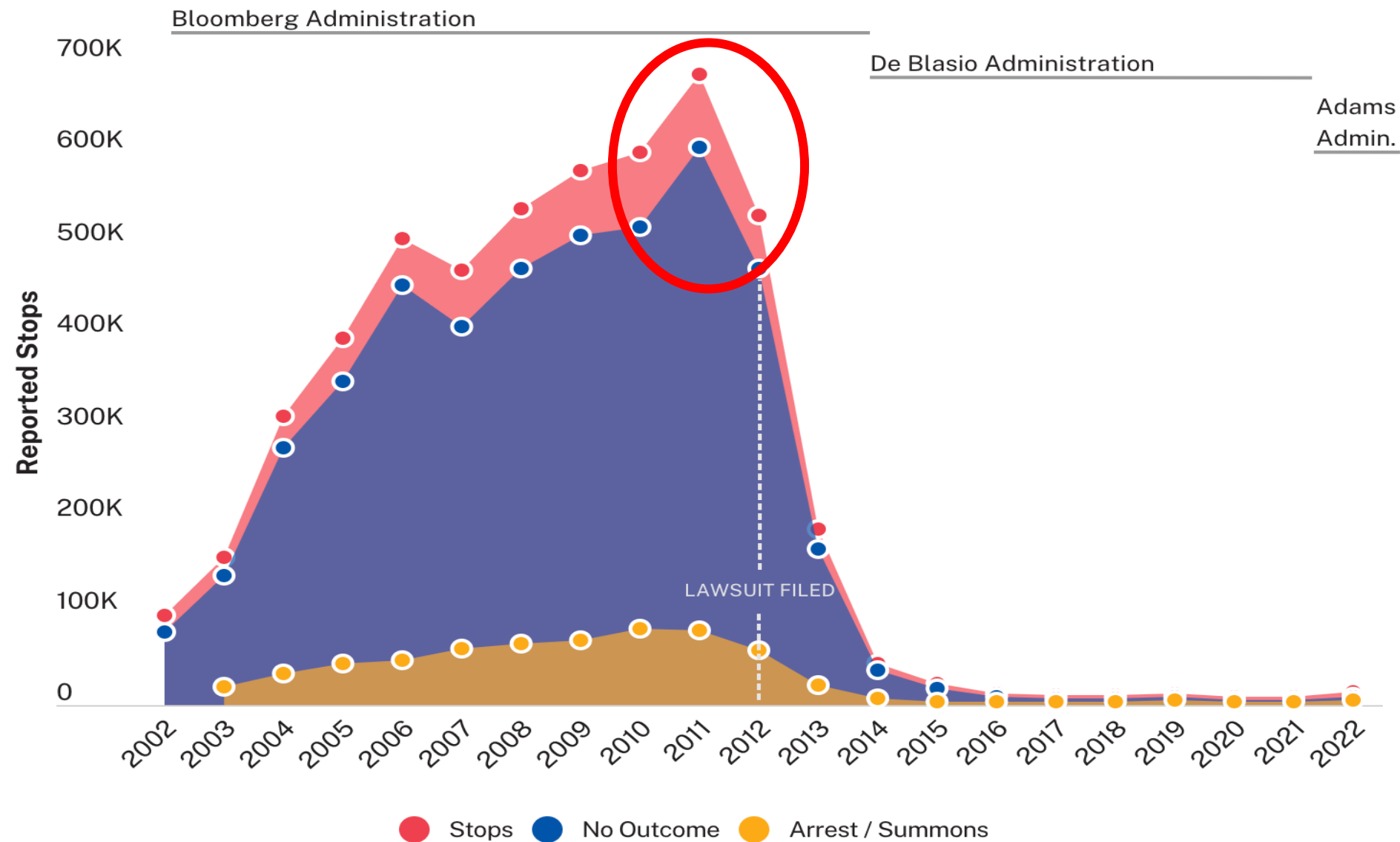


# The Policing Machine: Enforcement, Endorsements, & the Illusion of Public Input

Tony Cheng  
Assistant Professor of Sociology  
Duke University

# Stop-and-Frisk Over Time



# Thousands March Silently to Protest Stop-and-Frisk Policies

 Share full article    190



Thousands of people marched down Fifth Avenue from 110th Street to protest the Police Department's stop-and-frisk policies. Michael Appleton for The New York Times

