Umeå University

This is an accepted version of a paper published in *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*. This paper has been peer-reviewed but does not include the final publisher proof-corrections or journal pagination.

Citation for the published paper:

Rantatalo, O. (2012)

"The miscellany of militaristic policing: a literature review"

Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism, 7(1): 51-65

Access to the published version may require subscription.

Permanent link to this version:

<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:umu:diva-53348>

<http://umu.diva-portal.org>

The Miscellany of Militaristic Policing: A Literature Review

Oscar Rantatalo

Abstract

This article reviews how the subject of paramilitary policing and paramilitary police units (PPUs) has been addressed during the last ten years of criminal justice, criminological and policing research. In this paper, the term “paramilitary policing” is discussed in relation to previous debates concerning militaristic policing and police militarization. Drawing on these debates, articles from a number of journals addressing the phenomena are reviewed with the aim of answering how paramilitary policing has been studied, defined, and contextualized in recent research. The results show that no consensus or universal definition of what paramilitary policing is seems to exist as studies denote the subject differently depending on applied theoretical and empirical perspectives. This article discusses the apparent differences and offers a conceptual scheme explaining the main intersections and different dimensions encompassed in the subject.

Keywords: Paramilitary police, literature review, paramilitary police units (PPUs)

Introduction

Through a review of literature on the subject of “paramilitary policing,” this article aims to answer how this and adjacent concepts have been addressed in the last ten years of international research. Initially, one can conclude that the term “paramilitary policing” has been used ambiguously with a variety of associations and meanings in the scholarly world. As Lorinskas and Kulis (1986) states: “Police organizations are routinely described as military, paramilitary, semi-military, quasi-military, crypto-military, pseudo-military, pyramidal military, military like etc.” (p. 183). Generally speaking, the definition of “paramilitary” is used in terms of organizing aims to describe organizations that resemble, are analogous to, or are ancillary to military professionals without being incorporated into regular armed forces in regards of professional or legitimate status (OED, 2011). With this distinction, paramilitary police can be defined as organizations within law enforcement bodies that in differing degrees are modelled after the military, but with the statutory powers and legitimate status of the police. However, this definition is not in any way comprehensive or general, as conceptualizations of paramilitary policing in different policing contexts (such as constable, continental, colonial, or centralized national models) render different takes on the subject, as well as different definitions on subject boundaries (Brogden, 2001; Hills, 2009; Sheptycki, 1999). The range of definitions goes from strictly functional—that paramilitary policing should be understood as policing tight institutional relations and/or merging with regular armed forces, i.e., policing “on behalf of the military” (Hills, 1995; Waddington, 1999, p.128)—to less restrained, symbolic definitions highlighting it in terms of a militaristic *style* of policing characterized by militaristic appearance, technology, and modus operandi (Jefferson, 1993; Haggerty, 1999; Kraska & Kappeler, 1997; Scobell & Hammitt, 1999). Further, the debate on paramilitary policing also goes beyond the question of a specific definition. Questions have been raised regarding what implications militaristic or

“paramilitary” policing has on police accountability, police use of force, police tactics, police militarization, or public order policing (see for example, Jefferson, 1990, 1993; Waddington, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1999; Hills, 1995; Kraska, 1999; Kraska & Kappeler, 1997; Kraska & Paulsen, 1997).

In recent years, it can be argued that discussions on paramilitary policing have evolved because the contexts of paramilitary policing have been undergoing a global change. A few examples concern technological advances that impact on police use of force (Ericson & Haggerty, 1997; Haggerty & Ericson, 1999; Jones & Hinds, 2002; Rappert, 2002), a developing security situation with an increasing focus on the challenge of transnational risk (Lutterbeck, 2004; Weger & Clingendael, 2009) and radical changes in legislation for police and intelligence agencies post-9/11 (McCulloch & Pickering, 2009; Pickering & McCulloch, 2010; Wolfendale, 2006). As a result of the terrorist attacks of 2001, 2003, and 2005, the focus on international terrorism and the “new security agenda” has acted as a strong driver for the reorganization of police institutions in many countries around the world (Brodeur, 2007; Deflem, 2010). This has also affected the relationships between police and military agencies. As Deflem (2004) puts it: “As terrorism is conceived as war-like behaviour and is responded to by military actions, it brings up the problem of a potential militarization of the police” (p. 77). Further, the war on terror and developments toward trans-border policing have also worked to initiate collaboration between different national paramilitary police agencies. In an African context, the “Organisation de Gendarmeries Africanise” (OGA), with 26 participating gendarmeries, is one example of a multilateral paramilitary police collaboration funded in 2003 (de Weger & Clingendael, 2009). A European example is the gendarmerie force (EGF)—a collaboration among six European gendarmeries intended for international police operations. Another European example directly aimed at counterterrorism and organized in

the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks is the ATLAS Network, comprising 36 European police special intervention units (Block, 2007). (For a full list of participating units see Netzwerk der Sondereinheiten, 2010). Paramilitary police units have in this light been advocated as a possible third way to counter terrorism by an institutional position that lies between military and police, combining civilian mandates and specialist knowledge (Friedrichs, 2008; Zimmermann, 2005). Other scholars highlight that the blurring of mandates and organizational spheres creates problematic relationships of police and military wherein military tactics introduced to counter terrorism tend to get normalized and transferred into everyday policing methods, and thereby contrasts with community- and problem-oriented policing approaches (Hills, 2009; Flyghed, 2000; 2002; Mcculloch, 2004; Reiner & Newburn, 2007).

