School of Law, Governance and Citizenship

Ambedkar University, Delhi

Course Outline: Policing and Society

Course Code: SLGC2LP208

Title: Policing and Society

Cohort for which it is compulsory: None

Cohort for which it is elective: M.A. in Law Politics and Society

No of Credits: 4

Semester and Year Offered: 3rd Semester course for M.A 2nd year students (Monsoon

Semester 2018)

Course Coordinator and Team: Pooja Satyogi

Email of course coordinator: psatyogi@aud.ac.in

Pre-requisites: None

Course Aim:

The course sits adjacent to the core courses on constitutional debates and themes and legal history offered by the school. The focus of this course will be on the manner in which scholars have theorized policing and social control as well as the practice and the institution of policing. Far from being the Benthamite panopticon, the states today are ridden with anxieties about insufficient security and order, even as forms are surveillance seem to have increased manifold. In this course, we will principally be concerned with (i) how the ideas of policing and surveillance have been productive for thinking the legitimacy and rationality of state's governance and (ii) how policing as an institution and bureaucracy has developed over time. These two points are related, even as works that deal with the former do not always refer to actual works on the policing institution. Through these two themes, this course will attempt to think how the police themselves are conditioned into their mandate of keeping order and security, what meanings order and security have for them and the conditions under which these have to be achieved. In the final section of the course, we will attempt to understand how democratic states are responding with police action to real or imagined threats of global terror.

A brief description of the Course: This course will examine the relationship between police and society by approaching it from many angles. Module 1 foregrounds the development of police and its bureaucratic practices in India. This section will chart the connections between colonial and post-colonial policing as well as examine some recent works on the police. Module 2 takes on the burden of working through the ideas of Marx, Benjamin, Foucault and Comaroffs to delineate how the idea of the police has been productive for thinking the nature of the states. Module 3 foregrounds anthropological work in a world where debates on security have become rather acute. A long immersion in the field enables an interconnection of discrete temporalities that constitute and are constituted by fieldwork. This is important for understanding and problematizing notions of security, which take on valence via "catastrophic events" and, then, reshape lives for a considerable period of time. Module 4 is devoted to closely reading some recent ethnographies of policing in varying contexts like India (post colonial state) France (Western Liberal Democracy), Gaza (Conflict Area), and Taiwan (New Democracy). Module 5 focuses on contemporary themes in policing including police excesses, the political role that armed police plays in perpetuating violence and how the police is acclimatized with the idea of an 'other', against which order has to be maintained.

Course Aims and Objectives

- To understand the development of police in India and to understand the issue of police reforms
- To understand how policing as a philosophical concern has been mobilized to understand state power
- To understand the logic of anthropological interventions in the study of policing institutions and the questions anthropology throws for studying police.
- To read some contemporary anthropological works on policing from varying contexts
- To understand the evolution of global policing and securitization in the world

Syllabus with List of Readings

Module 1: Development of the Institution of Police in India

(3 weeks)

Week 1, 2 and 3

Module 1 foregrounds the development of police and its bureaucratic practices in India. This section will chart the connections between colonial and post-colonial policing as well as examine some recent works on the police. It also looks at the question of reforms within the police institutions and raises questions about police impunity.

Topics to be Covered:

- Development of Police in India: Institutional Structures and Police Reforms
- Colonial Policing: The model for post-independence police in India
- Contemporary Policing in India

Readings:

Week 1

- 1. Central Government Act, The Police Act, 1861
- 2. Banerjee, Abhijit, Esther Duflo, Daniel Keniston, and Nina Singh. "Making police reform real: The Rajasthan experiment." (2011).
- 3. Bayley, David H. "The Police and Political Order in India." *Asian Survey* 23.4 (1983): 484-496.
- 4. Chaturvedi, Anviti. *Police Reforms in India*. Available on http://www.prsindia.org/administrator/uploads/general/1517552577~~
 Police%20Reforms%20in%20India.pdf, 2017
- 5. Desai, Mihir. "Red Herring in Police Reforms." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2009): 8-11.
- 6. *Prakash Singh and Ors v. Union of India* (Supreme Court Judgment on Police Reforms), 2006

Additional Reading

• Verma, Arvind. *The New Khaki: The Evolving Nature of Policing in India*. CRC press, 2011.

Week 2

- 1. Arnold, David. "The Armed Police and Colonial Rule in South India, 1914—1947." *Modern Asian Studies* 11.1 (1977): 101-125.
- 2. Kidambi, Prashant. 'The ultimate masters of the city': police, public order and the poor in colonial Bombay, c. 1893-1914. In *The making of an Indian metropolis: Colonial governance and public culture in Bombay, 1890-1920.* Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007.

Week 3

- 1. Khanikar, Santana. *State, Violence and Legitimacy in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 2018 (selections)
- 2. Khanikar, Santana, "Women Police in the City of Delhi: Gender Hierarchies, 'Transgression' and 'Pariah Femininities'. IEG Working paper, no. 347 (2015). Available on http://www.iegindia.org/upload/publication/Workpap/wp347.pdf
- 3. Subramanian, Kadayam Suryanarayanan. *Political violence and the police in India*. SAGE Publications India, 2007 (selections).
- 4. Verma, Arvind. "Politicization and Legitimacy of Police in India." *The Politics of Policing: Between Force and Legitimacy*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited, (2016): 115-132.

