

Chapter Title: Social Control of Racial and Ethnic Minorities (layer 2 control of subpopulations)

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Abstract

This chapter provides theoretical tools for understanding the differential repression of racial and ethnic minorities. Political repression and crime control are analytically the same problem of social control and intertwined in practice. Implicit models of the relation between regime, society, and criminals or dissidents obscure the commonalities. Regimes often favor some subgroups in society. Criminals, dissidents, and regimes are all parts of the same society. Typically, subpopulations vary in their power and ability to affect or control the actions of the regime. Crime control can have the consequence of repressing dissent. Effective deterrence can be invisible. Strategies of incapacitation inevitably involve pretexts for arrest and incarceration. Pacification is a colonial logic that combines coercive control of subpopulations with rewards to cooperative members of those populations who agree to submit to the regime. Subpopulations may compete for control of the social control system itself. Horizontal conflict between subpopulations may have the effect of social control. Backlash against repression is conditioned by the relation between the repressed group and the majority of the society.

This chapter integrates general theories of social control with recognition that social control systems reinforce social stratification and thus inevitably treat different subpopulations differently. It rests on two key ideas. First, political repression and crime control are analytically the same problem—the problem of social control—and are intertwined in practice. In both cases, people in authority seek to affect the behavior of others, to get them to go along with the rules of society as understood by the people in charge. In both cases, there are many ways to affect people's behavior besides overt acts of punishment. Social control theorists emphasize the importance of positive social control, that is things that make people like the system and have no desire to dissent or commit crimes. These include all the ways in which society is organized so that people have happy and satisfying lives while following the rules, the belief systems that make people feel that the rules and the system are fair and just, and the social pressure from family, friends and coworkers who will disapprove of crime or dissent. They also include organizational and surveillance practices that make it harder to engage in crime or dissent. Overt acts of repression—the numbers of people arrested or incarcerated or killed for dissenting—are typically small fraction of the mechanisms that might be affecting the level of political dissent.

The second key idea is that regimes inevitably treat subpopulations differently. If nothing else, they distinguish between citizens who have more rights and noncitizen residents who have fewer rights.

More broadly, social and economic hierarchies are maintained by the intertwining of political domination and social control. Affluent people are generally treated differently from impoverished people. Most regimes tend to favor members of some ethnic or racial groups that are treated as the core members of society while other groups are viewed as outsiders.

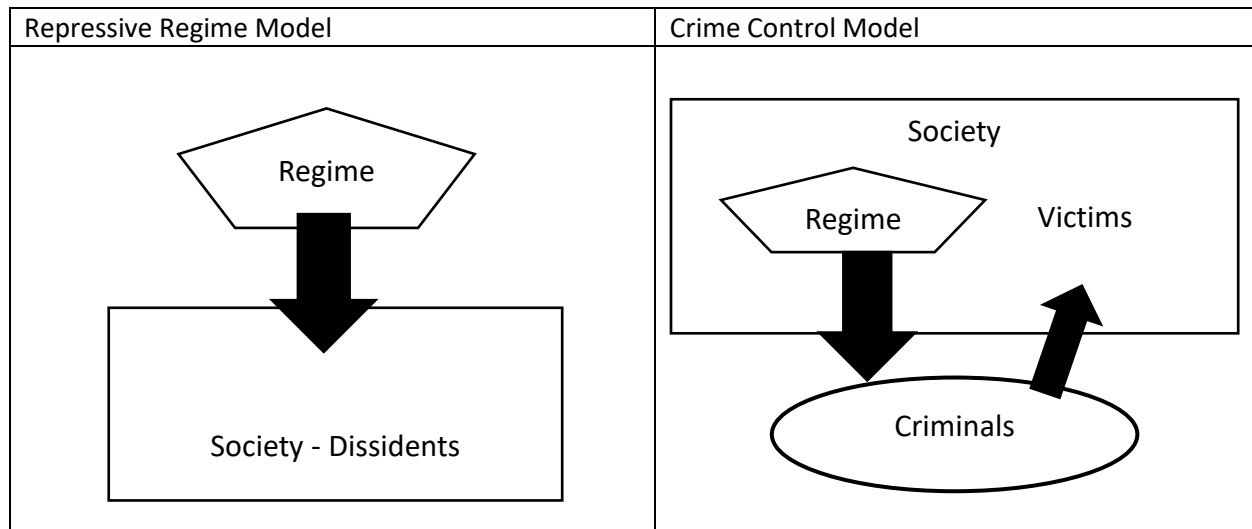
This chapter emphasizes issues that are central to the repression and policing of Black Americans, but these issues have more general applicability. Nearly all countries have subpopulations that are or have been subordinated by dominant populations. All the countries of the Americas have experienced colonialism, as have most of the countries in other regions, either as colonized or colonizers. Many larger nations were constructed by subordinating some regions to domination by another region. Writing about the limitations imposed on Arab Palestinians citizens of Israel, Sa'di (2015) criticizes the idea that states as wholes are either democratic or authoritarian and argues that many states define “exceptions” to democracy and civil liberties that apply to groups and communities viewed as threatening. The United States of America was an early popular democracy for its White male population, even as it was aggressively subordinating and limiting the citizenship rights of other populations. It was founded as a racial state, that is, as the regime of the White European settlers who came to North America, forcibly displaced the Indigenous inhabitants, and created a system of racialized chattel slavery in which only Afro-descent people were eligible for enslavement and even free people of African descent were subordinated. It also annexed the northern half of Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, American Samoa, the Northern Marianas, and the Virgin Islands through military force or purchase and subjected their inhabitants to colonial rule.

