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# Narrating 'Our Criminal Past' at Greater Manchester Police Museum and Archives in the Context of the UK Government Funded Tackling Knives Action Programme (TKAP) 2009-2011

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**NARRATING 'OUR CRIMINAL PAST' AT GREATER  
MANCHESTER POLICE MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES IN THE  
CONTEXT OF THE UK GOVERNMENT FUNDED TACKLING  
KNIVES ACTION PROGRAMME (TKAP) 2009-2011**

***Beth Wilburn***<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract**

The Tackling Knives Action Programme (TKAP) ran in England and Wales from 2008-2011 and aimed to reduce serious violence involving youths through nationwide and local initiatives. At Greater Manchester Police (GMP) Museum and Archives, TKAP funded the temporary creation of an Education Officer, whose remit was to use heritage to reach out to young people in different communities in Greater Manchester, and continue to break down barriers between them and police officers at GMP. This was attempted through a schools outreach programme in partnership with police officers, and supported by teacher resource packs, and tours and workshops held in the Museum. However, the Education Officer was also involved in the day-to-day running of the Museum and several community engagement projects not always involving young people. The effectiveness of the TKAP funded role was difficult to assess as evaluation produced more qualitative than quantitative data. Moreover evidence for some discrepancies between work that was funded for and actual work carried out indicate the challenge the Museum faced in maintaining a sensitive portrayal of heritage balanced against the need to retain avenues of funding.

**Keywords:** youth crime, Tackling Knives Action Programme, community project, museum and heritage pedagogy, Greater Manchester Police Museum and Archives

**Introduction**

The following article explores work carried out at Greater Manchester Police (GMP) Museum and Archives by an Education Officer between April 2009 and May 2011. The creation of the post was made possible through TKAP funding in order that narratives of the history of crime and policing could be used as a tool to prevent youth crime, by engaging with young people both inside and outside the classroom. Moreover, the creation of the Education Officer's position enabled the Museum to participate in various community engagement projects which did not always involve young people, but focused on local communities around Greater Manchester and

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minority groups. In turn it meant that the Museum could extend its role not only as a preserver of collections, and a visitor attraction but as a facilitator of learning.<sup>2</sup>

Financed by the Home Office, TKAP ran in England and Wales from 2008-2011 and aimed to reduce serious violence involving 13 to 24-year-olds using a range of 'enforcement, education and prevention' initiatives.<sup>3</sup> Knife crime in particular was emphasised and 'the central aims of the programme were to reduce the carrying of knives, serious stabbings amongst teenagers, and reduce homicides in ten police force areas in England and Wales.'<sup>4</sup> The 'enforcement, education and prevention' activities were carried out at both national and local levels. Nationwide initiatives 'included anti-knife campaigns as well as the development and publicizing of tougher sentences for carrying a knife.'<sup>5</sup>

TKAP funding was awarded by the Home Office to GMP to spend focused on their Manchester, Bolton, Wigan and Oldham divisions. The money subsidised a host of local initiatives across these areas such as: the Moss Side Fire Station Boxing Club, whose members were or had been in gangs; the New Hope Football Partnership Project; 'Operation Sherry' that dealt with town centre binge drinking; the 2010 World Cup Community Safety Campaign; Operation Lockdown (which involved the installation of knife arches in town centres and in some schools); and Operation Gateway where police officers, ticket inspectors and youth workers together targeted individuals committing fare evasion and identity fraud offences, leading to the detection of anti-social behaviour, truancy and knife crime.<sup>6</sup> From the TKAP budget £15,000 was awarded to the Museum to pay for my post for one year. The funding was renewed the following year and altogether my role as Education Officer at the Museum was financed from January 2009-May 2011.

The principal remit of my role was to use heritage to reach out to young people in different communities in Greater Manchester and continue to break down barriers

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<sup>2</sup> Lorraine Foreman-Peck and Kate Travers, 'What is distinctive about museum pedagogy and how can museums best support learning in schools? An action research inquiry into the practice of three regional museums,' *Education Action Research*, 21(1), (2013) 29.

<sup>3</sup> Liz Ward et al, *An Assessment of the Tackling Knives and Serious Youth Violence Action Programme (TKAP) - Phase II* (Research Report 53, Home Office, London, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Emmeline Taylor, 'Tackling Knives Action Programme: Key findings,' *The Journal of Community and Criminal Justice*, 57 (2010) 187.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor, 'Tackling Knives', 187.

