

SOCIOLOGY of POLICING

Sociology 149P
University of California, Berkeley
Spring 2022

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Tuesday/Thursday 5:00–6:30 (4 Physics)

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Office Hours: Thursday 1-3 (434 Social Sciences)

This course explores a wide range of critical scholarship on policing. We begin by developing a sociological conceptualization of “policing” before proceeding to examine the emergence of police in the modern period. Focusing on the case of the United States, we trace the historical development of policing 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 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 conclude the course by focusing on resistance and imagining the possibilities for abolition...

INTRODUCTION – A Sociological Approach to Police

1/18 Course Introduction: *Police, Policing and “the Police”*

HISTORICAL ORIGINS - *The Ordering of Class Society*

1/20 “Masterless Men” and the Emergence of Police

Neocleous, Mark. 2000. *The fabrication of social order: a critical theory of police power*.
Sterling, VA: Pluto Press. Excerpts of Preface & Ch.1 “Police Begets Good Order”
(Pp. ix; x-xi; xii; 1-6; 13-14; 15-20).

1/25 The “Bloody Discipline” of Wage Labor: *Criminalization of Vagrancy & Customary Rights*

Neocleous, *The fabrication of social order*. Excerpts of Ch.4 “Ordering Insecurity II: On Social Security” (Pp.63-65; 67-68; 69-72; 75-76; 77-78).

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

1/27 Fabricating the “Color Line” in a White Democracy

Neocleous, *The fabrication of social order*. Excerpt of Ch.4 “Ordering Insecurity II: On Social Security” (Pp.84-85; 87-91).

Brucato, Ben. 2014. "Fabricating the color line in a white democracy: from slave catchers to petty sovereigns." *Theoria*: 30-54. (Pp.30-33; 35-41)

**Reading Response Due*

2/1 Policing White Supremacy

Brucato, “Fabricating the color line.” (Pp.41-47)

Hadden, Sally E. 2001. *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Excerpt of Ch.1 (Pp.6-14)

2/3 Police Predecessors: *Slave Patrols*

Hadden, *Slave Patrols*. Excerpts of Ch.1, 3 & 4 (Pp.14-24; 38-39; 99-110; 114).

**Reading Response Due*

Suggested Additional Reading:

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

2/8 The Historical Development & Distinguishing Characteristics 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.51-54; 63-64; 66-67; 71-78; 103; 105-108)

Brucato, Ben. 2021. “Policing Race and Racing Police: The Origin of US Police in Slave Patrols.” *Social Justice* 47, nos.3-4: 115-136. (Pp.115-118; 126-127; 130-131; 133)

VIGILANTISM and the BLURRED BOUNDARIES of POLICING

2/10 Reconstruction & 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.121-127).

**Reading Response Due*

2/15 “Cops and Klan, Hand in Hand”

Williams, *Our Enemies in Blue*. Excerpt of Ch.4 “Cops and Klan, Hand in Hand” (Pp.149-155; 164-173).

Maher, Geo. 2021. “The Pig Majority” in *A World Without Police: How Strong Communities Make Cops Obsolete*. New York: Verso. (Pp.19-23; 32; 35-41; 44-46)

Suggested Additional Reading:

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>)

Deveraux, Ryan. 2019. “The Bloody History of Border Militias Runs Deep – And Law Enforcement is Part of it.” *The Intercept*, April 23.
<https://theintercept.com/2019/04/23/border-militia-migrants/>

Hernandez, Kyle Lytle. 2010. *Migra! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

2/17 The Second Amendment, Settler Colonialism, and the Deputization of Police Power

Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne. 2017. *Loaded: A Disarming History of the Second Amendment*. San Francisco: City Lights Books. (Pp.16-24; 25-26; 29-36; 41-53; 57)

EXAM 1 distributed on 2/17 – DUE on 2/22

2/22 NO CLASS – EXAM 1 DUE

POLICING PATRIARCHY

2/24 Feminist Revision of the Transition to Capitalism

Federici, Sylvia. 2014 [2004]. *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*. Brooklyn: Autonomedia. Excerpts of Preface, Introduction, Ch.1 and Ch.2 (Pp.7-8; 11-13; 14; 21-25; 30-31; 44-45; 46-49; 61-64)

**Reading Response Due*

3/1 The Fabrication of a New Patriarchal Order

Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*. Excerpts of Ch.2 (Pp.68-70; 71-75; 85-103; 115)

**Reading Response Due*

3/3 The Witch-Hunts

Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*. Excerpts of Ch.4 (Pp.163-171; 173-176;179-186)

3/8 “White Slavery,” “Sex Trafficking” and 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, 4, and 6 (Pp.1-11; 24-25; 84-86; 88-89; 91-92; 131-139; 146-148; 156-158).

