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# Playing Detective: Procedure, Reenactment, and Crime-Solving Technologies

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Visual Studies

by

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Dissertation Committee:
Professor Peter Krapp, Chair
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**DEDICATION**

To

my grandparents

Georgia and Henry Tejada

for all the car rides to school and prayers and unwavering support

Everything I accomplish in this world is a reflection of
your strength and your struggle and your perseverance.
Your fight for education became mine.

To *mis ancestros*
I am only now learning your names,

but I hope

I make you proud.

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I was always told that graduate school and the writing of a dissertation is not a solitary task. It truly takes a village to raise a scholar. That is true. But what I did not know was there are times—a lot of times—when it is just you in front of a computer. To close, I want to thank my mind and my body for hanging in there. It is only by the grace and strength of God.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

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**ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION**

Playing Detective: Procedure, Reenactment, and Crime-Solving Technologies

By

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Doctor of Philosophy in Visual Studies

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Professor Peter Krapp, Chair

This dissertation explores the process of *playing detective*—how and when police surveillance and police procedures become leisure culture in the twentieth century. I examine when police departments began to work as media producers, and average citizens became amateur detectives—not only working on behalf of the law but as an extension of the police. At the core of this investigation is *procedural play*, the process by which policing procedures become sources of entertainment through reenactment. Framing such play as a reception practice, I explore the mediated conditions of possibility that simultaneously work to normalize police surveillance and create spaces for procedural play. Through a historical excavation of primary archival materials, popular press ephemera, and audiovisual media, I argue that procedural play is a consequence of police labor reform in the early twentieth century towards standardized, replicable codes of conduct and the mass reproduction and circulation of photographed criminal images and fingerprints, which brought modern detective methods into the home. The dissertation is organized around four case studies: home detective education at The Institute of Applied Science (1916), the radio and television broadcast form of *Dragnet* (1949-1957; 1951-1959), the

digital gamification of police procedure in *Police Quest* (1987-1994), and the procedural shift towards crime resistance with citizen activist John Walsh and reality TV crime show *America's Most Wanted* (1988-2012). In each, I focus on one crucial facet of procedural play: its *instructive* nature, its *formulaic* structure, its *rule-based* foundation, and its *safety-driven* emotional turn. These case studies illustrate a crucial bridging of public and private—public policing institutions making their way into the private space of the home through print, radio, television, toys, and games. Here, the industrial, creative involvement of law enforcement—individual police officers, departments, and state and national governments—legitimize police procedures *and* define what is or is not evidence and truth for the American public. In the process, this research uncovers how our relationship with police procedure reinforces perceptions of criminality and citizenship—that is, who is hailed to *play detective* and who is criminalized?

## INTRODUCTION

> *You have the right to remain silent. Anything you say can and will be used against you in a court of law. You have the right to an attorney. If you cannot afford an attorney, one will be provided for you. Do you understand the rights I have just read to you?*[1]

The Miranda warning is a Supreme Court-mandate to protect the Fifth Amendment rights of American citizens. Since the 1966 ruling Miranda v. Arizona, police are legally required to recite the above statement when taking suspects into police custody. But I am willing to bet that you already knew your Miranda rights, though hopefully not firsthand. Presenting portions of this work to audiences of scholarly colleagues, community and family, and even international visitors, I open with the Miranda rights, but always stop before "court of law." Within four words, I can see the moment of recognition. I have yet to encounter an audience that does not know how to finish the warning—and often they cannot help but pick up where I left off. And without fail, when I ask how they know, the audience cannot pinpoint the first time they heard this phrase or where. While a marker of due process, the Miranda warning is also associated with the routine procedure of a police traffic stop and arrest. The statement is not merely a lawful act, but a cultural artifact that has been repeated and shared in popular media. These traces of police surveillance—and our familiarity with them—stand as evidence that we have been *trained*.

This dissertation explores the process of *playing detective*—how and when police surveillance and police procedures become leisure culture in the twentieth century. I examine the way that police departments began to work as media producers, and the way average citizens became amateur detectives—not only working on behalf of the law but as

[1] "What Are Your Miranda Rights?" MirandaWarning.org, accessed April 25, 2017, http://www.mirandawarning.org/whatareyourmirandarights.html.

an extension of the police. At the core of this investigation is the emergence of *procedural play*, the process by which policing procedures become sources of entertainment and reenactment. If such play can be understood as a reception practice, we open up a critical space that is both historical and formal—what are the mediated conditions of possibility that simultaneously work to normalize police surveillance and create spaces for procedural play? I take seriously the implications that popular media technologies have in domesticating procedures for private spaces and influencing our perception of law enforcement. This research traces the means and mechanisms by which viewers, listeners, and players, within the comforts of their homes, are acclimated to a performance of detection. In particular, I wrestle with how and where entertainment is derived from "playing by the book."

Historically speaking, routinized police procedures arrive on US shores in the late nineteenth century with the modern police department.[2] It is not coincidental that in this century, the invention of the detective would also enter the international and cultural stage.[3] While the nineteenth century remains a rich site for the history of criminality, my periodization begins in the early twentieth century as detecting practices began to find their way into American homes for practical, hands-on entertainment and use. The public fascination with criminal identification reached new heights with the introduction of

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[2] See Ronald R. Thomas, *Detective Fiction and the Rise of Forensic Science* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Simon Cole, *Suspect Identities: A History of Fingerprinting and Criminal Identification* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); James A. Cosner, Rebecca Paynich, and Terry Gingrich, *Law Enforcement in the United States*, (Sudbury, MA: Jones & Bartlett Publishers, 2011).

[3] The first modern detective story is Edgar Allen Poe's "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" (1841), which introduces Chevalier C. Auguste Dupin, the first detective. Synonymous with detective fiction, author Sir Arthur Conan Doyle introduced Sherlock Holmes in *A Study in Scarlet*, first published in serialized magazine form (1887), then as a novel (1888).

fingerprinting under the Henry Classification System at the 1904 World's Fair in Saint Louis, which influenced the greater adoption of fingerprinting among police departments.[4] As American police departments moved from Bertillonage, the dominant criminal identification method of the nineteenth century, to fingerprinting, there was also increased circulation of identification materials in the popular public sphere.[5] Together, photography *and* fingerprinting shifted how bureaucratic organizations recorded, collected, and archived data.[6] The mass-reproducibility of photography and, by extension, photographs of fingerprints, provided the means to easily produce and disseminate this criminal imagery to the public through print, itself a mass medium. As a result, fingerprinting offered a speedier recording and retrieval system, and a far more succinct method of cataloguing citizens. These shifts coincided with the nationalizing of criminal and citizen identification databases.[7] As the initial focus of procedural learning, fingerprinting was quickly utilized in criminal identification as the natural indexical sign linking the criminal body and, in some cases, victims, to crime scenes and bureaucratic birth and police records.

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[4] Cole, *Suspect Identities*.

[5] Bertillonage, introduced by French police official Alphonse Bertillon, is considered the first modern classification system for criminality. It is based on eleven different anthropometric measurements, as well as recordings of physical descriptions and unique marks. Bertillon also pioneered the mug shot or *portrait parlé* ("spoken portrait").

[6] Jonathan Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image: From Mug Short to Surveillance Society* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 22.

[7] Explored in Chapter One, two key creations include the International Association for Identification (IAI) in 1915, which worked to universalize identification procedures, and the FBI's absorption of the National Bureau of Criminal Identification between 1925 and 1930. See Thomas; Cole, *Suspect Identities*; Craig Robertson, *The Passport in America: The History of a Document* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); and Donald C. Dilworth, *Identification Wanted: Development of the American Criminal Identification System, 1893-1943* (Gaithersburg, MD: International Association of Chiefs of Police, Police Management & Operations Divisions, 1977).

With the most basic association, modern criminal identification works to classify and catalogue criminality in an archivable and searchable fashion to combat recidivism and track offenders. The notion is not specific to any given technology like the photograph or the fingerprint, as scholar Allan Sekula argues, but the greater nineteenth century's "truth apparatus," whose impetus is to archive and classify the world as if in a filing cabinet.[8] The desire to stabilize the world, and most notably identity, transforms the body into a bearer of inscription that can be isolated, detected, and transcribed for police collections.[9] These "technologies of demographic regulation" serve to categorize bodies of people, and for the purposes of criminal identification, make criminals distinct and traceable.[10] As a structure of knowledge, these visual technologies of classification not only rework law or governmental understandings of the social body, but such ideological infiltration feeds back into the visual construction of life for the national citizenry. As such, it is not a coincidence that these modes of modern surveillance bleed over into classifications of citizenship and investment in centralizing authority. Concurrent with these strategies of criminal identification are social surveillance creations like the federal income tax (1913) and the federal birth certificates (1933) meant to track figures and personal information. What is created is not only a social accountability of the government for its citizens, but the citizenry's accountability to the state through what scholar Craig Robertson terms "technologies of verification."[11]

Surveillance in modern society begins with record-keeping and the military census, both meant to track mobile populations. The military—crucial in qualifying who is and is

[8] Sekula, Allan. "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (Winter 1986): 16
[9] Ibid., 33.
[10] Ibid., 19.
[11] Robertson, 17.

not a citizen—structures surveillance. As well, the backdrop of WWI sparked public awareness of rather crucial political concerns regarding the handling and control of identity, knowledge, and national loyalty, namely the validity of passport identities, possible illegal entry of WWI enemies, and an increased mobility and immigration during and after the war.[12] If anything, these wartime concerns brought attention to the disjuncture among the classification and circulation of identification information, and the much needed methods for increasing the rate and speed of access, cataloguing, and disseminating such information.[13] The introduction of modern detection techniques, specifically fingerprinting, overlaps the responsibilities of upholding the law while maintaining an ordering system of identification. When these concerns become those of the everyday citizen *and* they can gain access to these techniques, there comes a possibility for civic participation.

In the cultural sphere, there is a distinction to be made between the gentleman sleuth—personified by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes—and the police detective. Holmes dominated the popular imagination of the nineteenth century, but two new detective types emerged in the twentieth century: the hard-boiled detective of the 1930s and 1940s and the midcentury police detective. Both demonstrated new detection technologies to solve crimes.[14] Yet, the police detective upholds justice within a system of standardized, repeatable methods of detection, as opposed to the genius logic of Holmes or the outsider insight of a hard-boiled detective.

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[12] Robertson, 17.
[13] Ibid., 200.
[14] George N. Dove, *The Police Procedural* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1982).

The police detective would usher in the police procedural subgenre. It would mark a distinct shift in the representation of the police as collective labor; unlike the gentleman sleuth or the hard-boiled detective genres, the police procedural focuses on police crime-solving through real-life, routine methods of detection that must be done in *collaboration* with fellow policemen, government agencies, and the public.[15] As an additional layer to this notion of collaboration, the police procedural—with its focus on depicting actual procedures rather than gut feelings—would spark numerous partnerships between creative industries and policing institutions. On one hand, these alliances would assign an air of legitimacy to their representation of police work for audiences, and be credited for inspiring public confidence and admiration. On the other hand, this construction of authenticity would cloud the shifting power dynamics of the "new police-citizen relationship."[16] Here, media would play the most crucial role in normalizing police power for entertainment.

Procedural play is a consequence of procedural reform of police labor in the early twentieth century, where police work transitions into standardized, replicable codes of conduct. It is not until the early twentieth century—and the active implementation and circulation of photographed fingerprints—that American police procedures begin to emerge with great frequency across police departments and in American popular culture.

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[15] The actions and methods counted under "police procedures" are historically situated, given that particular techniques fall in and out of favor with shifting technologies. Dove outlines broader procedural categories like crime-prevention education, evidence investigation and filing, forensic medicine, identification of criminals (fingerprinting, police line-ups, police artists), investigation techniques (work at the murder scene, interviewing informants and eyewitnesses, stakeouts, interrogation), and security and confidentiality. The news media is considered a facet of the procedural that both facilitates and interferes with police investigations.

[16] Christopher P. Wilson, *Cop Knowledge: Police Power and Cultural Narrative in Twentieth-Century America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000, 62.

The move towards fixed procedures was an effort to standardize communication and criminal databases across local, state, and national police departments. The repeatability of such procedures facilitated police training and investigation, yet also provided the structural means by which police detection could be easily integrated into popular media. As such, the public became familiar with criminal identification methods, but how was it made possible for audiences to replicate and internalize these procedures for domestic detecting? In *Cop Knowledge* (2000), Christopher Wilson asserts that the translatability of police procedures, contrary to many other aesthetic forms, maps easily onto social technologies despite varying medium specificities.[17] It is not uncommon in remediation to have established visual culture move from old media into newer media technologies like digital games. However, the adaptability comes from the procedures themselves—as opposed to an old-to-new media divide—and their setting within the historical police system where procedural play emerges and first operates. Modern procedures *and* modern public relations work together to create a symbolic image of trust and security.[18]

This historical backdrop presents the stage in which police and creative industries work together to construct how and why the public more readily consents to new forms of police surveillance. Although police procedures can be seen as emerging from a broader installation of modern standardization, the conditions for their technological necessity reveal local, state, and national deficiencies and the attempts for more efficient flows of information and support. And so, making sense of procedural design and routinization, specifically their replicability and adaptability, takes into consideration the technological limitations of policing history at the time. Questions of procedurality shed light on the ways

[17] Wilson, 62.
[18] Ibid., 60-61.

in which processes are forged, organized, carried out, and perpetually maintained as well as for what and whose purpose. In the discussion on procedural play, the concept of procedurality is always doubly-present: the proceduralization of police surveillance *and* those mediated processes creating and supporting a play moment.

In thinking through these processes, this dissertation necessarily brings into conversation three core terms: procedure, play, and reenactment. While each expression offers innumerable routes of scholarly inquiry and lineage, I focus on the fields of surveillance studies, play and game studies, and media studies.

The heart of police work—what they do and what they say—lies in police procedures, their routinized knowledge and standards. Michel Foucault's "The Order of Discourse" draws attention to the rich theoretical resonances between procedures and discourse analysis, specifically procedures as orderings of power. Here, he describes the discursive process as "at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events."[19] Examining procedures as a controlled, constructed system, like discourse, exposes power struggles, the actors involved, and the process of their institutionalization. Procedures remain procedures through active maintaining of the status quo. Interrogating procedures—how and where they form and the processes by which they maintain standards—necessarily reveals the work of repetition.

As a central text for surveillance studies, Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977) traces the emergence of disciplinary knowledge in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which centralizes visibility and vision around the

[19] Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse," in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 52.

individual body, its monitoring, and its management. Translating Bentham's Panopticon into theoretical panopticonism, Foucault posits that modern surveillance emerges with shifts in State order, punishment, and imprisonment.[20] The State adopts surveillance and its technologies to account for and mitigate the risks and anxieties brought about by increased transnational mobility and recidivism. In the process, the State produces new forms of knowledge acquisition and classification—visual management and spatial and bodily partitioning—normalized through everyday institutions of industry, education, and the home. Importantly, Foucault's conception of discipline executes its influence as a *procedural* technology: "it is a type of power…comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets."[21] In the disciplinary society, police are the most overt extension of the State power.[22] Of the police procedural subgenre, Robert Winston and Nancy C. Mellerski see Foucault's ideal penality and "indefinite discipline" actualized: "a precise and repeated reproduction of the stages of interrogation, investigation, and judgment which maintain such discipline over time—but in a conciliatory and therefore non-threatening manner."[23] Here, police procedures function as an extension of power, whose politics can be projected onto both a social body of citizens

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[20] Foucault draws his theoretical framework from the literal, architectural frame of Bentham's Cartesian model prison. The Panopticon is a circular prison with an opaque tower of guards occupying its center. This very structure, rather than the guards themselves, insures order and self-disciplining because it creates an omnipresence of visibility. Foucault calls this the "trap" within the power-knowledge space. The prisoners never know when they are being watched. This distinct lack of reciprocity between the seer and the seen thereby produces a self-regulatory effect among the prisoners, who behave out of the fear of being watched.

[21] Michel Foucault, "Discipline and Punish, Panopticism," in *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, ed. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 215.

[22] Ibid., 216.

[23] Robert P. Winston and Nancy C. Mellerski, *The Public Eye: Ideology and the Police Procedural* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 8.

and an individual body, who self-regulates his or her own behavior.

Whereas surveillance studies greatly privileges governmental panopticonism as a research site, this project seeks to historicize the domestic, procedural process of surveillance—the possible mediated ways in which citizens enter into surveillant acts against their fellow citizens behind closed doors. While there is rich scholarship on peer-to-peer surveillance, or *lateral surveillance*, such work typically situates such tactics as emerging within a post-9/11 America with the dominant visual framework being *categorical suspicion*.[24] Furthermore, there is a tendency to conflate peer-to-peer surveillance with new digital technologies, which limits full understanding of a greater technological and historical trajectory. Scholarly contributions to the longer history of surveillance studies provide crucial step stones for contemporary critiques of supposed trends. Most recent historical surveillance studies, such as Joshua Reeves's *Citizen Spies: The Long Rise of America's Surveillance Society* (2017), conceptualizes the State Apparatus as directly addressing the public as subjects.[25] Here, the reporting of criminal activity to police authorities is an act of citizenship, yet it remains ambiguous as to why exactly the public would even answer this call.

As such, this project seeks to bring surveillance studies into deeper conversation

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[24] Gary T. Marx defines categorical suspicion as "the new forms of control [that] are helping to create a society where everyone is guilty until proven innocent; technologies that permit continuous, rather than intermittent, monitoring encourage this." Gary T. Marx, *Undercover: Police Surveillance in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). For further discussion of categorical suspicion and surveillance, see Mark Andrejevic, *ISpy: Surveillance and Power in the Interactive Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), and Janet Chan, "The New Lateral Surveillance and a Culture of Suspicion," in *Surveillance and Governance: Crime Control and Beyond*, ed. Mathieu Deflem (Bingley: Jai Press, 2008), 223-239.

[25] Joshua Reeves, *Citizen Spies: The Long Rise of America's Surveillance Society* (New York: NYU Press, 2017).

with media studies, which has historically engaged the ways ideological messages of citizenship, duty, and even proper procedure become embedded in the popular public imaginary. As intermediaries, media studies scholars provide insight on how visual culture serves as a disciplinary medium, crafting citizen subjectivity through home entertainment and leisure.[26] *Governmentality* considers where and how citizens conduct themselves and govern others beyond traditional disciplinary power structures.[27] Cultural theorists trace the ways in which popular contemporary culture continues to shape citizen subjects beyond its sixteenth century beginnings.[28] Media technologies function as key arbiters in the circulation of police procedures to the American public. Police procedures are not just the work that police do, they are the normalized demonstration of police authority that—with the historical help of print, radio, television, and games—find their way into the privacy of the home.

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[26] See Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London: New Left Books, 1971), 121-176; Clay Calvert, *Voyeur Nation: Media, Privacy, and Peering in Modern Culture* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000); Aaron Doyle, *Arresting Images: Crime and Policing in Front of the Television Camera* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); and Rachel Hall, *Wanted: The Outlaw in American Visual Culture* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009).

[27] See Michel Foucault, "The Risks of Security," in *The Essential Works of Foucault, Vol. 3: Power*, ed. James D. Faubion, (New York: The New Press, 1994), 365-381, and *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977–1978*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2004).

[28] See Toby Miller, *The Well-Tempered Self: Citizenship, Culture, and the Postmodern Subject* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Nikolas Rose, *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power, and Personhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), and "Governing 'Advanced' Liberal Democracies," in *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government*, eds. Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne, and Nikolas Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 37-64; Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Ltd., 2010); Laurie Ouellette and James Hay, *Better Living Through Reality TV* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008; and James Hay, "The Birth of the Neoliberal City and Its Media," in *Communication Matters: Materialist Approaches to Media, Mobility, and Networks*, eds. Jeremy Packer and Stephen B. Crofts Wiley (New York: Routledge, 2010) 123-140.

The term "play" often innocuous nature obscures important ideological training under the guise of fun and pleasure. Drawing upon play studies in conversation with procedurality, this research takes seriously play as a crucial method of making sense of the world and constructing perceptions of reality. The foundational work of play studies often romanticizes play as an *ur* engagement of all humanity, civilization, and childhood development.[29] Notably, the notion of repetition remains at the heart of play structure.[30] Not only does repetition function in sharing play traditions, the repeatability of play forms becomes the process upon which its longevity maintains itself.

The conception of procedural play develops out of a longer game studies conversation: how do we learn the procedures of rule-based systems, or perhaps better put: how do procedures reshape our interactions—our input and output expectations—in explicit and implicit processes? Some of the earliest research focuses on the potential of games for learning. Seymour Papert, for instance, calls for more critical reflection on procedural thinking and the pedagogical fashion that inscribes rules with problem-solving abilities.[31] Early computing history would be attentive to defining procedurality as it describes procedural languages—"something possessed 'procedurality' if it was procedural, if it could receive and process a set of user instructions."[32] Of course, procedurality in a disciplinary function necessarily predates the terms emergence in

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[29] See Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955); Brian Sutton-Smith, *The Ambiguity of Play* (Harvard University Press, 1997)
[30] Huizinga, 10.
[31] Seymour Papert, *Mindstorms: Children, Computers, and Powerful Ideas* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), 370. For a complimentary discussion of procedural literacy—how we understand procedures, see Janet Murray, *Inventing the Medium: Principles of Interaction Design as a Cultural Practice* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011).
[32] Eric Kaltman, "Procedurality," in *Debugging Game History: A Critical Lexicon*, eds. Henry Lowood and Raiford Guins (Cambridge: MIT Press), 369.

computing history, and this allows us to reframe the technology as a social ordering system. Scholar Ian Bogost alludes to this approach in examining the rhetorical process of rule-based systems like video gaming. While he is most concerned with the medium specificity of computing systems rendering processes with processes, he reminds that procedurality always points to the "how does this work?" of systems of power.[33]

In the case of procedural play, this project is less focused on play as transgressive than in examining the ways that certain types of play are enabled to maintain the status quo and extend the authority of policing. Often the popular conceptions of play—as freedom, as meaningful—are positioned in opposition to rules. In contrast, procedural play asks how is process and procedure mobilized as a persuasive language not to challenge order, but rather to define and maintain the status quo? Here, this project expands T.L. Taylor's conception of an *assemblage of play*.[34] Cautioning fellow video game scholars, Taylor pushes back against presumed inclusions and exclusions of what "counts" as play versus "game." Too often, what is consider "game" in game studies privileges the interactivity within a digital space, even though this does not account for the multitude of social systems we may engage in play. In response, Taylor calls for attentiveness to games as "lived objects" or "playful artifacts"—as multi-constituted constructions within networks of cultural, social, and economic concerns and influences. In other words, there are technical, creative, and historical nodes in our everyday practice of play. Assemblages open up our understanding of the "play moment," that is the circumstances in which play (as a

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[33] Ian Bogost, *Persuasive Games: The Expressive Power of Videogames* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007), 11.
[34] T.L. Taylor, "The Assemblage of Play," *Games and Culture* 4, no. 4 (2009): 331-339, accessed December 8, 2015, http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1555412009343576.

process) begins and continues in motion within play spaces and among players.[35] While Taylor is specifically outlining an approach to video games specifically, there is rich utility in considering assemblages surrounding play more broadly.

Reenactment becomes the primary process that invokes a necessary discourse of authenticity while legitimizing and standardizing police procedures. I examine reenactment—that is, the presenting of an action or event that we understand to have already happened—as a source of repetition for procedural mimicry, both necessary to familiarize and normalize police work in the public imaginary. The ongoing scholarly conversation can be quite limiting in its demarcation of what counts as reenactment. The scope tends to revolve around the same examples: live role-playing of specific historical events (Gettysburg war reenactments), reality television shows where people are placed in historical settings (PBS's *Frontier House*), museum or living history exhibits (Colonial Williamsburg), and specific cinematic or televisual recreations of events (Oliver Stone's *JFK*).[36] There are, however, important formal parallels that can be linked to my application of reenactment. As Vanessa Agnew observes, the nature of reenactment is always concerned with authenticity. In the process of reenactment, we find a complex balance between the accuracy of "historical claims" and the desire for legitimacy that may not

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[35] Taylor, 332.

[36] While not exhaustive, a key list of examples within this trend includes Vanessa Agnew, "Introduction: What Is Reenactment?" *Criticism* 46, no. 3 (Summer 2004): 327-339; Alexander Cook, "The Use and Abuse of Historical Reenactment: Thoughts on Recent Trends in Public History," *Criticism* 46. No. 3 (Summer 2004): 487-469; Michelle Liu Carriger, "Historionics: Neither Here Nor There with Historical Reality TV," *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* 24, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 135-149; Hayden White, "The Modernist Event," in *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television and The Modern Event*, ed. Vivian Sobchack (New York: Routledge, 1988), 17-38; and Marita Sturken, "Reenactment, Fantasy, and the Paranoia of History: Oliver Stone's Docudramas," *History and Theory* 36, no. 4 (1997), 64-79.

always support one another.[37] With one of the earliest examinations of reenactment, historian R.G. Collingwood uses the term as a philosophical and self-reflexive take on the nature of historical research and writing.[38] While Collingwood's focus is a cerebral, internalized reenacting of events, Alexander Cook stresses the importance of the *physicality* of reenactment in re-capturing history or, at least, a perception therein.[39] Agnew, speaking in terms of history reenactors, notes their experiences as fun and pleasurable, a dichotomy of "work and play" that I find useful in thinking through the entertainment-policing tensions at the heart of procedural play.[40]

Although scholarship on reenactment does not specifically address a procedural relationship, let alone playing *with* procedure, this dissertation open new avenues of conversation and application of the reenactment as a performative term. Procedural play emerges through different forms of mimicry and the practical application of procedures—through routine and repetition. There is a perception of familiarity with police work because we have seen their procedures repeatedly acted out in popular culture media. Most importantly, this project argues that reenactment is not just a tool to legitimize history, but a powerful means to construct a persuasive sense of authenticity, regardless of accuracy or attention to detail.

The dissertation is organized around four case studies, each exploring a crucial facet of procedural play. Procedural play is constructed with four specific qualities: instructive, formulaic, rule-based, and safety-driven. First, procedural play requires accessible, learnable instructions of the procedure process—otherwise amateur implementation

[37] Agnew, 331.
[38] R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946).
[39] Cook, 491.
[40] Ibid., 327.

would be difficult and unpopular. Second, a public understanding of police procedures requires repetition and routine—a formulaic structure—where procedures become familiar and even commonplace. Third, police procedures are necessarily rule-based—there are tacit boundaries to what one can and cannot do to capture the criminal or steps to taking a proper fingerprint, for example. As a result, procedural play always carries the possibility of a competitive, win-lose engagement. And fourth, a familiarity with police procedures necessarily ties crime-solving with notions of safety, security, and protection on personal and ideological levels.

These qualities, and the case studies themselves, share important dependencies and connections. These demonstrations rely on reenactment in various media forms to train proper understanding and potential implementation of the procedures themselves. Each of these case studies represents objects meant for domestic entertainment and instruction. This is a crucial bridging of public and private—public policing institutions making their way into the private space of the home through print, radio, television, toys, and games. These materials create intimate channels of communication between police authority and private citizens while at the same time providing a sense of a community of crime-fighters. While there are numerous media texts depicting representations of police, each of these case studies foreground the legibility of the *procedures* of detection and identification, first and foremost. Police on screen, and behind the scenes, serve to assure viewers of the accuracy of the procedures. Across these case studies, the industrial, creative involvement of law enforcement—individual police officers, departments, and state and national governments—legitimize police procedures *and* define what is or is not evidence and truth for the American public.

In Chapter One: Becoming "Finger Print Minded": Training the Home Correspondence School Detective, I unearth the home correspondence detective school to illustrate procedural play as instructive, specifically focusing on the early domestication of fingerprinting as forensic procedure par excellence. Using the Institute of Applied Science (1916), self-publicized as the first at-home forensic science correspondence school, as the major case study, I focus on a variety of material to reconstruct this detective in American history: silent film traces, print advertising across popular technical and movie trade publications, ephemera of fingerprinting and policing organizations, contemporaneous newspaper articles, and the Institute's own educational materials. Not only did these objects employ procedural reenactment to train students in fingerprinting, they encouraged budding correspondence detectives to apply their knowledge to real-life fugitive searches.

I further elaborate on the notion of procedural reenactment as it shapes the formulaic quality of procedural play in Chapter Two: "Entertainment with an Ulterior Motive": Authenticity and Routine in NBC's *Dragnet*. Focusing on the initial runs of the popular radio show (1949-1957) and television program (1951-1959), I examine the relationship between police procedure and its translatability onto the routine, week-to-week structure of the broadcast mediums. Of central focus, the familiarity of repeated procedures—through its supposed use of real police files for the show content—sought to educate audiences about police work to make them better citizens.

In Chapter Three: Codes of Conduct: Gaming Police Procedures in *Police Quest.* I focus on the rule-based quality of procedural play to examine the computer game franchise *Police Quest* (1987-1993). Invested in the rhetorical power of authenticity, much like

*Dragnet*, Sierra would take their relationship with policing institutions one step further. Rather than serve in an advisory capacity, Sierra provided a space for police officers to become game designers. I examine the ways in which the series promises an experience of "What it's really like to be a cop," within the context and controversy of its police-turned-game designers, such as ex-LAPD chief of police Daryl F. Gates. More broadly, this chapter unpacks the ways in which police procedures become gamified into win-lose objectives.

Finally, in Chapter Four: Safety as Resistance: Neighborhood Procedures with John Walsh, an examination of the tonal shift from procedural realism to pathos highlights the notion of safety within procedural play. Specifically, the chapter examines the discursive framework of activist John Walsh, a self-actualized citizen-detective who embodies the safety-driven aspect of procedural play. First known through the 1981 kidnapping and murder of his son, Adam, Walsh would become a household name as the host of *America's Most Wanted* (1988-2012), the popular TV crime reality show. Examining more closely the parallels between Walsh's own publicized detection efforts and the procedural reenactment in *America's Most Wanted*, I argue that the procedures at the heart of procedural play easily vacillate from crime-solving to crime resistance.

As a detective project of sorts, this dissertation does not aim to trace a seamless, continuous history of procedural play as the research is necessarily grappling with gaps, absences, and limitations of the archive. Observing technological trends in the late nineteenth century, historian Carlo Ginzburg argues that an *evidential paradigm* emerges at this moment when historical inquiry is based on material tracing and aggregation of

clues—detection as an epistemology.[41] As such, I employ mixed methods to capture my case study objects in time and the material and technological clues of their origins, circulation, and connections. My dissertation is an excavation, a detection of the residual traces left behind—accessible, locatable, and visible—though such traces may only provide partial histories of a past characterized by erasure and obscurity. As I hope my research here will demonstrate, procedures do not form in an innocuous vacuum nor do procedurals stay within the boundaries of the creative industry. We must dig into the cultural, social, and historical systems that shape procedures into standards. And in the process, start to expose how our relationship with police procedure reinforces perceptions of criminality and citizenship—that is, who is hailed to *play detective* and who is criminalized?

[41] Carlo Ginzburg, "*Morelli*, *Freud and Sherlock Holmes*: Clues and Scientific Method." *History Workshop* 9, no. 1 (March 1980): 5-36.

## CHAPTER 1
## Becoming "Finger Print Minded":
## Training the Home Correspondence School Detective

Little scholarly attention has been focused on the roles early home correspondence schools in general might have played in the formation of a central national bureau of identification in the United States, the legitimating of fingerprinting as a technique in the public sphere, and the blurred relationship between public and private security and investigations. The Institute of Applied Science (1916), self-publicized as the first at-home forensic science correspondence school, promised instruction and expertise for future, profitable F.P.E.s or Finger Print Experts. Under the guidance of Director Thomas Grant Cooke, or T.G. Cooke, the Institute boasted that their graduates occupied 47% of all working head positions at bureaus of identification, though this is not easily verifiable.[42] It was one of several competing detective correspondence schools that emerged in the 1910s and 1920s, whose range of reputation and legitimacy remains largely shadowed without archival records. There are dozens of correspondence schools during the period with "detective," "finger print," "criminal," and "criminology" within the name, but little is known about these institutions beyond the advertisements themselves. Yet their mutual emergence on the correspondence education stage signals a key moment in the public knowledge of such procedures.

This chapter highlights the *instructive* quality of procedural play, focusing on the Institute for Applied Science home correspondence school and their objective to normalize detection and enable amateur use —specifically fingerprinting procedure and its

[42] T.G. Cooke to "Sir," undated, Box 5, Folder 7, A&M No.: 3518, Doepner/Faulds Papers, International Association for Identification Records 1842-2007, West Virginia University, West Virginia and History Online Digital Collections, Morgantown, WV.

cataloguing. Focusing on the Institute of Applied Science, this chapter explores the ephemera surrounding the school's history and connections to policing organizations. These popular print advertising, promotional materials, lesson books suggest a heavily curated system seeking to domesticate fingerprinting—into both specialized and everyday enterprises—through a mixture of institutional legitimacy and mixing pop culture shorthand. Early fingerprinting magazines endorsed by the International Association for Identification (IAI), the leading trade organization for fingerprinting forensics, reveal the blurred industrial lines separating policing institutions from everyday citizens with policing potential. Although much existing scholarship situates the readership of these magazines within the professional realm, print copies found their way into the hands—and homes—of amateur enthusiasts and would-be crime-solvers: budding detective students of home correspondence schools. Having crime detection skills—the ability to become a detective—requires a combination of "common sense" and procedural knowledge, the latter of which can be learned via training.[43] The Institute was careful to distinguish itself as a practical, hands-on apprenticeship by mail rather than a typical college education, which does not provide the proper training for crime solving.

These early promises of expertise and detective pursuits are inextricably tied to national aims to vet out the nation's criminals and citizens through learnable procedure. Unearthing this history reveals a national rise of hobby and amateur professionalism in fingerprinting and detection technologies that is inextricably linked with the increased centralization of criminal *and* citizen identification in America. While this analysis is necessarily constrained by the limited ephemera and available empirical archival materials,

[43] T.G. Cooke, *The Blue Book of Crime: Science of Crime Detection*, 21st Illustrative Edition (Chicago: Institute of Applied Science, 1951), 5.

it nevertheless sheds light on an early participation with procedural instruction, which often relied on pop cultural images to sell the thrill and adventure of a would-be fingerprint detective. In unraveling this historical institution, this chapter also captures an early twentieth century moment, and greater bureaucratic movement, where policing technology and police procedures found their way into American homes and leisure visual culture.

What it means to be a home correspondence school detective is necessary difficult to pin down. Largely missing from film history or detective genre scholarship, the "home correspondence school detective" was a known trope of the silent film period, though an object of humor. In early cinema, it existed as a popular comedic trope: the unwitting detective who stumbles and bumbles their way into solving the crime. While these characters desire to be Sherlock Holmes, they never quite fit the part.[44] While these films are largely missing from archives—an unfortunate consequence for much of silent film history—its traces can be found in early film trade publications. Evidence of these films in trade magazines picks up in the mid-1910s and continues with frequency through the 1920s and 1930s.[45] One of the earliest descriptions of such features, *A Fool for Luck* (Edison Manufacturing Company, 1908), is bracketed within a half-page advertisement for Edison

[44] Aside from the famous book series, the character of Sherlock Holmes was already established as a character in silent film prior to *Sherlock Jr.* The earliest known films include *Sherlock Holmes Baffled* (American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, 1903) and *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes; or, Held for Ransom* (Vitagraph, 1905).

[45] This information was observed through the University of Wisconsin-Madison Lantern Media History Digital Library, a repository for digitized media trade and fan magazines, and news. This data reflects purchased advertising space found across *Moving Picture World*, *Motion Picture Magazine*, *Motion Picture News*, *The Film Daily*, *Exhibitor's Trade Review*, *Photoplay*, and *Variety,* among others.

Kinetoscopes and films.[46] The advertisement describes it as a comedy, at approximately 900 feet (around 15-20 minutes long) with the following details:

> Hiram Plowboy has taken a correspondence course and becomes a "detective." He arrives in New York with diploma, badge, handcuffs and revolver. Naturally he gets into trouble with the police, but by a bit of pure luck, he captures three noted crooks and is made a detective sergeant as a reward.[47]

In effect, the home correspondence school detective is in opposition with the attributes of the gentleman sleuth. The descriptions for subsequent silent film with the home correspondence school detective trope would feature the same sort of key attributes: a detective with drive and ambition, a collection of detective tools, a messy relationship with the police, and lucky success. At the same time, printed pulp stories of home correspondence school detectives, like Redbook's *Philo Gubb: Correspondence-School Detective* (1913), helped shape a cultural imaginary of such participation.[48]

The most notable cultural representation of the home correspondence school detective is Buster Keaton's eponymous hero in the silent comedy *Sherlock Jr.* (1924), one of America's most lauded comedic films.[49] Existing film scholarship typically positions the film text as a star vehicle for Keaton as an auteur and within the physical comedy genre

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[46] *The Moving Picture World*, October 24, 1908, 375.
[47] Ibid.
[48] This collection of stories written by Ellis Parker Butler followed the cases and hijinks of Gubb, an attendee and eventual graduate of the Rising Sun Detective Agency's Correspondence School of Detecting.
[49] The American Film Institute's "100 Years…100 Laughs" list ranks the film as one of cinema's greatest comedies, and the National Film Registry selected the film for preservation in 1991. Respectfully, further details for each classification can be found at "Sherlock Jr.," The American Film Institute Catalog of Feature Films Database, accessed January 13, 2016, http://www.afi.com/members/catalog/DetailView.aspx?s=&Movie=12044, and "Complete National Film Registry Listing," The Library of Congress, accessed January 13, 2016, http://www.loc.gov/programs/national-film-preservation-board/film-registry/complete-national-film-registry-listing.

more broadly.[50] The second, more prominent analysis situates *Sherlock Jr.* in a greater lineage of Hollywood films about film-making, emphasizing its reflexive encapsulation of cinema's capacity to satisfy conscious and unconscious desires.[51] Such readings focus on the long "film within a film" dream sequence, where Keaton bubbling film projectionist-turned-home correspondence school detective is recast as titular hero Sherlock Jr.—the "World's greatest detective" and the "crime-crushing criminologist"—a gentleman sleuth with a full tuxedo, top hat, gloves, and cane.[52]

Despite the lack of historicization of the trope in film scholarship, the film itself seems overtly conscious of it. Although Jr. displays the appearance of a brilliant and deductive mind, he evades poisoning and injury by sheer comedic luck—a showcase for Keaton's own brand of physical humor and near misses. His failure is the object of humor, a fact to which the movie draws attention.[53] All in all, his romantic interest appears to be a better detective. She follows up with witnesses (the pawn shop clerk, who identifies the rival) and ends up clearing Keaton's name, all while Keaton dreams in the projection room.

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[50] See Andrew Horton, "Introduction: "Think Slow, Act Fast"—Keaton's Comic Genius," in *Buster Keaton's Sherlock Jr*., ed. Andrew Horton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1997) 1-28; Lisa Trahair, "The Ghost in the Machine: The Comedy of Technology in the Cinema of Buster Keaton," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 573-588, accessed January 20, 2016, http://muse.jhu.edu/article/30785; and Linda Haverty Rugg, "Keaton's Leap: Self-Projection and Autobiography in Film," *Biography* 29. No. 1 (Winter 2006): v-xiii, accessed January 13, 2016. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/bio.2006.0026

[51] While not an exhaustive list, methodological readings of the film can be found in Bruce Kawin, *Mindscreen: Bergman, Godard, and First-Person Film* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978); Robert Stam, *Reflexivity in Film and Literature: From Don Quixote to Jean-Luc Godard* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Kathleen Rowe Karlyn, "The Detective and the Fool: Or, The Mystery of Manhood in Sherlock Jr.," in *Buster Keaton's Sherlock Jr*., ed. Andrew Horton, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 89-117; and Dan Georgakas, "The Purple Rose of Keaton," 130-139 in *Buster Keaton's Sherlock Jr*., ed. Andrew Horton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 130-139.

