Carleton University **Department of Law and Legal Studies**

Course Outline

COURSE:		**LAWS 5306 F: Police and Capital**
TERM:		**FALL 2025**
PREREQUISITES:		**N/A**
CLASS:	**Day & Time:**	**Mondays 11:35 AM - 2:25 PM**
	Room:	**Please check Carleton Central for current Class Schedule (In-Person) & ONLINE**
INSTRUCTOR:		**Prof. George S. Rigakos**
CONTACT:	**Office Hrs:**	**Office hours by virtual appointment or during scheduled class time allotments online.**
	Telephone:	**Ext. 3683**
	Email:	**george.rigakos@carleton.ca**

CALENDAR COURSE DESCRIPTION

The idea of 'police' as a general historical project aimed at the fabrication of social order and the development of liberal philosophy, political economy and security. Contemporary public and private security provision considered in light of commodification, class conflict, and risk thinking.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course critically examines the idea of 'police' as a general historical project aimed at the fabrication of social order; as a response to risk and crime; and as a foundational theoretical concern for the development of eighteenth century liberal political philosophy, political economy and security. These formative theoretical notions about police are extended to a consideration of trends in contemporary public and private security provision including the influence of commodification, militarization, class conflict, and the effect of risk thinking.

REQUIRED TEXTS

Rigakos, George S., John L. McMullan, Joshua Johnson and Gulden Ozcan, Eds., *A General Police System: Political Economy and Security in the Age of Enlightenment.* Ottawa: Red Quill Books, 2009.

+ **All additional articles and course materials available on Brightspace.**

SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

The Anti-security Collective. *The Security Abolition Manifesto*. Ottawa: Red Quill Books, 2024.

Neocleous, Mark and George S. Rigakos, Eds. *Anti-security*. Ottawa: Red Quill Books, 2011.

EVALUATION

(All components must be completed in order to get a passing grade)

Participation is a key requirement of graduate courses. This course is structured in as a seminar which requires active involvement from students.

Participation:	**20%**	Class participation
	10%	Presentation 1
	10%	Presentation 2
	10%	Presentation 3
Reflection Paper 1:	**25%**	**Due Oct. 27th by 11:59PM**
Reflection Paper 2:	**25%**	**Due Dec. 5th by 11:59PM**

Presentation notes:

1. Make sure to cover all of the key points and arguments made in each of the articles you are assigned;
2. Do not feel obliged to give a verbatim account of the assigned readings and especially try to avoid reading from your notes for a prolonged period of time. Consider offering content in thematic format if possible;
3. Construct topics for discussion as well as questions that may prompt or stimulate debate;
4. You have 20 minutes to present and you will usually be presenting on the same day as another student;
5. It is a **requirement** that students provide an outline or notes for fellow classmates (which may take the form of PPT slides);
6. It is important to keep in mind that depending on when you are scheduled to present this may be in-person or on-line depending on the week.

Papers:

Students will write two papers of equal worth (25%) on a topic or reading discussed in the course. I would suggest that you consider making the papers relate to your presentation. More information relating to your reflection papers is posted on Brightspace.

LATE PENALTIES AND REQUESTS FOR EXTENSIONS

The granting of extensions is determined by the instructor who will confirm whether an extension is granted and the length of the extension. For requests for extensions lasting less than 7 days, please complete the form at the following link and submit it to the instructor prior to

the assignment due date: https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/self-declaration.pdf.

Extensions for longer than 7 days will normally not be granted. In those extraordinary cases where extensions lasting longer than 7 days are granted, the student will be required to provide additional information to justify the longer extension (up to a maximum of 14 days).

ON-LINE CLASSES

NOTE: This course will consist of some on-line seminars using Zoom through the Brightspace system. Seminars will run during reserved class time Mondays 11:35-2:30 posted under weekly topic areas. All you need do is log on to Brightspace and click to join the scheduled online seminar.

COURSE TOPICS BY WEEK

(*) denotes suggested

0. What is 'Police and Capital'? (Rigakos) [Sep. 8]

No assigned readings

1. Capitalist Production (Rigakos) [Sep. 15]

Mandel, Ernest. 1962. *An Intro to Marxist Economic Theory, Ch. 1*. The Theory of Value and Surplus Value. (Marxists.org)

Marx, Karl. (1977, orig. 1933). *Wage-Labour and Capital* & Karl Marx (1977, orig. 1933) *Value, Price and Profit*. New York: International Publishers.

Laibman, David. 1999. Productive and Unproductive Labor. *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 32(2):61-73

Leadbeater, David. 1989. The consistency of Marx's categories of productive and unproductive labour, *History of Political Economy*, 17(4): 591-618.

