

# The Policing Machine

ENFORCEMENT, ENDORSEMENTS,  
AND THE ILLUSION OF PUBLIC INPUT

Tony Cheng

*The University of Chicago Press* Chicago and London

The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 60637

The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., London

© 2024 by The University of Chicago

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission, except in the case of brief quotations in critical articles and reviews. For more information, contact the University of Chicago Press, 1427 E. 60th St., Chicago, IL 60637.

Published 2024

Printed in the United States of America

33 32 31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 1 2 3 4 5

ISBN-13: 978-0-226-83063-6 (cloth)

ISBN-13: 978-0-226-83065-0 (paper)

ISBN-13: 978-0-226-83064-3 (e-book)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226830643.001.0001>

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Cheng, Tony (Criminologist), author.

Title: The policing machine : enforcement, endorsements, and the illusion of public input / Tony Cheng.

Description: Chicago ; London : The University of Chicago Press, 2024. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023015917 | ISBN 9780226830636 (cloth) |

ISBN 9780226830650 (paperback) | ISBN 9780226830643 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: New York (N.Y.). Police Department. | Police-community relations—New York (State)—New York. | Police-community relations—Case studies. | Police administration—New York (State)—New York.

Classification: LCC HV7936.P8 C545 2024 | DDC 363.209747/1—dc23/eng/20230505

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2023015917>

© This paper meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992  
(Permanence of Paper).

# CONTENTS

Introduction. The Machinery of Police-Community Relations	1
1. Channeling Heterogeneous Demands	33
2. Cultivating Local Constituents	65
3. Distributing Power and Privilege	96
4. Inducing Public Endorsements	129
5. Resisting the Policing Machine	155
Conclusion. From Machine to Movement	181
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	201
NOTES	205
REFERENCES	207
INDEX	219

# NOTES

## INTRODUCTION

1. NYPD n.d., “Neighborhood Policing,” <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/bureaus/patrol/neighborhood-coordination-officers.page> (date accessed: February 25, 2023).
2. Introduced by the NYPD in 1994, CompStat is a system for police departments to keep track of crime rates and hold officers accountable for their assigned areas (see Weisburd et al. 2003).
3. NYPD n.d., “Precinct Community Council Handbook,” <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/145633NCJRS.pdf> (date accessed: February 26, 2023).
4. NYPD n.d., “Clergy Liaisons,” <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/bureaus/administrative/clergy-liaisons.page> (date accessed: February 26, 2023).
5. To minimize repetition, I provide the relevant citation to field notes, interviews, or meetings only at the first instance within a paragraph.

## CHAPTER ONE

1. While NCOs may have also omitted complaints from other substantive categories, those demanding police reform are the most relevant, because Neighborhood Policing was introduced with the promise of increasing police accountability. Neighborhood Policing is specifically a police reform program—not, for instance, a traffic reform program.
2. Meeting precincts and sectors are referred to in shorthand by the precinct number followed by the sector letter. All precincts and names are anonymized, and specific meeting dates are excluded to preserve precinct anonymity.
3. Copwatching is the systematic observing, monitoring, and recording of police activity to guard against police misconduct.

## CHAPTER TWO

1. NYPD n.d., *Precinct Community Council Handbook*, <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/145633NCJRS.pdf> (date accessed: February 26, 2023).

2. NYPD n.d., *Precinct Community Council Handbook*, <https://www.ojp.gov/pdf/files1/Digitization/145633NCJRS.pdf> (date accessed: February 26, 2023).

3. NYPD n.d., *Community Council Guidelines*, [http://prtl-drprd-web.nyc.gov/html/nypd///downloads/pdf/community\\_affairs/communitycouncilguidelines2016.pdf](http://prtl-drprd-web.nyc.gov/html/nypd///downloads/pdf/community_affairs/communitycouncilguidelines2016.pdf) (date accessed: February 26, 2023).

4. NYPD n.d., *Patrol Guide: Community Affairs Officer*, [https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/nypd/downloads/pdf/public\\_information/public-pguide1.pdf](https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/nypd/downloads/pdf/public_information/public-pguide1.pdf) (date accessed: February 26, 2023).

5. Whereas members of the Eightieth Precinct Community Council referred to their president as Mr. Holloway, members of the Fifty-Fifth called Lela simply by her first name. I follow this naming convention in presenting the evidence.

6. NYPD n.d., *Precinct Community Council Handbook*, <https://www.ojp.gov/pdf/files1/Digitization/145633NCJRS.pdf> (date accessed: February 26, 2023).

### CHAPTER THREE

1. NYPD n.d., *Community Council Guidelines*, [http://prtl-drprd-web.nyc.gov/html/nypd///downloads/pdf/community\\_affairs/communitycouncilguidelines2016.pdf](http://prtl-drprd-web.nyc.gov/html/nypd///downloads/pdf/community_affairs/communitycouncilguidelines2016.pdf) (date accessed: February 28, 2023).

2. NYPD n.d., “Clergy Liaisons,” <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/bureaus/administrative/clergy-liaisons.page> (date accessed: February 28, 2023).

3. NYPD n.d., “Clergy Liaisons.”

### CHAPTER FOUR

1. NYCLU n.d., “Stop-and-Frisk Data,” <https://www.nyclu.org/en/stop-and-frisk-data> (date accessed: January 1, 2023).

2. NYPD n.d., “Neighborhood Policing,” <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/bureaus/patrol/neighborhood-coordination-officers.page> (date accessed: March 9, 2023).

3. In this case, Pastor Campbell attested that police invite him and other clergy to initiatives that have nothing to do with religious institutions because of the explicit endorsements they can provide to their audiences back in their home churches: “Since we have people that we minister to every day, we can better let them know this is a place they can go for the cops” (Campbell, interview, September 17, 2018).

4. Chief Rodney Harrison (@NYPDChiefPatrol), Twitter, November 14, 2018, 12:10 p.m., <https://twitter.com/NYPDChiefPatrol/status/1062754779015847937>.

5. In an interview with the *New York Times*, an NYPD veteran sergeant explained, “It used to be ‘How many summons did you write?’ . . . Now it’s, ‘How many community visits did you have? How many uploads to Twitter or Facebook do you have? Did you go into the dry cleaner’s and shake his hand and put it on Twitter?’” (Wilson and Goldstein 2019).

### CHAPTER FIVE

1. Boro Park Shomrim n.d., “Boro Park Shomrim,” <https://bpshomrim.org/> (date accessed: March 9, 2023).

## REFERENCES

- Armenta, Amada. 2017. *Protect, Serve and Deport: The Rise of Policing as Immigration Enforcement*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Auxier, Richard. 2020. "What Police Spending Data Can (and Cannot) Explain amid Calls to Defund the Police." *Urban Institute*. <https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/what-police-spending-data-can-and-cannot-explain-amid-calls-defund-police>.
- Auyero, Javier. 2000. "The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account." *Latin American Research Review* 35 (3): 55–81.
- Bail, Christopher. 2016. "Cultural Carrying Capacity: Organ Donation Advocacy, Discursive Framing, and Social Media Engagement." *Social Science and Medicine* 165:280–88.
- Balto, Simon. 2019. *Occupied Territory: Policing Black Chicago from Red Summer to Black Power*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Banfield, Edward, and James Wilson. 1963. *City Politics*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Barman, Emily, and Heather MacIndoe. 2012. "Institutional Pressures and Organizational Capacity: The Case of Outcome Measurement." *Sociological Forum* 27 (1): 70–93.
- Beck, Brenden, Joseph Antonelli, and Gabriela Piñeros. 2022. "Effects of New York City's Neighborhood Policing Policy." *Police Quarterly* 25 (4): 470–96.
- Beckett, Katherine, and Steve Herbert. 2009. *Banished: The New Social Control in Urban America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bell, Monica. 2017. "Police Reform and the Dismantling of Legal Estrangement." *Yale Law Journal* 126:2054–2150.
- . 2019. "The Community in Criminal Justice: Subordination, Consumption, Resistance, and Transformation." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 16 (1): 197–220.
- Bell, Monica C., Katherine Beckett, and Forrest Stuart. 2021. "Investing in Alternatives: Three Logics of Criminal System Replacement." *UC Irvine Law Review* 11 (5): 1291–1326.