By [John Leland](#) and [Colin Moynihan](#)

June 17, 2012

The New York Times

## Thousands March Silently to Protest Stop-and-Frisk Policies

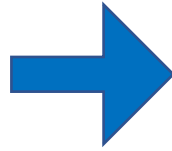
Share full article



Thousands of people marched down Fifth Avenue from 110th Street to protest the Police Department's stop-and-frisk policies. Michael Appleton for The New York Times

By John Leland and Colin Moynihan

June 17, 2012



“Commissioner Kelly had his people get in touch with me to go on to [defend stop-and-frisk](#)”

-Mr. Holloway




The New York Times

# Thousands March Silently to Protest Stop-and-Frisk Policies

Share full article


190



Thousands of people marched down Fifth Avenue from 110th Street to protest the Police Department's stop-and-frisk policies. Michael Appleton for The New York Times

By John Leland and Colin Moynihan  
June 17, 2012

Search Facebook



NYPD

947K followers · 112 following

Learn more

Message

Posts

About

Mentions

Reels

Photos


Videos


More

YouTube

Search

Sign in





NYPD

@nypd 51.4K subscribers 1.1K videos

Welcome to the official YouTube channel of the New York City Police Depa... >

[www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/index.page](#) and 3 more links

Subscribe



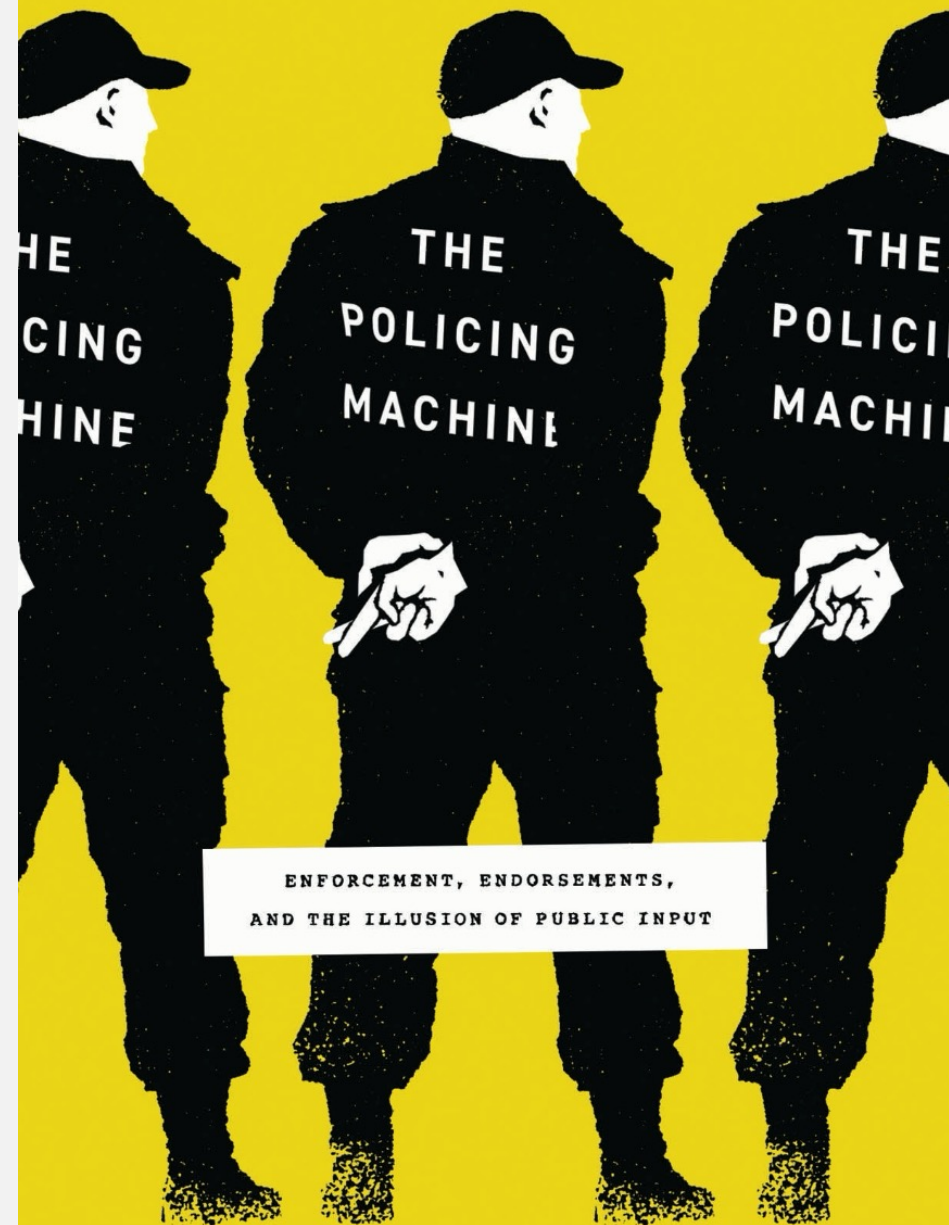


AUGUST 01, 2022

# FACT SHEET: President Biden's Safer America Plan

Add 100,000 community policing officers





TONY CHENG



# Question

How do police departments resist intensifying public scrutiny?

# Argument



Public  
Legitimacy

+

Organizational  
Independence



Guides  
distribution  
of resources,  
leniency, & force



Direct complaints to department channels



Cultivate constituents in partner channels



Contain alt voices in independent channels

# Key Takeaway

The police-community relations that already exist are precisely what's impeding police transformation

Framework

Data & Methods

Findings

Implications & Conclusion

# Framework

# The Policing Machine

What?

