senior Constable, OPP</li> <li>5. Stephen Gibson – 26 September – Corporal, Canadian Forces Military Police</li> <li>6. Patrick Lévesque – 27 September – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> </ol>
2004	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. James Galloway – 28 February – Corporal, RCMP</li> <li>2. Chris Garrett – 15 May – Constable, Cobourg Police Service</li> <li>3. Tyler Boutilier – 23 May – Constable OPP</li> <li>4. Louise Pargeter – 6 October – Parole Officer, CSC</li> <li>5. Adam Angel – 17 October – Customs Inspector, Canada Customs and Revenue Agency</li> <li>6. Glen Evely – 13 November – Auxillary Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Michael Sydock – 26 November – Constable, OPP</li> </ol>
2005	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Anthony Gordon – 3 March - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Lionide Johnston – 3 March - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Brock Myrol – 3 March - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>4. Peter Schiemann – 3 March - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>5. Joseph Minguy – 3 June - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>6. José Agostinho – 4 July - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Andrew Potts – 20 July – Constable, OPP</li> <li>8. Daniel Rathonyi – 15 September – Constable, Niagara Regional Police</li> <li>9. Nicolas Rochette – 5 November – Wildlife Protection Officer, Quebec Ministry of Natural Resources and Wildlife</li> <li>10. Fernand Vachon – 5 November – Wildlife Protection Officer, Quebec Wildlife Protection &amp; Resources</li> <li>11. Valérie Gignac- 14 December – Constable, Laval Police Department</li> </ol>
2006	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. John Goyer – 19 April – Constable, Abbotsford Police Department</li> <li>2. Matthew Dinning – 22 April – Military Police, CAF</li> <li>3. Randy Payne – 22 April – Military Police, CAF</li> <li>4. John Atkinson – 5 May – Constable, Windsor Police</li> </ol>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Donald Doucet – 14 May – Constable, Sault Ste. Marie Police</li> <li>6. Robin Cameron – 15 July - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Marc Bourdages – 16 July - Constable, RCMP</li> <li>8. David Mounsey – 13 November – Constable, OPP</li> </ol>
2007	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Richard Cayouette – 1 March – Officer, Quebec Wildlife Protection &amp; Resources</li> <li>2. Daniel Tessier – 2 March – Sergeant Detective, Laval Police</li> <li>3. Robert Plunkett – 2 August – Constable, York Regional Police</li> <li>4. Christopher Worden – 6 October – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>5. Douglas Scott – 5 November – Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>
2008	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Joseph McKeown – 22 July – Correctional Officer, Alberta Solicitor General and Public Security</li> <li>2. Éric Lavoie – 8 September – Constable, Laval Police Department</li> </ol>
2009	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. James Lunblad – 5 May – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Alan Hack – 6 July – Constable, OPP</li> <li>3. <i>Mélanie Roy – 7 September – Constable, Lévis Police</i></li> <li>4. Ireneusz “Eric” Czapnik – 29 December – Constable, Ottawa Police Service</li> </ol>
2010	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mark Gallagher – 12 January – Sergeant, RCMP</li> <li>2. Douglas Coates – 16 January – Chief Superintendent, RCMP</li> <li>3. Artem “James” Ochakovski – 1 March – Constable, Peel Police</li> <li>4. Vu Pham – 8 March – Constable, OPP</li> <li>5. Chelsey Robinson – 21 June – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>6. Michael Potvin – 13 July – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>7. Sébastien Coghlan-Goyette – 14 November – Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>8. Sophia Rigas – 14 November – Police Foundations Student, John Abbot College</li> </ol>
2011	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ryan Russell – 12 January – Sergeant, Toronto Police</li> <li>2. Garrett Styles – 28 June – Constable, York Regional Police</li> <li>3. Vincent Roy – 1 December – Constable, Bromont Police Service</li> </ol>
2012	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. David Brolin – 17 January – Helicopter Pilot, RCMP</li> <li>2. Derek Pineo – 20 July – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Rodney Lazenby – 10 August – Community Peace Officer, Municipal District of Foothills Protective Services</li> <li>4. Katia Hadouchi – 27 September – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> </ol>

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Donald Lagrange – 6 October – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>6. Adrian Oliver – 13 November – Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>
2013	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Howard Lavers – 21 February – Conservation Officer, <i>Newfoundland and Labrador Fish and Wildlife</i></li> <li>2. Steve Déry – 2 March – Constable, Kativik Regional Police Force</li> <li>3. Jennifer Kovach – 14 March – Constable, Guelph Police Service</li> <li>4. Justin Knackstedt – 31 May – Conservation Officer, <i>Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management</i></li> <li>5. John Zivcic – 2 December – Constable, Toronto Police</li> </ol>
2014	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Joseph Prevelt – 7 May – Constable, Thunder Bay Police</li> <li>2. Fabrice Gevaudan – 4 June – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Douglas Larche – 4 June – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>4. Dave Ross – 4 June – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>5. Rhonda Commodore – 6 November – Officer, Manitoba Corrections</li> </ol>
2015	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. David Wynn – 17 January – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Toni Kristinsson – 1 February – Officer, Commercial Vehicle Safety Enforcement</li> <li>3. Daniel Woodall – 8 June – Constable, Edmonton Police Service</li> </ol>
2016	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Thierry Leroux – 13 February – Constable, Lac-Simon Police</li> <li>2. Sarah Beckett – 5 April – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Jacques Ostigny – 22 September – Constable, Sûreté du Québec</li> </ol>
2017	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Richer Dubuc – 6 March – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Francis Deschênes – 12 September – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. John Davidson – 6 November – Abbotsford Police Department</li> </ol>
2018	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ian Jordan – 11 April – Constable, Victoria Police Department</li> <li>2. Lawrence “Robb” Costello – 10 August – Constable, Fredericton Police Force</li> <li>3. Sara Burns – 10 August – Constable, Fredericton Police Force</li> <li>4. Lesa Zoerb – 7 October – Correctional Officer, CSC</li> </ol>
2019	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Allan Poapst – 13 December – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Solomon Osagiede – 7 March – Correctional Peace Officer, Edmonton Remand Centre</li> </ol>

