Research on Policing: Annotated Bibliography

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On the Abolition of Police: History and Scholars

Pettit, E. (2020, July 9). *Some scholars have long talked about abolishing the police. Now people are*

listening. What comes next? The Chronicle of Higher Education.

https://www.chronicle.com/article/Some-Scholars-Have-Long-Talked/249149

According to Pettit, abolition is not a new concept. Rather, it's an idea with a long history

interwoven with African Americans' continued struggle for freedom. But only recently, after the

killing of George Floyd, has the concept become mainstream. The author demonstrates how

proponents of abolition have called for the defunding of police in order to reallocate those monies

towards "public health, education, and social work" and simultaneously alleviate the need for

punitive measures.

Pettit also explores how academics who advocate police abolition now feel vindicated after

years of being criticized for their views. Traditionally, it's been the expectation that social

scientists and other theorists disconnect their politics from their scholarship, but for many

academics, a move toward police abolition "is a logical endpoint of their research."

Scavone, J. (2020, June 10). *Reform, defund or abolish the police? As more municipalities weigh the*

future of their police departments, UNLV professors explain what these movements mean and how

they would work. University of Nevada, Las Vegas. https://www.unlv.edu/news/article/reform-

defund-or-abolish-police

With ongoing protests across the country in response to police killings of unarmed African

Americans, "calls to reform, defund, or outright abolish" the police are gaining traction. One idea

that is growing in popularity is to dismantle existing police departments and replace them with "a

new model for public safety." In this article, three professors at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, give their views on the topic.

Javon Johnson points out that police are sometimes trained by the same people that train the military and that such training teaches that "anything can go bad at any given moment" and leads to police responding to situations while "on edge." He denounces the use of campus police for mental health calls and instead advocates the incorporation of emergency mental health workers, unarmed community patrols, and crisis teams. Bill Sousa explains what calls to defund the police imply: "analyzing … and in many cases, reducing police budgets and using that funding for schools or social programs or mental health services, homeless outreach, [and] youth programs." Tyler D. Parry considers the potential consequences of abolishing police forces in a society where ordinary citizens are well-armed. Parry questions who will handle ill-intentioned armed individuals if we abolish the police and whether or not abolishing the police will lead to greater "private security forces" such as "hired guns or militias."

Campus Police: Emergence, History and Trends

Anderson, M.D. (2015, September 28). *The rise of law enforcement on college campuses:*

The number of officers has continued to expand despite plateauing crime rates at universities. The

Atlantic. https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/09/college-campus-policing/407659/

In this article, Anderson analyzes the paradoxical relationship between the decrease in the rate of crime on college campuses and the increase of armed campus police across colleges and universities throughout the United States. Anderson acknowledges that this increase was in part a response to the federal Clery Act of 1990 "that obligates colleges and universities to track,

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compile and disclose crimes on and near their campus, provide timely notification of safety threats, and report on criminal activities," but asserts that the swelling and militarization of campus police is incommensurate with current crime data collected by the Justice Department.

What's more, because sworn campus police officers undergo similar training as do municipal police officers, there's a growing concern that not much attention is paid to diversity and equity, and de-escalation strategies. This is especially true for universities with large police forces such as The University of Chicago and George Washington University. In response to these developments, a widespread movement advocating reform has developed among student activists enrolled in universities throughout the United States.

Reaves, B.A. (2015). Special report: Campus law enforcement, 2011-12. *U.S. Department of Justice*. https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cle1112.pdf

The data presented in this report are drawn from the Bureau of Justice Statistics' (BJS) 2011-12 Survey of Campus Law Enforcement Agencies. The primary targets of the survey were campus police agencies serving four-year higher education institutions with fall enrollments at 2,500 or more. U.S. military academies, for-profit institutions, and online colleges and universities were excluded from participation.

