

## ***SOCIOLOGY of POLICING***

**Laleh Behbehanian, Ph.D.**

**Tues/Thurs 9:30 – 11:00 (101 Morgan)**

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This course explores a wide range of scholarship on policing. It commences with the task of developing a sociological conceptualization of “police” before proceeding to examine the historical emergence of the police in modern societies, focusing particularly on the case of the United States. The course traces the historical development of policing in the U.S. from the colonial era through the contemporary period.

How are we to understand the power, means, and function of police? If the mandate of police is to enforce and guarantee “order”, what is the relationship between policing and the maintenance of the class order of capitalism, the racial order of white supremacy, and the gendered and heteronormative order of patriarchy? And how are deviations from and resistances to these orders criminalized as forms of “disorder” that then become targets of policing?

The course concludes by examining major current developments that are transforming contemporary policing. How can we understand the phenomenon referred to as “the militarization of police”? What new forms of policing have emerged alongside neoliberalization? What becomes the role of police in the maintenance of a neoliberal order? Finally, how are we to understand the increasing centrality of criticisms of policing within contemporary social movements in the U.S.?

### **INTRODUCTION – A Sociological Approach to Police**

**8/23** *Course Introduction: Police, Policing and “the Police”*

### **HISTORICAL ORIGINS - The “Order”ing of Class Society**

**8/28** *“Masterless Men” and the Modern Emergence of the Police*

Neocleous, Mark. *The fabrication of social order: a critical theory of police power*. Sterling, VA : Pluto Press, 2000. Preface (ix-xii); Excerpts of Ch.1 “Police Begets Good Order” (1-6; 13-21).

**8/30 “Vagrancy” and the Idleness of “Disorder”**

Neocleous, Excerpts of Ch.4 “Ordering Insecurity II: On Social Security” (63-72; 75-78; 84-91).

<b>HISTORICAL ORIGINS – The United States</b>
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**9/4 Policing White Supremacy**

Brucato, Ben. "Fabricating the color line in a white democracy: from slave catchers to petty sovereigns." *Theoria* (2014): 30-54.

**9/6 Police Predecessors: Slave Patrols**

Hadden, Sally E. *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001. Excerpts of Ch.1 (6-24; 38-40) and Ch.3 (99-104).

Suggested Additional Reading:

Reichel, Philip L. “Southern Slave Patrols as a Transitional Police Type” *American Journal of Police* 7, no.2 (1998): 51-77.

**9/11 “To be Black was to be subject to police.”**

Hadden, Ch.4 (105-136).

**9/13 The Origins of American Policing**

Williams, Kristian. *Our enemies in blue: police and power in America*. Oakland: AK Press, 2015. Excerpt of Ch.2 “The Origins of American Policing (51-78).

**9/18 Policing the Class & Racial Order of the U.S.**

Williams, Excerpts of Ch.3 “The Genesis of a Policed Society” (100-113; 116-119) and Ch.5 “The Natural Enemy of the Working Class” (175-184; 189-192; 195-198).

<b>VIGILANTISM and the BLURRED BOUNDARIES of POLICING</b>
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**9/20 Reconstruction and the Rise of the Ku Klux Klan**

Hadden, Excerpt of Ch.6 “Patrollers No More: The Civil War Era” (198-202); Epilogue “Black Freedom, White Violence: Patrols, Police and the Klan” (203-220).

Williams, Excerpt of Ch.4 “Cops and Klan, Hand in Hand” (121-129).

**9/25 “Cops and Klan, Hand in Hand”**

Williams, Excerpt of Ch.4 “Cops and Klan, Hand in Hand” (149-173).

Skolnick, Jerome H. and James J. Fyfe. “Vigilante Justice” in *Above the Law: Police and the Excessive Use of Force*. New York: The Free Press, 1993. Excerpt (Pp.23-29).

Anti-Defamation League. “Armed Vigilante Activities in Arizona.” April 25, 2005.  
<https://www.adl.org/news/article/armed-vigilante-activities-in-arizona>.

Suggested Additional Reading:

“Map of White Supremacy Mob Violence” (<http://www.monroeworktoday.org/explore/map2/>)

<b>POLICING the ORDER of PATRIARCHY</b>
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**9/27 “White Slavery,” “Sex Trafficking” & the Rise of the FBI**

Piley, Jessica. *Policing Sexuality: The Mann Act and the Making of the FBI*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014. Intro (Pp.1-8); Ch.1 (Pp.9-12; 15-19; 24-25; 30-31); Ch.4 (Pp.84-93).