- Berg, Christopher. 2020. "Introducing The Police Tribune." *Police Tribune*, June 11, 2020. <https://policetribune.com/introducing-the-police-tribune/>.
- Berrien, Jenny, and Christopher Winship. 2003. "Should We Have Faith in the Churches? Ten-Point Coalition's Effect on Boston's Youth Violence." In *Guns, Crime, and Punishment in America*, edited by B. Harcourt, 222–48. New York: New York University Press.
- Bittner, Egon. 1990. *Aspects of Police Work*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Blau, Peter. 1963. *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy: Study of Interpersonal Relations in Two Government Agencies*. Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bloom, Joshua, and Waldo Martin Jr. 2013. *Black against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." In *Handbook of Theory of Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. G. Richardson, 241–58. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Braga, Anthony, David Hureau, and Christopher Winship. 2008. "Losing Faith? Police, Black Churches, and the Resurgence of Youth Violence in Boston." *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 6:141–72.
- Bratton, William. 2016. "William J. Bratton: How to Reform Policing from Within." *New York Times*, September 16, 2016.
- Broadwater, Luke, and Catie Edmondson. 2020. "Police Groups Wield Strong Influence in Congress, Resisting the Strictest Reforms." *New York Times*, June 25, 2020.
- Brown, M. Craig, and Charles Halaby. 1987. "Machine Politics in America, 1870–1945." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17 (3): 587–612.
- Brunson, Rod, Anthony Braga, David Hureau, and Kashea Pegram. 2015. "We Trust You, but Not That Much: Examining Police–Black Clergy Partnerships to Reduce Youth Violence." *Justice Quarterly* 32 (6): 1006–36.
- Burstein, Paul. 1991. "Legal Mobilization as a Social Movement Tactic: The Struggle for Equal Employment Opportunity." *American Journal of Sociology* 96 (5): 1201–25.
- Campbell, Andrea Louise. 2003. *How Policies Make Citizens Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . 2012. "Policy Makes Mass Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (1): 333–51.
- Campeau, Holly. 2015. "'Police Culture' at Work: Making Sense of Police Oversight." *British Journal of Criminology* 55 (4): 669–87.
- Carr, Patrick. 2005. *Clean Streets: Controlling Crime, Maintaining Order, and Building Community Activism*. New York: New York University Press.
- Center for Popular Democracy, Law for Black Lives, and Black Youth Project 100. 2017. *Freedom to Thrive: Reimagining Safety and Security in Our Communities*. Brooklyn, NY, and Washington, DC: Center for Popular Democracy.
- Chaskin, Robert. 2003. "Fostering Neighborhood Democracy: Legitimacy and Accountability within Loosely Coupled Systems." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 32 (2): 161–89.
- Cheng, Tony. 2020. "Input without Influence: The Silence and Scripts of Police and Community Relations." *Social Problems* 67 (1): 171–89.
- . 2021. "Social Media, Socialization, and Pursuing Legitimation of Police Violence." *Criminology* 59 (3): 391–418.

- . 2022a. “The Cumulative Discretion of Police over Community Complaints.” *American Journal of Sociology* 127 (6): 1782–1817.
- . 2022b. “Racialized Policing in the Social Media Age.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 119 (49):e2216978119.
- Cheng, Tony, and Jennifer Qu. 2022. “Regulatory Intermediaries and the Challenge of Democratic Policing.” *Criminology and Public Policy* 21 (1): 59–81.
- City Hall Press Office. 2014. “Transcript: Mayor de Blasio Hosts Roundtable on Police-Community Relations.” July 31, 2014. <https://www1.nyc.gov/office-of-the-mayor/news/379-14/transcript-mayor-de-blasio-hosts-roundtable-police-community-relations#/0>.
- Council of the City of New York. 2017. *Report to the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Public Safety on the Fiscal 2018 Executive Budget for New York Police Department*. New York: Council of the City of New York.
- Crank, John. 1994. “Watchman and Community: Myth and Institutionalization in Policing State Theory, Myths of Policing, and Responses to Crime.” *Law and Society Review* 28 (2): 325–52.
- Crank, John, and Robert Langworthy. 1992. “Institutional Perspective on Policing.” *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 83 (2): 338–63.
- Cress, Daniel, and David Snow. 1996. “Mobilization at the Margins: Resources, Benefactors, and the Viability of Homeless Social Movement Organizations.” *American Sociological Review* 61 (6): 1089–1109.
- de Blasio, William. 2018. “Mayor de Blasio Makes Announcement at 71st Precinct.” Brooklyn, NY. YouTube video, 34:03, published August 23, 2018. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=egYZ\\_q\\_7dtE&t=13s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=egYZ_q_7dtE&t=13s).
- Devereaux, Ryan. 2012. “Stop-and-Frisk Protesters in New York March on Mayor’s House.” *Guardian*, US ed., June 18, 2012.
- DiMaggio, Paul, and Walter Powell. 1983. “The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields.” *American Sociological Review* 48 (2): 147–60.
- Dobbin, Frank. 2009. *Inventing Equal Opportunity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Doering, Jan. 2020. *Us versus Them: Race, Crime, and Gentrification in Chicago Neighborhoods*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. 1903. *The Negro Church*. Atlanta: Atlanta University Press.
- Edelman, Lauren. 1990. “Legal Environments and Organizational Governance: The Expansion of Due Process in the American Workplace.” *American Journal of Sociology* 95(6):1401–40.
- . 1992. “Legal Ambiguity and Symbolic Structures: Organizational Mediation of Civil Rights Law.” *American Journal of Sociology* 97(6):1531–76.
- Eisinger, Peter. 2002. “Organizational Capacity and Organizational Effectiveness among Street-Level Food Assistance Programs.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 31(1):115–30.
- Ellis, Rachel. 2021. “What Do We Mean By a ‘Hard-to-Reach’ Population? Legitimacy Versus Precarity as Barriers to Access.” *Sociological Methods and Research*.
- Ewick, Patricia, and Susan Silbey. 1998. *The Common Place of Law: Stories from Everyday Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.



