

SHAKESPEARE FOR COPS

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Tim Smith was born on 24 April 1955, his birthday falling, in his words, ‘the day after Shakespeare’s – probably’.¹ His father, an evangelical minister, surrounded his son with Bible stories, like the father of the protagonist, Luke Jones, in the novel series Smith later wrote about a Shakespeare-loving cop: ‘I was raised in a land of absolutes. I’m not comfortable living in a land of absolutes. My dad’s a fundamentalist preacher. He’s a good man, but he can form a stronger opinion in less time, on less information, than anyone I’ve ever met.’² Like Luke Jones, the young Tim Smith’s exposure to the King James Bible gave him a cultural baseline and good footing on language when he later came to study Shakespeare. It was the language, especially Shakespeare’s poetry, that attracted Smith. He saw his first live production at the Oregon Shakespeare Festival when a sophomore in high school: *As You Like It* featuring Powers Boothe, Jean Smart and James Avery. He took his first Shakespeare class the following year, then went back for more in his senior year, disregarding the school counsellor’s attempt to turn him away because he ‘wasn’t intellectually equipped to take an advanced class’.³ Shakespeare then brought Smith to a remarkable English teacher who changed his life, named Ben Limoli. Some thirty-five years later, Smith dedicated his first novel in the Luke Jones series to him – ‘the teacher that mattered’ – as well as Smith’s daughter, Miranda.

Smith attended Mesa Community College in San Diego for two years – as did I, which we bonded over when we first met. I felt I was speaking with an alternate version of myself: I could just

as easily have become a cop, and he a Shakespeare scholar. By his own account, Smith was ‘a thoroughly crappy student until upper division’, when he transferred over to San Diego State University to study literature and creative writing – as did I some thirty years later. He took courses in Shakespeare, drama and mythologies of the world. Today, he boasts of having seen all of Shakespeare’s plays live, ‘including *Two Noble Kinsmen*’. But upon graduation from college, he took a sharp turn: ‘I got into police work to have something to write about. At a young age, I knew I was a writer, but I also knew I had nothing to say.’⁴

Smith joined the San Diego Police Department (SDPD) in 1978 only a short time after Mayor Pete Wilson branded San Diego ‘America’s Finest City’. It was an aspirational declaration: the city was moving from the traditional crime-fighting approach to policing – arrest the bad guys – to emerging philosophies of community-oriented policing (replacing

¹ T. B. Smith, ‘Q&A interview for LA Times feature article’, *Copworld*, 6 June 2011: <https://copworld.wordpress.com/2011/06/06/qa-interview-for-la-times-feature-article>.

Smith’s ‘probably’ suggests a more than casual knowledge of Shakespeare. We think – but aren’t certain – that Shakespeare was born on 23 April.

² T. B. Smith, *The Sticking Place* (Ashland, OR, 2011), pp. 146–7. Further references appear in the text in parentheses.

³ T. B. Smith, interview with the author (11 January 2018). Unless otherwise noted, quotations from Smith come from this interview.

⁴ T. B. Smith, quoted from Vickie Aldous, ‘The tales cops could tell’, *Mail Tribune*, 10 April 2017: www.mailtribune.com/news/20170410/tales-cops-could-tell.

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antagonism between the public and the police with partnerships for maintaining order) and problem-solving policing (bringing more thoughtfulness to the distribution of police resources by encouraging rigorous interpretation of the problems at hand). 'In the '70s,' Smith later wrote, 'incorporating this kind of utopian philosophical change into the daily operations of an inherently conservative organization proved impossible.'⁵

Shortly after Smith joined the SDPD, the British novelist James McClure accompanied officers on some ride-alongs in preparation for his non-fiction book *Cop World: Inside an American Police Force*, published in 1984.⁶ McClure used real names for the upper ranks, pseudonyms for beat officers, sergeants and lieutenants. Smith was dubbed 'Luke Jones', the name later given to his own protagonist: 'The Shakespeare thing made him really stand out in the police crowd. He could quote the Bard faster than they could read a suspect his Miranda rights. He knew the sonnets better than they knew the California Penal Code and loved skewering them with an on-the-nose quote from *Hamlet* or an obscure tidbit from *Coriolanus* or *Titus Andronicus*' (*Sticking Place*, p. 3).

Luke Jones climbing onto a table in a cop bar to recite Shakespeare is more memoir than fiction: 'The usual response was a barrage of apple cores or wadded napkins', Smith said.⁷ The barbs in the novel are sharper: 'What are you, some kind of faggot or something?' one officer asks Luke (*Sticking Place*, p. 38). Smith says peers thought he was a weird duck, at least until he established his street cred. Future San Diego Mayor Jerry Sanders, himself an English major from San Diego State and a sergeant in 1978 when Smith joined the SDPD, had frequently to remind Smith to cool it with the flashy writing. 'I could tell he wanted to be a novelist', Sanders said. 'That's not necessarily what you want on a police report.'⁸

Smith rose through the ranks: patrol, administration, in-service training, field operations management, community relations, special projects, long-range planning. In the early 1990s, he took a couple years off to try freelance writing – including essays for *Police* magazine on the Rodney King case⁹ – but that went nowhere. 'Starting over with

the school district's police department gave me a chance to enjoy working with educators', Smith recalled.¹⁰ In 1998, police work and higher education further blended as Smith attended the Delinquency Control Institute at the University of Southern California, where he was voted class president and an honour graduate:

As class president, I delivered a speech entitled 'Lessons from Lear.' The audience was comprised of class attendees, their families and friends, numerous police executives from across the country, and quite a few administrators from USC. During my preparation for the speech, the person responsible for running the day-to-day operations of the institute asked about the topic for my talk. He almost cringed when I told him what it was and strongly recommended that I go in a different direction. A suggestion which I ignored. The good news is that the speech was greeted by a long and loud standing ovation.

An off-duty traffic accident in 2003 led to back surgery and Smith's retirement. He moved back to Oregon to be near his daughter, and the Oregon Shakespeare Festival. He started writing again, attending the Southern California Writers' Conference in 2009 and meeting Wes Albers, a fellow author from the SDPD whom Smith credits for launching his writing career.¹¹ The

⁵ T. B. Smith, 'Introduction to Cop World II', *Copworld*, 10 February 2010: <https://copworld.wordpress.com/2010/02/10/introduction-to-cop-world-ii>.

⁶ See James McClure, *Cop World: Inside an American Police Force* (New York, 1984).

⁷ T. B. Smith, quoted from Tony Perry, 'Dealing with the police Bard', *LA Times*, 1 June 2011: <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/jun/01/entertainment/la-et-sdcop-book-20110601>.

⁸ Jerry Sanders, in Perry, 'Police Bard'.

⁹ See Tim Smith, 'In the Rodney King case, police have taken a beating, too', *San Diego Union Tribune*, April 1991; 'Meltdown', *Police: The Law Officer's Magazine* 16 (June 1991); 'The accountability factor', *Police: The Law Officer's Magazine* 16 (1992), 46–8.

¹⁰ Smith, 'Q&A interview'.

¹¹ See Tim Smith, 'A link to Signonsandiego's Q&A interview with feature writer John Wilkens', *Copworld*, 14 March 2011: <https://copworld.wordpress.com/2011/03/14/a-link-to-signonsandiegos-qa-interview-with-feature-writer-john-wilkens>.

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next year, he started a blog, calling it ‘Copworld’ after McClure’s 1984 book. He also started a sequel to McClure’s book, titled *Cop World II*, which sought to update the history of the SDPD by narrating the fall of community- and problem-oriented policing in favour of more aggressive tactics. Years later, Smith partnered with Harley Patrick of Hellgate Press to create an imprint called CopWorld Press that (almost) exclusively publishes law enforcement authors.

The first post on Smith’s blog included the opening chapter of what would become his first novel, *The Sticking Place*, published in 2011.¹² It’s a page-turner – reads quickly, enjoyable. It is clearly written by a cop, with an emphasis on paperwork and radio codes, not the kicking down doors shown in film and TV. ‘Smith does what so many other police writers don’t’, notes Bonnie Dumanis on the back cover: ‘He gets the little things right.’ For cops, the value of the book comes in the realism of both the police response to day-to-day incidents, and the endless repetition of those incidents with ever-shifting particulars and dangers. The cops in the book are human beings who have personal lives which – like those of plumbers, teachers and accountants – can spill over into their jobs. There is excellent character differentiation to keep clear the large cast of both cops and citizens: the Shakespeare-quoting rookie cop, the well-intentioned but inept classmate from the academy, the jaded senior officer, the gambling addict, the neurosurgeon cruising for sex. The city of San Diego is one of the central characters. Amidst the brisk narrative – *just the facts, ma’am* – Smith’s literary flourishes often land gracefully, as at the cop bar in Chapter 10: ‘Every tale represented a sermon without a moral and the One-Five-Three Club was the church of the non-sequitur’ (p. 42).

The book defies plot summary. When the first chapter starts with the suicide of an aircraft engineer named Phillip McGrath, it feels like this is the intrigue that will keep the reader in suspense as the affair is investigated, à la John Grisham. But that incident is dealt with and falls away after only three short chapters. As the book weaves through a series

of three- or four-chapter episodes, it becomes clear that *The Sticking Place* is not detective fiction. There’s no grand mystery our hero will solve. There’s no discovery of clues. If detective fiction invokes the story of epic conflict between powerful forces, and adversity overcome through the exercise of individual talent, strength and will, *The Sticking Place* reads more like an episodic romance where our hero bounces aimlessly from one story to another. It’s more Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia* than Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*, the structure of *The Sticking Place* mimicking the cyclical repetition of the beat cop. There’s no more of a beginning, middle and end to the book than there is to an eight-hour shift. The end of one call is just the beginning of another.

