

Policing: An International Perspective

SOCI8014

First Semester, 2009-10

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Class Location: K. K. Leung Bldg. Rm. 1121
Class Time: Tuesdays, 6:45pm – 9:45pm

1. Course Description

This course examines policing in a broad social and cultural perspective. Our contemporary history is witness to profound changes in the world's political institutions, and transformations in policing are centrally important to these changes. In this course we will explore methods for making sense of such changes from an *anthropological* perspective: a perspective that understands policing as a constitutive element of historically dynamic societies. This approach to policing emerges from comparative study of the construction and reproduction of social order in diverse social settings. Over the twelve weeks of this semester we will undertake such a study, using it to develop a set of theoretical tools for making sense of the substantial connections that link policing institutions to their diverse social, cultural and historical contexts. The focus of our inquiry is defined by two questions: (1) What is the "police function"? (2) How has this function been involved in forming and transforming the modern nation-state? Using these questions as a focal point, we will read a series of case studies that begin with the maintenance of order in stateless societies, moves through various historical moments in the emergence of police as an element of modern government, and culminates in a brief survey of novel policing formations that emerge from the processes of decolonization, globalization and neo-liberalism. Through required readings, guided research and seminar discussion of these topics, students in this graduate level course will gain a broad international (not to mention pre-national and post-national) perspective on policing. Upon successfully completing the course, students will be equipped with a set of theoretical methods for analyzing the meaningful implications and practical consequences of specific policing technologies, policies and philosophies. This foundation is intended to support continuing scholarly inquiry, as well as serve as a resource for productive critical reflection on police work and policy making.

2. Course Format

2.A. General issues. This course is a graduate seminar, meeting every week on Tuesday evenings 6:45-9:45PM, for a total of eleven meetings. Beginning in our second meeting, the class sessions will be divided into three different sections, each taking roughly an hour. For the first part of class, I will deliver a lecture on the week's required readings. During the second part, we will listen to two or three student presentations while filling out peer review sheets (see below). The final section of class will consist of a group discussion of the materials covered during the first two hours, focusing on questions generated through the peer review exercise. As a whole, this format is designed to make the class a collaborative enterprise in developing a collective conversation about our topic. And in this sense each class session is unique and irreplaceable, which is to say: **attendance is mandatory.** If, due to some emergency, it is impossible for you to come to a class session, an absence may be technically excused (with suitable arrangements, i.e. formal request at least one week in advance, or evidence of emergency). Even if your absence is legitimate, however, it will still leave you at an unavoidable disadvantage in the course, for the final test questions will be taken from our in-class discussions, and there is no way to recreate these discussions for those who were not there.

2.B. Assessment. Your final grade has three components: **(40%)** attendance, including your careful study of the required readings, conscientious completion of peer-reviews, and active participation in group discussions; **(30%)** the quality of your in-class presentation; **(30%)** a written exercise consisting of short answers to questions covering the entire content of the course, to be held in our final class meeting on Dec. 1.

In class presentations. Appendix A to this course outline provides a list of topics for in-class presentations. On the first day of class, each student will either choose or be assigned a topic from this list, or else propose a related topic of their own design. You are responsible for giving a 25-minute presentation on your designated topic on the day it is scheduled. You will note that only two or three presentations can be scheduled each class session, thus students will perform this exercise at different times in the term. For the content of these presentations, as you can see in the appendix, each topic is written in the form of a question, and comes with at least one specially assigned text containing a possible answer to this question. The **minimum requirement** for the presentation is to **(a)** *explain* to the class how the specially assigned text answers the assigned question (i.e. something like a book report), and to **(b)** *relate* this answer to the larger themes of the course, as they emerge from our core required readings and our group discussions. You may use any means you like to effectively communicate with the class (i.e. handouts, *Power Point*, film clips, etc). Success in fulfilling these two basic requirements define a minimally adequate passing grade for the exercise. To move your grade higher than the minimum, you are encouraged to do additional research and investigation into the issues raised by your topic. A **first rate presentation**, is one that demonstrates individual creativity in finding additional sources of information that allow you to go beyond simply answering your assigned question in a way that relates it to the core issues of the class. For example, you may wish to treat the question critically, challenging its presumptions and proposing another question that you argue is more important, more precise, or more useful in making sense of the underlying issues. Or, you may wish to find an empirical case that exemplifies the issues at stake, and use a study of this case to give us deeper insight into the issues. Or, you may have other ideas for how

to produce insight into the facet of policing at issue in your topic, and you are encouraged to take some risks in developing these ideas. If you feel ambitious about developing your presentation project into a piece of more serious research, please come talk to me a bit about your ideas before you begin to implement them.