Using this variance and implied developments as a backdrop, this review of literature aims to advance knowledge on mainly three different questions: (1) How has paramilitary policing as a field of research been studied in recent research? (2) How has the concept been defined and in what various ways can it be defined? and (3) In which different empirical and institutional contexts has the subject been conceptualized?

Methodological Considerations

A qualitative review of the literature was conducted to inquire about how paramilitary policing has been addressed in the last ten years of international research on the subject. The approach to reviewing can be defined as a paradigmatically inclusive review strategy wherein search strategies, inclusion criteria, operational definitions, and the analytical strategy for structuring results allow for review of different theoretical standpoints, methodological

perspectives, and empirical as well as non-empirical contributions to the field of research (Suri & Clarke, 2009).

Literature Sources and Source Selection Parameters

The online research reference databases “Social Sciences Citation Index” (SSCI) and SocIndex (SI) were used as sources in the initial phase of data-gathering as these cover subject disciplines such as criminology, criminal justice, sociology, security, and policing. Further, database search results were complemented with “citation snowballing,” i.e., scanning of reference lists and footnotes in search of further articles to include (Boote & Beile, 2005).

Basic inclusion criteria for all articles was that they be from peer-reviewed scholarly journals, be published between the years 2001–2011, and be written in English. In defining subject boundaries, articles were included if article authors themselves referred to their subjects as conceptualizing paramilitary police or if articles conceptualized any aspect of policing as paramilitary in connection to the main subject of the article. This produced hits ranging from studies of specific police special units (such as SWAT units and counterterrorist units) to research concerning implications and theories on direct military/police mergence or police militarization. These criteria were used for inclusion and exclusion both in the database searches and in citation snowballing.

Database searches were conducted in February 2011 and were based on topic searches using the descriptors “paramilitary policing,” “militarization of police,” “counterterrorism policing,” “constabulary forces,” “SWAT,” and “Gendarmerie.” SocIndex allowed for subject term searches that were done using the term “paramilitary forces,” as well as the combinations of these terms: “paramilitary” + “law enforcement” and “paramilitary” + “police.” The search

results produced 132 different articles. A total of 90 of these were removed by applying the source selection criteria, resulting in a total of 42 articles to be reviewed. After citation snowballing, these articles were complemented with an additional 5 articles, making the total 47. (A complete list of the articles used is included in Appendix 1.) The material was listed according to journal, year of publication, methodological approach, and study design to obtain an overview. Based on the overview, thematic text analysis was conducted on the subjects and aims of all the articles. In this step, findings were summarized, and prominent themes were identified and structured under thematic headings (Dixon-Woods, Agarwal, Jones, Young, & Sutton, 2005).

Results

This section is structured in accordance with the three questions posted in the introduction, namely: How has paramilitary policing been studied in recent research? How has the concept been defined and in what various ways can it be defined? In which different empirical and institutional contexts has the subject been conceptualized?

Paramilitary Policing by Type of Study

As previously stated, the total number of articles retrieved through the inclusive approach described above was 47, drawn from a total of 37 journals. A basic categorization of journal types after subject (aims and scope) shows that the main arenas for coverage were within criminological and criminal justice journals (14 articles), security and political science journals (12 articles), and policing journals (here separated from the wider field of criminal justice, 12 articles). The most frequently occurring journal with coverage on the subject was *Policing and Society* (Taylor & Francis) with 5 hits, followed by the two journals *Policing—An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management* (Emerald), and *Social Justice* (Social Justice) with 3 hits for each one. In addition to the above described fields, articles

were retrieved from journals covering cultural studies, sociology, democracy, civil rights, ethnography, and international studies as a few examples. Table 1 shows the division by year and subjects of articles:

Table 1

Articles by Year and Subject

<Insert TABLE 1 about here>

It should be noted that overlaps in aims exist as the articles address multiple subjects and relationships. However, by sorting the explicitly stated aims of articles, it can be concluded that certain aspects attract attention. The question of police militarization and case studies of different paramilitary organizations are two examples of this, as well as the subject of counterterrorism policing, which regained attention in 2004.

Looking at study designs in the reviewed articles, in total 21 articles, $\approx 45\%$, utilized data collected first-hand. The most frequently occurring methods for researching the subjects are through variations of case study approaches such as comparative studies and ethnographically influenced single case studies. In addition to case study approaches, interview studies (semi-structured interviews in PPUs), document studies (policy documents, reports on militarization, incident reports), and survey methodology (questionnaires and self-reports) were apparent in the material. The articles categorized as non-empirical were classified as conceptual (discussing some aspect of paramilitary policing trends, tendencies, phenomenon) and theoretical (developing theoretical frameworks; ex-sociological foundations for counterterrorism policing, and organizational-theoretical frameworks).