[52] Quoted material from *Sherlock Jr*.'s dialogue intertitles.

[53] A film intertitle reads: "By the next day the master mind had completely solved the mystery—with the exception of locating the pearls and finding the thief."

These aspirations attributed to *Sherlock Jr.* as quintessentially cinematic—dreams of social mobility, thrills and excitement, romance and adventure—actually mirror the rhetorical promises embedded in home correspondence school detection. The Institute of Applied Science would rely on Hollywood and pulp fiction iconography as familiar frames of reference, albeit not humorous, to excite potential students and promote the power and intrigue of playing detective. Highlighting this generic relationship, the Institute of Applied Science would actively advertise its courses in film and entertainment trade publications.[54] Its most frequent advertisement would star Secret Service Operator No. 38—a dapper tuxedoed gentleman with a top hat, gloves, and cane. He is an exact visual reference to Keaton's Sherlock Jr., both the stereotypical gentleman sleuth. The advertisement hails readers to "Follow This Man" on the job, shadowing the adventures of counterfeit, thrills, and mysteries of one of the Institute's very own graduates. Interested potential students are encouraged to write for free real investigation reports of Operator No. 38 with the promise: "YOU can become a Finger Print Expert at home, in spare time."[55] Reminiscent of serialized crime stories, the teased story of Operator No. 38 continues in the free installment from the Institute with the stories of Operators 52 and 33 thrown in for no additional cost. These reports detail the supposed step-by-step methods of detection, crime scene investigation, and stakeouts by professionals, the small print assuring readers that these materials are genuine reproductions with all names anonymized for protection. This additional pamphlet serves as a seamless continuation of the advertisements featured in

[54] Based on searches for the frequency of words on the Lantern Media History Digital Library, advertisements for the then-named University of Applied Science appear in numerous movie magazines throughout the 1920s and 1930s.
[55] Operator No. 38 advertising is located in: *Modern Screen*, November 1935, 95; *Movie Classic*, November 1935, 76; and *Movie Classic*, January 1936, 54. Accessed June 2, 2015, Lantern Media History Digital Library.

the movie magazines. Although the reports read like true crime pulp fiction, a closing paragraph promises their reality—grounding these aspirations of thrills and expertise through training and procedure:

> Secret Service Operators are not born, they are trained and developed from regular, average persons just like you. You can very easily understand that you cannot at the present time go out and do the work that these men are doing. But do you realize that in a comparatively short time with our training, you should be able to do this work and do it properly?[56]

Moreover, these reports would serve as actual lesson materials for the Secret Service unit of the Institute for Applied Science's forensic correspondence education.[57]

These materials illustrate the instructive, training focus of early detective home correspondence courses, particularly the possibilities of fingerprinting beyond criminal procedure and classification. An advertising pamphlet adorned with bright red typography "Your Chance for Success!" bears the image of the above Secret Service Operator No. 38. Addressed from the director of Institute of Applied Science, the text stresses the importance of proper training, describing the then-social climate: "The local people have begun to get finger print minded and finger prints are as important to the Sheriff's Office as the telephone and typewriter."[58] On the most basic level, what it means to become fingerprint minded is to perceive fingerprints as legitimate technology that communicates identity and that identity's societal status. This means recognizing fingerprinting as technology of equal stature and everyday importance to other information machines. There is, however, something implied here about fingerprinting standing in for a modern

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[56] T.G. Cooke, *Investigation Reports of Operators 38, 52, and 33* (Chicago: Institute of Applied Science, 1947). Author's personal archive (acquired from eBay seller April 23, 2016).
[57] Cooke, *Investigative Reports*. The reports end on the back cover with the bolded print: "Please preserve these reports as they will be useful for reference when studying the lessons of this course."
[58] T.G. Cooke to "Sir," undated.

approach to processing the world. Moreover, a proceduralized mindset developed through skilled training, home education, and under the watchful guidance of practiced professionals. A thematic current here, the promise of expertise at the heart of this enterprise draws from the legitimacy of fingerprinting as a technology and the police and fingerprint trade associations' endorsements of the school.

For both publics—police professional and citizen enthusiast—fingerprinting was pitched as not merely another method of police detection, a compact "technology of demographic regulation."[59] Such technologies, like the photograph, sought to qualify and quantify the possible criminal in the nineteenth century, when scientific management as disciplinary procedure emerged in industrial and social settings.[60] A greater desire to stabilize the world and identity itself saw the modern emergence of technologies of verification: transforming the human body into a bearer of details that can be collected, isolated, and consolidated into quick reference. For Sekula, such demarcation of criminal social body and "law-abiding body" is itself a delineation of a greater nineteenth-century impulse towards literal class-ification of bodies: "either bourgeois or subject to the dominion of the bourgeoisie."[61] For Tom Gunning, the photograph becomes the material representation of this conversion of body into information, used in legitimate police work and the imaginative depictions of detection in popular culture as the stand-in for, and

[59] Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (Winter 1986), 19, accessed September 1, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/778312.
[60] Ibid. Sekula references the early classification developments in criminology from Sir Francis Galton and Alphonse Bertillon, but speaks to the greater modern disciplinary and surveillant societies emerging alongside these criminal identification systems.
[61] Sekula, 15.

evidence of, truth.[62] Historians of fingerprinting and criminology, such as Simon Cole and Jonathan Finn, provide greater depth in tracing the process of converting human beings into manageable data via fingerprinting, particularly within the professional bureaucratic realm: government spaces (the police station, the courtroom, the FBI headquarters, the colonialist empire). What remains on the periphery is its concurrent presence in popular culture and its circulation into the American home.

These forays into the public are neither incidental nor accidental leaks to the public. The emergence of the amateur detection framework is predicated on the mass-reproducibility of fingerprints in this period and a growing governmental desire to keep total track of its citizenry. Print culture provides the means to which detection procedures find their way into the domestic space: home correspondence courses exploring detection methods and fingerprinting. Broadly speaking, home correspondence courses rely on print materials to disseminate lesson and course materials, while their specific educational focus on fingerprinting procedure required replicable samples of the same prints. To put plainly, home correspondence schools for detection could not flourish without modern print technologies and mass reproduction.

The fingerprint and its ubiquity in the American cultural imaginary depends on a crucial synergy among procedure, photography, and print production through a constitutive process of aggregating the human body into information that can be quickly disseminated to professional and public networks alike. In a discussion of technologies of detection, scholar Tom Gunning argues that the photograph functions as the bridge

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[62] Tom Gunning, "Tracing the Individual Body: Body, Photography, Detectives, and Early Cinema," in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, eds. Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 19.

between public space and private bodies, allowing the latter to become observable and scrutinized outside the home.[63] Although Gunning perceives the photograph to be the model detecting device and source of evidence, the actual photographing *of* fingerprints became the essential method to circulate body identification. A marriage between photography and fingerprinting shifted how criminal and citizen data could be recorded, collected, and archived. Unlike the Bertillon measurements, the fingerprint became a compact, verifiable indicator of the criminal body.[64] Not only did the combination extend the reach of the law, but the camera extended the rhetorical image of the criminal through the cataloguing of fingerprints.[65] Perhaps most significantly, fingerprinting made flexible what had otherwise been tied to time and space: the human body.[66] Not only did the dual system of photography and fingerprinting provide the means to easily catalogue the trace of the human body, it did not necessitate the physical, material body to do so. And so, the relationship between photography and fingerprinting, methods of reprinting and enlargement, and its circulation among identification bureaus are desired procedural steps in order to fully classify and standardize any body residing within the United States. Rather than treat photography, fingerprinting, and these re-printed materials as different stages of criminal processing, I argue all are necessary to initiate the circulation of criminal imagery. As fingerprints and criminal identities became more easily classified and disseminated to

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[63] Gunning, 19.
[64] Jonathan Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image: From Mug Shot to Surveillance Society* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 39.
[65] Jonathan Finn, "Photographing Fingerprints: Data Collection and State Surveillance," *Surveillance & Society* 3, no. 1 (September 2002): 21-44, accessed September 23, 2015, http://ols.library.queensu.ca/index.php/surveillance-and-society/article/view/3318.
[66] Tom Gunning would make such observations of the photographed fingerprint's ability to capture a specific time/space and exist outside of it. Also see Simon Cole, *Suspect Identities: A History of Fingerprinting and Criminal Identification* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

other professionals in service of the law, these images increasingly made their way to the public through popular print, itself a mass media product of the age of reproduction.[67]

Fingerprinting, as a procedural marker of modern bureaucracy, becomes the foundation for popularizing and visualizing policing for a public and for home correspondence schools. The process stands as a particularly important addition to identification and a procedure of detection, because it was a simple, condensed visualized marker. The fingerprint is naturally connected to the body versus the more artificial, mechanical reproductions of criminal images or the textual translation of body features and measurements in isolation. These qualities allowed fingerprinting to quite easily envelope more criminal bodies under surveillance, but dually provided a system for bringing non-criminalized bodies under the watchful eyes of every branch of the government as well.[68] Yet the legitimacy of these objects is not innately scientific. Utilizing the work of Bruno Latour, Finn argues that we must read photographed fingerprints, and data of identification and criminality as inscriptions that create frameworks of knowledge in the context of their use.[69] That is to say, the formation of identification is created and mutable, depending on an ever-changing formation of criminal and citizen identifications. Here, Finn is building from the work of Sekula, who argues that neither the camera nor the photograph creates the image of the criminal or the citizen, but becomes the material means of its cataloguing at a given moment.[70] The documentation of identification inevitably works to bring all bodies, not just criminal ones, towards a total state of surveillance and facilitate contemporary body tracking.

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[67] Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image,* 22.
[68] Finn, "Photographing Fingerprints."
[69] Ibid., xix.
[70] Sekula.

The so-termed F.P.E. (Finger Print Expert) would straddle a precarious blurring between professional and amateur reflecting a public understanding of fingerprinting. To become "finger print minded," begs the question as to how such materials work to train citizens to do fingerprinting *and* recognize the procedure as providing infallible markers of identification. On one hand, these correspondence schools and purveyors of the craft would justify their existence through their expertise, a hard-earned achievement through dedication and study. On the other hand, Sir Edward Henry of the Henry Classification System—the fingerprinting system most commonly taught in such correspondence schools—championed fingerprinting for its simplicity. Comparing his system to complex Bertillonage, Henry argued that fingerprinting was "simplicity itself," implementable "without skilled labor, and without instruments."[71] Henry's statements erase the labor of Indian workers Rai Bahadur Hem Chandra Bose and Azizul Haque, who learned fingerprinting and then assisted in the creation of the very fingerprinting system that catalogued their fellow colonized countrymen as well as themselves.

While major American metropolitan cities began to implement modern criminal identification techniques in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, it is within the twentieth century where moves towards a more nationalized criminal system and an increased public awareness of American detective work begin. As a crucial historical antecedent, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 sets the stage for a national introduction to fingerprinting as a "new" technology of detection. This newness was, of course, a marketing construct. On an international level, fingerprinting is deeply rooted in colonial surveillance; beginning in 1895, the Henry system would aid British colonial governance in Bengal for all

[71] Cole, 87.

forms of identification in the territory.[72] On American soil, the use of fingerprinting could already be found at a few U.S. state penitentiaries in the late 1800s as well as a limited number of police departments. Yet the World's Fair provided many with their introduction to the procedures of fingerprinting. Among the many excitements at the fair, police science maintained a particularly strong appearance to educate fellow police professionals, amateur criminologists, and, most importantly, the inquiring general public who were daily bombarded with print and newspaper tales of crime, criminals, and the police activities that kept lawlessness at bay. For them, fingerprinting was introduced as *the* new, premiere method of identification that would change police work.

Institutionally, the World's Fair provided the space for different police representatives across the nation to question the future of identification standards. The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) held their annual convention there and relocated their fledging National Bureau of Criminal Identification to the fairgrounds to publicize their methods to fellow policemen.[73] In addition to the exhibition and sale of most current forensic and detection equipment, there were persuasive demonstrations of emergent fingerprinting methods in order to convert or at least entice fellow officers. At the fair, Detective Sgt. John Kenneth Ferrier of the London Metropolitan Police was one of two main fingerprinting spokespersons, expounding on the identification and classification benefits of the Henry System, the British fingerprint system implemented at the Scotland

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[72] Cole, 85.

[73] Donald C. Dilworth, *Identification Wanted: Development of the American Criminal Identification System, 1893-1943* (Gaithersburg, MD: International Association of Chiefs of Police, Police Management & Operations Divisions, 1977), 54. In 1896, the International Association of Chiefs of Police created the National Bureau of Criminal Identification, which predates the FBI.

Yard.[74] The other, Captain James Parke, provided fingerprinting lessons along with an exhibit showcasing his successful installation of a fingerprint system in the New York State Prison Department of Albany.[75]

As described, the exhibit straddles a bridge between security tactics and technological display to garner spectatorial admiration. The overall fair presence of various police officials and IACP, however, was largely intended to education the public and draw their support rather than fellow officers. Chief Mathew Kiely of St. Louis recalls the Bureau's exhibit:

> The Bureau was accordingly transferred and installed in a most conspicuous place in the Palace of Education…The working exhibit of the Bureau was of great education value to the throngs of sightseers, serving as it did to educate them in the tricks and wiles of the underworld and to impress the young and old with a much higher respect for the majesty of the law.[76]

Though conjecture, the exhibit is credited as the catalyst for our national curiosity and fascination with the technique—as the story goes—and, in the years that follow—the slow, steady adoption of the procedure in police departments and the military. Fingerprinting would be the premiere method of cataloguing and tracking of WWI soldiers in a decade. Though correct categorization colors the classification of fingerprinting, the system design privileges the visual shapes and designs of finger patterns, beginning with the arch, loop, whorl, composites, and additional subdivisions. The fingerprint itself acts as a scientific, biological marker of the finger skin's surface, and benefits from the widely agreed upon

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[74] Dilworth, 54.
[75] *Finger Print and Identification Magazine*, December 1942, 9. Though there is some debate regarding whether Parke or Ferrier first presented fingerprinting at the World's Fair in 1904, there is no doubt both were there for the similar purposes. Parke's March 1903 implementation at the Albany State Prison is believed to be the first use of the system at a state level in the U.S.
[76] Dilworth, 55. Originally printed in the Proceedings of the IACP, 1905, 66.

assumption that no two fingerprints are alike and each is unique and unchanging to an individual. The juxtaposition of the dangers of twentieth century crime as well as the innovations of police detection methods from the National Bureau both frame the risks and rewards of American police forces. For their efforts, the National Bureau exhibit and fingerprinting's debut appeared to receive significant public response for new systems of police science and classification.[77] Unlike the photograph, fingerprinting was introduced to the American public as a method of identification first and almost unilaterally in its early decades of use, which further supported its quick association as a scientific marker.

The blurring of relationships at the World's Fair would be mirrored on the national stage: on one end, police professionals and national security, and on the other, an interested public fascinated, if not concerned, with identification procedures. In the subsequent years following its official introduction, fingerprinting became the dominant identification method for American police departments and fellow government agencies,[78] though it did take some time and was often paired with the existing system. Despite its public reception at the World's Fair, the study of dactylography was slow to trickle into the public sphere, because it was still somewhat of a novelty not yet understood as a technology accessible to the general public. This was somewhat compounded in the lead up to and time during WWI, where fingerprinting was heavily promoted as a military technique to track soldiers for future benefits and to prevent desertions.[79]

The backdrop to the conversations with both fair publics—professional and public—was the introduction of fingerprinting not just as another method of police

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[77] *Finger Print and Identification Magazine*, December 1942, 9.
[78] See Cole; and Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image.*
[79] Cole.

detection, but as a serious challenger to the Bertillon method as the technological procedure for the future. The method, introduced in the nineteenth century by French police official Alphonse Bertillon, is considered the first modern classification system for criminality. What makes these modern criminal identification strategies dependent on verification and procedure is, first, their reliance on an ordered, specific approach to gathering data with these new technologies. In order to implement, Bertillonage required operating procedures dictating methods of measurement, figure placement, unique markers of facial qualities, and categories of coding. Specifically, it is based on eleven different anthropometric measurements of the human body as well as meticulous recordings of physical descriptions and unique marks. It was the predominant system of identification in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Bertillonage, subsequently fingerprinting, creates a working record with referent terms for the future searches. The anthropometric measurements and physical descriptions reduced the human body to a classifiable formula or, as scholar Simon Cole describes, "turning the criminal body into pure information"[80] Bertillonage offered consistency, but more, a promise of "disciplinary process"—an opportunity to materially capture and arrest an elusive criminal in a database for future reference.[81] If the ultimate goal is a classifiable body, Bertillonage provided the possibility to concretize the human figure into recognizable surface traits for the social record for use in local policing tracking, and even more promising, provides foundation for a national identification system.

Perhaps most recognizable today as a "mug shot," the *portrait parlé* sparked a great deal of Bertillon's popularity and circulation among police and public alike. Yet, the

[80] Cole, 49.
[81] Gunning, 30.

muddled cultural status of photography within spheres of science and entertainment brought into question its viability as a scientific tool providing infallible truth. *Portraits parlé* made up nineteenth-century police rogues' galleries—photographic collections of criminal faces that aided in both police and public identification of repeat offenders.[82] These images and galleries quickly became public attractions themselves. The New York Police Department, for instance, frequently hosted visitors eager to gawk at the visual archive of criminality, before the size of the crowds required that the galleries be restricted to crime reporting alone.[83]

The Bertillon System was not innately flawed, but its procedural design lacked consistent application and proved to be too complicated for public use. As with any procedure, the purpose and intended use of such measurements must be known and upheld from the onset for standardization. Initially, Bertillonage offered the aspirational possibility of a fully trainable system, which was attractive to any law enforcement institution. The ability for mass standardization among police departments, nationally and internationally, would reshape how to track recidivism through archives of identification. However, the Bertillon method would struggle as a procedural medium in America due to frequent mistranslations and uneven regulation methods of measurement. There were classification debates even in the early implementations of Bertillonage in American crime departments. More specifically, there were frequent disagreements as to hierarchy of importance across Bertillonage data:

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[82] Dilworth, 1-2.
[83] Rachel Hall, *Wanted: The Outlaw in American Visual Culture* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 66. See also Gunning; and Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989).

> The impression very generally prevails that the basis of the Bertillon system is that no two men can register exactly the same in all their measurements, and the individuals are identified by their measurements. This is an error. Instead of this being the purpose, the measurements are taken as an aid in searching a collection of pictures. In a word, an individual is found by his measurements, and identified by his accurately taken description.[84]

The potentiality for such inversion of investigation steps—the measurements as key notation search terms for a library of images made continuity somewhat impossible among departments. Moreover, IACP members continued to vocalize their concerns over Bertillonage as not merely differences in their understanding of instructions and use of the measurements, but many police departments also lacked access to standardized Bertillon instruments of measurement,[85] which meant that measurements would not match up to those used by other police departments and bureaus of identification. Moreover, the rate at which American criminal identities were recorded quickly surpassed the archiving and ease of searchability of Bertillon cards. The content of the cards, while extensive, necessitated time-intensive dedication and rechecking of measurements, which did not suit the needs of many busy metropolitan police stations.[86] Such surges of information were not unwelcomed by these bureaus, but created a greater need and desire for a quicker, more efficient, and legible system.

Fingerprinting as a system did not absolve all of these procedural concerns, but offered what appeared to be a more visually and scientifically-based approach to

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[84] George M. Porteous, "How the Bertillon System Operates," Superintendent of National Bureau of Criminal Identification, Proceedings of the IACP, 1898, 33, reprinted in Dilworth, 23.
[85] Dilworth, 10. Chicago Chief of Police Robert W. McClaughry would become the warden of the U.S. Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, which housed the largest fingerprint collection in the country before the FBI took over the National Bureau of Identification.
[86] Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image*, 32.

identification. Arguably, the most influential aspect of the fingerprint design is the possibility of its material reproducibility and circulation through print and photographic print technologies. Fingerprinting as forensic science *par excellence* weaved into press with real-life newspaper tales of mistaken identity, frauds, and impostors—a stabilizer of identity even for well-known faces. The infallible claims to the unique, stable nature of fingerprints would seem to rectify the misperception of the uniqueness of Bertillonage individual measurements.

For Institute Director Cooke, the greater aims of the profession and school were to tie education to a visible deterrent to would-be criminals through public awareness of the fingerprinting method. In a letter to the renowned Henry Faulds, noted pioneer in fingerprinting, Cooke writes, "It is my opinion that the more publicity we can give to the efficacy of identification methods, the more the public will be deterred from committing crimes."[87] Here, Cooke is building from the early work of the International Association of Identification—a partner in normalizing, so to speak, the school itself. The creation of the International Association for Identification or IAI in 1915 brought together police and identification professionals as well as amateur enthusiasts, both seeking to universalize police procedures and publicize their efforts on a national scale.

Before the Institute targeted everyday aspiring detectives, the initial objective catered toward already outfitted policemen. Of such early advertisements for Evans University, the first iteration of the school, one features a sketch of a shy, unsure deputy

[87] T.G. Cooke to Henry Faulds, January 15, 1930, Box 6, Folder 2, A&M No.: 3518, Doepner/Faulds Papers, International Association for Identification, Collection, West Virginia University, West Virginia and History Online Digital Collections, Morgantown, WV.

handing off papers to a confident Chief of Police, marked by his badge and uniform.[88] While the advertisement emphasizes "Be a Finger Print Expert" in thick bold letters, the words "Win Promotion" tower over as the heading. The direct address of the ad clarifies the intended reader of the advertisement: "Don't be satisfied with the daily grind of patrolling a beat—or with a blue coat and brass buttons. Be a man of authority. Equip yourself with the knowledge that will make the department depend upon you; be proud of you."[89] General rhetoric of the ad focuses on acquisition of individual knowledge, autonomy albeit within a government station, and a repeated emphasis on the financial possibilities of the specialization. As well, in its earliest advertising, the school emphasizes the leisurely pace at which one might complete the course: "Our remarkable course makes you a finger print expert in your spare time—at home. It will not interfere with your regular work—not even with your pleasures."[90] Overall, the ad promises future opportunities along with a no risk, free book on fingerprints as a complimentary introduction to the course. Later advertisements for the Institute of Applied Science were often sandwiched among numerous correspondence schools calling for specialties in trade, music, performance, and even personality work. Aside from the Institute, the most notably referenced outside advertisements is the Dunlap School of Fingerprints, created by Al Dunlap, editor of *The Detective*, a criminal identification magazine specifically geared towards industry professionals. Dunlap himself was a prominent member and editor of the IAI and a frequent champion of universal fingerprinting at their international conferences.[91]

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[88] Reprinted in Dilworth, 105. Original source unknown.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] *Finger Print Magazine*, November 1922, 9, 11-12.

Early on, the school characterizes these pursuits with particular masculine technological and intellectual aspirations, relying on appeals to strength, intrigue, and the economic viability of the detection as well as its ease of use. One such classic advertisement for the *University* of Applied Science features an illustration of well-groomed nails pulling open a black hole, a hidden secret: a FREE course in Secret Service. Occupying the right column of the page, the mostly text advertisement reiterates the financial possibilities of Finger Print Expert status with "The Pay Is Big!" in bolded, italicized lettering. The address dictates to a presumed male reader:

> No special education is necessary. YOU can become a master of this profession by studying at home in your spare time. Expert Finger Print men travel all over the country solving mysteries that baffle all others. They are important men and highly regarded and envied by every one.[92]

Unlike the earlier advertisement for Evans University, there is a tonal shift appealing to amateurism and enthusiasm, which is underscored by its being advertised within a movie magazine. The tone of this section in particular emphasizes not only individualism, but an earned reputation and admiration through the skill of fingerprint identification. As well, there is a repetition of the home education and the promised mastery of detection. These rhetorical strategies work to sell detection as a learnable product as well as characterize the profession in romantic and thrilling ways. Along with the promise of job opportunities, fingerprinting knowledge is less constrained by the need for justice or service to the law. Instead, this advertising gestures towards fingerprinting as a knowledge access to expand the reach and scope of one's perception of the world in literal ways (traveling across the

[92] Examples of this specific advertisement are featured in: *Motion Picture Magazine,* March 1920, 9; *Motion Picture Magazine*, November 1920, 6; *Picture Play Magazine*, September 1920, 100, accessed June 2, 2015, Lantern Media History Digital Library.

country) and metaphorical ones (unveiling mysteries that otherwise create a hierarchy of intellect).

Straddling the line between amateurism and professionalism, the Institute promotes fingerprinting expertise as both an entertainment and scientific venture. The concentration of school advertising in popular technical magazines *Popular Mechanics*, *Popular Science*, *Modern Mechanix*, and *Science and Mechanics* match together the early outsourcing of fingerprinting work to the home students interested in technological progress and equipment more broadly. The Institute relied on the popular imaginary of crime and the heroes who fight against it to cultivate interest in fingerprinting procedure and learning forensic detection techniques. The advertising as a whole invoked generic parallels to crime-fighting along with promises of high paying rewards. {rephrase}The Institute is hyperaware of its own cultural lineage and freely integrates references as shorthand to coax readers into the next chapter of detection: "The mystic days of the supersleuth may be gone, but romance and adventure still live in this profession."[93] The Institute's materials for interested students tapped into the look of pulp crime print. From ads, curious students could send off for the Institute's book on fingerprints or its *Blue Book of Crime*—at no expense—to get a taste of home correspondence school materials and the success of the school graduates. While the *Blue Book of Crime* dedicates some pages to the history of the school and its studies, the majority of the handbook is filled with short mystery stories with titles like "Tale of the Steering Wheel" and "The Ghost of Death's Gap" along with sinister images of lurking predators versus the handsome suited men apprehending them. These "Real Cases" sections explicitly invoke their generic short hand, as Cooke's introduction

[93] Cooke, *The Blue Book of Crime*, 5.

teases: “How we love TRUE CRIME STORIES! What a thrill we get out of them. What fascination, as we watch the expert operative pursue his man, corner him, prove his guilt.” [94] Each story relates back to the genius and success of fingerprinting with most casting the major roles with graduates of the school, such as the story “The Famous Deacon Case,” solved by graduate Leroy F. Smith (now part of Michigan Bureau of Identification).[95] The book is filled with short mystery tales starring the school’s very own F.P.E.s as the heroes, while some are directly sourced from the *Finger Print and Identification Magazine*. In all, fingerprints reveal the true perpetrators and the fingerprint expert saves the day. These ads and Institute course materials promoted the promise of profit and a thrilling adventure through procedural learning with a dose of law-abiding citizenship.

A crucial synergistic relationship existed between the Institute and *Finger Print Magazine*, the professional organ for the IAI. The magazine (later named *Finger Print and Identification Magazine*) served as the chief advertising outlet for the University of Applied Sciences, which began in T.G. Cooke’s home residence. In its earliest inception, the trade publication was an invaluable resource to cultivate a national network of fingerprinting advocates. According to Cooke, the magazine was the oldest professional publication in the United States dedicated to procedures of identification and detection.[96] The contents typically served several purposes: to update the IAI members as to annual meeting notes and resolutions, to provide histories of the fingerprinting method, to present a monthly aggregation of local and national news articles featuring fingerprinting, and to illustrate and reiterate the proper procedures for fingerprinting.

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[94] Cooke, *The Blue Book of Crime*, 48.
[95] Ibid., 51-52.
[96] Ibid., 46.

Multiple advertisements would begin in the very first issue of the *Finger Print Magazine,* purposefully integrated into the visual and typographical styling of the magazine blurring distinctions between ad and informative article. The largest initial ad features "evidence"—fingerprints and smears—from a case letter to The University of Applied Science from T.A. Scully, a recent graduate and successfully hired fingerprint expert. Just like Scully, the ad ends, "You, too, can become a Finger Print Expert! You, too, can solve crime, gain fame and rich reward!"[97] The magazine also serves as a central advertising space for Cooke's entrepreneurial side businesses in professional and amateur fingerprinting tools and equipment, which were key to promoting the school to fellow professionals and hobbyists in the field.

The magazine would be an outlet to showcase Cooke's authoritative voice in the field of fingerprinting through featured written articles and a full endorsement from the IAI. The November 1920 issue reprints T.G. Cooke's speech to the IAI annual convention Minneapolis, MN, August 14, 1920, entitled "Mr. President, Fellow Members and Visitors, Why [sic] is a Correspondence School?"[98] Cooke describes the school's origin of "intense struggle and discouragement," and an underdog story about his singular efforts to get the school up and running. The speech as a whole is an emotional appeal to the IAI for support and endorsement to future students, and as a primary outlet for those needing F.P.E.s for the good and longevity of the fingerprinting profession itself. Following the reprinting of the speech, the Magazine lists the formal association resolutions passed at the August 1920 meeting, including an official approval for "any well-conducted correspondence school

[97] *Finger Print Magazine*, July 1919, 16.
[98] *Finger Print Magazine*, November 1920, 2, 7.

teaching the Henry method of finger-print work."[99] Ironically, the IAI also passed a resolution "condemn[ing] the practice of certain finger-print schools that advertise positions paying fabulous salaries and any and all other misleading statements"—of which the Institute would arguably serve as a textbook example.[100] As a member of IAI, Cooke is listed on the committee for these resolutions, which would suggest that he acquired a professional endorsement as a buttress to competition from other correspondence schools. These approvals would coincide with a unanimous vote for universal fingerprinting in the United States, linking together home correspondence education with the greater drive to catalogue every human being for government and private accountability.

As well, the print would increasingly function as an extension of the school's teaching in more direct ways. Although the magazine contents might suggest only professional readers or members of the IAI, the magazine provided key references for the school as well as recruiting material.[101] From its inception, the magazine's audience was a mixture of professional detectives, fingerprint experts and budding students of the Institute. It would also reach non-subscribers in a greater push to spread the importance of fingerprinting.[102] Every student of the Institute would also receive the magazine, free of charge, with their tuition.

Cooke eventually served as editor-in-chief of the *Fingerprint and Identification Magazine* (1919-1978) before buying the magazine and shifting publishing control to The

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[99] *Finger Print Magazine*, November 1920, 2, 7.
[100] Ibid.
[101] *Finger Print Magazine*, February 1921, 2.
[102] *Finger Print Magazine*, August 1919, 15. Although the editors note that their audience includes non-subscribers, few additional details are provided to grasp the extent of this audience, or these particular methods of circulation.

University of Applied Science.[103] The February 1921 issue would be the first time the cover reads "Published monthly by the University of Applied Science."[104] In an introductory editorial piece, Cooke justifies the purchase:

> We have felt for some time that the University should have an official organ to spread finger-print news among the profession and our undergraduates. Rather than launch a competing publication, we decided to purchase the Finger Print Magazine. [105]

Of course, the outlet had always figured prominently as a course reader of sorts for Institute students. The new ownership signaled a rhetorical shift in the content of the magazine, which reoriented itself first as a monthly promotional advertisement for the school, and second, as an outlet for fingerprinting news and methods.

Examining the magazine more closely, fingerprint education relied on reenactment and repetition of procedures to ensure knowledge acquisition. The print was a tool of instruction: illustrating the proper procedures, how to lift prints from surfaces, how to develop and enlarge photographic prints of fingerprints, and even how to maintain and update personal and professional fingerprinting cards. The most instructive were repeated, step-by-step guides on how to take a stranger's prints. Almost every issue displays images of detectives in the process of making imprints—whether from live human fingers or lifting latent prints from objects—with explanations as to how to translate their information into the standard fingerprint record format used in police files.[106] The second issue of *Finger Print Magazine* would provide a four-page extensive process with the article "Making

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[103] The full transition and takeover begins with *Finger Print Magazine*, February 1921.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid., 2.
[106] The first of the images would be featured in the inaugural issue: *Finger Print Magazine*, July 1919, 4.

Finger Print Records With the Ink Outfit."[107] Written by Ragnar M. Hedenvall, then-Associate Editor and F.P.E., the article taught readers how to take prints with a slab and ink roller, with meticulous attention to the pre-printing preparations necessary to ensure a perfect and permanent print. Photographs provide visual aids as to the proper arm and body placement of the fingerprinter to the fingerprintee, accounting for uneven heights, hand dominance, and different material surfaces.[108] The images of two men capture the reenactment of the proper fingerprinting technique from the initial inking of each finger, from right thumb to left, to the imprinting of each individual finger. In essence, these are procedural instructions, with the visuals paired with detailed descriptions, as this excerpt can illustrate:

> The operator places his subject directly in front of and facing the inked slab. His own position is to the left of the subject. The subject's right hand is then grasped, by the same hand of the operator. The index, middle ring and little fingers are held doubled in to the palm of the hand by the operator.[109]

The description would continue in this fashion, exhaustive in its minutiae in order to ensure that the magazine's readership will be able to mimic these standards in their own studies. This article lesson stresses the necessity of repeated practice to develop the correct pressure and exertion on the fingerprints of one's subject. Likewise, failure to capture clear fingerprints is the fault of improper procedure, which is the key to success.[110]

The Institute lesson booklets merely elaborate on these ideas: stressing memorization and repeated testing of fingerprint history and classification to ensure a

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[107] Ragnar M. Hedenvall, "Making Finger Print Records with the Ink Outfit," *Finger Print Magazine,* August 1919, 6-9.
[108] Hedenvall, 6-7.
[109] Ibid., 7.
[110] Hedenvall, 9.

standardized "finger print mind" among their students.[111] Students are also encouraged to use their own fingerprints and those of friends and family to learn procedure through continual practice. Procedural reenactment is the primary method to instruct students on proper verifying, tracking, and filing identification within their own homes. As an added dimension to the repetition here, these procedural images would later be used in advertisements for the University of Applied Science.[112]

Perhaps most directly, the home correspondence school presented opportunities to practice the developing of identification skills and even crime-solving from the comforts of home. The magazine under Cooke began to incentivize fingerprint detection by soliciting outstanding warrants for arrest with panels of printed mug shots, Bertillon measurements, and fingerprints of criminal offenders with wire contact information for neighboring sheriffs as well as the reward monies. One of the earliest such examples is a full page notice on escaped convict Elmer Primm with details: his Henry fingerprint classification, his catalogue number in the local police archive, the reward amount ($75), mug shot reprint, back story, description, Bertillon measurements including marks and scars, when he was last seen, what he was wearing, what he did, and where to wire notice of arrest for the reward.[113] Of course, there is long historical precedent for "Wanted" posters soliciting

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[111] William Raymond Gutierrez, Fingerprint Examination Sheets for the Institute of Applied Science Criminal Identification and Investigation Course, July 17, 1947 to May 5, 1948. Author's personal archive.

[112] One such example can be seen in *Finger Print Magazine*, January 1921, 4, which demonstrates the early fluidity between the magazine content and the Institute's own teaching.

[113] *Finger Print Magazine*, September 1922, 3.

public support and participation in apprehending criminalized persons, or earlier, escaped slaves.[114]

These largely public displays expand the historical lineage of "See Something, Say Something" reporting between public citizenry and police. Cooke claims that *Finger Print Magazine* was the first outlet to have such a partnership with police, with the replicated details of a convict's personal crime identification records.[115] Additionally, in contrast, the Institute's wanted convict ads link the catching of these images to the process and practice of being a student detective, as Cooke describes: "Students of the Institute of Applied Science are sent eight of these circulars each month. In this way, they are given practical work on ACTUAL cases in connection with their regular studies."[116] First and foremost, these images (and the magazine itself) function as study tools where students can apply practical knowledge to reading and understanding the criminal statistics, and have a foundation to begin their own criminal archive. In this fashion, the school and the magazine provided reciprocal advertising outlets, both working to monetize the procedures of identification. Cooke even implies that former students have been successful and earned extra monies in this fashion. As such, Cooke's secondary enterprise legitimizes the school's long-standing promise of rewarding opportunities, and possible reward money, through the practical application of detection skills. These moves to further commercialize amateur security worked effectively to privatize and individualize the work of readers and students, the latter of whom were encouraged to apply learned knowledge to the real world warrants.

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[114] See Hall, *Wanted,* for an extensive history of "Wanted" public imagery in American visual culture.
[115] Cooke, *The Blue Book of Crime*, 46.
[116] Ibid., 35.

The combined use of print, reproduced fingerprints, and photographs cultivate an imagined crime-solving community—a roaming rogue's gallery. Its ambitious goals resonates with and national crime investigations familiar today, Cooke's claims to the Magazine's precedence are matched by his heralding its success: "Since then it has published notices for over 1600 fugitives from justice, most of whom have been apprehended."[117] This framing of success take on new form with television—particularly the FBI call-in rotating crime gallery of *America's Most Wanted*, which will be explored in Chapter Four. Importantly, the school predates the official creation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935. And so, these early materials hail a community of crime fighters across the spectrum of professional and amateur status and local and state jurisdiction lines.

Although the magazine and the Institute emphasize the scientific integrity and centrality of fingerprinting, there are numerous turns to its religiosity. As a perceived scientific, biological marker, the legitimacy of fingerprinting as a procedure of identification depends on the widely agreed upon assumption: no two prints are alike; each is unique and unchanging to an individual. There's no real way to truly test this statement's accuracy, but the notion becomes one of the central tenets of fingerprinting as the bedrock of policing procedures. Buttressed between step-by-step procedural reenactments and criminal capture updates in the April 1921 volume of *Finger Print Magazine*, student readers can read the following of fingerprinting's origins: "Of all the people in the world, since the year 400 before Christ, there have never been found two individuals who have had the same

[117] Cooke, *The Blue Book of Crime*, 37.

finger prints or foot prints."[118] Such a statement is both ahistorical and confusing, particularly for a magazine that prides itself on an attentive, even obsessive repetition of its own history in every issue. It should go without saying that the study of fingerprinting and identification does not originate in 400 BCE and there are insufficient classical references to bolster such claims. The broader work of normalizing the fingerprint system emphasizes its efficiency, its ubiquity, and its lack of stigma, but these odd contextual additions to the discourse signal a rhetorical shift towards an almost divine right of justice. This is best echoed in a June 1920 piece entitled "The People's Court," by A. Clavering Frederick. Here, F.P.E. Frederick makes parallels between courts of law and the higher courts of power, in the spiritual sense. It's not enough to be invested in the historical proof of fingerprinting's efficiency over Bertillonage; for Frederick, fingerprinting patterns are a religious gift to the identification community: "God's own system of recording has taken place, never to be improved upon and never to be equaled. Such a signature is absolute."[119] To propagate this idea is to promote fingerprinting as indisputable truth or the worthy labor of the finger print aficionados. Moreover, the move anticipates any challengers to fingerprinting as if there was an agreed upon standard, which there was not in the United States, let alone internationally.[120] And so for students of forensic home correspondence schools, fingerprinting expertise meant translating the divine into identification language, which aligned with a truly unbiased form of identification.

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[118] *Finger Print Magazine*, April 1921, 2.
[119] *Finger Print Magazine*, June 1920, 11.
[120] Cole, 224-225. Although the IAI and the Institute would back the Henry system, there were multiple fingerprinting systems circulating in the police and other governmental departments of the most populous northeastern cities. The City of New York, for instance, employed James Parke's "American system."