2020	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Heidi Stevenson – 19 April – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>2. Joan VanBreda – 22 May – Constable, Niagara Regional Police Service</li> <li>3. Marc Hovingh – 19 November – Constable, OPP</li> <li>4. Andrew Harnett – 31 December – Sergeant, Calgary Police Service</li> </ol>
2021	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Michael Tidball – 6 January – Detective Constable, Halton Regional Police Service</li> <li>2. Shelby Patton – 12 June – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>3. Jeffrey Northrop – 2 July – Constable, Toronto Police</li> </ol>
2022	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Andrew Hong – 12 September – Constable, Toronto Police Service</li> <li>2. Travis Gillespie – 14 September – Constable, York Region</li> <li>3. Morgan Russell – 12 October – Constable, South Simcoe Police Service</li> <li>4. Devon Northrup – 12 October – Constable, South Simcoe Police Service</li> <li>5. Shaelyn Yang – 18 October – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>6. Grzegorz Pierzchala – 27 December – Constable, OPP</li> </ol>
2023	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Travis Jordan– 16 March – Constable, Edmonton Police Service</li> <li>2. Brett Ryan– 16 March – Constable, Edmonton Police Service</li> <li>3. Maureen Breau – 27 March – Sergeant, Sûreté du Québec</li> <li>4. Harvinde Singh Dhami – 10 April – Constable, RCMP</li> <li>5. Eric Mueller – 11 May – Sergeant, OPP</li> <li>6. Steven Tourangeau – 29 May – Detective Constable, OPP</li> <li>7. Rick O’Brien – 22 September – Constable, RCMP</li> </ol>

**APPENDIX B:  
A TIMELINE OF “THE MEMORIAL” BASED ON THE RESEARCH FINDINGS**

Year	Relevant Context / Event
1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>11 December:</b> Ronald Turpin – convicted for the killing of Toronto Constable Frederick Nash – and Arthur Lucas – convicted for the killing of a US police informant and his wife – are hanged together at the Don Jail in Toronto (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> </ul>
1967	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>23 November:</b> Legislation is passed to eliminate the death penalty for murder for a trial five-year period, except for the murder of on-duty police and prison guards. The last execution had taken place 5 years earlier (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> </ul>
1968	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>25 June:</b> Pierre Trudeau is elected as Prime Minister. He pledges to establish what he calls a “just society” in Canada, which he describes as ensuring increased justice, dignity, and recognition to the individual (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> </ul>
1972	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>June 19:</b> <i>Criminal Code</i> amendments take effect which abolish corporal punishment inside federal penitentiaries (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> </ul>
1975	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>15 January:</b> Two OPS officers are shot and seriously injured near Parliament Hill attempting to re-capture an escaped prisoner from Collins Bay Institution, a medium-security federal penitentiary in Kingston (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> <li>• <b>5 June:</b> The escapee who shot two officers escapes from the Regional Detention Centre (RDC), along with several other prisoners. All are eventually re-captured. RDC guard Daniel Lennon is shot by another one of the escapees and dies from his wound many years later (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> <li>• <b>11 June:</b> Mary Steinhauser, a social worker and prison classification officer, is shot and killed by a guard in a chaotic hostage taking incident at the BC Penitentiary in New Westminster (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> <li>• <b>27 June:</b> Officer Paul Gosselin of the Archambault Institution in Sainte-Anne-des-Plaines, Quebec, is killed at a hospital by a prisoner attempting to escape. He is the fifth federal prison officer killed on the job since 1974, when only four had died on the job in the last 25 years prior (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> <li>• <b>1 July:</b> About 7,000 federal prison guards and other prison employees refuse to work, staging a commemorative day of mourning for their deceased colleagues. Solicitor General of Canada Warren Allmand is asked by participants in the protest to pledge that people convicted of killing on-duty police or prison officers would be hanged unless a jury recommended clemency. Allmand rejects the pledge. He is against execution, which he views</li> </ul>

as opposed to the research consensus and to the Liberal ideal of the “just society” (see *Chapter 8*).