The logic of social control

Although crime control and political repression are studied by different groups of academics who have emphasized different theoretical processes, they are analytically the same. In both cases those in power seek to change the behavior of less powerful people. In both cases those in power claim that the actions of some people are harmful to society as a whole. In both cases the paths of control tend to go along the lines of social hierarchy. In both cases, overt punishment is a small part of the total system of social control.

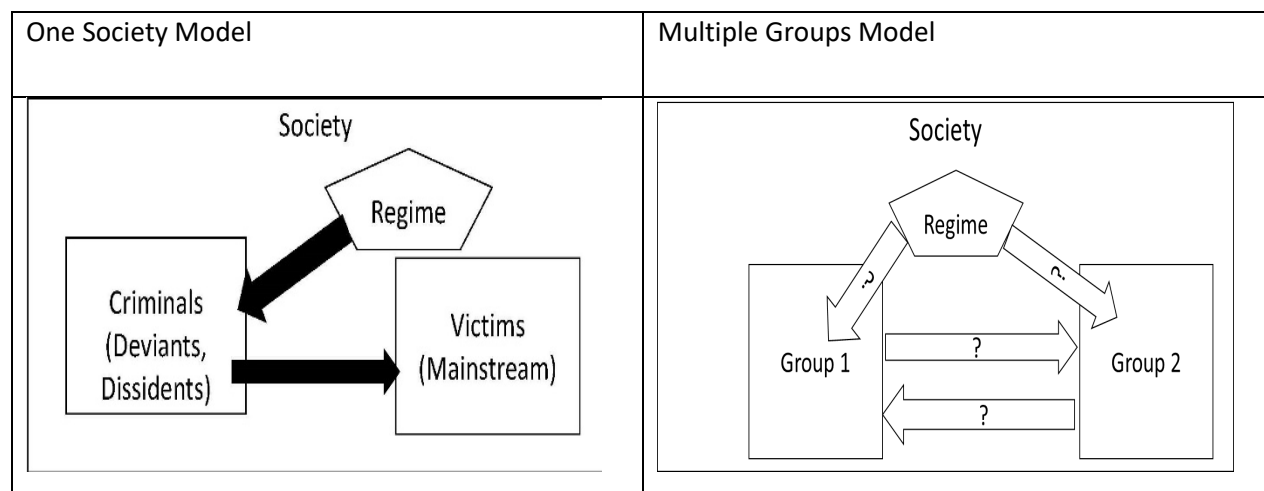
One reason the parallels are not more often recognized is that the two fields of study generally start from different oversimplified premises about the relationship between a regime, society, and criminals or dissidents. Repression theorists tend to focus on the relationship between the regime’s repression and dissidents who are equated with the larger society, as in the Repressive Regime Model on the left-hand side of figure 1. Crime control theorists tend to treat criminals as outside society and the regime as acting on behalf of society against the criminals, as in the Crime Control Model on the right-hand side of figure 1.

Figure 1. Two Oversimplified Models



But, of course, societies are more complicated than that. Both the regime and criminals or dissidents are part of society, not separate from it, as sketched in the One Society Model on the left-hand side of figure 2. In this model, the regime sides with and defends the mainstream or dominant or innocent victim groups against the criminal or dissident groups. A more general approach is something like the Multiple Groups Model on the right-hand side of figure 2. This treats the regime as being in relationship with multiple groups in society, where those groups might be in different relationships with each other. The question marks signal that the relations are undetermined in the general model. The regime might be more favorable or punitive towards some groups than others. The relationship between the groups could be positive or could be negative. And, of course, real societies have more than two groups and real regimes are often complex with different parts of the regime being more favorable to some groups and other parts of the regime being more favorable to others.