The Institute and IAI both championed a nationalized system of "universal fingerprinting" in which everyone would be fingerprinted, regardless of age or criminal status. There is an implication that fingerprinting is the great equalizer: the system privileges not differences in gender, sex, or skin color, but the visual design and contours of finger patterns alone—the arch, the loop, the whorl, the composite. The turn toward the divine origins of fingerprinting may likely have been attempts to distance the procedure of fingerprinting from any criminal stigma attached. For as much as the magazine, and the school by extension, wanted to project the system as citizen-friendly, they worked against its application for exclusion. All the appeals towards universality are trying to supersede the history and reputation of fingerprinting as a tracking tool for colonization and criminalization. Before its eventual use in criminal trials in the turn-of-the-century, it was integrated in federal immigration and disposition matters such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Indian Evidence Act of 1899. Cole notes that the US Customs Service was the first United States department to actually implement fingerprinting for immigration.[121]

Under Cooke, the magazine would increasingly publish essays that championed the applicability of fingerprinting by appealing to both economic and emotional desires. It provided extensive coversage of the IAI's Eighth Annual Convention, which declared universal fingerprinting its primary objective. Here, the IAI passes resolutions stating the total benefits and necessity of fingerprinting for the continued prosperity of the nation. Simultaneously, they derided any opposition or concern for civil rights as simply "ignorant"

[121] Cole, 121.

to the possibilities of total cataloging of American citizenry.[122] On one hand, universal fingerprinting promised indefinite job security for the Institute and the IAI, because every institution and government would be clamoring for F.P.E.s. On the other hand, these appeals often conflicted with Institute's long-established focus on fingerprinting as a procedure of crime detection.

*Finger Print Magazine* and the Institute would position fingerprinting as both infallible and learnable for public consumption. At the same time, the technology remained entrenched in gender and racial categorization and exclusion. These prejudices were promoted and legitimized on a procedural level. One example, the second installment of "Filing and Searching" offers a guide for budding F.P.E. students and expert readers for categorizing their own fingerprint archive. Borrowing from the Chicago fingerprinting bureau, it details an alphanumeric system for the subclassification of fingerprints. One step further, the article recommends color-coding the ink used in your fingerprint collection into raced and gendered categories: one for white women, another for white men, and then "colored men and women" should be the same color.[123] The article sells the ease of searchability with such a breakdown that effectively encodes race and gender onto fingerprints via colored ink—erasing their universality. It is telling that women of color are conflated with men in the recommended archiving strategies as their intersectional status erases their gender component completely.

What is worse is the magazine's frequent inclination to not only defend, but actively showcase racist procedural claims and histories for their student readers. In the Oct 1920 *Finger Print Magazine*, and in his capacity as associate editor, Cooke announces an

[122] *Finger Print Magazine*, November 1922, 10, 13.
[123] *Finger Print Magazine*, August 1920.

upcoming, commissioned article for the next issue: "The Finger Print System in British West Africa" by Captain L.W. LaChard.[124] What follows is an offensive ode to LaChard's hard work and success in transforming the Native Nigerian populations from "semi-savagery to civilization," "from cannibals into traders, mechanics, farmers"—all thanks to fingerprinting.[125] As a then-British protectorate, Nigeria is a prime example of the colonialist enterprise of identification cataloguing. For Cooke, LaChard's work is a testament to fingerprinting's "benefit to mankind" in its dedication to systematizing the proper order to the world: a distinction of good natives deserving protection verses those requiring punishment.[126] In doing so, Cooke gives the inarguable expression that he endorses *all* of LaChard's article to the *Finger Print Magazine* readers and Institute students, including his scholarly endeavors in mapping out a phrenology-like interpretation of the fingerprint classifications. A major portion of LaChard's article justifies his studies that a prevalence of loops belongs to the "highly civilized," while whorls "lower the racial scale," proving the inherent superiority of whiteness and subjugation of Black persons as the literal imprinted natural order of things. He shares his failures in amassing enough loops among his imprints of monkey's fingers to further extrapolate the racist dimensions of his spectrum.[127]

In a Guest Editorial in a 1934 issue of *Modern Mechanix* entitled "Your Fingerprints," FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover describes with genuine sincerity the promise of the Universal Fingerprinting System:

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[124] *Finger Print Magazine*, October 1920, 1.
[125] L.W. LaChard, "The Finger-Print System in British West Africa," *Finger Print Magazine*, December 1920, 3.
[126] *Finger Print Magazine*, October 1920, 1.
[127] Ibid.

> There is no stigma to such a method of identification. It is a badge of honor. It should give one a standing in the community. It should be a letter of recommendation to any bank or insurance or business institution, and it should be the duty of good citizens everywhere to assume the leadership in this movement by preaching its usefulness to employees and friends everywhere.[128]

Hoover is perhaps the most invested in the movement, which would have the capacity to consolidate federal control of identification under his own leadership. There's a shifting of the goal posts in his statement reminiscent of colonialist use of identification methods. The act of assisting police and gaining knowledge of detection methods are not the primary stand-ins for good citizenship and involvement. Good citizenship is the acquiescence to being catalogued and becoming a mouthpiece for the cause. Of course, Hoover would be invested in a totalizing surveillance system that could both address his obsession with controlling domestic recidivism as well as possible Communist Americans.

Who were the good citizens who deserved access to this instruction and expertise? Although select Institute advertising and learning materials promoted the entry of both "men and women" fingerprint experts, the actual statistics of the latter are difficult to pin down.[129] Moreover, the advertising materials promised overtly masculine technological and intellectual aspirations. In their advertisements, fingerprinting provided the means to cultivate capital for men willing to pick themselves up by their bootstraps. The Institute rests its rhetorical persuasiveness on a presumed male audience: "One thing that

[128] J. Edgar Hoover, "Your Fingerprints," *Modern Mechanix*, April 1934, 35.
[129] For promotional material on the school's openness to both men and women, see Cooke, *The Blue Book of Crime*.

differentiates BIG men from average men is the power to make a decision. Little men delay. Big Men Act."[130]

When women do appear in these materials, they are not depicted as having a knack for procedural learning. Women F.P.E.s are acknowledged within the magazine's pages very minimally—implying their oddity—and under particularly condescending headlines like "Pretty Girl Who Wars on Crime in California."[131] This article describes the employment of 18-year-old Miss Pauline Buenzie to the California State Finger Print Department. Rather than acknowledge the accomplishment alone, the write up jokes that Buenzie's gender and good looks will cause crime stats to get worse since "Miss Buenzie must hold the hand of the criminal when making the finger print records."[132] Women's contribution to fingerprinting is not referenced as expertise, but rather as an anomaly or humorous surprise. Another article, the aptly non-descript "Girl is Finger Print Expert"—a testament to its newsworthiness—would be reprinted in several issues of the Magazine, emphasizing the rarity. [133] Instead, New York Bureau Chief J.H. Taylor tells the charming story, admitting that the call for F.P.E.s was intended for men, and that they did not even think to specify it as *not* for women. Although he attempts to talk her out of the exam, she earns the highest grade from the class. He closes by admitting that she is actually good at what she does, convincing him to employ more women since her hire. This could function as the great American success story—Marie proved them all wrong and found success over adversity—except that it revealed the inherent metrics required for a hobby and expertise that claims

[130] T.G. Cooke to "Sir," undated, Box 5, Folder 7, A&M No.: 3518, Doepner/Faulds Papers, International Association for Identification Records 1842-2007, West Virginia University, West Virginia and History Online Digital Collections, Morgantown, WV.
[131] *Finger Print Magazine*, November 1920, 8.
[132] Ibid.
[133] *Finger Print Magazine*, July 1919, 14-15.

to be for all. She was only considered a viable candidate at the number one spot. Moreover, among the hundreds of typical featurettes of a F.P.E. in the magazine, readers never read testimonials from the "girl," Marie Dahm, herself. She is spoken for and never provided the opportunity to tell her story. The second reprinting of the article includes a full print, waist-length image of Miss Marie S. Dahm in a Classical Hollywood-esque soft lighting, pearls, peaking away from profile towards the camera behind the fluffy collar of a fur coat.[134] All in all, she is afforded an opportunity to become looked at, a sexualized object of the *Finger Print Magazine's* gaze, as opposed to a criminalized one.

Whereas 22-year-old Dahm's photographic image presents the non-offensive ideal of the woman's body—a female F.P.E. to boot—the Institute use images of women criminals to illustrate their trickiness and mutability. Dahm's image is staged and lit in antithesis to the mug shots typically displayed and used instructionally in the school. When other women's bodies pop up, their mug shots are used to prove the fallibility of the human eye. In Institute materials, the visual lesson "THREE FACES—ONE PERSON!" would have a repeat performance to illustrate "the importance of fingerprints in the establishment of identity."[135] Here, we are presented with three black-and-white mug shots of a repeat offender side by side: a smiling Pearl Fisher (weight 211 lbs), a frowning disheveled Bessie Hargrave (weight 205 lbs), and the closed mouth, slightly profiled Marie Brown (weight 105 lbs). Below each image displays a fingerprint of varying detail, but all resembling the other. The lesson invites readers to marvel at the slipperiness of the woman's body and marvel at the efficient "eye" of fingerprinting: "Would You Believe That These Three Photographs Are of One and the Same Person? Well, They Are; These Prints Prove It." The

[134] *Finger Print Magazine*, January 1921, 4.
[135] Cooke, *The Blue Book of Crime*, 29.

section conjures up old suspicions regarding the untrustworthiness of women's bodies, while fingerprinting becomes the truth-teller that can always see through potential lies. Importantly, white women and their bodies exist in these materials, albeit in problematic frames, where women of color do not exist.

Black men and black male bodies are also presented as deceptive and tricky against which fingerprinting becomes the savior and solidifier of identity. While the 1904 World's Fair stages America's official introduction to fingerprinting, another well-known origin story propagates for the school (and criminology, more broadly): The Will West case of 1903. As the tale goes, the officials at Leavenworth's Penitentiary in Kansas stumble upon a visual conundrum; a recently booked inmate, Will West, matched an already housed inmate William West. The officials, relying on *Bertillonage*, cannot make sense of the supposed interchangeable Bertillon measurements of two Wests, which is only further complicated by their seeming identical mug shots. Visually, these two Black men are remarked to be so closely matched visually, they could be exchangeable. In the April 1921 issue of *Finger Print Magazine*, the incident is recalled as the historical moment that finally called into question Bertillonage and photography—the-then dominant means of cataloguing criminal bodies.[136] Fingerprinting is the far superior alternative; only fingerprinting could reveal the truth.

This story—retold and circulated, even by the FBI—is heavily fictionalized: the two Wests did not have matching anthropometric measures and there is no record of their being fingerprinted in 1903. The moral of this well circulated "origin story" is that fingerprinting alone can vet out the confusing, supposedly interchangeable bodies of two

[136] *Finger Print Magazine*, April 1921, 2.

Black convicts with the technical promise to circumvent the trickery of such bodies in the future. In fact, when Black men appear in the Institute materials, it is to inform readers that another one has been caught or hanged, all thanks to the power of fingerprinting. The first photograph of a Black man that appears in *Finger Print Magazine* places convicted burglar George Watson's image in the sharp "V" crook of drawn open scissors.[137] Although meant to signify the clue (his fingerprint was found on a pair of scissors), the graphic resembles a guillotine that has finally caught its man.

Neither the Institute of Applied Science nor its magazine arm acknowledges any F.P.E.s beyond white male participants and the occasional white woman, clearly crafting a specific image of the expert. If these documents served as the sole history of amateur interest and involvement in forensic detection, men of color were only the objects of fingerprinting expertise, never experts themselves. It is only in historically black newspapers that I could find evidence that Black F.P.E.s ever existed and were celebrated for their educational accomplishments and aspirations. In an August 1944 issue of *The Pittsburgh Courier*, the article notes J. Andrew Gaulden's completion of the Institute's crime detection program, becoming "one of the few Negro identification experts in the nation."[138] Another in *The New York Amsterdam News* indicates that Alphonse Cimber from Haiti received his Institute diploma in 1933.[139] The extent of this presence is largely obscured from any histories of citizen detection—albeit for good reason. In a piece in *The Chicago Defender,* James L.B. Irwin was repeatedly refused a job at the State Department despite

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[137] *Finger Print Magazine*, March 1921, 3.
[138] "Becomes Finger Print Expert," *Pittsburgh Courier,* August 19, 1944, accessed October 4, 2015, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspapers.
[139] "Gets Diploma," *New York Amsterdam News,* Dec 13, 1933, accessed October 4, 2015, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspapers.

high ranking a graduate of the Institute and a recommendation from the director (presumably T.G. Cooke). In an effort to warn their predominantly Black readership, *The Chicago Defender* shares what Irwin discovered only *after* paying for and completing the Institute:

> Regardless of their training or experience Negroes are barred from membership in the International Association for identification, the trade union of fingerprint experts, by a clause in the union's constitution, which states that "No person of Negro blood shall be eligible to membership in the Association."[140]

It is not surprising that this information is non-existent in the promotional or study work from the Institute or the Magazine itself. While men of color, and their tuition monies, were apparently welcome, structural racism prevented their access to subsequent opportunities. Black men were barred from membership in the IAI—the very trade organization that touted fingerprinting as the great equalizer—whose overarching goal was to urge all Americans to embrace fingerprinting and collectively aid law enforcement in distinguishing the nation's criminals from its law-abiding citizens.

When the FBI gained greater control of criminal identification, the public cause of fingerprinting increased twofold with the added consequence of shifting procedural standards from amateur professionals to federal standards. This sparked a literal shift in fingerprinting systems that was outside of the purview of private organizations, and that affected individual bureaus and students, but also a professional shift away from educated classifiers and filers of fingerprinting data.[141] Perhaps the most blatant effect on detective

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[140] "Negroes Barred from Fingerprint Assn. Membership," *Chicago Defender*, February 5, 1944, accessed October 4, 2015, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspapers.
[141] Between 1935 and 1936, the FBI eliminated several print labeling tasks from the standard Henry System and reclassified others, affecting individual state and municipal bureaus of investigation. *Finger Print and Identification Magazine*, December 1942, 14.

labor, the Federal Bureau of Investigation would install an International Business Machine (IBM) computer in the 1940s to make categorization and filing more expedient.[142] In doing so, the IBM sorting system replaced the formerly human run and trained sorting/filing system for fingerprinting and human identification to become an analog middleman in the Department of Justice's greater national surveillance enterprise.[143]

In the public perception of detective procedures, fingerprinting would remain the quick signifier for investigation, however ambiguous its truth status would exist. Although the Institute was one of many correspondence schools to capitalize on the public fascination with forensics, the school technically remains in operation to this day for aspiring detectives and scientists, albeit under different management. As an object of study, its presence remains one of the earliest promises of bringing detection skills and knowledge to the comfort of one's own home. Although *Finger Print Magazine* would continue into the 1970s, the time of the home correspondence school detective in the cultural imaginary would largely decline in the 1930s, with scant presence of the film trope after 1935. Perhaps not so coincidently, with the formal absorption of the Bureau of Investigation into the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the home correspondence school detective would get replaced with the G Men (or government men) in more ways than one. One of Hoover's chief operating strategies for the newly minted FBI was to use all available pop cultural media to legitimize the newest police force in action.[144] With Hollywood cooperation and Hoover's heavy, influential hand, America would enjoy the likes of Warner

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[142] *Finger Print and Identification Magazine*, December 1942, 14.
[143] Cole, 250.
[144] See Richard Gid Powers, *G-Men: Hoover's FBI in American Popular Culture* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983).

Brothers's *G Men* (1935), meant to be a corrective against Darryl F. Zanuck's gangster melodrama *The Public Enemy* (1931). The film, and Hoover's greater public relations overall, aimed to stem the growing fascination and adulation of gangster heroes like John Dillinger by reiterating the strength of America's police force on film, on radio, and in comics.

These would not be the only infamous, active partnerships between a police institution and home entertainment in the coming decades. One such partnership—between the Los Angeles Police Department and producer/actor Jack Webb—would spring board the police procedural subgenre onto the pop culture stage with the radio and television show *Dragnet*.

## CHAPTER 2
## "Entertainment with an Ulterior Motive": Authenticity and Routine in NBC's *Dragnet*

Among radio and television scholars, there is little disagreement regarding *Dragnet*'s importance in media history and American culture. It was one of the most popular shows in both press acclaim and public appeal, even snagging the top of the television ratings from reigning champion *I Love Lucy* more than once.[145] Critically admired among its peers, the show would earn thirteen Emmy nominations and five wins, among other awards.[146] The series would be credited as a pivotal foundation for style and format of subsequent police crime dramas, including *Law & Order* and the police procedural genre more broadly. And it would spawn a series of reboots that would extend the influence of its franchise over fifty years.[147] All this being said, *Dragnet* serves as a particularly rich, though difficult object of study due to archival absences: missing radio and television episodes, lack of syndication, and no formal release of the series in its entirety on a contemporary viewing format. At the moment, it is impossible to explore a long-view analysis of its first

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[145] Walter Ames, "'Lucy' Drops to Second Spot in Ratings, Dragnet Gets Facts, Audiences," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov 5, 1953, accessed June 2, 2015, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times.

[146] *Dragnet* was a winner in the Emmy Award categories of: Best Mystery, Action or Adventure (1953, 1954), Best Original Music Composed for TV (1955), Best Television Sound Editing (1955), and Best Mystery or Intrigue Series (1955), information from the awards and nominations archive: "Emmy Awards Nominees and Winners," Television Academy Emmys, accessed June 2, 2015, http://www.emmys.com/awards/nominees-winners.

[147] In the midst of its original television run, *Dragnet* would spawn a feature film adaptation in 1954 (one of the first examples of a TV show-turned-movie). The show was additionally revived in 1967 with Webb as the lead. In 1987, *Dragnet* was reimagined as a comedy film starring Dan Aykroyd as Joe Friday's nephew and Tom Hanks as Aykroyd's partner. Two years later, there was a short, 52-episode stint for *The New Dragnet!* And finally, in 2003, *Law & Order* creator Dick Wolf would launch an even shorter-lived reboot of the series for network television.

television broadcast run, because fewer than thirty episodes are accessible for viewing (out of a total of 276).[148] This formal analysis of *Dragnet* works within the constraints of the archive, working from available radio and television episodes, original broadcast scripts, and popular press and show ephemera.

This chapter examines the *formulaic* nature of procedural play, focusing on *Dragnet*'s interlocking systems of procedurality operating in its radio and television broadcasts: the police procedural genre and its replication of police procedures themselves. Attentiveness to the reenactment of procedures draws attention to the genre's episodic nature and repeatability: the procedures of the police procedural genre itself. Procedurality provides a formal function on the show to cultivate the perception of authenticity and repeatability. This simultaneously crafts audience familiarity with the procedural's formal structure, which may appear to be innocuous, but also serves as an influential instructive element. It also parallels a prevalent perception of how police solve crimes with the perceived authentic, routinized procedures of the police force. These pleasures of predictability and routine, with masked lessons in good citizenship, provided the tools for the normalization of police work for a new generation of aspiring detectives. In doing so, *Dragnet* remains a crucial and influential media object shaping a public perception about how police determine who is and is not a criminal.

In the case of *Dragnet*, the show's hails to realism depend on its invocation of reenactment, and it is *Dragnet*'s central conceit—audiences are listening and then viewing

[148] In *Genre & Television*, scholar Jason Mittell shares his own research difficulties acquiring and viewing any episode over the eight seasons of *Dragnet*. He observes that this archival issue may be the primary reason why *Dragnet* does not occupy a greater space in the historical and formal scholarship on television history beyond the occasional quick reference. Jason Mittell, *Genre & Television: From Cop Shows to Cartoons in American Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 220.

recreations of already completed detective work and already solved crimes. Yet the ways in which audiences are invited into these reenactments necessitate parsing out their multiplicity. The typical scholarly discussion of reenactment privileges very specific types of historical engagement: live, in-person reenactments; reality television shows; feature films that dramatize past historical events. In opening up reenactment in its most literal sense—presenting an action or event that we understand to have already happened—this work considers the ways reenactment conveys authenticity that is rarely challenged in popular press. As such, it becomes one of the primary modes of crafting a sanitized, palatable image of police—depoliticized for public consumption.

Some scholars define "police procedural" by pointing to *Dragnet* itself, indicative of the show's ubiquitous association with the genre.[149] As generic foundation, procedures connote "the procedural," a subgenre of the crime film, distinct in that it showcases crime-solving through the routine gathering of evidence and the assessment of that data over intuitions or gut feelings. Unlike the gentleman sleuth or the hard-boiled detective genres, the police procedural focuses on police crime-solving through real-life, routine methods of detection and collaboration with fellow policemen, government agencies, and the public.[150] Importantly, the police detective cannot work in isolation and his job is not an

[149] "The easiest way to define the police procedural is to call it the *Dragnet* kind of story, in which a mystery is solved by police detectives like Joe Friday and Frank Smith." Dove, 2.
[150] There is not an exhaustive list of procedures, because new police technologies necessitate the creation of new routines. In Chapter 5 of *The Police Procedural*, George N. Dove outlines broader procedural categories such as crime-prevention education, evidence investigation and filing, forensic medicine, identification of criminals (fingerprinting, police line-ups, police artists), investigation techniques (working at the murder scene, interviewing informants and eyewitnesses, managing stakeouts, conducting interrogations), and security and confidentiality. Interestingly, Dove also acknowledges news media as a facet of the procedural that both facilitates and interferes with police investigations. George N. Dove, *The Police Procedural* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1982).

individualistic enterprise. Finally, the procedural and police procedures are much more than representations of the work that police do. As Robert P. Winston and Nancy C. Mellerski observe, the rhetorical power of the procedural is that it absorbs audiences "into successful participation in a corporate structure, the police squad" when it aligns audiences with the bureaucratic extension of the police.[151] Procedural entertainment normalizes an ever-changing system of police surveillance to the public. And so, the genre relies on familiarized procedures and conventions that tap into existing cultural imaginaries of police work.

Although the police procedural would originate in print crime novels, radio would provide the necessary technical qualities to insure its popularity among audiences, and its complex relationship with policing institutions. Kathleen Battles's *Calling All Cars: Radio Dragnets and the Technology of Policing* provides a rich exploration of the entangled technological and entertainment partnership that quickly formed between police and commercial crime radio dramas. Most directly, early radio would function as police media: an irreplaceable tool for criminal capture, communication among departments, and greater police surveillance through *dragnets*.[152] As a public relations tool, police departments quickly recognized the rhetorical ability of radio to familiarize the public with policing procedures and normalize their authority through the seemingly innocuous entertainment of crime dramas.[153] On the side of radio sponsors, police involvement would provide a level of legitimacy that would help radio dramas to compete with the detective stories on film

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[151] Robert P. Winston and Nancy C. Mellerski, *The Public Eye: Ideology and the Police Procedural* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 2.
[152] Battles, 6. Battles defines dragnet as "the police use of radio in creating an "invisible web" over large geographic areas to ensnare mobile criminals."
[153] Ibid., 149.

and in pulp fiction. Radio had the capacity to transmit overlapping discourses simultaneously for police and the public. It helped police departments communicate crime and traffic updates with the public at the same time as these radio shows delivered exciting and thrilling tales of the ways in which the police were ensuring public safety on a day to day basis. Perhaps most importantly for this project, as a mass medium, radio would be heralded as the next best technological way to enable citizen participation in local and national policing, extending the eyes and ears of the police.[154]

Jack Webb's aspirations for television would actually begin in the radio medium. In a May 1956 issue of *TV-Radio Mirror*, the interviewer asks how does Webb account for the show's widespread success. Webb responds: "Today…people are looking for more realism in television. They want to be entertained, but they also want to learn, to benefit and to become better citizens as a result of it. You might call it entertainment with an ulterior motive."[155] As a television show, *Dragnet* exists within a longstanding tension in television history: its use as a tool for conformity and governance versus a platform for civic practice and challenging authority, though these may not always appear mutually exclusive. Likewise, an aspirational take on television as a public service is familiar ground. Researching 1950s television, scholar Anna McCarthy argues that television was particularly formative in constructing notions of public service rather than merely translating a stable idea into the televisual space. Here, McCarthy is concerned with the "strategies and rationales" that television industries employ to provide a sense of civic

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[154] Battles, 230. Also, see *Gang Busters* host Colonel H. Norman Schwarzkopf's speech on the collective powers of radio and police in Jo Ranson, *Cops on the Air: Modern Police Radio Methods of Combating Crime* (Brooklyn: Eagle Library, 1937), 1.
[155] "New Look, Old Favorite," *TV-Radio Mirror*, May 1956, 101, accessed June 2, 2015, Lantern Media History Digital Library.

duty, regardless of their actuality.[156] With this in mind, Webb's implied "ulterior motive" points to the greater messaging of police heroism and authority, a rationale propagated through both the radio and television show's formulaic closure week-to-week: the capture of the criminal and the restoration of justice. Through *Dragnet,* Webb sought to provide the American public with what he deemed the most valuable service, even if the viewing audience was oblivious.

The show's demonstrative instruction addresses the citizen viewer by cultivating a procedural aurality and vision. The show's introductory signature establishes its claims to legitimacy and its instructional stakes to its public: "Ladies and gentlemen…the story you are about to hear is true. Only the names have been changed to protect the innocent." The show's conceit takes its inspiration from existing, "real" police files from the Los Angeles Police Department and recreates investigations of the criminal events and their judicative results. These lines unite the framework of the radio show and television series alike.[157] In addition to the opening, they also serve as the closing bookends to every episode of *Dragnet,* reiterating their authenticity to listening and viewing audiences in the past tense.[158] Both formally and rhetorically, these opening lines map, at once, the show's interlocking rhetoric of authenticity and reenactment. Beyond forging a specific time-space experience for the show, the opening lines and theme work together to construct the boundaries of the show's aural address.

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[156] Anna McCarthy, *The Citizen Machine: Governing By Television in 1950s America* (New York: The New Press, 2010), 27.
[157] There is a necessary substitute of "see" for "hear" in the opening statement of the television series as adapted from its radio precursor.
[158] "The story you have just [heard/seen] was true. Only the names were changed to protect the innocent."

The perceived legitimacy of the procedures within the broadcast depends on the technical support of the Los Angeles Police Department, a well-cited relationship within the show's direct address. The radio announcement, which follows the above introductory lines, summarizes *Dragnet's* conceit as "cooperation" with the Los Angeles Police Department.[159] The introductory tease of experiencing an "actual case from official police files," serves to authenticate its origins. The complimentary closing to each episode not only reiterates *Dragnet*'s original sources—the police files—but also reiterates the LAPD as the origin. The earliest publicity for the show would be fascinated by these connections as proof of the show's authenticity and high endorsement.[160] Throughout the radio and television runs, Webb's attention to authenticity would be credited with *Dragnet's* popularity and critical acclaim.[161] Press loved to weave in the narrative of Webb's dedication to bringing this hypothetical show to air, suggesting he even shadowed police for months to learn the ins and outs of police routine and procedure.[162] And the press would also emphasize the show's importance as a labor of love; Webb prioritized *Dragnet's* success: "If anyone is a victim of Jack Webb's ambition it is himself."[163] He spares no expense or personal time insuring the authenticity of *Dragnet*, even at the expense of his

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[159] The phrasing "cooperation with the Los Angeles Police Department" is included in each episode of the radio series.
[160] One such example: "CASES taken directly from the files of the Los Angeles Police Dept. are being dramatized in a new series titled *Dragnet* on NBC" and "Based on Police Files" *Broadcasting* (June 13, 1949), 72, accessed June 2, 2015, Lantern Media History Digital Library.
[161] Ray Kovitz, "Authenticity Themes Dragnet; Star Jack Webb Aims at Adult Entertainment on Police Show," *Los Angeles Times,* August 21, 1952, accessed August 27, 2015, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times.
[162] "New Look, Old Favorite," 101; "Jack, Be Nimble!" 54.
[163] "New Look, Old Favorite."

personal, romantic life.[164] NBC initially passed on the offer, because it was not exciting. However, Webb was unwilling to back down, reiterating the artist's dedication to the project and to its accuracy.[165]

Importantly, there was historical precedence for partnerships between radio shows and police departments before *Dragnet*—as early as the 1930s.[166] Though previous and concurrent crime radio shows made claims to similar authenticity, *Dragnet* took particular care to link police involvement to the accuracy of its procedural representation within the very fabric of every show. The ending credit tag for the LAPD technical advisors—both on radio and television—emphasized the Department's role in shaping the representation of police work within the show. This influence was credited with the well-publicized adoption of LAPD's terminology in *Dragnet's* dialogue, which helped the show stand apart from contemporaries.[167] The actual nature of the LAPD technical advisor's relationship with Jack Webb is somewhat ambiguous. However, show scripts indicate the advisors had a significant level of editing power, and that this was typically applied to dialogue changes and tweaks to procedural routines. Though many radio shows were adapted to *Dragnet's* television episodes with little change, some older radio scripts often featured significant

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[164] "New Look, Old Favorite."
[165] Gordon Allison, "Television: 'Dragnet' Debut Tonight," *New York Herald Tribune,* December 16, 1951.
[166] Battles provides the most extensive historical research to date on the involvement of police institutions in media and the use of "real police files" in early radio crime dramas, including *Calling All Cars*, *G-Men*, and *Gang Busters*. This type of partnership would also carry into television. One such example is the CBS anthology series *Police Story* (April 4, 1952 – September 26, 1952), which claimed to pull its content from police cases, though the original location of these cases was unspecified.
[167] "Once [Webb] told [Technical Advisor] Wynn: "talk like a cop." The detective bristled. We don't talk any different than you do. Well, said Webb, what would you do if you had a suspect? Said Wynn: Why, I'd go down to R & I [Records and Identification] and pull the pages…" Cried Webb: That's what I mean!" "Jack, Be Nimble!" 54.

LAPD revisions. In the case of the television episode "The Big Love," marked LAPD revisions updated the already outdated police routines.[168]

*Dragnet's* origin story is always framed as a symbiotic relationship between Webb's interests and the Los Angeles Police Department's rebranding desires. At the time, the reputation of the LAPD would be infamously associated with its proactive policing—an early, politically correct term for racial profiling of Black and Latino men in South Central and East Los Angeles, respectfully.[169] At the same time, the Department was known for repeated violations of the Fourth Amendment's rights of suspects and arrested persons, and they were even formally rebuked in a 1955 California Supreme Court ruling.[170] And so, *Dragnet* would come at a particularly tenuous time in the public relations of the LAPD.

The much-retold tale of the series' origin begins on the set of *He Walked By Night* (1948), a *film noir* in which Webb plays a supporting forensics specialist. Webb becomes inspired to take on a legitimate reproduction of police work for radio when the film's technical advisers, LAPD Sgts. Marty Wynn and Vince Brawser, express that existing radio shows are, at best, flawed, and at worst, make spectacles of American law enforcement.[171]

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[168] "The Big Love" premiered on radio on July 5, 1951, whereas TV's "The Big Love" premiered on December 5, 1957. James Moser, "The Big Love," unpublished script, Prod. #108, aired 7/5/51, *Dragnet* (Radio Series), Vol. 9, Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA; "The Big Love," unpublished script, dated 09-13-57, Prod. #4119, aired 12/5/57, *Dragnet* (TV Series), Vol. DRT-4119, Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA. There is no writing credit on the television script, however it appears to be a precise adaptation of Moser's earlier radio treatment.

[169] Joe Domanick, *To Protect and To Serve: The LAPD's Century of War in the City of Dreams* (New York City: Pocket Books, 1994), 111.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Fredda Dudley, "Nothing's Easy (Jack Webb)," *Radio-TV Mirror,* December 1953, 91, accessed June 2, 2015, Lantern Media History Digital Library; see also "Jack, Be Nimble!" 54; and "New Look, Old Favorite," 101.

The two officers would serve as Webb's unofficial primary technical advisers and the show's personal cheerleaders. Anecdotally, the LAPD, and Chief of Police Bill Parker specifically, expressed skepticism about Webb's ability to get it "right" for police reputation.[172] *Dragnet* served to reorient the focus the medium away from the criminals to the work of police, who sought to rebrand a mediated relationship with an industry that had idolized gangsters in the previous decades.[173] Although the show appeared to share overlapping priorities with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it is important to acknowledge that this may have been unintentional in its production choices. At this period in time, the LAPD actually shared a notably contentious relationship with Hollywood, who had eschewed local public relations efforts for a partnership with FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.[174] LAPD Police Chief Bill Parker, in particular, considered Hoover to be a rival in power, and demanded that *Dragnet* serve the interests of his department, first and foremost.[175]

While the popular press would herald this match made in entertainment, there were tensions over who ultimately controlled the image of the Department. For instance, Parker demanded control over the visual accuracy of procedures on television, including script review and approval and officer involvement on the day-to-day shooting schedules.[176] In fact, Parker would threaten to pull all support over Webb's use of "cop" on the show,

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[172] "Jack, Be Nimble!" 54; also see Joe Domanick, *To Protect and To Serve: The LAPD's Century of War in the City of Dreams* (New York: Pocket Books), 1994.
[173] "Based on cases from the files of police departments in our major cities, Dragnet puts the emphasis on the people who enforce the law rather than on those who break it. This is altogether constructive. And it serves to underline the thesis that often is obscured by gangster heroics, namely, Cops are smarter than crooks." Harriet Van Horne, "'Dragnet' Show Cops in High-IQ," *New York World Telegram & Sun*, December 17, 1951.
[174] Domanick, 125.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.

considering it to be pejorative to the profession; NBC's David Sarnoff would have to intercede to repair the fractured relationship.[177] Regardless of their contested relationship, the partnership served both parties extremely well. As Joe Domanick observes, "It was more than just good publicity. With 'Dragnet,' Webb and Parker had found that point where propaganda meets entertainment and serves both."[178] As illustrative of this cyclical relationship, an oft-repeated story claims the Los Angeles Police Department would use old episodes of *Dragnet* as a recruiting and training tool for new cadets. Although the details of this occurrence are unclear and possibly just conjecture, it speaks to the enduring perception of the LAPD and *Dragnet*'s synchronicity.[179]

These publicity details blur realism with intimacy not only around the show's authenticity, but Jack Webb as its creator and lead actor. His tenacity as an advocate for the show is intentionally and repeatedly conflated with the authenticity of Joe Friday. One of the recurring stories of popular press described public slippage between Webb and Friday. The most popular anecdote comically describes fans, typically women, who send messages to "Friday," care of the LAPD.[180] Not to be out-done, the authenticity of Webb's performance and the show's procedures are said to have fooled real life cops as well.[181] Although the anecdotal value of such claims is suspect, the possible legitimacy of these

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[177] Domanick, 128.
[178] Ibid, 127.
[179] Numerous scholarly pieces cite one another for this factoid, but the extent of the evidence backing and corroborating this claim is unclear. Following a chain of references, it appears the oldest is Richard Arlo Sanderson "An Investigation into the Elements of Documentary Film and Their Use in the Production of the Television Film Series, *Dragnet*" (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1958). See also John Tulloch, *Watching Television Audiences: Cultural Theories & Methods* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Mittell, *Genre & Television*.
[180] "Hero of Dragnet," *Radio-TV Mirror,* May 1954, 50, accessed June 2, 2015, Lantern Media History Digital Library.
[181] "Jack, Be Nimble!" 74.

stories is less significant than the discursive work they perform. That is, this discourse ensures that *Dragnet* and, by extension, Webb's star persona connotes authenticity within and outside the brackets of "the story you are about to [hear/see] is true." The slippage between Jack Webb and Joe Friday was encouraged in press coverage: "Sergeant Friday is an honest cop and the facts are, ma'am, that Jack Webb is an honest actor—and an honest man."[182] Along with ensuring auteur status, this slippage would characterize the public view of Webb as the personification of law enforcement, a framing the LAPD would use to its public relations advantage. Moreover, the show depended on his persona of trustworthiness, integrity, and moralistic values to define the heart of police work.

One of the successful negotiation tactics illustrated by the radio broadcast was its metonymic framing of the Los Angeles police as a national, unified police force. Local and national policing has always experienced tension in attempts at cooperation, and this historical moment illustrates a particularly rough shift in the decades following the FBI's creation. The actual form of the radio is crucial here, as Battles argues, because the medium straddled local and national interests and politics simultaneously.[183] While prevailing notions of radio as mass culture can dominate general media history, national shows, like radio crime dramas, often linked local and national spaces as well as the public and private.[184] For *Dragnet*, a crucial component of its procedural legitimacy was embedded in its ability to convey the local as the national, particularly because Los Angeles was one of the most populous and diverse cities in comparison to the greater makeup of America. Although Los Angeles's crime statistics would reflect a larger population, it is a credit to the

[182] "Jack, Be Nimble!" 74.
[183] Battles, 235.
[184] Ibid.

medium of radio that Midwestern listeners, for instance, imagined Southern California crime in their own neighborhood.

As such, the show encouraged a perception of police unity and standardization, even though this did not reflect contemporaneous policing history. The framework of direct address foregrounds *Dragnet* as the nation's police force in action by referencing an imagined network of police workers against nation-wide criminal acts:

> "DRAGNET! ———— the documented drama of an actual crime, investigated and solved by the men who unrelentingly stand watch on the security of your home, your family and your life. For the next thirty minutes, in cooperation with the Los Angeles Police Department, you will travel step by step on the side of the law through an actual case from official police files — from beginning to end — <u>from crime to punishment</u> — This is the story of your police force in action."[185]

Although the LAPD endorsement appeared in every radio opening, the general address invited an application of the events and cases found within each episode as "Anytown, USA" exploits. The first radio episode offers a differently worded introduction—"…you will travel with the law enforcement agency of a metropolitan area."[186] Though the episode goes on to make frequent references to Los Angeles-specific locales, this opening second person address conjures a "day in the life" experience that evokes any major city and metropolitan police officer in the United States. Listeners are encouraged to consume the episode not as a Los Angeles police report, but as a tale of "our police officer in action." The phrasing is changed to "police force in action" by the second episode. This implies that

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[185] This is the opening show announcement that began with radio episode 2 (untitled, but renamed "Nickle Plated Gun" after its initial broadcast). Original emphasis from the script. Bob Ryf, "Dragnet (Untitled)," unpublished script, Prod. #2, aired 6/10/49, *Dragnet* (Radio Series), Vol. 1, Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA.

[186] Bob Ryf, "Dragnet (Untitled)," unpublished script, Prod. #1, aired 6/3/49, *Dragnet* (Radio Series), Vol. 1, Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA.

there exists a shared standard of police procedure across the United States or, at the very least, that listeners are invited to understand such police work as nationalized.

The address simultaneously promises a shared lived experience for listeners in major cities as well as regales those outside the city with tales of metropolitan crime. Along with local and national print journalism, the stories of crime and capture were already shaping the effect of an imagined community. The existing ubiquity of recidivism in popular print, and a concurrent theme in the show, teases the potentiality of line crossing between metropolitan and rural spaces. Formally, the shift in episode two's radio opening further collapses the space between the potential metropolitan and rural listening audiences. First, the reference to "a metropolitan area" is dropped in favor of describing listeners as occupying the side of the law, broadly put. Second, in reference to the actual case files, the opening proclaims such crimes are "solved by the men who unrelentingly stand watch on the security of your home, your family and your life," emphasizing a direct connection between police work and the safety of the domestic space. While similar phrasing occurs in episode one, the additions of "home" and "family" punctuate a national concern over the protection and livelihood of the American home against crime, regardless of regional location.