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth Wilburn, 'TKAP3/Serious Youth violence Best Practice Guide, Second Draft,' unpublished report, Greater Manchester Police Museum and Archives, Manchester, 2011, 3-6.

between them and police officers at GMP. I did this by engaging with young people inside the classroom, through a school outreach programme and writing resources for teachers, and outside the classroom by hosting various tours and workshops within the Museum building. However, in working as the Museum's Education Officer my role incorporated many other responsibilities related to the day-to-day running of the museum and community engagement projects not necessarily involving youths.

## **1 The Greater Manchester Police Museum and Archives**

In order to establish the context of the Museum's outreach programme, and workshops and tours that I facilitated within the Museum building it is useful at this point to describe what sort of visitor attraction the Museum is, what place it has within the GMP organisation, and its role with the local community. Situated in a relatively quiet corner of Manchester's city centre in the bohemian Northern Quarter, amongst popular newly-opened bars and shops selling vintage wares, the Museum is housed in a former police station that was founded on Newton Street in 1879. The building encompasses an original Victorian charge office and cell corridor, Magistrate's Court, several galleries exhibiting police vehicles, uniforms, equipment and crime-related artefacts; and an archives and search room.<sup>7</sup> The Museum currently employs two full-time members of staff: the Curator and the Museum Officer and around 20 volunteers consisting of mainly retired police officers and several arts and heritage students.<sup>8</sup>

The Museum was opened on Newton Street in 1981 with a single member of staff, Duncan Broady, on a site shared with the GMP Photography Unit and an enquiries desk. An archaeology graduate, his placement was originally funded by the then Conservative government's Youth Training Scheme, it became a permanent position and he still works as the museum's Curator today. What began in 1981 as a couple of shelves of gruesome objects, remnants of crime investigations, such as bone fragments and a jar containing a pickled thumb, is now a sophisticated establishment housing an extensive range of police archives and a heritage destination in its own right.

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<sup>7</sup> The Magistrate's Court was removed from a police station in the Greater Manchester suburb of Denton before its demolition in 2002. It was renovated and re-erected in what was Newton Street Police Station's training room.

<sup>8</sup> The process for applying to volunteer has recently been centralised through GMP's Human Resources department; it can take up to six months for a volunteer to be cleared to work at the museum. When I started as a volunteer back in 2008 it took one week as the curator and museum officer hired volunteers directly.

The Museum is part of the Corporate Communications branch of GMP. When I joined the museum as a volunteer in October 2008 and was subsequently offered a full-time temporary three month position as an Education Officer (I was completing a Masters in History and had a background in teaching, so was considered ideal for the post) it was subsidised by a departmental under-spend. The Museum's dual role as a preserver of local heritage and an organ of GMP's Public Relations department is reflected by the mission statement on their website:

Funded by Greater Manchester Police, it not only collects and preserves archive material and objects relating to the history of policing in the Greater Manchester area, but acts as an important resource for community engagement, where visitors can talk to staff and volunteers about policing.<sup>9</sup>

Before the three months of my initial contract elapsed myself and my colleagues endeavoured to secure funding to extend it. An extra member of staff had become indispensable over the previous months. Finally a proper outreach programme to schools in Greater Manchester was possible and I was extensively involved in the day-to-day running of the museum, and carried out duties that included: acting as a group guide, answering the phone, and staffing the front desk and gift shop on open days. One group of school children I guided around the building was brought to the museum by the Chief Inspector who was heading the Tackling Knives Action Programme in GMP and was responsible for the distribution of its budget within the force. Meeting this officer enabled me to secure further funding for my employment, as he could see the potential for my role promoting the work of TKAP within schools.

As noted earlier, my remit within the context of TKAP was to help young people by using heritage, and to improve relationships between them and Greater Manchester police officers. Museum objects and the distinctive nature of the Museum building itself were the principal tools employed to attempt this task.<sup>10</sup> Using such devices had the potential to produce beneficial results. Henriika Vartiainen and Jorma Enkenberg argue in their article on 'learning from and with museum objects' that museums can provide an alternative learning environment to the classroom which through their informal nature enhance 'collaboration, creativity and problem solving' skills in

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<sup>9</sup> <http://www.gmpmuseum.com/> (January, 2014). Please note that this website no longer exists and the new website for Greater Manchester Police Museum and Archives can be accessed at <http://s367873952.websitehome.co.uk/w/> (August, 2014).