Conceptual Definitions of Paramilitary Police/Policing

One theme of articles identified in the material directly focused on paramilitary police

as a contemporary societal phenomenon. Distinguishing aspects of these articles is that they conceptualized the subject of paramilitary policing through typologies and definitions and/or denoted the subject through discussions of police militarization tendencies/blurring of security spheres (see Beede, 2008; Kraska, 2007; Paul & Birzer, 2008; Hill & Beger, 2009; Hill, Beger, & Zanetti, 2007; Greener-Barcham, 2007; Campbell & Campbell, 2010; Lutterbeck, 2004, 2005, 2006; McCulloch, 2004; Herzog, 2001; Andreas & Price, 2001; Andreas, 2003). Although these subjects are interrelated, and most articles address both definitions and trends, the principal focuses differ somewhat. Beede (2008) is one example of an attempt to inquire about the practical applicability and functional definition of paramilitary police. The author draws on Scobell and Hammit's (1999) typology of paramilitary forces and sets out to create a framework for analysing police/military convergences by classifying aspects of policing done on behalf of law enforcement (civil policing, militarized policing, paramilitary policing) and policing done on behalf of armed forces (military policing). Paramilitary policing is in a basic way conceptualized as civil police organizations carrying out law enforcement tasks (as in the case with civil policing), however trained, equipped, and structured as military forces. Using this typology, Beede (2008) discusses potential dangers of the use of paramilitary police, such as loss of legitimacy and increased violence, but also highlights possibilities such as the use of paramilitary police units as a viable alternative to the involvement of armed forces in managing internal security threats.

Another example aimed at typology is Kraska (2007), who conceptualizes police militarization processes in a U.S context. The author identifies a set of indicator continuums by which police militarization can be studied consisting of material indicators (martial weaponry), cultural indicators (martial language), organizational indicators (martial arrangements), and operational indicators (punitive methods, aggressive policing approaches).

Utilizing these continuums, Kraska reviews a trend toward police militarization; among other examples showcased in the use of coercive approaches such as no-knock raids by SWAT teams. Kraska further discusses how the militarization trend is at odds with community policing and also how it relates to a trend of “police-ization” of the military. Other articles discussing paramilitary policing in a U.S setting approach the subject from an explicitly critical perspective, seeing it as a style of policing in direct opposition to democratic values (see for example, Paul & Birzer 2008; Hill, Beger, & Zanetti, 2007; Hill & Beger, 2009). These authors take a clear normative stance against militaristically styled policing, and they argue for police demilitarization strategies as necessary ways to enhance democratic policing and minimize cases of police brutality, police violence, and public mistrust.

A variation on the theme of police militarization is found in the articles aimed at discussing the paramilitary aspects of policing in terms of security (see Lutterbeck, 2006; McCulloch, 2004; Andreas & Price, 2001; Andreas, 2003; Campbell & Campbell, 2010; Greener-Barcham, 2007). Drawing on examples such as border patrol, peace support missions, civil-military cooperation (CIMIC, e.g., policing of ceasefires, protection of electoral processes, border monitoring, state-building operations), and military operations other than war (OOTW), the blurring of traditional distinctions between internal and external security are highlighted and drivers for militarization are discussed on different aggregated levels both internally (i.e., economic drivers, stakeholder interests) and externally (i.e., political climate, globalization, changing discourse of security).

Paramilitary Police/Policing in Different Institutional Contexts

The majority of authors in the material address the subject of paramilitary policing indirectly and couple it to other empirical subjects. The categorization of indirect approaches

to paramilitary policing is here done due to contexts, institutional settings, and traditions of policing. Studies within these categories are exemplified with the purpose of showing how paramilitary policing can be addressed from different angles and in different settings, such as colonial policing, military/police mergence, traditional policing, and in counterterrorism policing.

Paramilitary Features of Colonial Policing

The paramilitary tendencies of colonial policing (e.g., regulation of hostile populations by police rather than military) are mentioned by several researchers in connection to colonized and post-colonial geographical areas (see for example, Brogden, 2001; Lau, 2004; McCulloch, 2004; Duschinski, 2010). A few examples of other studies are Brogden (2001) and Lau (2004), which, albeit studying differing geographical contexts (Northern Ireland and Hong Kong), lift up similar problems associated with police transformation from colonial paramilitary traditions toward community-oriented policing. Lau (2004) exemplifies colonial traditions inherent in the modern Hong-Kong police with paramilitary structures (installation of police tactical units), processes (militarized training and initiations), and practices (use of hard tactics such as street sweeps, searches, and extrajudicial punishments). These organizational dimensions are described as barriers to the implementation of community policing initiatives. Another example connecting the violent features of contemporary policing to a political history of colonialism is Duschinski (2010). Duschinski discusses policing in the highly militarized area of the Kashmir Valley in India. The policing situation, which stems from the area's history of British colonial rule, is described as extraordinary and characterized by militarization. Paramilitary police units such as the border security (BSF) and the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) are exemplified as repressive forces regularly involved in extrajudicial punishments such as kidnappings and even murder in so-called fake

encounters. Paramilitary policing is, from this perspective, viewed as an instrument of force and a means of repression.