Cultivate political capital by engaging in a strategic politics of distributing public resources, regulatory leniency, and coercive force

Why?

Police are legitimacy optimizers—not maximizers

How?

Police are political mobilizers—not just law enforcers

So what?

The Policing Machine creates an illusion of public input



Framework

Data & Methods

Findings

Implications & Conclusion

# Data & Methods



# Institutional Actors as “Hard-to-Reach”

On Fri, Oct 19, 2018 at 10:37 AM DCPI <[DCPI.DCPI@nypd.org](mailto:DCPI.DCPI@nypd.org)> wrote:

Thank you for your interest in the NYPD. Unfortunately, we are unable to accommodate your request.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
**Detective**  
**Office of the Deputy Commissioner Public Information**

On Tue, Dec 4, 2018 at 4:13 PM DCPI <[DCPI.DCPI@nypd.org](mailto:DCPI.DCPI@nypd.org)> wrote:

Thank you for your interest in the New York City Police Department. Unfortunately we are unable to accommodate your request no one is available for an interview.

Data (March 2018 - September 2019)

Organization	Type of Channel	Examples of Events Attended	<i>n</i> Events	<i>n</i> Interviews
NYPD	Department	Quarterly meetings	40	0
Community Council	Partner	Monthly meetings, community events	48	20
Clergy Council	Partner	Monthly meetings, shooting responses	18	14
RALLY	Independent	Marches, vigils, rallies	17	15
Total			123	49

Framework

Data & Methods

Findings

Implications & Conclusion

# Findings



# Community Complaints

# Community Complaints

```
graph TD; A[Community Complaints] --> B[Department Channels]; A --> C[Non-Department Channels];
```

Department  
Channels

Non-Department  
Channels

[About](#)[Bureaus](#)[Services](#)[Stats](#)[Media](#)[Careers](#)[Policies](#)[Patrol](#)[Transit, Housing &  
Transportation](#)[Investigative](#)[Administrative](#)[Find Your Precinct](#)[Precincts](#)[Find Your Build the Block  
Meeting](#)[Neighborhood Policing](#)[Special Operations](#)