<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth Wilburn, 'My Role at GMP Museum and Archives,' unpublished report, Greater Manchester Police Museum and Archives, Manchester, 2010, 1-2.

students and prepare them for 'meaningful and productive lives.'<sup>11</sup> Lorraine Foreman-Peck and Kate Travers in their paper on museum pedagogy add that 'museums have the freedom and potentiality to adapt their services to provide learning experiences that both complement and challenge school-based delivery to inspire pupils and staff.'<sup>12</sup> My outreach sessions in schools, using handling objects, both complemented the National Curriculum, particularly the Personal, Social, and Health Education (PSHE) and History syllabuses and challenged 'school-based' delivery by broaching the emotive issue of knife-crime.

## **2 Heritage Outreach as an Educational Tool**

In 2009 and 2010 altogether I visited 56 schools in the Greater Manchester area and spoke to around 4000 children as part of the Museum's outreach programme. I would either visit the schools unaccompanied or with police officers as part of the Neighbourhood Policing Teams (NPTs) and Safer Schools Partnerships (SSPs) schemes. One of the principles behind neighbourhood policing was 'the presence of visible, accessible and locally known figures in neighbourhoods, in particular police constables and police community support officers.'<sup>13</sup> Moreover, Safer School Partnerships were recognised as 'an important part of neighbourhood policing' in so far as they played a central role 'in supporting the triple track approach of enforcement, prevention and support.'<sup>14</sup> Officers participating either in NPTs or SSPs aimed to be a non-confrontational presence in schools avoiding the negative connotations of police officers in schools highlighted in Andrew Briers 2002 paper on school-based officers. He argued for a 'change of culture towards the work of police in schools' as 'the reality in the UK is that schools that have police officers onsite are viewed as troubled schools with a bad reputation.'<sup>15</sup> My attendance in schools with the police officers, as a heritage worker, further ensured the tone was an educational or even 'fun' departure from the school timetable. I also used my teaching experience to provide police officers with informal training on how to interact with students in the classroom. Essentially the Museum outreach programme enabled police officers to

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<sup>11</sup> Henriikka Vartiainen and Jorma Enkenberg, 'Learning from and with museum objects: design perspectives, environment, and emerging learning systems,' *Education Technology Research & Development*, 61 (2013), 842.

<sup>12</sup> Foreman-Peck and Travers, 'What is distinctive about museum pedagogy', 36.

<sup>13</sup> Home Office, *Research Report: Delivering neighbourhood policing in partnership* (61, Home Office, London, 2012), 2.

<sup>14</sup> Home Office, *Safer School Partnerships Guidance* (Home Office, London, 2009) 4.

<sup>15</sup> Andrew Briers, 'School-based police officers: What can the UK learn from the USA?' *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 5(2) (2003) 140.

increase their visibility within schools and interact with young people in a positive environment.

The school outreach sessions which utilised a variety of handling items and uniform from the Museum collection, had a variety of themes and related in particular to the PSHE and History curriculums. My sessions at primary schools included 'People Who Help Us' with Early Years, 'Victorian Policing' often as part of a Victorian day at the school and 'Policing in World War Two' with Year 4 (aged 8-9). The 'People Who Help Us' sessions facilitated the introduction of police officers to children aged 4-7; and by handling museum artefacts and modern police equipment children learnt to tell the difference between old and new items and learnt how to recognise a police officer by their uniform and equipment as a safe adult that they could approach in public spaces if they were in need of help. Sessions such as 'Victorian Policing' would allow police officers to visit all the year groups in a school within an informal and friendly context comparing their current operational role with that of their Victorian predecessors. At secondary schools I conducted sessions on the history of gangs and crime and policing, but I also looked at prisons and abolition of the death penalty and Jack the Ripper with GCSE students (aged 14-16 years old); and visited specialist Special Educational Needs (SEN) and Emotional Behavioural Disorders (EBD) schools. The talks I gave at schools exploring the history of gangs in the Manchester area were the only sessions where I directly tackled the issue of knife-crime by discussing how knives had been used by young people to perpetrate violent crime in the area more than 100 years ago as well as today. However these sessions were in the minority and my outreach programme was dominated by visits to primary schools.<sup>16</sup>

