

Policing and repression of anti-globalization protests and movements: a bibliography of English-language material

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Note

The following bibliography assembles a variety of material –from the news media, the movement, academia and the security forces- on the policing and repression of the anti-globalization movement (AGM). The following should be noted:

Material included. There is a massive literature on the AGM, much of which deals with these issues en passant. Only sources with these issues at their core are cited.

Material not included. Given the subject of the bibliography it should come as no surprise that certain parts of the literature are underrepresented due to the lack of enthusiasm, for example, of certain sectors of the security forces in making documentation publicly available. Readers are invited to visit the websites of two international programmes – the UN's International Permanent Observatory on Security During Major Events (<http://lab.unicri.it/ipo.html>) and the EU's EU-SEC, Coordinating National Programmes on Security during Major Events in Europe (www.eu-sec.org) – and note that, while most programmes these organisations fund bristle with freely-available reports, reports are strangely unavailable from these sites.

Material on the media demonisation of the AGM – basic to security force and state management of the movement – has not been included and hopefully will be the subject of a further bibliography.

Material on the Internet. Wherever possible, a free downloadable Internet address is given for material. For internet sources, date of access is given. In the (not totally unlikely) case of these sources disappearing, a further Internet search may be worthwhile, as at least some of these sources appear on multiple sites.

Bias of the material. The bibliography mirrors the literature in that it is biased towards experience in core countries.

Draft nature of the work. This is a first draft and the compiler would welcome communications that drew his attention to sources he has failed to cite. He can be contacted at tomas.x AT ireland.com

Context

The following are modern or classic contributions to the literature on the policing of protests intended to provide a context within which to situate policing of AGM protests.

Allgeyer, Gary A. (1996) Social protests in the 1990s: planning a response. www.fbi.gov/publications/leb/1996/jan961.txt acc 23/6/07.

Anarchist Black Cross Network (n.d.) Understanding police claims of protestor violence. www.anarchistblackcross.org/security/pigtactics.html acc 25/6/04.

Anon (n.d.) How the police see crowds and how this affects their strategies towards public order policing. <http://dissentnetzwerk.org/node/3818/print> acc 22/12/08

Baker, David (n.d.) Policing of public disorder: new "offenders", new policing. [www.lawlink.nsw.gov.au/lawlink/becser/becsar.nsf/files/baker.pdf/\\$FILE/baker.pdf](http://www.lawlink.nsw.gov.au/lawlink/becser/becsar.nsf/files/baker.pdf/$FILE/baker.pdf) (policing of road protest and Merseyside dock dispute in England).

Bessell, Richard and Emsley, Clive (eds)(2002) *Patterns of provocation: police and public order*. Berghahn. ISBN 157181227X.

Borum, Randy and Tilby, Chuck (2005) Anarchist direct actions: a challenge for law enforcement. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 28: 201-223. http://chuck.mahost.org/weblog/anarchist_direct_actions.pdf acc 19/3/08.

Boykoff, Jules (2007) Limiting dissent: the mechanisms of state repression in the USA. *Social Movement Studies* 6(3): 281-310.

Boykoff, Jules (2007) *Beyond bullets: the suppression of dissent in the United States*. AK Press. 400pp. ISBN 1904859598

BSSRS (1985) *Technocop –new police technologies*. London: Free Association Books. 112p. ISBN 0946960259.

Button, Mark, John, Tim and Brearley, Nigel (2002) New challenges in public order policing: the professionalisation of environmental protest and the emergence of the militant environmental activist. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 30: 17-32.

Davenport, Christian (2005) Understanding covert repressive action: the case of the US government against the Republic of New Africa. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 120-140.

Davenport, Christian and Soule, Sarah A. (n.d.) Velvet glove, iron fist or even hand? Protest policing in the United States 1960-1990. <http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/apworkshop/davenport0108.pdf> acc 15/10/10.

De Lint, William (2005) Public order policing: a tough act to follow? *International Journal of the Sociology of Law* 33: 179-199.

Della Porta, Donatella and Reiter, Herbert (eds)(1998) *Policing protest: the control of mass demonstrations in western democracies*. Minneapolis, Mn: University of Minnesota Pr. 302p. ISBN 0816630631.

Donner, Frank J. (1971) A special supplement: the theory and practice of American political intelligence. *New York Review of Books* 16(7), 14 April 1971. www.nybooks.com/articles/10584 acc 27/1/09.

Earl, Jennifer and Soule, Sarah A. (2006) Seeing blue: a police-centred explanation of protest policing. *Mobilization* 11(2): 145-164.

European Parliament Directorate General for Research Scientific and Technological Options Assessment (2000) *Crowd control technologies: an appraisal of technologies for political control. Final study*. Luxembourg: Directorate General for Research. (Working Document PE 168 394). www.europarl.europa.eu/stoa/publications/studies/19991401a-en.pdf, acc 11/3/08.

Flyghed, Janne (2002) Normalising the exceptional: the case of political violence. *Policing and Society* 13(1): 23-41.