But the police procedural façade of the book is a cover for what it’s really about: the place of humanistic thought in the gritty day-to-day of law enforcement, a tension between mind and body or, in Prince Hamlet’s terms, ‘thought’ and ‘action’ (*Hamlet*, 3.1.87–90). Smith confronts the challenges of policing in a self-critical way often heard from arm-chair commentators, but rarely from cops themselves. There’s a gripping tension between the older cops who represent older and more aggressive approaches to fighting crime and the younger cops who represent community-oriented policing, which is aligned with Shakespeare.

For Shakespearians and other general readers, the value of the book comes in the only thing that remotely resembles an over-arching plot: a young man with fairly conventional American attitudes about the value of kindness, decency, fairness, freedom and justice comes face to face with the challenge of implementing those ideals in on-the-ground policing situations leading law enforcement officers (most of whom are a mixture of good intentions, jaded cynicism and various strengths and weaknesses) to resort to sometimes imperfect, sometimes clearly illegal, means of protecting and serving their communities. In this book, as in life, the challenge of police work is

¹² At book signings, Smith was joined by members of the San Diego Shakespeare Society, who did guest readings.

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finding the balance between the safe and secure city that everyone wants and the rough justice tactics sometimes employed to achieve it. That's where Shakespeare comes in, according to Smith:

I use Shakespeare in my novels to illustrate the difficulties confronted by young officers as they try to gain acceptance by their older peers. In the case of Luke Jones, he feels compelled to confront hypocrisy and some of the bullying that goes on during the training and acculturating phases of a young cop's development. I also use Shakespeare to illustrate the difficulties attendant when enforcing laws that are really designed to control the disenfranchised in our society. Most importantly, I use Luke's love of Shakespeare to heighten the emotional impact that the job of modern policing has on young officers. Employed as a strategy, I use specific quotes the way my dad used specific passages in the Bible to illustrate his sermons. He'd decide on a theme, then use scripture to help make that point.¹³

At the novel's start, when Luke comes upon Phillip McGrath's body, his mind flashes to the 'hell-broth' of the Weird Sisters (p. 7). When Luke contemplates McGrath's suicide, it's Lady Macbeth he hears – 'What's done cannot be undone' (p. 9) – and later Richard II – 'Of comfort let no man speak' (p. 44). Chapter 10, set in the cop bar, has the aura of the Boar's Head Tavern in *1 Henry IV*, complete with denigrations of a hated sergeant as Falstaff and a base-minded training officer as Bardolph (p. 38). Later, while talking a suicidal man off a bridge, an officer becomes suddenly belligerent, sending Luke's thoughts to Coleridge's reading of the 'motiveless malignancy' in Shakespeare's villains: 'Francie's animosity was positively Shakespearean. There was just no rational explanation for how angry he was, just as there was no rational explanation for the hatred of Edmund in *King Lear*, Don John in *Much Ado About Nothing* or Iago in *Othello*' (p. 62). When the jumper comes down safely, Luke responds to his claim to be helpless against fortune with this from *Julius Caesar*: 'Of your philosophy you make no use, if you give place to accidental evils' (p. 69). At the end of his shift, Luke goes back to *Caesar*: 'O that a man might know, / The end of his day's business ere it come' (p. 82). It's *Pericles* when a senior officer tries to lure his trainee into a crooked scheme: 'Here's a fish hangs in

the net' – later elaborating, 'I marvel how the fish live in the sea . . . As men do a-land; the great ones eat up the little ones' (pp. 96–7). A Luke feeling trapped by his job and a UCLA English professor about to go to jail quote Richard II together: 'I have been studying how I may compare the prison where I live unto the world' (p. 105).¹⁴

A later conversation between Luke and the Professor is the conceptual climax of the novel. The Professor voices a more philosophical critique of justice than any given by the cops themselves, including a weary Luke who is just doing his job. Describing *King Lear* as a play about a powerful man who doesn't know how to be a human being and only learns by losing everything, even his clothes, and seeing others who are naked and hungry because of him, the Professor quotes Lear crying, 'O, I have taken too little care of this' (p. 157). Echoing Smith's earlier 'Lessons from Lear' lecture, this need for self-reflection is his central warning to a criminal justice system that does not reflect in a philosophical way upon its role in society. In the Professor's gloss, 'Protecting and serving doesn't mean supporting the power structures of society; it means using individual might to help people in need' (p. 156). The lecture smacks Luke in the face. In Smith's words to me, 'It very clearly illustrates that Luke's love for and knowledge of Shakespeare makes it more difficult to survive the ravages of his job, not easier.'

If Shakespeare challenges Luke's police work, the job also challenges Luke's education, which becomes clear when we try to make sense of the title and epigraph of the book: 'But screw your courage to the sticking point, and we'll not fail' (which Smith annotates for readers as 'Lady Macbeth exhorting her husband to murder the

¹³ Beyond Shakespeare, Luke's library in *The Sticking Place* includes *Oedipus Rex*, Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan', Dostoyevsky's *The Gambler*, Nietzsche's *Human, All Too Human* and Jack London.

¹⁴ While the Shakespeare material generally plays well, the set-ups can be a bit contrived: "'That sort of reminds me of a quotation,'" Luke said. "Aw, Jesus, of course it does," Harrison said. Luke let fly' (p. 82).

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King of Scotland’). Lady Macbeth’s line is not about having the courage to persevere in the face of adversity. It’s about the deplorable actions some are willing to perform when all they care about is their end-goal, not the means employed to achieve it. That idea could be applied to an approach to policing which only cares about achieving social order without any concern for the closed-fisted strategies employed to secure it. Lady Macbeth’s line could also be a gloss on Luke’s final episode in the book, where he shoots and kills a citizen he likes to save a cop he doesn’t. Despite all that episodic cycling, the book ends in tragedy. It is Luke’s innocence that dies. He wanted to be a cop, but didn’t fully appreciate what he’d have to do to achieve that goal. Lady Macbeth knew she and her husband would have to commit murder for him to be king; Luke Jones realizes he may have to take someone’s life if he wants to be a cop. In this reading, the ‘sticking place’ in the book’s title is the profession of policing that leads one to perform harrowing acts most humans would never do, like taking another’s life.¹⁵ For Luke Jones to screw his courage to the sticking place is for him to abandon those core principles of human being – refined through his study of the humanities – as he climbs the social ladder to success. In a compelling twist, the job of policing challenges the values of the humanities just as much as those values challenge the police. Thus, in true Shakespearian fashion, the novel concludes with a question: ‘How could he “Protect and Serve” to please the Professor and live to tell about it?’ (p. 226).

In America, policing is viewed – wrongly – as a profession of action and the use of force. The vast majority of police work involves interpretation and the use of thought. While officers receive constant in-service training for physical and technical skills, they get next to nothing for intellectual and ethical skills. Intelligence and ethics are not thought of as skills, but as nebulous personality traits that one either has or doesn’t.

I learned this firsthand when, shortly after completing my English Ph.D., having just finished

a dissertation on Shakespeare, I was hired to teach writing classes in the Department of Criminal Justice at Cal State, Long Beach. The chair of the department, a proponent of the value of the liberal arts in criminal justice education, wanted to emphasize writing in the department’s curriculum because criminal justice employers in the area were telling him they needed their workers to be better writers.¹⁶ In the courses I taught, we focused on subject-verb agreement and APA style, but also made our foundation the idea that good writing is inseparable from good thinking. I encountered a few cowboy cops yearning for Bruce-Willis-style rough justice. Mostly, however, students were simply uninterested in thinking deeply about the theoretical and ethical challenges of criminal justice. Many who wanted to wrestle with those challenges were unprepared, having been systematically underserved by the LA Unified School District.

Halfway through my first year, after a student declared in class that revenge is perfect justice, we threw our syllabus out the window and read *Hamlet*. If you can understand how crime and justice work in *Hamlet*, understanding them out on the street is easy. That was the beginning of an ongoing research project called ‘Shakespeare and Criminology’. Published pieces include readings of terrorism as revenge tragedy; the insanity defence in *Hamlet*; broken-windows policing in *Measure for Measure*; masculinity, madness and murder in *Macbeth*; and

¹⁵ This reading is encouraged by the opening of the second book in the series, *A Fellow of Infinite Jest*, which parallels Luke with Lady Macbeth when she goes mad. *A Fellow of Infinite Jest* works largely the same as *The Sticking Place*. Like Lady Macbeth, Luke can’t sleep. He begins brooding, Hamlet-like. He goes to therapy. He starts a journal, where we see his innermost thoughts, much like a Shakespearian soliloquy. He writes poetry of his own, starts dating women. There’s less Shakespearian quotation, especially in the second half of the novel. Smith is currently at work on the third entry in the series, titled *The Winter of Our Discontent*.

¹⁶ For the chair’s view of criminal justice in light of the liberal arts, see Stephen S. Owen, Henry F. Fradella, Tod W. Burke and Jerry W. Joplin, eds., *Foundations of Criminal Justice*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2014).