Figure 2. A More General Model



The more general questions underlying both repression and crime control are thus about the structure of the society: How do laws and norms benefit some groups and not other groups? Who controls the regime? How does the regime act or fail to act to constrain the actions of the various groups in society? Repression and crime control are rarely even-handed across groups. If nothing else, social control systems generally favor preserving existing unequal distributions of wealth and existing political structures. Laws regulate which kinds of goods can be legally traded and the recourse customers and sellers have if they are defrauded. Laws regulate whether individuals or businesses can legally discharge pollutants or toxins into the environment. The processes of setting the laws and political systems that make these decisions are linked to layer 3, the actors in institutional politics. Legislatures, courts, and regulatory bodies determine what actions are legal or illegal and also set the boundaries on what responses to state actions are legal or illegal.

Intermingling of Crime and Dissent

The blurry boundary between crime and dissent has long been discussed in social movement theory. Linking to layer 3, the laws promulgated by institutional politics often favor some groups over others. The criminal code and the political system almost always reinforce economic and racial ethnic hierarchies. Crimes by the poor against the wealthy are typically treated more harshly than crimes by the wealthy against the poor. Shoplifting is criminalized in a way that wage theft is not. Some actions broadly recognized as crimes are done for political reasons, including murder, arson, theft, and vandalism. Blee (2017) says that separating protest from crime is problematic for understanding white supremacist violence which often involves attacks on individuals. Ferret (2012) discusses the blurring of social and political violence in Basque Country in Spain and urban France.

Connecting with layers 3 and 5, the authorities often criminalize formerly legal collective actions that succeed in gaining benefits for dissidents. Workers unions were declared entirely illegal in the past and modern law restricts worker actions. Peaceful protest is often criminalized, and formerly legal forms of protest may become criminalized in response to their success (Combes and Fillieule 2011, Starr, Fernandez and Scholl 2011). During the 1955-6 bus boycott, Montgomery criminalized giving rides to others without a license. Both federal and local laws have been passed against demonstrations near

reproductive health clinics to control anti-abortion protests. In the 1990s, states responded to exposés with laws (later overturned) prohibiting surreptitious recording inside feedlots and breeding facilities (Kusnetz 2018). In the wake of the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) protests, many states passed laws criminalizing actions to interfere with pipelines and other critical infrastructure. On the policing side, Rafail (2015) stresses that there is a continuity between public order policing and protest policing in New York.

The intermingling of crime and dissent was central in the rise of punitive social control and mass incarceration in the US in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement and the Black riots of the 1960s. Chambliss (1995) cites a Gallup poll in 1968 that blurred crime and dissent in asking about "crime, lawlessness, looting and rioting" as the most important issue. The phrases "law and order" and "crime in the streets" referred simultaneously to Black urban rebellions and fear of ordinary street crime. Dello Buono (1992) argues that Black nationalist political activity was often treated as crime and coercively repressed. Ordinary crime was also at historically high levels in the late 1960s and early 1970s. LaFree (1998) argues the Civil Rights Movement (along with other movements) caused an increase in ordinary crime through reducing system legitimacy. Gross and Mann (2017) used Google searches for police violence related terms as a proxy for challenges to police legitimacy and found this to be associated with an increase in homicides and other violent crime with controls for the number of police killings, although this result was driven by a few highly segregated cities where people are poor.

The invisibility of effective repression

Scholars of social movements typically measure repression by the number of overt repressive acts such as arrests at protests. But social control is most effective when it is invisible. Much of the invisible social control isn't even repression, it is positive social control. Crime and dissent are mostly prevented through offering people a satisfying life and social norms enforced through positive social ties. But even when we focus more narrowly on the punishment of unwanted actions, the most repressive systems threaten punishments that do not have to be used, they just have to be credibly threatened. Although the distinction is rarely invoked in repression studies, criminologists distinguish between the social control mechanisms of deterrence and incapacitation. The logic of deterrence is to make people fearful enough of punishment that they avoid committing a crime or engaging in dissent in the first place. The logic of deterrence targets specific prohibited acts such as particular crimes or public protests, not people. If deterrence works, there are no acts of crime or dissent and thus no overt acts of repression. If there are no protests, there will be no arrests at protests. The existence of a sense of threat is difficult to measure. In protest research, the minimum criterion is that repression be measured as the ratio of arrests to protesters.