- **16 August:** As Allmand refuses to support execution, the Police Association of Ontario (PAO) approves a resolution calling for the Solicitor General to resign. The PAO also votes that if the federal government commutes the sentence of René Vaillancourt again – convicted of killing Constable Leslie Maitland of the Toronto Police in 1973 – police officers from across the country would march onto Parliament Hill in protest (see *Chapter 8*).
- **19 September:** In support of police associations, the union representing federal prison guards calls for a re-instatement of the death penalty for individuals convicted of killing on-duty police and prison guards, a re-instatement of corporal punishment, and cancellation of family visits to maximum and medium security prisons (see *Chapter 7*).
- **26 September:** Amidst a rise in police-reported criminalized harm since the late-1960s, especially gun violence, PM Trudeau pledges to assure peace and security in the streets. He appoints Ron Basford Justice Minister. Unlike his predecessor, Otto Lang, Basford is a strong proponent of gun control legislation (see *Chapter 7*).
- **9 October:** The planned police protest on Parliament Hill in support of the death penalty is cancelled because of disagreement at the national and local levels. Like prison guards, the Canadian Police Association recommends to all police that they participate in a four-hour mourning session for officers killed “on duty” if any death sentences are commuted, or if a bill to abolish the death penalty is introduced. Allmand reminds police that they are duty-bound to enforce the law and to express their views democratically (see *Chapter 8*).
- **16 October:** An interview with Meryle Cameron, President of the PAO and the Ottawa Police Association (OPA) and vice-president of the Canadian Police Association (CPA), is published in *The Ottawa Citizen*, in which Cameron argues that a lack of death penalty has resulted in more “criminal violence” nation-wide, especially against police officers, and that re-instating it would be just and an effective general deterrent against killing, including of “on-duty” police officers. He basis this opinion on anecdotal evidence and not research studies (see *Chapter 8*).
- **23 October:** Three individuals convicted of killing on-duty police officers, including Vaillancourt, are granted stays of execution by the federal cabinet. This makes police officers and others upset nation-wide. Numerous PAO delegates in Toronto angrily walk out of a meeting with Allmand (see *Chapter 8*).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>26 October:</b> About 200 penal system officers gather in Calgary, Alberta, to commemorate slain officers and protest the law reforms (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> <li>• <b>3 December:</b> OPS Superintendent Flanagan warns the public that police are losing the “war against crime” and are particularly concerned with more lawbreakers possessing guns (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> <li>• <b>December</b> – Frederick Koepke is diagnosed as “insane” under the provisions of the <i>Criminal Code</i> by Dr. Selwyn Smith of the Royal Ottawa Hospital. He recommends Frederick – charged with assault and possession of a dangerous weapon – be held and treated in Penetanguishene (see <i>Chapter 9</i>).</li> </ul>
1976	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>January</b> – Frederick Koepke is admitted to the institution in Penetanguishene. Dr. Russell Fleming agrees with the earlier diagnosis. However, he tells Frederick’s lawyer that his client is not “legally insane”. This is because he believes he is better off being treated in the community as opposed to a maximum-security hospital (see <i>Chapter 9</i>).</li> <li>• <b>24 February:</b> The “Peace and Security Program” is unveiled by Basford and Allmand. It outlines provisions for stricter gun control, the abolition of the death penalty, changes in the bail and parole systems, and more (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> <li>• <b>27 February:</b> Basford elaborates the program in an interview and addresses numerous criticisms from the police. He clarifies that its main purpose is the protection of the public and re-iterates that no scientific evidence exists that hanging people acts as deterrent (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> <li>• <b>18 March:</b> After a streak of four police officers nation-wide killed by gunfire, Meryle Cameron publicly criticizes the program and remarks that police are disturbed by a “dramatic increase in violent crime” and, in particular, the “murder” of police officers. Over the long term, however, the number of police officers being slain on the job in Canada is not increasing (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> <li>• <b>14 July:</b> Bill C-83 on gun control – a main part of the program – dies on the order paper, after criticism is directed at it from police officers, hunters, and others. Critics mainly argue that gun licensing is too preoccupied with controlling the law-abiding and too lenient on lawbreakers. Basford describes Bill C-83 as not meant to stop violent lawbreaking so much as to weed out the mentally ill and other people who lack the competence to use a gun (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> <li>• <b>14 July:</b> Bill C-84 on abolishing the death penalty – another main part of the program – is passed on third reading by a vote of 130 to 124 (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>6 November:</b> An article titled, “The High Cost of Being a Cop” (Wilson 1976b) is published in <i>The Ottawa Citizen</i>. It recounts the shooting of the two OPS officers in January 1975 near Parliament Hill (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> </ul>
1977	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>20 April:</b> Basford introduces Bill C-51, which is essentially a carbon copy of the former gun control bill and ignores its main critiques (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> <li>• <b>April:</b> Frederick Koepke voluntarily enters the Royal Ottawa Hospital after urged by those around him. Dr. Ted Jenkins certifies him as “mentally ill”, but does not believe that he poses a danger to others. He wants Frederick to stay for further treatment but is unable to convince him to stay (see <i>Chapter 9</i>).</li> <li>• <b>11 July:</b> According to testimony in the 1978 murder trial, on this day, Koepke experiences delusions at his home and harms his parents, who flee to a phonebooth and call his lawyer. The lawyer phones the OPS, informing them that Koepke is armed, dangerous, had been a patient at Penetanguishene, and possesses outstanding warrants. Instructed to arrest him, two OPS officers go to the home but require assistance. One approaches a nearby police car, asking a rookie officer named Constable David Kirkwood if he would like to have some “fun” by arresting a person who is “possibly” mentally ill and “may” have a gun. Constable Kirkwood agrees and is instructed to walk to the back of the home. As he does so, he is shot and killed by a delusional Koepke. A shoot-out begins in which many officers are injured. The chaos draws a large crowd, some of whom interfere with the police operation and make anti-police remarks. After Koepke surrenders, officers uncover a small arsenal of firearms. Justice Minister Basford, on his way home from the Hill where Bill C-51 is being debated, also makes an appearance at the scene and gives interviews with the media. He sparks outrage when he links a failure to support Bill C-51 to the killing and suggests its passage earlier would have prevented it. The lawyer receives a call back from police asking him to clarify if Koepke had been at Penetanguishene. He replies “yes” (see chapters 7 and 9).</li> <li>• <b>12 July:</b> At a press conference, OPS Deputy Chief Welsh and Superintendent Thompson attribute the killing of Constable Kirkwood to weak gun control laws and the abolition of the death penalty. Chief Welsh suggests the arrest was routine and no trouble was anticipated. Superintendent Thompson denies a report that police were told to go to a phonebooth to meet the parents before engaging him (see <i>Chapter 9</i>).</li> <li>• <b>14 July:</b> The funeral of Constable Kirkwood is held. The event is filled with frustration towards the federal government and Basford, whose Bill C-51 is described by officers as a “mockery” (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> <li>• <b>14 July:</b> At a memorial wake for Constable Kirkwood, police association president Meryle Cameron calls for stricter gun control targeting “the criminal</li> </ul>