Radio as a medium allowed *Dragnet*, and its police advisors more pertinently, to enter into domestic spaces with "intimate authority."[187] Following the familiar conviction episode wrap-up and reiteration of the show's truth, the first thirty-two radio episodes feature personalized dedications to different policemen and then police departments week

[187] Battles, 6. Here, Battles is specifically describing how police used radio to "speak directly to citizens in their homes," which I find useful in application to Dragnet's hails to police legitimacy. The show presents itself as a stand-in for police authority.

to week. The script structure of the initial season repeated the following ending statement against church organ music:

> Tonite's program is dedicated to _____ of the _____, _____ Police Department who, on the nite of _____, 19__ gave his life so that yours might be more secure.[188]

The ending announcement for the show worked to rebrand localized police work and sacrifice as national security. For example, the first seven episodes offered dedications to individual police officers, sergeants, patrolmen, and town marshals from law enforcement agencies across California, Colorado, Montana, Utah, and Illinois, among others.[189] These gestures occupy several registers to collapse not only the distinction between local and national, but also the distance between the police institution and the home space. Additionally, their fill-in-the-blank adaptability becomes a standard measurement of police work, neither privileging the work of the rural officer over the metropolitan one nor highway patrolman work over that of a detective. In doing so, the show demonstrates to listeners the shared sacrifice of all law enforcement men and spaces. All are part of a much

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[188] Bob Ryf's script for the first episode contains blank spaces, implying a baseline rhetorical structure rather than unique weekly dedication. Ryf, "Dragnet (Untitled)," unpublished script, Prod. #1.

[189] Specific examples of the dedication include episode 2: Radio Officer Delmer E. Cooke/Los Angeles Police Department (December 6, 1948). This pattern continues with Episode 3: Sgt Mario Victor Dyro/LAPD (January 1, 1943); Episode 4: Radio-Car Patrolmen Forrest E. Sawyer (Denver, CO Police Department (March 8, 1937); Episode 5: Police Officer Charles A. Brady/Chicago PD (September 2, 1945); Episode 6 "The Red Light Bandit": Patrol Officer Robert Steele/Montana State Highway Patrol (November 2, 1947); Episode 7: Town Marshal Lon T Larson/Mount Pleasant Utah Force (October 15, 1945). James Moser, "NBC No. 3," unpublished script, Prod. #3, aired 6/17/49; Bob Ryf, "NBC No. 4," unpublished script, Prod. #4, aired 6/24/49; Jack Webb and James Moser, "Helen Corday Murder," unpublished script, Prod. #5, aired 7/7/49; James Moser, "Red Light Bandit," unpublished script, Prod. #6, aired 7/15/49; and James Moser, "Attempted City Hall Bombing," unpublished script, Prod. #7, aired 7/22/49; all held in *Dragnet* (Radio Series), Vol. 1, Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA.

greater national police force making all lives—regardless of spatial location—safer.

The show reminds listeners that their safety results from the work of living police officers in the day-to-day, but also from the cumulative sacrifices of policemen over time. Given the flexibility of the ending statement, it was easily possible to slot in contemporary tragedies of policemen at work. However, the dedications serve as nostalgic commemorations, focusing on lives lost in the 1930s and 1940s, the significant moment of American police reform to which the show owes many of its procedural standards. Additionally, it is likely that police files of the 1930s and 1940s provided specific inspiration for episodes, albeit with the cases mapped onto the future. Given the time-frame, the dedications also emphasize the debt to be paid in exchange for the security and safety of the public, duplicating rhetoric often associated with war veterans.

This specificity lends itself to a nationalistic stand-in for the greater battle against crime, and centralizes the work of the police officer in protecting the home and the lives within it. The particularities of space and place allow these fallen police officers to represent the Anytown officer. They also situate local work as the essential stand-in for national work. By extension, these officers play a part in protecting the shared home—the nation—as representatives of the police. In later episodes, the dedication is further reworked to gesture towards the ongoing work of both the individual officer and individual police departments:

> Dragnet honors Hennepin County, Minneapolis, State of Minnesota, and the men who make up the Hennepin County Sheriff's Office, another of America's great law enforcement agencies. One of these men, Sheriff Ed Ryan — veteran police officer and department administrator — who dedicates his life to making yours more secure.[190]

[190] This is the aired dedication from the 30th radio episode. James Moser, ".22 Rifle for Christmas," unpublished script, Prod. #30, aired 12/22/49, *Dragnet* (Radio Series), Vol. 3,

The individual spotlight on a police officer, whose work is ongoing, versus the individual sacrifice, is placed within the context of the ongoing work of the department and America. Importantly, the above example extends consideration of administrative police work as part of the labor that securitizes American space against crime. Likewise, listeners are reminded that national security is fought in networked levels of power—officer, police department, greater national law enforcement.

Starting with radio episode thirty-three ("The Big Man, Part 1"), these ending messages are excised from the show's formal structure.[191] When similar dedications are announced, they are always gestures towards publicity, often to commemorate awards and earned accolades. When local police are mentioned, they support the greater authenticity and popularity of the show itself. For instance, episode 101 ("The Big Blast") offers specific thanks to Sheriff Bryan Clemmons of Louisiana, who made the fictional Friday and Romero honorary deputies.[192] The International Association of Chiefs of Police earns a dedication in episode 170 ("The Big Shot"), in part, due to its serendipitous conference meeting location

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Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA.

[191] This is confirmed by analysis of both the unpublished script and recordings of the actual broadcast. James Moser, "'The Big Man' Part I (Narcotics)," unpublished script, Prod. #33, aired 1/12/50, *Dragnet* (Radio Series), Vol. 3, Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA; *Dragnet* (Radio Series), season 2, episode 2, "The Big Man, Part 1," directed by William Rousseau, aired January 12, 1950, on NBC, accessed October 24, 2015, https://archive.org/details/OTRR_Dragnet_Singles/Dragnet_50-01-12_033_The_Big_Man_Part_1_Narcotics.mp3.

[192] The dedication reads: "*Dragnet* wishes to thank Sheriff Bryan Clemmons of the Parish of East Baton Rouge, State of Louisiana for the appointment of Sergeant Joe Friday and Sergeant Ben Romero as honorary Deputy Sheriffs. Our sincere thanks to Sheriff Clemmons." James Moser, "The Big Blast," unpublished script, Prod. #101, aired 5/17/51, *Dragnet* (Radio Series), Vol. 8, Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA.

in Los Angeles.[193] Beyond these sporadic dedications, the radio episodes (after episode thirty-two) typically end with a gesture towards a single officer and police department—the LAPD and technical adviser W.A. Worton—as a closing reiteration of the show's legitimacy.

These dedications would drastically shift in the show's translation to television. Going a step further, the radio announcer's second person, "your city" invitation is eliminated in the television episodes to centralize Los Angeles. Episodes open with myriad iterations of the voiceover by Joe Friday that contain both tour guide-like introductions to his city and to himself: "This is the city, Los Angeles. I work here. I'm a cop."[194] Visually, each opening sequence begins with a high angle, extreme long shot pan of Los Angeles.[195] First, and more generally, viewers are immediately introduced to the compact metropolitan skyline of Los Angeles, but Friday's introductions often highlight specific regions and neighborhoods in the city. In the case of the television episode "The Big Light," Beverly Hills is spotlighted as an introduction to the physical site of investigation later explored in the episode.[196] The opening of "The Big Casing" features downtown Los Angeles and several

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[193] John Robinson, "The Big Shot," unpublished script, Prod. #170, aired 9/21/52, *Dragnet* (Radio Series), Vol. 14, Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA.
[194] James Moser, "The Big Boys," unpublished script, Prod. #0962, aired 1/21/54, *Dragnet* (TV Series), Vol. DRT-0962, Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA. This introduction would transition from "I'm a cop." to "I carry a badge," anecdotally due to complaints from the LAPD about the then pejorative connotations of the word "cop."
[195] See *Dragnet* (TV Series), season 3, episode 21, "The Big Boys," directed by Jack Webb, aired January 21, 1954, on NBC, accessed November 1, 2015, http://www.archive.org/details/TheBigBoys, among other examples from throughout the television series.
[196] *Dragnet* (TV Series), season 2, episode 20, "The Big Light," directed by Jack Webb, aired March 26, 1953, on NBC, accessed November 3, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G3W9rLqP8Gc.

beaches, which are not the physical locales of the episode itself.[197] Instead, they become illustrative of the thematic or moral tones of the episode when paired with Friday's narration regarding the city's excess and wastefulness, in which he must "pick up the pieces" as a cop. The television broadcasts would end their credit sequence with a shout out to their LAPD technical adviser.

The visualization of the show could be critically read as a failure of capturing the applicability of the radio imaginary space. However, the specificity of the site serves to further authenticate and ground the procedural work itself as the nationalistic enterprise. The television series strives to situate Los Angeles as an illustrative criminal microcosm for the United States, though it cannot completely divest itself from stressing the visual uniqueness of the city. In the introductions, viewers see Los Angeles locations through Friday's eyes or, at the very least, through montages of stock footage: POV shots from trolleys, cars, and busy streets and freeways. In conjunction with the initial direct address, the show invites comparison to listeners' own cities, particularly when highlighting the everyday American citizens who occupy these spaces within the stock footage. The downtown streets, architecture, hot spots, and the general everyday life of its inhabitants visualize broader metropolitan images, yet Friday's narration contextualizes these images to Los Angeles.

The show's central work was its depiction of literal police procedures—the processes, such as fingerprinting, of "how police work"—which form the basis for the greater standardization of modern policing and its trainability in the twentieth century. In

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[197] *Dragnet* (TV Series), season 1, episode 13, "The Big Casing," directed by Jack Webb, aired June 5, 1952, on NBC, accessed November 1, 2015, https://archive.org/details/Dragnet_The_Big_Casing.

this regard, Webb was especially invested in presenting detective procedures as accurately and up-to-date as possible, under the advisement and endorsement of the Los Angeles Police Department. This particular aspect of the series provides the instructive element for the show's audiences. As Jason Mittell argues, the show "spoke" a procedural language that provided its credibility and "help[ed] position viewers as an ally of the police, a willing—and frequent—partner in the criminal justice system."[198] The use of radio was particularly crucial as it broke down the barriers between the public work of the Los Angeles Police Department, by way of *Dragnet*, and the domestic realm, a fixture of multiple crime dramas of the time.[199] This intimacy, paired with the formulaic repeatability of a week-to-week broadcast, would help establish the close conditions upon which its procedural structure could be familiarized in the minds—and vision—of the listening and viewing public. The show's reliance on repetition quickly became generic shorthand for public recognition, evident in the frequent references and parodies in popular press write-ups of the show.[200]

Rather than the mystery, ratiocination focus of a "whodunit," *Dragnet* operates more like a "*how*dunit" on two levels. A "howdunit" is typically associated with shows like *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* that reveal "how the criminal did it" through dazzling forensic science techniques and specialized knowledge. In *Dragnet*, audiences are presented with

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[198] Mittell, 142.

[199] Kathleen Battles, *Calling All Cars: Radio Dragnets and the Technology of Policing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 230.

[200] In regard to the music, one *Time* reviewer remarks: "There is hardly a child above the age of four who does not know and constantly voice the brassy notes (dum du dum dum) of Dragnet's theme music." "Jack, Be Nimble!" *Time Magazine,* March 15, 1954, 47. And an example of popular press adopting the opening lines of dialogue is Maxine Arnold's profile on Jack Webb that posits: "The Story you are about to read is true. Authentically documented, it's taken from the real-life files of a dynamic, brilliant young man with electric-brown eyes, black hair and a warm, magnetic voice." Maxine Arnold, "Sentimental Journey (Jack Webb)," *Radio-TV Mirror*, May 1952, 67, accessed June 2, 2015, Lantern Media History Digital Library.

the criminal's means and motive for committing the crime, but within layered degrees through crime lab technicians, witnesses, and Friday's own reconstruction of events. The show's attention to the criminal's actions is secondary to its other howdunit: how do the police go about solving the crime? This is the ideological and demonstrative point of the reenactment, as well as the structural purpose of the procedural itself. The identification of the criminal is structurally less important than the processes that determine he or she is guilty and can be seen as charged under law.

> Police Chief Ed: You have a lab full of evidence across the street. You've got a book full of names here. You've got the pieces, now fit them together.
> Ben: They just don't add.
> Police Chief Ed: Well go over them and keep going over them until they do add![201]

The necessary element for condition of instruction is not simply the showing off of procedures, but rather the overt emphasis on the repetition of procedural practices. Repetition operates on three significant levels. First, this operates on the level of the broadcast where listeners and viewers can hear and see police procedures in action each week. Second, each individual episode dedicates more screen time to the depiction and repetition of procedures in gathering evidence than privileging the moment of criminal capture. This police work, noted by popular press, is normalized rather than sensationalized, a trait lauded and connected to its very success.[202] And third, most episodes depict its detectives having to repeatedly go over the evidence.

It is not just the procedures of acquiring evidence that repeat among episodes, but the assessing and reassessing of what they have uncovered. In radio episode thirty-one

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[201] Webb and Moser, "Helen Corday Murder," unpublished script.
[202] "'Dragnet,' which pictures its cops as specialists who perform jobs in a thorough but routine and often unspectacular manner, has become a substantial success, with a comfortable rating and a contented sponsor, if there is such a thing." Gordon Allison.

("The Roseland Roof Murder"), Friday tracks down the color, make, and model of the criminal's getaway car.[203] This identificatory piece of evidence has little importance by itself, as Friday narrates that California vehicle registration had yet to include car color in its information. As such, Friday and partner Ben Romero spend nearly two weeks narrowing down getaway cars to 123 possible suspects, yet such work provides a crucial advance in the case. What cannot be understated is that these moves foreground the mechanisms by which the police—and audiences—might determine what counts as evidence. Within the show, the drudgery of the police work is crucial to Friday and his given partner's successful crime-solving, case-to-case, even when it occupies the majority of their time.

The presentation of procedures conveys authenticity and authority through reenactment. First and foremost, given the show's introductory message, audiences understand the show as a reenactment of true crime case files from police records that have already been filed. So what audiences actually see and hear are reenactments of the procedures that solved the original case. As an additional layer, we are watching Jack Webb, the actor, reen*act*ing what it looks like to be a cop. In other words, he is "playing detective"—doing the procedures and interviewing the witnesses—week to week for our viewing pleasure. These inherently instructive modes of address present audiences with the criminal problem and then show how it was solved in retrospect. Often, these moments dually serve to educate the public on contemporary police procedures being used more broadly in the United States, even if this instruction blurs our position in the diegesis. For

[203] *Dragnet* (Radio Series), season 1, episode 31, "The Roseland Roof Murder," directed by William Rousseau, aired December 29, 1949, on NBC, accessed October 24, 2015, https://archive.org/details/OTRR_Dragnet_Singles/Dragnet_49-12-29_031_The_Roseland_Roof_Murders.mp3.

example, the radio show would often vacillate between two modes. The first positions the audience as Friday as we listen from his point-of-aurality. His voiceover narration is meant to mimic his writing of the police report as it has already happened. The second positions Friday as an instructive mentor for the audience and guides our entry into the world of detective methods and inner cop knowledge. An example of this slippage occurs in the very first radio episode. Here, Friday mentions a "mamma sheet," and elaborates, "That's a report which lists the criminal's friends and the places he's been known to frequent."[204] Who is Friday addressing? Logically, he already knows what is a "mamma sheet" as would his superiors, so it makes very little sense that he would write it in his police report. While not overtly breaking the fourth wall, he fills in the audience to police slang without the ideological address of saying "Hey you."

In the move from radio to TV, the show presents another reenactment: a visualized recreation of already broadcast radio episodes. In effect, Webb and other actors are reenacting radio episodes in front a TV camera and formally reenacting previously aural-centric products into audiovisual format conventions. In translating radio episodes to television, the plot structure and dialogue remained the same, including sound design details. The television show did struggle to find a balance between narration, which painted imaginary spaces for listeners, and rendering events visually. "The Human Bomb" bares much of this initial move with moments of simultaneous narration and visuals (Friday's voiceover dialogue: "I looked at my watch. It was 8:65" over a shot of Friday

[204] Ryf, "Dragnet (Untitled)," unpublished script, Prod. #1.

looking at his watch).[205] This collision of aural narration and visual actions recalls narrated detective genres, often parodied as their own visual language.

The move to television brought about visual motifs that served to distinguish it from its radio counterpart, which aired concurrently. While radio's descriptions are limitless beyond the potential of listeners' imaginations, the visualization of procedures presented challenges of presentation. *Dragnet* became known for its frequent of use of close-ups. For Webb, the show's propensity for close ups was an attempt to embrace and combat the small screen medium of television.[206] Its most notable close up, the "big close up" on Webb's face every week, coincided with Friday's opening introduction "My name's Friday," which served as an important marker of identification for audiences.[207] Aesthetically, this trademark would be characterized as a "cop's eye view," embodying the detectives examining the world through the faces of suspects and witnesses alike who pass Friday's path.[208]

A comparison of the dual broadcasts of "The Big Casing" illustrate how proper police procedures and forensics reveal truths and ensure the reputation and freedom of innocent men.[209] Both episodes focus on the same story: Friday and his partner are called to

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[205] *Dragnet* (TV Series), season 1, episode 1, "The Human Bomb," directed by Jack Webb, aired December 16, 1951, on NBC, accessed November 1, 2015, https://archive.org/details/DragnetTheHumanBomb.
[206] "Jack Be Nimble!" 54.
[207] The term "big close-up" is used in the camera direction in television scripts. See James Moser and Jack Webb, "The Human Bomb," unpublished script, dated 10/4/51, Prod. #0101, aired 12/16/51, *Dragnet* (TV Series), Vol. DRT-0101, Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA, among other examples.
[208] "Jack, Be Nimble!" 47-56.
[209] "The Big Casing" television episode aired on June 5, 1952, while the radio version had aired just over a year prior. *Dragnet* (Radio Series), season 3, episode 18, "The Big Casing," directed by Jack Webb, aired May 3, 1951, on NBC, accessed October 24, 2015,

investigate a domestic crime scene: Marie Robertson is dead in her kitchen apartment and Andy, her husband, claims it was suicide. Viewers follow Friday as he gathers evidence, interviews witnesses, and consults with the forensic crime lab to determine whether the husband is guilty, which is Friday's gut suspicion. The entire episode builds what seems like a strong case against the husband. Neighbors tell Friday they often heard the couple fighting, with one "citizen detective" neighbor providing his own motive speculation and psychological assessment of the husband to aid in the investigation. All of this build up serves as almost a "gotcha" structure: the episode concludes with a step-by-step explanation through the infallible "eye" of forensic evidence; Friday, his partner, and the audience all learn simultaneously that the cause of death was indeed suicide and the husband is exonerated.

This episode showcases the shifts from radio's demonstrative focalization to the television broadcast. Comparing the scripts of both versions of the episode shows they nearly mirror one another with minor changes—the dialogue is almost word for word the same between the radio and TV version.[210] One of the key differences: the radio opening invokes "you" second person address as listeners are not just an average citizen in the privacy of their home; they are interpolated as Joe Friday himself and invited into his point of aurality as an equal participant. This shifts a great deal in the TV adaptation. For

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https://archive.org/details/OTRR_Dragnet_Singles/Dragnet_51-05-03_099_The_Big_Casing.mp3

[210] James Moser, "The Big Casing," unpublished script, Prod. #99, aired 5/3/51, *Dragnet* (Radio Series), Vol. 8, Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA; Jack Webb, "The Big Casing," unpublished script, dated 1-28-52, Prod. #7118, aired 6/5/52, *Dragnet* (TV Series), Vol. DRT-7118, Jack Webb Collection of Scripts for Radio and Television, 1949-1975, University of California, Los Angeles, Library Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA. Webb receives sole writing credit for the television episode, even though the script appears to be precisely similar to Moser's radio version.

example, “The Big Casing” television opening shifts its language from “hear” to “see” and is subsequently distanced from Joe Friday. By the necessity of the visual medium, audiences are provided an outsider’s perspective in the opening montage, inviting viewers to take cultural judgment alongside Friday and on Los Angeles—a city that wastes possessions, opportunities, and their own lives—a thematic preamble before focusing on today’s crime.

Whereas audiences are invited to stand in for Joe Friday, in most respects, on the radio show, the TV show fluctuates the point of association with varying shot angles. During witness interviews, for instance, shot/reverse shots lack seamlessness; they do not present the approximate point of view or eyeline match from either the presumed guilty party or Joe Friday. Instead, viewers see through a cop’s eye view in training: visually invited to join into this interrogation: not as Friday, not as Friday’s partner, but as a disembodied detective. With repeated close ups on the accused husband’s face, viewers can focus on details of his shifting body language, blank facial expression, and terse dialogue. This not only offers a space to lend judgment, but the seems to encourage viewers to reach the same erroneous conclusions as Friday. That way, they too will experience the sharp contrast of their assumptions against the veracity of forensics later in the episode. In a visual shift, the camera repeatedly presents a high angle, God’s eye view during key moments in the episode: the presentation of the crime scene (the deceased female still lying on the kitchen floor); the interrogation room; and the concluding crime lab. Here, viewers literally look down on everyone involved in the case: the accused, the victim, Joe Friday, detectives, and the crime scene photographer. This is a significant formal choice considering that Friday, himself, would be proven incorrect due to misreading the evidence: he believed the husband to be guilty when he was telling the truth, however

improbable. Formally, viewers are not invited to "be" Joe Friday throughout the episode, but keep every character at a distance. In this way, the show almost challenges audiences to consider whether the evidence backs up the husband's story or Friday's speculation. It may be tempting to extrapolate a deeper meaning here linking the "God's eye view" with a greater police surveillance in which all are watched and fallible; one in which the police are also accountable to the public in which they serve. However, the episode ultimately reifies the work of police procedures as the way to resolve and restore order.

Here, in effect, is not only a reenactment of the crime scene—a simulation of how detectives might make sense of all this data—but police procedures we saw taking place earlier. Both the radio and television episode culminate in an almost nine minute sequence where the crime lab technician takes Friday and his partner through an instructive, step-by-step explanation of all the evidence that was gathered during the first ten minutes of the episode. In other words, viewers are treated to a double reenactment: the original crime and the authentic, forensic evidence captured by crime scene photographers and Friday. This layer of reenactment illustrates how reconstructions of memories and crime moments are a crucial foundation of police procedure itself.

Visually, the entire scene presents itself as an educational montage of contemporary forensic crime techniques—procedural learning as entertainment. In the radio version, the crime lab technician effectively serves as a documentary-like narrator of the sequence, demonstrating his findings and actions in detail to Friday and the audience. In the television episode, Friday and viewers are treated to visual reenactments in real time that dispel previous assumptions about the crime scene. For example, the location of the bullet

casing provided the most damning evidence for Friday's guilty assessment.[211] Shot from a high angle, viewers watch the technician run an experiment with an identical casing on a slice of kitchen linoleum to eliminate Friday's (and viewer) suspicions. Interspersed in this reenactment are close up shots displaying evidence directly to the camera—didactic visuals for viewers. The technician assesses the crime scene photographs like the blotter spots taken with the gun—featured in extreme close-up—while interjecting important details that could only emerge through proper evidence gathering *and* crime forensics. The lesson also provides a quick primer on how to take a latent fingerprint from a gun, which is a direct hail to the audience rather than Friday, given his experience on the force. Here, the dialogue explains, "Smudges…one good thumb print…right hand. Belonging to Marie Robertson" while the technician holds the latent print in one hand and literally shows the camera his own thumb in comparison.

As further proof of the instructive intent of the scene, the technician ends his lesson by quickly reviewing every step one more time—a repetition of the entire reenactment to ensure that the audience understood it. The audience is provided the opportunity to quickly re-review the images from the kitchen, ballistics, latent prints, and blotter tests in close up as the technician's fingers point to specific areas in compliment to his summary to Friday. He concludes, "Well that's it, fellas. That's all we have" before viewers are treated to the episode's most enduring image: an overhead shot of all the evidence piled on a huge table as the technician's hand sweeps dramatically across the frame, lingering on the wide array of evidence.

[211] This is the evidence referenced in the episode's title.

The multiplicities of reenactment in the show reflect the thematic necessity of detective work – that is, the reconstruction of criminal acts after the fact. The air of authenticity applied to the show seems to draw from this simple perception: this is an accurate reenactment of police files as promised in the opening and closing of each broadcast. The remarkable effect of this repetition—also repeated in popular press coverage—is that the claim and source material remain largely unquestioned, even by scholars.[212] Although the show readily admits to changing names, the particularities of referenced dates, locations, criminal motives, and trial convictions are unknown and therefore occupy an ambiguous, undocumented space. Scholar Jason Mittell is one of the few scholars who considers the ideological meaning in such ambiguity and what it means for *Dragnet's* claims to accuracy:

> Dragnet invites audience members to view each episode not just as a representation of an *actual case history*, but also as an authentic dramatization of g*eneral truth*…The combination of this generalized mode of ahistorical authenticity and *Dragnet's* episodic repetition over many years on radio and television helped establish the meaning of the program, and the police show genre, as rooted in truth over history.[213]

Building from this critique, one must note that *Dragnet* conveys its general truth through the reenactment of procedures themselves. Procedures are depicted as the maintenance of identification and criminalization with a constant claim to their infallibility. This, of course, erases the historical shifts in developing procedures of policing. The involvement of the LAPD should not be taken lightly in cultivating the trust and acceptance of the show's claims largely taken at face value. Moreover, Mittell's tie to the episodic structure is crucial here, because it enables familiarity on the part of the viewing and listening public. Without

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[212] Sean Baker, "From Dragnet to Survivor: Historical and Cultural Perspectives on Reality Television," in *Survivor Lessons: Essays on Communication and Reality Television*, eds. Matthew J. Smith and Andrew F. Wood (Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc, 2003), 57-70.
[213] Mittell, 135-136.

it, the show could not so deeply tie its perception of authenticity to the generic structure of the procedural or the procedures themselves. This dichotomy of truth over history is an important observation, because we can observe similar tensions in Chapter One: the universal veracity of fingerprinting against the historically racist subjugation through its use.

Historically, Webb would keep a tight grasp on the details of how these police files actually translated to broadcast. He was particularly invested in maintaining this mythos in the provenance of his archived script papers, which tell us very little about the original source material for the episodes and the extent of LAPD influence.[214] While there is limited production information, there is the occasional backstage interview that reveals how the show went about crafting the perception of authenticity by specifically rewriting the source material. One such example comes from an interview with former writer Ken Kolb:

> An intelligence officer from the LAPD would come out once a week and offer us interesting things he'd pulled from the files, things he thought might make a good episode…The hard part was to provide Friday and Smith with credible police work, to answer the question, How did they figure it out? In Los Angeles, most crimes are solved by the cops paying informers for what they know. I would say that [85%] of the cases that I saw from the police files, they paid somebody to tell them who did it, then they'd go and arrest them, but that doesn't make for good television.[215]

Given that Kolb is a writer, it is telling that he would be more invested in "interesting TV" than the repetition of police paying off informant. When considering *Dragnet*'s investment in presenting the best possible police representation, however, this tidbit is striking. The

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[214] As the Jack Webb Collection at UCLA demonstrates, Webb took great care in shaping the perception of the show for future observers. There are no papers detailing the balance between the LAPD and his own control. There are, however, some areas where researchers can identify LAPD decisions in the script pages. More specifically, researchers can compare and contrast script revisions (typically color-coded for each additional revision) and search for absence and addition.

[215] Ken Kolb quoted in Douglas Snauffer, *Crime Television* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), 14.

show's entire core depends on audiences linking the successful capture of criminals with the tried and true (legal) methods of police procedure. Likewise, it makes sense that the LAPD would also be invested in a fluctuating notion of truth in these depictions, as the real drudgery of police work didn't always involve clean intentions. Interestingly though, Kolb seems to suggest that it was only the intervention of the *Dragnet* writing staff that prevented many episodes from depicting police who pay-off narcs: a routine, though at times frowned upon, trick of the policing trade. With this absence, the show can tell the ideological story that good police and participatory citizens bend the arc towards justice week-to-week rather than a lot of government money and desperate people.

Comparison of the first television episode, "The Human Bomb," and its immediate source material—radio episode seven ("Attempted City Hall Bombing"), demonstrates how *Dragnet* reworks history in service of a constructed version of truth.[216] Though offering slightly different variations of the introductory direct address, the radio and television episodes are the same at the level of their plot structures: Friday is called into City Hall to contend with a bomb threat: armed with explosives, Vernon Carney threatens to blow up City Hall unless his brother, a jailed convict, is freed. In both the radio and television versions, the criminal is taken down in real time and the bomb is rendered unusable through the valiant collaborative work of Friday, his partner, and the support of the police chief, fire department, and crime lab bomb specialists. The episodes both conclude on the

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[216] *Dragnet* (Radio Series), season 1, episode 7, "Attempted City Hall Bombing," aired July 22, 1949, on NBC, accessed October 6, 2015, https://archive.org/details/OTRR_Dragnet_Singles/Dragnet_49-07-21_007_Attempted_City_Hall_Bombing.mp3. No director is credited. *Dragnet* (TV Series), Season 1, episode 1, "The Human Bomb," directed by Jack Webb, aired December 16, 1951, on NBC, accessed November 1, 2015, https://archive.org/details/DragnetTheHumanBomb.

same conviction: Carney is assigned to a state mental institution and his brother is returned to jail without possibility of parole.

Both episodes follow a chiasmus structure, beginning with Friday's confident ascent up the City Hall stairs to answer the call and ending with Friday's fall down the same stairs with the water-soaked bomb. These choices serve to align listeners and viewers with Friday himself. The aural motif of passing time colors the radio sound design with repetitious ticking clocks, and Friday's perpetual time updates. In the television broadcast, repeated visual inserts of ticking clock faces compliment the aural motif. These inserts conjure the popular visual motif of the western *High Noon* (1952), though, notably, the episode predates the film's release. Both radio and television versions present the illusion of playing out in real time. While Friday's narration reiterates the passing time within Webb's first person narration, Friday's television introduction frames the time sensitivity at the onset: "We had 26 minutes to try and stop it. This is the story of those twenty-six minutes." Although the show itself is around twenty-six minutes long, the editing relies not on a long take, but rather on ellipsis transitions—dissolves—that link together Friday's movement from room to room, and seem to collapse the time therein. Friday's bridging radio narration operates in a similar elliptical fashion, taking listeners out of the time space of the situation and into past tense.

As *Dragnet's* televisual premiere, "The Human Bomb" was widely spotlighted in popular press, garnering positive reviews for its believability. Preserved in the archived bounded script, reviews characterized the episode as a "documentary crime movie" with "a feeling authenticity" along with its welcome warm depiction of a police department.[217] The

[217] Jack O'Brian, "'Sound-Off-Time' Sounds Better with 'Dragnet,'" *New York Journal-*

attention surrounding the episode's authenticity was exacerbated by the fact that the episode was shot on location at Los Angeles City Hall. This was noted formally within the show's ending credits—a title card reads "Filmed at the City Hall, Los Angeles, California"—and in reviews.[218] Both worked to insure the crossover of an already established legitimacy from the radio show as well as to demarcate *Dragnet*'s televisual form from similar police crime shows already running on television. Much like the press surrounding the introductory radio episodes, all the television reviews recapitulate the already established LAPD as both the technical advisers and source origins for the case file explored on screen.

What is less transparent or addressed, however, is the basis for the episode, only tangentially acknowledged within the press. In a 1951 *New York Herald Tribune*, reviewer Gordon Allison remarks that the television episode is "a documented story of the efforts of two detectives to prevent a maniac from blowing up police headquarters in protest against the arrest of his brother. The case attracted nation-wide attention when it happened in Los Angeles."[219] The review, like others and the show itself, stops short of offering any provenance as to the supposed national case. Given that City Hall construction was completed in 1928, there is a significantly smaller time frame to investigate. However, at the time of the radio or television episode, there had been no threats resembling the human bomb threats to the Los Angeles City Hall covered in California or national news.

Further archival research reveals the depoliticization at work within the show. In reality, Vernon Carney was Carl Riedelbach or Carl Warr, as he preferred to be known. Nicknamed "the human bomb" in print, Warr brought an infernal machine into the Central

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*American*, December 17, 1951.
[218] Ibid.
[219] "Television: 'Dragnet' Debut Tonight."

Police Station in 1912, and threatened to blow up the Los Angeles police headquarters.[220] This historical event's resemblance to *Dragnet*'s "The Human Bomb" ends here. The show strips the original event of its political, socialist underpinnings: Warr's well-documented motive was to gain an audience with a railway president and demand higher wages for railway workers.[221] There was no convicted brother and, therefore, no misguided bomb threat driven by brotherly love. In fact, the police were not the original intended target, but they become the central victim in the narrative of the show. Although such information is disconnected from the show, the actual facts of this case can be traced through another radio broadcast. Also entitled "The Human Bomb," a radio episode of the popular series *Calling All Cars* (1933-1939) would use Carl Warr's actual name and his original motive.[222] In the show's climax, Warr receives an insanity charge while directing his pleas to the listening audience: "You don't think I'm crazy, do you? It's you people who can't see the suffering and injustice in the world. It's you people who are crazy!" *Calling All Cars* would demonize the communist origins of the crime, whereas *Dragnet* would offer a world where such political challenges to authority and order simply do not exist. Ironically, *Calling All Cars* would be considered inauthentic in comparison with *Dragnet* in popular press, because of its depiction of police work with little attention to accuracy of the crime itself.[223]

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[220] "Riedelbach Arraigned: 'Human Bomb' Pleads Not Guilty and Spurns Aid of Lawyer," *San Francisco Call*, November 30, 1912, accessed August 12, 2015, California Digital Newspaper Collection.

[221] There is some discrepancy as to whether Warr demanded an audience with the President of the Southern Pacific ("'Human Bomb' on Trial," *San Francisco Call*, December 31, 1912, accessed August 12, 2015, California Digital Newspaper Collection), or the Red Car Railway (Patt Morrison, "Ominous Ticking in the Distance," *Los Angeles Times*, Jul 24, 1996, accessed March 21, 2015, ProQuest).

[222] *Calling All Cars,* season 1, episode 4, "The Human Bomb," aired December 20, 1933, accessed November 1, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9QQaTWew2vs.

[223] Allison, "Television: 'Dragnet' Debut Tonight."

The power of reenactment as an authenticating force aids the show in its greater sanitation of police forces. This legitimacy rests not on accuracy, but on the constructed feeling of authenticity for the listening audience. The legitimacy of the actual police files is secondary, or arguably superfluous, to the "authentic" reenactment of police work, police space, and the police themselves. Journalist Joe Domanick argues that the show presented police officers as "neutered Eagle Scouts," effectively erasing the general human spectrum of flaws broadly in order to present the least offensive version of the police.[224]

What's more insidious, the show actively erases any racism, sexism, and homophobia embedded in the long controversial history of LAPD tactics, and that existed concurrently with the show. Of course, considering the show's historical context, neither television nor radio received praise for their attention to diversity. Yet, there were very few shows that based their reputation on realism. While the popular press heralded Webb's attention to detail and his financial investment in accurate set replications, publicity seemed oblivious to his unbelievable version of Los Angeles that set the scene week to week.[225] *Dragnet* was able to largely avoid any messy confrontation with its own abusive relationship to the city's population by wholly whitewashing Los Angeles, one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the country at that time. The heroes of Friday's police department are wholly white men at a time when the LAPD was still implementing segregation among its officers. Contemporaneous reviews acknowledging the show's whitewashing were rare. The first, a short complaint letter to Jack Warner, expresses

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[224] Domanick, 124.

[225] Ibid. This includes a specific reference to Webb's meticulous attention to material details by LAPD chief Tom Reddin: "He duplicated everything. When you walked on a Dragnet set that was supposed to be a replica of the police business office, you could bet it was an exact replica."

disappointment that the show refuses to display the multiplicity of races and genders working towards a safer Los Angeles.[226] The second is a passing remark in the Black-owned press *The Baltimore Afro American*: "It's really nice to know that the 'Dragnet' world in which Jack Webb travels as 'Sergeant Friday' is entirely free of colored sinners, but it's too bad that his lack of objectivity deprives some tan actors of work."[227] Moreover, *Dragnet*'s imaginary Los Angeles would influence popular perceptions of the city and its police force for decades to come.

An important, subversive layer to the show's collaboration with the L.A.P.D., the show is unwavering in its thesis that routine standardization and collaboration are the *only* means by which criminals might be caught and crimes might be solved. Procedurality necessitates that the actors are not as important as the standards and rules themselves. In the very first radio episode, for example, our introduction to Joe Friday is not a description of the city he in which he lives or even the crime he is about to solve, which would come to frame the radio show and the TV show thereafter, as I have discussed. Instead, we are introduced to a series of cataloguing qualities that define him:

> My identification card reads: Badge Number 4315, Assigned to Central Division, Blood Type 0. My name's Joe Friday, and I'm a sergeant. Base pay - $388 a month, and I never heard of time and a half.

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[226] "I defy you to go into the city hall, the stations in the trouble areas, without seeing persons of color or minorities working in all sorts of capacities…both male and female [sic]. It makes you quite proud to see all of these colors and creeds working together, but not as Jack Webb portrays them." C.A. Simmons to J.L. Warner, September 29, 1954, Box B00121, Folder 2954, WB-USC Archives, quoted in Claudia Calhoun, "'The Story You Are About to Hear Is True': *Dragnet,* Transmedia Storytelling, and the Postwar Police Procedural" (PhD diss., Yale University, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2014).

[227] Sam Lacy, "Theatrical Whirl," *Baltimore Afro-American*, February 4, 1956, 7, accessed September 12, 2015, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Black Newspapers. This is also referenced in Calhoun, "'The Story You Are About to Hear Is True.'"

However heroically Joe Friday may be presented, he is ultimately a "cog in a great enforcement machine," secondary to the procedures he executes.[228] That is not to say that Jack Webb is not crucial in defining the role of Friday or that the character did not garner individual praise and focus outside the show. Inside that show, however, audiences are reminded that Friday is a walking embodiment of police power.

As an additional influence, *Dragnet*'s procedural focus provides the base material for a more personalized engagement through its ancillary toy products. *Dragnet* was one of the earliest radio and television shows to specifically market police paraphernalia to children, including police badges, fake pistol guns, and "catch the criminal"-oriented toys like the *714 Target Game* and *Radar Action Game*. Aimed at children, these products provided young fans the opportunity to play Joe Friday, mimic the show's procedures, and bring them into their real-life play.

For example, *The Dragnet Crime Lab* (1955) provides fans with practical application of the police work they could view on screen and encourages budding Joe Fridays to play detective. Advertised as "A Complete Crime Detection Outfit for the Junior Detective," the kit claims to offer real-life detective tools and teach the real techniques from the television show and, by extension, real-life police departments. Although designated as a children's toy, it is meticulous in detail and overwhelming in its included forensic objects that serve all crime-solving needs.[229] These kits mimic those early fingerprinting kits initially

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[228] Mittell, 141.