Productive and unproductive labour: Smith, Marx, and the Soviets, in Donald A. Walker (ed.) *Perspectives on the History of Economic Thought*. Aldershot: Gower.

Rigakos, George S. and Aysegul Ergul. 2011. Policing the industrial reserve army: An international study. *Crime, Law and Social Change* 56:329-71

*Marx, Karl. 1976, orig. 1867. *Capital, vol.1*. Chapter 9: "The Rate of Surplus Value". New York: Penguin.

*Uno, Kozo. 1977, orig. 1964. *Principles of Political Economy: Theory of a Purely Capitalist Society.* Sussex: Harvester Press. (Parts 2: The Doctrine of Production)

2. The Idea of 'Police' I: Cameralism [Sep. 22]

von Justi, Johann H.G. 1756. *Staatwirthschaft*, pp. 52-91 in ***A General Police System.***

von Sonnefels, Joseph. 1765. *Grundsätze der Polizei, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft,* pp. 104-138 and pp. 9-10 in ***A General Police System.***

Petty, William. 1670. The Petty Papers, pp. 35-52 in ***A General Police System***

Foucault, Michel. *Omnes et Singulatim: Toward a Critique of Political Reason*

3. The Idea of 'Police' II: Liberalism [Sep. 29] ONLINE

Smith, Adam. 1896. *Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms*, pp. 152-163 and pp. 13-15 in ***A General Police System***

Beccaria, Cesare. 1764. *On Crimes and Punishments*, pp. 166-187 and pp. 15-18 in ***A General Police System.***

Hegel, G.W.F. 1821. *Philosophy of Right*, pp.277-302 and pp. 25-26 in ***A General Police System.***

Foucault, Michel. 8 March 1978 from *Security, Territory, Population*

4. "The Supreme Concept of Bourgeois Society." [Oct. 6]

Marx, Karl. 1844. *On the Jewish Question*. (Part 1: Bruno Bauer)

Neocleous, Mark. 2000. Against security. *Radical Philosophy*, March/April: 7-15

Rigakos, George S. 2007. »Polizei konsumieren…« – Beobachtungen aus Kanada ('The commodification of policing: Field-notes from Canada'), in Volker Eick, Jens Sambale, Eric Töpfer, eds., *Kontrollierte Urbanität: Zur Neoliberalisierung städtischer Sicherheitspolitik*. Pp. 29-54 Bielefeld: transcript.

5. --- THANKSGIVING NO CLASS --- [Oct. 13]

6. --- READING WEEK NO CLASS --- [Oct. 20]

7. Security fetishism. [Oct. 27]

Marx, Karl. "The Fetishism of Commodities," in Capital Vol. 1 (London: Penguin Books, 1978) available online thru marxists.org

Spitzer, S. (1987). Security and control in capitalist societies: The fetishism of security and the secret thereof. In J. Lowman & R. J. Menzies & T. S. Palys (Eds.), *Transcarceration: Essays*

in the Sociology of Social Control (pp. 43-58). Aldershot: Gower.

Rigakos, George S. 2008. Ch.6 “Getting Noticed” from: *Nightclub: Bouncers, Risk and the Spectacle of Consumption*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press.

Additional:

Neocleous, Mark. 2007. Security, commodity, fetishism. *Critique*, 35(3): 339-355.

8. The problem of the lumpen, “vagabonds” and other “masterless men.” [Nov. 3] ONLINE

Colquhoun, Patrick. orig. 1806. *Treatise on Indigence*., pp.261-276 and pp. 21-25 in ***A General Police System.***

McMullan, J. L. (1998). Social surveillance and the rise of the 'police machine'. *Theoretical Criminology*, 2(1), 93-117.

Couch, Stephen R. 1981. Selling and reclaiming state sovereignty: The case of the coal and iron police. *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 10-11, No. 4-1, 85-91

8. Ordering the ‘Polis’ [Nov. 10] <u>ONLINE</u>

Petty, Sir William. 1927a., orig. circa 1660. *Economic Manuscripts* and *The Petty Papers,* pp. 34-49 and pp. 5-7 in ***A General Police System.***

Colquhoun, Patrick. orig. 1795. *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*., pp.261-276 and pp. 21-25 in ***A General Police System.***

Fielding, Sir John A. 1775. *Plan for Preventing Robberies,* pp. 140-150 and pp. 11-13 in ***A General Police System.***

Wilson, J. Q., & Kelling, G. L. (1982). Broken windows: The police and neighbourhood safety. *Atlantic Monthly,* March, 29-38.

*Gladwell, Malcolm. 2000. The power of context (Part One) Bernard Goetz and the Rise and Fall of New York Crime in *The Tipping Point*. New York: Little Brown and Co., pp.132-168.

