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Gary Kowaluk
kowalukg@lincolnu.edu

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Future Shock: The Black Lives Matters Movement is Here!

Gary J. Kowaluk

Lincoln University of Missouri

Author Note

Gary J. Kowaluk, Associate Professor of Criminal Justice at Lincoln University of Missouri.

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Gary J. Kowaluk, Department of Criminal Justice, 206 Founders Hall, Lincoln University, 820 Chestnut Street, Jefferson City, MO 65101. Contact: kowalukg@lincolnu.edu.

Abstract

In this paper, I argue that the wave of police protests since Ferguson has produced a “future shock” in most Americans that was caused by the failure of the United States to reform racialized criminal justice policies first put in place at the time of the 1965 Civil Rights Act. Conducting a deeper analysis of race and criminal justice by showing their historical relationship to colonialism, I then show how citizens have organized the police protests around anti-colonial narratives produced on new cell phone and internet communication technologies. I then discuss how the “future shock” could have been avoided and that the recent protests and resulting anti-colonial narratives were predictable by presenting Tofler’s ideas on the future and Lyotad’s 1979 theory on narratives. The paper closes by demonstrating how recognizing theories on both colonialism and narratives can be applied to assist the police and lawmakers in their use of discretion.

Keywords: Future shock, colonialism, veillance, surveillance, panopticon, synopticon, sousveillance, postmodern, narrative, metanarrative

Introduction

On August 9th 2014, Darrell Wilson a white Ferguson, Missouri Police Officer shot Michael Brown, a black teenager, to death setting off weeks of protests in Ferguson (Missouri (DOJ Report on the Shooting of Michael Brown, 2015). Nightly, the nation watched the racially charged protests as the national news provided 24-hour coverage of rock throwing protesters battling beefed up police forces (CNN, 2021). Coming without warning, the protests continued throughout the summer of 2014. After a brief lull, the protests erupted again in 2015 in Baltimore, Maryland when actions by the Baltimore police that led to the death of Freddie Gray (Tkacik, 2018), and in Charleston, South Carolina when a white police officer killed Walter Scott by shooting him in the back five times (BBC, 2021). The protests continued into 2016 after a white Baton Rouge, Louisiana police officer shot Alton Sterling, a black man, to death, and later that year when a white police officer shot another black man to death in St. Paul, Minnesota (BBC, 2021). By July of 2016 there had been 112 demonstrations protesting racialized policing in 88 American cities (Kallen, 2020, p. 17). Just when the protests seemed to be over, a resurgence occurred in the summer of 2020 after Minneapolis, Minnesota erupted over the Minneapolis Police killing of George Floyd (Green, Williams, and Park, 2021). The protests continue today, breaking out whenever the police use excessive force against a minority (see Black Lives Matter, 2022).

Black Lives Matter's became a slogan that began to show up at every one of the police protests. The Black Lives Matters Movement had formed in 2013 after George Zimmerman killed Trayvon Martin to protest police brutality and racially motivated violence (Kallen, 2020; Black Lives Matter, 2022). Using the social media to organize protests, the Black Lives Matters Movement soon took the lead in the post Ferguson police protests (Kallen, 2020). By mid-summer 2020, the police protests had spread to over 200 cities in all fifty states putting to rest any questions regarding the permanency of the Black Lives Matters Movement (Kallen, 2020). It is estimated that there were more than 7,500 Black Lives Matters protests in the summer of 2020 with between 15 and 26 million Americans of all races taking part (Kallen, 2020, p. 25). While there had been protests sparked by the killings of blacks by police in the decades before the Ferguson incident, most never went beyond the local level or continued continuously over years on a national level (The Ferguson Report, 2015).

Before the Ferguson protests, most Americans thought discrimination was a thing of the past. With Obama becoming the first black U.S. President in 2008, many thought we had entered into a new post racial era (Brown and Barganier, 2018). Alexander (2011) who coined the term the "New Jim Crow" to describe the effects of mass imprisonment on black Americans, wrote that many Americans thought that Obama's election marked the end of Jim Crow and that we had "moved beyond race" into a "promised land of colorblindness" (p. 7). Against this backdrop, the 2014 Ferguson Protests seemed to come out of nowhere. Serwer (2020) characterized the resulting liberal reform agenda as an "awakening" similar to the awakening experienced by the signers of the Declaration of Independence when they realized that not considering blacks equal was contradictory to their other stated principals regarding equality, and when those advocating the Reconstruction of the South in the 1860 discovered the atrocities of slavery. Alexander (2018), thinks there is a need for a "great awakening" from thinking we are in a colorblind society before we can remedy the ill effects from the mass imprisonment era on African Americans and their communities. Alexander (2011), provides a good depiction of what the average American thought about race and crime issues before the Ferguson protests with her disclosure that even though working as a civil rights attorney prior to her 2011 research on race and crime, she thought we were progressing as a multiracial democracy, and that crime problems in the African American community were the result of poverty and the lack of quality education.