[229] *Dragnet* Crime Lab: A Complete Crime Detection Outfit for the Junior Detective, No. 3765, Sherry TV, 1955, Transogram Company, Inc., NY. The Kit is divided into two areas. The left side contains the following: the "How to Use your Dragnet--Badge 714 Crime Lab" Handbook; Fingerprint record sheet; a magnifying glass (with imprint fingerprint below the lens placement; Fingerprint transfer tape (a small Scotch tape cellophane role); Joe Friday's Badge; Squeeze power application; Detective's wallet; Hand cuffs; Hand cuff keys.

produced in the beginnings of the American police domestication of forensic science, though aimed primarily at children versus enterprising adults.

The box case encapsulates the dichotomy of play: children want to play Joe Friday, but he was not the crime lab technician. The cover of the kit has a remarkable juxtaposition of foreground and background. The background features a color animated scene of a midcentury crime lab: clipboard reports adorn a corkboard, a teal cabinet signals files organized, a large map with red pinpoints, a table with unknowable do-dads, and an obvious scientist—white overcoat, transferring liquid into a test tube and surrounded by the tools of forensic science: microscope, magnifying glass, and an anonymous liquid-filled beaker—all adorn the scene. This background color tableau is set apart from the foreground: an awkward cut out of a black and white photograph still of Jack Webb, our hero Joe Friday, putting bullets in his gun at a nearby table. The juxtaposition sets Webb apart from the scene, yet the positioning of the photograph overlaps attempts to integrate him within it.

The kit handbook breaks down the procedures necessary to use the tools correctly, and to properly fit into the role of junior detective by, among other things, using one's friends and family as suspects. Children are instructed to use their "Junior Dragnet Detective Badge" to gain the trust of witnesses and identify themselves to fellow officers of the law. There are step-by-step instructions on how to put cuffs on a suspect, using the metal ones provided in the kit. The handbook provides instructions not only on how to gather clues and where, but also information on the hierarchy of the most essential clues,

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On the right side the kit includes: invisible ink powder; tweezers; mini microscope; dropper; fingerprint powder; case closed stamp; fingerprint ink; and code chart.

with cigarette ashes and blood stains at the top of the list.[230] Most importantly, the handbook supplies a system of cataloguing so that junior Joe Fridays can begin to properly archive their findings.

What's most fascinating about the crime kit is its concentration on teaching fingerprinting techniques and history—linking back to Chapter One's focus on the procedure as the quintessential beginnings of public fascination with police work. In fact, the kit handbook is reminiscent of the rhetoric of the home correspondence schools in this fashion:

> It may be the beginning of an unusual, useful hobby—the study of fingerprints and other criminal clues, which will give you experience for future work in the field of crime detection. Many fine careers in police work have begun with just such a youthful hobby.[231]

Although fingerprinting was not the primary procedure depicted or even showcased on the television show, its process dominates the focus of the instruction booklet. There are two sections of the manual dedicated to this focus: "History of Fingerprinting" and "The Art of Fingerprinting." The latter of the two demonstrates how to pick up latent prints using powder and scotch tape, how to identify the classifications of fingerprints, and how to properly handle evidence to avoid marking objects with one's own prints. Here, the instructions implore junior detectives to take seriously the task of fingerprinting and to "asking friends and relatives to permit you to take their fingerprints" in order to develop a personal fingerprint archive.[232] More problematically, the kit provides the tools to analyze

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[230] *Dragnet* Crime Lab.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Ibid., page 3 of the game handbook.

criminal intent embedded within particular patterns and frequency of fingerprinting, and harkening back to the phrenology days of criminology.

Through a familiar formula, *Dragnet* builds from a foundation of rhetorical and aesthetic legitimacy for the demonstration of procedures as the act of crime solving. The instructive potential for procedures depends, first and foremost, on their being understood as the tried and "true" methods found in solved police files and in the everyday police department. In doing so, the show strives to achieve Webb's above assessment by fulfilling a hunger for (perceived) realism. When paired with broadcast aesthetics and format, *Dragnet* achieves a structural familiarity with audiences, one that can be learned and routinized. This cycle of repetition, indicative of the weekly format broadcast, also serves as a mirror to the repetition and routine of police procedures necessary to achieve standardization. A testament to *Dragnet's* work in this regard, the show's structure would be quickly recognized among audiences and mimicked by other shows, in seriousness and in jest.[233] In crafting an entertainment learning, the show itself sugarcoats its actual motive: to teach listeners and viewers how to become better citizens via procedural learning.

*Dragnet*'s official merchandise, like the kit, further illustrate the blurring of entertainment and police work—anchored around procedural forms—that would be foundational in subsequent police media. It is unclear whether Jack Webb himself or the Los Angeles Police Department lent their expertise and insight into the development of the *Crime Lab* kit and the other toys that aided in playing detective, though they carry such authority through their association with the popular police procedural show. The following

[233] Mittell observes that the show's unique and easily recognizable formats would make it popular fodder for parody among other 1950s shows. Mittell, 221.

chapter explores the next generation of the LAPD's investment in domesticating procedures in a new audiovisual, rule-based medium: video gaming.

## CHAPTER 3
## Codes of Conduct:
## Gaming Police Procedures in *Police Quest*

The *Police Quest* franchise enjoys distinct status among Sierra's pantheon of titles as the company's first and only "real-life" game franchise. Sierra On-Line, later Sierra Entertainment, emerges in 1979 as the collaborative venture from married couple Ken and Roberta Williams. Sierra celebrates its original hometown Oakhurst, CA in the company name and company logo, both references to the iconic Sierra Mountain range. Sierra's love of their Central California setting and environment aside, their creative products were rarely associated with realism or realisticness. Though Sierra's role in personal computing systems software design is understudied, they share credit for popularizing the adventure game genre in the 1980s and 1990s.[234] Their fantasy adventure titles include *Space Quest* (1986-1995), *Leisure Suit Larry* (1987-2009), *Quest for Glory* (1989-1998), and most famously, *King's Quest* (1984-2015). These "interactive films" are immersive story worlds where players *play* the starring roles of the romantic hero or seducing lothario, as opposed to merely viewing film and television.[235] With considerable aesthetic and narrative variations across franchises, Sierra's game mechanics were the brand feature at the

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[234] Will Crowther's *Colossal Cave Adventure* (1976), the early interactive fiction game modeled after the Mammoth Cave system in Kentucky is often credited with lending the adventure genre its name and broad ludic aims. Other game companies like Sierra would crystallize the genre in later years. While Sierra games often receive passing mentions in game anthologies, there is limited critical scholarship on the company, its myriad game franchises, and its brand in PC gaming. See most notably, Laine Nooney, "Sierra On-Line and the Archaeology of Video Game History" (PhD diss., Stony Brook University, 2014).

[235] While used in game reviews, the term was also invoked by Sierra public relations: "We believe that the score to our "interactive films" is as important a component to the overall experience as the plot of the graphics." Sierra On-Line Tenth Anniversary Catalogue, 1989, Box 1, Folder 14, Ken and Roberta Williams Sierra On-Line Collection, Strong Museum of Play, Rochester, NY.

fingertips or finger-clicks of their AGI (Adventure Game Interpreter) and SCI (Sierra's Creative Interpreter) engines respectively. Describing the company's stylistic brand, review magazine *Computer Gaming World* recommends, "As with all Sierra games, it is important to take, look, feel, touch, and smell everything that can be seen."[236] Readers in the know will navigate popular text command terms ("take," "look," etc.) in the text parser input system from Sierra's early games, regardless of their unique story environments. What sets *Police Quest* apart is a player's real world experience of police work rather than the playful escape offered in Sierra's other fantasy or science-fiction worlds as the 1987 box copy attests, "*Police Quest* is a Sierra 3-D Animated Adventure. It is a game, but with its unflinching situations and real-life dramas, it isn't fantasy." The success of the first game spawned a 1992 re-release in updated VGA graphics as well as myriad sequels: *Police Quest II: The Vengeance* (1988), *Police Quest III: The Kindred* (1991), *Police Quest: Open Season* (1993), four *Police Quest SWAT* games (1995-1999), and several affiliated spin-offs.[237] *Police Quest* is a marked contrast to the company's previous games due to its linearity; there are no side quests or bonus storylines to boost up one's points.[238] Instead, the game dictates player action within proper adherence to the codes of police procedure.

Exploring the *rule-based* quality of procedural play, this chapter explores the *Police Quest* franchise as a microcosm of law enforcement where the success of "playing detective" explicitly dictates the winning end goal, where amateur detection is cultivated.

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[236] Michael S. Chaut, "Dusting the Death Angel: Sierra's New Police Adventure," *Computer Gaming World*, April 1988, 22.
[237] *Police Quest: In Pursuit of the Death Angel,* PC Game, SCI engine (Sierra On-Line, 1992); *Police Quest II: The Vengeance,* PC Game (Sierra On-Line, 1988); *Police Quest III: The Kindred,* PC Game (Sierra On-Line, 1991); *Police Quest: Open Season,* PC Game, directed by Tammy Dargan (Sierra On-Line, 1993); *Police Quest: SWAT,* PC Game, directed by Tammy Dargan (Sierra On-Line, 1995).
[238] Chaut, 23.

The popular discourse and reception surrounding *Police Quest* upholds the franchise's claims to authentic and accurate police work and encourage players to see their own potential gameplay as policing practice. A more traditional ludic reading of *Police Quest* might pinpoint the turning on of the computer or appearance of the title screen as the start of the play moment. Drawing attention to broader boundaries of play, the space of procedural play in *Police Quest* exists both within and outside the game, coinciding with Sierra's aggressive marketing of "What It's Really Like to Be a Cop!"

This chapter unravels two interlocking systems of procedurality at work within the franchise: the gamic adaptation of the police procedural genre and the notion of rule-based processes within the video game medium. Each bring their own sets of codes—those audiovisual referents as well as those rules blackboxed from players—to structure and constrain interactivity. In *Persuasive Games* (2008), game theorist Ian Bogost articulates the ethical necessity of examining procedure in video gaming: "procedurality can also entail the operation of cultural, social, and historical systems. In these cases, asking 'how does this work?' requires taking a set of cultural systems apart to see what logics motivate their human actors."[239] In similar fashion, Galloway entreats scholars to understand games as "algorithmic cultural objects," with balanced attention to both the computational and cultural systems in which procedural play exists. As such, this research explores how the gamification of procedures promotes a perception of structural stability in maintaining law and order. In playing through the franchise, not even players can manipulate the rule of law unless they want to die an early digital death and start their games all over again.

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[239] Ian Bogost, *Persuasive Games: The Expressive Power of Videogames* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007), 8.

The game series would emerge at a particularly tumultuous time in California policing and national visibility. The franchise much necessarily be situated within the context of 1980s and 1990s policing in Southern California, where the "War on Drugs" reforms and police brutality became national spectacles of racism and the unchecked excesses of law enforcement authority. In 1987—the same year of first game's release—the Los Angeles Police Department's Operation Hammer targeted the Black and Latino populations of South Central and East Los Angeles under the guise of eliminating gang violence and drug use. An unprecedented rise in incarcerated minority populations plagued Los Angeles and California, as a result.[240] The representation and absence of minorities and the nature of criminal activity in the *Police Quest* franchise complicate this historical moment of increased police surveillance and police rebranding.

Though the game was not initially sold as a recruitment tool, its marketing would encourage players to recognize their play as somehow translatable to ordering the real world. Distinct from the usual fare of negotiation tactics and gun ratings featured in the pages of *Law & Order*, a trade magazine for police management, the following October 1988 endorsement begins with a striking departure:

> You are hiding behind a bush in the park waiting for the drug deal to go down. It does. You have the evidence you need. You shout, "Halt! Police!" and rush out from cover. Suddenly, the dealer turns on you and shoots. You go down. Blood is pouring from a fatal chest wound. The music starts and a warning sign appears on the computer screen saying you made a mistake in police procedure. With that, *Police Quest*, a computer-adventure simulation, ends.

[240] The wide-reaching racial effects of Operation Hammer have been explored in depth in Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (London and New York City: Verso, 1990), and Joe Domanick, *To Protect and To Serve: The LAPD's Century of War in the City of Dreams* (New York City: Pocket Books, 1994).

> Why, you ask, is a computer game being reviewed in a serious law enforcement publication? Because *Police Quest* is a serious training program.[241]

The review, written by Sgt. Harry Johnson of Michigan's Allegan Police Department, taps into the familiar second person address of pulp crime novels and radio procedurals. Johnson invites fellow police professionals to occupy the role of Sonny Bonds, the fictional traffic-cop-turned-detective hero on the hunt for the titular drug lord of the Sierra On-Line computer game *Police Quest: Pursuit of a Death Angel* (1987).[242] To support the endorsement, Johnson shares his personal about-face from cynical police chief, dead set against "turn[ing] our training computer into a game machine" before becoming a convinced expert "no longer thinking of the program as a game."[243] Exceeding expectations, *Police Quest* is a legitimate training program surpassing their existing audiovisual training simulation materials. The creative involvement of California Highway Patrol officer Jim Walls ensures the validity of the game's subject matter and procedural mechanics with a fun twist: "There is no rule saying training has to be boring."[244] Far from a frivolous distraction, *Police Quest* sparks officer discussions on best standards for police procedure—rules that must be observed in the game to earn points and win—rather than their usual exchange of fishing stories. Johnson is so invested in the game, he personally encourages neighboring police departments to adopt it as a training program for officers to play. He promises the *Law & Order* audience that *Police Quest* is a much-needed respite from the day-to-day drudgeries of civilian encounters within its safe digital space, though it

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[241] "Police Quest Used in Real-life Police Officer Training," *The Sierra Newsletter* 2, Spring 1989, accessed July 26, 2016, http://www.sierragamers.com/uploads/24082/Interaction/005_Sierra_Newsletter_Volume_2_Number_1_Spring_1989_Small.pdf.
[242] *Police Quest: In Pursuit of the Death Angel,* PC Game, AGI engine (Sierra On-Line, 1987).
[243] "Police Quest Used in Real-life Police Officer Training."
[244] Ibid.

is unclear how Johnson reconciles this escapism with the game's serious, real-life procedurality. In closing the review, Johnson shifts back to second person address, taking readers step-by-step through the game's opening, teasing future sauciness for the assumed uniformly male readership: "You will meet the lowest of the low, high-rollers, ordinary citizens, and even a few women that your mother—and definitely your wife—would not approve of."[245] Successful players will solve crimes with ease while moving up police ranks; those players failing to adhere to proper procedure "will spend a lot of time using the Restore Game command."[246] In Spring 1989, Sierra On-Line would reprint the full endorsement in their company magazine and later exaggerate its authority in advertisements and box copies of the 1992 remake of *Police Quest*: "Take to the Streets in a Game so Realistic, It's Used as a Training Tool by Police Forces Across the Country," "SO REAL IT'S USED AS A POLICING TRAINING TOOL!"[247]

Fan letters to Sierra illustrate the rhetorical strategy bridging between digital procedural play and real world playing detective. A Dec 30, 1993 letter from 14-year-old Dayton Berry shares, "I am writing to ask you for some information about Jim Walls. He has inspired me to become a police officer and when I play Police Quest I feel proud."[248] The game acts as an extension of Walls himself, encouraging the young player to pursue law enforcement from a position of authority. Barry links his in-game success with future occupation prospects, suggesting that he associates in-game achievements with outward viability. Such letters offer glimpses of the fandom assemblage branch of play, which

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[245] "Police Quest Used in Real-life Police Officer Training."
[246] Ibid.
[247] *Police Quest: In Pursuit of the Death Angel,* PC Game, SCI engine (Sierra On-Line, 1992)
[248] Dayton Berry to Sierra, Dec 30, 1993, Laine Nooney Sierra On-Line Collection, 115.85, Strong Museum of Play, Rochester, NY.

includes national and international audiences. Although the empirical financial success of the game abroad is unknown, fan letters provide some indication that international audiences appreciate the game and Walls's labor. One such letter from a German former police officer personally thanks Walls from "an old policeman [sic] to a good 'game designer'" along with a small portion of the Berlin Wall as a token of gratitude for his work in *Police Quest* and its sequel.[249]

Sierra positions the game as a pseudo-documentary, selling its insider knowledge as authentic expertise. Described as a "retelling," the game is akin to a *Choose-Your-Own-Adventure*, interactive autobiography rather than a submersive game environment with branching choices. The back of the original 1987 box pitches the game's true-to-life aesthetics and thrilling adventure while a photographic insert of Jim Walls, a uniformed California Highway Patrol Officer, occupies the right corner against the pixelated graphic screenshots and bold type columns. Next to Walls is the descriptive note:

> A gripping story, *Police Quest* is a factual account as told by ex-police officer Jim Walls. With 15 years on the police force, Jim Walls has brought to life the essence of what it is like to be a cop, from stopovers at the local coffee shop to shootouts in Central Park.[250]

As precedents for such a turn, the radio and television's *Dragnet* and earlier broadcast police procedurals claim authenticity through reenactment of real stories from police files and creative police partnerships. Each share mutually beneficial public relations spins. Law enforcement participation lends creative projects public accreditation as more nonfiction than not. Likewise, these media forms act as the conduit between the public and contemporary police surveillance. The adviser-media producer role is further collapsed in

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[249] J. Grunwald to Sierra Catalog Orders, undated, Laine Nooney Sierra On-Line Collection, 115.85, Strong Museum of Play, Rochester, NY.
[250] *Police Quest: In Pursuit of the Death Angel,* PC Game, AGI engine (Sierra On-Line, 1987);

Sierra's promotion of Walls as the game author and Sierra itself as supportive backdrop to Walls's digital world. As such, this narrative divorces any concept of artistic license in their "factual account." In application to *Police Quest*, the game not only models good behavior in the hopes of implicitly associating policing with citizenship, but prefigures an innocent accessible playing audience against criminal antagonists within and outside the game space. The explicit shift from spectator to player relies on the "you" second person address in game advertisements and game box copies, which lends itself to a sense of intimacy.

Game reviewers would reiterate Sierra's marketing strategy towards accuracy and further, use it as proof of the game's serious value. For example, a 1988 *Computer Gaming World* article opines, "*Police Quest* seems to have an extra added element of realism and danger. The overall design obviously stemmed from Walls' experiences "on the job."[251] Walls's past legitimates the supposed realism of the game and becomes its own mythic origin story: "Jim was on leave following a shootout in Central California—an experience that left him a changed man."[252] Another review heralds the game as interactive "memoirs of an ex-Los Angeles police officer," whose real life referent helps excuse the game's mature and often racist language. [253] This is a truly praiseworthy impression of Sierra's design, considering Walls was never a Los Angeles police officer and none of the game advertisement boasts this misapprehension. Perhaps, this is a greater testament to the game's ability to fit so neatly within the pantheon of police procedural imaginary or its not-

[251] Chaut, 23.
[252] Sierra On-Line Tenth Anniversary Catalogue, 10.
[253] Alison Cunliffe, "Some Choices Don't Compute Popularity Not Necessarily the Best Measure when Shopping for Computer Software for Children," *Toronto Star*, Dec 11, 1988, accessed June 2, 2016, ProQuest.

so-subtle invocation of Los Angeles in small-town "Lytton," California.[254] The details of Jim Walls's life as a California Highway Patrol officer are neither given in publicity materials nor scrutinized by reviewers, despite the aura it receives as the game's critical worth. *Police Quest* is meant to capture the essence of Walls's real-life cases and experiences on the force, whatever these events are crafted to be. The ultimate goal is to teach penal rules and to absorb players into a policing system through play.

As presented in previous chapters, the imaginative reenactment space of police work provides audiences opportunities to mimic the perceived tools of the crime-solving trade. There are historical antecedents to this sort of play with Do-it-yourself children's detective and forensic kits exemplifying the procedural toy type, providing one-to-one functional equipment promised to resemble that of police officers and forensic scientists. One such example, the *AMSCO-Milton Bradley's Mobile Crime Lab* (1976) was part of a series allowing children to explore different adult professions. Geared toward children between the ages of six and twelve, the Crime Lab encouraged detective play with family and friends while learning about the purposes of the police procedural techniques of "fingerprinting, evidence collection, identification, and tools for observation."[255] The box promises a variety of skillful tools for taking fingerprints and lifting latent prints, creating image composites of criminals, and analyzing handwriting. Alongside these techniques, a Crime Lab Notebook, in addition to keeping collected evidence safe and cataloged, provides brief, easy-to-remember advice factoids for budding crime-solvers. To aid casting objects like keys, the Kit recommends using a bar of soap. To help craft a young one's detective eye,

[254] Cunliffe.
[255] AMSCO-Milton Bradley Mobile Crime Lab, Play Set, Battery operated toy, 1976, 106.2577, Strong Museum of Play, Rochester, NY.

they are encouraged to look out for distinguishing physical marks and make note of unusual behavior, though the latter is not unpacked for further discussion. Much of the advice offers up an air of paranoia and surveillance: rigging doors with hair or tape to monitor false entry, masking one's voice over the phone with fabric materials, and tracking cars and "suspects" with trail markers—and how to do it without getting caught. There is much slippage here between tools that can analyze a crime scene after the fact, entrapping criminals within the act, and perpetual monitoring of suspicious behavior.

The practical application of these techniques encourages real world data collection and cataloguing for play, regardless of any specific crime to apply those skills or criminal to catch. The kit itself came in the form of a P.I. briefcase: one side housing the fingerprint testing center and step-by-step instructions, the other featuring a handwriting comparison analysis and the Ident-i-kit, a photographic series of facial strips (brows and eyes, noses, and mouths) for compositing images of possible suspects from witness descriptions. There are evidence cards that provide proper recording and cataloging of items and suspect record cards (a throwback to early *Bertillionage*) with space for fingerprinting. The Ident-i-kit suggests that kids practice their skills using real-life police crime reports and descriptions of suspects found in their local newspaper using their own Ident-i-kit faces and beyond (with their own artistry): "try drawing faces freehand, from a witness' description, just as a police artist might do." Moreover, children are encouraged to start amazing their own record database to gain experience by using their parents and friends as subjects. These toys normalize processes of identification as a form of childhood

socialization and instructive play.[256] In doing so, this procedural play encourages imaginative immersion into a sphere of policing surveillance rather than the mere act of criminal capture itself.

As a rules-based structure, procedural play is inherently ludic with a built-in goal: solve crimes and catch criminals. Digital environments emerge within established systems of procedure or "rules" of a given genre. The conceptual parallels between computer software and the everyday bureaucratic practices of procedure resonate with those between the subgenre of the police procedural and the game structure, as George N. Dove argues in *The Police Procedural* (1982):

> Before undertaking a characterization of the police procedural in terms of the nature of detection, it will be necessary to define the Game, which sets the limits on the methods that are allowed to police detectives. All detective fiction has some game-elements, but in the procedural story the rules are different.[257]

Although Dove focuses on detection and the police procedural as genre and subgenre, his description pairs the generic fiction rules and their literal counterpart: methods of actual police procedure. Dove understands policing itself as a process of crime-solving, capture, and conviction—all steps that can be mapped onto written or moving image objects. These rules and their limitations are not merely a fictionalized representation of procedures, but rather originate from the procedures, which all operate with the same objective: capture and convict the guilty party.

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[256] For more on the relationship between children's toys and children's development, key play studies texts include Brian Sutton-Smith, *Toys as Culture* (New York: Garden, 1986); Karin Calvert, *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Childhood in America, 1600-1900* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992); Jane Eva Baxter, *The Archaeology of Childhood: Children, Gender, and Material Culture* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2005).
[257] George N. Dove, *The Police Procedural* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1982), 51.

As player to playing procedures, the series plays with the existing subgenre and its tropes. Although the first game attempts to distinguish the series from generic predecessors —the box art implores players to "Forget the mindless garbage you've seen on TV"—*Police Quest* pays homage to the most famous radio and televisual procedural. In Sierra's marketing campaigns, these flows of communication encourage game players to tap into aspirations of *paidea*, or the make-believe role-play, to do police work, often relying on existing cultural procedural models for reference such as *Dirty Harry* (1971) and *Miami Vice* (1984-1990).[258] Across the first three installments, the fictional setting of Lytton, California experiences an "L.A.-fication." The small-town takes on more remarkable Los Angeles iconography in the 1992 VGA remake and third installment, in particular. For instance, the iconic Los Angeles City Hall is digitally replicated in the third installment—familiar architecture in films noir; it makes an appearance in such iconic films as *LA Confidential* (1997) and *Crimson Kimono* (1959). *Police Quest* uses generic procedural tropes to situate the game within this fictional lineage. If the 1987 EGA opening aural shout out to Walter Schumann's indelible score to *Dragnet* does not provide a clear enough allusion, the game's badge opening visually mimics the police television show, as noted by reviewers.[259] This badge opening would repeat for *Police Quest: Open Season* as well. The intertexual reference is a fitting parallel, given *Dragnet's* similar reputation for authentic

[258] For a more in-depth discussion of *paidea* versus *ludus* play experiences, see Roger Caillois, *Man, Play and Games*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1961), and Gonzalo Frasca, "Simulation vs. Narrative. Introduction to Ludology," in *The Video Game Theory Reader*, eds. Mark J.P. Wolf & Bernard Perron (New York and London: Routledge, 2003): 221-36.

[259] "The opening sequence of Police Quest displays the City of Lytton's Police Shield something a la Dragnet. The original music, designed by Margaret Lowe, which accompanies that screen would make anyone want to join the ranks of Sgt. Joe Friday." Chaut, 22-23.

police procedure, the producers' real-life collaboration with the 1950's Los Angeles Police Department, and their shared California settings. The ending of both *Police Quest II* and *III* culminate in details of the trial and sentencing arrangements—white text against black backgrounds—another visual reference to *Dragnet*. As an added pop cultural policing reference, Sierra recruited *Miami Vice* theme composer Jan Hammer to compose the original theme for *Police Quest III*'s theme music.[260]

Beyond the franchise's gamification of the police procedural genre, the video game system is itself a computational procedural medium. Videogames "live" by a code, or many codes, so that gameplay is also a flow of communication where play is reading and responding to coded language. In the broadest sense, any form of *game playing* could be considered procedure-based by the very nature of our interactions with a rules-based system, though made more complex with hardware and software. In computing history, procedurality as a term first described procedural languages as those that could "receive and process a set of user instructions," the earliest mechanism for creating and executing computational processes.[261] Computer programming and coding itself is an internally bureaucratic system; it cannot function properly without commands tied to rules and those processes carried out through procedure for specific purposes and problem-solving.

The term procedural rhetoric is attributed to game theorist Ian Bogost, who brings together his fields of comparative literature and game design to define how game spaces convey persuasive messages: games as compositional and computational processes.

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[260] "Home," *Fresno Bee*, June 24, 1991, D2, accessed March 06, 2016, Newsbank.
[261] Eric Kaltman, "Procedurality," in *Debugging Game History: A Critical Lexicon*, eds. Henry Lowood and Raiford Guins (Cambridge: MIT Press), 369. For more on the history of procedural language and computing, see Paul E. Ceruzzi, *A History of Modern Computing*, Second Edition (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003).

Although Bogost concedes that the desire to represent processes is not unique to videogames, he stresses that the very ontology of computing—as "running processes"—allows such systems to represent procedure: "only procedural systems like computer software actually represent process with process"[262] Earlier research, most notably from scholar Janet Murray, recognizes the innate procedural nature of computer gaming.[263] Typically, scholars use procedural rhetoric to legitimatize games as a serious medium.[264] And so procedural rhetoric becomes yet another a way of doing medium specificity with the risk of treating games as closed operating systems rather than technologies that exist within cultural procedural systems.

Rather than valorize medium specificity, this research focuses on procedural rhetoric for its bureaucratic origins and ordering of play. The procedural nature of gamic environments informs the structure of interactive communication between users and computers. Representation and meaning within digital environments come from "the codified rendering of responsive behaviors," the ways in which computers and humans respond to one another via the input and output of rule-based decision-making.[265] This process is not unlike our relationship with other bureaucratic procedures in our everyday life. Murray insists that we situate computational procedures within other social structures of process, because our interactions with other procedures *shape* our behavioral responses

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[262] Bogost, 14.
[263] Janet Murray, *Hamlet on the Holodeck: The Future of Narrative in Cyberspace* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 71.
[264] For example, see Patrick Jagoda, "Fabulously Procedural: *Braid*, Historical Processing, and the Videogame Sensorium," *American Literature* 85, no. 4 (December 2013): 745-779, accessed April 29, 2016, http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/00029831-2367346; John Ferrara, "Games for Persuasion: Argumentation, Procedurality, and the Lie of Gamification," *Games and Culture* 8, no. 4 (2013): 294, accessed April 29, 2016, http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1555412013496891
[265] Bogost, 74.

to the digital space.

The *Police Quest* franchise is both procedural in a computational sense and generic lineage. This complimentary take of procedurality on the role of play foregrounds the intersections of a rule-based medium with a rule-based genre. When discussing personal experience with play across game genres, Murray theorizes: "I perform these actions not because I have read a rule book but because I have been prepared to do so by exposure to thousands of stories that follow these patterns."[266] Although computational procedures are unique in their processes, Murray suggests that we bring existing interpretative modes of reading and communicating to our interactions with other procedural media structures. Murray draws our attention to procedural literacy, as in acknowledging the tools players and users learn in order to interact with computing systems, even those crafted before entering digital spaces.

In the case of *Police Quest,* procedural rhetoric meets police procedural—computing processes represent the generic routine of crime-solving. Dove describes police procedurals as a game insofar as both dictate rules and boundaries—the subgenre to what detectives can and cannot do, how one can play with the rules, and what processes and codes prevent it. The interplay of these processes works to create a procedural play space in which players must navigate both sets of rules—procedural processing and police procedure—simultaneously. For example, a gameplay comparison between the versions of *Police Quest: In Pursuit of the Death Angel* reveals shifts in procedural rhetoric though the underlying police procedure remains constant. Take a particular sequence: the player as Sonny Bonds must perform the same play choice: must open his personal police locker, put

[266] Murray, 192.

on a police officer uniform and retrieve proper equipment (gun, baton, ammunition, patrol car keys, notebook, and pen). Though both games alternate between first and third person points of view, the 1987 version often allows players a full screen first person perspective, whereas the 1992 release typically truncates first person perspective within visualizations from a third person gameworld context. Within the 1992 scene above, players occupy three different perspectives at once: a first person view of your locker as Sonny Bonds, a third person view of Sonny within the locker room, and a "god's eye view" of the police station in an establishing location shot. The contrasts in aesthetic and visual detail between the two reflect the shift from EGA (Enhanced Graphics Adapter) to VGA (Video Graphics Array) display standards. The same police procedure operating in two different game engines drastically reorients user input and machinic output processes. Bogost argues this is a difference in *operational logics*, Noah Wardrip-Fruin's term that describes the programmatic procedural steps running many digital games.[267] The original 1987 *Police Quest*, like many of Sierra's early adventure games, relies on an AGI (Adventure Game Interpreter) engine and its text parser to prompt and execute ludic processes beyond physical movement, which could be controlled through the up, down, left, and right arrow keys.

Of course, the notion of a procedural trope takes on double meaning as the game demands both a mastery of the computing language and the system of police procedures. Text parsers force players to adapt to a preset dictionary of programmed terms, often through trial and error, in order to learn the proper procedures of operator-machinic

[267] Bogost, 13. Elaboration of these procedural logics can be found in Noah Wardrip-Fruin, *Expressive Processing: Digital Fictions, Computer Games, and Software Studies* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009).

communication. For early examples, interactive fiction games *Colossal Cave Adventure* (1976) and *Zork* (1977) require players to input simple action text commands plus specific objects, persons, or locations (ex. "look man," "get key") to prompt and execute machinic programming. Wardrip-Fruin categorizes text parsers as a textual operation logic rather than a graphic operational logic; both can be described as "common procedural trope[s]," borrowing from literary terminology to describe the primary interactive logic controlling player and computer procedural language interactions.[268] Both versions require monotonous interactivity as players repeat the same police procedures throughout the game, but with significantly different processes. Though both versions are similarly confined to missions that demonstrate proper police protocol, their differences illuminate diverging procedural rhetoric. With the 1987 *Police Quest*, frequent miscommunication between player and game can occur when providing an action word or phrase unknown in the computer language. These moments of error are immediately registered, halting the game's progression until players can locate the proper terminology. Sierra anticipates player frustration with forms of in-game assistance, such as a help screen with key text phrases, game hints that pop up within the game, and hot-key phrases to guide your cop surrogate.

Game procedures intertwine with police procedure within the franchise and encourage a blurring of play boundaries. Outside the digital space, the accompanying game manual, aptly titled the "Police Indoctrination Guide" (a purposeful "P.I.G." acronym), models itself after an official City of Lytton police manual. The pages provide a step-by-step guide for how to successfully execute the game's first mission including locations to go to,

[268] Bogost, 13.

objects to acquire, and the correct words to enact actions within the game. This includes a section with a glossary of the action text commands, which offers procedural communication lessons in advance of the start of the game. In the *Computer Gaming World's* game hints, reviewer Michael Chaut recommends reading the guide before playing the game, warning that players "*must* know the correct police operating procedures for handcuffing, routine traffic stops, radio transmissions, and vehicle code as and some of the penal code."[269] The manual's information is meant to be read before and during the game and can determine how many points you acquire—the closer you adhere to real-life police procedure, the more impressive your *Police Quest* and your future as a cop. Yet the majority of these pages actually emphasize the day-to-day codes of a uniformed officer that cannot be implemented by the player during the game—including physical arrest procedures, rules of enforcement, penal and traffic violation codes, and sanitary upkeep. While the P.I.G. acknowledges police work as protecting citizenry, the manual emphasizes the importance of memorizing day-to-day routines for efficiency. This is illustrated in photographs of game designer Jim Walls in full uniform demonstrating the physical procedures of police attire, holding a weapon, and restraining a criminal while exhibiting the proper body stance for officer-civilian interactions. Invoking Taylorism, these photographs express the "dos and don'ts" of standard police work. As well, they are not unlike the step-by-step process of proper fingerprinting methods that emblazoned fingerprint hobby magazines and home correspondence school manuals some sixty years prior, as explored in Chapter One.

This level of embodiment or laundry list of codes is not playable within the actual game, and instead offers an additional site of instruction. The manual itself acknowledges

[269] Chaut, 22.

this limitation: "The following information is for reference use only. Players will not be able to input any of the following codes, but should be familiar with them as they will be used by officers in the game."[270] Procedural play is reinforced in both spaces, and so not only illustrates the fluidity of the play boundaries, but the layered meaning of indoctrination here. At a minimum, the manual is meant to convey a sense of realism outside the digital world, reminding players of Walls's authenticity by having him in full uniform within its pages. *Police Quest: Open Season* takes this realism to a different level entirely. Rather than include real world procedures alongside game hints, the box set for the game includes an over sixty-page abridged version of the real Los Angeles Police Department manual with full-page diagrams of the department's bureaucratic hierarchy and chain of command. These manuals present tools for another sort of play: physical police role-playing outside of the digital space of Lytton and Los Angeles respectfully.

The degree of attentiveness to procedural text communication disappears in the 1992 VGA remake of *Police Quest* and subsequent installments of the franchise. While the AGI engine uses a procedural language, the SCI (Sierra Creative Interpreter) engine for the 1992 remake is object-oriented programming language. The text parser interaction is replaced with the wholly visual "point-and-click" interface. Instead of providing command inputs, players of the 1992 *Police Quest* can click on specific game objects or areas with action-specific icons (examples include the eye icon: "look at X"; body icon: "walk to X"; lips icon: "talk to X"; and hand icon: "grab X"). Pairing the icons with a mouse or joystick movement, players can explore and simulate real time interactions. Rather than requiring a mastery of ordered text inputs, the 1992 version rewards exploratory navigation of the

[270] *Police Quest: In Pursuit of the Death Angel,* PC Game, AGI engine (Sierra On-Line, 1987).

visual digital environment, even the curious clicking on random objects within a room or locker. The original mode of interaction inputs commands to the digital representative of the player with more purposeful and time-consuming action directives. Though the ontological distance between the player and Sonny Bonds remains in the 1992 remake, there is a greater collapse of time between action decision and action movement, because the "point and click" processes appear to happen concurrently onscreen. Ultimately, the SCI engine does not require the same double procedural learning of the AGI system. In effect, the 1992 remake replaces the previous learning curve and challenging ludic process with simultaneity and greater ease of use through primarily non-textual interactivity (e.g. pointing the game arrow and clicking for game response). The remaining installments in the franchise would use SCI game engine and *Police Quest: Open Season* would feature pre-recorded responses and automated actions, further distancing and blackboxing a player's interactive steps with procedures.

Of course, the sum of a game's parts—its diegesis and game machinic-player relationship as it is happening—should not be removed from its production and consumption within a greater social and cultural assemblage. As previously stated, the chief strategy of Sierra's marketing campaign was crafting the franchise's legitimate authorship—of providing players with a real experience of what it is like to be a cop from cops themselves. But this choice wasn't simply for marketing credibility. In a 1994 "making of" *Police Quest* retrospective video, Sierra's CEO Ken Williams articulated the role of "real cops" in their game design:

> The idea was to get people that are very experienced in their professions and have them infused their decades of experience into a computer so that we can make the person sitting in front of their computer pretend to be that person. Realism. Right from the beginning, we said we weren't going to do TV cops, that we were going to get

> real cops involved…Everything's got to feel exactly the way it would in real life and otherwise it's not real. It's just a story. We don't want to do that. *We want to try to re-simulate real life on a computer*.[271]

For Williams, it is not enough to watch actors "play" police on film or experience police procedures by way of their televisual reenactment; *Police Quest* wants players to become cop minded. [272] Further, Williams argues that the game's ideal audience are "adult males who once dreamed of being cops," a digital playground for those who still have an inclination towards keeping law and order.[273] The goal of the franchise, simply put, is for players to play detective and believe that what they are doing within the game parallels real world police work. With these purposes in mind, the context begs the question: how exactly does Sierra want players to understand the work of police? If the *Police Quest* franchise aims to replicate and arguably celebrate American law and order, how do players actual fulfill this goal successfully? While it would initially appear that Williams is describing the company's broader design mentality, none of its previous games employed real-life professional consultants for their high fantasy or futuristic space operas. The *Police Quest* franchise stands as their first "realistic" video game with this design philosophy and hiring of former CHP Jim Walls and former LAPD chief of police Daryl Gates.

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[271] "Police Quest 4: Open Season - 'making of' trailer (1993) Macintosh/PC (MS-DOS & Windows 3.1)," Sierra On-Line Multimedia Catalog, 1994, posted June 27, 2015, accessed December 3, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H7e1Wrw_QKM. Emphasis mine.
[272] Todd Copilevitz, "COP CULTURE - From TV to a new video game, the intrigue of police work is right at your fingertips," *Dallas Morning News*, October 19, 1993: 1C, accessed March 06, 2016, Newsbank. Walls's digital appearance in *Police Quest III* would reiterate this point in the game's opening with the following conversation bubble text: "With Police Quest, you're not just watching some movie star portraying the glamorous part of police work. As Detective Sonny Bonds, YOU'RE the man behind the badge."
[273] Michael J. Ybarra, "Gates Has Entered A Fantasy World After Leaving LAPD—Controversial Former Chief Has Agreed to Help Design Video Game about Police," *Wall Street Journal*, Feb 02, 1993, accessed March 5, 2016, ProQuest.