	<p>element” and the re-introduction of the death penalty for people convicted of killing on-duty police officers (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>18 July:</b> Bill C-51 passes. MP Eldon Woolliams calls on Basford to stop his “false and misleading” statements about the legislation ending violence and the killing of police officers (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> <li>• <b>1 August:</b> OPS Police Commissioner Dan Chilcott remarks that the death penalty is the likely answer to reducing such violence (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> <li>• <b>12 October:</b> Collingwood Police Sergeant Ronald McKean is killed attempting to apprehend an escaped prisoner from Collins Bay Institution. His death prompts three police wives from Collingwood, Ontario to begin a national campaign to re-instate capital punishment, toughen the gun control laws, and abolish temporary and weekend passes for prisoners (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> <li>• <b>12 October:</b> The funeral of Sergeant McKean is held. Frank McDonald, President of the CPA, notes that the strong turn-out of police is a show of strength for the re-instatement of the death penalty. After, the Collingwood wives collect thousands of signatures. Meryle Cameron states that the associations would be giving “100% support” to the women and hoped to collect an additional 60,000 names in Ottawa. Also signing the petition and joining the cause is Dawna Kirkwood, the wife of the late Constable Kirkwood and supporter of the death penalty even before he was killed (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> <li>• <b>28 November:</b> The Collingwood police wives and Dawna Kirkwood meet with Basford in Ottawa. They hand him the petition and a letter accusing the federal government of “a lack of concern ... for the lives and families of law enforcement officers, specifically, and all Canadians generally”. Like Allmand, Basford is sympathetic but rejects the idea of a referendum, leaving the wives frustrated and confused (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> </ul>
1978	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>23 February:</b> PM Trudeau rejects a plea by Leonel Beaudoin (Social Credit Party-Richmond) to re-instate the death penalty “in order to protect innocent people ... prison guards and police officers and re-establish the faith and trust that Canadians have in the penal institutions and legal institutions” (see <i>Chapter 9</i>).</li> <li>• <b>27 May:</b> The former lawyer of Frederick Koepke – accused of murdering OPS Constable Kirkwood – testifies. The information he claims he told police seems to clash with the points communicated by high-ranking officers during the press conference, mainly that no trouble was anticipated (see <i>Chapter 9</i>).</li> <li>• <b>28 May:</b> The officer who approached Constable Kirkwood and asked him to participate in the arrest testifies. When asked why he was not clearer with him,</li> </ul>

according to a reporter, the officer remarks that he anticipated “at the most a physical fight from the suspect, even though he knew he was armed”. This leads the *Ottawa Citizen* reporter to describe the OPS in a headline as “unprepared”, observing that Constable Kirkwood in the moments before his death “may not have realized the danger of the situation” (see *Chapter 9*).

- **29 May:** Psychiatric testimony proves Koepke was “mentally ill” on the evening he shot Constable Kirkwood (see *Chapter 9*).
- **30 May:** Alleging he is personally responsible for the death of Constable Kirkwood, the City of Ottawa sues Koepke on behalf of Dawna Kirkwood for \$350,000 under the *Fatal Accidents Act* (FAA) (see *Chapter 9*).
- **31 May:** After deliberating for more than 17 hours – considered by the judge and others to be a surprisingly long time given the evidence – Koepke is found “not guilty by reason of insanity” (see *Chapter 9*).
- **6 June:** An article titled “The safeguards fail” runs front-page in the *Ottawa Citizen*. In agreement with defense lawyer Scott Milloy, it lists “instances where police or medical authorities could have assisted Koepke” before he shot Constable Kirkwood but failed or were unable to do so (see *Chapter 9*).
- **10 July:** The day before the anniversary of Constable Kirkwood’s death, President Wilmot Glenn of the Ottawa Police Association approaches the new Chief of Police, Thomas Welsh. He requests permission for police cruisers to be driven with their headlights on as an act of memorialization for the rookie officer. Chief Welsh is supportive, but deems there is not enough time to inform the public and the media about this gesture. He advises Glenn that another way of honouring him should be considered (see *Chapter 2*).
- **10 July – 15 August:** The idea for a church parade is floated and discussed with members of Kirkwood’s platoon. Sergeant Michel Maheux – a member of the Community Service Section – comes up with the idea to have a national memorial service in memory of Constable Kirkwood and other slain police officers around the country. The idea was accepted by Chief Welsh, who also feels it “appropriate” to include federal prison guards (see *Chapter 2*).
- **16 August:** Details for a national memorial day for police and federal prison guards killed on duty are publicly unveiled by OPS Chief Welsh. He shares his vision of the national memorial one day becoming an annual event held on the last Sunday in September. The date is chosen because it is a time of the year that receives beautiful weather. The one possible location named in the paper for the memorial at this time is Lansdowne Park (see chapters 2 and 8).
- **31 August:** OPS Chief Welsh and some 200 officers gather in Ottawa for the 73rd annual convention of the CACP. Along with voting overwhelmingly in

