

Professor Sarah Cate  
Saint Louis University  
Department of Political Science

POLS 4930/5930  
Race, Class, and Punishment

Fall 2018

Tuesdays 4:15pm – 7:00pm  
McGannon Hall 121

There are currently over two million people behind bars in the United States, making up the largest prison system in the world. Racial minorities and the urban poor are disproportionately sent to prison, causing some to argue that the problem of mass incarceration is one of the greatest social injustices of our time. How did we get to this point? What effect does mass incarceration have on inmates, their families, and society generally? What strategies exist for reversing the tide of imprisonment? In this course we will draw from a wide range of sources to analyze the role of race and class in explaining the rise of mass incarceration and to debate different approaches to solving this social justice crisis. Issues of race, class and the criminal justice system are increasingly central to the field of political science. Through this class we will explore larger questions about political institutions, policymaking, political culture, social movements and the history of American political development.

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Office Hours: Wednesdays, 12:00pm – 4:00pm, or available by appointment.

Student Outcomes:

This course fulfills the social science core requirement. Students will acquire conceptual tools and methodologies to analyze and understand their social world. With these tools, they will be able to act in their world more effectively and become forces for positive change. They will gain a better understanding of human diversity. Students will be able to think and write critically about human behavior and community. They will become aware of the various methodological approaches used by social scientists.

*Graduate Students:* in addition to the above outcomes, graduate students will also be able to analyze the values that inform political institutions, behavior, and policies. They will compare institutions and reflect on their different values and assess their democratic nature. They will explore how institutions intentionally and unintentionally shape behavior. They will describe policy outcomes and critically analyze how policies achieve particular goals and whether these are consistent with the values shaping the policies.

Course Requirements:

*Readings:* Students are expected to keep up with weekly reading assignments. Four books are required for purchase and all other readings are available on Blackboard.

*Participation and Attendance:* Active participation in class discussions is a key part of the course, as is weekly attendance. Students are expected to complete the assigned readings before class, bring hard copies of readings to class, and come prepared to discuss them. Be sure that you can summarize each assigned reading, describe the central questions and provide some critical assessment of the work. Participation comprises **40%** of the final grade.

*Response Papers:* **Graduate students** will write a total of FOUR weekly reading response papers throughout the semester of about two to three double spaced pages. The papers are due at the beginning of class. These papers are worth half of the graduate students' participation and attendance grade.

*Class Presentations:* Each student will be responsible for presenting in one class. The presentation will be a combination of succinct summary and criticism of one of the assigned or "optional" readings, providing questions, and leading discussion. Students will also give a brief presentation on their research project in Week 12. The presentations comprise **20%** of the final grade.

*Final Research Paper:* There will be a 12- page research paper (15 pages for graduate students), the topic of which must be turned in and approved in Week 4. Students will turn in an annotated bibliography, prospectus, and outline in Week 8 (graduate students will have a higher number of sources required) and a rough draft in Week 12. Overall, the paper assignments comprise **40%** of the final grade. The final paper is due Dec. 11<sup>th</sup> at 5:50pm.

**\*You must complete ALL assignments to pass the course\***

*Grading Scale:*

A	93-100	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D	60-70
A-	90-92	B	83-86	C	73-76	F	below 60
		B-	80-82	C-	70-72		

*Classroom requirements:* Any use of cell phones is strictly prohibited while class is in session. Turn your cell phone off while in class. Videotaping or tape-recording lectures is not allowed without first getting permission from the professor.

**Use of laptops is not permitted because they are distracting to your classmates and the professor.**

Course Materials:

The following books are required reading and are available for purchase at the SLU Bookstore.

Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (2007).

Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (2010).

Naomi Murakawa, *The First Civil Right: How Liberals Built Prison in America* (2014).

Marie Gottschalk, *Caught: The Prison State and the Lockdown of American Politics* (2015).

Additional readings available on Blackboard.

