

SOCIOLOGY of POLICING

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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 police, 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 and resistances to these orders criminalized as forms of “disorder” that then become targets of policing?

The second part of the course examines 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, and what becomes the role of police in the maintenance of a neoliberal order? How have contemporary technologies ushered in a new era of “predictive policing”?

Finally, we focus on resistance, particularly the increasing centrality of criticisms of policing within contemporary social movements, and we conclude the course by imagining the possibilities for abolition...

INTRODUCTION – A Sociological Approach to Police

8/29 Course Introduction: *Police, Policing and “the Police”*

HISTORICAL ORIGINS - The Ordering of Class Society

9/3 “*Masterless Men*” and the Emergence of Modern Police

Neocleous, Mark. 2000. *The fabrication of social order: a critical theory of police power.*

Sterling, VA: Pluto Press. Preface and excerpts of Ch.1 “Police Begets Good Order”
(Pp. ix-xii; 1-6; 13-21).

9/5 *Vagrancy and the Idleness of Disorder*

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

HISTORICAL ORIGINS – The United States: The Order of White Supremacy

9/10 *Policing White Supremacy*

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

9/12 *Police Predecessors: Slave Patrols*

Hadden, Sally E. 2001. *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Excerpts of Ch.1 “Colonial Beginnings and Experiments” and Ch.3 “Patrol Personnel: ‘They Jes’ Like Policemen, Only Worsen” (Pp.6-24; 38-40; 79-84).

Suggested Additional Reading:

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

9/17 *“To be Black was to be subject to police.”*

Hadden, *Slave Patrols*. Excerpts of Ch.3 “Patrol Personnel: ‘They Jes’ Like Policemen, Only Worsen” and Ch.4 “In Time of Tranquility: Everyday Slave Patrols” (Pp.99-117; 123-127; 132-136).

9/19 *The Origins of American Policing*

Williams, Kristian. 2015. *Our Enemies in Blue: Police and Power in America*. Oakland: AK Press. Excerpts of Ch.2 “Origins of American Policing” and Ch.3 “The Genesis of a Policed Society” (Pp.51-59; 63-67; 70-78; 100-101; 103; 105-113).

VIGILANTISM and the BLURRED BOUNDARIES of POLICING

9/24 *Reconstruction and the Rise of the Ku Klux Klan*

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

Williams, *Our Enemies in Blue*. Excerpt of Ch.4 “Cops and Klan, Hand in Hand” (Pp.121-129).

9/26 “Cops and Klan, Hand in Hand”

Williams, *Our Enemies in Blue*. Excerpt of Ch.4 “Cops and Klan, Hand in Hand” (Pp.149-173).

Skolnick, Jerome H., and James J. Fyfe. 1993. *Above the Law: Police and the Excessive Use of Force*. New York: The Free Press. Excerpt of Ch.2 “Vigilante Justice” (Pp.23-29).

Romero, Simon. 2019. “Cross Border-Patrols, Mercenaries and the K.K.K.: The Long History of Border Militias.” *The New York Times*, April 25.

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/25/us/border-militia-mexico.html>)

Suggested Additional Reading:

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

POLICING PATRIARCHY

10/1 *Feminist Revision of the “Transition” to Capitalism*

Federici, Sylvia. 2014 [2004]. *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*. Brooklyn: Autonomedia. Introduction and excerpts of Ch.1 “All the World Needs a Jolt” and Ch.2 “The Accumulation of Labor and the Degradation of Women” (Pp.11-14; 21-26; 30-31; 44-50; 61-64; 68-75; 82-84)

10/3 *The Witch-Hunt and the Fabrication of a New Patriarchal Order*

Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*. Excerpts of Ch.2 “The Accumulation of Labor and the Degradation of Women” and Ch.4 “The Great Witch-Hunt in Europe” (Pp.85-103; 115; 163-186)

10/8 “White Slavery,” “Sex Trafficking” & the Rise of the F.B.I.

Pliley, Jessica. 2014. *Policing Sexuality: The Mann Act and the Making of the FBI*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Introduction and excerpts of Ch.1 “The American Myth of

White Slavery”, Ch.4 “Creating a Moral Quarantine” and Ch.6 “Policing Seduction and Adultery” (Pp.1-12; 24-25; 84-86; 88-93; 131-139; 146-149; 156-158).

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

Odem, Mary. 1995. *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Introduction and excerpts of Ch.1 “‘White Slaves’ and ‘Viscous Men’: The Age of Consent Campaign”, Ch.2 “Teenage Girls, Sexuality, and Working Class Parents” and Ch.3 “Statutory Rape Prosecutions in California” (Pp.1-11; 20-25; 36-39; 45; 47-50; 53; 58-71).