Notable in the findings is the increase in the use of armed police officers (compared to 2004-05) and the increase in the number of sworn police officers on campus. Moreover, the survey revealed that nearly all sworn campus police officers were authorized to use a sidearm, chemical pepper spray, or a baton in the course of their duties. A majority of sworn officers also had jurisdictions beyond the campus premises. Adding to this, many campus law enforcement agencies had MOUs with local police forces. The study found that law enforcement agencies at

public institutions were more likely than those at private institutions to engage with special interests groups on campus. Most institutions, public and private, had emergency alert systems in place for all campus affiliates.

Sloan, J.J. (1992). The modern campus police: An analysis of their evolution, structure, and function. American Journal of Police, (11)2, 85-104. https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/ajpol11&div=18&g_sent=1&casa_token= &collection=journals

This article evaluates the evolution and offers a typology of modern campus policing systems. According to Sloan, in the early days of "campus policing" unofficial "watchmen," who were often retirees from previous employment, were primarily responsible for guarding campus premises in the event of damage from fire, water, or other unforeseen circumstances. In the 1930s and 40s, these men began to take on additional responsibilities including the enforcement of campus policies. With an increase of student enrollment in the 1950s, campus security expanded even further. Municipal officers were brought onto campuses. And finally, in the wake of campus unrest in the early 1960s and late 1970s, the modern form of campus policing emerged with sworn officers now responsible for safety on U.S. campuses.

The conclusions outlined by the author are based on data drawn from surveys distributed to the officers on the police forces of 10 large universities in the United States. The data were collected in the late 1980s. Ultimately, Sloan found that campus police officers tend to approach their jobs in a similar manner to municipal police officers. They also tend to have similar backgrounds: largely white, male, and without college degrees. Sloan contends that both campus

and municipal police officers *rhetorically* emphasize the service they provide to the community. And campus police officers generally report favorable attitudes toward university students.

Sloan, J.J., Lanier, M.M., & Beer, D.L. (2000). *Policing the contemporary university campus: Challenging traditional organization models*. Journal of Security Administration, 23(1), 1-2. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/John_Sloan7/publication/313524742_Policing_the_contemporary_university_campus_Challenging_traditional_organizational_models/links/5b0c2180458515 7f871c108b/Policing-the-contemporary-university-campus-Challenging-traditional-organizational-models.pdf

The authors of this article provide a brief overview of the evolution of campus policing and how it's come to model municipal policing practices in terms of *how* procedures are carried out as well as an emphasis on professionalization. Ultimately, the authors conclude that municipal police agencies may not be the best model for campus police given the distinct communities they serve and suggest instead a community oriented policing (COP) approach.

Whitford, E. & Burke, L. (2020, June 5). *Students demand campuses cut ties with police*. Inside Higher Ed. https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2020/06/05/students-demand-universities-break-ties-local-police-few-have

Following the muder of George Floyd, an unarmed black man, by Derek Chauvin, a white police officer in Minneapolis, Minnesota, student activists at colleges and universities across the United States have called for a reassessment of the role of police at institutions of higher education. These

activists argue "that policing institutions enact violence upon black people and uphold white supremacy."

In response to demands to cut ties with local police and disband campus police departments, college administrators have highlighted that such measures are impracticable and that serious emergencies or crimes require police intervention. Instead, college administrators have been more amenable to implementing new training procedures and other reform measures designed to improve relations between the police and community members.

Slave Patrols: Early Form of Policing in the South

Abdelfatah, R. & Arablouei R. (Hosts) (2020, June 4). American Police [Audio Podcast

Episode]. In *Throughline*. NPR. https://www.npr.org/transcripts/869046127

Historian Khalil Gibran Muhammad explains that forms of policing have been in existence in the United States even prior to its establishment as an independent nation. Moreover, some of the country's first police forces were created with the express purpose of enforcing slave codes—a set of rules designed to regulate every facet of the lives of enslaved Africans. According to Muhammad, such codes gave nearly all white people, whether they owned propety or not, the power to regulate black people's movements. The participation of propertyless white men in this system of direct control over the lives of blacks, both free and enslaved, helped to create a sense of a collective interest in subjugating blacks in order to "protect" the white community.