- Fassin, Didier. 2013. *Enforcing Order: An Ethnography of Urban Policing*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Felker-Kantor, Max. 2018. *Policing Los Angeles: Race, Resistance, and the Rise of the LAPD*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Feuer, Alan. 2016. "Brooklyn's Private Jewish Patrols Wield Power. Some Call Them Bullies." *New York Times*, June 17, 2016.
- Fitzgerald, Scott, and Ryan Spohn. 2005. "Pulpits and Platforms: The Role of the Church in Determining Protest among Black Americans." *Social Forces* 84 (2): 1015–48.
- Flamm, Matthew. 2019. "NYPD Boss on the Keys to Neighborhood Policing." *Crain's New York Business*, July 9, 2019.
- Forman Jr., James. 2004. "Community Policing and Youth as Assets." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 95:1–48.
- Gascón, Luis Daniel, and Aaron Roussell. 2019. *The Limits of Community Policing: Civilian Power and Police Accountability in Black and Brown Los Angeles*. New York: New York University Press.
- Gill, Charlotte, David Weisburd, Cody Telep, Zoe Vitter, and Trevor Bennett. 2014. "Community-Oriented Policing to Reduce Crime, Disorder and Fear and Increase Satisfaction and Legitimacy among Citizens: A Systematic Review." *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 10 (4): 399–428.
- Go, Julian. 2020. "The Imperial Origins of American Policing: Militarization and Imperial Feedback in the Early 20th Century." *American Journal of Sociology* 125 (5): 1193–1254.
- Gold, Michael. 2020. "What Happened When a School District Banned Thin Blue Line Flags." *New York Times*, November 21, 2020.
- Goldstein, Herman. 1979. "Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach." *Crime and Delinquency* 25 (2): 236–58.
- Goldstein, Rebecca. 2021. "Senior Citizens as a Pro-police Interest Group." *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy* 2 (2): 303–28.
- González, Yanilda, and Lindsay Mayka. 2023. "Policing, Democratic Participation, and the Reproduction of Asymmetric Citizenship." *American Political Science Review* 117 (1): 263–79.
- Gordon, Daanika. 2022. *Policing the Racial Divide: Urban Growth Politics and the Remaking of Segregation*. New York: New York University Press.
- Gordon, Jon. 2020. "The Legitimation of Extrajudicial Violence in an Urban Community." *Social Forces* 98 (3): 1174–95.
- Grattet, Ryken, and Valerie Jenness. 2005. "The Reconstitution of Law in Local Settings: Agency Discretion, Ambiguity, and a Surplus of Law in the Policing of Hate Crime." *Law and Society Review* 39 (4): 893–942.
- Griffith, Janelle. 2021. "Police Chief Bans 'Thin Blue Line' Imagery, Says It's Been 'Co-opted' by Extremists." NBC News, January 29, 2021.
- Grosjean, Pauline, Federico Masera, and Hasin Yousaf. 2022. "Inflammatory Political Campaigns and Racial Bias in Policing." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 138 (1): 413–63.
- Grunwald, Ben, Julian Nyarko, and John Rappaport. 2022. "Police Agencies on Face-

- book Overreport on Black Suspects.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 119 (45): e2203089119.
- Guest, Avery, and R. S. Oropesa. 1986. “Informal Social Ties and Political Activity in the Metropolis.” *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 21 (4): 550–74.
- Halpern, Stephen C. 1974. “Police Employee Organizations and Accountability Procedures in Three Cities: Some Reflections on Police Policy-Making.” *Law and Society Review* 8 (4): 561–82.
- Harcourt, Bernard. 2001. *Illusion of Order: The False Promise of Broken Windows Policing*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Herbert, Steve. 2006. *Citizens, Cops, and Power: Recognizing the Limits of Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2008. “The Trapdoor of Community.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95 (4): 850–65.
- Herbst, Susan. 2011. “(Un)Numbered Voices? Reconsidering the Meaning of Public Opinion in a Digital Age.” In *Political Polling in the Digital Age: The Challenge of Measuring and Understanding Public Opinion*, edited by K. Goidel, 85–98. Baton Rouge: LSU Press.
- Herring, Chris. 2019. “Complaint-Oriented Policing: Regulating Homelessness in Public Space.” *American Sociological Review* 84 (5): 769–800.
- Hicken, Allen. 2011. “Clientelism.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 14 (1): 289–310.
- Hinton, Elizabeth. 2016. *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 2021. *America on Fire: The Untold History of Police Violence and Black Rebellion Since the 1960s*. New York: Liveright.
- Holland, Alisha. 2016. “Forbearance.” *American Political Science Review* 110 (2): 232–46.
- Holland, Alisha, and Brian Palmer-Rubin. 2015. “Beyond the Machine: Clientelist Brokers and Interest Organizations in Latin America.” *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (9): 1186–1223.
- Jackson, Sarah J., and Brooke Foucault Welles. 2015. “Hijacking #myNYPD: Social Media Dissent and Networked Counterpublics.” *Journal of Communication* 65 (6): 932–52.
- Jones, Nikki. 2018. *The Chosen Ones: Black Men and the Politics of Redemption*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Jorgensen, Jillian. 2015. “Bill Bratton: City Council NYPD Reform Bills Are ‘Overkill.’” *Observer*, July 6, 2015.
- Kanno-Youngs, Zolan. 2018. “Latest Spike Lee Joint: Paid NYPD Consultant.” *Wall Street Journal*, August 16, 2018.
- Katzenbach Commission. 1967. *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*. Washington, DC: President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.
- Kelling, George, and James Wilson. 1982. “Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety.” *Atlantic*, March 1982. <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1982/03/broken-windows/304465/>.
- Kelly, Kimbriell, Sarah Childress, and Steven Rich. 2015. “Forced Reforms, Mixed Results.” *Washington Post*, November 13, 2015.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, and Steven Wilkinson, eds. 2007. “Citizen-Politician Linkages: An

- Introduction." In *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, 1–49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kleinfeld, Joshua, Laura Appleman, Richard Bierschbach, Kenworthy Bilz, Josh Bowers, John Braithwaite, Robert Burns, R. A. Duff, Albert Dzur, and Thomas Geraghty. 2016. "White Paper of Democratic Criminal Justice." *Northwestern University Law Review* 111:1693–1706.
- Kohler-Hausmann, Issa. 2017. "Jumping Bunnies and Legal Rules: The Organizational Sociologist and the Legal Scholar Should Be Friends." In *The New Criminal Justice Thinking*, edited by S. Dolovich and A. Natapoff, 246–71. New York: New York University Press.
- . 2018. *Misdemeanorland: Criminal Courts and Social Control in an Age of Broken Windows Policing*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kohler-Hausmann, Julilly. 2015. "Guns and Butter: The Welfare State, the Carceral State, and the Politics of Exclusion in the Postwar United States." *Journal of American History* 102 (1): 87–99.
- Lane, Jeffrey. 2018. *The Digital Street*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Legewie, Joscha, and Jeffrey Fagan. 2019. "Aggressive Policing and the Educational Performance of Minority Youth." *American Sociological Review* 84 (2): 220–47.
- Leonardi, Paul, and Emmanuelle Vaast. 2017. "Social Media and Their Affordances for Organizing: A Review and Agenda for Research." *Academy of Management Annals* 11 (1): 150–88.
- Lessing, Benjamin. 2021. "Conceptualizing Criminal Governance." *Perspectives on Politics* 19 (3): 854–73.
- Levine, Jeremy. 2016. "The Privatization of Political Representation: Community-Based Organizations as Nonelected Neighborhood Representatives." *American Sociological Review* 81 (6): 1251–75.
- . 2017. "The Paradox of Community Power: Cultural Processes and Elite Authority in Participatory Governance." *Social Forces* 95 (3): 1155–79.
- Lincoln, Eric, and Lawrence Mamiya. 1990. *The Black Church in the African American Experience*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Lipsky, Michael. 1980. *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Little Edwards, Korie, and Michelle Oyakawa. 2022. *Smart Suits, Tattered Boots: Black Ministers Mobilizing the Black Church in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: New York University Press.
- Manning, Peter. 2010. *Democratic Policing in a Changing World*. New York: Routledge.
- Marwell, Nicole. 2004. "Privatizing the Welfare State: Nonprofit Community-Based Organizations as Political Actors." *American Sociological Review* 69 (2): 265–91.
- Mays, Jeff. 2015. "Council's Police Reform Laws Are 'Unprecedented Intrusions,' Bratton Says." *DNAinfo New York*, June 29, 2015.
- McGregor, Shannon. 2020. "'Taking the Temperature of the Room': How Political Campaigns Use Social Media to Understand and Represent Public Opinion." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 84 (S1): 236–56.
- McRoberts, Omar. 2003. *Streets of Glory: Church and Community in a Black Urban Neighborhood*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Meares, Tracey. 2002. "Praying for Community Policing." *California Law Review* 90:1593–1634.
- Meares, Tracey, and Tom Tyler. 2020. "The First Step Is Figuring Out What Police Are For." *Atlantic*, June 8, 2020. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/first-step-figuring-out-what-police-are/612793/>.
- Mettler, Suzanne, and Joe Soss. 2004. "The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship: Bridging Policy Studies and Mass Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (1): 55–73.
- Meyer, John, and Brian Rowan. 1977. "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony." *American Journal of Sociology* 83 (2): 340–63.
- Milley, Mark. 2020. "Gen. Mark Milley's Keynote Address to National Defense University Class of 2020 Graduates." YouTube video, 13:13, published June 11, 2020. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7AKmmApwi0M&ab\\_channel=JointStaffPublicAffairs](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7AKmmApwi0M&ab_channel=JointStaffPublicAffairs).
- Mills, C. Wright. 1956. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Monahan, Terence. 2019. "News Closeup: Inside the NYPD—Keeping New Yorkers Safe and Addressing Challenges Facing the Department." PIX11 News. Posted and updated February 22, 2019.
- Montoya, Tony. 2020. "San Francisco Police: The Thin Blue Line Mask Ban in Our City Exposes Anti-police Bigots." *Law Enforcement Today*, May 12, 2020.
- Moreno-Medina, Jonathan, Aurelie Ouss, Patrick Bayer, and Bocar Ba. 2022. "Officer-Involved: The Media Language of Police Killings." NBER Working Paper no. 30209.
- Morin, Rich, Kim Parker, Renee Stepler, and Andrew Mercer. 2017. *Behind the Badge*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center.
- Moskos, Peter. 2008. *Cop in the Hood: My Year Policing Baltimore's Eastern District*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Muir, William. 1977. *Police: Streetcorner Politicians*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Musso, Juliet, Christopher Weare, Nail Oztas, and William Loges. 2006. "Neighborhood Governance Reform and Networks of Community Power in Los Angeles." *American Review of Public Administration* 36 (1): 79–97.
- Nelson, Alondra. 2011. *Body and Soul: The Black Panther Party and the Fight against Medical Discrimination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- New York State Office of the Attorney General. 2019. *Report on the Investigation into the Death of Saheed Vassell*. Albany: New York State Office of the Attorney General, Special Investigations and Prosecutions Unit.
- New York Times*. 1944a. "New Units Fight Delinquency Here." February 25, 1944.
- . 1944b. "Single Unit Urged to Cut Delinquency." August 4, 1944.
- NYPD. 2016a. "NYPD Adds 157 Advocates to Assist Victims of Crime." New York Police Department press release, October 28, 2016. <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/news/p00030/nypd-adds-157-advocates-assist-victims-crime>.
- . 2016b. *The Police Commissioner's Report: 2016*. New York: New York Police Department.
- . 2018. "Press Release: Neighborhood Policing Now in Every Neighborhood in New York City." <http://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/news/pr1022/neighborhood-policing-now-every-neighborhood-new-york-city>.