	<p>support for the return of the death penalty for people convicted of first-degree murder, the memorial day receives official approval (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>24 September:</b> The inaugural “Memorial Service for Police and Correctional Officers” killed “on duty” is held at Parliament Hill and attended by a crowd around 2,000. Some politicians refuse to attend, believing it is a political ploy for the re-instatement of the death penalty. One speech highlighted by the media during the service criticizes those who criticize the police. Chief Welsh describes the service as apolitical and just a memorial, nothing more. However, he also expresses desire to see similar commemorations across the country to “let the people realize police put their lives on the line all the time”, suggesting there is more to the memorial service than simply remembrance (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> </ul>
1979	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>30 September:</b> Though billed as non-political, invitations to attend the second memorial service (and probably the first) are reported to have been mailed to the prime minister, his cabinet, MPs, the Senate, and the judiciary, along with every police force in Ottawa-Hull region, the military, and the penitentiary service. After, Government House Leader Walter Baker – who favours the death penalty for certain acts – notes that one or more bills by Progressive Conservative MPs would be introduced when it opened the following week (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> <li>• <b>18 July</b> – A news report notes how the CACP – who earlier approved the memorial – spent \$232,000 (just under \$1 million in 2022) on a national advertising campaign to promote the death penalty (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> </ul>
1980	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>10 January:</b> The officer who enticed Constable Kirkwood to participate in the arrest that led to his death and the subsequent memorial is one of 12 victims of “violent crime” compensated by the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board. Drawing from organizational memory, the announcement emphasizes his injuries and heroism on the night Constable Kirkwood died. The annual memorial service is noted to be a difficult time for him (see <i>Chapter 9</i>).</li> <li>• <b>28 September:</b> Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan claims his attendance at the service gives him no second thoughts about banning the death penalty. Ottawa Mayor Marion Dewar expresses delight at how the memorial service has grown and agrees with Kaplan, while OPS Chief Welsh remarks to the media that the memorial is “no place for pondering the issue” (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> </ul>

1983	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>25 September:</b> Chief Welsh unveils a bronze plaque along with a <i>Book of Remembrance for Police and Correctional Officers</i> killed in the performance of their duties. Two wives of prison guards attend the service wearing black ribbons bearing the words “Whose Next?” and express fears about the safety of the working conditions for guards. They intend to speak to Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan afterwards (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> </ul>
1984	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>30 September:</b> Five penal system officers are slain on the job in the three months leading up to the service, leading it to more than 2,500 people in attendance. Linda Shwaykowski, the wife of an RCMP officer killed on 6 April 1977 after he jumped onto an accelerating truck in plain clothes attempting to make an arrest – expresses her support for a re-instatement of the death penalty as a deterrent to the media afterwards (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> <li>• <b>5 November:</b> The Ontario Police Association holds a pro-death penalty protest on the Hill. At least \$10,000 is spent on a national advertising blitz to draw police officers, prison guards, and civilians from across the country to the rally. Although organizers anticipate 5,000 to 6,000 attendees, only around 1,500 attend. The rainy weather is blamed, but disapproval of the political act from high-ranking officers such as the RCMP Commissioner play into it. A moment of silence is observed for slain police and prison officers (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> </ul>
1985	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>4 October:</b> Dan McDade, a half-way house worker, launches an unsuccessful campaign to have the name of half-way house worker Celia Ruygrok added to the memorial after the young woman is killed on the job by a former prisoner and resident at Kirkpatrick House in Ottawa. He acknowledges that Celia was not an “officer”, but was just as involved in the justice system. He also cites the previous inclusion of a slain penitentiary cook (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> </ul>
1986	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maxwell Kalman, an influential retired architect, approaches the National Capital Commission (NCC) with a scale model and a vision to re-build a historic pavilion that once sat on Parliament Hill. NCC Chairman Jean Pigott is reportedly “crazy about the idea” and wants to have it re-built with donations from Canadian schoolchildren (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> <li>• Taylor (1986) observes in a peer-reviewed journal article that “the screening of the [Memorial Service for Police and Correctional Officers] on television newscasts has ... frequently resulted in raucous demands from individual politicians for restoration [of the death penalty]” (60).</li> </ul>
1987	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>14 March:</b> An article is released in <i>The Gazette</i> titled “Should Murders Die?” that pits two women against one another. Arguing for “Yes” is Dawna Kirkwood, who suggests the “not guilty” by insanity verdict was a miscarriage of justice and uses the memorial to support her argument. The <i>Book of</i></li> </ul>

	<p><i>Remembrance</i> is described by a security guard as being in an out-of-the-way lobby where it is rarely seen (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>30 June:</b> The House of Commons votes 148 to 127 in favour of not to reinstate the death penalty, after pressure to re-instate it had built through the killing of officers, the heinous acts of Clifford Olson, and more (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> <li>• <b>1 October:</b> Kalman’s plan to re-construct the historic pavilion on Parliament Hill are outlined in an <i>Ottawa Citizen</i> article. He estimates the price of the project to be about \$250,000 (around \$550,000 in 2022) (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> </ul>
1988	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>25 September:</b> After the memorial service, Ottawa Police Association President John Peterson urges the federal government to impose stiffer penalties for possession of restricted weapons. A few days earlier, two OPS officers had been shot by a man wielding a .357 magnum (see <i>Chapter 7</i>).</li> </ul>
1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>4 February:</b> According to a news report, the CPA meets in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, to figure out ways to boost police morale. One of the recommendations is for Ottawa to establish a \$300,000 memorial to police officers killed on duty (see <i>Chapter 8</i>).</li> <li>• <b>13 May:</b> The NCC officially announce plans to re-create the historic pavilion at an estimated cost of \$300,000 to be paid by a “private-sector sponsor” (see <i>Chapter 10</i>)</li> <li>• <b>24 September:</b> US police officers from Detroit, Chicago, and Cleveland attend the memorial service for the first time (see <i>Chapter 2</i>). The CPA donate \$50,000 toward the construction of a national police memorial at Parliament Hill (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> <li>• <b>October:</b> The price of the memorial pavilion is noted in <i>Blue Line Magazine</i> to be \$500,000. Doug Ramsey of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Association is identified in the magazine as the person selected as chairman of the National Fund-Raising Committee on behalf of the CPA (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> </ul>
1990	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>30 September:</b> The memorial service is included in the 59th General Assembly of Interpol (see <i>Chapter 2</i>).</li> </ul>
1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>15 September:</b> At a CPA convention, the erection of the memorial pavilion is one of the topics discussed. The CPA is also described in a news report as extremely mad and becoming more politically active due to what it perceives as “inane” sentences given under the <i>Young Offenders Act</i> and other frustrations. CPA President Mike Dungey announces that police will not stand by idly as lawmakers enact “nonsensical legislation” (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> </ul>