Coming unexpectedly, in this paper I argue that America is experiencing the protest movement and the proposed changes to the criminal justice system as a "culture shock," with Americans "awakening" to the reality that we are a nation wrought by serious racial problems

threatening to erode our ability to carry out justice through the police, courts, and corrections. I further argue that the “culture shock” has taken the form of “future shock,” brought about by years of “get tough” police policies and racialized politics that have prevented any meaningful racial reforms of the criminal justice system, leaving us unprepared to confront our current criminal justice racial problems. Alvin Toffler first coined the term “future shock” in 1970 to describe the “culture shock” that occurs when someone is confronted by rapid social change (Toffler, 1970). For Toffler, “culture shock” was a term used to describe what a person experiences when they are disoriented by space, such as what a Peace Corps worker experiences when immersed in a remote country (Toffler, 1970). “Culture shock” occurs when a tourist suddenly realized that they are immersed in a culture foreign to them. “Future shock” is similar to “culture shock,” but the disorientation is caused by a great acceleration of change in society. Toffler (1970) writes that such accelerated change reaches deep into our personal lives and compels us to act out new roles. To avoid experiencing “future shock,” Toffler (1970) recommends that organizations and governments orientate present day policies in a way that allows for a smooth transition to future changes in the organizational environment.

What America suddenly “woke up” to at the time of Ferguson was the reality that our policies on crime were failing and that widespread racial problems with the police and the criminal justice system existed, experiencing this “awakening” as a future shock. Advocating the defunding of the police nationwide, ending systematic racism against blacks in the criminal justice system, establishing citizen review boards to make police more accountable to citizens for violence, and repealing laws that give the police qualified immunity in their relations with the public, the Black Lives Matters Movement has established a new liberal agenda regarding criminal justice policy (Kallen, 2020). As a result, almost overnight, large majorities of Americans now support criminal justice reforms such as requiring the use of body cameras, banning choke holds, mandating a national police-misconduct database, and curtailing qualified immunity, which shields officers from liability for violating people’s constitutional rights, he also questions whether liberal politicians will actually follow through with a sustained reform of the criminal justice system (Sewer, 2020).

Criminal Justice Before the Recent Protests

In retrospect, under the façade that we were progressing toward ending racism, something a little more sinister was occurring politically in the making of criminal justice policy dating back to the civil rights movement. For years, politicians had advocated racialized criminal justice policies as a way to gain the white vote and political power. Tonry (2011) traces our current race and crime problems to the Republican “Southern Strategy.” With its roots in the 1940s when white segregationists and conservative Republicans united to oppose Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman’s civil rights initiatives, the current use of the term dates back to the 1960s when Republican politicians decided to rebuild the Republican Party on a southern base to attract former anti civil rights orientated Southern Democrats to the Republican Party (Tonry, 2011). Barry Goldwater in 1964 ran on “The Southern Strategy” in his unsuccessful bid for President in 1964. Articulated in his 1964 speeches, Goldwater’s version of “The Southern Strategy” declared that the “War on Poverty” was not working and advocated a get tough “law and order” approach to the crime and disorder taking place in the American cities (Brown and Barganier, 2018).

One of the most crucial points in the recent history of relations between the black community and the larger political community came immediately after the passage of the 1965 Civil Rights Act. The protests leading to the passage of the Civil Rights Act set high expectations high for blacks that they would achieve equality in this country. The civil rights protests were motivated in part by the 1954 U.S Supreme Court outlawing of segregation in the nation’s schools in *Brown v. Board of Education*, a decision based on the belief that inequalities among blacks and any resulting personality disorders resulted from unequal economic conditions supported by a type of racial discrimination that was thought to exist the mind of the racists rather than with problems with black

people (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). The effect of the Southern Strategy was to turn these racial beliefs on their head, perpetuating the belief that criminal laws were needed to control Blacks who were depicted as being prone to violence, users of illicit drugs, were anti-authoritarian, and irrationally and undeservedly demanded equality. Simply, now that segregation ended, the Southern Strategy created a new rationality in support of criminal justice policies aimed at controlling blacks rather than supporting policies aimed at promoting more harmonious race relations by alleviating racial inequalities. Garland (2010) adds that the reinstatement of the death penalty and its continued support stem from these same anti-segregationist political forces with their roots in the anti-civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Tonry (2011) reports that Nixon continued “The Southern Strategy” first began by Goldwater. Kevin Phillips, Nixon White House Staffer and Special Assistant to Special Assistant to Attorney General John Mitchell, laid out the precepts of the Southern Strategy in his 1969 book, *The Emerging Republican Majority* (Tonry (2011)). In his 1969 book, Phillips advocated a political strategy that involved pitting racial groups against one another by appealing to white voters in the South and Southwest with polarizing appeals on race and social issues (Grohsgal and Krause, 2019). Synthesizing Republican political strategies at the time, Phillips argued that if Republicans exploited tensions over civil rights, they could attract white voters in traditionally Democratic southern states, as well as in the Midwest and West (Grohsgal and Krause, 2019). Nixon’s “War on Drugs,” support for the militarization of the police through the creation and financing of S.W.A.T. Teams, and the targeting of the Black Panther Party as an “enemy of the state” all supported a law and order agenda meant to counter the civil rights protestor’s civil disobedience to crime (Brown and Barganier, 2018). As a result of the crackdown on the Black Panther Party, any activism and political organization by the Black community came to be seen as national security threats by the F.B.I. (Delaney, 2014). For the first time in our history, the United States created militarized police to be employed against U.S. citizens (Brown and Barganier, 2018).