This collective interest among whites was further consolidated with the professionalization of police forces in the prohibition era. In the early 20th century, Berkeley, CA's police chief, August Vollmer, created the first centralized police record system and advocated education requirements for police officers in order to elevate their social standing. This coincided with the

consolidation of distinct European ethnic groups into one larger white racial category. Ultimately, white ethnic moral crime panics subsided and the idea that the black race was more prone to criminality was further entrenched.

Police Union Contracts as Barriers to Reform

Greenhouse, S. (2020, June 18). *How police unions enable and conceal abuses of power*. The New

Yorker.

https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/how-police-union-power-helped-increase-abuses

This article reviews a recent study that found a direct correlation between the extent of protections in union contracts and police violence against citizens. It also notes other recent studies that found collective bargaining rights led to an increase in police violence and protection of officers who disproportionately use force against people of color. Additionally, the studies found that current methods for disciplining police officers are essentially toothless because most investigations do not result in discipline and if it does, the discipline is light.

The article notes that police unions have gained many protections because they have a great deal of influence and political support from Republicans. It ends by critiquing police unions, stating that when they use the power of collective bargaining for unjust ends, it becomes society's responsibility to deny unions the ability to use collective bargaining for those purposes.

Ingraham, C. (2020, June 10). *Police unions and police misconduct: What the research says about the connection*. The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2020/06/10/police-unions-violence-research-george-floyd/

This article reviews criminology research and finds that a prevailing belief is that police unions

have a negative effect on innovation, accountability, and police-community relations. Oftentimes, police unions are resistant to reforms because their mandate is to protect the interests of their members at all costs. Findings from the research demonstrate that 1) unionized police officers receive more excessive force complaints and are more likely to kill citizens, especially citizens of color, but are more likely to defeat the allegations in disciplinary hearings; 2) unionization effectively increases solidarity among police officers, which strengthens the code of silence that protects those accused of misconduct; and 3) certain union contract provisions provide mechanisms that make it difficult to detect misconduct and punish police officers.

Levinson, R. (2017, January, 13). *Across the U.S., police contracts shield officers from scrutiny and discipline*. Reuters. https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/usa-police-unions/
The investigative report analyzed 82 police union contracts and found a pattern of protections afforded to officers that run counter to accountability. For one, a majority of the contracts require departments to erase disciplinary records after a certain time period. Nearly half of the contracts allow officers accused of misconduct to access their investigation file prior to being questioned about the incident. Many contracts allow officers accused of misconduct to forfeit sick leave or holiday and vacation time instead of serving suspensions. Many contracts also establish short time limits for citizens to file complaints about officers and require an officer's written consent before the department can publicly release their discipline records. In defense, the National Fraternal Order of Police argues that their aim is not to keep bad officers in the profession, but to ensure that due process rights are provided to those disciplined.

Rushin, S. (2017). Police union contracts. *Duke Law Journal*, *66(6)*, 1191-1266 & i-xviii.

https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3890&context=dlj

This law review article analyzes 178 collective bargaining agreements that govern the working conditions of municipal officers in states that permit or require collective bargaining in police departments. Most states permit collective bargaining over police employment terms, including the content of internal disciplinary procedures. Such agreements negotiated outside of public view can frustrate accountability efforts as these agreements often limit officer interrogations after alleged misconduct, mandate the destruction of disciplinary records, ban civilian oversight, prevent anonymous civilian complaints, indemnify officers in civil lawsuits, and limit the length of internal investigations. The article concludes by noting how states could use labor law to increase transparency and community participation in the negotiation of union contracts.

Scheiber, N., Stockman, F., & Goodman, J. (2020, June 20). *How police unions became such powerful opponents to reform efforts*. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/06/us/police-unions-minneapolis-kroll.html

This article explains the power behind police unions and how it is used to prevent reform efforts. For one, unions aggressively protect members accused of misconduct at arbitration hearings, which they have fought to keep closed to the public. Additionally, unions have great political influence and are often successful in defeating efforts to increase accountability. Furthermore, politicians are hesitant to cross unions because unions have previously resorted to harsh rhetoric to attack proponents in support of reform proposals.