9. Race, Class and Dispossession [Nov. 17]

Rigakos, George S. “To extend the scope of productive labour”: Pacification as a police project” in *Anti-Security*. Mark Neocleous and George S. Rigakos, eds. (Ottawa: Red Quill Books), p.57-83.

Johnson, Cedric G. 2023. After Black Lives Matter: Policing and Anti-Capitalist Struggle. Introduction, pp. 1-34

Davis, Angela Y. 2003. Chapter 2 “Slavery, civil rights, and abolitionist perspectives toward prison” in *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press.

Coulthard, Glen Sean. 2014. Introduction from: *Red Skins, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition.* University of Minnesota Press

Ackerman, Seth. 2015. Yes, racism is rooted in economic inequality. Some notes on a recent controversy. *Jacobin*. July 29.

10. Guest Lecture [Nov. 24] ONLINE

Readings TBD

11. A ‘New’ Risk Regime [Dec. 1] ONLINE

Beck, Ulrich. 1992. On the logic of wealth distribution and risk distribution. In Risk Society: Towards a New Reflexive Modernity (London: Sage) 19-50.

Ericson, R. and K. Haggerty. 1997. Policing as risk communications. In *Policing the Risk Society*. Pp. 17-38. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bogard, W. 1996. Ch. 3 Social control for the 1990s. In *The Simulation of Surveillance: Hypercontrol in Telematic Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

12. Anti-security and Pacification. [Dec. 5]

Neocleous, Mark and George S. Rigakos. 2011. “Anti-security: A Declaration” in Anti-security (Ottawa: Red Quill Books): 15-23

Seborio, Sebastien. 2013. The pacification of the favelas. Socialist Studies. 9(2): 131-145

Dafnos, Tia. 2013. Pacification and indigenous struggles in Canada. Socialist Studies. 9(2): 57-77

Papanicolaou, Giorgios and George S. Rigakos. 2014. Democratizing the Police in Europe with a Particular Emphasis on Greece. Athens: Nicos Poulantzas Institute

*Rigakos, George S and Aysegul Ergul. 2013. The pacification of the American working class: A time-series analysis. Socialist Studies. 9(2): 167-196

UNIVERSITY AND DEPARTMENTAL POLICIES

PLAGIARISM

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as "*presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own."* This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, artworks, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

STATEMENT ON STUDENT MENTAL HEALTH

As a University student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you.
For more information, please consult https://wellness.carleton.ca/

Emergency Resources (on and off campus):

- https://wellness.carleton.ca/get-help-now/

Carleton Resources:

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: https://carleton.ca/wellness/
- Health & Counselling Services: https://carleton.ca/health/
- Paul Menton Centre: https://carleton.ca/pmc/

- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): https://carleton.ca/csas/
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: https://carleton.ca/equity/

Off Campus Resources:

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, http://www.crisisline.ca/
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, https://good2talk.ca/
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: https://walkincounselling.com

ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Carleton is committed to providing academic accessibility for all individuals. You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. The accommodation request processes, including information about the Academic Consideration Policy for Students in Medical and Other Extenuating Circumstances, are outlined on the Academic Accommodations website (students.carleton.ca/course-outline).

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows.

Pregnancy and Family-Status Related Accommodations
Write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details about the accommodation policy, visit the Equity and Inclusive Communities (EIC) website.

Religious Obligation
Write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, please go to: https://carleton.ca/equity/focus/discrimination-harassment/religious-spiritual-observances/.

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities
The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. You can find the Paul Menton Centre online at: https://carleton.ca/pmc/

If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

Survivors of Sexual Violence
As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and where survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services

Accommodation for Student Activities
Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. Read more here: https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf.

For more information on academic accommodation, please visit: https://students.carleton.ca/services/accommodation/.

Academic Consideration for Medical and Other Extenuating Circumstances
Due to medical and other extenuating circumstances, students may occasionally be unable to fulfill the academic requirements of their course(s) in a timely manner. The University supports the academic development of students and aims to provide a fair environment for students to succeed academically. Medical and/or other extenuating circumstances are circumstances that are beyond a student's control, have a significant impact on the student's capacity to meet their academic obligations, and could not have reasonably been prevented.

Students must contact the instructor(s) as soon as possible, and normally no later than 24 hours after the submission deadline for course deliverables. If not satisfied with the instructor's decision, students can conduct an "informal appeal" to the Chair of the department within three (3) working days of an instructor's decision. We have created a webform specifically for appeals to the Chair, which can be found here: https://carleton.ca/law/application-for-review-of-refusal-to-provide-academic-consideration/. *Note: This form only applies to LAWS courses and is not the same as a formal appeal of grade.* More information about the academic consideration can be found here.