Giugni, Marco and Wisler, Dominique (1998) Political coalitions, face-to-face interactions, and the public sphere: an examination of the determinants of repression with protest event data. Paper to Second Conference on Protest Event Analysis, Berlin July 1998. 30p. www.nd.edu/~dmyers/cbsm/vol1/berlin98a.pdf acc 19/3/08. (Looks at Swiss police handling of demonstrations from the 1960s to the 1990s: the second conclusion of paper is 'it is repression that causes violence rather than the other way around').

Groenendijk, K. (2004) Reinstatement of controls at the internal borders of Europe: why and against whom? *European Law Journal* 10(2): 150-170.

Hall, Alan and De Lint, William (2003) Policing labour in Canada. *Policing and Society* 13(3): 219-234.

Hestness, Greg and Lee Russo (2001) Controlling aggressive public protests in Major Cities Chief Association Critical Issues Study Group *Meeting law enforcement's responsibilities: solving the serious issues of today*, pp.9-22. www.neiassociates.org/seriousissues.pdf acc 11/3/08 (Hestness is with the Minneapolis Police Department and Russo with the Baltimore County, Maryland PD.).

Hornqvist, M. (2004) Risk assessments and public order disturbances: new European guidelines for the use of force? *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 5(1): 4-26.

Lodge, Alan (n.d.) Photo-journalists getting stress! http://tash.gn.apc.org/journo_hassle.htm acc 23/3/05. (Details of police methods of dealing with inconvenient photo-journalists –England and Scotland).

Marx, G. T. (1974) Thoughts on a neglected category of social movement participant: the agent provocateur and the informant. *American Journal of Sociology* 80: 402-442. <http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/neglected.html> acc 19/3/08.

McCarthy, J. D., McPhail, C. and Crist, J. (1999) The diffusion and adoption of public order management systems in della Porta, Donatella, Kriesi, Hanspeter and Rucht, Dieter (eds) *Social movements in a globalising world*, Macmillan, pp.71-94. ISBN 0333739817.

McPhail, Clark and McCarthy, John D. (n.d.) Protest mobilization, protest repression and their interaction. 38pp.
<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mobandrep/papers/mcphailmccarthy.pdf> acc 2/10/10. (Focus on US over 'last three decades').

Morris, Steven (2001) Treat crowds with respect to avoid riots, police told. *Guardian* 10/1/10, p.10.

Opel, Andy (2003) Punishment before prosecution: pepper spray as postmodern repression in Opel, Andy and Pompper, D (eds) *Representing resistance: media, civil disobedience and the global justice movement*, Praeger pp., 44-60. ISBN 031332852.

Rafail, Patrick. (2005) *Is there an asymmetry in protest policing? Comparative empirical analysis from Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver*. McGill Social Statistics Masters Working Paper Series 2005-2. 43p.

www.mcgill.ca/files/socialstatistics/Patrick_Rafail_pdf acc 11/3/08. (Useful paper which throws doubt on alleged widespread adoption of consent model of policing protest).

Staffordshire Police (2000) Operation Encompass: an effort to address environmental protest. 8p.
[http://popcenter.org/library/awards/tilley//2000/00-41\(R\).pdf](http://popcenter.org/library/awards/tilley//2000/00-41(R).pdf) acc 11/3/08. (Policing the Birmingham Northern Relief Road scheme).

Terpstra, Jan (2006) Policing protest and the avoidance of violence: dilemmas and problems of legitimacy. *Revija Vartsvoslouje* 8 (3/4): 203-211.

Ward, Tony (1986) *Death and disorder: three case studies of public order and policing in London*. Inquest. 81pp. ISBN 0946858020.

Wawryk, Wayne P. (2005) The collection and use of intelligence in policing public order protest. April 20, 2005.31p.
www.ipperwashington.ca/policy_part/research/pdf/Wawryk.pdf acc 11/3/08.

Overview

The following references deal in general with policing and repression of the AGM or with studies of more than one country:

Anon (2001) Civil society boycotts Hague conference –closed conference in Hague to discuss “Maintaining public order a democratic approach” –speakers refuse to attend as token NGO representatives.

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Anon (2001) International conference Global civil society maintaining public order, a democratic approach. By invitation only.

www.burojansen.nl/orde/engels/politieeng.htm acc 24/5/04.

Anon (2009) German and French police prepare for NATO protesters. *International Herald Tribune* 3/4/09, p. 3.

Anon (2009) Police prepare massive security in Germany and France.

www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,druck-617096,00.html acc 8/4/09 (NATO)

Bjork, Micael (2005) Between frustration and aggression: legal framing and the policing of public disorder in Sweden and Denmark. *Policing and Society* 15(3): 305-326.

Boski, Joseph (2002) Responses by state actors to insurgent civic spaces since the WTO meetings at Seattle. *International Development Planning Review* 24(4) (WTO in Seattle, ADB in Honolulu and G8 in Kananaskis).

Castle, Stephen (2009) A contrast in policing. *International Herald Tribune* 16/5/09:2. (Strasbourg NATO and London G20).

Critical Mass (n.d.) Police vs. Critical Mass.

<http://criticalmassrides.info/police.html> acc 1/6/05. (Details of police crack downs on Critical Mass rides from 1992 to 2004).