Although the resulting criminal laws appeared neutral, their supporters knew that they would be disproportionately enforced against Blacks, especially in the pro-segregation South (Brown and Barganier, 2018). Regan bolstered the movement in the 1980s with his “get tough” on crime policies that included a “war on crack,” a “war on street gangs” and the beginning of the mass incarceration of blacks and other minorities (Brown and Barganier, 2018). One of Regan’s more notorious use of the Southern Strategy occurred when, to gain support for his welfare reform policies, his administration publicized the actions of a black “welfare queen” who lived a lavish lifestyle after supposedly scamming the welfare system of over a hundred thousand dollars, giving the impression that blacks were regularly taking advantage of welfare (Fennessey, Mahadevan, and Powers, 2020). In all, beginning in 1980, Regan advanced racialized policies such as mandatory minimum sentences, determinate sentencing, truth-in-sentencing laws, and habitual sentencing strategies such as three strikes you’re out laws that resulted in a 1,100 percent increase in the number of drug offenders in state prisons, an almost 2,000 percent increase in federal prisons, and 1,000 percent increase in jails (Brown and Barganier, 2018, pp. 241-242). In addition, the death penalty was being used more often as well as the practice of trying juveniles as adults (Brown and Barganier, 2018).

The Republican Party officially denounced its Southern Strategy when the Chair of the Republican National Committee apologized to a meeting of the National Association of Colored People in 2005 (Chen, 2015). Tonry (2011) does not put the entire blame on the Republican Party for the resulting racist criminal justice policies, pointing out that the Democratic party under Clinton produced some of the most draconian criminal justice policies the country has ever seen, passing harsh drug laws, furthering mandatory sentencing policies, three strikes you’re out legislation, and supporting the death penalty to further the mass imprisonment of minorities. While Tonry (2016) reports that the “get tough” on crime era is over, with most of the “get tough” crime laws passed in all states from 1984-1996, he criticizes that the effects of these laws through mass imprisonment remain. Blackness and being a minority have become associated with crime, coming a full circle

since the 1954 *Brown vs. The Board of Education* decision when racism that was thought to exist in the minds of the racists and that blacks were no different than any other people.

For Tonry (2011, 2016) the lasting effects of the “Southern Strategy” and the “get tough” on crime policies were to make any meaningful reform of the criminal justice system along racial lines very difficult as the new generation of politicians since Nixon, Regan, and Clinton avoided attempts at doing anything about the unjust treatment of black offenders. Tonry (2011, 2016) reports that the anti-crime policies from the 1970s have worked to devastate the black community. Racial profiling by the police, leading them to stop blacks on the streets and in cars more often than whites, police and drug arrests targeting black and minority offenders coupled with leniency policies toward white drug dealers, and the disproportionate criminal sentencing of blacks and minorities became common place in the United States, resulting in the mass imprisonment of blacks. Tonry (2011) reports that the rate of imprisonment for black males went up to hover consistently over 2,000 per 100,000, while the rate of imprisonment for whites is approximately 500 per 100,000. For Tonry (2011), the mass imprisonment of blacks broke up families, took potential taxpayers out of the community, and with the resulting recidivism rates being high, worked to produce even more crime in the black communities.

The black community has also suffered as a result of the politics stemming from the Southern Strategy. Under the guise the United States was progressing toward eliminating racism, little was being said or done about the deteriorating social and economic conditions in our inner cities where most minorities lived. Businesses left the inner cities and housing values declined in every large American city since the 1960s (Brown and Barganier, 2018). Tonry (2011) notes how tax bases were lowered resulting in less money for schools and other public services in areas of the city where blacks and minorities lived to create conditions susceptible to high crime rates, leaving most minorities more socially and economically disadvantaged in their efforts to obtain equality than they were at the time the Civil Rights Act was passed. Tonry (2011) points out how slow economic and social progress has been in the black community since the passage of the 1965 Civil Rights Act by citing how it only took most immigrant groups two generations to rise out of impoverished conditions while it has been over 50 years since the passage of the Civil Rights Act for blacks, many of whom are in the same and even worse position than they were at the time of civil rights.