- Ocasio, William, Jo-Ellen Pozner, and Daniel Milner. 2020. "Varieties of Political Capital and Power in Organizations: A Review and Integrative Framework." *Academy of Management Annals* 14 (1): 303–38.
- O'Neill, James. 2015. "NYPD Neighborhood Policing | James O'Neill | TEDxThacher-School," November 22. YouTube video, 21:59, published November 22, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XxHuJopPK60>.
- Owens, Michael Leo. 2007. *God and Government in the Ghetto: The Politics of Church-State Collaboration in Black America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Page, Joshua. 2011. *The Toughest Beat Politics, Punishment, and the Prison Officers Union in California*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Page, Joshua, Victoria Piehowski, and Joe Soss. 2019. "A Debt of Care: Commercial Bail and the Gendered Logic of Criminal Justice Predation." *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 5 (1): 150–72.
- Pattillo, Mary. 2007. *Black on the Block: The Politics of Race and Class in the City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pattillo-McCoy, Mary. 1998. "Church Culture as a Strategy of Action in the Black Community." *American Sociological Review* 63 (6): 767–84.
- Pazmino, Gloria. 2018. "De Blasio Facing Consternation on the Left for Silence on NYPD." Politico.com, posted and updated December 14, 2018. <https://www.politico.com/states/new-york/city-hall/story/2018/12/14/de-blasio-facing-consternation-on-the-left-for-silence-on-nypd-746345>.
- Pegram, Kashea, Rod Brunson, and Anthony Braga. 2016. "The Doors of the Church Are Now Open: Black Clergy, Collective Efficacy, and Neighborhood Violence." *City and Community* 15 (3): 289–314.
- Peyton, Kyle, Michael Sierra-Arévalo, and David Rand. 2019. "A Field Experiment on Community Policing and Police Legitimacy." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116 (40): 19894–98.
- Phelps, Michelle, Anneliese Ward, and Dwjuan Frazier. 2021. "From Police Reform to Police Abolition? How Minneapolis Activists Fought to Make Black Lives Matter." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 26 (4): 421–41.
- Pierson, Paul. 1996. "The New Politics of the Welfare State." *World Politics* 48 (2): 143–79.
- Ponomarenko, Maria. 2019. "Rethinking Police Rulemaking." *Northwestern University Law Review* 114 (1): 1–64.
- Powell, Amber Joy, and Michelle Phelps. 2021. "Gendered Racial Vulnerability: How Women Confront Crime and Criminalization." *Law and Society Review* 55 (3): 429–51.
- President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. 2015. *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing*. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.
- Rahman, K. Sabeel, and Jocelyn Simonson. 2020. "The Institutional Design of Community Control." *California Law Review* 108:679–742.
- Rim, Nayoung, Bocar Ba, and Roman Rivera. 2020. "Disparities in Police Award Nominations: Evidence from Chicago." *AEA Papers and Proceedings* 110:447–51.
- Rios, Victor. 2011. *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys*. New York: New York University Press.

- Rivera-Cuadrado, Wayne. 2021. "Crafting Charismatic Cops: Community Policing and the Faulty Reputations Paradigm." *Social Problems*, September 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spabo54>.
- Robbins, Christopher. 2021. "The Mayor's Office—Not the NYPD—Will Now Issue NYC Press Credentials." *Gothamist.com*, March 26, 2021. <https://gothamist.com/news/the-mayors-officenot-the-nypdwill-now-issue-nyc-press-credentials>.
- Rocha Beardall, Theresa. 2022. "Police Legitimacy Regimes and the Suppression of Citizen Oversight in Response to Police Violence." *Criminology* 60 (4): 577-765.
- Rodríguez-Muñiz, Michael. 2017. "Cultivating Consent: Nonstate Leaders and the Orchestration of State Legibility." *American Journal of Sociology* 123 (2): 385-425.
- Schrader, Stuart. 2019. *Badges without Borders: How Global Counterinsurgency Transformed American Policing*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schradie, Jen. 2019. *The Revolution That Wasn't: How Digital Activism Favors Conservatives*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Scott, James. 1969. "Corruption, Machine Politics, and Political Change." *American Political Science Review* 63 (4): 1142-58.
- Seale, Bobby. 1970. *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton*. New York: Random House.
- Selznick, Philip. 1949. *TVA and the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Sharkey, Patrick, Gerard Torrats-Espinoza, and Delaram Takyar. 2017. "Community and the Crime Decline: The Causal Effect of Local Nonprofits on Violent Crime." *American Sociological Review* 82 (6): 1214-40.
- Sierra-Arévalo, Michael. 2021. "American Policing and the Danger Imperative." *Law and Society Review* 55 (1): 70-103.
- Simon, Jonathan. 2007. *Governing through Crime: How the War on Crime Transformed American Democracy and Created a Culture of Fear*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Simonson, Jocelyn. 2016. "Copwatching." *California Law Review* 104 (2): 391-446.
- . 2020. "Police Reform through a Power Lens." *Yale Law Journal* 130:778-1049.
- Skogan, Wesley. 2006. *Police and Community in Chicago: A Tale of Three Cities*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Skogan, Wesley, and Susan Hartnett. 1997. *Community Policing, Chicago Style*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Small, Mario. 2009. *Unanticipated Gains: Origins of Network Inequality in Everyday Life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Small, Mario, and Leah Gose. 2020. "How Do Low-Income People Form Survival Networks? Routine Organizations as Brokers." *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 689 (1): 89-109.
- Smith, Chris, and Andrew Papachristos. 2016. "Trust Thy Crooked Neighbor: Multiplexity in Chicago Organized Crime Networks." *American Sociological Review* 81 (4): 644-67.
- Stokes, Susan, Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stuart, Forrest. 2011. "Constructing Police Abuse after Rodney King: How Skid Row