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desistance from crime in *1 Henry IV*.¹⁷ The overarching argument is that modern criminology can help us to understand Shakespeare, and Shakespeare can help us to understand crime and justice in the modern world. I argue Shakespeare was himself a criminologist: the practice of developing abstract theories of why crime happens – as Shakespearian tragedy does – is much older than the emergence of the word and the discipline of ‘criminology’ late in the nineteenth century.

But recently I have been haunted by a new problem. What are the practical consequences of the encounter between Shakespeare and criminology? Does this research have what social scientists call ‘policy implications’? Does it suggest a programme of action, rather than merely a kernel of knowledge? At a time when the United States is asking whether it should reform, defund or abolish the police, how can humanities scholars offer expertise and service?

My answer has been to envision a programme called ‘Shakespeare for Cops’. The point is not flowery personal enrichment. My thesis is that you can do better police work if you study Shakespeare and other literature. This idea draws upon the social value of the humanities as argued in books like Martha Nussbaum’s *Poetic Justice: The Literary Imagination and Public Life* (1995), but diverges from standard arguments in the field.¹⁸ Shakespeare for Cops is not for undergraduates or even law students or lawyers, the main focus of law-and-literature scholarship and teaching, as in *Shakespeare and the Law: A Conversation Among Disciplines and Professions* (2013) and *Teaching Law and Literature* (2011).¹⁹ Shakespeare for Cops is for officers on the job. It grows from Julia Reinhard Lupton’s recent calls for ‘thinking with Shakespeare’ and, more to the point, ‘working with Shakespeare’ – ‘a concerted mindfulness with respect to the capacities and virtues developed in the reading of literature and their possible uses in various employment settings’.²⁰ The programme jettisons old ideas about humanistic education – where expertise flows in one direction, and scholars have all the knowledge that the world needs – to embrace a more expansive pedagogy allowing for a mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and development of skills. That orientation, hopefully,

extracts this enterprise from the fraught history of using Shakespeare as a ‘civilizing’ tool, a bludgeon for colonial enlightenment.²¹ ‘One can make an argument for Shakespeare’s value even if that argument is not couched in claims of universality’, as Ayanna Thompson and Laura Turchi write in *Teaching Shakespeare with Purpose: A Student-Centred Approach*.²² Shakespeare for Cops is, like Hillary Eklund and Wendy Beth Hyman’s collection *Teaching Social Justice through Shakespeare*, ‘about praxis’: ‘the implementation, through teaching early modern texts, of a set of hopeful ideas about the potential of education, with the aim of making those ideas both better understood and materially significant’.²³

¹⁷ See Jeffrey R. Wilson, ‘Shakespeare and criminology’, *Crime, Media, Culture* 10 (2014), 97–114; ‘Violent crime as revenge tragedy; or, how Christopher Dörner led criminologists at CSU Long Beach to Shakespeare’, *This Rough Magic*, June 2016: www.thisroughmagic.org/wilson%20article.html; ‘“When evil deeds have their permissive pass”: broken windows in William Shakespeare’s *Measure for Measure*’, *Law and the Humanities* 11 (2017), 160–83; ‘Macbeth and criminology’, *College Literature* 46 (2019), 453–85; ‘“Redeeming time”: the dramatization of desistance in *1 Henry IV*’, in *Shakespeare On Stage and Off*, ed. Kenneth Graham and Alysia Kolentzsis (Montreal, 2019), pp. 139–55; (with Henry F. Fradella), ‘The Hamlet Syndrome’, *Law, Culture, and the Humanities* 16 (2020), 82–102.

¹⁸ Martha Nussbaum, *Poetic Justice: The Literary Imagination and Public Life* (Boston, 1995).

¹⁹ Bradin Cormack, Martha Nussbaum and Richard Striber, eds., *Shakespeare and the Law: A Conversation Among Disciplines and Professions* (Chicago, 2013); Austin Sarat, Cathrine O. Frank and Matthew Anderson, eds., *Teaching Law and Literature* (New York, 2011).

²⁰ Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Thinking with Shakespeare: Essays on Politics and Life* (Chicago, 2011); Julia Reinhard Lupton, ‘Working with Shakespeare: introduction’, in *Shakespeare On Stage and Off*, ed. Graham and Kolentzsis, p. 93.

²¹ See Jyotsna Singh, ‘Shakespeare and the “civilizing mission”’, in *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues: ‘Discoveries’ of India in the Language of Colonialism* (London, 1996), pp. 120–52.

²² Ayanna Thompson and Laura Turchi, *Teaching Shakespeare with Purpose: A Student-Centred Approach* (London, 2016), p. 7.

²³ Hillary Eklund and Wendy Beth Hyman, ‘Introduction: making meaning and doing justice with early modern texts’, in *Teaching Social Justice through Shakespeare: Why Renaissance Literature Matters Now*, ed. Eklund and Hyman (Edinburgh, 2019), p. 9.

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As discussed more fully at the end of this article, there are two possible manifestations of this programme. One would be as part of in-service training for officers through the police academy. The other would be more of a public event where cops and Shakespearians provide perspectives on the issues of crime and justice that arise in his plays, staged as a conversation for a general audience, who are invited to join in. In either case, I will insist, Shakespeare for Cops should be funded not by humanities agencies – where resources are scarce – but from the flush pockets of police department budgets. At this moment in American history, the humanities and the police both have what the other needs – the humanities have the knowledge and skills lacking in current police practices, and the police have the funding lacking in current humanities institutions. Despite a tradition of mutual suspicion, the humanities and the police are well positioned to help each other, and to bring about better forms of both enterprises – a more thoughtful approach to public safety, and a more thoughtful activation of academia.

Studying Shakespeare won't magically fix the police. Only laws, policy and funding decisions will create systematic change. But I also want to live in a world where the humanities scholars who know the most about the history of crime, abuse of authority, and tragic violence are closer to the powers making policy. A programme like Shakespeare for Cops can be part of a larger cultural effort to reimagine public safety more humanely and more humanistically. Shakespeare doesn't have the answers, but does have a demonstrated history of serving as a venue for institutions to create conversations about how older traditions of humanistic thought and art relate to emerging social problems, as in the many Prison Shakespeare programmes.²⁴ Shakespeare can be a contact zone for conversations between isolated groups that otherwise wouldn't come together, a rendezvous in which police officers and early modern scholars meet to ask: 'What can I learn from you?'

I recently saw two cops having lunch at a sandwich shop. I asked what percentage of police work

involves physical skills (such as the use of force), what percentage involves technical skills (such as specialized strategies or equipment), and what percentage involves mental skills (such as reading a situation). '10 – 20 – 70', said one of the officers. 'Can't say', said the other. 'You can't do the physical or technical without the mental.'

Better-educated officers are stronger officers – not in some nebulous feel-good way, but because they are demonstrably more effective at the job. The higher an officer's education, the fewer the complaints logged against them;²⁵ the less they use physical force, including deadly force;²⁶ the less they abuse authority;²⁷ the more they will succeed in a community-policing setting;²⁸ and the higher their salary will be.²⁹

²⁴ See Amy Scott-Douglass, *Shakespeare Inside: The Bard Behind Bars* (London, 2007); Laura Bates, *Shakespeare Saved My Life: Ten Years in Solitary with the Bard* (Naperville, 2013); Niels Herold, *Prison Shakespeare and the Purpose of Performance: Repentance Rituals and the Early Modern* (New York, 2014); Rob Pensalfini, *Prison Shakespeare: For These Deep Shames and Great Indignities* (New York, 2016); Sophie Ward and Roy Connolly, 'The play is a prison: the discourse of Prison Shakespeare', *Studies in Theatre and Performance* 40 (2020), 128–44.

²⁵ See Kim Michelle Lersch and Linda L. Kunzman, 'Misconduct allegations and higher education in a Southern Sheriff's Department', *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 25 (2001), 161–72; Jennifer Manis, Carol A. Archbold and Kimberly D. Hassell, 'Exploring the impact of police officer education level on allegations of police misconduct', *International Journal of Police Science & Management* 10 (2008), 509–23.

²⁶ See Eugene A. Paoline, III and William Terrill, 'Police education, experience, and the use of force', *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 34 (2007), 179–96; James P. Mcelvain and Augustine J. Kposowa, 'Police officer characteristics and the likelihood of using deadly force', *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 35 (2008), 505–21; Jason Rydberg and William Terrill, 'The effect of higher education on police behavior', *Police Quarterly* 13 (2010), 92120.

²⁷ See Cody W. Telep, 'The impact of higher education on police officer attitudes toward abuse of authority', *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 22 (2011), 392–419.

²⁸ Allison T. Chappell, 'Police academy training: comparing across curricula', *Policing: An International Journal* 31 (2008), 36–56.

²⁹ Christie Gardiner, 'College cops: a study of education and policing in California', *Policing: An International Journal* 38 (2015), 648–63.

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If the mind is a police officer's greatest asset, how should they be educated? In a classroom, or out on the street? At the police academy, or at a college? Vocational training, or the liberal arts? Should the minimum be a high school diploma, an associate's degree, or a bachelor's? Is continuing education best done through in-service training at the academy, or through coursework at a college or university?