Kaba, Mariame and Brit Shulte. 2021. “Not a Cardboard Cutout: Cyntoia Brown and the Framing of a Victim” in *We Do This ‘Til We Free Us: Abolitionist Organizing and Transformative Justice*. Chicago: Haymarket Books. (Pp.35-40)

Suggested Additional Reading:

Odem, Mary. 1995. *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press.

Arnold, Gretchen. 2019. “Neoliberalism’s Assault on Women’s Citizenship: The Case of Nuisance Laws and Intimate Partner Violence in the United States.” *The Sociological Quarterly* 68, no.1: 71-93.

3/10 Policing Heteronormativity

Chauncey, George. 1994. “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. (Pp.331-337; 339; 343-345; 346-351; 353-354)

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. (Pp.33-36; 59-60; 67-68).

Suggested Additional Reading:

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/>)

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>)

Hobson, Emily K. 2014. "Policing Gay LA: Mapping Racial Divides in the Homophile Era, 1950-1967." In *The Rising Tide of Color* edited by Moon-Ho Jung, 188-212. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

POLICING as COUNTERINSURGENCY

3/15 *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; 45-50; 57-62; 209-215).

Suggested Additional Reading:

Hadden, *Slave Patrols*. Ch.5 "In Times of Crisis: Patrols during Rebellions and War"

Parenti, *Christian*. 1999. "Nixon's Splendid Little War: Social Crisis and Containment" In *Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis*. London: Verso.

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

The MILITARIZATION of POLICING

3/17 The "WAR on Drugs"

Alexander, Michelle. 2012. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press. Ch.2 "The Lockdown" (Pp.58-68; 71-83).

*Reading Response Due

Suggested Additional Reading:

Parenti, *Lockdown America*. Ch.6 “Carrying the Big Stick: SWAT Teams and Paramilitary Policing” and Ch.7 “Repatriating la Migra’s War: The Militarized Border Comes Home”

3/22 NO CLASS - Spring Break ☹️

3/24 NO CLASS - Spring Break ☹️

3/29 **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. (Pp.979-997; 1000-1003; 1005-1008)

In-class viewing of excerpt of *Do Not Resist* (2016)

3/31 **The Imperial Origins of Police Militarization**

Go, Julian. 2020. “The Imperial Origins of American Policing: Militarization and Imperial Feedback in the Early 20th Century.” *American Journal of Sociology* 5: 1193-1254. (Pp. 1193-1194; 1196-1197; 1199; 1200-1203; 1205-1210; 1217; 1237; 1238.

Anonymous. 2020. “UC Berkeley’s role in shaping modern police.” *Daily Californian*, June 9.

Kaba, Mariame and Tamara K. Nopper. 2020. “Itemizing Atrocity” in *We Do This ‘Til We Free Us: Abolitionist Organizing and Transformative Justice*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.

*Reading Response Due

Suggested Additional Reading:

Schrader, Stuart. 2019. *Badges without Borders: How Global Counterinsurgency Transformed American Policing*. Oakland: University of California Press.

POLICING the NEOLIBERAL ORDER

4/5 **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.29-48; 55-60).

*Reading Response Due

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.

4/7 "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 Themepark City" (Pp.69-73; 77-80; 90-95)

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 McArdle and Erzen. New York: New York University Press.

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

PREDICTIVE POLICING

4/12 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.3 "Whom We Police: Person Based Predictive Targeting" (Pp.1-3; 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>).

Alexander, Michelle. 2018. "The Newest Jim Crow." *The New York Times*, November 8.

4/14 "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; 88-90).