Colonialism

The conflict between the black community and the police runs much deeper than reactionary politics that took place in conjunction with the passage of the 1965 Civil Rights Act. Strained relations between the black community and the police can be traced all the way back to slavery (Novak, Bradley, Smith, and Roberg, 2020). The practice of slavery was justified by a “colonial” ideology supported by the major world powers in the 19th century (Quijano, 2000; Brown and Barganier, 2018). A current definition for colonialism was developed by Anibal Quijano in 2000, using it to refer to the “darker side” of modernity where minorities remain victims of a social and economic order justified by racial rankings of human beings that date back to historical periods of colonization (Quijano, 2000, 2007; Brown and Barganier, 2018). For Quijano (2000, 2007), race was the key element of the social classification between colonizers and the colonized. However, while much political and social progress has been made since slavery, the colonial ideology that justified slavery continues to recreate itself across historical periods to justify racial inequalities (Quijano, 2000, 2007; Brown and Barganier, 2018). In the late modern era (postmodern), colonialism consists of two dominant practices: sovereignty and knowledge production (Brown and Barganier, 2018). The first practice, sovereignty occurs as the white majority maintains control of geographic spaces (including cities and neighborhoods) inhabited by minorities. Applying this to the black community, the white majority exercises sovereignty over black through the federal, state, and local government policies including the use of the criminal justice system to maintain domination over parts of the city where blacks live in, or are forced to live in due to economic, welfare, and zoning policies supporting

segregation. The second part of colonialism involves knowledge production. This refers to a racialized assertion of truth claims used to justify the sovereign social and legal practices. For a recent example of knowledge production influenced by colonial ideology, see the U.S. Department of Justice's Ferguson Report's pre-protest description on the racist treatment of blacks by the Ferguson Police Department supported by policies endorsed by a mostly white Ferguson Mayor and City Council (DOJ Report on the Shooting of Michael Brown, 2015).

Colonialism rejects biological, cultural, and class explanations for race (Quijano, 2007; Brown and Barganier, 2018). Rather, race is viewed as socially constructed through interactions between racial minorities and the colonial powers. According to colonialism, the resulting discourse or communication between racial minorities and the white community can be organized into dualist linguistic codes (Quijano, 2000, 2007; Brown and Bargainer, 2018). Conceptually, discourse refers to the process of communication that provides meaning for the actions people take. When referring to minorities, colonial discourse is organized into human-nonhuman categories. The white majorities are always portrayed in colonial narratives as possessing human qualities while the minorities are portrayed as possessing non-human qualities. Applying the human-nonhuman code to criminal justice, the white majority supported "war on crime," the "war on drugs," and "get tough" on crime policies all were justified by portraying blacks and other minorities as less than human, or as "dope fiends," people prone to violence, or people unable to control themselves sexually. Other forms the colonial narratives take are civil-uncivil distinctions, where the white majority is portrayed as civil and the minorities uncivil, and a superior-inferior difference, where the white majority is treated as being superior and the minorities inferior (Brown and Barganier, 2018). Applied, the civil/uncivil codes are used to support aggressive police tactics in minority communities such as racial profiling and "stop and frisk" policing practices justified by the premise that the minority population is for the most part not civil. The superior-inferior codes have been used in the past to support segregation in housing and schools, as well as providing barriers for minorities to assume leadership positions in criminal justice agencies.

In all, Quijano (2007) theorizes that the colonialism represents a totality of beliefs that is used to rationalize reasons that support the white majority's efforts to control minorities. The white majority advances the totality by supporting a dualist subjective/objective distinction where the colonized are forced to follow laws and policies that deny their subjectivity and human qualities by the colonial powers, who base the laws and policies on objectifying and degrading depictions of the minority's. To end colonialism or to decolonize, Quijano (2007) advocated ending the use of colonial totalities of knowledge to order race relations in society for intercultural dialogs that emphasize subjectivity and the interchange of experiences and meanings. The colonial codes provide a way decolonize society to end "white supremacy" and objectifying minorities as non-human, uncivil, and/or inferior, and to begin treating minorities subjectively as individuals with human qualities, are civil, and equal to all humans.

The colonial codes have reproduced themselves throughout history beginning with British, French and Spanish colonial conquests in the 15th century (Quijano, 2000, 2007; Brown and Bargainer, 2018). Colonial discourse produced by the superior/inferior and civil/uncivil codes objectifying minorities and treating them like property gave rise to criminal justice policies supporting slave patrols and then when slavery ended, Jim Crow laws and the resulting convict lease system where ex-slaves were imprisoned for very little in an effort by the post-civil war South to do an "end run" around the Fourteenth Amendment prohibiting slavery. The codes were used to support lynching's, the eugenics sterilization movement which negatively affected black females, the exclusion of blacks from juvenile and women's treatment programs, prohibition, the illegalization of Marijuana, outlawing interracial marriage, and police riots in places like Tulsa, Oklahoma. Colonial policies did not stop with criminal justice, and were used to justify segregation and economic policies that excluded blacks from schools, jobs, neighborhoods and eligibility for loans (brown and Barganier, 2018).