These questions have been asked at least since the days of August Vollmer, the first chief of police of Berkeley, CA, the first US chief to require college degrees in his officers, and the man who got the University of California to start teaching classes in criminal justice.³⁰ In 1968, the establishment of the Law Enforcement Educational Program (LEEP) provided financial aid for cops to attend college, boosting programmes in political science and criminal justice.³¹ Since then, the number of criminal justice bachelor's degrees awarded has boomed from 2,045 in 1972 to 60,269 in 2013, nearly a 3,000 per cent increase (in contrast to the 119 per cent increase of degrees overall).³² Criminal justice is now 1 of the 10 most awarded undergraduate degrees in the country.³³ While only 1 per cent of police departments require a 4-year degree, roughly 45 per cent of cops hold bachelor's degrees or higher.³⁴

Whether or not one has a degree, the process of becoming a cop starts with an initial screening involving a background investigation and mental and physical fitness tests.³⁵ Cadets then spend an average of 3 months and 750 classroom hours at a local police academy learning state laws, police procedures and skills needed for the job (compare that with some European countries where police attend a national academy for 3 years).³⁶ Supervised field training usually lasts around 300 hours, cadets gaining experience to supplement the theory of the academy. Then follows a probationary period, usually between 12 and 18 months, where officers perform independently and are evaluated. Cops continue to receive in-service training throughout their careers, usually around 40 hours a year spent refreshing the skills and knowledge of veteran officers, updating them on laws and procedures,

educating them on emergent kinds of crime, and honing skills of ethics, stress management and the use of force, among other things. If officers pursue management training, that's usually an 8–13 week course held at a regional site.

Over the past 50 years, the central question has been: 'Should we be training guardians or warriors?' The guardian image of the cop led to the rise of community policing – the friendly neighbourhood officer on foot patrol, protecting and serving the public. The warrior image led to militarization – riot gear and armoured cars giving the impression of a law-enforcement battalion at war with the forces of evil in our nation. Recently, the sickening string of police officers killing unarmed Black people – Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, John Crawford, Walter Scott, Freddie Gray, Sandra Bland, Philando Castile, Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, Jacob Blake – has led to the #BlackLivesMatter movement, protests, public scrutiny and pressure on lawmakers, thundering down urgency on police efforts to examine and strengthen their approach to training. And now the police have a problem. It

³⁰ See G. E. Carte and E. H. Carte, *Police Reform in the United States: The Era of August Vollmer, 1905–1932* (Berkeley, 1975).

³¹ See Eugene A. Paoline, III, William Terrill and Michael T. Rossler, 'Higher education, college degree major, and police occupational attitudes', *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 26 (2015), 49–73.

³² See John J. Sloan, III and Jonathan W. Buchwalter, 'The state of criminal justice bachelor's degree programs in the United States: institutional, departmental, and curricula features', *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 28 (2017), 307–34.

³³ Sloan and Buchwalter, 'Criminal justice'.

³⁴ Paoline, Terrill and Rossler, 'Higher education'.

³⁵ This overview of police training is distilled from John S. Dempsey and Linda S. Forst, 'Becoming a police officer', in *An Introduction to Policing* (Clifton Park, NY, 2012), pp. 115–29.

³⁶ See Sara Miller Llana, 'Why police don't pull guns in many countries', *The Christian Science Monitor*, 28 June 2015: www.csmonitor.com/World/2015/0628/Why-police-don-t-pull-guns-in-many-countries; Paul Hirschfield, 'Why do American cops kill so many compared to European cops?' *The Conversation*, 25 November 2015: <https://theconversation.com/why-do-american-cops-kill-so-many-compared-to-european-cops-49696>.

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won't be solved with more good will. It will only be solved with better strategies.

Humanities scholarship helps us see that the problems in American policing date back to the slave patrols of colonial days and the frontier logic of White settlers viewing indigenous people as dangerous and savage – embarrassing origin stories often left out of criminal justice textbooks.³⁷ The institution of slavery was abolished, but its legacy lived on in anti-Black racism ranging from the White supremacist violence and terrorism of groups such as the Ku Klux Klan to structural social inequality perpetuated through redlining and incarceration.³⁸ Policing Black America brought centuries of routine emotional and symbolic violence, low-income communities of colour excluded from the comforts of law enforcement.³⁹ Black culture and blue culture developed with mutual distrust. But the police had government funding, which started increasing dramatically in the 1970s on the backdrop of closing libraries and stalled teacher's salaries.⁴⁰ Beginning in the 1980s, police increasingly spent resources on militarizing the force.⁴¹ That means 911 emergency calls can lead, for example, to armed and angry police officers responding to mental health situations they are not well trained for. Dicey situations can easily lead to abuses of force, including cops murdering citizens.⁴² There are payouts for police misconduct. There are also union contracts that purge misconduct from officers' records. Lax federal oversight leads to systemic corruption. But only recently has the 'morbidly expanding roll call of the racialized poor killed by police and vigilante violence' and the waves of public protest in support of Black Lives Matter revealed the reality of police racism to White America.⁴³

While much American literature, film and television romanticizes the police, Black culture – from hip hop to Afropessimism – has mounted a sustained critique of policing. Black Lives Matter is not possible without NWA and Frank B. Wilderson, III, who would be equally annoyed to find themselves cited in an argument aimed at building bridges with law enforcement.⁴⁴ I'm

risking their ire – and that of both humanities scholars sceptical of progress, and police officers resentful of critique – on the prospect that we might build a better system for our grandchildren.

First there were calls to reform the police.⁴⁵ Make them wear body cameras. Train them in de-escalation and implicit bias. Prohibit chokeholds. Give officers a duty to intervene in abuses of force. Make efforts to build trust between the police and

³⁷ See Sally E. Hadden, *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas* (Cambridge, 2001); K. B. Turner, David Giacompassi and Margaret Vandiver, 'Ignoring the past: coverage of slavery and slave patrols in criminal justice texts', *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 17 (2006), 181–95; Nikhil Pal Singh, 'The whiteness of police', *American Quarterly* 66 (2014), 1091–9; Chris Cunneen and Juan Tauri, *Indigenous Criminology* (Bristol, 2016); Kevin F. Steinmetz, Brian P. Schaefer and Howard Henderson, 'Wicked overseers: American policing and colonialism', *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 3 (2017), 68–81; Sanna King, 'Colonial criminology: a survey of what it means and why it is important', *Sociology Compass* 11 (2017), e12447; Robyn Maynard, *Policing Black Lives: State Violence in Canada from Slavery to the Present* (Halifax, 2017).

³⁸ See Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (New York, 2016); Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York, 2010).

³⁹ See Monica C. Bell, 'Police reform and the dismantling of legal estrangement', *The Yale Law Journal* 126 (2017), 2054–2150; Laurence Ralph, *The Torture Letters: Reckoning with Police Violence* (Chicago, 2020).

⁴⁰ See, for example, Clarence Taylor, *Fight the Power: African Americans and the Long History of Police Brutality in New York City* (New York, 2018); Ryan Lugalía-Hollon and Daniel Cooper, *The War on Neighborhoods: Policing, Prison, and Punishment in a Divided City* (Boston, 2018).

⁴¹ See Daryl Meeks, 'Police militarization in urban areas: the obscure war against the underclass', *The Black Scholar* 35 (2006), 33–41; Radlet Balko, *Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America's Police Forces* (New York, 2013).

⁴² See Franklin E. Zimring, *When Police Kill* (Cambridge, 2017).

⁴³ Christina Heatherton and Jordan Camp, eds., *Policing the Planet: Why the Policing Crisis Led to Black Lives Matter* (London, 2016), p. 1.

⁴⁴ See NWA, 'Fuck the police', Straight Outta Compton (Ruthless, 1988); Frank B. Wilderson, III, *Afropessimism* (New York, 2020).

⁴⁵ See Samuel E. Walker and Carol A. Archbold, *The New World of Police Accountability*, 3rd edn (Thousand Oaks, 2019).

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Black communities. But there's a strong tension between outside forces advocating for a more ethical approach to policing and the inside traditions socializing cops to maintain the status quo. In 2005, Norman Conti and James Nolan wrote that 'the cultivation of a "truly" ethical police force is improbable within the system as it currently stands'.⁴⁶ The repeated and documented failures of reform have led to arguments that the police are beyond reform.⁴⁷ Calls for reform have become calls to defund the police. Or abolish the police.

Since the 1970s, Black women activist scholars such as Angela Y. Davis, Mariame Kaba and Ruth Wilson Gilmore have advocated for the abolition of prisons and the police.⁴⁸ Through organizations like Say Her Name – honouring the lives of women such as Eleanor Bumpurs, Sandra Bland and Breonna Taylor – they have drawn attention to police brutality against Black women, women of colour, and people from queer communities who receive less media attention than Black men.⁴⁹ Abolitionists seek reparative justice and reparations.⁵⁰ The goal of the abolitionist cause is to achieve public safety; to do so, it argues, America must disentangle public safety from policing.⁵¹ You can't change the police without changing the social structure that empowers them and disempowers Black Americans.⁵² Seeking alternate systems of safety means shifting public funding priorities. Reform efforts just pump more money into the policing industry. Money spent on military-grade police weapons can go instead to Black community organizations.

Critics say the abolition of the police is unrealistic. They think it could never gain popular support. While pundits on the Right declare that 'Blue Lives Matter', debates on the Left ensue about what is achievable, politically, and the best rhetoric to use: *reform, defund, abolish*.⁵³ But if you say, 'We could never abolish the police', ask yourself whether you also would have said, 'We could never abolish slavery.'