**10/2 Policing Patriarchy**

Piley, Ch.4 (Pp.98-105); Ch.6 (Pp.131-139; 146-149; 156-158) and Conclusion (Pp.207-216).

Gaines, Larry K. Victor E. Kappeler and Joseph B. Vaughn. *Policing in America*. Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing, 1999. Pp. 21-50. (**Just briefly SKIM this reading**)

**10/4 “Masterless Women”: “Age of Consent” and “Statutory Rape”**

Odem, Mary. *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Intro (Pp.1-7); Ch.1 (Pp.8-11; 20-25; 36-37); Ch.2 (Pp.38-50).

**10/9 The “Protection” & Policing of Working Class Sexuality**

Odem, Ch.2 (Pp.50-62); Ch.3 (Pp.63-71; 78-81); Conclusion (Pp.185-189).

Suggested Additional Reading:

Schlossman, Steven and Stephanie Wallach. “The Crime of Precocious Sexuality: Female Juvenile Delinquency in the Progressive Era” *Harvard Educational Review* 48, no.1 (1978): 65-94.

## POLICING HETERONORMATIVITY

### 10/11 *The “Disorder” of “Homosexuality”*

Chauncy, George. “The Exclusion of Homosexuality from the Public Sphere in the 1930s” in *Gay New York : Gender, Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940*. New York: Basic Books, 1994. Pp. 331-354.

### 10/16 *Stonewall Uprising*

Arrioloa, Elvia R. A. “Faeries, Marimachas, Queens, and Lezzies: The Construction of Homosexuality Before the 1969 Stonewall Riots” *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law* 5, no.1 (1995). (Pp.33-45; 51-53; 57-77)

In Class FILM: Stonewall Uprising (2010)

#### Suggested Additional Reading:

Jung, Moon-Ho. "Policing Gay LA: Mapping Racial Divides in the Homophile Era, 1950-1967" in *The Rising Tide of Color: Race, State Violence, and Radical Movements across the Pacific*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014.

### 10/18 *The Ghosts of Stonewall*

Jacobson, Robert L. "Megan's Laws Reinforcing Old Patterns of Anti-Gay Police Harassment [notes]." *Georgetown Law Journal* 7 (1998). (Pp. 2431-2458)

Mogul, Joey L., Andrea J. Ritchie and Kay Whitlock. “The Ghosts of Stonewall: Policing Gender, Policing Sex” *Truthout* July 8, 2015. (<http://www.truth-out.org/progressivepicks/item/31764-the-ghosts-of-stonewall-policing-gender-policing-sex>)

#### Suggested Additional Reading:

Amnesty International. *Stonewalled : police abuse and misconduct against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people in the U.S.*: New York: Amnesty International USA, 2005.

### 10/23 *The Decline of Coalitions & the Rise of the Carceral State*

Stewart-Winter, T. "Queer Law and Order: Sex, Criminality, and Policing in the Late Twentieth-Century United States." *Journal of American History* 102, no.1 (2015): 61-72.

**\*\*\*MIDTERM EXAM distributed during class on 10/23**

**MIDTERM EXAM DUE on 10/29**

## The “DISORDER” of RESISTANCE

### 10/25 *Policing in Times of Uprising: From Slave Revolts to Urban Riots*

Hadden, Excerpt of Ch.5 “In Times of Crisis: Patrols during Rebellions and War” (137-144).

Parenti, Christian. *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis*. London: Verso, 1999. Ch.1 “Nixon’s Splendid Little War: Social Crisis and Containment” (3-28).

#### Suggested Additional Reading:

Williams, Ch.8 “Riot Police or Police Riots?” (287-319).

### 10/30 “Red Squads”: Police & Political Repression

Williams, Kristian, Excerpts of Ch.7 “Secret Police, Red Squads and the Strategy of Permanent State Repression” (Pp.239-255; 268-285).

In-Class Viewing: *Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution* (2015)

In-Class Viewing: *Do Not Resist* (2016)

## The “MILITARIZATION of POLICING”

### 11/1 *SWAT Teams, Militarized Borders and the Rise of Paramilitary Policing*

Parenti, Ch.6 “Carrying the Big Stick: SWAT Teams and Paramilitary Policing” (Pp.111-127; 131-138); Ch.7 “Repatriating la Migra’s War: The Militarized Border Comes Home” (Pp.139-144; 149-154; 159-160).