The logic of incapacitation is different: it posits that some people are unaffected by deterrence or positive social control and will commit crimes or rebel unless they are killed or incarcerated. Mass incarceration in the US in the 1990s and 2000s was justified by the logic of incapacitation and claims that the people incarcerated would each have committed dozens of criminal acts if they had been free. The key to the logic of incapacitation as crime control is to incarcerate people *before* they commit crimes. Highly repressive regimes similarly seek to incapacitate people who are likely to become dissidents *before* they engage in acts of dissent. Thus, the logic of preventing crime or dissent through incapacitation inherently involves pretexts. People are arrested and incarcerated for minor offenses in the belief that these are signals of intent to commit major offenses. Thus, again, the logic implies that

counting only punishments for specific acts of dissent is potentially undercounting the true level of repression.

Further, incapacitation has broad consequences. People who are incarcerated or killed are unavailable for all forms of action, not just the action that was the claimed reason for their incapacitation. This is why mass surveillance and mass arrests on drug charges or gang activity could have the impact of reducing the capacity for collective action in a community. Apart from those directly incapacitated, families that are stressed by the removal of some of their family members to incarceration may find it more difficult to maintain everyday life and must focus their activities on survival, rather than resistance even non-disruptive voluntary action in support of their communities. Burch (2013) found that high rates of incarceration were associated with lower rates of political participation in Black communities.

People can also be incapacitated through the stress, fear and distrust generated from constant surveillance or attacks on or threats of harm to activists themselves or others in the movement (Combes and Fillieule 2011, Cunningham and Noakes 2008, Starr, Fernandez and Scholl 2011); both Rosa Parks and her husband Raymond developed stress-induced illness from threats and attacks during the Montgomery bus boycott (Theoharis 2013). Incapacitating fear can arise from violence that is not directly tied to protest. Schnittker (2014) reports that former inmates have considerable anxiety, fear and uncertainty, including disabling psychiatric disorders that affect their prospects for social reintegration. Burch (2023) find that people were less likely to report having participated in a protest if someone had been killed by police within a mile of them in the previous year than if they lived in a place that had a police killing within a year after the survey. The effect was weaker in the rare cases where the victim presented no threat, which were the only ones likely to have been protested.

Incapacitating effects can continue after punishment. Prisonization is the adoption of a prison identity as part of adapting to prison. It influences identities after release as post-release community supervision requires adapting to surveillance, being punished for violating often arbitrary rules, performing submissiveness and deference, and accepting even unsatisfactory conditions of employment (Caputo-Levine 2015, Kennington 2013). The conditions of community supervision prevent people from participating in civic activities or resources like voting, welfare programs, or student aid. Comfort (2003) discusses what they call secondary prisonization, where family members of inmates organize their lives around prison rhythms, are subject to arbitrary rules, must act deferentially, are policed in their dress, and are treated as if their time is of zero value.

Moving beyond incapacitation, the most effective forms of social control either offer positive benefits to compliance or control the conditions of people's lives so that they believe resistance is impossible. The failure to dissent is often due to actions by the powerful to promote powerlessness in their opponents. These include setting the conditions that affect people's interests, the ability to block others from acting on their interests, and the ability to affect what people think they want through controlling access to information (Gaventa 1980) and tactics that "influence their sense of entitlement, efficacy, organizational networks, trust in government, sense of hopefulness, and space" (Starr, Fernandez and Scholl 2011). In a classic study of an Appalachian community, Gaventa (1980) argued that quiescence in the face of apparent oppression is likely a sign of past repression, not of satisfaction. Cable, Shriver and Hastings (1999) similarly argued that failure to resist at Oak Ridge was due to local social control, as did Shriver, Adams and Messer (2014) about the lack of resistance to environmental pollution in Blackwell, Oklahoma. It can be conceptually difficult to decide whether it is repression to be able to control others'

interests or sources of information or block them from achieving their goals. Theories of pacification address this issue.