A gussied-up status quo seems to be the most likely outcome. One feels hopeless, helpless. But now, thanks to these movements, when asked what

makes a good cop, police departments are less likely to emphasize raw strength, fearlessness in the face of danger, and obedience to authority. They are more likely to emphasize integrity, an orientation towards community service, good communication skills, good problem-solving skills, stability, maturity and emotional intelligence (an ability to understand and manage one's own and others' feelings). Thus, in *The Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (2015), the first of six 'pillars' is 'Building Trust and Legitimacy': 'Law enforcement agencies should adopt procedural justice as the guiding principle.'⁵⁴ Pillar 4 calls for

⁴⁶ Norman Conti and James J. Nolan, III, 'Policing the Platonic cave: ethics and efficacy in police training', *Policing and Society* 15 (2005), 166–86; p. 184.

⁴⁷ See Alex S. Vitale, *The End of Policing* (London, 2018).

⁴⁸ See Angela Y. Davis, 'The truth telling project: violence in America', in *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement* (Chicago, 2016); Mariame Kaba, 'Yes, we mean literally abolish police', *New York Times*, 12 June 2020; and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Change Everything: Racial Capitalism and the Case for Abolition* (Chicago, 2021).

⁴⁹ See Kimberlé Crenshaw and Andrea J. Ritchie, *Say Her Name: Resisting Police Brutality Against Black Women* (New York, 2015); Andrea J. Ritchie, *Invisible No More: Police Violence Against Black Women and Women of Color* (Boston, 2017); and Emma K. Russell, *Queer Histories and the Politics of Policing* (London, 2019).

⁵⁰ See Ta-Nehisi Coates, 'The case for reparations', *The Atlantic*, June 2014; Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation* (Chicago, 2016).

⁵¹ See Glenn Cartman Loury, 'Relations before transactions: forty years of thinking about persisting racial inequality in the United States', in *Difference without Domination*, ed. Danielle Allen and Rohini Somanathan (Chicago, 2020), pp. 171–86.

⁵² See Marc Lamont Hill, *Nobody: Casualties of America's War on the Vulnerable, from Ferguson to Flint and Beyond* (New York, 2016).

⁵³ See Mark P. Thomas and Steven Tufts, 'Blue solidarity: police unions, race and authoritarian populism in North America', *Work, Employment and Society* 34 (2020), 126–44; Taimi Castle, "'Cops and the Klan": police disavowal of risk and minimization of threat from the Far-Right', *Critical Criminology* (2020): <https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1007/s10612-020-09493-6>.

⁵⁴ President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *The Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (Washington, DC, 2015), p. 1.

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‘community policing as a guiding philosophy’, in the hopes of seeing law enforcement agencies ‘working with neighborhood residents to co-produce public safety’. Pillar 5 is about training and education, including the suggestion that ‘law enforcement agencies should engage community members, particularly those with special expertise, in the training process and provide leadership training to all personnel throughout their careers’.⁵⁵

Accordingly, the Mobile, AL police academy’s curriculum was recently ‘revised to emphasize delivery of fair and equal law enforcement while helping citizens in need. All Mobile police officers are taught to “see” the situations of the people they protect’.⁵⁶ One of the four core curriculum areas for the Missouri police academy is now ‘Interpersonal Perspectives’, meaning ‘communication skills such as cultural diversity training, ethics, conflict management, victim sensitivity and stress management’.⁵⁷ In 2016, the Portland, OR police academy introduced a new course called ‘Strengthening Our Foundation’, designed to ‘increase comfort in talking about race; increase knowledge of institutional racism; identify institutional racism in policy, practice, and procedures; increase understanding of implicit bias; and explore strategies to address institutional racism in the workplace’.⁵⁸ There is a theme here: the kind of education police officers are looking for right now is to be found in the humanities.

If the United States ever commits to systematic change in its approach to public safety, let it be remembered that, often, humanities scholars specialize in the knowledge and skills lacking in US policing. Instrumentally, the humanities offer skills of judgement, critique, historicization, ethical reasoning, empathy, discernment, reflection, justification, communication and performance. Substantively, they offer knowledge of racism, White supremacy, structural inequality, US history, human rights and human psychology. Supporting the leadership of the Black Lives Matter heroes protesting, humanities scholars can be leaders in the movement to create a more intelligent and ethical approach to public safety in America.

What are the humanities? *Better living through interpretation*. Institutionally speaking, the humanities is an umbrella term that refers to a set of academic disciplines usually including Classics, History, Philosophy, Religion, Literature, Linguistics, the Visual Arts (such as Painting, Photography and Film) and the Performing Arts (such as Music, Theatre and Dance). Basically, the humanities study the things humans have made, from art and literature to language and culture. (The sciences study naturally occurring phenomena, the things that humans didn’t invent: rocks, stars, molecules, animals, gravity, chemical reactions, the circulation of blood, and so forth.) The humanities help us to understand the experience of being human by asking the big questions that individuals and societies face day after day, year after year, generation after generation, and century after century: *What is true? Why do we do what we do? How should we lead our lives?* The humanities try to get to the bottom of things when the best way to understand something is unclear, asking and answering questions that aren’t easily accounted for with common sense. They usually treat answers as provisional and open to revision. Thus, we come to reckon with the relationship between the past and the present. The humanities identify historical objects, events and traditions that deserve to be known and thought about today, raising questions about how we exercise judgement and how we determine value. Forcing us to articulate what we think is true and good, and why, the humanities train our mental capabilities: our ability to interpret and our ability to explain. Thus, we develop the skills needed to think about and talk about why we do what we

⁵⁵ Task Force, *Final Report*, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Mobile Police Department, ‘New academy and in-service training’: www.mobilepd.org/enforcement/newacademytraining.

⁵⁷ Missouri Department of Public Safety, ‘Continuing law enforcement education requirements’: <https://dps.mo.gov/dir/programs/post/edrequirements.php>.

⁵⁸ The City of Portland Oregon, Police Bureau, ‘2016 sworn member in-service training plan’: www.portlandoregon.gov/police/article/620802.

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do. A premium is placed on both reflection (bringing about the possibility of changing one's own mind) and justification (bringing about the possibility of changing someone else's mind). For instance, older Eurocentric understandings of the humanities were firmly rooted in ancient Greek literature and philosophy; newer understandings are more global, more accountable to humanity in all its diversity. The humanities provide neither rules for living (as the church does), nor training for a certain job (as vocational schools do). Instead, they provide the skills that equip people with the ability to do other things better. That's why it's equally mistaken to believe: (1) that the humanities are a self-contained end in themselves that can remain cosily insulated in academia; and (2) that people don't need the humanities if they're going to pursue a vocation outside academia.

For example, in *Policing and the Poetics of Everyday Life*, the self-described 'philosopher-cop' Jonathan Wender brought his Ph.D. training to bear on his fifteen years of police work, identifying what he called the 'bureaucratic paradox' of policing: 'though it is their official role as bureaucratic agents that first brings them into the presence of their fellow human beings, that role is precisely what often must be transcended in order truly to ameliorate the given predicaments at hand'.⁵⁹ A number of police departments have hired Project Humanities, an initiative out of Arizona State University, to conduct its Humanity 101 in the Workplace workshop, which 'addresses the intersections of various systems of privilege and the hidden biases that inform our personal decisions and professional behaviors'.⁶⁰

That's a cultural studies seminar. There's also history. More than 80,000 officers have done training sessions at Law Enforcement and Society: Lessons of the Holocaust, a four-hour programme created in 1999 by the US Holocaust Museum in partnership with the Anti-Defamation League.⁶¹ Officers tour the museum, discuss the role of police in the Nazi state, and consider the questions relevant to American policing today. 'The question – then and now – is still the same', said Charles H. Ramsey, chief of Metropolitan Police in

Washington, DC, and one of the originators of the programme: 'Where were the police?'⁶² He continued:

Where were the police when libraries were being looted and books burned? When Jewish businesses were being illegally targeted? When people were being classified and publicly harassed, and ultimately imprisoned and slaughtered? Where were the police? And where was the rest of the community – the local politicians, other government officials, civic leaders and everyday citizens, most of whom stood by silently and watched it all happen?

Fast forwarding several decades, where were the police when crack cocaine and other drugs invaded our communities? When gangs, armed with powerful automatic and semi-automatic weapons, took control of many of our streets? When shootings and homicides became everyday occurrences in far too many of our communities? Where were the police? And, once again, where was the rest of the community when crime was gaining its strangle-hold on many of our communities?

Rather than dwell upon the tragedies possible in police complicity, Ramsey saw the 'Lessons of the Holocaust' as a call to positive action: 'When basic human and civil rights are threatened or denied, it is the police who need to be the first, the very first, to stand up in protest.'⁶³

There's also literature and philosophy, which detective Ed Gillespie teaches to cops in the Baltimore Police Department, as related in David Dagan's essay for *The Atlantic*, 'The Baltimore cops

⁵⁹ Jonathan Wender, *Policing and the Poetics of Everyday Life* (Urbana, IL, 2008), p. 4.

⁶⁰ Project Humanities, 'Humanity 101 in the Workplace': <https://projecthumanities.asu.edu/content/humanity-101-workplace>.

⁶¹ See the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 'Resources for professionals and student leaders: law enforcement': www.ushmm.org/professionals-and-student-leaders/law-enforcement.

⁶² Charles H. Ramsey, 'Learning the Lessons of the Holocaust to Train Better Police Officers for Today and Tomorrow', keynote address at the 'Law Enforcement and Society: Lessons of the Holocaust' symposium, 12 April 2000: <https://mpdc.dc.gov/release/learning-lessons-holocaust-train-better-police-officers-today-and-tomorrow>.

⁶³ Ramsey, 'Learning the Lessons'.