Crosby, Andrew (2008) Spatial strategies in the policing of protest: the ideal democratic state and the contestation of public space.

<http://culturalshifts.com/archives/301/print> acc 9/7/09.

della Porta, Donatella and Tarrow, Sidney (2001) After Genoa and New York: the antiglobal movement, the police and terrorism. *Items and Issues* 2(3/4): 9-11. <http://publications.ssrc.org/items/ItemsWinter20012.3-4.pdf> acc 11/3/08.

della Porta, Donatella and Reiter, Herbert (2004) Police measures against the new global protest in Polet, Francois (ed) *Globalizing resistance: the state of struggle*. London/Louvain-La-Neuve: Pluto/CETRI, pp 272-288. ISBN 0745323553.

della Porta, Donatella, Peterson, Abby and Reiter, Herbert (eds)(2006) *The policing of transnational protest*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 213p. ISBN 0754626768 (Only book available on the subject –6 chapters (cited individually below) -on Genoa, Gothenburg, Copenhagen, Canada, US and EU- plus introductory and concluding chapters).

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Ferguson, Sarah (2001) First tear gas, now bullets. *Village Voice* 18/7/01. <http://www.villagevoice.com/2001-07-17/news/first-tear-gas-now-bullets/1/> acc 2/9/01.

Ferguson, Sarah (2000) Keeping an eye on protesters. Salon.com 29/9/00. <http://archive.salon.com/news/feature/2000/09/29/surveillance/index.html> acc 20/3/08.

Fernandez, Luis (2005) Policing space: social control and the anti-corporate globalization movement. *The Canadian Journal of Police and Security Services* 3(4):241-249. www.dissensio.org/texto/Fernandez.article.pdf acc 11/3/08.

Fernandez, Luis Alberto (2005) Policing protest spaces: social control in the anti-globalization movement. Dissertation. Arizona State University, May 2005. 155p www.dissensio.org/texto/luisdiss.pdf acc 26/2/08. (WEF (New York February 2002); G8 (Calgary and Ottawa July 2002); WB/IMF (Washington, DC September 2002); WTO (Cancun September 2003) and FTAA (Miami, November 2003).

Mac Sheoin, Tomás and Yeates, Nicola (2009) Policing anti-globalisation protests: patterns and variations in state responses in Dasgupta, Samir and Pieterse, Jan Nederveen (eds) *The politics of globalization*. New Delhi: Sage, pp. 197-241.

Peterson, Abby (2006) Policing contentious politics at transnational summits: Darth Vader or the Keystone Cops? in della Porta, Donatella, Peterson, Abby and Reiter, Herbert (eds)(2006) *The policing of transnational protest*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp.43-73.

Peterson, Abby (2009) *Policing contentious politics in Sweden and Denmark*. Shaker Verlag GmbH. 168pp. ISBN 9042362853.

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Philipps, M. M. and Trofimov, Y. (2001) Global protests trigger a game of spy vs spy: police and demonstrators infiltrate the enemy camp. *Wall Street Journal Europe* 11/9/01: 1,10.

Rosenberg, Paul (2000) The empire strikes back: police repression of protest from Seattle to L.A. Written for the LA Independent Media Centre. August 13, 2000. (33p) <http://r2klegal.org/pdf/empire.strikes.pdf> acc 11/3/08. (Seattle; Washington DC; Windsor, Ontario and Calgary, Alberta; Philadelphia and Los Angeles).

Sheptycki, J. (2005) Policing political protest when politics go global: comparing public order policing in Canada and Bolivia. *Policing & Society* 15(3): 327-352.

Waddington, David (2007) Seattle and its aftershocks: some implications for theory and practice. *Policing* 1(4): 380-389.

Waddington, David P (2007) *Policing public disorder: theory and practice*. Willen Publishing. 248p. ISBN 1843922339. (Chapter 5 on worldwide AGM protests after Seattle and Chapter 6 on the Sheffield G8 meeting).

Wahlstrom, Matthias and Oskarsson, Mikael (2006) Negotiating political protest in Gothenburg and Copenhagen in della Porta, Donatella, Peterson, Abby and Reiter, Herbert (eds)(2006) *The policing of transnational protest*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp.117-143. ISBN 0754626768.

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Anon (2007) Australia: police attack anti-APEC protest.
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Barrett, B. (2000) *Beating up: a report on police batons and the news media at the World Economic Forum, Melbourne, September 2000*. 22p
<http://home.vicnet.au/~gcforum/BarrettReport.htm> acc 23/6/07.

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Hinman, Pip (2007) Protest extraordinary police powers for APEC. www.greenleft.org.au/2007/714/37079 acc 17/6/09.

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O'Connor, Patrick (2007) Massive police-state mobilisation for Sydney APEC demonstration. www.wsws.org/articles/2007/sep2007/apec-slvb.shtml acc 12/6/09.

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Snell, Liz (2008) Protest, protection, policing: the expansion of police powers and the impact on human rights in NSW: the policing of APEC 2007 as a case study. Combined Community Centres' Legal Group (NSW)/Kingsford Legal Centre. 50p. www.clcnsw.org.au/public_resource.details.php?resource_id=50 acc 2/10/10.

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