Additional Readings

- Belur, Jyoti. *Permission to Shoot?: Police use of Deadly Force in Democracies*. Springer Science & Business Media, 2010 (selections).
- https://gpjoshionpolice.blogspot.in/2005/04/police-accountability_29.html

Module 2: Theorizing Policing

4 Weeks

Weeks 4, 5, 6 and 7:

. **Module 2** takes on the burden of working through the ideas of Marx, Benjamin, Foucault and Comaroffs to delineate how the idea of the police has been productive for thinking the nature of the states.

Topics to be Covered:

- What does the capacity to use force against state's citizen mean in the context of police's accountability to citizens?
- How has theorizing the police been a way to account for the nature of the state itself.

Week 4

- **1.** Bittner, Egon. "The capacity to use force as the core of the police role". In Frederick Elliston & Michael Feldberg (eds.), *Moral Issues in Police Work*. Rowman & Allanheld. (1985): 15-25
- 2. Reiner, Robert. "Policing: Theory and Research" (Chapter 1) in *The Politics of the Police*, Oxford University Press, (2010): 3-32.

Week 5

- Hirst, Paul Q. "Marx and Engels on law, crime and morality". In Ian Tayor, Paul Walton and Jock Young (eds.) *Critical Criminology*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.
- 2. Neocleous, Mark. *The fabrication of social order: A critical theory of police power*. London; Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press. 2008 (selections).

Week 6

- 1. Benjamin, Walter. "Critique of Violence". *In: Demetz P (ed.) Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings* (1986) . New York: Schocken Books.
- 2. Donzelot, Jacques. Policing the Family. Pantheon, New York (1979).

Additional Reading

• Benjamin, Andrew. Working with Walter Benjamin: Recovering a Political Philosophy. Edinburgh University Press, 2013.

Week 7

- 1. Rocha, Leon Antonio. "That Dazzling, Momentary Wake' of the *lettre de cachet*." In Robbie Duschinsky and Leon Rocha (eds.) *Foucault, the Family and Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2012. 189-219.
- 2. Comaroff, Jean, and John L. Comaroff. "Criminal Obsessions, after Foucault." *Law and Disorder in the Postcolony* (2006): 273-298.

Module 3: Public Anthropology, Policing and Security

(1week)

Weeks 5 and 6

Module 3 foregrounds anthropological work in a world where debates on security have become rather acute. A long immersion in the field enables an interconnection of discrete temporalities that constitute and are constituted by fieldwork. This is important for understanding and problematizing notions of security, which take on valence via "catastrophic events" and, then, re-shape lives for a considerable period of time.

Topics to be covered

- What does
 Anthropology of police bring to both Anthropology and
- 1. Karpiak, Kevin. "No Longer Merely "good to think": The New Anthropology of Police as a Mode of Critical Thought". *Theoretical Criminology* 20.4 (2016): 419-429
- 2. Mutsaers P, Simpson J and Kevin Karpiak. "The Anthropology of Police as Public Anthropology". *American Anthropologist* 117. 4 (2015): 781–794.
- 3. Fassin, Didier (ed.). *Writing the World of Policing: The Difference Ethnography Makes*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 2017.

to the study of the police?	4. Garriott, William, ed. Policing and Contemporary Governance: The Anthropology of Police in Practice. Springer, 2013.			
Module 4: Ethnographies of Police Institutions (3 weeks)	In this module, each reading raises the question of method and access in conducting research on the police. The locations— India (postcolonial), France (Western Democracy), Gaza (Conflict zone) and Taiwan (new democracy)— have a bearing on how research materializes and the questions that each of these contexts throws for the ethnographer.			
Weeks: 9, 10 and 11				
 Topics to be covered An ethnography of police in India An ethnography of police in France An ethnography of police in Gaza and Taiwan 	 Week 9 Jauregui, Beatrice. Provisional Authority: Police, Order, and Security in India. University of Chicago Press, 2016 (selections). Week 10 Fassin, Didier. Enforcing order: An Ethnography of Urban Policing. Polity, 2013 (selections). Week 11 Feldman, Ilana. Police Encounters: Security and Surveillance in Gaza under Egyptian Rule. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015 (selections). Martin, Jeffrey T. "Calling the Police, More or Less Democratically." Theoretical Criminology 20.4 (2016): 462-481. 			
Module5: Contemporary issues of Political Violence, Terrorism and	Module 5 focuses on contemporary themes in policing including police excesses, the political role that armed police plays in perpetuating violence and how the police is acclimatized with the idea of an 'other', against which			

Policing	order has to be maintained.			
(1 week)				
Week 12				
Topics to be covered	Week 12			
 Proliferation of suspicion as a tool of profiling people Global Policing 	 Stalcup, Meg. "Policing Uncertainty: On Suspicious Activity Reporting." <i>Modes of Uncertainty: Anthropological Cases</i> (2015): 69-87. Stalcup, Meg. "Interpol and the Emergence of Global Policing." <i>Policing and Contemporary Governance</i>. Palgrave Macmillan US (2013): 231-261. Stalcup, Meg, and Joshua Craze. "How We Train our Cops to Fear Islam." <i>Washington Monthly</i> (2011). 			

Assessment Methodology:

Attendance and Class Participation	10
Class Presentation	10
Book Review/ Field Interview with a police official	20
Mid term	30
End Term	30