- Residents and the Los Angeles Police Department Contest Video Evidence.” *Law and Social Inquiry* 36 (2): 327–53.
- . 2016. *Down, Out, and Under Arrest: Policing and Everyday Life in Skid Row*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2020. “Code of the Tweet: Urban Gang Violence in the Social Media Age.” *Social Problems* 67 (2): 191–207.
- Suchman, Mark. 1995. “Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches.” *Academy of Management Review* 20 (3): 571–610.
- Swidler, Ann. 1986. “Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies.” *American Sociological Review* 51 (2): 273–86. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095521>.
- Thacher, David. 2001. “Equity and Community Policing: A New View of Community Partnerships.” *Crime Justice Ethics* 20 (1): 3–16.
- Thai, Mai. 2022. “Policing and Symbolic Control: The Process of Valorization.” *American Journal of Sociology* 127 (4): 1183–1220. <https://doi.org/10.1086/718278>.
- Tiry, Emily, Ashlin Oglesby-Neal, and Kim KiDeuk. 2019. *Social Media Guidebook for Law Enforcement Agencies: Strategies for Effective Community Engagement*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Treem, Jeffrey, and Paul Leonardi. 2013. “Social Media Use in Organizations: Exploring the Affordances of Visibility, Editability, Persistence, and Association.” *Annals of the International Communication Association* 36 (1): 143–89.
- Trojanowicz, Robert, and Bonnie Bucqueroux. 1990. *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective*. Cincinnati: Anderson.
- Tyler, Tom. 2004. “Enhancing Police Legitimacy.” *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 593 (1): 84–99.
- Valentine, Leonica, and Rebecca Harshbarger. 2014. “‘Brooklyn Asian Safety Patrol’ Has NYPD’s Go-Ahead.” *New York Post*, August 4, 2014.
- Vargas, Robert. 2016. “How Health Navigators Legitimize the Affordable Care Act to the Uninsured Poor.” *Social Science and Medicine* 165:263–70.
- Vargas, Robert, and Philip McHarris. 2017. “Race and State in City Police Spending Growth: 1980 to 2010.” *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 3 (1): 96–112.
- Vargas, Robert, Chris Williams, Philip O’Sullivan, and Christina Cano. 2022. “Capitalizing on Crisis: Chicago Police Responses to Homicide Waves 1920–2020.” *University of Chicago Law Review* 89 (2): 405–39.
- Vaughn, Joshua. 2021. “After Daunte Wright’s Death, Advocates Press Leaders to Get Police Out of Traffic Enforcement.” *Appeal*, April 14, 2021.
- Vera Institute of Justice. 1988. *CPOP: Community Policing in Practice*. New York: Vera Institute of Justice.
- Vollmer, August. 1933. “Police Progress in the Past Twenty-Five Years.” *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 24 (1): 161–75.
- Walker, Samuel. 2016. “Governing the American Police: Wrestling with the Problems of Democracy.” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 2016:615–60.
- Weisburd, David, Stephen Mastrofski, Ann Marie McNally, Rosann Greenspan, and James Willis. 2003. “Reforming to Preserve: Compstat and Strategic Problem Solving in American Policing.” *Criminology and Public Policy* 2 (3): 421–56.
- White, Michael. 2014. “The New York City Police Department, Its Crime Control

- Strategies and Organizational Changes, 1970–2009.” *Justice Quarterly* 31 (1): 74–95. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2012.723032>.
- Williams, Clarence. 2021. “‘Thin Blue Line’ Masks, Clothing Banned for Staff in Maryland District Courts.” *Washington Post*, May 7, 2021.
- Wilson, Michael, and Joseph Goldstein. 2019. “After Pantaleo, Wary N.Y.P.D. Officers Say No One Has Their Backs.” *New York Times*, August 22, 2019.





# INDEX

- African Americans, 81, 85, 89; brokers within “growth machine” politics, 15; churches, 68; clergy, entrepreneurial collaboration with state institutions by, 77  
“Alternatives to Calling 911,” 177  
Amber Alerts, 194–95  
American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA), 167–69  
Americans with Disabilities Act, 175  
Augustine, Minister, 80
- Baltimore (Maryland), 16  
Banks, Bobby, 77–78, 81, 111  
Basketball for Accountability, 116–17  
Beanery (coffee shop), 143  
Berg, Christopher, 192  
Berkeley (California), 194  
Black church, 93; and police departments, 77  
Black Lives Matter movement, 93, 190–92  
Black Panther Party, community programs of, 189  
Bland, Sandra, 116, 122  
Bloomberg, Michael, 19, 129  
Blue Lives Matter, 190; political symbolism of, 192–93
- Boston (Massachusetts), 3; Ten Point Coalition in, 77  
Boston Marathon bombing, 194  
Boston Police Department, 194  
Boys and Girls Clubs, 38–39  
Bratton, William, 3–4, 12, 131  
broken windows policing, 19, 25  
Brooklyn (New York), 1, 27, 59, 61–62, 77, 93, 106, 116, 131, 146, 169; Carnival, 170; Chinatown, 179; civilian patrols in, 178–79; Crown Heights, 29; Gardens, 2–3, 87–88, 150–51, 175  
Brooklyn Asian Safety Patrol, 179  
Brooklyn Gardens Tenant Association, 42, 151  
Brown, Lee Patrick, 19  
Brown, Michael, 4, 11  
Build the Block meetings, 19, 21–22, 27, 31, 34, 43, 45–46, 52, 54, 59, 63–64, 72, 82–84, 88–89, 93–95, 139, 143, 148, 151, 157, 166, 174, 177, 185–86, 197–98; in churches, 85–87; community complaints at, 51, 53, 57; demand for police accountability and expanded police services at, 51; police sweeps and, 53. *See also* Neighborhood Coordination Officers (NCOs)

- Campbell, Pastor, 39–40, 141, 147, 206n3
- capacity-building, 99, 100, 159–60; benefits of, 106
- Caribbean Breeze Ballroom, 1–2
- Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, The* (Katzenbach Commission), 18
- Chauvin, Derek, 181
- Chicago (Illinois), 16–17, 76, 184; community policing initiatives in, 19–20
- Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS), 19–20
- Chicago Police Department: Neighborhood Policing Initiative, 25, 188; public “sentiment dashboard,” 197
- circle exercise, 39–42; “sequential interviewing” and, 37
- Citizen (mobile app), 195
- citizens coordinating councils, 70–71
- Citizen’s Police Academy, 107–8
- civilian review boards, 12
- Civil Rights movement, 93
- clergy councils, 29–30, 32, 39–40, 68–69, 75, 82–83, 93, 95, 99, 130–31, 185, 198; audience access and, 80; churches, 145; church services, police testimonials during, 140–41; as coveted source for testimonials, 140; and deputizing of clergy, 125; gathering information and, 79; identification cards, 106–7; neighborhood mobilization and, 78; police access to, 106–11; police accommodation of, 122; prioritized attention of, 107, 111, 113; roll-call prayers and, 144–45; “shooting response,” 120–21; violence prevention and, 77; violence reduction strategies, 113–14, 120–21; WhatsApp group, 125
- clientelism, 14, 17; direct exchange, 13; monitoring, 13; predictability, 13
- coercive force, 7, 21, 23, 95, 97, 127, 182–83, 186–88, 190, 199; constituents, retaining of, 98–99; distribution of, 98–99, 114–15
- Coffee with a Cop, 142–43
- Community Affairs Bureau, 30, 91–92, 104, 108–9, 122, 149–51, 170, 172
- Community Council Executive Boards, 71
- Community Council Guidelines* (NYPD), 71, 73, 102
- community councils, 27, 29, 32, 39–40, 68–71, 82–83, 93–95, 99, 106, 123–24, 130–31, 155, 168, 185, 198; as authentic neighborhood representatives, 169; awards given by, 161–62; capacity-building, control over, 159–60; commanding officer’s report given to, 134–35; Community Affairs officers and, 72, 77–78, 80–81, 101–2, 135, 139, 145; as consistent constituencies, 75; constituents, cultivating of, 72; Cop-of-the-Month award, 136–37; elections, 74; eligibility policies, 74; exclusionary environment of, 74; fiscal sponsors, 101; as independent advocates, 135–36; meeting spaces, 101–3; National Night Out and, 121; newcomers, 73–75; as nonprofit organizations, 28, 66; oppositional complaints, screening or silencing of, 170; photo opportunities, importance of, 137–39; policing and, 41; as resource brokers, 105; restaurants and, 162–63; state institutions, building relationships with, 166, 167; transportation as challenge for, 103–4
- community policing, 18, 20, 27, 187; machine politics and, 19
- Community Service Award, 5
- Compstat, 25, 196
- Connecticut, 59
- consensus building, 36, 63, 127
- constituents: conferring legitimacy, 68; cultivating of, 98–99, 105, 131–33, 169, 180; cultivating of, as exclusionary process, 69, 95; police vernacular by, adopting of, 88–89
- cooptation, 99–100, 105–6, 113
- Cop-of-the-Month awards, 28, 136–37