In the modern era, the codes have been used to justify the criminalization of social problems to control minorities (Brown and Barganier, 2018). In all, current use of the codes has led to the creation of our “racial state,” which allows the government to use criminal justice institutions and the legal system to maintain racial hierarchies. Use of the codes continue to perpetuate “state racism,” or the active production of racial state policies to promote “racial hegemony,” or normalized race relations that involve the majority imposing its will on racial minorities such as policies resulting in the mass imprisonment of minorities (see Milovanovic, 2022). The colonial codes have been used to justify housing policies that socially and economically forced blacks to live in economically dilapidated parts of the city, further alienating the people in those areas to create conditions favorable to crime. Currently, the colonial codes are used to support racial profiling, stop and frisk policies, pretextual police stops and S.W.A.T. teams. They permeate the culture of policing, and support zero tolerance policing. The codes support an education system that produces mostly white professionals to man the criminal courts. The codes underlie unfair bail practices, the disproportionate sentencing of blacks, pretrial detention and racialized sentencing, and underlie a lack of concern about the funding of public defenders and harsh sentencing policies resulting in the mass imprisonment of minorities. In all, the codes continue to support exclusionary criminal justice policies and our used to structure the current social, political, and economic arrangements of most American cities, resulting in large populations of blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities forced to live in economically disadvantaged areas with little power to change their situation.

Why the Protests are Occurring at this Time

Above, it was argued that wave of police protests since Ferguson that has swept across the nation produced a “future shock” in most Americans, who thinking that we were entering into a new post racial era were suddenly confronted by the prospect that the country was plagued by racialized criminal justice policies first put in place by political forces that arose in reaction to the passage of the 1965 Civil Rights Act. The wave of protests begs the question on why they erupted when they did. Ruling out that they were part of any planned Civil Rights strategy, or instigated by the radical left, after researching the situation, I concluded that the protests are spontaneously occurring due to technological changes that have given all citizens access to cell phone camera’s and the world wide web via the internet. Below I argue that that the new cell phone and internet communication technologies are providing citizens a medium that allows them to effectively communicate narratives based on their surveillance of the police that are fueling the protest movement. The relationship between colonialism and the ways people use the new cell phone and internet technology to communicate with each other will also be discussed in another argument holding that the resulting citizen narratives are challenging the colonial ideology the police policies they are protesting are based on.

Surveillance and New Communication Technologies

In addition to coining the term “future shock, Toffler (1989) predicted: (1) that the future would be wrought by problems brought about by the break-up of the old colonial order, and (2) that new communication technologies would allow the public new ways to communicate with one another. While Tofler did not show a relationship between these two predictions, together they do well in explaining how and why the recent police protests are occurring at this point in time. Historically, in the pre-industrial era police functions were achieved by a practice called lateral veillance, where citizens watched one another to produce a collective sense of community (Miller, 2016). In the industrial era, a new form of veillance called surveillance became the dominant way the police watched the public. Surveillance, which is the process of collecting and analyzing information about populations to control them evolved from veillance, is the dominant way people monitor each other in the late modern or postmodern era (Haggerty and Ericson (2006).

One form of surveillance utilizes Bentham and Foucault's (1995) famed panopticon, which involves the few watching the many to create a system of omnipresence where citizens feel constantly watched. First developed in prisons and later forming the basis for preventive patrol, the panopticon became the most widely used form of social control in the modern era, being used to control behavior in schools, hospitals and the military (Miller, 2016; Mathiesen, 2004). Panopticonism is the social arrangement where the one prison guard watches over the many prisoners from a central location, or when the one teacher watches over the many students in the classroom. Synopticonism, which involves flipping panopticonism on its head to create a viewer society where the many watch the few, is another form of surveillance (Miller, 2016; Mathiesen, 1997, 2004; Adorjan and Ricciardelli, 2021). Thomas Mathiesen is first credited with developing the term "synopticonism" (Doyle, 2011). While Mathiesen (1997, 2004) credits Foucault for making an important contribution to the social aspects of surveillance with his conception of the panopticon, he does not think Foucault went far enough in his description of the modern surveillance processes, pointing out that Foucault did not consider the effect of television or any other mass media in his discussion of modern surveillance. Considering the development of mass media since 1800, or about the time Foucault claims the panopticon began to develop, Mathiesen (1997) argues that the modern mass media beginning with the popularity of newspapers, and continuing on through movies, radio and finally television gave rise to the synopticon. All these mediums involve the many readers or viewers watching the one who is the subject of the film or news report. In all, Mathiesen (1997, 2004) argues that modern day surveillance involves both panopticon and synopticon social processes that interact with one another.