*Before outlining the schedule of reading and assignments, the following sections detail important policies and resources provided by the University. Please take the time to carefully read through these paragraphs so you are aware of your rights and resources and so you can notify me of any questions or concerns you might have.*

**Title IX**

Saint Louis University and its faculty are committed to supporting our students and seeking an environment that is free of bias, discrimination, and harassment. If you have encountered any form of sexual misconduct (e.g. sexual assault, sexual harassment, stalking, domestic or dating violence), we encourage you to report this to the University. If you speak with a faculty member about an incident of misconduct, that faculty member must notify SLU's Title IX coordinator, Anna R. Kratky (DuBourg Hall, room 36; akratky@slu.edu; 314-977-3886) and share the basic facts of your experience with her. The Title IX coordinator will then be available to assist you in understanding all of your options and in connecting you with all possible resources on and off campus.

If you wish to speak with a confidential source, you may contact the counselors at the University Counseling Center at 314-977-TALK. To view SLU's sexual misconduct

policy and for resources, please visit the following web addresses:  
[www.slu.edu/here4you](http://www.slu.edu/here4you) and <https://www.slu.edu/general-counsel>.

## **Disability Services**

Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations must contact Disability Services to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements. Once successfully registered, the student also must notify the course instructor that they wish to access accommodations in the course.

Please contact Disability Services, located within the Student Success Center, at [Disability\\_services@slu.edu](mailto:Disability_services@slu.edu) or 314.977.3484 to schedule an appointment. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries. Once approved, information about the student's eligibility for academic accommodations will be shared with course instructors via email from Disability Services and viewed within Banner via the instructor's course roster.

Note: Students who do not have a documented disability but who think they may have one are encouraged to contact Disability Services.

## **Academic Integrity**

Academic integrity is honest, truthful and responsible conduct in all academic endeavors. The mission of Saint Louis University is "the pursuit of truth for the greater glory of God and for the service of humanity." Accordingly, all acts of falsehood demean and compromise the corporate endeavors of teaching, research, health care, and community service via which SLU embodies its mission. The University strives to prepare students for lives of personal and professional integrity, and therefore regards all breaches of academic integrity as matters of serious concern.

The governing University-level Academic Integrity Policy was adopted in Spring 2015, and can be accessed on the Provost's Office website at:  
[https://www.slu.edu/provost/policies/academic-and-course/policy\\_academic-integrity\\_6-26-2015.pdf](https://www.slu.edu/provost/policies/academic-and-course/policy_academic-integrity_6-26-2015.pdf).

Additionally, each SLU College, School, and Center has adopted its own academic integrity policies, available on their respective websites. All SLU students are expected to know and abide by these policies, which detail definitions of violations, processes for reporting violations, sanctions, and appeals. Please direct questions about any facet of academic integrity to your faculty, the chair of the department of your academic program, or the Dean/Director of the College, School or Center in which your program is housed.

## **Student Success Center**

In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to

support student success are available on campus. The Student Success Center assists students with academic-related services and is located in the Busch Student Center (Suite, 331). Students can visit <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/> to learn more about tutoring services, university writing services, disability services, and academic coaching.

### **University Writing Services**

Students are encouraged to take advantage of University Writing Services in the Student Success Center; getting feedback benefits writers at all skill levels. Trained writing consultants can help with writing projects, multimedia projects, and oral presentations. University Writing Services offers one-on-one consultations that address everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. For more information, visit <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/> or call the Student Success Center at 314-977-3484.

### **Basic Needs Security**

Students in personal or academic distress and/or who may be specifically experiencing challenges such as securing food or difficulty navigating campus resources, and who believe this may affect their performance in the course, are encouraged to contact the Dean of Students Office ([deanofstudents@slu.edu](mailto:deanofstudents@slu.edu) or 314-977-9378) for support. Furthermore, please notify the instructor if you are comfortable in doing so, as this will enable them to assist you with finding the resources you may need.

## **SECTION I: The Historical Development of the Criminal Justice System in the United States.**

### **Week 1 (August 28): *Introduction: Voices from the Inside***

#### Reading:

Selected poems by prisoners. (Blackboard).