Peer reviews. To organize class engagement with student presentations we will use peer review forms. These have two components. The first is a self-explanatory “rubric” for providing helpful feedback to your classmates by reference to a set of objective criteria for effective communication. This part of the review process is intended to help us work together to build skills in organizing and presenting ideas. The other component of the peer review form is designed to foster engagement with the substantive content of the presentations. You will be asked to summarize the main points of the presentation, and develop constructive and critical questions about how these ideas might be challenged, developed, refined or linked to other ideas and themes of the course. You will be filling out and turning in one peer review form for each student presentation.

2.C. Readings. The seventeen required readings of the course are distributed in a packet, which you can purchase from the Repro Copy Centre (Rm. 420, Knowles Building). Please note that **the specific text/s listed for a particular week of class must be read before coming to class** in the week they are listed. For example, you must read both the preface & introduction to *African Political Systems* and Max Gluckman’s essay on “The Peace in the Feud” *before* coming to class on September 22.

As for texts that are specific to your presentation topic, *you are responsible* for acquiring these. I do, however, own copies of most of them, and I will be happy to lend them to you. I invite you to come visit me (during my office hours, before or after our class meeting, or at any other time we can arrange) so that I can share them with you. This will also give us a chance to talk a bit more about your experience in the course, and discuss any ideas or concerns you might. Obviously, you are also welcome to work independently if you wish, and it should be relatively simple to obtain all necessary texts through the HKU library or the interlibrary loan service HKALL.

2.D. Scholarly Virtues. Intellectual development is a product of several human virtues, but at root of them all is respect for the productivity of human labor. 师傅领进门，修行靠个人. The intellectual heritage of the world is yours for the taking, but it becomes your own only by your own efforts. In affirmation of this principle, the university regulations on academic misconduct will be strictly enforced in this class. Refer to <http://ec.hku.hk/plagiarism> and <http://www.hku.hk/plagiarism> and http://www.hku.hk/sociodep/CO_MSocSc.html for details. Besides taking responsibility for your own individual work, I also expect all of us to maintain a decorum in the classroom that embodies active respect for our common scholarly endeavor.

1. (Sept. 15) Introduction

No reading is required prior to the first class session.

2. (Sept. 22) What Does the “Police Function” Look Like Without a State?

Required readings.

- A. Fortes, Myer & E.E. Evans-Pritchard. 1941. “Introduction,” *African Political Systems* (pp.1-23)
- B. Gluckman, Max. 1955. “The Peace in the Feud,” *Custom & Conflict in Africa*. (pp.1-26).

3. (Sept 29) The Origins of Public Bureaucracy.

Required readings.

- A. Hunter, Virginia. 1994. *Policing Athens: Social Control in the Attic Lawsuits, 420-320 BC* (pp.3-42, 120-153).
- B. Lintott, A. W. 1968. *Violence in Republican Rome*. (pp.1-34, 89-106)

4. (Oct 6) Is Policing the Essence of the Modern State?

Required reading.

- A. Weber, Max. 1958 [1919]. “Politics as a Vocation,” *From Max Weber* (Gerth & Mills, eds.) (pp. 77-128).

(Oct 13) Reading Week, No Class Meeting

5. (Oct 20) Modern Policing in Europe & Britain

Required readings.

- A. Bayley, David. 1975 “The Police & Political Development in Europe”
- B. Dodsworth, F. M. 2008 “The Idea of Police in Eighteenth Century England,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, v.69, n.4: pp. 583-604

6. (Oct 27) Policing Colonial Subjects

Required readings.

