

COURSE: LAWS 4304 A: Policing and Social Surveillance

TERM: FALL 2026-27

PREREQUISITES: LAWS 2908, CRCJ 3001 or CRCJ 3002, and 0.5 credit from LAWS 2301 or LAWS 2302, and fourth-year Honours standing

CLASS: **Day & Time:** Mondays 8:35 - 11:25
 Room: Check Carleton Central for room location

INSTRUCTOR: Prof. George S. Rigakos

CONTACT: **Office:** C575 LA
 Office Hrs: Mon 11:30-13:00
 Tue 9:30-11:20
 Telephone: Ext. 3683

CALENDAR COURSE DESCRIPTION

Theoretical consideration of the emergence and transformation of “policing” activities through an examination of law and changes in social relations, with special attention to the myriad agencies involved in contemporary security provision. Evolving notions of risk, surveillance, the state, and the private-public dichotomy.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course examines the emergence and modern organization of ‘policing’ through an examination of legislation, common law and transformations in social relations. Special attention is paid to the private sector and students are encouraged to expand their notions of policing to include the myriad agencies involved in contemporary security provision. In particular, how changes in security provision relate to surveillance, human rights, and the role and function of the state.

COURSE DELIVERY

This course will be delivered in-person, in-class although some classes may be delivered synchronously via Brightspace and zoom. These will be announced in advance and attendance will be taken.

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. [\$42.95]

NOTE: The content of this book is now available for **FREE** on the Brightspace platform.

All additional articles and course materials available on Brightspace. These are indicated throughout.

SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

Neocleous, Mark and George S. Rigakos. 2011., eds. *Anti-Security*. Ottawa: Red Quill Books. [\$32. 50]

EVALUATION

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

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Department and of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Department and the Dean.

PARTICIPATION: 20%

Participation is a key requirement of seminar courses. I will be taking attendance and making notes. These will be available to you upon request.

REFLECTION PAPERS: 25% x 2 = 50% [Oct. 19 and Dec. 7]
[Late after Dec. 8 – submit online]

FINAL EXAM (Open Book): 30% [Scheduled during exam period]

By the end of the course, students are required to submit TWO (2) short reflection papers that incorporate course content relating to any contemporary social context. This may be a personal context including work, school, family or an event.

Length: 5 pages

Citation style: Any consistent style

Citations: minimum of 7 peer-reviewed articles and/or academic books

CONSULT REFLECTION PAPER INSTRUCTIONS posted in Brightspace for more info.

The use of AI tools, such as ChatGPT, to produce any part of an assignment or test is strictly forbidden. Any use of AI for content creation will result in an academic integrity violation and the student may be referred to the academic integrity office for disciplinary action.

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/academic-consideration-coursework-form/>

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).

NOTE: Certain lectures MAY be offered through online Zoom meetings. You will be informed in advance by email.

SCHEDULE

Week 1: Introduction to the Course

[Sep. 14]

No assigned readings

Week 2: Origins of Police Science

[Sep. 21]

1. Introduction to *A General Police System*, pp. 1-32
2. von Justi, Johann H.G. 1756. *Grundsätze der Polizeywissenschaft*, pp. 92-93 and pp. 7-9 in *A General Police System*.
3. Sonnefeld, Joseph von. 1765. *Grundsätze der Polizei, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft*, pp. 104-138 and pp. 9-10 in *A General Police System*.
4. Petty, William. 1670. The Petty Papers, pp. 35-52 in *A General Police System*

Suggested:

1. Foucault, M. "Omnes et Singulatim: Toward a Critique of Political Reason," in *Power: Essential Works of Michel Foucault: 1954-1984*, James D. Faubian (ed.) (New York: The New Press, 2000). [on Brightspace]
2. Foucault, M. "8 March 1978," in *Security, Territory, Population*, Michel Senellart (ed.) (New York: Palgrave:2007): 227-255. [on Brightspace]

Week 3: A More Liberal Police Science

[Sep. 28]

1. Smith, Adam. 1896. *Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms*, pp. 152-163 and pp. 13-15 in *A General Police System*
2. Beccaria, Cesare. 1764. *On Crimes and Punishments*, pp. 166-187 and pp. 15-18 in *A General Police System*
3. McMullan, J. L. (1998). Social surveillance and the rise of the 'police machine'. *Theoretical Criminology*, 2(1), 93-117. [on Brightspace]
4. Knemeyer, F.-L. (1980). Polizei. *Economy and Society*, 9(2), 172-196. [on Brightspace]

Suggested:

1. Von Humboldt, Wilhelm. 1792. *The Limits of State Action*, pp.189-220 and pp.18-19 in *A General Police System*.
2. Hegel, G.W.F. 1821. *Philosophy of Right*, pp.277-302 and pp. 25-26 in *A General Police System*.