Malcolm X, from *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, in H. Bruce Franklin, ed., *Prison Writing in 20<sup>th</sup> Century America*, pp. 147-57. (Blackboard).

Jordan Flaherty, "Torture at Angola Prison," *Prison Legal News*, March 2009, pp.18-19. (Blackboard).

\**Sign-up for presentations*

\**Watch Film:* The Farm: Life Inside Angola Prison

### **Week 2 (Sep. 4): *Slavery and Convict Leasing to Jim Crow***

Reading:

Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*, Introduction and Chapter 1, “The Rebirth of Caste” (pp. 1-59).

Oshinsky “*Worse Than Slavery*”: *Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice*, chap. 2 (pp. 31-55). (Blackboard).

*Optional:*

Robert Perkinson *Texas Tough: The Rise of America’s Prison Empire*.

Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the South*.

Thomas L. Dumm, “Republican Machines: The Emergence of the Penitentiary” in *Democracy and Punishment: Disciplinary Origins in the United States*.

**Week 3 (Sep. 11): *Liberalism and the Antecedents to Mass Incarceration***

Reading:

Murakawa, *The First Civil Right*, chaps. 1-2 (pp. 1-69)

Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness*, “Writing Crime into Race: Racial Criminalization and the Dawn of Jim Crow,” chap. 2 (pp. 35-88). (Blackboard).

*Optional:*

Jeremy Travis, Bruce Western, and Steve Redburn, eds., *The Growth of Incarceration in the United States: Exploring Causes and Consequences* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2014), 91-129.

Michael Tonry, “Punishment Policies and Patterns in Western Countries,” in Michael Tonry and Richard S. Frase, eds., *Sentencing and Sanctions in Western Countries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 8-11.

Bruce Western, *Punishment and Inequality in America* (NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006), 168-88.

Elizabeth Hinton, *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America*.

**Week 4 (Sep. 18): *Post-War Fallout and Civil Rights Movement***

*\*Paper topic due at beginning of class.*

Reading:

Gilmore, *The Golden Gulag*, chaps. 1-2 (pp. 1-87)

Murakawa, *The First Civil Right*, chapter 3 (pp. 69-113)

Vesla Weaver, "Frontlash: Race and the Development of Punitive Crime Policy." *Studies in American Political Development* 21(2) (2007) 230-265. (Blackboard)

*Optional:*

Michael Tonry, Punishing Race: A Continuing America Dilemma.

Cathy J. Cohen, Democracy Remixed: Black Youth and the Future of American Politics.

Michael Flamm, Law and Order: Street Crime, Civil Unrest, and the Crisis of Liberalism in the 1960s.

### **Week 5 (Sep. 25): *Building the Prison Empire, Part I***

Reading:

Marie Gottschalk, *The Prison and the Gallows*, chapter 1 (pp. 1-18).

Gilmore, *The Golden Gulag*, chaps. 3-4 (pp. 87-181).

*Optional:*

William J. Stuntz, The Collapse of American Criminal Justice.

Mona Lynch, Hard Bargains: The Coercive Power of Drug Laws in Federal Court.

John Hagan, Who Are the Criminals? The Politics of Crime Policy from the Age of Roosevelt to the Age of Reagan.

Rebecca M. McLennan, The Crisis of Imprisonment: Protest, Politics, and the Making of the American Penal State, 1776-1941.

### **Week 6 (Oct. 2): *Building the Prison Empire, Part II***

Reading:

Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*, chap. 2 (pp. 59-97)

Gottschalk, M. (2015). "It's Not Just the Drug War." *Jacobin Magazine*. (Blackboard).

Murakawa, *The First Civil Right*, chaps. 4-5 (pp. 113-156).