Suggested Additional Reading:

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

POLICING HETERONORMATIVITY

10/15 *The “Disorder” of “Homosexuality”*

Chauncy, George.1994. *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940*. New York: Basic Books. Ch.12 “The Exclusion of Homosexuality from the Public Sphere in the 1930s” (Pp. 331-354).

Arrioloa, Elvia R. A. 1995. “Faeries, Marimachas, Queens, and Lezzies: The Construction of Homosexuality Before the 1969 Stonewall Riots.” *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law* 5, no.1. Excerpt (Pp.33-46).

Suggested Additional Reading:

Hobson, Emily K. 2014. "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*, edited by Moon-Ho Jung, 188-212. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

*****MIDTERM EXAM distributed in class on 10/15*****

10/17 *Stonewall Riots, the Decline of Coalitions & the Rise of the Carceral State*

Arrioloa, “Faeries, Marimachas, Queens, and Lezzies.” Excerpt (Pp.57-77).

(Assigned readings for today continued on next page)

Mogul, Joey L., Andrea J. Ritchie and Kay Whitlock. 2015. "The Ghosts of Stonewall: Policing Gender, Policing Sex." *Truthout* July 8.

(<https://truthout.org/articles/the-ghosts-of-stonewall-policing-gender-policing-sex/>)

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

Suggested Additional Reading:

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

*****MIDTERM EXAM DUE on 10/21*****

The "DISORDER" of RESISTANCE

10/22 *Black Panthers, Police Patrols and the Origins of "Gun Control"*

Bloom, Joshua and Waldo E. Martin, Jr. 2013. *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press. Excerpts of Introduction, Ch.1 "Huey and Bobby," Ch.2 "Policing the Police," and Ch.8 "Law and Order" (Pp.2-3; 25-30; 37-39; 45-62; 209-215).

Mire, Muna. 2015. "Here's How to Cop Watch." *The Nation*, September 23.

(<https://www.thenation.com/article/heres-how-to-cop-watch/>)

10/24 *Policing in Times of Uprising: From Slave Revolts to Urban Riots*

Hadden, *Slave Patrols*. Excerpt of Ch.5 "In Times of Crisis: Patrols during Rebellions and War" (Pp.137-144).

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

Suggested Additional Reading:

Williams, *Our Enemies in Blue*. Ch.7 "Secret Police, Red Squads and the Strategy of Permanent State Repression" and Ch.8 "Riot Police or Police Riots?" (Pp.239-285; 287-319).

The "MILITARIZATION of POLICE"

10/29 *The "WAR" on Drugs*

Alexander, Michelle. 2012. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of*

Colorblindness. New York: The New Press. Excerpts of Ch.2 “The Lockdown” (Pp.58-68; 71-88).

10/31 *SWAT Teams, Militarized Borders and the Rise of Paramilitary Policing*

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

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

Suggested Additional Reading:

Williams, *Our Enemies in Blue*. Ch.9 “Your Friendly Neighborhood Police State” (Pp.321-361).

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

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

11/5 *The Racial Politics of Protection: Origins of the Posse Comitatus Act*

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

POLICING the NEOLIBERAL ORDER

11/7 *From “Masterless Men” to “Surplus Populations”*

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

Suggested Additional Reading:

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

11/12 *“Zero Tolerance” and “Quality of Life”: Urban Policing in the Era of Neoliberalization*

Parenti, *Lockdown America*. Excerpts of Ch.4 “Discipline in Playland, Part I – Zero Tolerance: The Science of Kicking Ass” and Ch.5 “Discipline in Playland, Part II – Policing the Theme Park City” (Pp.69-82; 90-95; 100-103; 106-107).

(Assigned readings for today continued on next page.)

Erzen, Tanya. 2001. "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, 19-49. New York: New York University Press. ***Skim Appendix only*** (Pp.35-44).

Suggested Additional Reading:

Barr, Heather. 2001. "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, 50-84. New York: New York University Press.

Stuart, Forrest. 2014. "From 'Rabble Management' to 'Recovery Management': Policing Homelessness in Marginal Urban Space" *Urban Studies* 5, no.9: 1909-1925.