Paramilitary Policing Defined as Police/Military Role Convergence

Another theme in the material is descriptions of paramilitary policing as law enforcement that is carried out in conjunction with military forces. Meliala (2001) describes role conflicts in the national Indonesian police (Polri.) stemming from the police organization's function and consolidation as a wing of the Indonesian military (Abri.). The incorporation of police into the military was, according to Meliala, motivated as a governmental strategy to eliminate the autonomy of the police. The effects of the role convergence are described as a military style of policing, obscurities in matters of mission statement and accountability, use of violent tactics, and an uneasy relationship between police and the public.

Another account is presented by Le Mière (2011), who discusses paramilitary police organizations in an Asia-Pacific maritime setting. Examples of these organizations are, among others, China's Maritime Police and Fisheries Law Enforcement Command and Japan's Coast Guard (JCG). The author describes a tendency for these agencies to be deployed in disputed areas at sea as national strategies to showcase an armed presence without breaching demilitarization conventions and policies at sea.

A third example of role convergence can be seen in the context of border control policing. In the U.S context of border control, Andreas and Price (2001) and Dunn (2001) (among others) discuss the military established Joint Task Force-6 (JTF-6) as an example.

The task force mission is described as the provision of support from the Department of Defense to federal, state, and local law enforcement. Dunn (2001) describes the relationship between the police and military as characterized by integration. One example of this integration is the utilization of military resources and personnel (field units, ground troops, and support from army special forces during raids) in law enforcement operations.

Western Policing Models Are Inherently Paramilitary

A third theme for how paramilitary policing is described draws on the notion that traditional Western policing models in large are based on military philosophy and authoritative structures, and/or they incorporate paramilitary sub-organizations for policing purposes. From a Continental European perspective, the use of gendarmeries is one example of how a traditional model of policing encompasses military characteristics as gendarmeries are described as assimilated into the continental policing system. Gendarmeries are characterized by a militaristic style, culture, and organization, by use of militaristic strategies and methodologies, by a hierarchical atmosphere, and by a position in between internal and external security responsibilities (see Greener-Barcham, 2007; Lutterbeck, 2004, 2005, 2006; Silvia, 2008; Zimmerman, 2005).

Also the British and U.S professional models of policing are described as encompassing paramilitary features. From a British perspective, Murray (2005) conceptualizes the historical Peelian version of police service stemming from the *Metropolitan Police Act* as a model with a paramilitary signature. The notion that police, according to the Peelian principles, were to be organized along military lines and the fact that there at the time were no other organizational models available except the military are emphasized as circumstances that have had an impact on the organization of police work up

until today. In a U.S/Canadian context, Hodgson (2001) discusses the traditional organizational model of policing as paramilitary in the sense that it is authoritarian: Military-authoritative command structures, centralization, and the tendency to use violent methods are pointed to as being paramilitary characteristics. These are contrasted with requirements in modern society that service ethos, nonviolent conflict resolution, decentralization, and a diversity of tasks must be managed by the police. A final example comes from Leichtman (2008), who discusses a post-9/11 increase in military-styled policing as an outcome of a symbiotic co-existence between a professional and a military model of policing. The author denotes the military model as something inherent in police culture and police self-image and exemplifies this with the narrative of police as a “thin blue line” between order and chaos.

Paramilitary Policing As an Aspect of Counterterrorism

A final theme of paramilitary policing relates to counterterrorism policing (see Perliger, Hasisi & Pedahzur, 2009; Deflem, 2004; Murray, 2005; Kennison & Loumansky, 2007; Zimmerman, 2005). Deflem (2004), for example, discusses changes in counterterrorism policing post-9/11 through a lens of a neo-weberian perspective of social control. Developments in counterterrorism policing post-9/11 are described in terms of expansion of police objectives and use of paramilitary anti-terrorist assault teams, the blurring of institutional police and military connections, and developments in police and military cooperation, to name a few. Another example also discussing a changed agenda post-9/11 is Murray (2005), who describes an increased focus on paramilitary counterterrorism policing initiatives over community-oriented policing approaches to counterterrorism. The increase in militaristic policing using arguments of counterterrorism is seen as counter-productive, both from the perspectives of accountability and efficacy, as community policing partly enriches democratic-valued policing but also has counterterrorism advantages, as it enables early

detection of terrorist activities. Also Perliger, Hasisi, and Pedahzur (2009) discuss a “war model” approach to counterterrorism as problematic from an accountability and democratic perspective. Drawing on empirical support from an Israeli context, the authors describe the role of police special counterterrorism units (exemplified by the Israeli Special Central Unit Yehida Merkazit Meyuhedet - YAMAM) as a key resource in thwarting ongoing terrorist actions. However, the authors do not view the use of special counterterrorism units as a sign of police militarization, but rather one of societal demilitarization and the application of a criminal justice model to counterterrorism policing, since the YAMAM replaced the use of Israeli defence forces (IDF) elite units for the same purposes. This view is also presented by Zimmerman (2005), who in a discussion of the Israeli YAMAM denotes the unit as a “third option” of counterterrorism, which is adjusted to the use of force proposed in terrorist attacks.