In-Class Viewing: *Do Not Resist* (2016)

#### Suggested Additional Reading:

Williams, Ch.9 “Your Friendly Neighborhood Police State” (Pp.321-361).

Kraska, Peter B. and Victor E. Kappeler, “Militarizing American Police: The Rise and Normalization of Paramilitary Units” *Social Problems* 44, no.1 (Feb. 1997): 1-18.

Radley, Balko. *Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America’s Police Forces*. New York: Public Affairs, 2014.

### 11/6 *Origins of the Posse Comitatus Act: The Racial Politics of Protection*

Gamal, Fanna. "The Racial Politics of Protection: A Critical Race Examination of Police Militarization [notes]." *California Law Review* 4 (2016): 979 -1008.

## **POLICING the NEOLIBERAL ORDER**

### **11/8 *From “Masterless Men” to “Surplus Populations”***

Parenti, Ch.2 “From Crisis to Rollback” (Pp.29-44) and excerpt of Ch.3 “A War for All Seasons: The Return of Law and Order” (45-60).

*Suggested Additional Reading:*

Forrest, Stuart. “Race, Space, and the Regulation of Surplus Labor: Policing African Americans in Los Angeles's Skid Row.” *Souls* 13, no.2 (2011): 197-212.

### **11/13 *Policing the “Quality of Life” of Neoliberalization***

Parenti, Ch.4 “Discipline in Playland, Part I – Zero Tolerance: The Science of Kicking Ass” (Pp.69-89)

Erzen, Tanya. “Turnstile Jumpers and Broken Windows: Policing Disorder in New York City” in *Zero Tolerance: Quality of Life and the New Police Brutality in New York City*. Edited by Andrea McArdle and Tanya Erzen. New York: New York University Press, 2001. (Pp. 19-30 and skim Appendix)

*Suggested Additional Reading:*

Barr, Heather. “Policing Madness: People with Mental Illness and the NYPD” in *Zero Tolerance: Quality of Life and the New Police Brutality in New York City*. Edited by Andrea McArdle and Tanya Erzen. New York: New York University Press, 2001. Pp. 50-84.

Stuart, Forrest. “From ‘Rabble Management’ to ‘Recovery Management’: Policing Homelessness in Marginal Urban Space” *Urban Studies* 5, no.9 (2014): 1909-1925.

### **11/15 *“Broken Windows”: Urban Redevelopment, Gentrification and “Zero Tolerance” Policing***

Parenti, Ch.5 “Discipline in Playland, Part II – Policing the Themepark City” (90-110).

### **11/20 *Policing Space, Policing Race***

Bass, Sandra. “Policing Space, Policing Race: Social Control Imperatives and Police Discretionary Decisions” *Social Justice* 28, no.1 (Spring 2001):156-176.

*Suggested Additional Reading:*

Lynch, Mona and Marissa Omari, Aaron Roussell and Matthew Valasik. “Policing the ‘progressive’ city: The racialized geography of drug law enforcement” *Theoretical Criminology* 17, no.3 (2013): 335-357.

Kaufman, Emily. “Policing mobilities through bio-spatial profiling in New York City” *Political Geography* 55 (2016): 72-81.

11/22 NO CLASS (University Holiday)

**CONCLUSION: The Resilience of Resistance & the Abolition of Police**

11/27 *The Re-emergence of Resistance: Police & Contemporary Social Movements*

Murch, Donna. "Ferguson's Inheritance." *Jacobin*, August 2015.

(<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/08/ferguson-police-black-lives-matter/>)

11/29 *Beyond Police*

Williams, Afterword "Making Police Obsolete" (363-397).

**\*\*\*FINAL EXAM distributed during class on 11/29**

**FINAL EXAM DUE on 12/10**

**GRADE DISTRIBUTION:**

10% Attendance

20% Pop Quizzes

35% Midterm Exam (Due on 10/29)

35% Final Exam (Due on 12/10)

*Students are expected to thoroughly and carefully read the course policies below.*

**DO NOT** email me with questions that can be answered by referring to this syllabus.

## **ATTENDANCE:**

Class **attendance is mandatory** and lectures are structured to maximize student participation. Being present and actively participating in class is central to the learning process. Attendance will be taken at every class meeting and it is students' responsibility to make sure that they have signed the attendance sheet. If you are present in class and for some reason fail to sign the attendance sheet, you are required to notify me of this via email within 24 hours.