1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>15 May:</b> Canadian police officers are invited for the first time to participate in the US National Peace Officers Memorial Service in Washington, D.C., established in 1982. After the service, most in attendance make the 10-minute car ride to the recently unveiled NLEO Memorial in Judiciary Square. It produces greater support for a permanent memorial in Canada (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> </ul>
1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>April:</b> An article in <i>Blue Line Magazine</i> informs readers that that the CPA and the CACP have received final approval to reconstruct the pavilion and dedicate it as police memorial. The construction is noted as scheduled to commence in the spring with a fall completion. The article also asks for readers to assist with donations to support the construction (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> </ul>
1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Larochelles's <i>The History of the Ottawa Police</i> is published and sold in storefronts near the Hill. It includes an official history of the memorial which describes the event as apolitical and emerging after the "murder" of OPS Constable Kirkwood by Frederick Koepke (see <i>Chapter 2</i>).</li> <li>• <b>22 March:</b> The CPA unveils the pavilion on the Hill. It has been completed by Julian Smith, one of the foremost conservation architects in the country. The dedication service is attended by PM Jean Chrétien, representatives from police associations, and family members of the dead. Jim Kingston, CEO of the CPA, describes the pavilion as a gift to the people of Canada that is meant to remind them that safe streets come at a price. He also describes it as a peaceful resting place and a symbol of police togetherness. Fred Schultz, executive director of the CACP, notes that discussions are underway to add prison guards and other "peace officers" killed on duty (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> </ul>
1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>14 September:</b> The first meeting of what is to become the Canadian Peace Officers Memorial Association (CPOMA) is held in Ottawa. Its Chair is Vince Murray, a former prison officer who believes it to be wrong that the contributions of police officers and military personnel are honoured and remembered by the public, media outlets, and governments in Canada, but rarely other forms of "peace officers" more generally. The purpose the association is to see that this is changed. According to the CPOMA, standing in the way are "contrary government policy, inter-organizational jealousy, bureaucratic intransigence and more than a couple of inflexible individuals" (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> </ul>

1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Canadian Police Association, in conjunction with the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police take control over managing the memorial from the Ottawa Police Service (see <i>Chapter 10</i>)</li> <li>• <b>29 September:</b> The first unified commemorative service for all “peace officers” is held on Parliament Hill due to the determination of the CPOMA (see <i>Chapter 10</i>)</li> <li>• <b>September:</b> An article by a Canadian police officer is published in <i>Blue Line Magazine</i> that praises the memorial but questions several aspects of it, from its location in a less visited area of the grounds of Parliament Hill to its historical use as a “political forum” to the stone plaques with names lying at ground, which he claims present an obstacle to those trying to pay respects (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> <li>• <b>October:</b> RJ Lyon – a Detachment Commander in Ottawa – does not take kindly to the questioning. A response is published in <i>Blue Line Magazine</i> that calls his remarks disturbing and misinformed. The location of the memorial was selected, he claims, because of the beautiful view. He is most upset about his claim that the memorial is not directed enough at spouses of fallen officers (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> </ul>
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>27 September:</b> A proclamation by the federal government declares the last Sunday in September “Police and Peace Officers’ National Memorial Day” All five political parties support the decision (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> </ul>
1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The CPA, the CACP, and the CPOMA work collaboratively with officials from Public Works and Government Services Canada to design a new honour roll monument to enhance the pavilion site (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> <li>• <b>8 August:</b> Vince Murray of the CPOMA calls the decision to erect an Ontario Police Memorial in Toronto at a cost of \$700,000 with assistance from a provincial grant and not include prison guards and other forms of “peace officers” a “bloody disgrace”. The executive manager of the (PAO) is unsympathetic, calling it a nonsensical idea (see <i>Chapter 10</i>). The provincial memorial will later become associated with the national memorial more through the National Peace Officers Memorial Run (NPOMR) (see <i>Chapter 11</i>).</li> </ul>
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>January:</b> The federal government awards a \$1.3 million contract in an open competition to Phillips-Farevaag-Smallenberg to produce a landscaping plan to radically change the grounds of Parliament Hill. Of this money, \$221,000 is paid for “concept development and construction documentation” for three commemorative sites to be included in the final plans. One of these sites is the</li> </ul>

	<p>creation of a glass-tablet CPPOM “Honour Roll” monument – replacing the stone tablets (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>7 May:</b> The OPM is unveiled in a ceremony in front of 2,000 police officers. It is the result of a two-year effort by the Ontario Police Memorial Foundation to raise public awareness of police officers who died on the job, with the assistance of various police associations and the Ontario Chiefs of Police. (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> <li>• <b>May:</b> The editor of <i>Blue Line Magazine</i> responds to a letter asking why the magazine is not promoting the memorial. The editor recounts how organizers of the national and provincial memorials have never responded to requests to promote their memorials in the magazine. He takes this as them not wanting assistance. He praises the idea of the national memorial but also criticizes it, suggesting it is also a strategy to get political sympathy and that the monument should be in a more visible location on the front lawn of the SCC (see <i>Chapter 9</i>).</li> <li>• <b>21 September:</b> A handful of cyclists from the Niagara Regional Police Service set out on a three-day journey to Parliament Hill. The purpose is threefold: i) enhance the public’s awareness of police officers killed on the job; ii) recognize surviving family members; and iii) focus attention on the annual national memorial service. This ride will become known as the Canadian Police Memorial Ride to Remember (CPMRR) (see <i>Chapter 11</i>).</li> <li>• <b>24 September:</b> The new glass-tablet CPPOM “Honour Roll” Monument is unveiled at the service (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> </ul>
2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Department of Canadian Heritage declares the last Sunday of September of every year as a nation-wide half-masting of flags on all federal buildings and establishments in Canada, including the Peace Tower, from sunrise to sunset (see <i>Chapter 11</i>)</li> </ul>
2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>13 November:</b> RCMP Auxillary Constable Glen Evely of Vernon, British Columbia, responds to a call for assistance regarding a dangerous driver. The driver plows into his cruiser, killing him and severely injuring his partner. At least three applications to recognize him on the national memorial are subsequently rejected because he was not a full-time and paid police professional. The rejections cause outrage among officers nation-wide, as well as numerous media members and politicians (see <i>Chapter 10</i>).</li> </ul>
2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• While on a jog, Randy Patrick – a Peel Regional Police officer – comes up with the idea of having officers run from Toronto to Ottawa in three days to promote the national memorial in Ottawa. After mapping out the route with fellow officer Johnny Walker, 24 police officers from Peel Region – all of</li> </ul>