Discussion

As seen in the themes presented here, the various ways to denote the subject of militaristic police(-ing) varies considerably depending on theoretical and empirical interests, as well as on research interests at different aggregated levels. In connection with earlier stances on how paramilitary policing can and should be defined (Hills, 1995; Sheptycki, 1999), it can be concluded that no apparent consensus, universal definition, cumulative research program, or canon of shared knowledge has developed during the last ten years of research. Rather, this article shows that an already divergent conceptual mix becomes further complicated when one takes into account the different geographical and institutional contexts in which the subject has been studied. Due to this variance, the endeavor of consolidating the various concepts of paramilitary policing seems to run the risk of obscuring different dimensions and perspectives related to the subject. This article suggests that in place of definitions, what needs to be addressed is the creation of a systematic description of how

different approaches to paramilitary policing are related and where the main differences are. The need for clarity and analytical viability is in this light not vouched for by categorical exclusions and demarcations, but rather by including, accounting for, and systematizing differing accounts of paramilitary policing organizations, logic, and processes in relation to one another.

In the results presented here, three empirically grounded key narratives of paramilitary policing can be identified as cutting across all subsections and presented themes. The first of these narratives defines the concept of paramilitary police as something the police are (e.g., descriptions of paramilitary police characteristics in primacy of policing). The second position addresses what paramilitary police do (e.g., paramilitary policing activities in primacy of police as an institution). While these two narratives are both aimed at delivering descriptions of the police in different aspects, the third and last narrative is aimed outside the police—at purposes, effects, and results of paramilitary police and policing.

In addition to the empirically grounded narratives found in the reviewed articles, one must take into consideration differing theoretical stances utilized by scholars when conceptualizing paramilitary police/policing and effects of policing. A continuum ranging from normative/critical to functional/descriptive theoretical aims can be identified in the reviewed articles. These differences in research approaches have been a point of debate earlier (see for example, Waddington, 1999, and Kraska, 1999), and they can also serve as ideal types in a systematized typology describing theoretical variance that differentiates the central approaches to paramilitary policing. Based on the three identified narratives in the results, and related to the theoretical continuum (here distilled into two ideal type theoretical stances), a

conceptual map can thus be created of how the subject of paramilitary policing has been approached in recent research. Table 2 tabulates these varying approaches.

Table 2

Research Approaches to Paramilitary Police(-ing)

<Insert table 2 about here>

The typology presented above should be considered an ideal type presented to serve as an explanatory tool. This means that it is a conscious exaggeration of differences between the categories parallel to a homogenization of differences within categories. With this in mind, the typology serves a purpose as it shows how paramilitary police(-ing) may connote to different frames of reference both in an empirical and a theoretical sense. Based on the reviewed articles, it can be concluded that the different empirical dimensions operating under the conceptual umbrella of militaristic police(-ing) seldom are made explicit (e.g., whether the aim is to describe organizations, methodologies, effects, or something else). A recommendation for future research is therefore to account for both theoretical perspectives and empirical and institutional perspectives when theorizing on the subject of paramilitary police.

A final comment and suggestion for further studies is made regarding methodology. The material in the review can be concluded to consist of a large amount of non-empirical articles wherein aspects of militaristic policing is conceptualized via data collected second-hand, and often dating many years back. Of all the empirical contributions, the majority of articles consisted of case studies based on different kinds of documents and registered data. These studies have the advantage of detailed descriptions of chosen processes, events, and subjects. Via case descriptions or policy documents different developments, trends, and logic

can be closely observed. However, the frequent use of case study methodologies also runs a risk of creating “black boxes.” One such, regarding the subject of paramilitary policing, includes the descriptions of the development from a police perspective. Few studies go inside the organizations and directly examine the methods, strategies, and characteristics that are denoted as “militaristic.”

With these observations, two suggestions for further studies are provided. First, a need exists for close-up research from within the organizational boundaries of different third force, paramilitary, or gendarmerie police units in order to build knowledge about how these organizations actually operate and what roles and purposes they fill. Second, the suggested micro-perspective could be fruitfully complemented with research programs inquiring about national and multinational developments of paramilitary policing on a macro scale. Indeed, this endeavor seems quite crucial given recent developments in practice (e.g., multilateral police collaborations), and as the ongoing debate on police-militarization tendencies otherwise falls risk to being discussed without empirical anchoring.