11/14 Policing Space, Policing Race

Bass, Sandra. 2001. "Policing Space, Policing Race: Social Control Imperatives and Police Discretionary Decisions." *Social Justice* 28, no.1: 156-176. Excerpt (Pp.156-171)

Lynch, Mona and Marissa Omari, Aaron Roussell and Matthew Valasik. 2013. "Policing the 'progressive' city: The racialized geography of drug law enforcement." *Theoretical Criminology* 17, no.3: 335-357. Excerpt (Pp.335-337; 339-351).

Suggested Additional Reading:

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

PREDICTIVE POLICING

11/19 Predictive Policing: Risk Assessments

Ferguson, Andrew Guthrie. 2017. *The Rise of Big Data Policing: Surveillance, Race and the Future of Law Enforcement*. New York: New York University Press.
Introduction and Excerpts of Ch.1 "Big Data's Watchful Eye" and Ch.3 "Whom We Police: Person Based Predictive Targeting" (Pp.1-6; 7-12; 34-40; 42-44; 47-52)

Angwin, Julia, Jeff Larson, Surya Mattu and Lauren Kirchner. 2016. "Machine Bias: There's software used across the country to predict future criminals. And it's biased against blacks." *ProPublica*, May 23. (<https://www.propublica.org/article/machine-bias-risk-assessments-in-criminal-sentencing>).

Sweeney, Annie. 2019. "Can police data predict how 'bad apple' officers influence their fellow cops? New study says yes." *Chicago Tribune*, August 1.
(<https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/criminal-justice/ct-predicting-bad-police-behavior-20190801-xumudeezmjlbpbmqwyvh26tdi-story.html?sfns=mo>)

11/21 “Hot Spots”: Predictive Spatial Policing

Ferguson, *The Rise of Big Data Policing*. Excerpts of Ch.4 “Where We Police: Placed-Based Predictive Policing” and Ch.5 “When We Police: Real-Time Surveillance and Investigation” (Pp.62-67; 72-76; 84-95).

Lum, Kristian and William Isaac. 2016. “To Predict and Serve?” *Significance* 13(5): 14-19. (<https://hrdag.org/publications/to-predict-and-serve/>)

Easter, Brandee and Tori Thompson Peters. 2017. “White Collar Crime Risk Zones” *Digital Rhetoric Collaborative*. September 19. (<http://www.digitalrhetoriccollaborative.org/2017/09/19/white-collar-crime-risk-zones/>)

CONCLUSION: The Resilience of Resistance & the Abolition of Police

11/26 21st Century Policing and the Limits of Reform

Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta, 2016. *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation*. Chicago: Haymarket Books. Ch.4 “The Double Standard of Justice” (Pp.107-133)

11/28 NO CLASS (University Holiday)

12/3 The Re-emergence of Resistance: Police & Contemporary Social Movements

Murch, Donna. 2015. “Ferguson’s Inheritance.” *Jacobin*, August. (<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/08/ferguson-police-black-lives-matter/>)

Taylor, *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation*. Excerpt of Ch.6 “Black Lives Matter: A Movement, Not a Moment” (Pp.158-168)

Levin, Sam. 2019. “‘Police are a force of terror’: the LGBT activists who want cops out of Pride.” *The Guardian*, June 14. (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/13/cops-out-of-pride-lgbt-police>)

12/5 Abolition...

Williams, *Our Enemies in Blue*. Excerpts of Afterword “Making Police Obsolete” (Pp.363-379; 384-387; 391-397).

Rose City Copwatch, 2008, “Alternatives to Police.” (<https://rosecitycopwatch.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/alternatives-to-police-draft.pdf>) Excerpts (Pp.3-4; 9-10; 12; 20)

Bernd, Candace. 2015. “Community Groups Work to Provide Emergency Medical Alternatives,

Separate from Police. *Truthout*. September 14. (<https://truthout.org/articles/community-groups-work-to-provide-emergency-medical-alternatives-separate-from-police/>).
Excerpt (Pp.1-4).

*****FINAL EXAM distributed in class on 12/5*****

*****FINAL EXAM DUE on 12/16*****

GRADE DISTRIBUTION:

10% Attendance

15% Pop Quizzes

35% Midterm Exam (Due on 10/21)

40% Final Exam (Due on 12/16)

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.

Students are **allotted 3 absences** without penalty. This allotment is intended to accommodate for *any and all illnesses or family and personal matters*, and therefore 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 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, open-book 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 most of the assigned readings (with the exception of 10/22, 11/26 and 12/5). 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 also 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. The purpose of this is to accommodate for missed 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 to accommodate for any/all situations resulting in missed quizzes, 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. (You should check these deadlines against your other academic obligations at the beginning of the semester and ensure that you are able to meet them before deciding to remain in this course.) **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.