Walls would serve as primary designer on the first three *Police Quest* titles until Sierra retooled the franchise with a more infamous and controversial police credit: Daryl F. Gates. Serving as LAPD Chief of Police for fourteen years, Gates was involved as a LAPD Inspector during the Watts riots, under the management of the Chief Bill Parker, the Manson family murders, and LA Strangler. But Gates is better known for his anti-drug and anti-gang tactics, including D.A.R.E. and Operation Hammer, as well as for presiding over the rise in police brutality and accusations of racial bias through the 1980s. Perhaps most divisive, he would resign in 1992 following the Rodney King Trial verdict—which acquitted officers charged with using excessive and unreasonable force—and the subsequent protests and riots that would plague Los Angeles in its response. However polarizing, Gates begins his tenure as game designer starting with *Police Quest: Open Season*, the fourth installment of the franchise. Interviews with Gates quote his promise to "give computer users the opportunity to see what it's like to be a cop in LA. I want to show the day-to-day pressures officers face and provide an accurate picture of the dangers and difficulties they encounter in trying to solve a crime."[274] Touting his authority, Gates encouraged "budding detectives" to seek out the game for their own preliminary training as a LAPD detective.[275] Despite several narrative changes—traffic cop to homicide detective, a small California city to a Los Angeles setting—the same rhetorical hail to authenticity remains constant.

Aside from the supposed design influence from Walls and Gates, for instance, both gentlemen were digitally rendered within several installments and exist within their diegesis. In the opening credit sequence for *Police Quest II*, an EGA-version of Jim Walls

[274] "People," *Orange County Register*, Feb 02, 1993, A02, accessed March 3, 2016, Proquest.
[275] Sophfronia Scot Gregory, "Next he does Robo-cop?" *Time Magazine,* October 4, 1993, 93, accessed March 6, 2016, Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost.

appears in tongue-in-cheek mug shot profile with his "arrest" stats: "Wanted: For excessive verbosity, Alias: B.B. Walls, MO: Author and designer of Police Quest II." In the opening for *Police Quest III*, he is rendered in VGA glory with text speech introducing himself to players and then players to the game. Here, his text speech describes the game events as ripped not from newspaper headlines, but his own California Highway Patrol files. *Open Season*, though set in present day Los Angeles, still features Daryl Gates as the chief of police, who lends his voice to his in-game character, albeit in a brief scene. The game advertises systems of policing procedure Gates created, and whose effects we still see in expanded police surveillance. There are numerous visual references to his most famous system: D.A.R.E. (Drug Abuse Resistance Education), implemented by the LAPD and Los Angeles Unified School District in 1983—to equip schoolchildren with the proper procedures in the War on Drugs. Their level of involvement further complicates the blurred lines between the real world versus digital world.

The remainder of chapter examines how procedurality operates in the franchise as a framework of positive behavior and against deviant actions and actors within the game world. A story world's "moral physics"—Janet Murray's term describing "what consequences attach to actions, who is rewarded, who is punished, how fair the world is"—reveal its ideological system.[276] The only way to progress in *Police Quest* is to follow the rules and solve cases in the most efficient ways possible. Though rules necessarily limit player behavior, these constraints reveal the intentionally directed language of persuasive expression: those actions designated as law-abiding and what behaviors and actors we are invited to condemn and dismiss as antagonists. The enjoyment of the game is not in the

[276] Murray, 207.

freedom it provides, but in mastering its constraints. In order to win, you must learn, follow, and master police procedures. Any player's attempts to ignore or confuse police procedures, rather than learn and adhere to protocol, are often met with swift "game over" retribution. Game reviewers take note that part of the realism of the series is the necessity in adhering to "proper" police procedures to continue forward momentum in the game.[277] To diverge from a path of evidence-gathering and law enforcement while on the job would break the legitimacy the uniform.

The game enforces procedure by punishing the player: a variety of procedural violations will end the game and force players to restore from the last save point. In fact, the series is infamous for the numerous ways that one can die or "fail" at playing police officer. In the first game, a player can lose by missing too many police briefings, running a red light, not waiting for back up, as well as random other violations including drinking while in uniform; not closing the patrol car door; not inspecting the police car; having off-screen sex with a traffic offender in exchange for a warning rather than a ticket. These range from minor infractions to more violent ones such as getting shot (always because players did not follow proper procedure) to abusing police authority in very specific ways, such as trying to shoot civilians, for instance. Each of these prompt a game over screen with an accompanying admonishment specifying the code or codes violated and how players might rectify their mistake upon reloading the game. *Police Quest II* injects a particularly shameful calling out by featuring Walls's digitalized, disappointing face with text template "Jim shakes his head and says…"[278]

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[277] Rosner, 17.
[278] *Police Quest II: The Vengeance,* PC Game (Sierra On-Line, 1988)

Each installment follows this "all or nothing" adherence to procedure and not just police regulations. In the second *Police Quest* game, the game will end for jay-walking and not complying with airport boarding procedures (e.g. sitting down in your assigned seat, fastening your seatbelt, or getting up during take-off). These limitations are notably frustrating for players and reviewers, who express the incredulity of halting the game for otherwise minor infractions, such as running a red light to catch a car driver running a red light.[279] However, the fact that such choices are designed within the game—only to punish players if they make them—reveals that catching criminals and drug lords is somewhat secondary to learning and respecting the boundaries of the laws as coded within the game.

More insidious, the deeper theme of the franchise is white police officers and their loved ones are the true victims of the war on drugs and gang violence. When examining the representation of criminality within the franchise, civilian drug abuse and gang culture emerge as the primary antagonists to police procedural's efficiency and success. In *Police Quest I*, *II*, and *III*, the dangers of inner city drug use spill over to the small suburban neighborhoods of Lytton whereas *Police Quest: Open Season* represents a stereotypical hotbed of crime in Los Angeles. When players slip into the shoes of Sonny Bonds, for instance, they become enemy number one for drug users and heads of drug rings and their loved ones become targets needing to be rescued. The storyline begins with players comforting a fellow cop whose daughter was an unwitting victim of a drug overdose. These crimes are depicted as personally targeting police safety. *Police Quest: Open Season* begins in South Central, Los Angeles where your partner's body as well as one of a young black

[279] Jack Warner, "New Text-and-Graphic Games Offer Fun Challenges, but Some Fall Short," *Atlanta Journal* and *Atlanta Constitution*, February 28, 1989, F/2, accessed March 6, 2016, Newsbank.

child are found dead in the dumpster. The majority of the game requires players to track down a cop killer with little focus on the child. This installment, in particular, promotes police victimization as deserving of privilege. For example, players must physically push an insistent female television reporter on camera—damaging the department's reputation—but there is no reprimand by police superiors. Here, cops are in greatest danger and must work against an entire city as well as provide comfort to widows.

To be clear: the game is about violence against police—beginning with the murder of the player's partner—at a time when Los Angeles police brutality against citizens is national news. Despite prevailing political attitudes of the time, the FBI and California Bureau of Criminal Statistics numbers showed that police deaths declined in the 1980s and 1990s.[280] The historical context could not provide more timely bookends: *Police Quest I* comes out the same year that the LAPD (under Gates) institutes Operation Hammer in South Central Los Angeles and *Police Quest: Open Season,* coincidentally, was released on the very day a conviction was rendered against one of the men who physically attacked a white motorist during the LA protest and riots—one of the most widely circulated videos of the LA protest.[281] When *The San Francisco Chronicle* reached out to Sierra for comment, they claimed ignorance: "We have been trying to get the product on shelves around the world…The timing issue for us is Christmas, not world events."[282] If we measure who is

[280] Domanick, 325: "But despite soaring images of Uzi shoot-outs and cops being mowed down fighting gangs in the great drug war, police work, in some ways, was becoming *safer*, not more dangerous. FBI statistics on the national's five largest cities (New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, and Philadelphia) showed that the number of officers killed in the line of duty had *declined* by almost 40 percent during the 1980s."
[281] David Einstein, "Former L.A. Police Chief Pushes a Killer Game," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 08, 1993, D1, accessed March 06, 2016, Newsbank.
[282] Einstein, D1.

protected by procedure and, conversely, who makes up the criminal element, these games replicate systems of racism and police power under the guise of "realism."

In *Police Quest*, non-white digital bodies serve as depictions of deviancy and simultaneously objects of humor, when they are not silent, obedient, or erased. Decades before, *Dragnet* would claim procedural realism while almost unilaterally erasing non-white existence in its depiction of Los Angeles. In contrast, the *Police Quest* franchise would embrace the depictions of race, albeit through a stereotypical lens. The 1987 EGA versus 1992 VGA adaptation of *Police Quest* reveals this fluctuating relationship between Black Men and the law, in particular. In the EGA version, black convicts are a permanent feature in the Lytton jail: one perpetually playing basketball in the jail courts while the other delivers crude "jive-talking" remarks to you-as-Sonny Bonds from within a jail cell. The game design seems devoid of digitally rendered non-white police officers. When they do appear, they expose the minimal level of investment from the game design team. As the best example, the closing sequence requires players to call for police backup to a hotel where Sonny is undercover. Someone in your backup is noticeably brown versus the off-white coloring of the other officers, so much so that he or she blends into the same color hotel dresser and disappears. With the 1992 VGA remake, a racial rewrite of sorts takes place: the black convicts disappear from the jail yard, a black male character is depicted as the head of your police department, and the judge becomes a black woman. It is unclear whose creative influence established these correctives, but it seems plausible that the police-public climate in 1992 may have influenced the change.

The treatment of race and criminality does not achieve greater balance in the subsequent installments under Walls. In fact, they seemed to rely first and foremost on

racist caricatures meant for comedic breaks. *Police Quest II* features a charter plane hijacking by Middle Eastern terrorists whose text box dialogue reads "Thees plane ees ours! In the name of "The Shieeek of The Golden Sands!" You as Sonny Bonds quickly subdue both hijackers, preventing their escape back to "Bum Aroun, Egypt." Every traffic arrest you make in *Police Quest III*, likewise, is meant to be a light-hearted escape from the serious storyline. You must give out a speeding ticket to Orpheus Hanley, a Black character who drops the last letter of his speech ("jus' drivin', tryin'") as well Juan Jose Ruiz, a Mexican man depicted in a red bandana driving a low rider with flame decals. His dialogue, like with Hanley, depicts his slang and grammar inconsistencies: "Whatchu talkin' 'bout man? You guys always just want to hassle me!" and "Judge Wapner take care of you, esse!" These sequences are accompanied by playful score changes to underscore these are characters are the objects of derision and humor through the eyes of a cop.

These games depict procedure as necessarily requiring the navigation of unhelpful, uneducated minority citizens. In *Police Quest: Open Season*, the game shifts from text dialogue to prerecorded audio samples, which serve as another outlet for racial stereotyping, specially of the population of South Central Los Angeles. Emo Jones, a police informant, is a harmful throwback to the most classic minstrel characters, repeating phrases like "I be knowing nothing," "always be saying," "I like all them sports" while drinking outside a convenience store. Players have very little control in how they can procedurally "talk back" to these witnesses. They must select from a list of stock questions with no control over tone or emotional output. In return, the player is forced to give harsher, curt responses to Black witnesses, because it is encoded in the game dialogue. Gates would boast this difference as a game feature: "Players can talk trash to gangs and

street thugs, but they've got to mind their manners around business owners and civic leaders," notably deferring to realism as the guiding force behind such representation.[283] But he lacks consistency. In a review by *Vibe Magazine*, Joseph Tirella calls out the "Amos 'n' Andy-style dialect" as one of the only outlets that acknowledged the racist shorthand.[284] Co-writer Dargan claimed it was an innocent homage to Fab 5 Freddy's 1992's book *Fresh Fly Flavor: Words & Phrases of the Hip-hop Generation*, perhaps oblivious to it being a mock dictionary. When speaking with *Vibe Magazine*, Gates replied, "I told [Sierra] that these people use the same language that you and I use. A lot of that was changed. It's not intended to offend anyone."[285] On one hand, Gates denies any culpability, but on the other, appears ready to defend their placement in the game by subtly dismissing the concerns. As a historical note, it is strange to read Gates so assuredly admit that "these people"—black men in South Central—are just like "us." Taken generously, it means he has come a long way from arguing the biological differences between "Blacks and normal people" in the early 1980s as the reason why black men were disportionately dying from LAPD chokeholds.[286] If Walls and Gates promote full credit for the supposed accuracy of police procedures within the game, taken from their own personal experience and training of "what it's really like to be a cop," the representation and interactions with marginalized non-playable characters must be critiques within this same lens.

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[283] Copilevitz, 1C.
[284] Joseph Tirella, "Video Vigilante," *Vibe*, April 1994, 23.
[285] Ibid.
[286] In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* in 1982, Gates remarks, "We may be finding that in some blacks when [the choke hold] is applied, the veins or arteries do not open up as fast as they do in normal people." See Domanick, 299.

Procedure is also paired with a distinct treatment of women: being a good cop means getting the girl. White women are depicted two ways in the franchise: the perpetual victim or the sex object for the viewing pleasure of the presumed heterosexual male player. In the case of Marie, Sonny Bonds's sweetheart, the character fulfills both the victim and sex object categories. The in-game romancing of Marie is proceduralized—adhering to heteronormative rules of wooing—and players earn experience points parallel to properly executing police procedures. In *Police Quest II*, one of the quest sequences requires Sonny to take Marie out to dinner; players can earn greater points (proving they are a better detective) if they text prompt the game to provide Marie a rose, kiss her, eat the dinner, and tip the waiter well. On the other end, Marie requires perpetual saving in each installment, since criminals target a police officer's romantic interest at a greater frequency than any other citizen. *Police Quest: Open Season* eliminates any romance angle for the gritty realism of female objectification. Players must visit the Bitty Kitty Club multiple times, a strip club where a prerecorded striptease, semi-nude dancer gyrates in a loop while you-as-John Carey follow-up on leads. When press criticized these sequence for their gratuitous nature, Gates deferred to "the reality of police work" to justify their inclusion.[287]

In the most blatant treatment of "deviant" gender, players must take down the cop killer—a transgender woman—by burning her alive in order to earn the city's medal of valor and win the game. In a mashup allusion to *Silence of the Lambs* (1991) with a dash of *Psycho* (1960), *Police Quest: Open Season* culminates in the discovery that the perpetrator of all the crimes against cops isn't any of the black characters you were tracking all game long, but a white transgender woman who works at the local movie theater. It is one of the

[287] Copilevitz, 1C.

most odd and off-putting aspects of the game, as there is little foreshadowing or unpacking of their modus operandi provided within the game. Moreover, you make your discovery by illegally breaking and entering into the theater worker's home, where you are knocked out. Despite the idea that the procedural is a team battle, you get rewarded at the end for taking down the serial killer with no backup in the most viscerally disturbing form. With your weapon taken away, players must arm themselves with a lighter and hairspray and light the cop killer on fire while your character's voice over proclaims: "Do not try this at home." This is both a self-defense move and a violent intervention before a kidnapped white woman is hurt. Players cannot progress or finish the game without completing these actions against what is treated as the ultimate of unruly, untrustworthy bodies in the whole franchise.

Given their release dates, these games function as public relations at a time of highly nationalized coverage of racism and police brutality from Southern California police departments. In particular, Gates is not merely a figurehead of the Los Angeles Police Department, but a metonym for true American policing in the most generous sense or state-sanctioned police brutality in the most critically broad lens. This perception was not developed in retrospect or long after he passed away, but very much concurrent to his involvement with the LAPD, before and after his retirement. When news of his new job as game designer initially leaked in 1993, critical reactions from public officials followed. A statement from Los Angeles NAACP representation Frank Berry expressed disbelief regarding the appropriateness of Sierra's hire, saying "If it's a toy, it's nothing to play with."[288] Los Angeles Urban League's John Mack's opinion was a swift indictment of Gates

[288] Ybarra, "Gates Has Entered A Fantasy World."

and Sierra alike: "He embodies all that is bad in law enforcement—the problems of the macho, racist, brutal police experience that we're working hard to put behind us…That anyone would hire him for a project like this proves that some companies will do anything for the almighty dollar."[289] And so it cannot be understated that controversy was central to Gates as a figure and to his hiring, though Sierra's own marketing campaign does not stay on message. In *Wall Street Journal* coverage, Ken Williams admits that "controversy sells," while simultaneously putting the idea and responsibility of hiring Gates with his wife, Roberta Williams, co-creator of Sierra On-Line and conveniently at this time, a public recluse from all press.[290] According to the game's co-writer, director, producer Tammy Dargan, Sierra knew that it would be controversial, but that the realistic experience was the genuine selling point.[291] And to round out the spectrum, Gates himself disagreed that the game or his reputation was controversial whatsoever, let alone the reason for his hiring: "I don't see this game causing any controversy…I was brought in for my experience. I think good, ordinary, responsible, quiet citizens are going to be very supportive."[292]

Gates is the selling point for the accuracy and realism of the game, which is bundled in Sierra's justification of the controversy. The publicity around the game often wavers between puff pieces on Gates as "the most experienced officer in the nation," and incredulity regarding his new job. As a result, these interviews and media outlets simultaneously normalize LAPD policing under Gates' watch. When reviewers dub Gates the next "Robocop," they suggest a clever conflation between robotic technology and digital

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[289] Copilevitz, 1C.
[290] Ybarra, "Gates Has Entered A Fantasy World."
[291] David Landis, "Ex-Chief Joins Computer Lineup // Gates Co-Writes `Open Season,'" *USA TODAY*, Oct 27, 1993, 4D, accessed March 5, 2016, ProQuest.
[292] Copilevitz, 1C.

games rather than an apt reference to hyperreal militarized police forces.[293] In a *Time Magazine* promotional piece, the LAPD's brutal beating of Rodney King is a snarky punch line rather than an indictment: "[Gates] also briefed the game designers on procedures for bringing in suspects—presumably without a Rodney King-style shellacking."[294] In the 1993 holiday issue of *Interaction magazine* (Sierra's own gaming magazine), fans could read how Williams, the co-creator of the company, knew Gates was the man for the job after seeing that Gates was a fellow surfer. Williams figured "any 60-plus year old guy who took the time to go surfing each morning can't be all bad" and that Gates was likely "the fall guy for the whole LA Riot thing."[295] In interviews, Gates takes advantage to rewrite his reputation and reception: arguing that he and his partner would have done a better job with Rodney King as well as chastising the public's "Monday morning quarterbacking" of police brutality, because they do not see or understand violence like police do.

All of this functions within *Open Season*'s use of procedurality as a tool to venerate and exonerate Gates's years in the Los Angeles Police Department. Most explicitly, the Q&A companion disc to *Police Quest: Open Season* offered a series of pre-recorded responses from Gates on topics as varied as terrorism, the War on Drugs, and Marilyn Monroe's suicide. In clear anticipation of the controversial questions, Gates uses the space to try to defend himself and the department against cultural memory. In the "Policing" Q&A clip, Gates claims the community policing efforts of the Los Angeles Police Department and

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[293] Gregory, 41.
[294] Ibid. The article also features interview sound bites from Gates as he presents his pitch for the game.
[295] "Behind the Scenes at Daryl F. Gates' *Police Quest: Open Season*," *InterAction Magazine* 6, Holiday 1993, accessed July 26, 2016, http://www.sierragamers.com/uploads/24082/Interaction/019_InterAction_Volume_6_Number_3_Holiday_1993.pdf

praises its success—associations contradicted in his own memoirs.[296] He insinuates that the media coverage of the LA riots only focused on the events and images that would look poorly on the police rather than "all the intersections where police responded."[297] He claims to have saved the city of Los Angeles millions of dollars by retiring exactly when he did rather than years earlier, in an effort to rebrand his retirement in light of the LA Riots. In his discussion of the legalization of drugs, he argues that Prohibition was actually successful in eliminating crime all around the nation and getting Chicago and its "bad citizens" under control.

Perhaps most disturbing component the video, Gates's remarks on police authority paint a particularly enlightening view of the authoritarian reputation of the LAPD:

> Clearly the police have all the authority they need. They have the ability to take a person's freedom from them, in certain situations, we have the ability to take a person's reputation, and under certain circumstances, they have the authority to take a person's life. It's an awesome responsibility that police have, *but they need to be able to do that in a context that supports what they do*.[298]

At no point does Gates describe what police do *for* the communities or citizens with their authority in terms of safety, security, or justice. The power that police hold is not framed in the ways they are authorized to uphold the law, but in what they take from its citizenry. To Gates's credit, he does go on to say police have to follow the laws like everyone else, of course, but it is a responsibility that is positioned secondarily to their potential control over another person. Gates calls for support of this authority, but in the world that always

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[296] Stephen Miller's obituary for Gates in *Wall Street Journal* observes "[Gates] seemed to absorb Mr. Parker's disdain for community policing, which, in a memoir, Mr. Gates labeled "a bunch of cops grinning at people and patting kids on the head." Stephen Miller, "Daryl Gates 1926-2010; Los Angeles Police Chief Resigned After Rodney King Case," *Wall Street Journal*, Apr 16, 2010, accessed June 2, 2016, ProQuest.
[297] *Police Quest: Open Season,* PC Game, directed by Tammy Dargan (Sierra On-Line, 1993).
[298] Ibid. Added emphasis.

already supports what police already do, rather than challenges this authority. In doing so, the game itself becomes that context—upholding and celebrating Gates's authority and that of the Los Angeles Police Department for entertainment.

For *Police Quest*, the game promises players and officers-in-training insight and absorption into police work and its daily challenges within the safety of the small digital town of Lytton and then Los Angeles. In many ways, accuracy is less important (or at the very least unquestioned, despite Gates's interview claims above) against the packaging of an authentic mythos. For instance, the 1987 box copy asserts the game's "gritty realism" and authentic rendering of crime and procedure in comparison to existing police dramas, graphic limitations aside. Popular criticism gestures towards the realistic as crucial to the gamic experience: players interactive with the closest simulations of police life and procedure that media can offer.[299] These claims rely on the same chain of rhetorical evidence. First, the collaboration with former CHP officer Jim Walls and LAPD Chief Daryl F. Gates remains central to discussions and reviews of the game, because they are both designers and sources of story inspiration. Second, the actual procedure gameplay is touted as accurate and "real" for its monotony, and thus lauded as a serious enterprise against exaggerated televisual depictions of police labor.[300] While the game is intended to be fun and enjoyable, Sierra and reviewers insist that police work is not all fun and games. When paired together, a convincing "learning while playing" project of edutainment emerges, as

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[299] Numerous reviews of the game echo these statements, but none more concisely than *Newsday*'s: "It's a realistic look into the life of a patrolman, and you must follow proper police procedures throughout the game." Jeff Rosner, "Kidsday Did You Like It? A Computer Game Review: *Police Quest*," *Newsday,* August 08, 1989, 17, accessed March 3, 2016, ProQuest.

[300] Dennis Lynch, "Sierra Disks Offer Epic Adventures," *Chicago Tribune*, May 26, 1989, 57, accessed March 3, 2016. Proquest.

in *The Chicago Tribune*: “along the way you'll learn proper police procedures, such as how to make an arrest that will hold up in court.”[301] The logical utility of gaining expertise in judicial proceedings is unclear beyond a neat additive. Regardless, such claims mirror those promised by the game advertisement itself, which positions the adventure experience as primary and the learning of police procedures secondary.[302]

In closing, another expert advisor plays a secondary, though crucial role in spotlighting Gates—Tammy Dargan, the game’s co-writer, producer, and director. The *Making of Police Quest: Open Season* (1994), another short, ancillary video that accompanied the game disk, highlights Gates with direct to camera interviews and clips of him correctly positioning actors. A woman lingers in the background of a different shot, instructing a man’s physical blocking in front of a blue screen or pointing out the best angle to a camera man. We learn that the game achieves a new sort of game realism via visual aesthetics—what Sierra terms "reality role-playing”—with a mix of full motion video of real actors and actual locations throughout Los Angeles.[303] The game is not just a game, but “a crossmedia event.”[304] Midway through the video, her identity is revealed through voice over: “the company put the project in the hands of a television producer with reality police show experience.” Dargan ensures the game’s new kind of reality experience with one major credential, a former segment producer, for another “crossmedia event” that inspired its own reality role-playing: *America’s Most Wanted.*

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[301] Lynch, 57.
[302] From the box back copy of the 1987 release: “Unravel this puzzling adventure while you learn and follow exacting police procedures used by real life cops.”
[303] Shay Addams, “Spectrumprose holomicrobyte?” *Compute!*, November 1993, 112, accessed March 6, 2016, Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost.
[304] Ibid.

## CHAPTER 4
## Safety as Resistance:
## Neighborhood Procedures with John Walsh

Originally premiering on the Fox Network in February 1988, *America's Most Wanted* featured real-life crime reenactments aired alongside perpetrator mug shots and the anthropometric measurements of wanted fugitives. The popular TV reality show, sometimes described as a compelling mixture of "police sobriety and tabloid journalism," hooked viewers with the promise of crime-solving participation.[305] *America's Most Wanted* boasted authenticity by way of its partnership with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.[306] Week-to-week, host John Walsh would showcase criminal identification details and urge viewers to call-in to the show's unique hotline with clues as to the whereabouts of featured fugitives and missing children. On the show's tenth anniversary, Walsh claimed that the series successfully worked "to deputize everyone in America as members of an electronic, interactive posse"—a nation of citizen detectives empowered by television far beyond what the medium had done before.[307] Despite having no formal training, Walsh would be seen as a figure of judicial authority for numerous audiences, even providing forensic testimony in real murder trials in addition to his show hosting duties.[308] In 2011, Walsh earned the

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[305] Rachel Hall, *Wanted: The Outlaw in American Visual Culture* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 109.
[306] The show would also form relationships with local and state law enforcement throughout the United States with frequent features highlighting week-to-week, but publicity most heavily focused on its production relationship with the FBI.
[307] Walsh would claim that *America's Most Wanted* turned television into a "crime-fighting tool," with the help of a ready and willing audience. Margaret Derosia, "The Court of Last Resort: Making Race, Crime, and Nation on AMW," in *Reality Squared: Televisual Discourse on the Real*, ed. James Friedman (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 237.
[308] Ibid.

Emmy's Governor's Award for "making an impact on society through the use of TV."[309] In all, *America's Most Wanted* generated over 1,000 original, first-run episodes, aiding in the capture of over 1,100 criminals in its twenty-four year span before its final cancellation in 2012.[310]

Whereas the previous case studies illustrated the long-standing claims to the *realism* of procedurality, this chapter examines a tonal shift for procedurality towards emotionality. John Walsh's ancillary ventures, including *America's Most Wanted*, would encourage the categorization of personal identification and the hypervigilant cataloguing of others in anticipation of possible abduction, details that could be reframed as clues after the fact. With Walsh's narrative discourse as a primary case study, there is a procedural turn towards crime *resistance,* enabled through pathos and parental fear. Here, procedural play provides the foundation for "playing vigilant" on behalf of American police systems, and citizen *surveillance* becomes the necessary defense against crime. Specifically, criminal investigation techniques are reframed for personal safety and self-surveillance in anticipation of victimization. When procedural play is being used as a way of mitigating risk, the bodies most *at risk* are "the children." The best example of this is Walsh's own son Adam, who was kidnapped and murdered in 1981 after a nation-wide manhunt led by Walsh himself.

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[309] Jason Kandel, "Emmy organizers honor TV crime show host John Walsh," *Reuters*, August 9, 2011, accessed June 4, 2016. http://www.reuters.com/article/us-johnwalsh-idUSTRE7785PL20110809.

[310] After several near cancellations during its run, the show finally ended production on Fox in 2011. Almost immediately, however, the *Lifetime* cable network snatched up the show, which would run for one additional season before being permanently cancelled without renewal in 2012. On July 13, 2014, *The Hunt with John Walsh* debuted on CNN—an investigatory series based on unsolved crimes, and often considered a new iteration of *America's Most Wanted* with its former host at the helm. The series is currently still on the air.

Here, procedural play functions as a method for safety—a response to the perceived failures of policing institutions that uses tragic pathos to inspire action. Walsh's own lobbying endeavors and public outreach, including *America's Most Wanted*, tap into a relationship between pathos and action with the ultimate desire for clear delineations of right and wrong, crime-and-criminal versus hero—against the backdrop of procedurality. As such, melodrama is a powerful mode for interpreting the emotive, victim-based procedural rhetoric of John Walsh's discursive work and the broader articulation of innocence and risks to security. Building from Peter Brooks's *The Melodramatic Imagination* (1976) and the scholarship of Christine Gledhill, scholar Linda Williams defines melodrama as "a peculiarly democratic and American form that seeks dramatic revelation of moral and emotional truths through a dialectic of pathos and action."[311] *America's Most Wanted* has worn many generic hats—reality TV, tabloid TV, trash. Melodrama as a term has been applied to the show as a pejorative descriptor of the excesses and overacting of its crime reenactments, but not as its thematic emotional underpinnings, or its widespread appeal and investment.

Walsh's own melodramatic journey as a victim-hero turned crime fighter is a crucial example of citizen detection in action, inspired not only by civic duty, but the emotional stakes of procedurality. Nearly all-existing scholarship on *America's Most Wanted* references Adam Walsh's death when introducing Walsh as the host of the show. However, these mentions are typically relegated to a single paragraph—a back story rather than a powerful, concurrent discourse that historically frames the entire show and its reception practices, particularly in its earliest years. Anna Williams's scholarship on *America's Most*

[311] Linda Williams, "Melodrama Revised," in *Refiguring American Film Genres: History and Theory,* ed. by Nick Browne (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 42.

*Wanted* describes how Walsh's public persona brought an entangled network of televisual memories—"a complex set of significations"—whose history and baggage should not be seen as somehow outside the viewing memories of the reality TV show.[312] To an entire generation, John Walsh was Adam Walsh's father first. When seen through this lens, the show is a chapter in John Walsh's true reality crime melodrama: he loses his son, he works to rebuild a family with his wife, and he fights against criminal activity. This is a built-in hook for those who want to continue with his story. This intimate procedurality within the narrative of Walsh's tragedy and subsequent outreach practices are linked to the preservation, sanctity, and safety of the American neighborhood.

There is, of course, rich precedent for the co-mingling of police procedures and its potential for children's safety and home securitization against crime. For surveillance studies scholar David Lyon, bureaucratic, institutionalized surveillance tactics depend on the dual rhetoric of control and care of populations.[313] This is particularly true of liberal democracies, which offer service provisions and wellness opportunities (e.g. healthcare) for their citizenry, but require personal identification and information tracking in exchange.

In the 1920s, the universal fingerprinting movement often framed domestic fingerprinting as 'saving the day' where children's identities were concerned. One opinion piece, for example, spotlights the overwhelming benefits of the private use of fingerprinting

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[312] Anna Williams, "Domestic Violence and the Aetiology of Crime in *America's Most Wanted*," *Camera Obscura* 11, no. 1 31 (January-May 1993): 113, accessed June 15, 2016, http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/02705346-11-1_31-96113.
[313] David Lyon, *The Electronic Eye: The Rise of Surveillance Society*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 219.

to keep track of your children, lest they be stolen or switched at birth.[314] The author implores all readers to get fingerprinted immediately as there is no reason not to do so, unless you are a crook on the run.[315] Some popular press at the time even paired the need for children's fingerprinting with sensational trials of mistaken identity. A 1925 *Washington Post* cover story describes a real-life King Solomon trial: two women claiming one child as their own in a pre-DNA testing era. The great tragedy, per the judge, is that the child was never fingerprinted, which could have returned him to the correct mother at once and spared all involved much emotional trauma.[316] The trial, however, acts as an illustrative lesson to readers, who are challenged to not make the same mistake.

Even FBI Director Hoover's historical speeches on the subject emphasize threats to domestic safety in order to sell universal fingerprinting and the authority of police work, though this is often presented as an indictment of the *absence* of citizen participation and cooperation in the fight against crime.[317] As a clear contrast to John Walsh's parental appeals to children's safety, in one such speech, Hoover chastises all American parents, whom he believes are derelict in their duties and to blame for the crimes committed against their children—and even for the crimes their children commit.[318] And so, my

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[314] Mary B. Mullett, "Have You Been Finger-Printed?" *The American Magazine*, June 1920, 42-45. This piece would be cited multiple times in *Finger Print Magazine*.
[315] Ibid., 42.
[316] "Do You Know Your Own Baby?" *The Washington Post,* Mar 1, 1925, SM1, accessed August 10, 2014, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Washington Post.
[317] J. Edgar Hoover, "The Influence of Crime on the American Home," *Vital Speeches of The Day*, March 23, 1936, 390-394, accessed December 9, 2014, Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost. The speech was originally given to the Round Table Forum in New York City, March 11, 1936.
[318] Ibid., 391. Hoover claims: "We must go behind these crimes and blame the true perpetrator—the fathers and mothers—who so failed in their duty, who were so prone to the amusements of the moment, who, through mental laziness, allowed discipline to relax

consideration of this moment is not for its historical anomaly, but rather its more masterful construction of these twin discourses of control and care than previously offered: the emotional stakes of a lost child and the broken parents whose narrative becomes American cultural memory.

In 1981, years before Walsh served as the face of the FBI's televised manhunts, he became a household name during his highly televised search and investigation of the kidnapping of his son, Adam. Rather than a champion of the police, Walsh was initially their greatest critic. Police missteps had revealed that local, state, and federal law enforcement were ill-trained and poorly coordinated in the face of child abduction crimes. So instead of leaving it up to the professionals, Walsh famously took up his own investigation: he revisited the scene of his son's abduction, interviewed possible witnesses, followed up with leads, gathered possible clues, and reached out to rally public and media support and participation. Though ultimately unsuccessful in finding Adam alive—his remains would later be found—Walsh's citizen-search exposed the artifice of police procedurals, their supposed standards, and the limits of an ideological assumption that justice will prevail. At the same time, his narrative is one of a self-actualized citizen detective, a hotelier-turned-crime fighter weaving together the notions of amateur crime-solving with the appearance of procedural approaches.

As a decade, the 1980s would be defined by several measures for the policing of children's public lives, arguably entangled with the national awareness of Walsh's tragic loss of Adam. Walsh and his wife are credited for bringing attention to the woefully inadequate federal systems of locating missing children, particularly a glaring local-

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and their children to go into the world and reap the harvest which they, the parents, really sowed."

national law enforcement divide that made it difficult to act or account for missing children. His tragedy and persistent lobbying is largely credited with the legislative passing of the Missing Children Act of 1982, which moved missing children from a local matter to a state and federal one, so that they could be entered into the FBI National Crime Information Center computer system. This also led to the creation and expansion of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) in 1984. Importantly, the Walsh family frame this early work as outside traditional authority, as the NCMEC press kit describes: "The Walsh's turned their grief into action and *without a badge or a gun*, John Walsh quickly became a nationally recognized leader in the push for victims' rights."[319] Walsh himself makes a distinction between his subsequent collaborations with the police and his own goals: "American cops look at me as an extension of them . . . but I'm not a cop, and I still keep that distance."[320] Arguably, his persona has muddled these lines as he is largely seen as an endorser of policing institutions, and so his own reading is biased here. Even so, there is rhetorical power in his insistence that he is involved, but ultimately distinct from law enforcement, which allows him to tap into their success as a seeming independent public figure—an amateur-expert without the systemic baggage of institutional failures.

Importantly, *America's Most Wanted* served as a reboot of sorts for the FBI's previous publicity efforts—one with more direct appeals to realism and public participation than their previous fictional dramas. The FBI had long been acquainted with the use of traditional entertainment venues for public relations, from Hoover's dalliances

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[319] "John Walsh – The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children," National Center for Missing & Exploited Children Online, accessed December 15, 2016, www.missingkids.com/en_US/documents/PressKit_JohnWalsh.pdf. Emphasis added.
[320] "Inventing Walsh: *America's Most Wanted* did what no other show could - make TV do something actually useful," *New York Post*, October 28, 2011.

with popular studio films to *The F.B.I.*, a television show cancelled in 1974 following a post-Watergate ratings dive.[321] Moreover, *America's Most Wanted* was not a new creative concept in America with a formal lineage of broadcast "criminal capture" entertainment appearing as early as the radio crime show era.[322] There are also parallels to *Dragnet's* production relationship with the LAPD, as *America's Most Wanted* promoted its use of real FBI cases for its reenactments and manhunt calls as a marker of authenticity. Internationally, the show's concept could be seen in previous series from Germany, Holland, and more directly in England with *Crimewatch*, which had debuted four years prior.[323] Despite contradictory claims of caution and skepticism, the FBI was mostly forthcoming about how the show would function as a publicity push for the department and their policing as whole.[324] *Rolling Stone's* David Friedman describes the partnership as

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[321] David Friedman, "Wanted: Lowlifes and High Ratings," *Rolling Stone*, January 12, 1989, 14.

[322] See Chapter Two's discussion of Kathleen Battles's scholarship on the emergence of police crime radio shows. In addition, scholar Sean Baker refers to the televised version of *Gang Busters* as a "thirty-year predecessor" to *America's Most Wanted* due to its integration of wanted criminal images and solicitation of viewer calls at the end of each show (though not connected to the reenactments or case files featured within the episode). Sean Baker, "From Dragnet to Survivor: Historical and Cultural Perspectives on Reality Television," in *Survivor Lessons: Essays on Communication and Reality Television*, ed. Matthew J. Smith and Andrew F. Wood (Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc, 2003), 57-70. As an example of popular criticism, Howard Rosenberg places *America's Most Wanted* within the contemporaneous network of shows focused on nabbing criminals that were on the air. Howard Rosenberg, "It's a Crime What They Offer to TV," *Los Angeles Times*, Jan 27, 1989, accessed March 29, 2015. ProQuest.

[323] Derosia, 239.

[324] In examining popular press coverage over time, there are many contradictory statements regarding the show's use value for the Bureau. In a 1988 *New York Times* piece, for instance, FBI spokesperson Wiley Thompson describes the department's hesitancy, claiming, "We are not in the entertainment business." This, of course, is widely contradicted by the earliest history of FBI public relations. Steven Erlanger, "Television: Manhunting, in an Armchair," *New York Times*, February 7, 1988, A33. Yet, one year later, the Bureau's public affairs officer Scott Nelson would tell *Rolling Stone* that the FBI-Fox partnership was mutually beneficial: "They get a successful TV show. We get publicity." Friedman, 14.

"a perfect marriage: one publicity-seeking institution wedded to another": the FBI attempting to rebuild its authoritative reputation with the public and the Fox Network trying to establish a legitimate foothold after entering onto the broadcast television stage three years prior.[325] As a particular boon to the network, *America's Most Wanted* and its sister reality show *Cops* (which debuted one year later) were developed during the 1988 Writer's Guild Strike and were therefore exceptionally profitable without union writers.[326]

There is utility in inserting *America's Most Wanted* within the Fox Network's earned reputation for conservatism and a hard Right valorization of law and order. Certainly, the show demonstrates early support of federal and local law enforcement, eight years before the rise of the Fox News Channel as overseen by the late Roger Ailes. Interestingly, *America's Most Wanted* is absent in prevailing scholarship of the network's industrial history.[327] This is a notable gap given that *America's Most Wanted* allowed Fox to compete with its big three network competitors—NBC, ABC, and CBS—when it became the first Fox

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[325] Friedman, 14.

[326] Josef Adalian and Michael Schneider, "Writers' strike: Reality sets in," *Variety*, October 30, 2007, accessed September 10, 2017, http://variety.com/2007/scene/markets-festivals/writers-strike-reality-sets-in-1117975066/.