References

- Block, L. (2007). Europe's emerging counter-terrorism elite: The ATLAS network. *Terrorism Monitor*, 5(5). Retrieved June 13, 2011 from:
http://www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=1044&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=182&no_cache=1
- Boote, D. N., & Beile, P. (2005). Scholars before researchers: On the centrality of the dissertation literature review in research preparation. *Educational Researcher*, 34(6), 3-15.
- Brodeur, J.-P. (2007). High and low policing in post-9 /11 times. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 25-37.
- Brogden, M. (2001). The Patten report: A unitary solution to a multi-dimensional problem? *Policing and Society*, 11(3), 273-295.
- Deflem, M. (2004). Social control and the policing of terrorism: foundations for a sociology of counterterrorism. *The American Sociologist*, 35(2), 75-92.
- Deflem, M. (2010). *The policing of terrorism: Organizational and global perspectives*. New York: Routledge.
- Dixon-Woods, M., Agarwal, S., Jones, D., Young, B., & Sutton, A. (2005). Synthesising qualitative and quantitative evidence: A review of possible methods. *Journal of Health Services Research and Policy*, 10(1), 45-53.
- Ericson, R., & Haggerty, K. D. (1997). *Policing the risk society*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Flyghed, J. (2002). Normalising the exceptional: The case of political violence. *Policing and*

Society, 13(1), 23-41.

Flyghed, J. (Ed.). (2000). *Brottsbekämpning - mellan effektivitet och integritet: kriminologiska perspektiv på polismetoder och personlig integritet*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Friedrichs, J. (2008). *Fighting terrorism and drugs: Europe and international police cooperation*. City: Routledge.

Haggerty, K. D, & Ericson, R. (1999). The militarization of policing in the information age. *The Journal of Military and Political Sociology*, 27, 233-245.

Hills, A. (1995). Militant tendencies - 'Paramilitarism' in the British -olice. *British Journal of Criminology*, 35(3), 450-458.

Hills, Alice (2001) 'The Inherent Limits of Military Forces in Policing Peace Operations', *International Peacekeeping* 8: 86–91.

Hills, A (2009). Paramilitary policing. In A. Wakefield and J. Fleming (eds). *Sage Dictionary of Policing* (pp. 216-218). London: SAGE.

Jefferson, T. (1990). *The case against paramilitary policing*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Jefferson, Tony. (1993). Pondering paramilitarism: A question of standpoints? *British Journal of Criminology*, 33 (3): 374-81.

Jones, H., & Hinds, P. (2002). Extreme work teams: using SWAT teams as a model for coordinating distributed robots. *Proceedings of the 2002 ACM conference on Computer supported cooperative work* (p. 381). ACM. Retrieved from

<http://portal.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=587130>.

Kraska, P. B. (1999). Militarizing criminal justice: Exploring the possibilities. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 27, 205-215.

Kraska, P. B., & Kappeler, V. E. (1997). Militarizing American police: The rise and normalization of paramilitary units. *Social Problems*, 44 (1), 1-18.

Kraska, P., & Paulsen, D. (1997). Grounded research into U.S. paramilitary policing: Forging the iron fist inside the velvet glove. *Policing and Society*, 7(4), 253-270.

Lorinkas, R. A., & Kulis, J. C. (1986). The military model and policing: A misunderstood ideology. *Police Studies: The International Review of Police Development*, 9, 184.

Lutterbeck, D. (2004). Between police and military: The new security agenda and the rise of gendarmeries. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 39(1), 45-68.

McCulloch, J., & Pickering, S. (2009). Pre-crime and counter-terrorism: Imagining future crime in the "War on Terror." *British Journal of Criminology*, 49(5), 628-645.

McCulloch, J. (2004). Blue armies, khaki police and the cavalry on the new American frontier: Critical criminology for the 21st century. *Critical Criminology*, 309-326.

Netzwerk der Sondereinheiten. (2010, 9-10). *Öffentliche Sicherheit- Magazin des Innenministeriums*.

OED Online - 'Paramilitary'. (2011). March 2011. Oxford University Press. Retrieved June 13, 2011, from <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/137527?redirectedFrom=paramilitary>

Pickering, S., & McCulloch, J. (2010). The Haneef case and counter-terrorism policing in Australia. *Policing and Society*, 20(1), 21-38.

- Rappert, B. (2002). Constructions of legitimate force. The case of CS sprays. *British Journal of Criminology*, 42(4), 689-708.
- Reiner, R., & Newburn, T. (2007). Policing and the police. In M. Maguire, R. Morgan, & R. Reiner (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of criminology* (pp. 910-952). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scobell, A., & Hammitt, B. (1999). Goons, gunmen, and gendarmerie: Toward a reconceptualization of paramilitary formations. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 27, 34-35.
- Sheptycki, J. (1999). Editorial reflections on policing, "Paramilitarisation" and scholarship on policing. *Policing and Society*, 9(2), 117-123. doi: 10.1080/10439463.1999.9964807.
- Suri, H., & Clarke, D. (2009). Advancements in research synthesis methods: From a methodologically inclusive perspective. *Review of Educational Research*, 79(1), 395-430. doi: 10.3102/0034654308326349.
- Waddington, P. A. J. (1987). Towards paramilitarism? Dilemmas in the policing of public order, *British Journal of Criminology*, 27(1): 37-46.
- Waddington, P. A. J. (1990). *The strong arm of the law: Armed and public order policing*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Waddington, P. A. J. (1993). The case against paramilitary policing considered. *British Journal of Criminology* 33(3): 353-70.
- Waddington, P. A. J. (1999). Swatting police Paramilitarism: A comment on Kraska and Paulsen. *Policing and Society*, 9(2), 125-140.