However, Mathiesen (1997) did not think that the synopticon itself would lead to ideological or social changes because it was delivered through a government and business-controlled television and the print media that reproduced the status quo. Doyle (2006) points out that messages about crime reported on the television news are controlled by newsmakers who act as gatekeepers of the information, and who are often guided by the police. Doyle (2006) also notes that television will often report sensationalized and traditional crimes of sex and violence that are committed by members of the lower class, minorities and involve strangers to promote a passionate, punitive and vengeful approach to crime that promotes the status quo.

Miller (2016) argues that still another form of surveillance called sousveillance or "watching from below" has emerged from the widespread use of cell phone cameras and internet technology. Miller (2016) developed the term "synoptic sousveillance" to describe the process of citizens posting cell phone photos of police encounters on the internet. Synoptic sousveillance involves "the many watching the few from below." Miller (2016) cites the New York City Police choking Eric Garner to death and the 2015 North Charleston Police shooting of African American Walter Scott as he fled on foot after a traffic stop as examples of synoptic sousveillance. The ability to conduct synoptic sousveillance has given rise to a new kind of reporting called "citizen journalism" which occurs when ordinary citizens record citizen-police encounters on smart phones and decimate the recording on the internet (Farmer and Sun, 2016). To perpetuate citizen journalism, copwatching, or policing the police, recently has become more popular. Copwatching, which first emerged in the 1960s with the Black Panthers, today are often organized efforts of trained citizens to film citizen police encounters to hold the police accountable. Often the copwatching involves observing blacks who come into contact with the police. Complicating these encounters is "black protectionism," a sociological process identified by Russell (1998) where the black community builds a fortress around its fallen hero and begins to offer explanations and defenses for the behavior in question (p. 57). For Russell, like a good wife, the black community will always stand by their man. Delgado and Stefancic (2017) identify a similar process finding that the black community often sees as "race rebels," supporting the criminal and not wanting the police to intervene in matters with the black community.

While big business and government were able to control the panoptic-synoptic forms of nationally syndicated mass communications regarding police citizen encounters, they cannot control the synoptic sousveillance brought about by citizen journalism and copwatching. The new cell phone

and internet technology is providing citizens with a medium to organize around. Citizens have the ability to conduct surveillance on citizen-police encounters at will, post videos of the surveillance on the internet, and then communicate narratives unabated by big business and government that question the legitimacy of the police and their practices (Farmer and Sun, 2016). Rather than being some type of fad, this new way of communicating is here to stay. Citizen reporting and copwatching represent a legitimate form of resistance against police misconduct. The widespread practice of recording citizen-police encounters cannot be stopped. It is legal in 38 states, and while the other 12 states restrict police recordings, rarely are citizens charged with a crime for recording the police in those states (Farmer and Sun, 2016). Minorities in the United States now have a new medium in cell phone camera and the internet from which they can voice their views on the police and criminal justice (Morrison and Estes, 2020).

The new citizen narratives on police community relations are uncovering the colonial ideology that underscores the draconian police and criminal justice policies they are protesting. For example, the citizen reporting of the George Floyd incident and the resulting narratives set off a course of events that included widespread protests of racist based policing in Minneapolis and across the United States leading to a murder charge against the Minneapolis police officer responsible for Floyd's death (BBC, 2021). On a deeper level, what the citizens were protesting were police policies rooted in colonialism (see BBC, 2021). Applying colonialism's two main precepts of sovereignty, and knowledge production to the police-George Floyd encounter: (1) the incident took place in a part of Minneapolis where the police exercised sovereign control (absolute control) of the geographic area where Floyd and other minorities lived; and (2) the police exercised their absolute of sovereign control over George Floyd by using an lethal restraint on him, justified by the production of knowledge that implied the black Floyd deserved the treatment because by nature he was uncivil and inhuman or a potentially violent drug user. Having the ability to construct surveillance on the police-Floyd encounter, citizens published videos of their surveillance accompanied by narratives that called into question the colonial based justifications for the excessive use of force by the police by portraying Floyd's human qualities and treating him as a victim, rejecting any inhuman colonial based objectification of him by the police. The Eric Garner, Walter Scott incidents along with any other police citizen encounter involving the excessive use of force on a minority called into question by the synoptic sousveillance of citizen journalism shares the same fact pattern. Consistent with decolonization by portraying the victim in terms of their subjective human, they call into to question the police practices motivated colonial totalities used to objectify the citizen victim in a grading manner. In sum, the cell phone camera and internet technology are providing citizens with a medium to voice their unabated opinions of the events to question by constructing narratives that effectively question the legitimacy of the police and the colonial ideology that underscores their actions.