- A. Brogden, Mike 1987 “The Emergence of Police – The Colonial Dimension” *Brit J. Crim.* 27: 1
- B. Hawkins, Richard. 1991. “The ‘Irish Model’ and the Empire: A Case for Reassessment” in Anderson & Killingray (eds.) *Policing the Empire*

7. (Nov 3) Policing Pluralism

Required readings.

- A. Goldstein, Herman. 1979. "Improving Policing: A Problem-Centered Approach" *Crime & Delinquency*. 25: 236
- B. Thacher, David. 2001. "Policing is Not a Treatment: Alternatives to the Medical Model of Police Research," *Journal of Research in Crime & Delinquency*

8. (Nov 10) Policing International and Transnational Society

Required readings.

- A. Deflem, Matthew. 2000. "Bureaucratization and Social Control: Historical Foundations of International Police Cooperation," *Law & Society Review*
- B. Andreas, Peter & Ethan Nadelman. 2006. *Policing the Globe: Criminalization and Crime Control in International Relations*. (pp. 3-58, 223-253)

9. (Nov 17) Neoliberalism: Governing Insecurity & Managing Risk

Required readings.

- A. Bayley, David & Clifford Shearing. 1996. "The Future of Policing" *Law & Society Review*
- B. Loader, Ian & Neil Walker. 2006. "Necessary Virtues: The Legitimate Place of the State in the Production of Security" (in Wood & Benoit, eds. *Democracy, Society & the Governance of Security*)

10. (Nov 24) Policing Transitions & Transforming Police

Required readings.

- A. Bayley, David. 2006. *Changing the Guard: Developing Democratic Police Abroad*. (pp. 3-23, 109-127)
- B. Hinton, Mercedes & Tim Newburn. 2009. "Introduction," in *Policing Developing Democracies*.

11. (Dec 1) In-Class Written Exercise

Appendix A: Topics for In-Class Presentations

- a. What is the functional role of gossip in the maintenance of social order?
(Merry, Sally 1984 "Rethinking Gossip & Scandal," in Donald Black *Towards a General Theory of Social Control*)
- b. In situations where formal and informal social control institutions are combined, what kinds of patterns characterize their "division of social control labor"?
(Diamond, Stanley 1971 "The Rule of Law Versus the Order of Custom" in Wolff *The Rule of Law*)
(Hunter, Albert 1985 "Private, Parochial & Public Social Orders" in Sutters & Zald, *The Challenge of Social Control*)
(Goldstein, Daniel 2003 "In Our Own Hands: Lynching, Justice & the Law in Bolivia" *American Ethnologist*)
- c. What practical qualities characterize the operations of "street-level bureaucracies"?
(Lipsky, Michael 1971 "Street-Level Bureaucracy and the Analysis of Urban Reform," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* v.6)
- d. What institutional architecture was involved in making the management of violence into a specialized "technical" profession in modern Europe?
(Huntington, Samuel. 1959 *The Soldier & The State: The Theory & Politics of Civil-Military Relations*)
- e. How should we understand the relationship between the fundamental character of the modern state and the work of the police?
(Bittner, Egon 1970 "Florence Nightengale in Pursuit of Willie Sutton: Towards a Theory of Police," in *The Potential For Reform in Criminal Justice*)
- f. When taking an anthropological perspective on the development of complex political institutions, what kind of qualitative changes in the police function mark the emergence of the modern state?
(Robinson, Scaglion & Olivero. 1994. *Police in Contradiction: The Evolution of the Police Function in Society*)
- g. What is distinctive about the role of the gendarmerie in European political history?
(Elmsley, Clive 1999 *Gendarmes & The State in Nineteenth Century Europe*)
- h. What is the difference between "high" and "low" policing? How does this distinction help us make sense of what we have learned so far about the history of policing?
(Brodeur, Jean-Paul. 1983. "High Policing and Low Policing: Remarks About the Policing of Political Activities," *Social Problems* v.30 no.5: 507)
- i. What wider socio-political significance can be read into the formation of the London Metropolitan Police?
(Philips, David 1983 "A Just Measure of Crime, Authority, Hunters & Blue Locusts: The 'Revisionist' Social History of Crime and the Law in Britain, 1780-1850" in Cohen & Scull (eds.) *Social Control & The State*)