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studying Plato and James Baldwin'.⁶⁴ Gillespie is a 48-year-old detective in Baltimore who leads traditional in-service training courses in terrorism response, extremism and gangs, as well as an ethics course asking officers to think about policing from the perspective of the humanities. As a complement to the more traditional physical and technical skills of in-service training, Gillespie's humanities-based course presents literature as 'a safe way to look at circumstances and ask yourself, "What does this tell us about us? . . . What does this tell me about myself? What does this tell me about the human condition?" . . . "What does this tell you, officer, about policing?"' To Gillespie, studying literature and philosophy connects cops to the history of justice that they are a part of. 'Tradition is a big thing for officers, and we are in the tradition of the western world', Gillespie said. 'We're kind of government on the ground. I mean, we have to represent democratic values. We have to represent those Enlightenment values in a very immediate way.'⁶⁵

And there's art history. The New York Police Department, the US Secret Service and the Department of Homeland Security have all sent agents to The Art of Perception, a programme at the Metropolitan Museum of Art run by art historian Amy Herman.⁶⁶ She originally offered the programme to medical students, then realized it could be tailored to any group that could benefit from enhanced observation skills. Now, law enforcement agents learn to observe and describe in detail what they see in pieces at the Met – often finding the line between observation and interpretation tricky to hold – leading to better police reports and better communication. 'Instead of telling my people that the guy who keeps looking into one parked car after another is dressed in black,' one participant noted, 'I might say he's wearing a black wool hat, a black leather coat with black fur trim, a black hoodie sweatshirt and Timberlands.'⁶⁷ Some cops say they hate art; some say they don't get it; and some don't care. It doesn't matter, Herman says. She isn't teaching art appreciation; she's developing skills officers use on the job.

In 2017, when President Donald Trump proposed eliminating the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Arts, University of California, San Diego history professor Frank Biess took to the pages of the *San Diego Union-Tribune* with an op-ed about one of his Ph.D. students, David Livingstone, who had just become the new police chief of Simi Valley. Narrating Livingstone's criticism of militarized policing, his intolerance towards police abuse and his use of a historian's skills to research and reveal a young man's wrongful imprisonment, Biess concluded that 'David's case shows that the humanities can actually save lives.'⁶⁸

Clearly, there has been a rise of – as the cop-teaching art historian Amy Herman said to me in an interview – 'programs that seek to enhance the "softer skills" – empathy, communication, observation, temperament. In reality,' she continued, 'these soft skills are not so soft; they are critical for law enforcement professionals in myriad scenarios.'⁶⁹

How can the humanities help the police? It's not with the physical and technical skills of the job. 'Cops must be able to fight, drive, shoot, and make

⁶⁴ David Dagan, 'The Baltimore cops studying Plato and James Baldwin', *The Atlantic*, 25 November 2017: [www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/11/the-baltimore-cops-studying-plato-and-james-baldwin/546485](http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/11/the-baltimore-cops-studying-plato-and-james-baldwin/).

⁶⁵ Dagan, 'Baltimore cops'.

⁶⁶ See Amy Herman, *The Art of Perception*, www.artfulperception.com/about-course.html, as well as her book *Visual Intelligence: Sharpen Your Perception, Change Your Life* (Boston, MA, 2016).

⁶⁷ Quoted from Neal Hirschfeld, 'Teaching cops to see', *Smithsonian Magazine* (October 2009): www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/teaching-cops-to-see-138500635. See also Sarah Lyall, 'Off the beat and into a museum: art helps police officers learn to look', *New York Times*, 26 April 2016: www.nytimes.com/2016/04/27/arts/design/art-helps-police-officers-learn-to-look.html.

⁶⁸ See Frank Biess, 'Why the humanities save lives', *San Diego Union-Tribune*, 28 April 2017: www.sandiegouniontribune.com/opinion/commentary/sd-humanities-save-lives-20170428-story.html.

⁶⁹ Amy Herman, interview with the author, 7 February 2018.

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use of the law', as Ed Gillespie, the humanities-teaching cop in Baltimore, told me. 'Those brass-tacks things are handled generally well.'⁷⁰ The humanities help with the mental skills needed to do the job, Gillespie said, but that idea is controversial:

There has been a touch-and-go relationship with the intangible concepts of things like cultural awareness, history, philosophy, etc. Often the pivotal question of the 'why' of policing is not coupled with the methodology of the 'how' of policing. When those things are introduced, there is considerable pushback. In many cases, this is because many officers feel that they are being distracted or softened by political-special-interest pap. Be this as it may, police agencies, and the Baltimore PD in particular, must stay the course and continue to emphasize and reemphasize the importance of the humanist element. We need to say outright that we are servants and champions of a Western democratic tradition.⁷¹

I also asked David Dagan, author of the piece on Gillespie in *The Atlantic*, what the humanities have to offer a vocation such as policing. What might academics be able to see about crime and justice that cops usually don't?

That cops' frustrations are normal and can have an outlet; that the police occupy a vital place in a democracy and need to embrace it; that the people they encounter all have stories of their own; that de-escalation is just as heroic as shooting someone; that you can embrace these ideas without turning yourself into a 'social worker'; that we've always asked them to do our dirty work and they should push back by demanding we actually integrate the marginalized communities we ask them to keep under control.⁷²

At a time when police are looking to increase the empathy, thoughtfulness and cultural awareness in officers, these are precisely the skills offered by the humanities. Shakespeare's plays wrestle fiercely with crime and justice, refusing to give easy answers, requiring and training a mind capable of complex analysis and ethics. It's one thing to tell officers, 'Be ethical.' It's another thing entirely to give them the experience of being lost in interpretation, not knowing which way is up, and asking them to identify the abstract concepts in play. That's why thinkers such as Lynn Hunt, Steven

Pinker and Elaine Scarry have argued that there is an 'ethics of reading': increased literacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to an increased number of books published, which led to an increased capacity for empathy (seeing the world through someone else's eyes) and deliberation (debating the meanings and values of things), which led to legal reforms, which led to decreased violence towards others (ranging from the end of burning witches to the abolition of slavery).⁷³

Herman observed that much police work 'depends on initial critical inquiry to lay a foundation for further examination'. By enhancing officers' skills in writing, speaking and thinking, she said, the humanities can 'help them daily with the work that they do' and 'help them be more effective practitioners and better leaders'.⁷⁴ It is important to emphasize that Shakespeare for Cops is job training, not personal enrichment. That's why I like terms such as 'emotional intelligence' and – in Herman's book – 'visual intelligence'. These are skills and talents that can be learned and deployed, not personality traits or aery flights of fancy. The promise of Shakespeare for Cops is not that you will become a better human being; it's that you will become a better cop because you will better understand why crime occurs and what justice is. Here's how Gillespie put it to me:

Stories and representations of the human condition get cops to explore the 'why' of the human animal. They fortify the capacity for empathy, and they get the officer to ponder experiences beyond the immediacy of 'what is in front of me right now.' In a very practical sense, it gets the officer thinking about whether her or his approach to a problem might be impactful in light of the factors that led to it.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Ed Gillespie, interview with the author, 10 February 2018.

⁷¹ Gillespie, interview.

⁷² David Dagan, interview with the author, 25 January 2018.

⁷³ See Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York, 2007); Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined* (New York, 2011); and Elaine Scarry, 'Poetry, injury, and the ethics of reading', in *The Humanities and Public Life*, ed. Peter Brooks (New York, 2014), pp. 41–8.

⁷⁴ Herman, interview. ⁷⁵ Gillespie, interview.

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Lots of literature addresses crime and justice – from the Epic of Gilgamesh to the Book of Genesis, from Sophocles' *Antigone* to Augustine's *Confessions*, from *The Thousand and One Nights* to *The Canterbury Tales*, from Dickens and Poe to Conan Doyle and Dostoyevsky, on down to Susan Glaspell, Franz Kafka, Agatha Christie, Langston Hughes, Gwendolyn Brooks, Shirley Jackson, Flannery O'Connor, Truman Capote, Harper Lee, Toni Morrison, Elmore Leonard, S. E. Hinton, Margaret Atwood, Spike Lee and Quentin Tarantino, among many others.⁷⁶ Film has become particularly popular in criminal justice pedagogy.⁷⁷ That makes sense. Film is easy to access and of the moment. Shakespeare is the opposite. But Shakespeare is a special site where his obsession with tragedy, usually involving issues of crime and justice, comes together with both his deep conditioning by the classical tradition – connecting us back up with ancient ethics and philosophy – and his continued popularity today, bridging the texts to urgent social issues. 'Shakespeare's works can speak to a wide range of issues related to justice', as Eklund and Hyman write, 'because he thematizes justice so often in his plays.'⁷⁸

Shakespeare for Cops has three main objectives:

1. to enhance analytical and ethical skills in police officers by training them in humanistic ways of thinking about crime and justice
2. to build legitimacy for the police by disseminating knowledge about crime and justice derived from on-the-job experience to academic and public audiences
3. to create a new community partnership between cops and academics, fostering trust between two groups traditionally suspicious of each other.

The second and third objectives are added benefits; the first is the focus of the programme. How can Shakespeare help people to be better cops? Because interpreting Shakespeare provides analytical training: learning to better understand and prevent crime by discerning the social and individual factors that bring it about. And it provides ethical training: learning to recognize and negotiate the moral dilemmas associated with police work.