To support my outreach sessions I wrote a variety of resource packs for teachers such as: *A Police Officer's Day* for Key Stage 1 and 2 Citizenship classes (with students aged 4-7 years old), a *Primary School Resource Pack* (which included a museum tour and courtroom role-play). For senior school students my topics included the *'Aliens' Registers, The History of Substance Misuse, Suffragettes and the First Women Police* and a *'Scuttlers' Resource Pack*.<sup>17</sup> The last item, which drew from the academic research presented in Andrew Davies' book *The Gangs of Manchester*, intended to tackle violent youth crime by drawing parallels with youth

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<sup>16</sup> Wilburn, *My Role at GMP Museum and Archives*, 1-5.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 2.

gangs in late nineteenth century Manchester and could be delivered using handling items from the Museum.<sup>18</sup> It aimed to de-glamorise modern gang lifestyle by illustrating that participating in gang crime was an old-fashioned rather than modern way of life and that issues around knife crime have a historical precedent.

My visits to schools were only one facet of the Museum outreach programme as I was involved in a range of community engagement events and projects. Lawrence Cassidy in his project using material culture in Salford, where a huge loss of sense of place has occurred over the past 40 years due to 'the vast majority of the architectural fabric' having 'been erased', has illustrated how handling objects can be used to empower the local community.<sup>19</sup> He argues that 'in the absence of the physical environment' material culture used in 'low-budget, meaningful interactive exhibitions...can engage residents in debate and reflection regarding the intricate details of the area and issues being faced today.'<sup>20</sup> Similarly in the community policing events I participated in across Greater Manchester, areas which have also seen radical urban change, the museum artefacts gave visitors the opportunity to engage with their lost past. I displayed a stall of handling items at these events where people in the local area could meet their NPTs. Artefacts such as old hand cuffs, police truncheons and lamps were used as ice-breakers allowing members of the public to enter into friendly discussion with police officers and go on to talk about issues effecting their local community such as youths perpetrating anti-social behaviour.

Other community engagement projects I was involved in included visiting the Fatima Women's Association for young Muslims as part of GMP's community cohesion initiative and staffing a stand at the Greater Manchester Police Diversity Conference 2009, where GMP staff and officers were invited to explore issues concerning Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual and Transgender groups, Roma and people with mental illness within the community. I also spoke at the Jewish Genealogical Society Annual Conference 2010, regarding the Museum's '*Aliens' Registers* archive. This fascinating archive lists the personal details of migrants to the city of Salford during the period between the First World War and the 1960s. The historical narratives

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<sup>18</sup> Andrew Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester: The Story of the Scuttlers, Britain's First Youth Cult* (Milo Books, 2008).

<sup>19</sup> Lawrence Cassidy, 'Recalling Community: Using material culture and digital archives in Salford,' *Gateways: International Journal of Community Research and Engagement*, 5 (2012), 177.

<sup>20</sup> Cassidy, 'Recalling Community', 179-180.



contained within these documents not only provide excellent source material for Jewish family history, but were used as a means to promote community cohesion. I took them to Salford City College to use in a workshop with English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) students who had recently migrated from countries as diverse as Poland, China and Ghana. The feedback I received from the students centred on a general feeling of surprise that they were not the first migrants to arrive in Salford and that they could derive some comfort from this.<sup>21</sup>

### **3 Evaluation: Museums as ‘Spaces of Care’**

In a recent paper Ealasaid Munro has explored museums and community engagement programmes as ‘spaces of care’.<sup>22</sup> By looking at museums as spaces where not just objects, but people are cared for she draws ‘attention to the changing role of the museum in contemporary society’ as a tool for improving the public’s ‘health and wellbeing’.<sup>23</sup> The tours and workshops I conducted within the Museum building suited the requirements of learners across the age groups: from Primary and Secondary schools, SEN, ESOL, Adult Education, Further and Higher Education and Family Learning, and included interaction with vulnerable adults and marginalised youths.<sup>24</sup> Regarding the latter group the following case study illustrates how the Museum was used as a ‘space of care’ during the Greater Manchester Police Association (GMPA) Building Confidence Project. The project’s main aim was to use the historic fabric of building and historical narratives generated by that environment to break down barriers between young people in danger of committing crime or becoming victims of crime, and their NPTs.<sup>25</sup> The event was facilitated by the GMPA in partnership with GMP’s Forensics Department, local NPT and the Museum. Around fifteen youths were involved in the project the majority of which had recently received Anti-Social Behaviour Orders. We began with ice-breaker activities led by the GMPA including an activity entitled ‘Can you always spot a real police officer?’ aimed at challenging stereotypes. I then provided the group with a tour around the Museum starting with the transport gallery’s police vehicles exhibition, then the charge office where I conducted a handling item session, finishing with the Victorian cells and courtroom. The highlight of the day was the afternoon session run by

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Ealasaid Munro, “‘People just need to feel important, like someone is listening’”: Recognising museums’ community engagement programmes as spaces of care,’ *Geoforum*, 48 (2013), 54-62.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 61.