	<p>whom are members of the running team called the Peel Pacers – embark on a three-day relay-style run to the national memorial. The run grows by word of mouth and will later become known as the National Peace Officers Memorial Run (NPOMR) (see <i>Chapter 11</i>).</p>
2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The CPMRR and NPOMR form a partnership and begin to arrive together on the parliamentary grounds (see <i>Chapter 11</i>).</li> </ul>
2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Don Cherry becomes the “Honorary Chair” of the NPOMR (see <i>Chapter 11</i>), helping to boost its popularity.</li> </ul>
2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Over 200 cyclists participate in the CPMRR, the most in its history (see <i>Chapter 11</i>).</li> </ul>
2020	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>27 September:</b> The CPPOM service is held via virtual ceremony due to the belief that it is unsafe to hold a large-scale event at that stage of the COVID-19 pandemic. The service is conducted in a similar fashion, but is closed to the public and takes place at the Summer Pavilion. The memorial rides and runs are also postponed. However, multiple local and independent rides and runs are held across the country to honour deceased officers (see <i>Chapter 6</i>).</li> </ul>
2021	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>26 September:</b> The COVID-19 protocols observed for the CPPOM remained in place (see <i>Chapter 6</i>).</li> </ul>
2022	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All memorial activities resume in-person.</li> <li>• <b>27 December:</b> OPP Constable Grzegorz Pierzchala is slain by a man allegedly out on bail. This makes five police officers to die in the “line of duty” across Canada in 2022, including an unusual four by gunfire in Ontario.</li> <li>• Mark Baxter, president of the Police Association of Ontario incorrectly describes the killings as “unprecedented in Canada” (Swadden 2022) to help encourage the legal changes police associations currently desire.</li> </ul>
2023	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Police associations and provincial premiers call for “immediate action” to change the country’s bail system to protect “our heroic first responders” (Smith 2023).</li> </ul>

**APPENDIX C: OCCUPATIONS AND RANK BREAKDOWN– CPPOM-HR<sup>30</sup>**

<b>Number</b>	<b>Position(s)</b>
544	Constable
40	Corporal
39	Sergeant
20	Special Constable
19	Detective
17	Conservation Officer
16	Correctional Officer
12	Game Warden, Park Warden
11	Guard
10	Chief
9	Detective Sergeant
8	Inspector, Senior Constable
7	Customs Inspector
5	Forest Ranger, Forest Officer, Staff Sergeant
4	Fisheries Officer
3	Chief of Police, County Constable, Natural Resource Officer, Provincial Constable, Ranger
2	Assistant Forest Ranger, Sub-Constable, Turnkey, Deputy Warden, Deputy Sheriff, Acting Detective, Penitentiary Guard, Matron, Provincial Game Warden, Investigator, Customs Officer, Jail Guard, Warden, Wildlife Officer, Fishery Guardian, Living Unit Officer, Probation Officer, Detective Constable, Wildlife Protection Officer
1	Customs Superintendent, Auxiliary Constable, Governor, Patroller, Food Services Officer, Vehicle Inspection Officer, Detective Inspector, Carpentry Instructor, Chief Corrections Officer, Conservation Officer Trainee, Instructor, Classification Officer, Chief Superintendent, High Constable, Inspector of Fisheries, First Nations Constable, Senior Detective, Landing Waiter, Landing Waiter and Searcher, Senior Jailer, Prison Guard, Mason Instructor, Constable Deputy Sheriff, Assistant Surgeon, Acting Sergeant, Community Peace Officer, Immigration Officer, Immigration Deportation Officer, Chief Constable, Head Turnkey, Assistant Superintendent, Traffic Officer, Highway Traffic Officer, Quarry Instructor, Sub-Inspector, Superintendent, Probationary Constable, Highway Patrolman, Senior Correctional Officer, Senior Supervisor of Corrections, Senior Project Officer, Sherriff Officer, No Position, Commercial Transport Enforcement Officer.

<sup>30</sup> This was the occupation and rank breakdown as of 2020. I listened to the “Honour Roll” being read during the CPPOM service and tallied the numbers.

## APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Can you please talk a little bit about who you are and what memorial activities you have participated or been involved in?
2. What does your participation or involvement entail?
3. How did you get involved? What was your motivation?
4. What is the experience of participating in the memorial activities like?
5. What are your general thoughts about the memorial activities?
6. What messages do you think the activities communicate to the public? What about to officers and/or their families?
7. There is a steadily growing number of police memorialization activities occurring around the country, with the establishment of various memorials and the creation of events such as memorial rides and runs. What do you think is behind this growth?
8. The memorial activities discuss sacrifice a lot, in so far as needing to honour and respect the ultimate sacrifice. What does this sacrifice mean to you?
9. What are your thoughts about the criteria for inclusion in the national police and “peace officers’ memorial” and whether it should be changed to include currently excluded groups, such as auxiliary officers and officers who have committed suicide, including as a result of mental health injuries experienced on the job?
10. What do you like most about these national memorial activities? What, if anything, do you dislike about them and would change if you could?