⁷⁶ See Paul E. Dow, *Criminology in Literature* (New York, 1980); J. David Hirschel and John R. McNair, 'Integrating the study of criminal justice and literature', *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 7 (1982), 75–98; Daniel J. Kornstein, 'Literature and crime', in *Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice*, ed. Sanford H. Kadish: www.encyclopedia.com/law/legal-and-political-magazines/literature-and-crime; Beverly A. Smith, 'Literature in criminal justice education', *Journal of Criminal Justice* 15 (1987), 137–44; Biko Agozino, 'Radical criminology in African literature', *International Sociology* 10 (1995), 315–29; Steven T. Engel, 'Teaching literature in the criminal justice curriculum', *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 14 (2003), 345–54; Vincenzo Ruggiero, *Crime in Literature: Sociology of Deviance and Fiction* (London, 2003); Blythe Alison Bowman, 'Classical literature for the criminal justice classroom', *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* 20 (2009), 95–109; Jayme Anne Powell, 'Criminal justice in literature: a teaching curriculum' (MA thesis, California State University, Sacramento, 2010): <http://hdl.handle.net/10211.9/854>; Elizabeth Burney, 'Crime and criminology in the eye of the novelist: trends in nineteenth-century literature', *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 51 (2012), 160–72; Afra Saleh Alshiban, 'Exploring criminology in literary texts: Robert Browning – an example', *Journal of Literature and Art Studies* 2 (2012), 454–63; Michael Hviid Jacobsen, ed., *The Poetics of Crime: Understanding and Researching Crime and Deviance Through Creative Sources* (New York, 2014); and Lawrence Karson, Claudia Slate and Rebecca Saulsbury, eds., *Crime, Justice and Literature: A Reader* (Dubuque, IA, 2017).

⁷⁷ See Nicole Hahn Rafter, *Shots in the Mirror: Crime Films and Society* (Oxford, 2006); Jon Frauley, *Criminology, Deviance, and the Silver Screen: The Fictional Reality and the Criminological Imagination* (New York, 2010); and Nicole Rafter and Michelle Brown, *Criminology Goes to the Movies: Crime Theory and Popular Culture* (New York, 2011).

⁷⁸ Eklund and Hyman, 'Introduction', p. 8. See, for example, K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, 'Crime and punishment in Shakespeare', *Journal of the Annamalai University* 22 (1960), 1–66; C. J. Sisson, *Shakespeare's Tragic Justice* (London, 1962); Robert B. Heilman, 'The criminal as tragic hero: dramatic methods', *Shakespeare Survey* 19 (Cambridge, 1966), 12–24; John Lewin, 'The victim in Shakespeare', in *Victims and Society*, ed. Emilio Viano (Washington, DC, 1978), pp. 451–64; Robert Rentoul Reed, Jr., *Crime and God's Judgment in Shakespeare* (Lexington, KY, 1984); E. A. J. Honigmann, 'Crime, punishment, and judgement in Shakespeare', in *L'Europe de la renaissance: cultures et civilisations: mélanges offerts à Marie-Thérèse Jones-Davies*, ed. J. C. Margolin and M. M. Martinet (Paris, 1989), pp. 285–93; Richard Wilson, 'The quality of mercy: discipline and punishment in Shakespearean comedy', *The Seventeenth Century* 5 (1990), 1–42; Frank Kermode, 'Justice and mercy in Shakespeare',

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Working to accomplish these objectives, there are five points of emphasis in the Shakespeare for Cops curriculum:

1. *Close Reading*: Often, events have a surface understanding that is obvious to most people, but a deeper explanation that only becomes apparent upon further thought or with specialized knowledge.
2. *Sympathetic Imagination*: Not 'sympathetic' in the sense of 'feeling sorry for', but the act of seeing a situation from someone else's perspective (a talent Shakespeare famously possessed).
3. *Identity Criminology*: Like Shakespeare's plays, police work involves many connections between identity (who someone is) and actions (what someone does), including issues of stereotyping.
4. *The Exercise of Power*: Police officers have more power than average citizens; thus, the police have a greater responsibility to wield that power properly. While Shakespeare's kings and modern police officers are obviously exercising power on different orders of magnitude, the same questions about virtue, prerogative and discretion arise.
5. *The Performance of Policing*: As recent media coverage shows, policing is not just about doing a good job. Whether we like it or not, it's also about appearing to do a good job. Shakespearian drama can help cops to increase their awareness of their audiences and make the theatricality of policing work for them.

The programme covers these topics through a series of excerpts from Shakespeare's plays – some shorter, some longer. After acknowledging the different historical contexts – the laws, values and cultural norms in Elizabethan England versus the contemporary United States – the instructor frames each excerpt with some plot summary to orient the audience to the scenes under consideration. It is also helpful to provide some preparatory questions to indicate the direction of the discussion. I recommend using film clips with subtitles to present the scenes in question. Students also benefit from having a printed copy of the text in front of them, allowing them to underline key passages and make notes for discussion. Those texts also include editorial notes glossing difficult vocabulary words and tricky sentences.

For example, the first discussion looks at a scene from one of Shakespeare's most accessible texts, *The*

Tempest, where the mighty magician Prospero polices the enslaved savage Caliban. Banished from his home in Italy, where he was a duke, and sent out to sea, Prospero and his daughter Miranda washed ashore on Caliban's island. Everyone got along at first. Prospero even invited Caliban to live with them in their home, but then Caliban tried to rape Miranda, and Prospero became an agent of criminal justice. The first thing I ask is how this crime will affect Miranda. How will it change her life? What would you do if you were a first-responder on Shakespeare's magical island? The second is why Caliban tried to rape her. Answers might span from raging hormones to an effort to assert dominance to resentment and revenge for the invasion of his homeland. Shakespeare's text doesn't affirm any of these answers any more than the world explains to us why rape happens in real life. But did Caliban commit a crime? There were no laws against rape on the

Houston Law Review 33 (1996), 1155–74; R. S. White, *Imnocent Victims: Poetic Injustice in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 2nd edn (London, 1988); Theodore Meron, 'Crimes and accountability in Shakespeare', *The American Journal of International Law* 92 (1998), 1–40; Victoria M. Time, *Shakespeare's Criminals: Criminology, Fiction, and Drama* (Westport, CT, 1999); Bryan Reynolds, *Becoming Criminal: Transversal Performance and Cultural Dissidence in Early Modern England* (Baltimore, MD, 2002); Victoria M. Time, 'Shakespeare's female victims: criminology and fiction', *Women and Criminal Justice* 14 (2003), 81–105; Jon D. Orten, "'That perilous stuff': crime in Shakespeare's tragedies", in *Modi operandi: Perspektiver på kriminallitteratur*, ed. Elin Nesje Vestli, Eva Lambertsson Björk and Karen Patrick Knutsen (Halden, 2003), pp. 75–90; Daniel Kornstein, *Kill All the Lawyers? Shakespeare's Legal Appeal* (Lincoln, NE, 2005); William M. Hawley, *Shakespearean Tragedy and the Common Law: The Art of Punishment* (New York, 1998); Kenji Yoshino, *A Thousand Times More Fair: What Shakespeare's Plays Teach Us About Justice* (New York, 2011); Derek Dunne, *Shakespeare, Revenge Tragedy and Early Modern Law: Vindictive Justice* (New York, 2016); Paul Griffiths, 'Criminal London: fear and danger in Shakespeare's city', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. Malcolm Smuts (Oxford, 2016), pp. 580–95; Regina Schwartz, *Loving Justice, Living Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2016); Paul Raffield, *The Art of Law in Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2017); and Tzachi Zamir, 'Justice: some reflections on *Measure for Measure*', in *The Routledge Companion to Shakespeare and Philosophy*, ed. Craig Bourne and Emily Caddick Bourne (London, 2019), pp. 279–87.

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island, out in the state of nature. So I ask officers how they respond to acts that might not be explicitly illegal but are clearly harmful. Then I ask them how, if Prospero can be seen as an agent of criminal justice, we should evaluate his response to the incident. Confinement and community service seem like wise decisions, but the verbal and physical abuse that Prospero heaps on Caliban is more problematic. Degrading and torturing a prisoner isn't taught at the police academy, even for someone who sexually abuses children. In fact, it seems to be Caliban's experience with an overly aggressive criminal justice system that transforms him from a sexual deviant into a political revolutionary who conspires to overthrow Prospero.

Our discussion of *Macbeth*, in which a Scottish war hero conspires with his wife to assassinate the king and claim the throne for himself, starts with a simple question: why did Macbeth kill King Duncan? Interpretations might invoke ethical, psychological and sociological theories of criminology, leading to a series of follow-up questions that seek to bridge fiction with reality: (1) Why is Macbeth ambitious? What's wrong with ambition? What connections between ambition and crime have you experienced on the job? (2) How might Macbeth's wartime service affect his criminality? What do you see as the relationship between veterans and crime out on the street? (3) How does the pull of masculinity affect Macbeth's criminality? Where do you see the pull of masculinity out on the street?

In a quick discussion of *Much Ado About Nothing*, which includes the clownish constable Dogberry, who gets all his words wrong and has no clue how to conduct an investigation, we ask where the 'dumb cop' stereotype comes from. What's the best way to dispel the stereotype? What's the best way to dispel any stereotype? And how can cops leverage their experience with the 'dumb cop' stereotype to understand how others experience stereotypes?