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

EXAM 2 distributed on 4/14 – DUE on 4/21

4/19 NO CLASS

4/21 NO CLASS – EXAM 2 DUE

ABOLITION...

4/26 **Abolition: Making Police Obsolete**

Williams, *Our Enemies in Blue*. Excerpts of Afterword “Making Police Obsolete” (Pp.363-376; 384-387; 392-393; 396-397).

Maher, Geo. 2021. *A World Without Police: How Strong Communities Make Cops Obsolete*. London: Verso. (Pp.127-129; 137-148; 153)

**Reading Response Due*

Suggested Additional Reading:

Rose City Copwatch, 2008, “Alternatives to Police.”

(<https://rosecitycopwatch.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/alternatives-to-police-draft.pdf>)

4/28 **Abolitionist Justice**

McLeod, Allegra M. 2018. “Envisioning Abolition Democracy.” *Harvard Law Review* 132: 1613-1649. Excerpts (Pp.1613-1622; 1628-1631; 1633; 1637-1643; 1646)

“8 To Abolition: Abolitionist Policy Changes to Demand from Your City Officials”
(<http://8toabolition.com>)

**Reading Response Due*

RESEARCH PAPER DUE on 5/9

GRADE DISTRIBUTION:

15% Reading Responses

30% Exam 1 (Due 2/22)

40% Exam 2 (Due 4/21)

15% Research Paper (Due 5/9)

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

ATTENDANCE:

Students are expected to attend all lectures, which is crucial for understanding course content and performing well in the class. Being present and actively participating in class is central to the learning process. Please note that while class recordings will be posted on bCourses, they will not capture class discussions and are therefore not complete or ideal, but they are available for you in cases where you have to be absent from class.

Class begins promptly at 10 minutes after the scheduled hour (5:10 pm). 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.

REQUIRED READINGS:

The primary work for this class is 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 exams which you will have limited time to complete, and which will require extensive citation (in other words, your answers to the exam questions will require that you provide the corresponding page numbers from the text). Hence, keeping up with the readings and notetaking throughout the semester are crucial for performing well on 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). You must first purchase the reader on their website (the link for doing so will be posted on bCourses) and then you'll have the option of picking it up or having it shipped to you.

All course readings are **also available on bCourses**. However, I strongly recommend that you utilize a course reader rather than these digital copies. Extensive research indicates that we learn and process information much more effectively with hard copies. The course reader will also prove highly advantageous for the exams (all your readings/notes will be organized and easily accessible).

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 all of 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.

READING RESPONSES:

Students are required to submit **reading responses for 8 out of 10 reading assignments**. These reading responses require answering questions from the reading guides (the specific questions to be answered are noted at the bottom of the reading guides). Your answers may be brief but must clearly reflect that you carefully and thoroughly read the assignment. There are a total of 10 reading responses (marked on the syllabus), from which you choose 8 to complete. For students who submit more than 8, the lowest grades will be dropped and only the highest 8 grades will count.

Reading responses *must* be uploaded to bCourses **by 5pm** (prior to our class meeting) to receive full credit. Submission by this deadline is required because the purpose of these assignments is to assess whether students have completed the reading *before* class.

Late submissions will be accepted for up to **1 week** after the deadline for **partial credit**.

EXAMS:

The 2 exams for this course will be **open-book, take-home examinations** that consist of short essays that assess students' mastery of the course materials. Exams will be **cumulative** (covering material from the entirety of the semester) and will be geared towards asking students to synthesize the scholarship covered in the course.

The time allotted for completing these exams is purposively limited because part of the objective is to assess how well students have kept up with course readings and lectures. Those who have done so will have sufficient time to complete the exam, while those who have not will be struggling to catch up with completing the course work. Late submissions will result in a grade penalty.

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.

RESEARCH PAPER:

The final assignment for this course is a research paper (due 5/9). Students will have the opportunity to research any topic of their choice related to policing. The research paper will require both engaging with course materials, as well as identifying other sources relevant to the chosen topic.

POTENTIAL DISRUPTIONS:

If our ability to hold class in person is interrupted for any reason, class will be held via zoom until in person instruction resumes. All course requirements will remain in effect.

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 exams are required to contact me about this well in advance.

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. bCourses will automatically screen all submitted coursework for plagiarism.