- copwatching, 126–27, 199, 205n3; community empowerment as form of, 176
- criminal justice, 7–9, 111, 113–14, 194, 198–99
- de Blasio, Bill, 3, 146, 170, 199
- “defund the police,” 197
- democratic governance, 186; over police department, 8–9, 185; as shield against public scrutiny, 183–84
- democratic oversight, 159; reestablishing of, 169–70, 172, 174–75, 180
- Democratic Party, 190
- Denmark, 25
- department channels, 21–22, 24, 37, 68, 82, 127, 185; exclusionary nature of, 58; independent channels and, dynamics between, 63; as political mobilization, 35–36; public input and, 31, 36
- Department of Justice (DOJ), Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 18–19
- Detroit (Michigan), 17
- digital omissions, 133; implicit endorsements and, 142, 148, 150
- Dingle, Gwen, 140
- Dinkins, David, 19
- Domestic Violence Unit, 2–3
- Drop the Appeal rally, 59
- Eightieth Precinct, 27, 29, 46, 78, 94, 102, 109, 111, 113, 122, 141, 144, 147, 152, 160–61, 166, 169, 178, 198; Coffee with a Cop, 142–43
- Eightieth Precinct Clergy Council, 30, 39–40, 76, 110, 160
- Eightieth Precinct Community Council, 33, 39, 58, 65–67, 71, 94, 97, 104, 130–31, 135, 160–67, 169; National Night Out, 121, 138–39
- Emancipation Proclamation, 81
- ethnography, 6, 133
- explicit endorsements, 141, 153; awards, 132–34; cultivated constituents, earned from, 133; external approval and, 133; testimonials, 132–34, 140; as unrepresentative, 133. *See also* implicit endorsements; public endorsements
- Facebook, 11–12, 83, 129–30, 169, 195
- Fifty-Fifth Precinct, 27–29, 38, 57, 72–74, 77, 82, 88, 102–3, 108, 113–14, 116–17, 120–22, 131, 151, 160, 162, 178
- Fifty-Fifth Precinct Clergy Council, 30, 39, 78–79, 87, 106–8, 111, 113–14, 116, 120–21; deputizing of, 125, 179; Ecumenical Award, 164; Entrepreneurial Award, 164; patrol hot spots, 126; street patrols, 179; uniforms, 179; Vacation Bible School and, 80; Violence Reduction Summit, 112; Watch Night Services and, 81
- Fifty-Fifth Precinct Community Council, 28, 38–39, 42, 71, 74, 87, 103–4, 113, 117, 119–20, 134, 164–65, 170–72, 198; Appreciation Award, 5; Awards Dinner Dance celebration, 2, 5; Community Service Award, 88; fundraisers, 4–5
- Floyd, George, 181
- Freedom of Information Law, 6, 26, 31, 50, 73–74, 116
- Garner, Eric, 3–5, 19, 34, 60, 80, 93–94, 124
- gentrification, 1, 15, 50–51, 61–62
- George, Bishop, 79–80
- Giordano, Frank, 90–92
- Giuliani, Rudolph, 19
- Grant, Christopher, 114, 125
- Greene, Pastor, 81, 141, 145
- Grey, Alisha, 5, 42, 87–88, 151
- Guyana Gardens, 163
- Harris, Reverend, 141
- Hawthorne (California) Police Department, 142
- Hill, Stuart, 171–72
- Hines, Officer, 117, 119–20

- Holloway, President, 39–40, 42, 67, 71, 73, 97, 103–5, 130–32, 135, 136, 138–40, 161–63, 165–69
- homelessness, 15, 152, 156
- Hope House, 160–61
- Houston (Texas), 16
- identification cards, 106–7
- implicit endorsements, 134, 145, 153, 160; claimed, 141; collaborations, 132–33, 141, 143–44, 146–47; demand, 132–33, 141, 147–49; digital omissions and, 141–42, 148, 150; as misrepresentative, 133; roll-call prayers as, 144, 146–47. *See also* explicit endorsements; public endorsements
- independent channels, 21, 36, 60, 95, 98–99, 115, 124, 156, 186–88, 199; community nonprofits and, 23; department channels and, dynamics between, 63; mobilizing support and, 61; obstacles of, 100; police and lack of public legitimacy, united by, 23–24; public input and, 123; social control over, 125
- infrastructure, 77, 192, 196; of media partners, 10; of policing, 183, 188–89; of public support, 10
- institutional reform: of police, 4, 70; of Policing Machine, 132; as political mandate, 4
- Johnson, Lyndon B., 18
- Jones, James, 72–73, 96–97
- Joseph, Father, 110–11, 122, 144
- J’Ouvert, 27–28, 126–27, 170–72
- juvenile delinquency, 70
- Katzenbach Commission, 18
- Kelly, Ray, 129–31, 165
- King, Rodney, 18–19
- Koch, Edward, 19
- Kross, Anna, 70
- Lansing (Michigan), 194
- La Patisserie Mobile, 142–44
- Lee, Spike, 34
- legitimacy optimizers, 9–12, 17, 183
- Lewis, Erickah, 117–20
- Liu, Wenjian, 4, 192
- Livingston, Kyam, 116
- Los Angeles (California), 16, 18–19, 76, 184; Community-Police Advisory Boards, 68, 188
- Lyons, Dina, 65–67
- machine politics. *See* political machines
- MARCH operations (multiagency response to community hot spots), 52
- Marino, Officer, 66
- mass media, 195–96
- Maurice, Pastor, 82, 108–9, 112, 125
- Milley, Mark, 181; public apology, 182
- Monahan, Terence, 3–4
- Mothers for Hope and Healing, 113–14
- Movement for Black Lives, 6
- #MyNYPD, 62
- National Defense University, 182
- National Lawyers Guild, 41
- National Night Out, 121–22, 138–39, 160, 163
- National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities codes, 28–29
- Neighborhood Coordination Officers (NCOs), 3, 5, 19, 25, 35, 43, 58–59, 62, 86, 89, 95, 104, 139, 144, 148, 150–52, 157, 167, 174–75, 177, 195, 197, 205n1; Build the Block meetings and, 34, 83–84; community complaints and, 44–53, 57, 63, 186; enhanced enforcement and, 53–54, 56; excessive ticketing and, 50–51; as expansion of police services, 55–56; impact of, 140; meetings held by, venues for, 83–88; neighborhood problems, managing of, 51; police accountability and, 49–51, 55; police patrols and, 56; police stops and, 50; quality-of-life issues and, 50; solutions and, 53–54; trust, issues of, 49–50; and venue