(Hay, Douglas & Francis Snyder 1989 "Using the Criminal Law, 1750-1850: Policing, Private Prosecution & the State," in Idem. (eds.) *Policing & Prosecution in Britain, 1750-1850*)

- j. What are some of the more significant contrasts between different national styles of contemporary policing? Why are these contrasts significant?
(Bayley, David. 1985. *Patterns of Policing: A Comparative International Analysis*)
- k. What is the difference between crime and politics? Please use this distinction to compare & contrast colonial and non-colonial policing.
(Cohen, Stanley 1996 "Crime & Politics – Spot the Difference" *British Journal of Sociology*, v.47 no.1)
- l. What happens to policing practice when a colonial regime is replaced by an independent national state?
(Sinclair, Georgia. 2006. *At The End of the Line: Colonial Policing & the Imperial Endgame, 1945-1980*).
- m. What kind of social, economic and political processes were responsible for the historical emergence of the contemporary passport?
(Torpey, John. 2000. *Invention of the Passport*)
- n. How do border enforcement regimes structure the lives of people whose economic livelihood is stretched across a border?
(Bornstein, Avram. 2001. "Border Enforcement in Everyday Life: Palestinian Day Laborers and Entrepreneurs Crossing the Green Line," *Human Organization* v.60 no.3)
- o. How do border enforcement regimes structure the lives of people whose family relationships are stretched across a border?
(Salcido & Alderman. 2004. "'He Has Me Tied with the Blessed and Damned Papers' Undocumented-Immigrant Battered Women in Phoenix, Arizona," *Human Organization*, v.63 no.2)
- p. What distinct approaches to issues of democratic pluralism have marked the different stages in American police history?
(Walker, Samuel 1977, *A Critical History of Police Reform in the United States: The Emergence of Professionalism*)
- q. What are the conventional legal strategies in America for balancing the conflicting demands of *uniformly* administering justice while simultaneously keeping a *pluralistic* society in good order?
(David Sklansky 2009 *Democracy & The Police*)
- r. What forms of "international" police authority are emerging from contemporary historical processes? What sorts of institutions deploy this authority?
(Levi, Ron & John Hagan 2006 "International Police" in Dubber & Valverde (eds.) *The New Police Science*)

- s. What does “transnational” police authority look like? What sorts of institutions deploy this authority, and what kinds of effects do they achieve through this deployment?
(Sheptycki, James 2002 *In Search of Transnational Policing: Towards a Sociology of Global Policing*)
- t. Which aspects of the new “risk management” paradigms of governance are irreconcilable with the Weberian model of the state as a “monopoly on legitimate force”? What practical implications do these points of divergence have for policing institutions?
(Johnston & Shearing 2003 *Governing Security: Explorations in Policing & Justice*)
- u. What are the legal foundations for the contemporary prevalence of privatized police authority?
(Sklansky, David. 1999 “The Private Police”)
- v. Are there valid universal standards for defining best-practices in “democratic” policing? If so, what are they? If not, why not?
(Marenin, Otwin 2000 “Democracy, Democratization, Democratic Policing” in Das & Marenin (eds) *Challenges of Policing Democracies: A World Perspective*)
- w. What distinguishes military intervention from police action? What sort of circumstances could erase this distinction?
(Dean, Mitchell 2006 “Military Intervention as ‘Police’ Action?”” in Dubber & Valverde (eds) *The New Police Science*)
(Ellison, Graham & Conor O'Reilly 2008 “From Empire to Iraq & the ‘War on Terror’: The Transplantation and Commodification of the (Northern) Irish Policing Experience” *Police Quarterly*)
- x. What distinctive challenges are faced by the police under the conditions of a political-economic transition from communism to capitalism?
(Uildriks, Niels & Piet van Reenen. 2003. *Policing Post-Communist Societies: Police-Public Violence, Democratic Policing & Human Rights*)