[327] While not an exhaustive literature review, two of the most frequently cited scholarly pieces on Fox that do not engage the show include Dennis Broe, "Fox and Its Friends: Global Commodification and the New Cold War," *Cinema Journal* 43, no. 4 (Summer 2004): 97-102, accessed September 9, 2017, Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost, and Jeffrey P. Jones, "Fox News and the Performance of Ideology," *Cinema Journal* 51, no. 4 (Summer 2012): 178-185, accessed September 9, 2017, Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost. Scholar Alisa Perren's dissertation on the Fox Network's industrial emergence would have no mention at all of *America's Most Wanted*. See Alisa Perren, "Deregulation, Integration and a New Era of Media Conglomerates: The Case of Fox, 1985-1995" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2004), accessed September 10, 2017, UT Electronic Theses and Dissertations Repository.

series to earn higher ratings than its counterprogramming.[328] At the same time, however, Fox was not yet the formidable broadcast competitor that it is today, being only three years into its creation as a network. It had not yet fully fermented its conservative status and propagandistic inclination towards hard Right reporting. In fact, its early network strategy revolved around gaining viewers, particularly by drawing their eyes away from the established broadcast channels. This is why, for instance, the Fox Network was once a space for the showcasing of Black programming in the late 1980s and 1990s in an attempt to attract *The Cosby Show* crowd.[329] In a similar vein, Fox Network executives framed *America's Most Wanted* for its ratings potential first and foremost. In a 1994 interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Fox executive Thomas Herwitz shrugged off concerns that the show functioned as a "virtual extension of the FBI and the local police precinct": "We are in the business of pleasing our viewers, and our viewers are pleased that our stations are doing something for the community…this is a proper role for television to play because it appears to be something our viewers want."[330] Stephen Chao, the programming executive credited with the *America's Most Wanted* concept, describes the show as creative counterprogramming to NBC's *Hill Street Blues*—offering a more real depiction of police work in action.[331] At the very least, *America's Most Wanted* would eventually come to exemplify the network's conservative values and outrage, nspecially its coverage of the

[328] Hall, 110.
[329] Kristal Brent Zook, *Color by Fox: The Fox Network and the Revolution in Black Television* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[330] Susan Steinberg, "Arresting Drama with `Reality' Cop shows Helping Crack Tough Cases, Beverly Hills Police Turn to TV Viewers to Solve Slaying," *Los Angeles Times,* Nov 27, 1994, accessed June 2, 2016, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times.
[331] "How the Creator of 'America's Most Wanted' is Building One of the Biggest Sites You Never Heard Of," Mixergy, December 1, 2009, accessed August 31, 2017, https://mixergy.com/interviews/stephen-chao-wonderhowto/.

2001 World Trade Center terrorist attacks. Focusing on the historical emergence of *America's Most Wanted*, these attitudes were not yet status quo.

Arguably, Walsh's involvement reauthenticated the power of the FBI and national policing, both having been scrutinized following his son's abduction. The cultural familiarity and trust of John Walsh provides the emotional hook for *America's Most Wanted*. Without a doubt, the show not only benefitted from his national recognition, the show's production team actively sought him out for it. Fox Television Studios Vice President Thomas Herwitz describes the casting decision by stating "We went out and hired a real person…John Walsh bridges the gap, since his own life has been affected by crime."[332] There were actually several possible hosts for the ambitious broadcast, including a range of TV personalities, law enforcement officials, and persons publicly known for personal, tragic events.[333] Walsh was a particularly standout choice in that he had been straddling the lines among all three of these categories in the years that followed Adam's abduction. He was a familiar face on the talk show and news circuits. What certainly encouraged the hiring decision was Walsh's specific brand of paternalism, as show producers summed up "He had the looks; he had the eloquence; he had the discipline. But most of all, he had the life."[334] The televisual relationship between Walsh and the FBI as the policing institution of authority lend their authenticity in different ways. Whereas Jack Webb would earn an air of

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[332] Erlanger, A33.

[333] For example, Teresa Saldana, best known for playing the fictional wife of Michael Chikilis's title character in *The Commish* (1991-1995), was one of several candidates considered for hosting *America's Most Wanted*. She was her own victim-hero, having survived a stalking and stabbing attack, and going on to lobby for privacy protections. Saldana would also star, as herself, in the Made-for-TV movie based on the incident: *Victims for Victims: The Theresa Saldana Story* (1984).

[334] Susan Baer, "Murdered Boy's dad crusades as TV host," *Toronto Star*, August 22, 1988, C6, accessed August 31, 2016, LexisNexis.

legitimacy for *Dragnet* through his well-publicized dedication to accurately replicating police procedures and protocol, Walsh gained public trust through a national awareness of his personal tragedy and subsequent life-long crusade. While there were other antecedents to the show, none could claim the authenticity and public emotional resonance that Walsh brought as the host.

The remainder of this chapter explores the melodramatic discourse of children's safety, DIY civilian protocol, and identification risk procedures. While at first, it may seem ethically troubling to bring together the melodramatic mode and real life experiences of John Walsh, his public narrative blurs fact and fiction, often with his explicit approval. We can see this most clearly with the 1983 made-for-TV movie *Adam,* which depicts the 1981 abduction and murder that initially thrust the family into the spotlight. Moreover, in inserting emotionality, issues of security, and notions of innocence into the conversation of procedural play, this chapter explores how realism and melodrama work together to brand procedures as legitimate tools for safety.

The story of Adam Walsh's abduction is oversaturated in American memory and mediated discourse, providing a clear and repeated timeline from innocence to trauma. The often recapitulated story begins on July 27, 1981, when six-year old Adam Walsh and his mother, Revé, visit a Sears department store in their Hollywood, Florida neighborhood mall. Revé shops and separates from Adam, who joins several boys entranced by a Sears video game display. She returns, but he is missing: abducted. His father, John, becomes frustrated with the inadequacies of the local and federal law enforcement response. Armed with capital means and class connections, he finances the then-largest missing person search in Florida history, and disseminates information nationally via TV and radio news.

Adam is found and confirmed dead sixteen days later, on August 10, 1981; his police case would not be officially closed until December 16, 2008.[335] As a familiar tenet of melodrama fiction, this clear loss of innocence triggers pathos and a nostalgic longing for the pre-traumatic past.[336]

The Walsh family's upper middle class suburban lifestyle is mapped onto the average American family to portray a shared loss deeply rooted in middle class containment and protection from the outside. There is nostalgia for a mythic pre-Adam moment when children could be safe in malls, parks, or walking to the bus stop—an idealized America that never truly existed outside of the imagined ideal. Of course, there had been previous high-profile child abduction cases, such as the 1932 kidnapping of Charles Lindbergh Jr. However, Adam's story was characterized by normalcy rather than celebrity. This framing was reiterated in almost all press coverage at the time and followed John Walsh through his subsequent legislative and televisual work. A 1988 news article promoting *America's Most Wanted*, for instance, reflects on Adam's kidnapping by tapping into this pathos-driven origin story of lost innocence. Reporter Eirik Knutzen remarks that before Adam's kidnapping, Walsh "had attained the American dream" and this "Disney World atmosphere" was irrevocably broken.[337] In another piece, with the aptly-named headline, "Murdered Boy's dad crusades as TV host," we can read a reflexive consideration of the cultural shorthand of John Walsh's narrative: "It takes little more than a few words to

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[335] Twenty-seven years after Adam's death, the police concluded that Ottis Toole, a convicted serial killer who had confessed and then recanted his claim years before, had more than likely kidnapped and murdered Adam Walsh. Toole passed away in jail on September 15, 1996 after a deathbed confession to his niece. While discrepancies remain in his story, police consider the case officially closed.

[336] Ibid.

[337] Eirik Knutzen, "Taped Crusader," *Toronto Star*, July 30, 1988, S10, accessed August 31, 2016, ProQuest.

identify Walsh. 'John Walsh, whose little boy Adam was kidnapped and murdered…,' is all one needs to say."[338] Of course, this normalcy is framed as middle class. The childhood lost is lost from a future of middle class propensity and success, as it is already unrecoverable for poor and homeless children who are more often framed as deviants rather than the innocent. Under Ronald Reagan, poverty and the poor would be abnormal outliers to the middle-class core of America, though ones needing civic help.[339] In shifting public focus onto the sensationalized missing middle-class child epidemic, the public was distracted from, or perhaps free to ignore, the Reagan Administration's cutbacks and dissolution of New Deal aid for poverty-stricken families—including children—and their shelter, food, and everyday well-being.[340]

The NBC airing of *Adam* on October 10 best crystallized this narrative of middle-class loss and Walsh's tragedy as melodramatic. Per Jane Feuer, *Adam* was part of the greater made-for-TV "Trauma Drama" trend that aimed at a female viewership, and flourished throughout the 1980s.[341] John Walsh himself served as production advisor and was actively involved in capturing the accuracy of his own life story.[342] The Walsh family provided approval in the hopes that the film's reception would create more public

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[338] Baer, C6.
[339] Ibid., 51.
[340] Barbara Ehrenreich, *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1990), 186.
[341] Jane Feuer, *Seeing Through the Eighties: Television and Reaganism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 19. In her discussion of Made-for-TV films, Feuer uses *Adam* and the film *M.A.D.D.: Mothers Against Drunk Drivers* (1983) to outline the greater formulaic structure for these dramas, but does not make the greater connection to melodrama.
[342] "Filming Starts on TV Movie about Abduction-Murder of Adam Walsh," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* (June 8, 1983).

awareness and support for their policy involvements.[343] Ironically, the film avoids reenacting the actual moment of abduction and so it exists as a permanent gap in time. Production executive Sari Steinberg, explains "We can't show it, because who knows what happened? The focus of that scene will basically be on Revé"[344] This would not be the formal strategy for reenactments in *America's Most Wanted*, a contrast that delineates an individualistic bracketing to Adam's story. Interestingly, the entire film serves as a reenactment for large segments of the viewing audience. They are not only witnessing the tragedy as a made-for-TV film, but were quite possibly "there" two years prior, watching the news of Adam's abduction in their own living rooms—scenes replicated within the film.

The beginning and ending of the film serve as telling bookends in the formation of the emotional links to authenticity. The film opens on the following revealing title insert: "The story you are about to see is true. The names of the principal characters and government officials depicted have NOT been changed. This film is dedicated to Adam Walsh and the American ideal." [345] At first blush, the title card positions the film as a memorialization of a tragic American story. Here, Adam Walsh's potential life story—cut short by the events that viewers are about to see—is conflated with *the* American ideal: the safety and security of white middle-class childhood innocence. In these opening moments, the film appeals to viewers in anticipation of their film reading with a single dominant one: the individual loss

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[343] *The Washington Post* reported that the money the Walsh's gained through the sale of the film rights for the Adam's story ($150,000) was immediately funneled into their awareness organization, the Adam Walsh Child Resource Center. Tom Shales, "Adam as a Start: NBC's Movie Returns With More Missing Kids," *Washington Post,* April 30, 1984, accessed June 1, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1984/04/30/adam-as-a-start/5f4dce5f-b6d5-4328-a9ea-fd2416bbe152/.

[344] Ibid.

[345] *Adam*, directed by Michael Tuchner, aired October 10, 1983, on NBC, VHS (USA Home Video, 1983).

of Adam is a collective loss for America. And if Adam is America's child, John Walsh stands in for all American parents.

In a distinct cultural reference, the opening lines mimic the familiar authority of *Dragnet*'s opening and closing signatures. While these lines are meant to invoke the authority of procedural representation in *Dragnet*, their invocation works as familiar cultural shorthand for authentic police procedurality. In contrast, *Adam*'s reference deploys authenticity to heighten the emotional resonance of the tragedy of a real event. But the reference is particularly notable considering the slight shift in wordage. Unlike *Dragnet*, whose "names have been changed to protect the innocent," *Adam* seems to suggest a greater relationship to realism by keeping all names the same. Thematically, this adaptation of *Dragnet*'s opening literalizes the loss of "the innocent," who no longer needs to be protected.

The allusion to *Dragnet* provides a subtle criticism of another American ideal: the law enforcement institutions meant to keep the public safe. In this fashion, the film—and Walsh's narrative more broadly—showcase another loss of innocence in the faith and trust of police work and procedures to reestablish world order. Though Walsh would subsequently realign on the side of police institutions, *Adam* sets up law enforcement as foils and impediments to his investigation and the bringing of the guilty to justice. In one scene in the film, viewers bear witness to Walsh's incredulity, and conjure up their own, when he remarks that there are more proper, expedient procedures in place for police to track down a stolen car than an abducted child. These failures are not depicted as nefarious or apathetic, but they do not fully address the underlying instability created by underpaid, undertrained police forces and limited financial resources.

Despite the prevailing framing of a 1980s valorization of federal law and order, popular press previews particularly noted the film's *indictment* of the FBI, who are depicted as reluctant to pursue the case without the traditional clues pointing to a kidnapping (e.g. ransom note).[346] In her analysis of *Adam*, Feuer argues that American public institutions as a whole are cast as bystanders in the destruction of the "idealized nuclear family," with one interesting exception: media industries.[347] Popular media and press, and television in particular, are depicted as the only consistently supportive outlets for the Walsh family's press conferences, calls for public participation, and overall dedication to Adam's tragic story. As an added layer to *Adam*'s complex cultural reference to policing, viewers witness John Walsh's personal struggles and individual grit as depicted by actor Daniel J. Travanti, who they could also watch concurrently as Captain Frank Furillo on NBC's *Hill Street Blues*. At the 36th Primetime Emmy Awards in 1984, Travanti would be nominated for both roles: the "live by the code" law enforcement figure and the real-life citizen who took investigative matters into his own hands.

The emotional inclination of melodrama towards an attempted, but failed, return to innocence is exemplified with *Adam* through an intentional blurring of lines between "reel" and "real" representation. At the end of the film, viewers witness the Walsh family in their kitchen with a new baby girl. Walsh's mother-in-law hands the phone over to Walsh, claiming the caller is from the White House. The film freeze-frames on Travanti's disbelieving face, and dissolves into the actual John Walsh replying directly to the camera, "It *was* the White House." The film shifts from made-for-TV movie to documentary-esque

[346] Two such reviews that note this are: "TV: *Adam*, Movie on Missing Boy," *New York Times*, Oct 10, 1983, accessed June 1, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/1983/10/10/arts/tv-adam-movie-on-missing-boy.html; and Tom Shales, "'Adam' As a Start."
[347] Feuer, 29.

interview where viewers are welcomed into a living room space to join Walsh, his wife, their young daughter and new son. The specter of Adam literally hangs in the background as a framed photograph of him in his iconic T-ball uniform. The photograph was used throughout the real search for Adam in 1981, and is recreated within the film with its young actor.[348] Although the film seems like it might embrace closure with a new child and a renewed sense of purpose—this leap reminds audiences that the initial loss of innocence—of Adam—is permanent.

However, the film emotionally pivots, encouraging possible citizen action for personal investigations and searches for missing persons. Right before closing, the real John Walsh asserts, over a still image of Adam, "It's too late for our Adam, but it's not too late for the thousands of children who are still out there." The fade to black is replaced with a visual roll call of recently reported missing children and the hotline numbers for the public to call with information. In effect, the film encouraged the American public to keep their eyes open for possible clues to solve open and unanswered investigations. The initial airing of *Adam* included a prerecorded introduction speech by President Reagan, emphasizing judicial efforts and the need for the public to contribute their time and energies to the cause.[349] Reagan emphasizes the individual responsibility of safeguarding the family against crime. The president's presence further implies the power of the father rectifying the mistakes of the mother: Reagan acts as America's paternal father, reaching out and taking care of the middle-class.

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[348] The ending of *Adam* would slightly change across subsequent airings of the film as well as its VHS home video release. In the VHS release, the film ends with the same freeze frame of Travanti, then the film's recreation of Adam's T-ball uniform photograph (with the young actor who played him), before dissolving into the real image of Adam. Over these images, John Walsh supplies a voiceover that mirrors his dialogue from the initial airing.
[349] Feuer, 33-34.

The public response to the docudrama and the toll-free number was seen not only as indicative of the power of the Walsh's story, but also the power of television in facilitating a renewed citizen activism. Feuer argues that 1980s television often served as an interlocutor between pervasive Reagan ideology of self-responsibilization and order with "real political effect."[350] The response to the film was immediate and far-reaching, as NBC received hundreds of calls and several of the missing children were actually located.[351] With each subsequent re-airing of the telecast, the NBC affiliates would swap out the images of children who had been found, expanding the possible recovery and the show's reach.[352] Popular reception heralded the film as an example of a new era of television as a public service, with a *Washington Post* article stating "Every once in a while a television program does more than entertain or inform. It becomes the catalyst for action in the broad world beyond the small screen."[353] Interestingly, the *Washington Post's* greater coverage seems altogether reluctant to provide critical takes on the film, and instead emphasizes the telecast's service to public interests and safety. Such press coverage seems to anticipate and cut-off possible critiques, claiming that *Adam*'s true significance "so far outstrips its medium in terms of power and importance that traditional 'criticism' is simply

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[350] Feuer, 2.
[351] See Elizabeth Bumiller, "Reaching the Missing; Phones Jammed After TV Movie on Abducted Boy," *Washington Post*, October 12, 1983, accessed June 2, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1983/10/12/reaching-the-missing/1b46a56c-d299-4e07-a8fb-d4371807a204/; "TV Film Helps Reunite Families," *New York Times*, October 14, 1983, accessed June 2, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/1983/10/14/us/tv-film-helps-reunite-families.html; and "Missing," *Washington Post*, Oct 15, 1983, accessed June 2, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1983/10/15/missing/947b6d69-62ad-44bb-b31f-4786fa27705d/.
[352] Shales, "Adam as a Start."
[353] "Missing," *Washington Post.*

irrelevant."[354] Despite his skepticism, Walsh would be largely credited for the film's successful reception and public interest.

*Adam* seems to achieve the "entertainment with an ulterior motive" that Jack Webb had earlier conceived of for *Dragnet*, albeit with a slightly different end goal. For Walsh's advocacy purposes, the film accomplished its larger aim: to mobilize individual efforts towards missing children searches and legislative lobbying. While the film is a recapitulation of the Walsh family tragedy, the deployment of call-in tip lines serves as a formal precursor to *America's Most Wanted's* call-and-response invocation of public participation. The repeated airings and re-watchings of the film allow pathos to be channeled into activism and participation, held up as the only potential site of cathartic release and protection of future innocence. As an interesting contrast, Walsh himself was somewhat critical of the public attachment to the medium in a 1983 interview: "It's kind of a sad commentary on this country that it takes a prime-time movie to get things done…but the fact is that the showing of the film helped precipitate very important and meaningful social change."[355]

In the public eye, Walsh forged the persona of a melodramatic victim-hero, whose main attribute is the ability to "turn his or her virtuous suffering into action."[356] With the help of media attention, the immediate and subsequent effects of Adam Walsh's abduction on American policy regarding missing children are undeniable. The Walsh's wealth and connections allowed them to open several "Adam Child Resource Centers," in West Palm

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[354] Sandy, Rovner, "Adam: True Chilling Tale" *Washington Post*, Oct 10, 1983, accessed June 2, 2016. https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1983/10/10/adam-true-chilling-tale/c673f8ea-b116-4ed0-ae99-f8af697ac6ad/. See also Shales, "Adam as a Start."
[355] Tom Shales, 'Adam' As a Start."
[356] Ibid.

Beach, Florida, Columbia, South Carolina, Orange County, California, and Rochester, New York, to be used to help locate missing children and provide assistance for parents. "Code Adam" is used in department stores as a code word to lock down the store in response to reports of child abduction. Beyond the aforementioned Missing Children Act of 1982 and the formation of the NCMEC in 1984, John Walsh also had a hand in the Children's Assistance Act in 1984, which provided a toll-free hotline to report missing children.

In the made-for-TV sequel, *Adam: His Song Continues* (1986), Walsh's individual activism, rather than his continued victimization, serve as the narrative focus. Specifically, the film highlights Walsh's dedication to implementing the milk carton program, which was started in December 1984 by the National Child Safety Council.[357] In the film, Walsh directly lobbies milk carton plants and factory workers to place missing children's photographs on the cartons. Notably, the first missing child to be featured on a milk carton—Etan Patz—was abducted in Manhattan three years before Adam on May 25, 1979.[358] Though Etan's disappearance predates Adam's, it had neither the heavy media support nor the wealthy connections of the Walsh family to thrust the story into continuous national spotlight. Reagan would memorialize Paz's date of disappearance with National Missing Children's Day in 1983. This history, however, is subsumed into the grander narrative of Walsh's contributions to making America's children safer.

If Adam's story is one of individual victimization and loss, John Walsh turns his personal tragedy towards conspicuous activism. In fact, both made-for-TV films could be

[357] "Missing Children Efforts," National Child Safety Council Online, accessed June 3, 2016. http://www.nationalchildsafetycouncil.org/about/missing-children-efforts.
[358] Gabriel Falcon, "District attorney reopens case of first missing child on milk carton," *CNN Justice*, May 26, 2010, accessed June 4, 2016, http://articles.cnn.com/2010-05-26/justice/new.york.1979.missing.child_1_etan-patz-milk-carton-reopening?_s=PM:CRIME.

read as the ultimate American bootstrap narrative: the dramatic change of an everyday citizen into a public authority, a trusted figure, and even a "charismatic politician" influencing real change.[359] This transformation demands individual focus as the means for societal change while the medium of television functions as the primary mechanism to engage this activism. The seamlessness by which these two narratives coincide necessarily *individualize*s political power and cultural affect, even though it creates *collective* anxiety about the future of America's children. This example of realized neoliberalism fits all too well within melodrama's emotive celebration of individual, private triumphs, which necessarily distract from the potential for collective, systemic change.[360]

Procedures serve a crucial function in conveying Walsh's tragic virtue, promoted as the primary methods for viewers to harness their own individual missions towards safety and resistance. In addition to the highlighting of Walsh's own investigations within the made-for-TV films, NBC presented viewers with information—under advisement from John Walsh—regarding identification procedures to implement for their own children's safety and parental peace-of-mind. In programming wraparounds for *Adam*, NBC star Nancy McKeon of *The Facts of Life* and her brother Phillip McKeon introduce the film in a living room with a group of smiling, but silent children and ask audiences to stick around after the screening for procedural tips.[361] In the post-show wraparound, the McKeon siblings stress Walsh's unique drive while simultaneously assuring viewers that they too can do everyday, simple acts to protect "the children"—left ambiguous. The remaining sequence alternates between Nancy and Philip McKeon as they recite a point-by-point list of safety

[359] Feuer, 33.
[360] Linda Williams, 74.
[361] "nancy mckeon adam Public Service Announcement – PSA," posted Aug 19, 2012, accessed June 4, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=otb87xd_OKc.

procedures to implement at home and at a child's school. The list in succession states that parents should: teach children their home phone number and full address (with particular note to include the state), fingerprint their child and keep multiple copies, always have up-to-date photographs on hand, take a mental profile of the child's daily outfits, create an escape plan with the child, have a secret word, teach children that "not ALL adults are good people," keep up-to-date dental records at all times, and require the school to report any absence, regardless of whether or not the child is at home sick. NBC also sent publicity "abduction safety tests" to press and parents meant to train children to memorize their own identification markers (name, phone, address) and specify the most important documents to archive before a child is kidnapped, reiterating the need for dental records and fingerprints as suggested in the wraparounds.[362]

Walsh aimed to further domesticate classification techniques for parental use through continued engagements with the public. After select repeats of *Adam* on local affiliates, John Walsh would be involved with smaller televised town halls that brought together various law enforcement, state representatives, clergy, and PTA representatives to explore current and direct ways to properly train children (and adults) to anticipate and prevent criminal dangers.[363] These conversations would typically revolve around the concrete methods of cataloguing children's identifications and learning how to assess neighborhood dangers. One such televised event in Omaha, Nebraska, entitled "Town Hall: Missing Children," won a 1985 Iris Award for excellence in local broadcasting.[364] Walsh

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[362] Rovner, "Adam: True Chilling Tale."
[363] "Programming: Syndication Marketplace," *Broadcasting,* May 19, 1986, accessed October 4, 2015, ProQuest.
[364] *Town Hall: Missing Children*, directed by John Meidlinger, aired April 29, 1985, on KMTV, accessed October 4, 2015, T87:0218, Paley Center for Media, Los Angeles, CA.

invited several parents of currently missing children to vent their personal frustrations with the bureaucratic shuffling that prevents action from taking place. The most passionate call to arms, from Don Martin, a father of a missing child, demanded that laws be put into place so that parents have the right to access police files and leads to conduct their own investigations:

> We need action. We need laws changed where individuals can have the perfect right to go in and say, "Hey, I know that the police department is holding back leads. I know the FBI's not doing nothing." We, as the parents of missing children, need these rights. We need to be able to see this information and do it ourselves, because they're not going to do it.[365]

These discussions reiterated a general distrust of the FBI and policing institutions on a local, intimate level, even if the national ideology suggested the swift heroic power of American justice. In fact, town hall representatives from local and federal law enforcement bristled at Martin's suggestion, while Walsh offered his support and agreement. Along with the call for support of citizen investigations, other recommendations for enacting change included increasing school surveillance and pressuring local government officials to prioritize children's safety or risk losing reelection campaigns. More broadly, this style of parental activism represents the greater political backlash against permissiveness. Barbara Ehrenreich observes the 1980's conservative rhetoric linked permissive child-rearing to overall lax authority and juvenile delinquency, specifically radical student activism in the 1960s.[366] This intervention re-inscribes activism as a *parental* right, reinserting their societal authority for the sake and safety of their children and all of the *innocent* children of America.

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[365] Ibid. Transcribed by author.
[366] Ehrenreich, 59.

John Walsh's ancillary ventures through the Adam Walsh Resource Center would offer parents a variety of methods to teach children, and themselves, the proper application of resistance procedures. In particular, the Resource Center would support a series of gamic interpretations, so that children could learn through play. One such game, *The Child Awareness Game* (1984), stands in contrast to popular crime-solving board games, such as *Clue* (1949) and their objectives—to deduce a culprit's identity and location to win. Instead, the game teaches young players how to be law-abiding citizens through their civic responsibility, consent to law enforcement and cataloguing, and most importantly, learning how to avoid becoming a victim. The objective is for children to collect the correct letters to spell the word "Child Awareness" to win; the game mechanics require kids to move around the "neighborhood" board and correctly answer questions about dangerous, life-threatening situations in specific locales—some include the school, the grocery store, front yard, and video arcade—and a free space ("NEIGHBORHOOD TROUBLE AREA--YOUR CHOICE") that allows parents to personalize the game with questions about the bad sections of their own towns. In a promotional interview, Walsh explains the game's objective: "The 301 possible questions place children in a variety of potentially dangerous situations that that [sic] require quick thinking…Children are supposed to learn a pattern of behavior through repetition."[367] Effectively, the game is meant to function as behavioral training for children and for adults. For example, the game rules require that children must correctly state in full their name and that of their parents before they can even begin playing; they must repeat this task over and over again, if they get it wrong.

[367] Sonya Johnson-Reid, "'Awareness Game' may help to teach kids about danger," *News Record,* April 8, 1986, 5, accessed April 12, 2017. Newspapers.com.

Walsh further elaborates that the game's unique feature is that it educates children about "personal safety in a positive, non-threatening way" through proper communication with their parents. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the game questions are thematically focused on putting children in victimized situations with an "either/or" assessment. Though the basis of the questions revolves around tricky situations regarding stranger danger, there is an incredible emphasis on policing children's sexuality, body privacy, and what are inappropriate body experiences. Three out the five possible questions in the "public bathroom" location, for instance, involve sexual molestation and harassment, invoking a cruising stereotype of a predatory queer individual. Another card asks, "Is touching body parts necessary to show someone that you love them?" Game rules caution parents against reacting negatively to any response a child gives, regardless if it is "wrong," and instead give the child repeated opportunities to learn the "right" choice. While the game claims to encourage children to trust their own feelings, there is no gray area in its ludic translation of criminality. The location-specific questions continue this firm good/bad dichotomy. For instance, a clubhouse question sets up the following scenario: "you and some friends are playing at the secret clubhouse. Your friends want to undress and show their private body parts." Children are then provided only two possible avenues: "Should you: Refuse to do this, go home immediately and tell your parents," the correct answer, or "Undress, because you don't want to be a chicken," the wrong one.

Created by stockbroker couple Becky Butler Nickol and Patrick Hart, "who were looking for a way to teach their children safety without scaring them," and geared towards children ages 4-12, the game is to be played with parents and children together. In the game instructions, Nickol and Hart provide the following statement:

> We, as developers, have long been aware of the intensity and seriousness of the need to education children and parents on this subject, however, we realize that there is a negative and fearful aura encompassed in this mission. Therefore, our foremost priority was to make the game fun, challenging, and competitive. In other words, we have designed a board game that is a game in the purest sense.[368]

Of course, the game comes with a strong written disclaimer (all in capital letters) that the game creators are not psychological experts nor do they promise the game will actually protect children from "possible abduction, molestation, or abuse."[369] In write-ups about the game, actual child psychologists express cautious skepticism and worry that such games will actually "make children fearful of social relationships with adults" and reflect situations out of a parent's paranoia rather than average reality.[370]

These endorsements became opportunities to corporatize safety procedures as lifestyle brands. For example, Kmart's sponsorship and distribution of *The Crime Awareness Game* became part of the game's press coverage, allowing the store chain to reaffirm their "strong commitment to the communities we serve."[371] In addition to extending the Resource Center's dedication to crime safety procedures, the game box serves as a promotional snapshot of the Walsh family's virtuous contributions to public awareness since 1981, including their support of in-school safety identification days.[372] These events would require children to be photographed, fingerprinted, and measured at school—a full cataloguing of physical attributes—in anticipation of possible future abductions.

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[368] Nickol, Becky Butler and Patrick Hart. *The Child Awareness Game*. Adam Walsh Child Resource Center, 1985.
[369] Ibid.
[370] Johnson-Reid, 5.
[371] Ibid. Johnson-Reid quotes from Samuel G. Leftwich, vice chairman of Kmart Corporation.
[372] The back of the game box features an extensive bullet-point list of the accomplishments of the Adam Walsh Center on the local and national level, including the aforementioned Missing Children's Assistance Act of 1984, as well as the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program Assistance and the National Center for the Prosecution of Child Abuse.

*America's Most Wanted* would advertise the authority of Walsh's transition from victim-to-hero. Its earliest television spots would link Walsh's tragedy and promised safety as a voiceover proclaims: "Tonight America just may be a safer place…Host John Walsh, whose six-year-old son Adam was brutally murdered, leads this crusade against crime."[373] These advertisements typically integrate the T-ball image of Adam as a quick trigger for audience pathos. Likewise, print advertisements in its earliest years make the horror of losing Adam the impetus for Walsh's individual war on crime. The text of one such promotional page reads: "In 1981, he lost his 6-year-old son to a violent crime. Since then, he's dedicated his life to fighting back. It's working…John Walsh. *America's Most Wanted*. 347 fugitives profiled. 146 captures directly attributed to *AMW*. One person can make a difference."[374] In short time, the advertisement rearticulates Walsh's melodramatic narrative arc. With the line "It's working…," the show maps Walsh's individual crusade onto the entirety of the show's success, crediting him in large part with the labor of audience participation. Its tagline, "One person can make a difference," works doubly to articulate the individualism of Walsh's grit, as well as to encourage audiences to emulate his success by participating in the show. *America's Most Wanted* producer Michael Linder makes this rhetorical gesture explicit: Walsh's life proves "that people can make a difference," which becomes the "perfect metaphor" for the show's meaning.[375]

The real-life effects of Walsh's work do not just exist for promotional flair, but become reintroduced into *America's Most Wanted* as an extension of his virtuous fight

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[373] "America's Most Wanted 1988 Promo," posted November 10, 2011, accessed June 1, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TvGuK96uH0M.
[374] This copy appeared on a national print advertisement for *America's Most Wanted* reprinted in Feuer, 23.
[375] Baer, C6

against crime. Scholar Rachel Hall's analysis of a January 1994 episode, for example, centers on a kidnapping that was thwarted thanks to Code Adam, a retail alert system protocol for missing children.[376] Created by Walmart stores, Code Adam is named for Walsh's son, and this backstory becomes Walsh's introductory narrative for the particular vignette. Though focused on the individual recovery of a current-day child, the context reminds viewers of the national impact of Adam's tragedy as well as Walsh's own work in creating public awareness for missing children. In effect, *America's Most Wanted* becomes another platform to showcase Walsh's contributions to victim's rights. In exchange, Hall argues, he functions as the primary "mask for state-sponsored violence" among the other depicted victims on the show.[377] The victims and victim-heroes do the emotional work of legitimizing police work, as they reassert the authority of the FBI and their procedures for determining criminal and victim.

Across the depictions of crime and process in Walsh's televisual engagements, *America's Most Wanted* exemplifies this tension between melodrama and realism in service of pathos.[378] Each episode relies on a combination of reenactment and real-life criminal details to provide the necessary crime background and contact information, respectively, for public participation. As Anna Williams argues, the show "combines the veracity of legal institutions with the spectacle of television drama," wedding melodramatic excess to a display of adjudicative authority tools—the evidence gathered through procedure and identification records.[379]

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[376] Hall, 130–131.
[377] Ibid., 135.
[378] Linda Williams, 67.
[379] Anna Williams, 101.

Importantly, the show's use of reenactment differs from the procedural reenactment I explored in *Dragnet* or the home correspondence schools. Procedural reenactment serves an instructive and persuasive purpose: to seemingly recreate accurate procedures for the purposes of conveying authority while normalizing police work. The use of reenactments in *America's Most Wanted* illustrates the tonal shift towards emotionality as they serve almost wholly at the pleasure of pathos. Here, the recreation of events is meant to hook the emotional investment of viewers. In turn, these appeals to pathos provide the justification for playing detective and deploying observational methods to track down criminals for the show. Conversely, those reenactments that create the successful arrests of fugitives celebrate public procedural work.

As the show developed, these vignettes would become structurally familiar and repetitive. More humorous vignettes, typically covering white collar crimes or robberies without injury, offer some levity within the show, even with the desired capture. The more serious reenactments of brutal crimes are self-contained melodramas, each with climatic losses of innocence at the hands of the fugitive criminal. A good example of this is the show's treatment of the criminal Jesus Angel Delgado, a Cuban immigrant who murdered Tomas and Violeta Rodriguez, the former owners of his dry-cleaning business.[380] The majority of the reenactment focuses not on Delgado, but the carefree and earnest lives of the Rodriguez family. The couple's upstanding citizenship would contrast the recreated scenes of Delgado's bad citizenship: a short temper, domestic violence against his girlfriend, and poor customer service.

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[380] *America's Most Wanted,* "Garrett Capture; Jesus Delgado; Donald Verbridge; The Shadow Bandit; John Kelly Gentry," directed by Graham Knight, aired May 29, 1992, on Fox, accessed June 4, 2016, https://archive.org/details/A_M_W_.

The reenactment is intent on building to the moment of the crime, by building up the conflicts between Delgado and Tomas Rodriguez until the climatic murder scene. Unlike the preceding shots, the entire sequence is hyper-stylized and vacillates between slow motion shots (lingering on falling bodies and drops of blood) and quick, chaotic cuts (canted, close-up shots of guns firing juxtaposed with breaking vases) to disorient viewers. Formally, the reenactment of the murder scene prevents viewers from maintaining a consistent point-of-view. At times, viewers are positioned in the background, thematically unable to do anything but watch the traumatic murder take place. Other shots, such as Delgado threatening the couple with a gun, place the camera at a low angle, almost mimicking Tomas's point-of-view and situating viewers as Delgado's victim. Perhaps most disturbingly, the camera eventually occupies the predatory vision of Delgado as a following shot stalks Violeta down a hallway, before viewers return to a third person perspective. These shifts in points-of-view are reminiscent of those from early crime radio shows like *Calling All Cars* and *Gang Busters*, which offer listeners a backseat in both the criminal and police's point of aurality throughout the show. This shifting intimacy is replaced here with a fluctuating victim-criminal vision that emotionally overwhelms viewers.

Mimicking documentary aesthetics, talking-head interviews sprinkle in realism, but always in service to the emotional stakes of the reenactment. An interview with Detective Israel Reyes of the Miami-Dade Police Department provides an authoritative insight into Delgado's motives and the department's criminal assessment. Talking-head shots with Marlene McField, the Rodriguez's neighbor and friend, are also interspersed throughout the reenactment. McField recounts the couple's dedication to their job, their community, and to her—a single mother in Miami without a parental figure or family unit. The reenactment

actually concludes with her learning about the Rodriguez couple's deaths on their front lawn, as her heartbroken final interview segment implies her own loss of innocence. The sequence as a whole suggests that the Rodriguez couple was too trusting and good-natured, oblivious to what seems all too clear to the regular viewing audience: Delgado is a bad man. In this way, the show plays to its audience's expectations and rewards familiarity with the show's form.

The reenactment fades to black and viewers are back with John Walsh in the *America's Most Wanted* studios, where he addresses the camera directly. As part of the adjudicative segment, the show shifts towards documentary realism. Walsh's voiceover instructs viewers to be on the lookout for Delgado while the show features a montage of the real Delgado's multiple mug shots, driver's license, body measurements, and the call-in tip line number. Walsh's direct address provides a given air of authority and perceived immediacy. Walsh provides the procedural evidence that fills in the specifics of the case and trauma, but these details are additive to the reenactment's affect.

From an industrial standpoint, this blurring between news and entertainment—realism and melodrama—mirrors the conflicting objectives of the people working behind its production. Of course, the show's form necessarily took shape over time. Yet a 1988 *New York Times* article "Television: Manhunting, in an Armchair," which covers the show's debut, and provides insight into the competing discourses at play. For Fox affiliates and station directors, the series was clearly an entertainment show; its production did not fall under the funding or labor of the news crews.[381] Yet, for Fox executive Thomas Herwitz, *America's Most Wanted* was clearly a public service news program: "We consider this show

[381] Steven Erlanger, A33.

as news. It's not 'The 10 O'Clock News,' but what else would you call a show with real criminals who are fugitives, real law-enforcement agents on a hotline and looking for real tips?" It is not entirely clear for whom Herwitz claims to speak. In further contrast, Fox programming creative executive Stephen Chao would offer up the term "information show," distinct from entertainment or service, and a term that focuses on *America's Most Wanted's* public instruction.

The structure of *America's Most Wanted* depends on a representative balance of reenactments: victims deserving justice for their traumas and those celebrating the successful capture of criminals or the return of missing persons. Despite the traditional association of reenactment with realism, the show's reenactments would mirror one of the more powerful emotional hooks of melodrama: its "dialectic of pathos and action—a give and take of 'too late' and 'in the nick of time.'"[382] This dichotomy plays out in John Walsh's own narrative: too late for Adam, in the nick of time for countless other saved children.

The proper application of procedures serves as a central determining factor in this tension between success and failure of criminal capture. Walsh's lifelong focus on identification records and behavioral training is typically pitched as what could make all the difference in ensuring parents do not experience their own "too late" moment. Additionally, the above Delgado reenactment in *America's Most Wanted* exemplifies the "too late"-ness for which public participation and criminal identification procedures have the capacity to bring about future justice for the lost.