Perhaps the most resonant Shakespearian text for our current moment, *Measure for Measure* depicts an effort to reform the police in Vienna. For years, the city hasn't enforced its laws, leading

to widespread crime and disorder. The Duke of Vienna deputizes a strict lawman named Angelo to crack down on crime by instituting a zero-tolerance policy. But soon we see Angelo wielding his power in horrible ways. He sentences a man to death for a petty crime that hadn't been enforced for years. Then, consumed by a perverse desire for the criminal's sister, who is about to become a nun, Angelo offers to release the man if she will sleep with him. The Duke of Vienna's response to Angelo's abuse of power is equally despicable: the Duke arranges to have Angelo raped. Tracking the minor lapses that built up to a major scandal, our conversation seeks to identify how police reform went haywire in Shakespeare's Vienna. Resonances with the challenge of police reform in America today quickly come into focus.

Our final text is *The Merchant of Venice*, which depicts the racial animosity between a Christian and a Jew spiralling out of control into hate crimes, attempted murder and a legal system which must decide what to do when enforcing the laws of the land just doesn't seem fair or right. How should we deal with racism and revenge against it from a criminal justice perspective? What should law enforcement officers do when they don't have the authority to stop harmful actions from taking place? What's more important: enforcing the law or doing what you think is right?

The course segues into an independent writing session asking officers to think about the course's five points of emphasis as they arise out on the street. Students are asked to bring with them to the class a report from a particularly memorable incident they were involved in. Working off that report, officers respond in writing to a series of questions. On the topic of Identity Criminology, they are asked:

1. What were the identities involved in this incident – whether of the offenders, of the bystanders, or your own?
2. What was the relationship between the identities involved and the actions taken in this incident?

On Sympathetic Imagination, they are asked:

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3. Beyond identity, what were the factors contributing to the perpetrator's actions?

On The Exercise of Power, they are asked:

4. What power did you hold in this situation?
5. What were the ethical questions that arose?

On The Performance of Policing, they are asked:

6. Who or what was your audience for this incident, either in the moment (perps, bystanders) or later (supervisors, media)?
7. What did you do – or, as you look back, what could you have done – to perform the role of the good cop?

Building off these responses, officers are asked to imagine they are Shakespeare writing out this incident in a scene. The details of the scene have all been written: they are in the report. You just need to write two soliloquies. Don't worry about iambic pentameter or flowery imagery, but ask yourself how you can articulate the hidden factors, motives, thoughts and goals at work behind the actions taken. To explain is not to excuse, of course. So, first, write a soliloquy from the perpetrator's perspective, articulating why they are doing what they are doing. Give us a glimpse into the criminal's mind. Second, write a soliloquy from your own perspective, articulating why you're doing what you're doing. To be clear, the point of this activity is not to suggest that you may have done something wrong. The point is that you may understand better than anyone else what happened and why, and these steps can help you to articulate it and communicate your knowledge. The hope here is that, in writing out these soliloquies, officers will come to make explicit the forces that motivate both crime and justice, opening up discussion. Cops love to tell stories. And they love to debate.

Studying Shakespeare can be intellectually and ethically beneficial, not because he was a model human being or wise moral leader. He was neither, often showing a complete disregard for how to lead a good life. Instead, he was obsessed with the causes and effects of injustice: tragedy. Making sense of his plays requires discernment. That's what cops need too. Studying Shakespeare doesn't make you a better person, but it does render you better able

to explain the causes, structures and meanings of harmful social behaviour. That includes the harmful things Shakespeare did to characters – the smiley depiction of domestic abuse in *The Taming of the Shrew*, the breezy use of rape as a plot point in *Titus Andronicus*, the happy endings for the perpetrators of hate crimes in *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Tempest* – as well as the harmful things done in Shakespeare's name. Bardolatry figures cultural greatness as old, White and male. Shakespeare's centrality excludes other writers, including women and people of colour. And there are limits to how far Shakespeare can take us in a modern criminal justice setting. What about female and LGBTQ+ voices on crime and justice? What about African American, indigenous and immigrant perspectives? What about when Shakespeare's language, which presents difficulties for even the most talented English majors, becomes too big a barrier?

That's why the Shakespeare for Cops curriculum concludes by moving to adaptations that update Shakespeare's plays to modern criminal justice settings. These include allusions to golden-age crime fiction as well as recent detective television.⁷⁹ *West Side Story* (1961) frames *Romeo and Juliet* as rival ethnic gangs singing songs about criminology to Officer Krupke. In Geoffrey Sax's *Othello* (2001), officer John Othello must navigate Ben Jago's racism in the modern London police force. Margaret Atwood's novel *Hag-Seed* (2018) resets *The Tempest* in a Canadian correctional facility. The final season of *Oz* (2003), *Shakespeare Behind Bars* (2006), *Mickey B* (2007) and *Caesar Must Die* (2012) all stage Shakespeare in prison. And there are recognizably modern police officers and scenes of criminal justice in Baz Luhrmann's *Romeo + Juliet* (1996), William Morrisette's *Scotland PA* (2001), Joss Whedon's *Much Ado About Nothing* (2011) and Michael Almereyda's *Cymbeline* (2014).

Then we end by hearing from some people who have spoken back to Shakespeare. That includes

⁷⁹ Lisa Hopkins, *Shakespearean Allusion in Crime Fiction: DCI Shakespeare* (New York, 2016).

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prominent twentieth-century writers such as Virginia Woolf ('What would have happened had Shakespeare had a wonderfully gifted sister?') and James Baldwin ('I condemned him as one of the authors and architects of my oppression').⁸⁰ There are also recent statements from thinkers like Ayanna Thompson ('he's writing from the vantage point of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century, and I hope we've moved on'), Marcos Gonzalez ('the language of Shakespeare is the language of whiteness') and Ruben Espinosa ('racist complicity abound[s]').⁸¹ These voices provide cops with models for one of the most challenging aspects of police work: recognizing cases of systemic inequality even when it is deeply codified in culture and comes from a person in a place of authority. Shakespeare himself is not removed from the power dynamics critiqued in *Shakespeare for Cops*. Understanding the identity politics of bardolatry could be a step towards doing the same with American policing.

Insofar as the primary goal of this programme is police education, the ideal setting would be in-service training, management training or a continuing education course. We couldn't do an undergraduate course or recruit training because the project asks cops to use their on-the-ground experience to inform their in-the-classroom reflection, with the hope that the inverse will then happen as well. Venues could include in-service training at local police academies, the Institute for Law Enforcement Administration's Contemporary Issues and Ethics Conference or the International Association of Police Chiefs' Annual Conference. I think it would be a mistake to bring in Shakespeare scholars to teach these classes, inevitably creating the atmosphere of some ivory-tower outsider trying to tell cops how to do their jobs. As David Dagan noted, 'It can take insiders to make new ideas seem legitimate, like something *real cops* talk about.'⁸² The programme should be led by criminal justice professionals who are enthusiastic about the value of the humanities; perhaps literature professors could be brought in as co-teachers

providing classroom support when questions arise, and to help facilitate discussion.

At the same time, I selfishly want to advocate for the secondary goal of the programme, the transmission of experiential knowledge from the police to academics. I can think of nothing more fascinating and beneficial to me as a Shakespeare scholar than a room full of people who are involved with the work of justice on a day-to-day basis talking about the way crime and justice work in Shakespeare's plays. Cops have as much to teach academics as academics have to teach cops. As Gillespie told me, 'Cops can take the neat-and-tidy ideas of academics and put them up against the real-world tests that they run daily', and then he turned the tables on me: 'Have you seen a person truly prove that they do or don't have free will? Have you ever seen someone go full-Hamlet on his enemies?'⁸³ Even as academics have the time, skills and inclination to think deeply about the challenges of crime and justice, cops have the experiential evidence needed to test the quality of academic ideas. David Dagan also noted that 'cops might be better anthropologists than academics. They understand slang, implicit norms, and interpersonal power dynamics that academics might not immediately see.'⁸⁴ Amy Herman thinks 'police officers could readily demonstrate to academics in the humanities how to speak less rhetorically and communicate more directly. Exigent circumstances mandate precise and concise communication.'⁸⁵ Even as Shakespearians work

⁸⁰ Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (London, 1929), p. 48; James Baldwin, 'Why I stopped hating Shakespeare', *The Observer*, 19 April 1964, p. 21.

⁸¹ Ayanna Thompson, interviewed by Gene Demby, 'All that glitters is not gold', *Code Switch*, NPR, 21 August 2019; www.npr.org/transcripts/752850055; Marcos Gonzalez, 'Caliban never belonged to Shakespeare', *Literary Hub*, 26 July 2019; <https://lithub.com/caliban-never-belonged-to-shakespeare/>; Ruben Espinosa, 'Shakespeare and your mountainish inhumanity', *The Sundial*, 16 August 2019; <https://medium.com/the-sundial-acmrs/shakespeare-and-your-mountainish-inhumanity-d255474027de>.

⁸² Dagan, 'Baltimore cops'. ⁸³ Gillespie, interview.

⁸⁴ Dagan, interview. ⁸⁵ Herman, interview.

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up from the evidence of his plays to abstract ideas about crime and justice, cops can work those ideas back down to human experience, evaluating both their truth and their implications for policy.

And conversations between cops and Shakespearians could be revelatory for everyday citizens. Thus, I want to keep alive the possibility of a version of 'Shakespeare for Cops that operates as a public event through some sort of Shakespearian

community outreach programme such as the Public Shakespeare Initiative, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the American Shakespeare Center or the Oregon Shakespeare Festival. Beyond achieving the educational objectives of Shakespeare for Cops, such an event would do the important work of creating community partnerships among academics, cops and citizens, all working together towards justice.

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