Postmodernism

Above it is argued that new communication technologies have provided citizens with a medium to organize protests over their surveillance of racialized police-citizen encounters, and that these protests became widespread, producing a future shock in most Americans. Further research shows that these developments should not be shocking at all. Rather, the recent protests follow predictable patterns of behavior when considering postmodern changes to society. Postmodern theory can be used to fully explain the protest movement. To begin, the new communication technologies are thought to be part of the postmodern era of society. Communication in the postmodern era is marked by new forms of media and interactive technologies such as Facebook, Twitter, smart phones, and camera phones whereas the modern era was characterized by a proliferation of the mass media through newspapers, radio, and television, delivering messages disseminated by big government and large corporations. In the postmodern era, people can spontaneously post, snap, and tweet. Unlike the modern era factual based documentaries, the postmodern era is marked by reality television, virtual reality and simulations (Appelrouth and Edles,

2016). Overall, postmodernism is a term that emerged from the artistic and cultural criticisms of the 1960s to describe the changes taking place in society (Appelrouth and Edles, 2016). Beginning with the development of postmodern perspectives in literature, art, and architecture, it was not long before sociologists took interest in the term (Appelrouth and Edles, 2016). Another term for postmodernism is late modernity. Simple these terms are used to describe changes in society marked by government intervention to control the ills stemming from unregulated capitalism (Milovanovic, 2022).

Liotard and Postmodern Narrative Theory

While Alvin Toffler (1989) predicted that changes in the way people communicated with each other would produce protests against policies evolving from colonialism, Lyotard (1979) went farther and theorized that these types of changes would occur as we moved farther into the postmodern era. In 1979, in *The Postmodern Condition*, Lyotard predicted that as society moved into the postmodern era, it would increasingly reject historical metanarratives used to explain life in favor of more localized narratives. Basing his theory on his study of the how knowledge construction has changed throughout history, Lyotard (1979) argued that since World War II, the legitimization of metanarratives or grand narratives began to be questioned. For Lyotard (1979) before World War II, all knowledge was couched in metanarratives or grand narratives, which were paradigmatic systems of knowledge that contained credible worldviews that described the total picture of society. These narratives provided a basis for which truth claims were made and the validity of knowledge was judged (Appelrouth and Edles, 2016). Dominant metanarratives included Marxism, Christianity, and Enlightenment progress.

Lyotard's (1979) predicted that people would become increasingly suspicious of metanarratives as we moved further into the postmodern era. Eventually Lyotard thought that the metanarratives would be fully discredited and replaced with narratives that represented more localized and particularistic points of view (Appelrouth and Edles, 2016). Analyzing the post WWII metanarratives, he found that they were supported by scientific knowledge, but the value of the new scientific knowledge was rooted in its social, political, and economic utility, or that knowledge was being generated more for profit than to explain phenomena. For example, in the area of medicine, he wrote that it was the profit motives of the drug companies that drove research into new cures and treatments. Rather than researching the most needed cures for diseases, the new research was aimed at finding super profitable drugs, whose legitimacy was supported by what Lyotard called the mercantilization of knowledge. Not aimed at fighting disease to advance medical knowledge, Lyotard thought medical research was more driven by consumer consumption preferences. Taking the lead from the localized scientific narratives, Lyotard (1979) thought that eventually all knowledge would be reduced to particular knowledge couched in language games.

Developing his theories on narratives from theories on knowledge, Lyotard (1979) thought that all forms of knowledge, including metanarratives had rules that proscribed their use and meaning. To analyze narratives and metanarratives, Lyotard (197) developed a method based on Wigenstein's conception of "language games." For Lyotard, speech acts were the equivalent of fighting, as in the sense of a debate. Language games involved the various moves and strategies between adversaries in these "fights." For a particular narrative to be effective, he theorized that all the players must develop a working consensus of the rules, and that a social bond must form between adversaries before a proposition or narrative could earn legitimacy. Providing an example of this process, Lyotard (1979) wrote that Americans are taught the grand narrative that Columbus discovered America in the 15th century. This discovery was part of the colonial expansion of European nations into a "new" world where an indigenous population was discovered. Often, the indigenous population was enslaved and exploited as part of the European's divine right. However, the indigenous population does not play by the rules of the grand narrative colonial language game. From the standpoint of the indigenous, there was no new discovery. They already knew what the Europeans called the "new" world existed. They also came to see this era as one involving invasion,

domination, cultural displacement, and genocide to refute the grand narrative of manifest destiny. According to Lyotard, the rules of the game between the two narratives is irreconcilable, making it impossible to construct a grand narrative to provide the truth of the events.