Pacification

Scholarship using the concept of pacification provides another layer of understanding about the repression of subpopulations. Although historically pacification could refer to any process ending a war, and some political scientists use the term to refer to the decline in the use of violent tactics by governments (e.g., Combes and Fillieule 2011, Davenport 2004), the term pacification most commonly refers to bringing resistant or rebellious civilian populations under control by combining coercive force with efforts to establish legitimacy and gain the people's compliance to governance (Kienscherf 2014, Neocleous 2011, Neocleous, Rigakos and Wall 2013). European powers used the term pacification to refer to the imposition of colonial rule (Neocleous 2010). In American military history, the European settlers in North America used pacification to refer to subduing Indigenous Americans and to bringing the Philippines under US colonial rule (Wirtz 2004) as well as to subduing White American Southerners after the Civil War. Pacification came back into common use in the 1960s to refer to controversial policies designed to gain control over Vietnamese civilians during the Vietnam War (Wirtz 2004). Pacification as a concept is linked to the subordination of some populations to the will of others, with capitalism or economic or political elites often seen as the main beneficiaries (Dafnos 2013, González 2009, Kienscherf 2014, Neocleous 2011, Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2017). That is, pacification as a concept is tied to a Repressive Regime Model, where "society" in this case is a colonized or subordinated population. But the insights of pacification concepts are relevant to the more general Multiple Groups Model when the regime is biased in favor of one group and against another group.

Pacification encompasses the full range of actions designed to get a civilian population to stop resisting and submit to be ruled. At one extreme, pacification is genocidal, where resistance is met by death and compliance results in confinement and deprivation. More often, in line with broad understandings of social control, pacification involves both carrots and sticks and seeks to obtain people's consent to be governed in a context where coercion is also used to stamp out resistance. It may involve intelligence and surveillance to identify insurgents who can be removed through assassination or incarceration; moving and concentrating populations to make them easier to surveil and control; protecting civilians from attacks by insurgents; seeking to cut off civilian support for insurgents through both propaganda and coercion; and providing a structure of social order that permits civilians to engage in daily life activities. It usually involves providing benefits to the population and propaganda campaigns or symbolic efforts designed to obtain voluntary consent, i.e., "hearts and minds." In some cases, it involves coopting legitimate local leaders and persuading them to serve as intermediaries in indirect governance. Pacification thus can involve all the layers of repression.

The military concepts of pacification were incorporated into domestic policing in the US in the late 1960s (Kienscherf 2011). Consistent with the logic of pacification and counterinsurgency, community policing is the soft side of militarization, which involves the selective allocation of coercive and consensual social control (Kienscherf 2011, Kienscherf 2014, Parenti 2000). This is how Black communities were treated in the wake of the urban rebellions of the 1960s. Davenport (2012) cites Goldstein (2001) as there being an extremely high level of repression in the United States 1967-71 in response to Vietnam War protests, racial disorders, high crime rates, and a counter-culture movement. This repression included surveillance by CIA, NSA, US Army as well as the FBI's COINTELPRO, legalized

wiretapping and eavesdropping, infiltration, disinformation and propaganda campaigns, entrapment and even assassinations against the Black Panthers (Bloom and Martin 2013, Davenport 2010), the Republic of New Africa (Davenport 2015) and other militant Black groups (Dello Buono 1992).

Combes and Fillieule (2011) use the term “selective pacification” to refer to the pattern that ethnic conflicts and protests by ethnic minorities are more likely to be repressed. This concept captures ideas that are common in political sociology. Summarizing the literature, Davenport (2012) argues that democracies are more likely to kill their citizens when they are under threat, their victims are not viewed as core members of the polity, and the repressive behavior is more hidden from public view. He also argues that democracies purge the most active members of minority communities before allowing inclusion. He gives examples of these patterns with incarcerated IRA activists in Northern Ireland, Dalits settled in community outskirts in India, and the treatment of the Black Panthers and the Republic of New Africa in the US.

The strategies of selective pacification developed in the 1960s were transferred to crime control and then to anti-gang and anti-drug efforts in the same Black neighborhoods that had been insurgent. Gary Marx studied the overt and covert repression of Black political movements in the 1960s and early 1970s (Marx 1970, Marx 1974) and later wrote about how these same techniques were being used by the late 1970s in Black communities in anti-crime efforts such as undercover fencing operations and infiltration of criminal gangs (Marx 1980, Marx 1981, Marx 1982). Then in the 1980s and 1990s, these same surveillance operations were put in the service of the drug war, the most important factor in the rise in the mass incarceration of Black people between 1985 and 1995 (Oliver 2008). Many critical observers called the 1980s and 1990s drug war politically motivated and racially targeted and argued that it was or bordered on repression (Chambliss 1995, Gordon 1994, Mauer 1999, Tonry 1994). Prisons become more like ghettos and ghettos more like prisons as the criminal legal system absorbed the extra-penological function of managing dispossessed and dishonored groups (Wacquant 2001).