Week 4: The Emergence of a Police as an Institution [Oct. 5]

1. Colquhoun, Patrick. orig. 1795. *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis.*, pp. 261-276 and pp. 21-25 in *A General Police System*.
2. Fielding, Sir John A. 1775. *Plan for Preventing Robberies*, pp. 140-150 and pp. 11-13 in *A General Police System*.

Suggested:

1. Emsley, Clive. 1991. *The English Police: A Political and Social history*, 2ed. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf. (Chapter 2: The Coming of the Police) [on Brightspace]

Week 5: THANKSGIVING [Oct. 12]

Week 6: Panoptic Policing [Oct. 19]

1. Foucault, M. 1977. Ch. 3 Panopticism. In *Discipline and Punish* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York: Vintage Books. [on Brightspace]
2. Bentham, Jeremy. 1787. *The Panopticon Writings*, pp. 222-244 and pp. 19-20 in *A General Police System*.
3. Wall, Tyler. 2013. Unmanning the Police Manhunt: Vertical Security as Pacification. *Socialist Studies*, 9(2): 32-56 [on Brightspace]

Suggested:

1. Bogard, W. (1996). Ch. 3 Social control for the 1990s. In *The Simulation of Surveillance: Hypercontrol in Telematic Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [on Brightspace]

Week 7: FALL BREAK [Oct. 26]

Week 8: Arrest and Search [Nov. 2]

1. *Criminal Code* sections 494-495 [on Brightspace]
2. *R v. Asante-Mensah* (2003) 38 SCC; #9 [on Brightspace]
3. *Trespass to Property Act* RSO 1990 [on Brightspace]
4. Rigakos, George. Presentation to the Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights -Bill C-26, Thursday March 1, 2012 11:00 am [on Brightspace]

Suggested:

1. Rigakos, George S. and David H. Greener. 2000. 'Bubbles of Governance: Private Policing and the Law in Canada' *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 15(1): 145-185. [on Brightspace]

Week 9: Policing in a Risk Society [Nov. 9]

1. Ericson, R. and K. Haggerty. 1997. Policing as risk communications. In *Policing the Risk Society*. Pp. 17-38. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. [on Brightspace]
2. Beck, Ulrich. "On the Logic of Wealth Distribution and Risk Distribution," in *Risk Society: Towards a New Reflexive Modernity* (London: Sage Publications, 1992): 19-50. [on Brightspace]

Suggested:

1. Rigakos, George S. 2008. Ch.6 "Getting Noticed" from: *Nightclub: Bouncers, Risk and the Spectacle of Consumption*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. [on Brightspace]

Week 10: The Security Commodity**[Nov. 16]**

1. Marx, K. "The Fetishism of Commodities," in *Capital Vol. 1* (London: Penguin Books, 1978). [on Brightspace]
2. 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. [on Brightspace]

Week 11: Policing, Dispossession and Urban Space**[Nov. 23]**

1. Eick, Volker. 2006. Preventive urban discipline: Rent-a-cops and neoliberal glocalization in Germany. *Social Justice*, 33(3):1-19. [on Brightspace]
2. Wilson, J. Q., & Kelling, G. L. (1982). Broken windows: The police and neighbourhood safety. *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 29-38. [on Brightspace]
3. Dafnos, Tia. 2013. Pacification and indigenous struggles in Canada. *Socialist Studies*. 9(2): 57-77 [on Brightspace]
4. Seborio, Sebastien. 2013. The pacification of the favelas. *Socialist Studies*. 9(2): 131-145. [on Brightspace]

Week 13: Anti-security**[Nov. 30]**

1. Rigakos, George S. and Mark Neocleous. "Anti-Security: A Declaration," in *Anti-Security*, Mark Neocleous and George S. Rigakos (eds.) (Ottawa: Red Quill Books, 2011): 15-23. [on Brightspace]
2. Rigakos, George and Aysegul Ergul. 2013. The Pacification of the American working class: A time-series analysis. *Socialist Studies*. 9(2): 167-196 [on Brightspace]

Suggested:

1. 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, 2011): 57-83.
2. Papanicolaou, Georgios and George S. Rigakos. 2014. Democratizing the Police in Europe with a Particular Emphasis on Greece. Athens: Nicos Poulantzas Institute. [on Brightspace]

Week 14: Final Exam Review**[Dec. 7]**

University and Departmental Policies

DEPARTMENT POLICIES AND REGULATIONS

Please review the following webpage to ensure that your practices meet our Department's expectations, particularly regarding standard departmental protocols and academic integrity requirements: <https://carleton.ca/law/student-experience-resources/>.

PLAGIARISM

Plagiarism is presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own. Plagiarism 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, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, and material on the Internet. Plagiarism is a serious offence. More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>.

ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATIONS

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

Pregnancy 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 accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the [Pregnancy Accommodation Form](#).

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 [click here](#).

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. 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/>