## APPENDIX E: SURVEY

### Welcome

**Thank you for participating in my study.**

#### STUDY DETAILS AND IMPLIED CONSENT

**Study Title:** The Meaning of Sacrifice: Journeys to a Canadian Police and Peace Officers' Memorial

**Invitation to Participate:** You are invited to participate in a doctoral thesis study being conducted by Mr. Matthew Ferguson, PhD student in the Department of Criminology at the University of Ottawa, under the supervision of Dr. Justin Piché, Associate Professor in the Department of Criminology at the University of Ottawa, which is funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The study is being conducted independently from the organizations and agencies from which participants may be recruited. Your decision to participate (or not) will not be revealed and will have no impact on your involvement and/or responsibilities.

This anonymous survey is completely voluntary and **will take 10 to 15 minutes to complete**. If you start the survey, you can always change your mind and stop at any time.

**What is the purpose of this study?** This study aims to learn about the significance that active and retired peace officers and other participants attribute to the Canadian Police and Peace Officers' Memorial (CPPOM), its annual service on Parliament Hill on the last Sunday in September, as well as the Canadian Police Memorial Ride to Remember (CPMRR) and the National Peace Officers Memorial Run (NPOMR). More specifically, it aims to understand how these activities emerged and developed over time, the motivations of participants for taking part in them (or not), and what the experience of attending them is like.

**What will I do?** This survey will ask questions about the CPPOM, the CPMRR, the NPOMR, and the national memorial service. It includes questions about whether you have taken part in them, what your motivations are for doing (or not doing) so, what you think about them, and where they could be improved. As noted above, the survey will take about 10 to 15 minutes to complete.

**Risks:** There are minimal risks associated with taking this survey. If some questions are too personal or upsetting, you can skip them or quit the survey at any time. Additionally, data can be hacked or intercepted when you share information online. I am using Survey Monkey, which stores all data in an encrypted, anonymous form, but I cannot completely eliminate this risk. I have turned on the "Anonymous Responses" setting that hides identifiable respondent information (i.e. first name, last name, email address, IP address). To limit the possibility that your responses are seen by someone who should not have access, your responses will be stored in the locked filing cabinets in my office and the office of my supervisor, Dr. Justin Piché, as well as on computers encrypted with security software. In order to minimize the risk of security breaches and to help ensure your confidentiality, we recommend that you use standard safety measures such as using a secure connection when completing the study and signing out of your account, closing your browser and locking your screen/device when you are no longer using it and/or when you have completed the survey. The data will be stored for a period of ten years and then securely deleted. An option to be identified (or not) in the study will be provided at the end of the survey.

**Possible Benefits:** Your participation in this study may help contribute to the advancement and public dissemination of knowledge about peace officer work. More specifically, information about the role, impact, and importance of commemorative activities that honour peace officers who have died in the performance of their duties will be generated. It may also improve the ability for researchers to understand and communicate with peace officers about their work.

**Estimated number of participants:** 100. I will also be conducting phone interviews for this project. **I encourage you to contact me if you wish to be interviewed instead of filling out a survey.** You may want to do so if you would like to talk to me, clarify your responses, or elaborate on them.

**Costs:** None

**Compensation:** None

**Funding source:** The Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada

**Where will data be stored?** On my password protected computer, as well as the secure Survey Monkey web servers, which stores all data in an encrypted, anonymous form.

**How long will it be kept?** It will be kept for a period of ten years.

**Who can see my data?** I will have access to your responses, as well as my supervisor. I may share my findings in publications or presentations. If I quote you, I will use a pseudonym unless you state in the survey that you wish to be identified.

**Questions about the research, complaints, or problems:**

Please contact me at [REDACTED] or [REDACTED] or my supervisor, Dr. Justin Piché at [REDACTED]

**Questions about your rights as a research participant, complaints, or problems:** Contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research at the University of Ottawa at [ethics@uottawa.ca](mailto:ethics@uottawa.ca) or by phone at 613-562-5387.

**Agreement to Participate**

Your participation is completely voluntary, and you can withdraw at any time. Please note, however, that if you choose to remain anonymous, once the survey is submitted, you will be unable to withdraw your data from the study as the researcher will be unable to retrace individual datasets.

**To take this survey, you must be:**

- At least 18 years old

If you meet these criteria, agree to the terms above and would like to take the survey, click the button below to start. Participants should save or print a copy of the consent form to keep for their personal records.

## Survey Questions

1. Which of the following describes you best? I am a ...

- Peace Officer
- Retired Peace Officer
- Not a Peace Officer

2. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Other (please specify)

3. Which category below includes your age?

- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-64
- 65-74
- 75-84
- 85+

4. What memorial activities have you watched or taken part in (including virtually)? Please check all that apply.

- The Canadian Police and Peace Officers' Memorial Service
- The Canadian Police Memorial Ride to Remember
- The National Peace Officers Memorial Run
- None of the above
- Other relevant activities (please specify)

5. What is your motivation for taking part, or not doing so?

6. What messages do you think these activities communicate to peace officers and/or the public?

7. What about the memorial activities do you like the most?

8. What, if anything, do you dislike about them and would change if you could?

9. By completing this survey, you are declining to be interviewed for this study. Please specify why. Check all that apply.

- Time constraints
- I don't have a lot to contribute
- Other (please specify)

10. Do you wish to remain anonymous? If you answer "no", your identity and responses will potentially be revealed together in presentations and/or publications.

- Yes
- No

11. Please provide your full name and, if you want, a brief description about yourself as it relates to the topic of the study.

Thank you for participating!