The treatment of gangs is particularly instructive. Williams (2011) emphasizes the continuity between anti-gang and counter-insurgency tactics with the goal of stopping insurgents while they are still small and have little influence. It has long been recognized that unselective repression along with racial discrimination, segregation, and attacks by other ethnic groups (particularly Whites) foster gang formation among minority youths (Cloward and Ohlin 1960, Hagedorn 1988, Hagedorn 2006, Long 2010, Vigil 2003). Even as many mature gangs are criminal enterprises that coerce participants and communities, they are also collective organizations rooted in oppressed communities and often take on political ideologies (Alonso 2007, Coughlin and Venkatesh 2003, DiChiara and Chabot 2003, Esteva Martinez 2003). Williams (2011) cites a Rand report on the political activity of gangs and argues that both gangs and anti-gang activities are implicitly political. Gang truces occurred in Los Angeles after the 1992 riot (Esteva Martinez 2003), which some claim the police intentionally disrupted (Williams 2011), and during the protests in Baltimore in 2015 (Nixon and Shane 2015, Woods 2016), which police claimed was organized to take revenge and some claimed was an empty temporary gesture (Doss 2015).

Gang injunctions ban people on the gang list from being on the streets at all in enjoined areas, often banning people from living with or even visiting their own mothers or other family members. These gang lists are generated by police with no formal hearing or adjudication, have been found to contain gross errors, and have no defined procedure for how to get off the list. In March 2018, a Los Angeles court ruled unconstitutional the gang injunction that had been in place since 2000 (Queally 2018). Jones

(2018) describes both how some members of the community, whom she calls the “credentialed class” supported these bans and how devastating it was to some young people to be put on the list.

Other aspects of coercive social control in Black areas have included intensive stop and frisk policing and high rates of pretext traffic stops justified either for drug interdiction or revenue generation. “Stop and frisk” is a degrading and humiliating ritual in which people are expected to submit, without resistance, to suddenly being stopped and patted and groped (Jones 2018, Matthews 2015, Rios 2015). These rituals of humiliation and submission are as bad as or worse than the racial rituals of the Old South which required Black people to display deference to Whites. Jones (2018) provides an emotionally wrenching description of the way adolescent males after the 2000s have been taught even by their own elders that they must submit and not fight back when stopped by police, no matter how degrading their treatment, and even submit to body cavity searches, because resisting is a felony. She argues that this takes an emotional toll that leads to violence against other targets, especially women. Rios (2011, 2015, 2006) also describes the emotional toll this extracts from young men as micro-doses of social death and as social incapacitation that prevents them from being productive citizens who can feel affirmation and dignity from society.

There has also been an increase in surveillance and policing within schools, including zero-tolerance policies and higher rates of suspensions (Taylor 2016). Rios (2011, 2015, 2006) uses the phrase “youth control complex” to refer to the whole package of school and community policing of young Black and Latinx people. Sa'di (2015) describes extreme surveillance of Palestinians in Israel, even of children’s school essays; limited mobility between small areas without passes and permission; widespread abuses and daily humiliations. Matthews (2015) describes the day-to-day repression of “stop and frisk” police stops in San Francisco based on analysis of citizen videos of the encounters and analyzes them as degradation ceremonies in which police degrade those stopped they stop.

Pacification includes “positive” approaches to obtaining compliance, not just coercion. Kienscherf (2014) stresses the importance of liberal social control and efforts to produce nondisruptive collective action as part of pacification. Sojoyner (2013) describes the way public education of Black children in Los Angeles in the 1960s was focused on assimilating Black children into White society, including encouraging them to join White organizations and avoid what the school leaders saw as dangerous “Black identity” organizations. Black children were taught the police role in government, the need to avoid breaking the law and that the police were friends.

Identifying and collaborating with legitimate local leaders is often part of a pacification strategy, as is employing “locals” in the control infrastructure, connecting policing with level 3, institutional control. Montes (2016) argues that the employment of people from exploited and oppressed communities in coercive positions like policing or corrections or the military is part of the project of legitimizing the coercive state. Relatedly, providing funding to members of the community to provide social or educational services or to organize people for non-disruptive civic participation can also be part of a pacification project, thus connecting with layer 3.

Connecting with layer 5, consistent with pacification logic, police seek to distinguish between good protesters and bad protesters, target “bad” protesters for coercive repression, and focus on pacifying risky communities, populations, individuals, or spaces (Kienscherf 2011, Starr, Fernandez and Scholl 2011). And connecting with the blurring of crime and dissent, a broad array of tools from the criminal

legal system can be used to repress protesters. King (2012) cites examples of stay-away orders, probation holds, and child protective custody orders being used against Occupy Oakland participants.