- hosts, 85; and write-ups proposing police intervention, 56. *See also* New York City Police Department (NYPD)
- Neighborhood Policing, 3–4, 19, 25, 34, 42, 46, 51, 82–83, 140; community policing and, 43; as department channel for public input, 63; expansion of police services through, 55; goal of, 44; influence of, 25; police accountability and, 205n1; redistribution of power, lack of interest in, 63; social media and, 43; state power, sharing of, 63; trust, issues of, 49–50. *See also* New York City Police Department (NYPD)
- Neighborhood Policing meetings, 21–22.  
*See also* Build the Block meetings
- neighborhood representation, 20, 69; alternative systems of, 32
- Neighborhood Watch, 179
- New Grace Tabernacle Christian Center, 104
- New Jersey, 59
- New Orleans (Louisiana), 17
- New York City, 3–4, 16–17, 19, 21–22, 40, 62, 67–68, 83, 107–8, 124, 130–31, 173, 178, 184, 196–98; clergy councils in, 77; community councils in, 27–29, 66, 69, 121; Department of Buildings, 186; fundraisers in, 1; Manhattan, 27, 61, 91, 129; marijuana laws in, 56–58; Parks Department, 167–68; public input on policing in, 25–26. *See also* Brooklyn (New York); Staten Island (New York)
- New York City Council Committee on Public Safety, 148
- New York City Police Department (NYPD), 1–2, 6, 7, 29, 31, 34, 37, 45, 48–49, 52, 61–62, 73–74, 80, 88, 90, 94, 126–27, 131, 134–37, 139–40, 156, 161, 164, 166, 178–79, 183, 192, 197, 199–200; auxiliary officers, 38, 165; budget, 16; carrots and sticks approach, 32; churches, influence of, 82; citizens coordinating councils, 70–71; clergy councils, 68, 78, 107–8; Clergy Liaisons, 30, 107–8; Clergy Outreach Unit, 76; Community Affairs Bureau, 30, 91–92, 108–9, 172; community councils, 27, 39, 68–72; community initiatives, investment in, 19; Community Patrol Officer Program, 19; community policing program, 19; consensus building and, 63; constituents, cultivating of, 75; curfews and, 196; force incidents, reporting, 4; head count of, 16, 25; identification cards issued by, 106; impact zones, 130; implicit endorsements of, 148–49; influence of, 25; lack of formal access to, 25–26; McGruff the Crime Dog, 91–92; Neighborhood Policing, 63, 83, 188; Office of the Deputy Commissioner, 25; police stops and, 4; “reform” as priority of, 41; religious leaders, formalized relationships with, 68; as role model, 182, 188; Save Our Streets, 39–40; social media presence, 12; stop-and-frisk and, 113, 129–30; Strategic Response Group (SRG), 124–25; Technical Assistance Response Unit (TARU), 124; ticketing and, 51; Twitter posts from, 167; Youth Explorers, 39; youth programs, 141. *See also* Build the Block meetings; Neighborhood Coordination Officers (NCOs); Neighborhood Policing
- New York City Police Foundation, 34
- New York State, 59
- #NoCommunityOverpolicing, 62–63
- nonprofits, 14–15, 23, 187–88, 198
- nonstate actors, 14–15, 178–79; as authentic neighborhood representatives, 67; building relationships with neighbors, 177; as protective services, 159, 177–78, 180
- #NYPDconnecting, 149
- #NYPDlistening, 151

- Oakland (California), 16
- #OccupyWallStreet, 61–62
- O'Neill, James, 3–4, 25, 112–13, 134, 148, 172, 198
- organizational brokers, 13, 16, 17, 69, 76
- overpolicing, 45, 56, 62, 174, 186
- Pantaleo, Daniel, 3, 60
- partner channels, 21, 23–24, 68, 82, 99; capacity-building and, 100; constituents from, 83; cooptation and, 100
- patronage, 13–14, 17; exchange, 158
- Peace Tour, 116
- permits, 7, 9, 117, 119, 121; event, 99, 115; parade, 116; public event, 193; sound, 7, 116, 187
- Pessod, Lela, 5, 74, 117–20, 131, 137, 164, 170–72
- police: alternative systems of neighborhood representatives, establishing of, 68, 95; brutality, 1, 127, 170; building consensus and, 127; as central actors within urban political systems, 9; clergy councils and, 78–80, 82, 95, 122; clergy relationships with, 86; coercive force and, 99, 114–15, 199; community consensus and, 42–43; community councils and, 28, 82, 95; community demands, satisfying of, 132; community sentiments toward, 196; constituents, cultivating of, 68–69, 72, 82, 95, 98–99, 127, 131–32, 169; constituents, sorting of, 94; cooptation as strategy of, 105–6, 113; coordinating access to established audiences by, 68, 95; crime enforcement data and, 15; digital platforms and, 22; distributing power and privilege to constituents, 188; explicit endorsements of, and status quo policing, 134; force, monopoly on, 15–16; institutional changes, resisting of, 32; institutional changes, as unwanted by, 11; institutional priority of, 36; institutional reform contested by, 4, 70; legitimacy, 10; as legitimacy optimizers, 9, 11–13; “legitimacy regime,” 185; media as oversight mechanism to, 196; nondepartment channels and, 22; organizational independence and, 12–13, 20, 67; oversight, external forms of, 12; oversight and defunding, calls for, 187; partner channels and, 99; political capital, accumulating of, 99; political capital, converting of, 128; political capital, cultivating of, 67, 182–83; political capital, mobilizing of, 32; as political mobilizers, 14, 69, 188; as political organizations, 17; “problem-solving networks” and, 16–17; public and, divergences between, 189–90; public disconnect and, 12; public endorsements and, 128, 130–32; public groups and, 115–16; public input and, 24, 30, 197, 199; public legitimacy and, 10–12, 13, 20, 23–24, 67; public resource distribution and, 114–15, 199; public resources, as decision-makers in, 98–100; public scrutiny of, 5; public support and, 22; redistribution of state power and, 31–32; regulatory leniency and, 98–100, 114–15, 199; reimagining of, as reform-oriented process, 200; resource distribution and, 23, 99, 197–98; as service providers, 151; services in *demand*, 11; social control and, 94, 125, 187–88; social media and, 133, 194; social order, crafting narratives of, 15, 69; and state intervention over personal intervention, 35; study of, through community, 25; symbolic ideology of, 190–92; “thin blue line,” 190–91; traffic enforcement and, 194; trust in, 37; within urban landscape, 17; workforce, 16
- police accountability, 1, 4–6, 20, 23, 29, 31, 37, 42, 45, 49–50, 61, 113, 119–20, 153–54, 169, 184, 186, 197; on constituents, 68; as elusive, 43; Neighborhood Policing and, 205n1;