Ward, S. (2020, July 1). *Do police union contracts inhibit reform?* ABA Journal.

https://www.abajournal.com/web/article/does-collective-bargaining-in-police-contracts-prohibit-police-reform

This article examines police union contract provisions that prevent and undermine efforts made towards accountability and discipline. Some of these provisions include requiring deletion of misconduct complaints after a certain time period, and a "cooling off" period after an officer involved shooting, which prevents management from questioning the officer immediately after the incident. The article notes one example demonstrating the effects of these provisions: Police officer Derek Chauvin, who was arrested and charged with the murder of George Floyd, had at least 17 misconduct complaints, but only received two letters of reprimand as discipline. Even if an officer receives a serious disciplinary action, it is often challenged and reversed through union grievances, making management's discipline decisions toothless. The article ends by challenging management and unions to take ownership in changes for police reform. Ultimately, management is responsible for upholding union contracts and so, management should not agree to a contract if they do not stand by the provisions.

UC Davis Policing: Before and After "Pepper Spray"

Reynoso Task Force. (2011). *The Reynoso Task Force Report*. The University of California, Davis.

https://demonstrationreviews.ucdavis.edu/local_resources/pdf_documents/reynoso-report.pdf

On November 18, 2011 an incident where UC Davis student protesters were pepper sprayed by UC Davis police left an indelible mark on the campus community. Not long after the incident occurred a task force chaired by Cruz Reynoso (Professor Emeritus, School of Law, UC Davis, and Former Associate Justice, California Supreme Court) was formed and charged with identifying the parties responsible for the 2011 incident.

The task force found that the deployment of the UCD police to remove the encampments (erected by student protestors) should have been delayed or an alternative approach, altogether, should have been used instead. The task force also found that the National Incident Management System (NIMS)/California's Standardized Emergency Management System (SEMS) was not utilized on November 18, 2011. These systems, per the task force, could have mitigated the events that ultimately did occur that day. There was also ambiguity around whether or not the police and campus administration had a legal basis for dismantling the encampment in the first place. Ultimately, both the decision to remove the tents and the time at which the tents were removed (3 PM that day) originated with university leadership. These decisions were made without the backing of robust intelligence.

Implicit Bias and the Law

Gladwell, M. (2019). Introduction: "Step out of the car!" In *Talking to Strangers*. Little, Brown and
Company

"Step Out of the Car!," recounts an event when a white police officer apprehended Sandra Bland, a young African American woman who failed to signal her car when she made a lane change. She was arrested and jailed, and she subsequently committed suicide in her cell three days later. This unfortunate event took place in the wake of the Black Lives Matter movement.

Payne, K., Niemi, L. & Doris, J. (2018, March 27). *How to think about 'implicit bias'*. Scientific
American. https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/how-to-think-about-implicit-bias/

The article provides a brief introduction to implicit bias by explaining what it is and how it impacts everyday life. It goes on to discuss the pros and cons of the Implicit Association Test (IAT), which was developed by Harvard University to measure one's attitude and beliefs about certain groups of people.

Young, H. (2013, July 30). *The challenges of talking about race*. Aljazeera.

https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2013/7/30/the-challenges-of-talking-about-race/

This article discusses how implicit bias played a role in the criminal case of George Zimmerman. Specifically, whether negative stereotypes that associate black people with violence and criminality influenced Zimmerman's actions or the jury's acceptance of his self-defense assertion. It goes on to acknowledge people's reluctance to discuss race and encourages frank conversations about race to help eliminate stereotypes and assumptions. Lastly, the author provides his "four steps toward racial equality," which includes recognizing our own biases; acknowledging racial inequality; realizing that it has long been a discussion among people of color; and seeking opportunities to converse with others about racial realities.