<sup>24</sup> Wilburn, *My Role at GMP Museum and Archives*, 2.

<sup>25</sup> Elizabeth Wilburn, ‘GMPA Building Confidence Project Evaluation,’ unpublished report, Greater Manchester Police Museum and Archives, Manchester, 2010, 1.

GMP's Forensics team, who set up a 'murder scene' in one of the cells, where the young people then worked in groups of three to solve the 'crime'.

I evaluated the project in the context of the potential improved learning and 'health and well-being' of the participants, utilising the Museum Libraries and Archives (MLA) Council's Generic Learning and Social Outcomes.<sup>26</sup> The GMPA's evaluation tool was an electronic voting device, which could be programmed with a set of questions only once. The device was programmed with questions aimed at the general public's response to their NPTs (it included questions such as 'do you know the name of your local neighbourhood police officer?' and participants had to select one of four multiple choice answers). Although the device itself was innovative, the questions were mostly irrelevant and a flip-chart and show of hands may have been more effective for obtaining valuable feedback from the young people involved in the project. This highlights how difficult it can be to evaluate such projects quantitatively and, although the GMPA Building Confidence Project was not directly a part of the TKAP activities in Greater Manchester, it demonstrates how similar TKAP initiatives could also have been difficult to evaluate.

Qualitative information was easier to obtain and the feedback the Museum received regarding my role in the project stated:

As regards your input on behalf of the museum, it was one of the most popular parts of the session for the young people as they really enjoyed seeing the equipment that used to be used as well as the courtroom etc. It gave the young people an excellent opportunity to gain an insight into how the role of police officers has changed over the years and what a difficult job they still have despite the advances in equipment and resources.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The Generic Learning Outcomes focus upon knowledge and understanding, skills, attitudes and values, enjoyment, inspiration and creativity and activity, behaviour and progression. Within this context the GMPA project showed evidence of: knowing, learning and deepening understanding about the role of the police; making links between actions and consequences; developing communication and analytical skills; challenging preconceived perceptions of the police; building confidence and improving self-esteem; inspiring positive attitudes; enjoying fun activities such as the games and 'whodunit'; and being surprised – 'can you always spot a real police officer'? The Generic Social Outcomes centre upon stronger and safer communities, health and wellbeing and strengthening public life. The GMPA project demonstrated evidence of tackling the fear of anti-social behaviour by bringing together different groups of people to meet, talk and learn about each other; contributing to crime prevention and reduction – allowing community groups to gain confidence and skills and providing activities where young people can have fun/do positive activities.

<sup>27</sup> Lisa Buklovskis, GMPA Youth Engagement Officer quoted from: Wilburn, 'GMPA Building Confidence Project Evaluation,' 1-2.

Echoing the sentiments expressed in the Museum's mission statement there is an attempt here, by the GMPA spokesperson, to portray modern policing in a positive, even empathetic, light within the historical context of policing.

The issue of quantitative versus qualitative data has implications for all aspects of the work I carried out as the Museum's Education Officer, as overall the effectiveness of my role was hard to evaluate. I received plenty of encouraging qualitative feedback the positive tone of which can be ascertained by the following quotes:

Thank you so much for bringing your police equipment to our school. We have spent a lot of time since playing in our police station and writing about your visit. We now know how much you all do to help everybody (Gilnow Reception Class).

Thanks again for your wonderful lessons. Everyone, from Reception to Year six enjoyed their presentations and I have had positive feedback from lots of the children and the staff. As I put into the Bolton News I felt that your sessions were informative and interesting for all involved. The props you used and the information you gave were brilliant and I certainly couldn't improve on that. Good luck in the future and I hope we can see you again (Karen Campbell, The Valley Primary School, Bolton).

Thank you for having us today at the Museum we had a great time. I think the bikes, cars and uniform was very good. The truncheon was very useful to show us what they used for all those years ago. The best bike was the KTM 400. They used it for off road purpose (*sic*). If criminals were off the road to catch them! (Montell, Year 7, Lever Park EBD School, Horwich).