Loic Wacquant, "Deadly Symbiosis: When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh," pp. 82-120. (Blackboard)

*Optional:*

Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*, chaps. 2 (pp. 97-140)

Michael Javen Fortner, Black Silent Majority: The Rockefeller Drug Laws and the Politics of Punishment

Rana Foroohar, Makers and Takers: The Rise of Finance and the Fall of American Business.

## **SECTION II: The Consequences of Mass Incarceration**

### **Week 7 (Oct. 9): *Racial Disparities and the Carceral State***

#### Reading:

Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*, chapter 3-4 (pp. 97-178).

Gottschalk, *Caught*, chaps. 6-7 & 10 (pp. 117-162; 215-241).

Adolph Reed and Merlin Chowkwanyun, "Race, Class, Crisis: The Discourse of Racial Disparity and Its Analytical Discontents" *Socialist Register* 48 (2012): 149-175.

#### *Optional:*

Frederick C. Harris and Robert C. Lieberman, "Beyond Discrimination: Racial Inequality in the Age of Obama," in Frederick C. Harris and Robert C. Lieberman, eds., Beyond Discrimination: Racial Inequality in a Postracist Era (NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 2013), pp. 1-36.

Nazgol Ghandnoosh, "Race and Prejudice: Racial Perceptions of Crime and Support for Punitive Policies" (Washington, DC: The Sentencing Project, 2014), 3-4, 7-8, 10-11, 24-35.

Vincent Hutchings, "Race, Punishment, and Public Opinion," Perspectives on Politics 13.3 (September 2015): 757-61.

Elizabeth Hinton, Julilly Kohler-Hausmann, and Vesla Weaver, "Did Blacks Really Endorse the 1994 Crime Bill?" The New York Times, April 13, 2016.

### **Week 8 (Oct. 16): *Gender and Mass Incarceration***

*\*Annotated bibliography and prospectus with outline due at beginning of class.*

#### Reading:

Marie Gottschalk, *The Prison and the Gallows*, chaps. 5-6 (pp. 115-165).

Zelma Weston Henriques and Norma Manatu-Rupert, "Living on the Outside: African American Women Before, During, and After Imprisonment" *The Prison Journal*, 81.1 (March 2001), pp. 6-19. (Blackboard).

#### *Optional:*



Angela Davis, "How Gender Structures the Prison System," in *Are Prisons Obsolete?* pp. 60-84.

Deborah Sontag, "Transgender Woman Cites Attacks and Abuse in Men's Prison," The New York Times, April 5, 2015.

Jody Miller, Getting Played: African American Girls, Urban Inequality, and Gendered Violence.

Jill McCorkel, Breaking Women: Gender, Race, and the New Politics of Imprisonment.

Jody Michelle Lawston, "Historical Contextualization," in Razor Wire Women: Prisoners, Activists, and Artists.

**\*\*\*\*FALL BREAK - No class Oct. 23\*\*\*\***

### **Week 9 (Oct. 30): *Collateral Consequences***

#### Reading:

Gottschalk, *Caught*, chaps. 1, 8-9 (pp. 1-23; 163-215).

Dylan Walsh, "The Crimes of Children" in *The Atlantic*.

#### *Optional:*

Jeff Manza and Christopher Uggen, "Punishment and Democracy: Disenfranchisement of Nonincarcerated Felons in the United States" *Perspectives on Politics*. 2.3 (Sept. 2004). pp. 491-505.

Kenneth E. Hartman, "Christmas in Prison: Greeting the Holidays in the Age of Mass Incarceration," Harper's Magazine, December 2014, 64-68.

David Faiser and Lovisa Stannow, "The Shame of Our Prisons: New Evidence," The New York Review of Books, October 24, 2013, 57-59.

### **Week 10 (Nov. 6): *Political Economy of Punishment***

#### Reading:

Gottschalk, *Caught*, chaps. 2-5 (pp. 25-116).

Gordon Lafer, "The Politics of Prison Labor: A Union Perspective," in Tara Herivel and Paul Wright, eds. *Prison Nation: The Wharehousing of America's Poor*, pp. 120-128. (Electronic copy available through the library).