- Weger, M. J. de, & Clingendael., N. I. I. B. (2009). *The potential of the European gendarmerie force*. Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen“ Clingendael,.” Retrieved February 16, 2011, from http://www.clingendael.nl/publications/2009/20090400_cscp_gendarmerie_weger.pdf.
- Wolfendale, J. (2006). Terrorism, security, and the threat of counterterrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 29(7), 753-770.
- Zimmermann, D. (2005). Between minimum force and maximum violence: Combating political violence movements with third force options. *Connections: The Quarterly Journal*, 4(1), 43–60.

Appendix 1: Articles in the Review

- Albuquerque, C. L. de, & Paes-Machado, E. (2004). The hazing machine: the shaping of Brazilian military police recruits. *Policing and Society*, 14(2), 175-192.
- Amar, P. (2009). Operation Princess in Rio de Janeiro: Policing “Sex Trafficking”, Strengthening Worker Citizenship, and the Urban Geopolitics of Security in Brazil. *Security Dialogue*, 40(4-5), 513-541.
- Andreas, P. (2003). Redrawing the line: borders and security in the twenty-first century. *International Security*, 28(2), 78-111.
- Andreas, P., & Price, R. (2001). From war fighting to crime fighting: transforming the American national security state. *International Studies Review*, 3(3), 31–52.
- Ashraf, M. (2007). The Lessons of Policing in Iraq- a Personal Perspective. *Policing*, 1(1), 102-110.
- Beede, B.R. (2008). The roles of paramilitary and militarized police. *Journal of Political & Military Sociology*, (36)1, p53
- Birzer, M., & Paul, J. (2008). The militarization of the American Police force. *Critical Issues in Justice and Politics*, 1(1), 15-29.
- Brogden, M. (2001). The Patten report: A unitary solution to a multi-dimensional problem? *Policing and Society*, 11(3), 273-295.
- Campbell, D. J., & Campbell, K. M. (2009). Soldiers as Police Officers/ Police Officers as Soldiers: Role Evolution and Revolution in the United States. *Armed Forces & Society*, 36(2), 327-350.

- Chappell, A., & Lanza-Kaduce, L. (2010). Police Academy Socialization: Understanding the Lessons Learned in a Paramilitary-Bureaucratic Organization. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 39(2), 187-214.
- Colin. R. (2007) The civil nuclear constabulary: Accountability and policing post 9/11. *Police Journal* 80, 237–245.
- Deflem, M. (2004). Social control and the policing of terrorism: foundations for a sociology of counterterrorism. *The American Sociologist*, 35(2), 75-92.
- Dodge, M., Valcore, L., & Klinger, D. (2010). Maintaining Separate Spheres in Policing: Women on SWAT Teams. *Women & Criminal Justice*, 20(3), 218-238.
- Dunn, T. J. (2001). Border militarization via drug and immigration enforcement: human rights implications. *Social Justice*, 28(2), 7–30.
- Duschinski, H. (2010). Reproducing Regimes of Impunity. *Cultural Studies*, 24(1), 110-132.
- Friesendorf, C., & Penksa, S. (2008). Militarized Law Enforcement in Peace Operations: EUFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *International Peacekeeping*, 15(5), 677-694.
- Glomseth, R., & Gottschalk, P. (2009). Police personnel cultures: a comparative study of counter terrorist and criminal investigation units. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 22(1), 3-15.
- Greener-Barcham, B. K. (2007). Crossing the Green or Blue Line? Exploring the Military-Police Divide. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 18(1), 90-112.
- Herzog, S. (2001). Militarization and demilitarization processes in the Israeli and American police forces: Organizational and social aspects. *Policing and Society*, 11(2), 181-208.
- Hill, S.M., Beger, R.R., & Zanetti, J.M. (2007). Plugging the Security Gap or Springing a

- Leak: Questioning the Growth of Paramilitary Policing in US Domestic and Foreign Policy. *Democracy and Security*, 3(3) 301-321.
- Hill, S.M, & Beger, R.R. (2009). A Paramilitary Policing Juggernaut . *Social Justice*, 36(1), 24-40.
- Hodgson, J. (2001). Police violence in Canada and the USA: Analysis and management. *Policing – An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 24(4), 520-549.
- Kennison, P., & Loumansky, A. (2007). Shoot to kill – understanding police use of force in combatting suicide terrorism. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 47(3), 151-168.
- Klein, G. C. (2006). You Can Not Negotiate Everything or the Times They Are a Changin’. *Journal of Police Crisis Negotiations*, 6(2), 17-48.
- Kposowa, A. (2006). Erosion of the Rule of Law as a Contributing Factor in Civil Conflict: The Case of Sierra Leone. *Police Practice and Research*, 7(1), 35-48.
- Kraska, P. B. (2007). Militarization and Policing- Its Relevance to 21st Century Police. *Policing*, 1(4), 501-513.
- Lau, R. W. K. (2004). Community Policing in Hong Kong: Transplanting a Questionable Model. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 4(1), 61-80.
- Le Miere, C. (2011). Policing the Waves: Maritime Paramilitaries in the Asia-Pacific. *Survival*, 53(1), 133-146.
- Leichtman, E.C. (2008). Complex Harmony: The Military and Professional Models of Policing. *Critical Criminology* 16, 53–73