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for the brilliant presentation you gave our pupils. They really enjoyed seeing all the artefacts from past policing to modern policing, and now know there is a positive side to the police service (June Barker, Lever Park EBD School, Horwich).<sup>28</sup>

However, positive quantitative evaluation data was almost impossible to compile, over and above how many schools I visited and how many young people I talked to. Moreover in the sense that my role was funded as part of measures to reduce knife-crime and serious youth violence in Greater Manchester it is interesting to reflect upon Anthony Petrosino's article 'Scared Straight and Other Juvenile Awareness Programs for Preventing Juvenile Delinquency: A Systematic Review of the Randomized Experimental Evidence'. This paper argues that randomised tests demonstrate that intervention did more harm than good when sending young people on prison visits. What was meant to discourage criminal activity actually glamorised

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<sup>28</sup> Wilburn, *My Role at GMP Museum & Archives*, 3-4.

the criminal lifestyle and youths involved in the programme were shown to be more likely to commit crime; contrary to the original findings of the in-house evaluation:

The authors conclude that governments should institute rigorous programmes of research to ensure that well-intentioned treatments do not cause harm to the citizens they pledge to protect.<sup>29</sup>

## Conclusion

I find it impossible to surmise how far my work went to de-glamorise violent youth crime, if at all. This difficulty has not been confined to my TKAP-funded activities, as it has been suggested that it is problematic to evaluate the work of TKAP as a whole.

A report on the first phase of TKAP which ran from 2008-2009 warned:

Given the limited baseline, the provisional nature of some of the data, and the lack of statistically robust comparison areas, caution is advised when interpreting the figures and attributing change directly to TKAP.<sup>30</sup>

What can be established is that in a general sense police history was presented to the public, in order to portray modern policing in a positive context, and my work in schools may have made the police seem more approachable from the young person's perspective. The extent to which I could have used the history of criminal justice to inspire debate on contemporary knife crime may have been limited anyway, due to schools' reluctance to engage with the subject. The Kinsella report, published in February 2011, which assessed the effectiveness of anti-knife crime projects across the UK states:

The biggest concern that was voiced throughout my review by the schemes I spoke to was the fact that they are finding it extremely difficult to get into educational establishments to get across the anti-crime message. They felt that having knife crime workshops in their schools might give the impression that their school has a problem, which would affect the school's reputation.<sup>31</sup>

At the very least my work at GMP Museum and Archives revealed how criminal justice museums in the UK, have been called upon to diversify their avenues of funding.<sup>32</sup> Due to the current economic climate in the UK and the precarious state of museum finances it is hardly surprising that my TKAP funded role was largely used

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<sup>29</sup> Anthony Petrosino et al, 'Scared Straight and Other Juvenile Awareness Programs for Preventing Juvenile Delinquency: A Systematic Review of the Randomized Experimental Evidence,' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 589 (2003) 41.

<sup>30</sup> Taylor, 'Tackling Knives', 187.

<sup>31</sup> Brooke Kinsella, *Tackling knife crime together - a review of local anti-knife crime projects*, (Home Office, London, 2011) 2.

<sup>32</sup> Javier Stanziola, 'Some more equal than others: alternative financing for museums, libraries and archives in England,' *Cultural Trends*, 20(2) (2011), 113-148.

to deliver the Museum's core and secondary functions.<sup>33</sup> While there was a compromise between the work that was funded for and actual work carried out it was possible to maintain, to some extent, a sensitive portrayal of criminal justice history, as the sessions involving young people often included an element of reflection upon the progression from historic policing methods to modern policing methods. True to the principles behind TKAP the school outreach sessions, community engagement events, and Museum workshops and tours did break down barriers between police officers and the general public, in the sense that public engagement with policing heritage provided the initial contact point for opening dialogues between neighbourhood police officers and members of the community. However, it would have been difficult to explore a critical view of policing methods past or present during the sessions involving young people, which indicates a degree of historical bias. The case study of GMP Museum and Archives illustrates the challenges that criminal justice museums face in balancing the need to maintain and develop avenues of funding while preserving their integrity as guardians of policing heritage and 'Our Criminal Past'.

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<sup>33</sup> Simon Woodward, 'Funding museum agendas: challenges and opportunities,' *Managing Leisure*, 17 (2012), 14-28.