Controlling Social Control

As the Multiple Groups Model implies, groups may seek to control the regime (layer 3, institutional politics) even as social control exerted by the regime may reduce groups' ability to exert power in the institutional system. Waddington (1998) argues that police distinguish between the "on-the-job-troubles" involved in reacting to immediate situations and the "in-the-job-troubles" arising from the risk of sanction from higher-ups. The latter lead police both to be more circumspect with offenders or dissidents who have ties to those in power and to be more brutal toward offenders or dissidents who are viewed as threats to the higher-ups.

A great deal of research in the US documents racial disparities in traffic stops, arrests, and punishments. Research locates the origins of racially disparate crime control in historical conflicts for position between Black people and White immigrants. Muhammad (2010) documents the creation of the idea of Black criminality between 1880 and 1940 when White immigrant crime rates were comparable to those of Blacks. Olzak and Shanahan (2014) found that rates of poverty and illiteracy were associated with higher rates of incarceration for misdemeanors for White immigrants in 19th Century US cities, while for African Americans incarceration was associated with occupational desegregation (i.e., inter-racial competition for jobs) but not poverty or illiteracy. Muller (2012) directly implicates ethnic conflict, reporting that a high proportion of White immigrants in Northern police forces led to a greater correlation between the incarceration rate of non-Whites and non-White migration into the city. Muller also cites other work reminding the reader that public officials are also citizens with social identities. These patterns show the links to level 3 (control of political and governing institutions) and levels 5 and 7 (conflicts with other social groups).

Control over police is one way to advance a group's interests by affecting patterns of repression. Black activists have successfully fought for more Black police officers, especially in predominantly Black cities, although their policing may still be coercive (Brown and Frank 2006, Brunson and Gau 2015, Sharp 2014, Sun and Payne 2004). Muller (2012) argues that White immigrants' success in dominating northern urban police forces in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries was associated with higher rates of Black incarceration and allowed impoverished White immigrant communities to compete more successfully against Black migrants from the South. Ward (2018) provides a historical overview of White supremacist policing. Many White nationalists have joined police departments as part of their movement agenda. A 2006 FBI report from its counterterrorism division warned that White supremacist infiltration of law enforcement represented a significant threat and there have been many incidents of overt White supremacist activities by law enforcement officers (Jones 2015). After a new president took office in 2017, the FBI declared "Black identity groups" to be terrorists but still does not label any White supremacist groups as terrorists. The Southern Poverty Law Center lists both White and Black separatist groups as "hate groups."ⁱ

Cunningham (2009) describes how the North Carolina police in the 1960s had a cordial relation with the United Klans of America (UKA) and saw them as harmless and refused to exert any control beyond policing criminal acts. They saw both the UKA and the Civil Rights movement as extremists, and in a confrontation between the two groups where the UKA had been the aggressors, they arrested the Civil

Rights protesters. In comparing the FBI's treatment of the White New Left to the KKK in the COINTEL program, Cunningham (2003) argues that the FBI had no opposition to White supremacy in principle and only sought to minimize the violence of the KKK by creating peaceful alternatives, including creating fictional organizations. In contrast, the FBI and local police waged violently repressive campaigns against the Civil Rights Movement, Malcolm X, and the Black Panthers.

Some forms of social control reduce institutional power. Temporary or permanent disenfranchisement of felons reduces Black political power (Manza and Uggen 2006, Uggen, Behrens and Manza 2005) and the existence of disenfranchisement impacts people who are not themselves disenfranchised, partly through the belief that they are disenfranchised, and from public punishment of people who unknowingly voted while disenfranchised. Contact with the criminal legal system had strong negative effects on trust in government and likelihood of registering and voting that increased with the severity of contact (Weaver and Lerman 2010). One study of notification laws telling ex-felons when their disenfranchisement had expired had little effect on their voting (Meredith and Morse 2014). Apart from restrictions on voting, people on community supervision are often prevented from participating in advocacy groups. This author been present on two occasions at public meetings about prison reform when a scheduled speaker was unable to be present due to being inexplicably held in jail on a parole hold. Family members' experiences with incarceration affected perceptions of government legitimacy and reduced civic participation (Lee, Porter and Comfort 2014) and criminal legal supervision affected voter turnout in a North Carolina county (Burch 2014).