- redistribution of state power and, 36, 38, 40, 59, 63; reorganizing of, 8; restructuring of, 172
- police-community relationships, 7, 18, 25, 32, 38, 40, 42, 66–67, 155–57, 169–70, 183, 200; the Black church and, 77; clergy councils, prominent role in, 30; concentrating power in police and, 8; as violence prevention, 77
- police departments, 21, 42, 99, 131, 161, 164, 188–90; accountability of, 184; the Black church and, 77; budgets, 16, 184; Build the Block meetings and, 22; clergy councils, organizing crime victims and violence reduction strategies, 113–14; coercive force and, 97; community complaints and, 45–46; as community-oriented service providers, 18; democratic governance over, 8–9, 185; distribution of public resources by, 97, 127; institutional change, resisting of, 5, 14; National Night Out, 121; permits, granting of, 193; political machines, as cogs in, 17; press credentials and, 196; as professional crime fighters, 18; public accountability of, through democratic means, 65; public accountability over, 199; regulatory leniency and, 97; on social media, 194–95
- police power, 58, 68, 98, 182–83, 199–200; community agency and, 188; distributing, 193; over event permits, 193; public support, rooted in, 10
- police precincts, 34, 68, 101, 160; community councils, control over, 69–70; crime victim advocates within, 198
- police reforms, 11, 46; procedural justice, as enhancing, 10
- police transformation, 7, 23–24, 41, 60, 101, 181, 187–88; resistance to, 184
- police transparency: data collection and, 23; reporting requirements and, 23
- Police Tribune*, 192, 195–96
- police violence, 1, 36–37, 59, 121, 155–56, 187; controlling messages and, 60; and language, public uses of, 60; trust, issues of, 49
- policing, 24, 37, 40, 175, 194; abusive, 41–42; clientelism and, 14, 17; coercive foundation of, 54; community councils and, 41; foot patrols and, 18; housing, connected to, 175; infrastructure of, 183, 188–89; institution of, 6; in local neighborhoods, 100; as national political movement, 189; as ongoing crisis, 193; patronage and, 14; politics of, 9; positive aspects of, 130; practices of, 18, 23, 75, 99, 130, 185; problem-solving, exchanging for public support, 128; quality of life, 19, 151; within urban political systems, 14. *See also* Policing Machine
- Policing Machine, 10, 17, 37, 49, 64, 82, 90, 95, 106, 128, 163–64, 177, 179, 188, 192, 194–95; agency and contestation, response to with, 154; awards and, 161; capacity-building of, 159–60; clergy relations and, 80; coercive force and, 98–99, 182–83; community surveys and, 196; consequences of, 32; constituents, clergy as source of, 77; constituents, *conferring legitimacy* on, 68; constituents, cultivating of, 67–68, 105, 180; defense of, by people of color, 156; democratic critique, shielding of, 170; democratic governance and, 185; democratic oversight, circumventing of, 172, 184; de-monopolization of, 32, 166, 193, 199–200; department channels and, 21, 35, 68; digital omissions and, 133, 142; dismantling of, steps toward, 183; empowering of, 189; independent channels and, 21; institutional reform and, 132; as legitimacy optimizers, 9, 11, 183; local brokers, importance of, 67; mechanics of, 24, 153; mechanics of, as heterogeneous,



- Policing Machine (*continued*)
- 21, 31, 68, 127; as national political movement, 183, 189–90; neighborhood groups control of, 8; neighborhood representation, alternative systems of, 20; nondepartment channels and, 22; nonstate actors, difficulty identifying, 178; nonstate forms of protective services and, 180; organizational independence and, 20; partner channels and, 21, 68, 100; police accountability and, 8, 65, 67–68, 169, 172, 184, 186; police contestation and, 8; police-community relations, runs on, 200; police transformation, resistance to, 184; political capital, cultivating of, 7; as political mobilizers, 9, 14–15, 183; politics of distribution and, 182–83; power and privilege, distributing of, 180; public endorsements and, 7–8, 131–32, 153, 180; public input and, 22; public input, illusion of, 7–8, 183, 185–86; public legitimacy and, 20, 23–24; public resources, distribution of, 98–99, 182–83; public support, in exchange for services, 158; regulatory leniency and, 98–99, 182–83; relationship-building and, 97; resisting of, 158–59, 166, 169–70, 172, 180; social controls and, 183–84, 187; social media and, 141; social order, establishing of, 69, 92, 158; unaccountable resource brokers and, 20; as urban political machine, 8, 187. *See also* police; policing
  - political capital, 31, 105, 130; accumulating of, 99; converting of, 128; cultivating of, 7, 15–16, 67, 182–83; mobilizing of, 32; partner channels as source of, 23; through politics of distribution, 7; public endorsements and, 7; as stocks of influence, 7
  - political machines, 20; community policing and, 19–20; demise of, 17; emergence of, 17–18; immigrants and, 17; patronage exchange and, 158
  - political mobilizers, 14; as local ecology of organizations, 15
  - political protest, 199
  - politics of distribution, 7, 182–83
  - Powell, Reverend, 42, 106, 116, 144
  - President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 187, 194
  - public compliance, 10
  - public crises, 24
  - public endorsements, 7, 11, 17, 32, 105, 128, 130–31, 180; defined, 132; explicit, 132–33, 153; forms of, 132; implicit, 132–33, 153; of police practices, 23, 75; as problematic, 133, 153
  - public events, 30, 68, 97–98, 100, 116; neighborhood groups and, 115; permits for, 193; regulating of, 115; restricting of, 122
  - public legitimacy, 20; of police, 9–11, 23–24, 67
  - public safety, 10, 19, 38, 77, 107–8, 156–57, 173, 178, 188, 193, 197
  - public scrutiny, 11, 132, 183–84, 188, 200; of police, 5
  - public spaces, 15, 26, 106
  - racial profiling, 157
  - RALLY (Reforms Advancing Long Lives for our Youth), 29, 99–103, 114–15, 175, 177–78, 197–98; copwatching, 126–27; Excuse to Dance, 1–2, 4–5, 26, 40–42, 58, 62, 92–95; Justice Now, 40; police approach to, 122, 124–25; police enforcement and, 123; police harassment and brutality and, 127; social control over, 125; sound permits, 116–19
  - Ramos, Rafael, 4, 192
  - regulatory leniency, 98–100, 114–15, 117, 143
  - resistance, 163–64, 169–70; cognitive and material dimensions of, 159; democratic oversight as, reestablish-

- ing, 159, 172, 180; infusing scarce resources with community significance as, 159; nonstate protective services as, 159, 178; pursuing services from nonpolice providers as, 159; strategies of, 154, 157–59, 172
- Robinson, Terrence, 33–34, 46
- Rosen, Jeffrey, 2–3, 5, 88, 164
- Russell, J. Loren, 140
- Safe City Program, 19
- Safe Horizon, 198–99
- Safe Streets, 19
- Sanaa's Caribbean Food, 162–63
- San Francisco (California), 191
- San Francisco Police Officers Association, 191
- Save Our Streets, 39–40
- Seventy-First Precinct, 29, 121–22; Community Council, 90–91, 93; Harmony Day picnic, 91–92
- Sharpton, Al, 131
- Shomrim, 178–79
- Simmonds, Laurette, 39, 72, 138
- social control, 63, 94, 125, 180, 187–88; political mobilization and, 69
- social media, 62–63, 83–85, 129–30, 143, 146–47, 153, 160, 194–95; claims-making through, 133; organizational purpose of, 12
- Social Media Guidebook for Law Enforcement Agencies* (Urban Institute), 145
- Spiegel, Sean, 88
- state actors, 14–15; coercive arm of, 133; and institutions, 82
- state legitimation, 181
- Staten Island (New York), 3
- state violence, 186
- St. Louis (Missouri), 17
- stop-and-frisk, 19, 113, 130; as gun violence reduction strategy, 129. *See also* Terry stops
- street vendors, 13
- Stuart, Pastor, 76–77
- Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), 105
- Terry stops, 129. *See also* stop-and-frisk *Terry v. Ohio*, 129
- Trump, Donald, 181–82, 190
- Twitter, 11–12, 22, 26, 43, 83, 101–2, 143–44, 153, 167, 169, 190, 192, 194–95
- unequal policing, 18, 56
- United States, 6, 15, 17, 25, 30, 65, 121, 182, 189–90, 195–96
- Urban Institute, 145
- urban politics, 7, 17, 188
- Vassell, Saheed, 29, 90–92, 94, 157, 186
- Ward, Benjamin, 19
- Washington, Jim, 56
- White, Dayana, 111–12
- white supremacy, 1
- Women's March, 124
- Woodward, Secretary, 79, 113–14, 125–26
- workplace socialization, 12
- Wright, Reverend, 104
- Young, Pastor, 78–80, 106–8, 113–14, 125–26, 164
- YouTube, 129–30
- Zencity, 196–97