Lyotard's theory can be directly applied to explain the changes in knowledge taking place as a result of the wave of police protests. For our purposes, crime metanarratives have been used to support the police's legitimate ability to protect society and fight crime, which was always depicted as the hedonistic, irrational choices made by people from mostly poor and abused backgrounds (see Alexander, 2011). However, as discussed above, the criminal justice metanarratives were also tainted by a colonial ideology which involved justifying the use of force against minorities by objectifying the minorities in degrading ways such as portraying them as having low intelligence, prone to use illicit drugs or likely to engage in violence over treating minorities subjectively as possessing human qualities. The recent wave of citizen protests of the police fits in with Lyotard's theory that knowledge would become more localized or specific. The widespread police protests build their narratives from individual, localized incidents, rejecting generalized and totalizing colonial metanarratives that perpetuate stereotypes of black criminals. In consideration of Lyotard's language game method of legitimizing knowledge constructed in narratives, needless to say, there is no consensus or a meeting of the minds on the criminal justice policies at issue in the police protests. Centering on specific localized events, the typical protest narrative depicts both the victim of the police encounter and the encounter subjectively, with narratives telling the story of a typical citizen who was unjustly stopped by the police. At the same time the police use of force is often justified by totalizing colonial metanarratives that use objectified stereotypes of black offenders who were routinely stopped by the police during the normal course of their duties. Constructing the localized narratives to refute police justifications for their actions alone produces enough conflict to delegitimize the established police and crime policies couched in metanarratives.

Conclusions

This paper began with the observation that the recent surge in police protests across the nation since the 2014 Ferguson, Missouri protests have produced "future shock" in most Americans. Defining "future shock" as a "culture shock" people experience by not being prepared for future developments, which suddenly emerge to become their present, this paper argues that the "future shock" from the wave of police protests was produced by the failure of the United States to reform racialized criminal justice policies that evolved since the passage of the 1965 Civil Rights Act. Deconstructing the racialized criminal justice policies showed that they came to the public in the way of narratives grounded in colonialism. The paper moved on to argue that the wave of police protests is currently occurring because cell phone and internet communication technologies readily available to most citizens have provided them with a way to conduct surveillance of police-citizen encounters, and a medium on which to publish their delegitimizing anti-colonial narratives. The paper closed with the argument that the "future shock" caused by the recent citizen protests was predictable. Noting how Tofler (1989) predicted that changes in the way people communicate with one another would call policies based on colonialism into question, and Lyotard (1979) predicted that people would reject knowledge based on grand metanarratives for knowledge based in more localized narratives, we should not have been shocked at all. Postmodern theory can be applied to fully explain the police protests. Applying Lyotard's theory to the police protests, show that the protest narratives are always localized and present the victims of the police encounters subjectively, emphasizing the human qualities of the citizen victim. On the other hand, the police metanarratives, grounded in colonialism, treat the citizen encounters as objective events. To justify the police actions that often involve the excessive use of force, the citizens victims are objectified, and stereotyped as potential criminals. Lyotard's (1979) theories on narratives are consistent with Quijano's theories on colonialism. For Quijano (2007) colonialism represented a totality (a metanarrative) that supported a subjective/objective distinction to control minorities where the colonized were denied their

subjectivity and human qualities by colonial powers who treated them as inferior objects. To end colonialism or to decolonize, Quijano (2007) advocated ending the use of colonial totalities of knowledge (metanarratives) that are rationalize and objectify the order race relations in society for intercultural dialogs that emphasize subjectivity and the interchange of experiences and meanings (localized narratives). This is very consistent with Lyotard's (1997) theory on metanarratives.

While delivering a scathing criticism of the politics that led to the current racialized criminal justice practices and policies, this paper also presents a way to reform these racialized practices and policies. A modern version of colonialism was presented that explained colonialism as a social construction supported by discourse based on a totality of beliefs used to explain the social order or a metanarrative used by white majorities to control minorities through the use of dualist codes that depict the white majorities' relationship with minorities in terms of objective human/inhuman, superior/inferior, and civil/uncivil qualities. Once learned these codes can be used to identify colonial based practices and policies and applied to deconstruct the corresponding narratives to produce a more humane way of life. Easily identifiable, the codes can be applied to guide the police in their use of discretion during everyday police encounters or to help legislators reform our current criminal laws and policies that support the mass imprisonment of minorities. Use of the codes in light of Lyotard's theory on narratives would involve the police recognizing objectified stereotypes grounded in colonialism that they may have of minorities and moving past these stereotypes to view the minority in terms of their subjective, human qualities. In closing, the research in this paper strongly suggests that the key to resolving current police and criminal justice legitimacy problems is to move beyond colonialism and the resulting stereotypes of minorities. Policies that promote treating everyone as a unique human being or that all lives matter, including black lives, need to replace polices that treat entire classes of people objectively as less than human, uncivil, and inferior by nature. New police communication strategies, such as ones promoting that the police wear body cams and post narrated videos of their citizen encounters on the internet without more expansive criminal justice reform will not solve the legitimization problems facing our police and criminal justice system. Citizen reporting and the ability of citizens to produce surveillance of citizen encounters is not a passing fad, it is here to stay. Citizen reporting practices are demanding that the police and other criminal justice actors reform the way they treat citizens. Black Lives Matters is here and now we know how formulate decolonializing police practices and policies consistent with their demand to be treated in humane ways that demonstrate that their lives matter.

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