- Lutterbeck, D. (2004). Between Police and Military: The New Security Agenda and the Rise of Gendarmeries. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 39(1), 45-68.
- Lutterbeck, D. (2005). Blurring the Dividing Line: The Convergence of Internal and External Security in Western Europe. *European Security*, 14(2), 231-253.
- Lutterbeck, D. (2006). Policing Migration in the Mediterranean. *Mediterranean Politics*, 11(1), 59-82.
- Martinot, S. (2003). The Militarisation of the Police. *Social Identities*, 9(2), 205-224.
- McCulloch, J. (2004). Blue Armies, Khaki Police and the Cavalry on the new American Frontier: Critical Criminology for the 21st Century. *Critical Criminology* 12(3), 309-326.
- Meeks, D. (2005). Police Militarization in Urban Areas: The Obscure War against the Underclass. *Black Scholar*, 35(4), 33.
- Meliala, A. (2001). Police as military: Indonesia's experience. Policing – An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management, 24(3), 420-431.
- Murray, J. (2005). Policing Terrorism: A Threat to Community Policing or Just a Shift in Priorities? *Police Practice and Research*, 6(4), 347-361.
- Paes-Machado, E., & De Albuquerque, C. L. (2002). Jungle I.D.: Educational Reform Inside the Brazilian Paramilitary Police. *Policing and Society*, 13(1), 59-78.
- Patterson, G. (2002). Predicting the effects of military service experience on stressful occupational events in police officers. *Policing – An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 25(3), 602-618.
- Perliger, A., Hasisi, B., & Pedahzur, A. (2009). Policing Terrorism in Israel. *Criminal Justice*

and Behavior, 36(12), 1279-1304.

Rappert, B. (2002). Constructions of Legitimate Force. The Case of CS Sprays. *British Journal of Criminology*, 42(4), 689-708.

Rosas, G. (2007). The Fragile Ends of War: Forging the United States – Mexico Border and Borderlands Consciousness. *Social Text*, 25(2), 81-102.

Sheptycki, J. (2005). Policing Political Protest When Politics Go Global: Comparing Public Order Policing in Canada and Bolivia. *Policing and Society*, 15(3), 327-352.

Silvia, S. (2008). European Gendarmerie Force. *Journal of European Criminal Law* 2(3), 67-74.

Walby, K., & Monaghan, J. (2010). Policing Proliferation: On Militarization and Atomic Energy Canada Limited's Nuclear Response Forces. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 52(2), 117-145.

Williams, J. (2003). SWAT and non-SWAT police officers and the use of force. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 31(5), 469-474.

Zimmermann, D. (2005). Between Minimum Force and Maximum Violence: Combating Political Violence Movements with Third Force Options. *Connections: The Quarterly Journal*, 4(1), 43–60.

TABLES

Table 1

Articles by Year and Subject

Subjects related to paramilitary policing	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010/ 2011	Total
Conceptualization and description of police militarization/ demilitarization	2		1	1		1	3	2	1	2	13
Case study/description of PPU/policing system	1	1		2		2	1	1	2	1	11
Border policing and militarization	2		1				1			2	6
Internal/External security	1			1	1	1		1			5
Counter-terrorism				1	2		1		1		5
Police use of force	1	1	1								3
Police with military experience		1									1
Public order policing					1						1
Private policing							1				1
Gender										1	1
Total	7	3	3	5	4	4	7	4	4	6	47

Table 2

Research Approaches to Paramilitary Police(-ing)

		Theoretical dimension	
		Descriptive/ Functional	Critical/ Emancipatory/ Normative
Empirical dimension	Paramilitary police “is”:	Police-military mergence Police conjoined with military Military integrated with police “Third forces” in between institutional spheres. Examples: CIMIC (civil - military cooperations), border patrol, coast guard.	Police showcasing military artefacts and symbols (police with military weapons, training, language, atmosphere, traditions, philosophy, structures, strategy, command, organization) Examples: PPU, tactical units, task forces, SWAT teams
	Paramilitary policing ”does”:	Policing instead of military Policing on behalf of military Policing utilizing military tactics Policing of counterterrorism	Aggressive policing Violent policing Brutal policing Undemocratic policing Repressive policing
	Which results in:	Demilitarization Militarization Blurring of spheres Ineffective policing	Militarization Fear Mistrust Uneasy relationships between police and public.