With recovery segments, *America's Most Wanted* emphasizes that procedural tactics save lives. The recovery vignette of 12-year-old Genny Krohn is a rich case study, because

[382] Linda Williams, 69.

the show initially introduces viewers to Krohn as a kidnapping victim.[383] Rather than the hyper-stylized reenactments of fugitives needing capture, this piece is shot on location in Krohn's hometown of Gulf Breeze, Florida. Viewers witness the emotional reunion of Krohn, her parents, and a community celebrating her return with a perception of experiencing it in real time. Walsh acts as a guide for several in-person reenactments on location in Gulf Breeze.[384] Through his conversation with Krohn, viewers are shown how the successful implementation of identification procedures aided in the capture of her own kidnapper. In this exchange with Walsh, Krohn recounts the exact moment of her abduction:

> Krohn: He stopped me and pointed a gun at me.
> Walsh: Not much you can do.
> Krohn: No. I know about not talking to strangers, but you can't ignore someone who's trying to kidnap you.

Krohn's response provides a succinct counter to the typical crime resistance techniques emphasized to children. While earnest and well intentioned in theory, the notion of "don't talk to strangers" fails to account for any actual threats of violence and physical coercion that children may actual face in an abduction scenario. In contrast, Krohn utilized procedural techniques to supply the best description and clues to aid the police in making their arrest. When Walsh asks about how she spent her time, Krohn describes her single-

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[383] *America's Most Wanted* feature on Krohn's kidnapping aired on the May 29, 1992 episode, and the coverage of her homecoming aired the following week: *America's Most Wanted,* "Genny Krohn Recovery; LeMoine Allen and Kreniece Jones; Ed Childers; Felix Briceno; Leslie Rogge," aired June 5, 1992, on Fox, accessed June 4, 2016. https://archive.org/details/A_M_W_#.

[384] Walsh has Krohn's brother and father recreate the precise moment they received a collect call from Krohn, who was able to escape her captor, while the three stand in the Krohn's kitchen. A second recreation features a one-on-one conversation between Walsh and Krohn as he asks her to recount her experiences from the kidnapping to her escape. Like *Adam*, the show does not depict a reenactment of the abduction.

minded attention to cataloguing and classifying her abductor: "Every second that I had, I wrote down everything I could about him: his license plate number, his name, his description, what tattoos he had, what they looked like, if his ear was pierced, stuff like that." For Walsh and viewers, Krohn demonstrates her observation and memorization skills, drawing her captor's tattoos on a yellow notepad as well as his license plate number. Krohn proudly tells Walsh that after she supplied police with this information, her kidnapper was caught within twenty-four hours. In an inserted interview, Investigator John Butler of the Santa Rosa Sheriff's Department notes the uniqueness of Krohn's experience as many children of that age would be too traumatized to remember such detail let alone convey it to police. At the same time, Butler implies that such skills would be powerful for the police and smart tactics for children.

Closing the "in the nick of time" story in the *America's Most Wanted* studios, Walsh reiterates how Krohn's successful recovery is tied to proper preparation: her parents always took up-to-date photographs and maintained a video recording just in case. Walsh tells viewers, "that's made the difference in getting her home safe," before pitching Blockbuster Video's Kidprint deal, where they would record footage of your child for free (for a limited time). It is telling that Walsh avoids any focus on Krohn's actual process and method for escape, which involved timing and luck. Viewers are given little opportunity to consider that absence. Walsh uses Krohn's story to segue to the next possible "too late" or "in the nick of time" story: "Two more kids that need your help. You just saw how it can make a difference." Before the show cuts to a commercial, the screen displays the most recent photographs and body stats of missing 3-year-olds LeMoine Allen and Kreniece Jones, whose possible successful recovery is left in the hands of viewers.

There is little confusion or gray area associated with citizen participation in the show as there are always built-in justifications distinguishing those who are law-abiding and those who are law-breaking. The show's inclination for personality shorthand speaks to this greater melodramatic impulse of clear separation: there are victims, there are criminals, and then there are victim-heroes (e.g. John Walsh).[385] Lisa Kennedy of *Voice* magazine offers such critical observations of the show soon after its debut: "Who decides who are America's most wanted? And can they be trusted?...*America's Most Wanted* encourages us to see people who commit crimes as severed from society, totally Other. Will we become a country of call in bounty-hunters and criminals?"[386] The presentation of the FBI, and even Walsh's authority here, does not consider rehabilitation to be on the table as a possible route to justice, and this speaks to both the construction of crime on the show and those fugitives they wish to highlight. Whereas the reenactments rely on stereotypes for their representation of all forms of criminality, their depictions of people of color rely on existing and cumulative racist imagery to imply a spectrum of danger, with Black men typically occupying the most violent endpoint.[387] People of color in particular are both stereotyped victims, complicit in their own trauma, like Tomas and Violeta Rodriguez, and stereotyped suspects—reduced to two word descriptors such as "cold-blooded," "no emotion," or "violent eyes." On the flipside, Kennedy's observations also push us to consider who is America's most victimized. The deployment of citizen participation is routinely meant to protect or provide justice for violations of "the white middle class

[385] Linda Williams, 77. Here, she describes the last tenet of melodrama as characterizing figures in a "Manichaen conflicts between good and evil."
[386] Lisa Kennedy, "America's Most Wanted: Hit List," *Voice*, March 8, 1988, 58.
[387] Derosia, 246.

family," even if the criminal perpetrator is white him or herself.[388] For Rachel Hall, the show's invocation of a "Christian worldview of reality" serves to foreground, on average, the perpetual risk to white women and the struggle and perseverance of white male victim-heroes.[389] Perhaps most consistently, white male victim-heroes are almost always guaranteed a voice—to speak for themselves, for their children, for the (white) women in their lives, and for victims more generally. Walsh personifies this power imbalance, having long spoken for the Walsh family unit and characterized himself as a voice for the voiceless in America beyond his own tragic story.[390]

On a much grander scale, crime itself is posed as the great evil plaguing society and Walsh stands as *the* marker of justice and truth. Per scholar Christine Gledhill, melodrama protagonists answer the question: "Who can personify—body forth in their physical presence, in the particularities of personality in their social representativeness—the cause of innocence, justice, hope?"[391] Arguably, John Walsh emerges as a tragic figure occupying the space of the every-parent and the victim-hero—America's father armed with procedures to keep its children safe.

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[388] Anna Williams, 99.
[389] Hall, 113-114.
[390] In a popularly recited quote, Walsh describes his life's work as "not just speaking for myself as the father of a murdered child. I hope that I speak for the millions of Americans who are crime victims and have no voice." This line was originally featured in his April 16, 1997 Senate speech for the proposed Victim's Rights Amendment and concludes his autobiography. John Walsh, *Tears of Rage* (New York: Pocket Books, 1997), 307.
[391] Christine Gledhill, "Rethinking Genre," in *Reinventing Film Studies*, eds. Linda Williams and Christine Gledhill (London: Arnold, 2000), 238.

## EPILOGUE

This dissertation explored four qualities of procedural play—instructive, formulaic, rule-based, and safety-driven—through four distinct historical case studies that highlighted the rhetoric of partnership between the police and citizenry, as well as that of the policing institutions and creative industries. Chapter One introduced readers to the instructive nature of procedural play through the home correspondence school detective and its promises of personal thrills and class mobility through fingerprinting and criminal identification techniques. Largely absent from historical studies, these schools and their true crime ancillary materials were early promoters of the importance of fingerprinting for all Americans, even while they largely excluded women and men of color from their trade. Chapter Two revisited *Dragnet*, the seminal radio and television police procedural, to draw attention to the formulaic quality that turns procedures into recognizable standards. The show's formal aesthetics and its broader publicity worked to normalize not only police procedures, but a particularly sanitized version of police work. In Chapter Three, the examination of Sierra On-Line's *Police Quest* illuminated the rule-based core of procedural play, tracing a lineage from police procedural subgenre to its gamification into a computational medium. The game sought to provide a more realistic experience of "What it's really like to be a cop" at a time when accusations of police brutality and abuse were national spectacles. And in Chapter Four, the tragic victim-hero narrative of *America's Most Wanted*'s John Walsh served as a backdrop for the emotive turn in procedural play as a form of safety. Crime-solving gives way to crime resistance as parents were encouraged to deploy procedures for children's safety. In each chapter, police and investigation agencies

serve as creative advisers, blurring the lines among authority, adjudication, and entertainment.

These histories provide concrete examples of law enforcement exporting procedure into leisure culture and private homes for the purpose of public recognition and acceptance. In turn, the hope is for a deeper reciprocity between police and citizens. This process of "giv[ing] the cop a human face," as historian Christopher Wilson argues, encourages the public to see the officer as one of us, yet not one of us; the end goal is "to make the simulation between policing and citizenship reversible"—to perceive policing work as an expression of American-ness.[392] Police engagement with media enterprises has the purpose of linking police surveillance with enacting citizenship. And so, to support and enact such surveillance is to exhibit one's commitment to being a law-abiding American.

Although Wilson does not specifically consider video gaming in his arguments, his invocation of a policing-citizenship *simulation* is a particularly apt choice of phrase for this dissertation's ludic considerations and these case studies as pseudo-training spaces. That there exists a perception that police procedures *can be learned*, and mechanics revolve around the learning and playing of these procedures, perpetuates the amateur-to-apprentice aspirations underlying citizen surveillance.

As a scholarly project, this dissertation inserts the question of procedural play within the fields of surveillance studies, play and game studies, and media studies, which would intellectually benefit from more cross-disciplinary conversations. In particular, the historical examination of tenets of procedural play was meant to draw attention to the ways in which police procedures, and a police-citizen relationship by extension, become

[392] Christopher P. Wilson, *Cop Knowledge: Police Power and Cultural Narrative in Twentieth-Century America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 61.

engrained in popular culture. While surveillance studies necessarily privileges the dangerous top-down system of bureaucratic surveillance, it is crucial that scholars investigate the subtle or even innocuous ways that police surveillance becomes entertainment. At the same time, a criticality of play and game need not center meaningfulness solely on the breaking of rules or modifying the digital environment. What is considered normalcy should not be taken for granted. Close examination of the process of hegemony—the maintenance of the status quo—requires investigation of the impetus for rule following, even when it is disguised in play. Lastly, media studies scholarship is central to this study with the hopes that procedural play can further expand our conversations regarding cultural technologies and the mediated domestication of governmentality. At the very least, if this research is to serve any purpose, let it be to help disabuse the citizen detective of the perception that we are somehow outside this system, and therefore, that these conversations need not demand our time and attention.

In our contemporary moment, what it means to "play detective" is not easily defined because what it means to *be* a detective, or part of law enforcement, is itself tenuous. The public perception of policing—of what it means to be a police officer, whom they protect, and their accountability to the public—is far more fractured and divisive than I can fully and adequately encapsulate within this space. Unlike the police-media industrial relationships presented in my case studies, current police public relations efforts have largely moved away from traditional media partnerships and collaborations. More and more local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies have cut out these experienced middlemen, and chosen to connect with their constituencies via social media networks

instead. In closing, this epilogue considers shifting receptions of procedurality that consider whether or not play is still viable.

As an example of procedural play in spite of police authority, the Boston Marathon Bombing becomes a rich site for examination. On April 15, 2013, the annual Boston Marathon became the site of a terrorist attack when bombs exploded near the finish line. Though the official search for, and eventual arrest of, surviving bomber Dzhokhar Tsarnaev on April 19, 2013 occupied the American media landscape for seven days, so did the unofficial online crowd-sleuthing activities of everyday Americans. On the day of Tsarnaev's arrest, the website Reddit closed down the subreddit "r/findbostonbombers," a sub-forum dedicated to the circulation and examination of the crime scene images and video. A collective of anonymous internet users shared and examined visual and aural clues gathered from the FBI, local police, news outlets, other websites, and "on the ground" sources. Concurrent with the police investigation, Redditors and other internet denizens answered the Boston Police Department and Federal Bureau of Investigation's calls for vigilance with one additional step: they began aggregating various data from the bombing and assessing the material themselves as pseudo-forensics experts. The Reddit site moderators would eventually apologize for their involvement in what was subsequently termed a "racist *Where's Waldo?*": the mistaken identification of the Boston bomber as Sunil Tripathi, a missing Brown University student, and the subsequent harassment of Tripathi's family, who received hundreds of racist messages and death threats.[393] Missing

[393] Alex Hern, "4Chan plays racist Where's Wally to find the Boston Bomber," *New Statesman*, April 18, 2013, accessed July 2, 2016, http://www.newstatesman.com/world-affairs/2013/04/4chan-plays-racist-wheres-wally-find-boston-bomber. The original article title referencing *Where's Wally* refers to the British title for Martin Handford's *Where's Waldo* children's books. Hern further critiqued the Reddit and Facebook responses

since March 16, 2013, Tripathi was eventually found on April 23, dead from an apparent suicide.

After the dust settled, a fairly consistent news narrative emerged: Reddit and fellow social media sites slipped into "vigilante detective work" and were quick to presume and propagate the potential criminality of any non-white male.[394] However, select press outlets rightfully argued that Reddit's crowd-sleuthing, though racist and disturbing, was just one player within the massive digital circulation of misinformation that flourished in the hours and days following the bombing. The information exchanged on r/findbostonbombers found its way onto 4Chan, Twitter, and Facebook and spread rapidly to thousands and millions of users by way of retweets from a number of journalists, local news anchors, and entertainment personalities including CNN's Andrew Kaczynski and reporter Erik Malinowski (at the time, both represented Buzzfeed), NBC News's Luke Russert, and online gossip columnist Perez Hilton.[395] At the same time, the *New York Post* also played its part in

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a day later: Alex Hern, "When crowdsourcing goes wrong: Reddit, Boston, and missing student Sunil Tripathi," *New Statesman*, April 19, 2013, accessed July 2, 2016, http://www.newstatesman.com/world-affairs/2013/04/when-crowdsourcing-goes-wrong-reddit-boston-and-missing-student-sunil-tripathi.

[394] David Montgomery, Sari Horowitz, and Marc Fisher, "Police, citizens, and technology factor into Boston bombing probe," *Washington Post*, April 20, 2013, accessed August 2, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/inside-the-investigation-of-the-boston-marathon-bombing/2013/04/20/19d8c322-a8ff-11e2-b029-8fb7e977ef71_print.html.

[395] A sampling of the journalistic critique of the social media users, the traditional media personalities who participated in the investigation, and their ethics includes: Will Oremus, "Don't Blame Reddit for Smearing Sunil Tripathi. Blame 'Retweets Aren't Endorsements," *Slate*, July 26, 2013, accessed August 2, 2017, http://www.slate.com/blogs/future_tense/2013/07/26/reddit_sunil_tripathi_and_retweets_aren_t_endorsements_who_s_to_blame.html; Chris Wade, "The Reddit Reckoning," *Slate*, April 15, 2014, accessed August 31, 2017, http://www.slate.com/articles/technology/technology/2014/04/reddit_and_the_boston_marathon_bombings_how_the_site_reckoned_with_its_own.html; and Jay Caspian Kang, "Should Reddit Be Blamed for the Spreading of a Smear?" *New York*

the misinformation game, as they released a cover image with an enlarged surveillance photograph of two non-white spectators at the marathon with the title "BAG MEN: Feds Seek these two pictured at Boston Marathon." They would eventually settle out of court for the wrongful defamation of Salaheddin Barhoum and Yassine Zaimi, both young Boston residents who had nothing to do with the bombing.[396] All parties involved were more interested in getting the information first, and thereby 'winning' the investigation, than getting it right. Yet Reddit would still bear the brunt of popular criticism. Even Aaron Sorkin's *The Newsroom* would cast Reddit as the central transmitter of misinformation in its season three premiere. In the episode entitled "Boston," the *News Night* production team goes through an over three-minutes long timeline unraveling how the story jumped from Reddit to news affiliates to Twitter to NBC news correspondents. The executive producer MacKenzie MacHale (Emily Mortimer) culminates the scene with the exclamation "Well done, faceless mob!" Interestingly, the entire sequence plays like a congratulatory patting-on-the-back for the right way to do "detective work": be a great journalist, track down leads, and fact-check all your sources. Within the context of the show, however, it is worth noting that the producers hope their coverage of Reddit's crowd-sleuthing-gone-bad will help them once again rally support for and public trust in the news program, whose reputation had taken a damaging hit following its own instance of mistaken reporting and embarrassing public retraction.

These write-ups do not engage with what I perceive to be playing DIY detective even

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*Times Magazine,* July 25, 2013, accessed July 2, 2017, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/28/magazine/should-reddit-be-blamed-for-the-spreading-of-a-smear.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

[396] Erik Wemple, "New York Post settles 'Bag Men' defamation suit," *Washington Post*, October 2, 2014, accessed August 31, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/erik-wemple/wp/2014/10/02/new-york-post-settles-bag-men-defamation-suit/.

at the risk of interfering and *competing* with professional law enforcement. Contextually, many journalists view the circumstances—the vigilantism and racist *Where's Waldo*—as a consequence of the internet as a digital, impersonal medium within a post-9/11 America. This narrative quickly framed Reddit's crowd-sleuthing as unique to the twenty-first century. Such presentism can perpetuate a misconception that surveillance is a contemporary issue. This risks conflating digital technology with false arrests, misidentification, and public participation in law enforcement, ignoring long-standing histories of each, as illustrated in this study.

Surveillance studies scholars have provided important counters to this idea by locating the historical precedents for citizen surveillance and "See something, say something" culture.[397] While not to dismiss these arguments, we should also account for the problematic playful nature of this participation, which is performative work that often gets overlooked. This had not simply been reporting to the police and deferring to their authority. Users were role-playing what they perceived police work to be in a *CSI*-esque fashion: analyzing photos of the crime scene, tracking people, "staking out" police scanner radio chatter, and even speculating about ballistics trails. This laboring of detection—however incorrect and troubling—provided users with a feeling of authority, which seemed to justify their theories and racist accusations in their minds. It became difficult to fully understand the activity of these events after moderators shut down the subreddit,

[397] See Gary T. Marx, "The Public as Partner? Technology Can Make Us Auxiliaries as Well as Vigilantes," *IEEE Security & Privacy* 11, no. 5 (September/October 2013): 56-61, and Joshua Reeves, *Citizen Spies: The Long Rise of America's Surveillance Society* (New York: NYU Press, 2017).

though traces of their pseudo-investigation remain scattered on image sharing websites.[398]

There are also crucial components of the narrative that add to the complexity of its vigilantism. Journalists and government officials would go on to criticize the crowd-sleuthing, in part, because it supposedly forced the hand of FBI Special Agent Richard DesLauriers, who had to release images of the Tsarnaev Brothers in order to curtail this public participation. What is a bit problematic about this story is that DesLauriers released the images with a statement asking both police *and* citizens to be on the lookout, hailing their participation once more.[399] And arguably, the event triggered another source of vigilantism, though it would not be framed that way in any popular press: the police assault on Watertown, Massachusetts. When Boston police trapped Tsarnaev in Watertown, over 2,300 armed law enforcement officers flooded the city from neighboring counties and states in order to get a piece of the action. Many "self-deployed" to Watertown, which resulted in a chaotic breakdown in communication and chain of command, as well as inappropriate use of weaponry and friendly fire.[400] A *New York Times* film review of

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[398] Although the original posts are locked, traces can still be accessed on Imgur, the image sharing host site frequently used by Reddit users. One post entitled "Marathon Bomb" was re-uploaded after the shutdown so other Redditors could see the user's speculative ballistics analysis via press images of the Marathon. gdhdshhd, "Marathon Bomb," imgur, April 18, 2013, accessed June 23, 2017, http://imgur.com/a/BBDZ9.

[399] Richard DesLauriers, "Remarks of Special Agent in Charge Richard DesLauriers at Press Conference on Bombing Investigation," Federal Bureau of Investigation, April 18, 2013, accessed June 24, 2017, https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/boston/press-releases/2013/remarks-of-special-agent-in-charge-richard-deslauriers-at-press-conference-on-bombing-investigation-1.

[400] Richard A. Oppel Jr., "Report Details Flawed Law Enforcement Response to Marathon Bombings," *New York Times*, April 3, 2015, accessed August 2, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/ 04/us/report-details-flawed-law-enforcement-response-to-marathon-bombings.html; "Excerpts from the Marathon bombing report," *Boston Globe*, April 3, 2015, accessed July 2, 2017, https://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2015/04/03/ boston-marathon-report-cites-police-bravery-but-finds-dangerous-crossfire-police-and-many-officers-who-self-

*Patriot's Day* (2016), a film depicting the Boston Marathon bombing, notes that this version of the Watertown shootout got it right, even though most critics dismissed the sequence for being "overdramatized."[401]

Similar conversations regarding the ethics and dangers of crowd-sleuthing emerged in August 2017 following a "Unite the Right" white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. Protesting the removal of a commemorative statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee, hundreds of white nationalists marched with tiki torches on the University of Virginia campus, chanting racist slogans: "You will not replace us" and the Nazi-referenced "Blood and Soil." Press took photographs and video. On the following day, one counterprotester—Heather Heyer—was killed. In response, popular twitter user @YesYoureRacist (run by Logan Smith), launched an exposure campaign.[402] Focusing on verified press images, @YesYoureRacist called upon his followers to collectively help identify and "out" the marchers on the University of Virginia campus:

> They're not wearing hoods anymore — they're out in the open…And if they're proud to stand with KKK members and neo-Nazis and anti-government militias, then I think the community should know who they are."[403]

The twitter feed displayed the results of the collective research: a number of marchers

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deployed/z2kGI4MiwUpwdcMVqcMCwI/story.html.

[401] Katharine Q. Seelye, "'Patriots Day' Disconnect between Bostonians and the Rest of Us" *New York Times*, January 13, 2017, accessed June 23, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/13/movies/patriots-day-disconnect-between-bostonians-and-the-rest-of-us.html.

[402] Camila Domonoske, "On the Internet, Everyone Knows 'You're Racist': Twitter Account IDs Marchers," The Two-Way. NPR, August 14, 2017, accessed August 20, 2017, http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/08/14/543418271/on-the-internet-everyone-knows-you-re-a-racist-twitter-account-ids-marchers.

[403] Laura Sydell, "Some are Troubled by Online Shaming of Charlottesville Rally Participants," All Tech Considered. NPR, August 15, 2017, accessed August 21, 2017, http://www.npr.org/sections/alltechconsidered/2017/08/15/543566757/twitter-account-names-and-shames-far-right-activists-at-charlottesville.

were identified, as well as their places of work and school, which were notified of their participation in the march via LinkedIn, Facebook, and other social media. Press made specific parallels to the Boston Marathon Bombing issue when @YesYoureRacist misidentified University of Arkansas engineering professor Kyle Quinn, who received threats and harassment, as a result.[404] Both the subreddit and the Twitter anti-racists doxxed their suspects not to help the police, but exert power and authority over those *they* felt violated the law.

What received less press coverage of Charlottesville was the independent citizen investigation of Shaun King, a Black Lives Matter activist who used his large Twitter and Facebook following to track down the identities of criminal white nationalists. During the Saturday protest in Charlottesville, a number of counter-protesters captured smart phone video of six white nationalist supporters assaulting 20-year-old Deandre Harris in a parking structure. These assailants left the scene of the crime and Harris required numerous staples and hospital care. Angry and disturbed at the lack of police follow-up, King shared multiple videos of the assault on his various social media outlets and urged his followers to provide any information as to the suspects' identities. In an interview with the *Washington Post*, King reveals his astonishment that local, state, and federal law enforcement relied on his findings to do their job:

> It was surreal. The only thing they knew about the attackers was stuff they got from my [social media] timelines!...Something had me thinking that the FBI was so sophisticated, that they were running these photos through databases. But they openly said that the only guys they knew were the two guys I had identified. My thought was, 'This can't be real.'"[405]

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[404] Daniel Victor, "Amateur Sleuths aim to identify Charlottesville Marchers, but sometimes misfire," *New York Times*, August 14, 2017, accessed August 31, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/14/us/ charlottesville-doxxing.html

[405] Ian Shapira, "Finding the white supremacist who beat a black man in Charlottesville,"

As of this writing, two of the six assaulters have been identified and arrested, but not without King's detective work and his repeated and widespread complaints about how the entire assault was not being handled. There are at least two key observations that can be made of King's statement: first, his disbelief regarding the FBI highlights, in part, the pervasive assumption we may have about the supposed independent sophistication of our policing institutions and their professional methods. Second, the increasing number of everyday citizens filming abuse gestures towards a crucial, emergent conversation in surveillance of police procedures: the amplified use of sousveillance.

Sousveillance is complicating public and press perceptions of what police work truly looks like. The American public would witness an increased mediation of police work—not through the eyes of TV partnerships or PR moves—but captured on the smart phone cameras of everyday witnesses to police brutality and violence against Black Americans. Since the police shooting and death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri on August 9, 2014, both *Vox* and *The Washington Post* have begun taking tallies of such records and the year-to-year results are sobering and disheartening.[406] The American Civil Liberties Union provides video capturing applications to support a civilian protocol that suggests one

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*Washington Post*, August 31, 2017, accessed August 31, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/finding-the-white-supremacists-who-beat-a-black-man-in-charlottesville/2017/08/31/9f36e762-8cfb-11e7-84c0-02cc069f2c37_story.html.

[406] German Lopez and Soo Oh, "Police have shot and killed at least 2,902 people since Ferguson," *Vox*, May 17, 2017, accessed August 2, 2017, https://www.vox.com/a/police-shootings-ferguson-map; Fatal Force Database, *Washington Post*, accessed August 3, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/police-shootings-2017/. *The Washington Post's* Fatal Force Database tracks the number of people who have been shot and killed by police from 2015-2017.

should always be ready to record police, even if not the target of any discrimination.[407] Although police brutality and its representation are nothing new, the ubiquity of these videos has come to take on a disturbing formulaic quality.

To be clear, these images threaten the procedural ideal that all my case studies worked so hard to cultivate: police procedures are infallible and just. These videos capture a different sight of police work: those that precede and immediately follow the final moments of black lives at the hands of police. For some, these videos prove what they believe they have long known—that the disproportionate application of police aggression against men and women of color is as much of a procedure of policing as interviewing witnesses or taking fingerprints. For others, the videos have disabused them of nostalgic notions of police work entirely, or at least make it difficult to reconcile one's notions of policing with the actions that play out.

At the same time, discourse around these images has exposed presumptions about procedures and the proper way to act. Police procedures order our behavior and perceptions of what we should or should not so if police were to use those procedures against us. The most conservative takes on these videos use them as examples of civilian protocol gone wrong—people should know by now how to properly respond to police—rather than any malfeasance on behalf of the law enforcement. In fact, a quick take on the current events of police brutality and shootings of unarmed Black men and women often

[407] Danielle Wiener-Bronner, "ACLU builds a new app to start conversation around policing," CNN Tech Online, March 15, 2017, accessed August 31, 2017, http://money.cnn.com/2017/03/15/technology/aclu-blue-app-policing/index.html. The article discusses two applications: Mobile Justice (videos that will be sent directly to ACLU as possible evidence) and ACLU Blue (from ACLU Texas, this app captures videos that will be shared publicly).

relies on the perceived infallibility of procedures as a way of justifying police actions. If the status quo demands that police and authority are in the right, then a dominant reading that often emerges is that someone else—the victim—was in the wrong. Moreover, whether or not one feels they can avoid addressing such incidences in conversation, the economic responsibility still exists. The American public is often expected (through taxation) to provide the funds for municipalities' *civil* settlements in the face of alleged police wrongdoing, even while the systems of *criminal* accountability remain stagnant, and court cases against officers routinely end in mistrial, acquittal, or the lack of even an indictment.[408]

This has a way revealing a telling cultural frame of discourse: of those killed by police, which persons are criminalized and which persons victimized? Unfortunately, there are too many examples of late for this line of consideration, so I will necessary limit my focus: the coverage of the deaths of 32-year-old Philando Castile on July 6, 2016 and of 40-year-old Justine Damond on July 15, 2017. Both Castile and Damond lived in the Twin Cities area and died at the hands of police officers' gunfire. However, the wildly different responses to their individual deaths—Castile, a Black man, and Damond, a white woman—provide a snapshot of public and press perceptions of police procedure and their valid and invalid use against particular persons.

What would seem to be the most routine police procedure—a traffic stop—becomes the site of repeated violations of civil rights and brutality. In Falcon Heights, Minnesota,

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[408] Daniel Marans, "$6 Million Is The Going Rate For Killing Unarmed Black People," *Huffington Post*, April 25, 2016, accessed August 2, 2017, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/6-million-tamir-rice-settlement_us_571e552ae4b0d0042da9e12e.

Castile was pulled over by police for a broken taillight, with his fiancée Diamond Reynolds and their four-year-old daughter in the car. Officer Jeronimo Yanez approached the car on Castile's side, asking if there were any weapons in the car. A National Rifle Association member, Castile declared that he had a permitted firearm and went to provide the officer his identification. Officer Yanez shot into the car multiple times, hitting Castile. Reynolds, in fear for her life, began live-streaming the immediate aftermath of the event on Facebook, including Castile's final moments alive. Thousands of people would witness these final moments, viewing and disseminating the video to other online platforms. The public would later find out police ordered the car to pull over having mistaken Castile for a robbery suspect. St. Anthony Police Chief Jon Mangseth would stand behind the Department and Yanez specifically, speaking highly of the officer's people skills and ethical judgment.[409] Press scrutiny of the police department would reveal that they had vastly, disproportionately arrested Black residents.[410] Press coverage would also reveal that Castile himself was stopped fifty-two times for variety of alleged traffic violations—for many, evidence of racial targeting.[411] Despite what some activists would perceive as a violation of Castile's Second Amendment rights, the NRA would remain quiet and not offer

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[409] "He has a real sound ability when it comes to communicating and relating to people," Mangseth said. "He showed me that he could shine in that public eye." "Minnesota Police Chief Defends Officer in July Shooting Death of Philando Castile," NBC News Online, August 17, 2016, accessed August 20, 2017, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/minnesota-police-chief-defends-officer-july-shooting-death-philando-castile-n633206.

[410] Ibid. "While just 7 percent of the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area is black, nearly half of the St. Anthony police's arrests in the first half of 2016 were of black people, according to an AP analysis of arrest data provided by the department."

[411] Larry McShane, "Philando Castile stopped by cops in Minnesota 52 times in past 14 years for a slew of misdemeanors," *New York Daily News*, July 9, 2016, accessed August 2, 2017, http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/philando-castile-stopped-cops-52-times-14-years-article-1.2705348.

their support or condemnation. The emergent narrative from police and their supporters was that Officer Yanez was in fear for his life and Castile should have known better. Yanez would be acquitted of all charges, though he fired by the St. Anthony Police Department the same day. His acquittal was celebrated across the social media accounts of "Blue Lives Matter," who believed justice had prevailed with the exoneration of the officer. For others, such as Castile's mother Valerie, the acquittal served as a reminder that officers will be protected within the systems supposedly meant to protect the public.

Whereas Castile's behavior would be in question as properly following procedure, Justine Damond's would be seen as a victim of procedures gone wrong. A little over a year later, from the Fulton neighborhood of Minneapolis, Justine Damond would call police to report overhearing a possible domestic disturbance or sexual assault behind her place of residence. When police arrived, she allegedly slapped the police car's side before walking up to the car's driver side window.[412] Officer Mohamed Noor shot outside the police car door, fatally wounding Damond. Though the Minneapolis Police Department requires officers to wear body cameras on their uniforms, Damond's death would not be captured on camera. Regardless, a specific discourse quickly emerged almost unilaterally across popular press: the Australian "Bride-to-be" was the victim of untrained, trigger-happy police officers, a categorization not afforded to Castile or any previous Black victim with such fervency.[413] There was little public contemplation as to whether or not Damond

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[412] Katie Mettler, "Woman 'slapped' police car before Minneapolis officer fatally shot Justine Damond, search warrant says," *Washington Post*, July 26, 2017, accessed August 2, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/07/26/woman-slapped-police-car-before-minneapolis-officer-fatally-shot-justine-damond-search-warrant-says/.

[413] Julia Craven, "America has finally found its 'perfect victim' of a police shooting," *Huffington Post*, July 26, 2017, accessed August 4, 2017,

should have approached the police vehicle to appear less threatening or whether she in any way was to blame for the police officer's actions, as with Castile.

The Damond family would retain Robert Bennett, the Castile family's own lawyer. In interviews, Bennett would declare Damond to be "the most innocent victim" of police violence before elaborating, "I'm not saying Philando wasn't innocent too…But here is someone who called the police and was trying to stop someone from being hurt…and ends up being shot in her pajamas."[414] Damond's innocence would be tied to her being a good citizen and following the apparent chain of authority. Minneapolis Police Chief Janee Harteau would begin her press conference stating, "Justine didn't have to die," before placing the blame of the entire incident on Officer Noor's singular decisions that night as opposed to Minneapolis Police training.[415] Harteau resigned as police chief shortly thereafter. Despite the fact that Officer Noor would claim the same defense as Yanez—he was in fear for his life—Noor would not receive any support or defense from the "Blue Lives Matter" community. It is not coincidental that Noor was the first Somali-American officer to serve in his Minneapolis precinct, joining the department in 2015.[416] The conservative right, typically pro-police in the preponderance of these recent incidences,

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http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/america-has-finally-found-its-perfect-victim-of-a-police-shooting_us_5978ef3ce4b0da64e8760c0b.

[414] Hannah Covington, "Shooting 'clearly an improper use of deadly force,' says attorney for Justine Damond's family," *Star Tribune*, July 21, 2017, accessed August 4, 2017, http://www.startribune.com/shooting-clearly-improper-use-of-deadly-force-attorney-for-justine-damond-family-says-justine-ruszczyk/435657923/.

[415] Andy Mannix and Emma Nelson, "Justine Damond 'didn't have to die,' says Minneapolis Police Chief Janee Harteau," *Star Tribune*, July 21, 2017, accessed August 2, 2017, http://www.startribune.com/justine-damond-didnt-have-to-die-says-minneapolis-police-chief-janee-harteau-justine-ruszczyk/435651393/.

[416] Janice Williams, "Shot by Police: Family of Australian Woman Killed in Minnesota Hire Philando Castile Case lawyer," *Newsweek*, July 21, 2017, accessed August 31, 2017, http://www.newsweek.com/justine-damond-lawyer-philando-castile-640342.

would in this case argue instead that the entire incident would have been avoided if not for Minneapolis PD's "diversity hire," and additionally speculate that perhaps Damond was killed for religious reasons (Noor is Muslim).[417] As of this writing, the case is still under investigation.

With these details in mind, to understand the viability of procedural play now must contend with the most prevailing images of police work that exist now. As it stands, the general public perception of American law enforcement and police procedures is fractured. That is not to say that police brutality is new concern by any means. In the case of procedural play, however, it is difficult to associate police procedure outside of police violence when these counter images consistently disrupt and counter nostalgic ideals of policing institutions. Some consider that law and order institutions are broken and so the possibility of better communication, better training, and better procedures can possibly repair what has been splintered. There have been numerous think-pieces on police training for the new age.[418] The heart of these arguments is twofold: policing institutions are

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[417] Leon Neyfakh, "The Most Innocent Victim," *Slate*, July 24, 2017, accessed August 2, 2017, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/crime/2017/07/the_response_to_justine_damond_s_killing_by_mohamed_noor.html.

[418] While not an exhaustive list, the following provides a range of longform pieces speculating about police training: Juleyka Lantigua-Williams, "How much can better training do to improve policing," *The Atlantic*, July 13, 2016, accessed August 2, 2017, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/07/police-training/490556/better; Kimberly Kindy, "Creating Guardians, Calming Warriors: A new style of training for police recruits emphasizes techniques to better de-escalate conflict situations," *Washington Post*, December 10, 2015, accessed, August 2, 2017, http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/investigative/2015/ 12/10/new-style-of-police-training-aims-to-produce-guardians-not-warriors/; Holly Yan, "States require more training time to become a barber than a police officer," CNN, September 28, 2016, accessed August 31, 2017, http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/28/us/jobs-training-police-trnd/index.html; Edwin Pantoja, "Better officer training would prevent excess use of force," *USA Today*, March 21, 2016, accessed July 2, 2017, https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/policing/spotlight/2016/03/21/police-training-use-of-force/82102286/; and Sandy Banks, "Horrific videos aren't solving police

currently damaged, but with the proper training and revised procedures, they can be fixed. What kind of training should police work take in the age of big data? Major metropolitan departments are increasingly forging partnerships with private companies to make policing easier and safer, but not necessarily more humane.[419] At the same time, police departments all over the United States are gaining access to military tools and substituting greater force capabilities for better communication.[420] It is not particularly encouraging that a Disney Pixar film intended for children is doing the heavy lifting of equity training and racial bias for police departments; namely, recent press reports reveal that at least one police department has used *Zootopia* (2016) as a official training aide.[421]

On the other end of that spectrum is the suggestion that policing institutions are not fractured, but rather that the discrimination inherent in their design is finally being revealed. Author Ta-Nehisi Coates declares: "I think our criminal justice system is working as intended. I don't know that anything is broken at all."[422] A year before, Minneapolis artist

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shootings, but better training might," *Los Angeles Times*, July 2, 2017, accessed July 5, 2017, http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-banks-police-shooting-verdicts-20170702-story.html.

[419] William Alden, "There's a Fight Brewing between the NYPD and Silicon Valley's Palantir," Buzzfeed News, June 28, 2017, accessed July 1, 2017, https://www.buzzfeed.com/williamalden/theres-a-fight-brewing-between-the-nypd-and-silicon-valley?utm_term=.pjve6kNPm#.wcPEkQgPx; Yaniv Mor, "Big Data and Law Enforcement: Was 'Minority Report' Right?" Wired, March 2014, accessed August 2, 2017, https://www.wired.com/insights/2014/03/big-data-law-enforcement-minority-report-right/.

[420] Adam Goldman, "Trump Reverses Restrictions on Military Hardware for Police," The New York Times, Aug 28, 2017, accessed August 30, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/28/us/politics/trump-police-military-surplus-equipment.html.

[421] Maury Glover, "St. Paul police screen 'Zootopia' as part of anti-bias training," Fox 9 Online, July 8, 2017, accessed August 3, 2017, http://www.fox9.com/news/259936224-story.

[422] "The American Justice System Isn't Broken – It's Doing Exactly What It's Designed to Do," *Patheos*, Sept 16, 2015, accessed July 4, 2017, http://www.patheos.com/blogs/paperbacktheology2015/09/the-american-justice-system-isnt-broken-its-doing-exactly-

Misty Rowan made similar observations: "Make no mistake, the justice system isn't broken, it was built to work this way…this is not about just a few bad apples who've misbehaved. This is how the police are trained."[423] Where public opinions fall within this dichotomy depends on how one conceives of the police and whom they are meant to serve. Whether or not we are willing to engage (or admit our engagement) in procedural play does not mean we do not bear the traces of its influence in the way we look at the world.

Digging into these microhistories, I aimed to have shed light on *how* everyday non-specialists might find themselves playing the part of a citizen detective, as this is a necessary foundation to ever making sense of *why* they might do it. Going forward, I hope this research will aid in better understand the relationship between procedural play and its inscription of citizenship: who is encouraged to play detective, who plays the part of suspected criminals, and who is absent from these systems altogether.

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what-its-designed-to-do-2.html#Z9CfttCgugsHiOqz.99.

[423] Bill Sorem, "White Privilege: "The Justice System Isn't Broken, It was Built to Work this way," *The Uptake*, December 16, 2014, accessed August 1, 2017, http://theuptake.org/2014/12/16/white-privilege-the-justice-system-isnt-broken-it-was-built-to-work-this-way/.

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