Students are **allotted 3 absences** without penalty. This allotment is intended to cover *any and all illnesses or family and personal matters*, as well as to relieve me of the enormous administrative work of dealing with absence requests on an individual basis. Please **do not email** to notify me of or explain absences – the absence allotment is intended to accommodate for any/all reasons for missing class. Exceptions/accommodations to the attendance policy will only be made in situations of serious *extended* illness or severe crises and require submitting the relevant documentation, as well as a meeting with me to discuss the situation.

Class begins promptly at 10 minutes after the scheduled hour. Please be **present on time** as late arrivals disrupt the class. Students are expected to remain in the classroom until the conclusion of the lecture. Students should **never leave class early** without discussing this with me prior. Late arrivals and early departures will impact the attendance grade.

## **REQUIRED READINGS:**

Our primary work as sociologists involves reading – this course requires extensive and careful reading. The assignments listed for each class meeting are to be read **prior** to that scheduled class. The expectation is that students allocate the necessary time to undertake a **thorough and careful reading**. The examinations for this course consist of take-home essays which students will have a limited time to complete. Thus highlighting, underlining and notetaking throughout the semester will prove highly beneficial for these exams.

All readings listed on the syllabus are included in the **course reader, available at *Replica Digital Ink*** (510 549-9991) at 2138 Oxford Street (by the Center Street entrance to campus near the Downtown Berkeley BART station], around the corner from Starbucks). Course readings are **also available on bCourses**. If you choose to use these digital copies rather than the course reader, be sure to refer to the syllabus for exact page assignments as many of the texts are uploaded to bCourses in their entirety (while only portions are assigned).

Whether you choose to purchase the course reader or utilize the digital copies on Bcourses, you are expected to **bring the assigned readings to every class meeting**.

## **READING GUIDES:**

Included in the course reader (and available on bCourses) are reading guides for the assigned readings. You should always **refer to the reading guides before beginning the assigned readings** as they are intended to make the process easier (especially for the more difficult theoretical texts). Utilizing these guides will enable you to focus on the most important issues and help clarify your reading. Paying careful attention to the reading guides is crucial for doing well on the pop quizzes.



## **POP QUIZZES:**

To ensure that students keep up with reading assignments, **6 pop quizzes** will be given in class throughout the semester at unannounced times. The quizzes will be quick and short and will assess basic comprehension of the assigned readings. You don't have to fully understand the readings to do well on the quizzes (we will make full sense of them together in class), but they do require that you read the assigned texts *fully and carefully*. They also require that you pay careful attention to the reading guides provided (as pop quizzes may pose questions drawn from the reading guides).

Out of the 6 pop quizzes given, **only 4 will count** towards the final grade. This accommodates for any students who miss pop quizzes due to absences. **There are no make-ups for pop-quizzes.** For students who complete more than the required 4 pop quizzes, the lowest grades will be dropped. Given that this policy allows students to miss 1/3 of the total pop quizzes, no further accommodations or exceptions will be made. I have purposely set this generous allotment for missed quizzes to accommodate for any/all situations and thus to relieve myself of the extensive work of dealing with individual requests for accommodations.

## **EXAMS:**

The midterm and final for this course will be open-book, take-home examinations that consist of short essays that assess students' mastery of the course materials. Essays will be geared towards asking students to synthesize and bring together the scholarship covered in the course. The final exam will be cumulative, covering material from the entirety of the semester. The distribution and due dates for the exams are listed on this syllabus. Students are expected to be aware of these dates and to schedule and prepare accordingly. **Please do not contact me with requests to change due dates because of other academic obligations.** Late submissions will result in a grade penalty.

## **SPECIAL ACCOMODATIONS:**

Please notify me immediately if you require any special accommodations for the course. If you are registered with the DSP program, please ensure that your accommodation letter is forwarded to me at the beginning of the semester. Students who wish to utilize DSP accommodations for the midterm or final exams are required to contact me about this well in advance. Students who need accommodations for the pop quizzes are required to discuss this with me in the beginning of the semester.

## **ACADEMIC INTEGRITY:**

All written work must be your own. Any words, or even *ideas*, drawn from another source (even if paraphrased) must be appropriately cited.