Conflict Between Groups as Subpopulation Control

Broadening the discussion, in line with the Multiple Groups Model, societies involve multiple competing subgroups that have varying degrees of influence within institutional politics (level 3) and may be mobilized into protest movements (level 5) or violent groups (level 7). In the unsettled political context after the US Civil War, White civilians killed tens of thousands of newly-freed Black people in the decades after 1865 (Du Bois 1935) and lynched hundreds or thousands more to reimpose White domination in the 1890s and after (Wells-Barnett 1895), as well as forming the KKK and other White supremacist organizations, a pattern that continued well into the 1950s and 1960s. Early civil rights advances were met with the formation of White Citizens' Councils and determined resistance, and 1970s efforts to promote school desegregation were met with White anti-busing riots in several cities, most notably Boston and Louisville, as well as entrenched resistance elsewhere. Hate crimes are often the clandestine work of White supremacist organizations and have the effect of repressing their victims and the victims' communities (Blee 2005, Blee 2017). Although there was evidence throughout the 1990s and early 2000s of a rise in White nationalist groups, Obama's presidency clearly triggered both a growth in White nationalist groups and a rise in racial threat among many Whites. Santoro and Azab (2015) found most of the repression that Arab Americans experienced after 9/11 was hate crimes by civilians. King (2017, pp 164ff) discusses the formation of an anti-Occupy movement by covert Tea Party Activists, as well as cooptation efforts from liberal organizations. The movement for LGBTQ rights has faced a strong anti-gay (and now anti-trans) movement.

Harassment of visible minority activists is a long-time issue. Rosa and Raymond Parks were subjected to daily death threats during the Montgomery Bus Boycott (Theoharis 2013) and Johnetta Elzie, a St. Louis

resident who became famous in 2014 and 2015 for support for the Ferguson protests reported ongoing online and in-person harassment as well as police surveillance (Randle 2016).

Subpopulations and Backlash

A major topic in the study of political repression is the problem of “backlash,” where the repression increases mobilization. The general idea is that coercive repression both decreases the probability of protest through deterrence or incapacitation but also simultaneously increases the probability of protest by increasing grievance and reducing regime legitimacy. Experiencing unjust repression reduces people’s support for the regime and the willingness to comply. These theoretical discussions often fail to consider the difference between the effects on the people directly punished and the effects on the larger community and the question of whose “backlash” is at stake, the majority, or a minority.

The backlash effect observed as overt protests usually happens when the majority is sympathetic to those repressed. Beleaguered minorities may not rebel when repressed, even if their grievances are high, due to fear of a violent response, unless they reach a point when a minority realizes they have nothing to lose and may as well go down fighting (Einwohner 2003). Conditions of extreme threat can promote action among previously fearful people. Deportation of immigrants incapacitated those deported also but promoted mass mobilization by racializing immigrant identities and radicalizing Latino immigrant communities (Zepeda-Millán 2017, Zepeda 2011). Experiencing repression in the form of hate crimes by civilians contributed to Arab Americans’ protesting after 9/11 Santoro and Azab (2015).

Matthews (2015) describes bystanders resisting “stop and frisk” by taunting police and accusing them of racial bias; sometimes the police reassert dominance by frisking the taunting bystanders, and the exchanges of insults leads to an escalation of mutual hostility. Rios (2011) describes how over-policed youths in Oakland both committed crimes as acts of defiance (“if you are going to treat me like a criminal I’ll act like one) and developed an oppositional consciousness that melded crime and dissent or resistance; he also says that this consciousness led youths to be receptive to calls for political action around the killing of Oscar Grant. Bloom and Frampton (2018) argue that a culture of resistance to intrusive policing existed in Ferguson as evinced by Michael Brown’s actions in walking down the middle of the street and standing up to the police, and the resistant (but nonviolent) actions of the crowd that gathered after he was shot.

Summing Up

Very, if any, few societies are homogenous. Most have subpopulations that are subject to more extreme social control than others. Ordinary crime and political dissent are not the same in their motivations and targets, but they do overlap in practice as some kinds of crime challenge hierarchies and many kinds of dissent are criminalized. More importantly, many social control mechanisms indirectly repress political dissent without directly targeting it. Coercive incapacitation removes someone from all of social and political life, regardless of the stated reason for the removal, and the logic of incapacitation as social control calls for pretextual coercion. The diverse complex of actions that make up pacification strategies include both positive control through offering opportunities and socialization and negative control through surveillance and targeting of those who threaten community compliance. While the concept of pacification was developed for the imposition of external authority on a colonized population, the strategy of pacification captures the array of social control mechanisms used within nations to control

subordinated populations. These forms of social control may not address political dissent directly, but they affect the capacity for political dissent. Groups whose existence challenges the dominant ideology or national identity are more likely to be subjected to these forms of social control.

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Notes

ⁱ <https://www.splcenter.org/issues/hate-and-extremism>