Ian Urbina, "Prison Labor Fuels American War Machine" in Tara Herivel and Paul Wright, eds. *Prison Profiteers*, pp. 109-119.

*\*Election Watch Party*

#### *Optional:*

Lester K. Spence, Knocking the Hustle: Against the Neoliberal Turn in Black Politics  
Wendy Brown, Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution.

### **SECTION III: Penal Reform, Decarceration and Social Movements**

#### **Week 11 (Nov. 13): *Race, Class and Political Action***

##### Reading:

Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*, chaps. 5 (pp. 178-220).

Touré Reed, "Why Liberals Separate Race from Class" in *Jacobin* (2015). (Blackboard)

Richard Quinney, *Critique of Legal Order*, chapter 1 (pp. 1-17). (Blackboard)

##### *Optional:*

Heather Ann Thompson, Blood in the Water: The Attica Prison Uprising of 1971 and Its Legacy.

Dan Berger, The Struggle Within: Prisons, Political Prisoners, and Mass Movements in the United States.

Bryan Stevenson, Just Mercy: A Story of Justice and Redemption.

David Garland, Peculiar Institution: America's Death Penalty in an Age of Abolition.

Carol S. Steiker and Jordan M. Steiker, Courting Death: The Supreme Court and Capital Punishment.

Elizabeth Beck, Sarah Britto, and Arlene Andrews, In the Shadow of Death: Restorative Justice and Death Row Families.

#### **Week 12 (Nov. 20): *Papers, Presentations, and Peer Review***

*\*Rough draft of research paper due.*

#### **Week 13 (Nov. 27): *Reform in the Golden State, Bobby Seale to Hunger Strikes***

##### Reading:

Gilmore, *Golden Gulag*, chaps. 5-6, epilogue (pp. 181-252).

Marie Gottschalk, *The Prison and the Gallows*, chapter 7, "From Rights to Revolutions: Prison Activism and the Carceral State" (ONLY READ pp. 165-184, 194-6).

Sal Rodriguez, "After Hunger Strikes, Solitary Confinement Reforms Come to California's Prisons—and Leave Thousands Behind" from *Solitary Watch* (2015). Available: <http://solitarywatch.com/2015/07/01/four-years-after-the-first-hunger-strike-reforms-have-come-to-californias-prisons-and-left-thousands-behind/>. (Blackboard \*\*\*Readings subject to change\*\*\*).

*Optional:*

Joan Petersilia, "California Prison Downsizing and Its Impact on Local Criminal Justice Systems." *Harvard Law & Policy Review*, 8, 801-83, (2014).

Franklin E. Zimring, Three Strikes and You're Out in California.

Keramet Reiter, 23/7: Pelican Bay Prison and the Rise of Long-Term Solitary Confinement.

**Week 14 (Dec. 4): Conclusion: The Future of Penal Reform**

Reading:

Gottschalk, *Caught*, chaps. 11-12 (pp. 241-283).

Paul Butler, "Jury Nullification: Power to the People" *Prison Legal News*, June 2009, pp. 14-15.

Cate, S.D. "Devolution, Not Decarceration: The Limits of Juvenile Justice Reform in Texas" *Punishment & Society*, 18(5), 578-609 (2016).

*Optional:*

Miller, "Devolving the Carceral State: Race, Prisoner Reentry, and the Micro-politics of Urban Poverty Management," *Punishment & Society*, 16(3), 305-335 (2014).

Michael Tonry, Sentencing Fragments: Penal Reform in America, 1975-2015 (NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1-40.

Bernard Harcourt, "Don't Believe the Fictitious Crime Trends Used to Undermine Police Reform," The Guardian, June 6, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jun/06/dont-believe-ferguson-effect-fictitious-undermine-police-reform> (retrieved January 11, 2016).

Lisa L. Miller, "Black Activists Don't Ignore Crime," The New York Times, August 5, 2015.

**Final Paper Due Tuesday, Dec. 11th at 5:50pm.**