Share



Print

## Neighborhood Policing



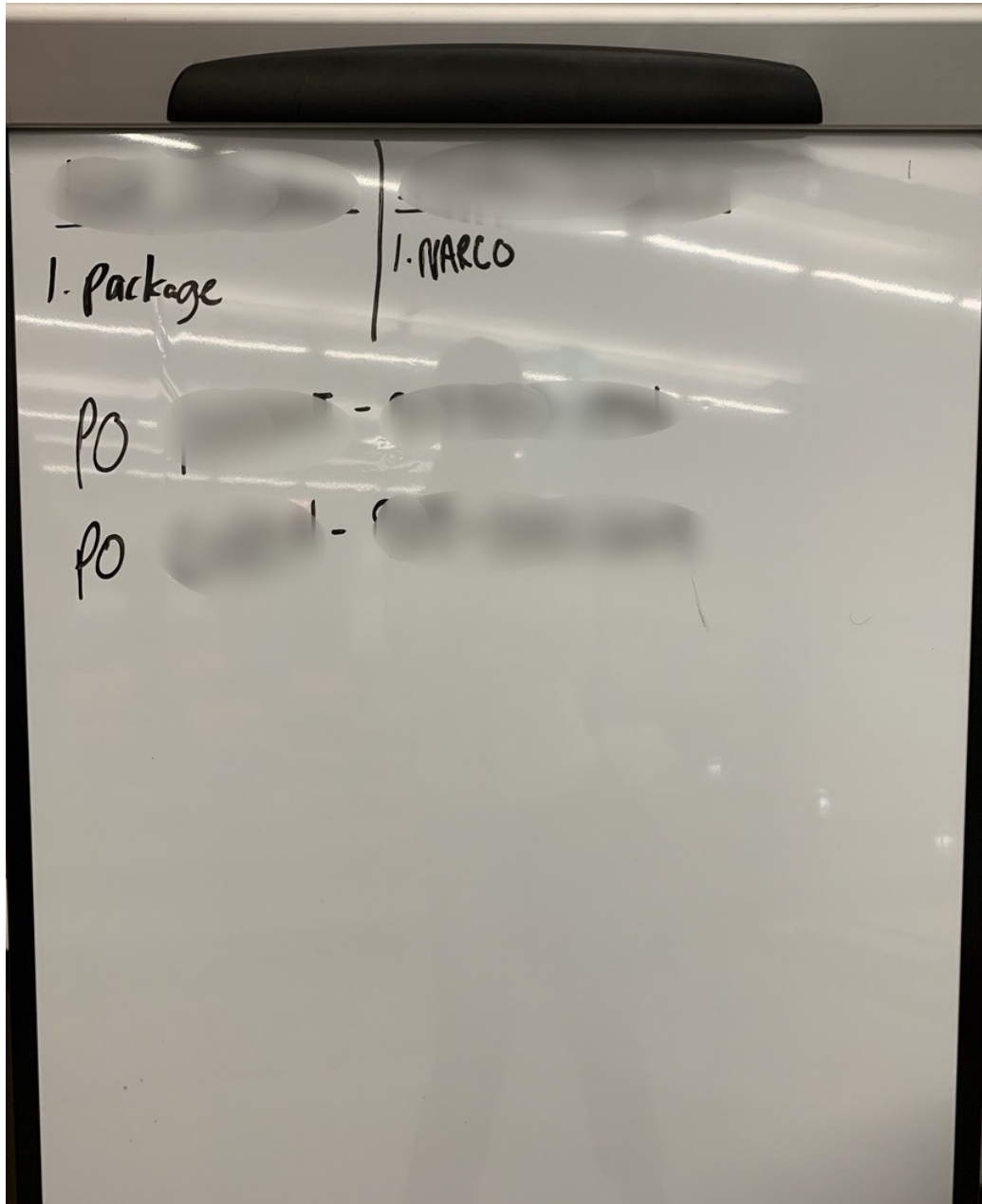
"The cornerstone of today's NYPD is Neighborhood Policing"

### A New Patrol Paradigm

The cornerstone of today's NYPD is Neighborhood Policing, a comprehensive crime-fighting strategy built on improved communication and collaboration between local police officers and community residents. Neighborhood Policing greatly increases connectivity and engagement with the community without diminishing, and, in fact, improving the NYPD's crime-fighting capabilities.



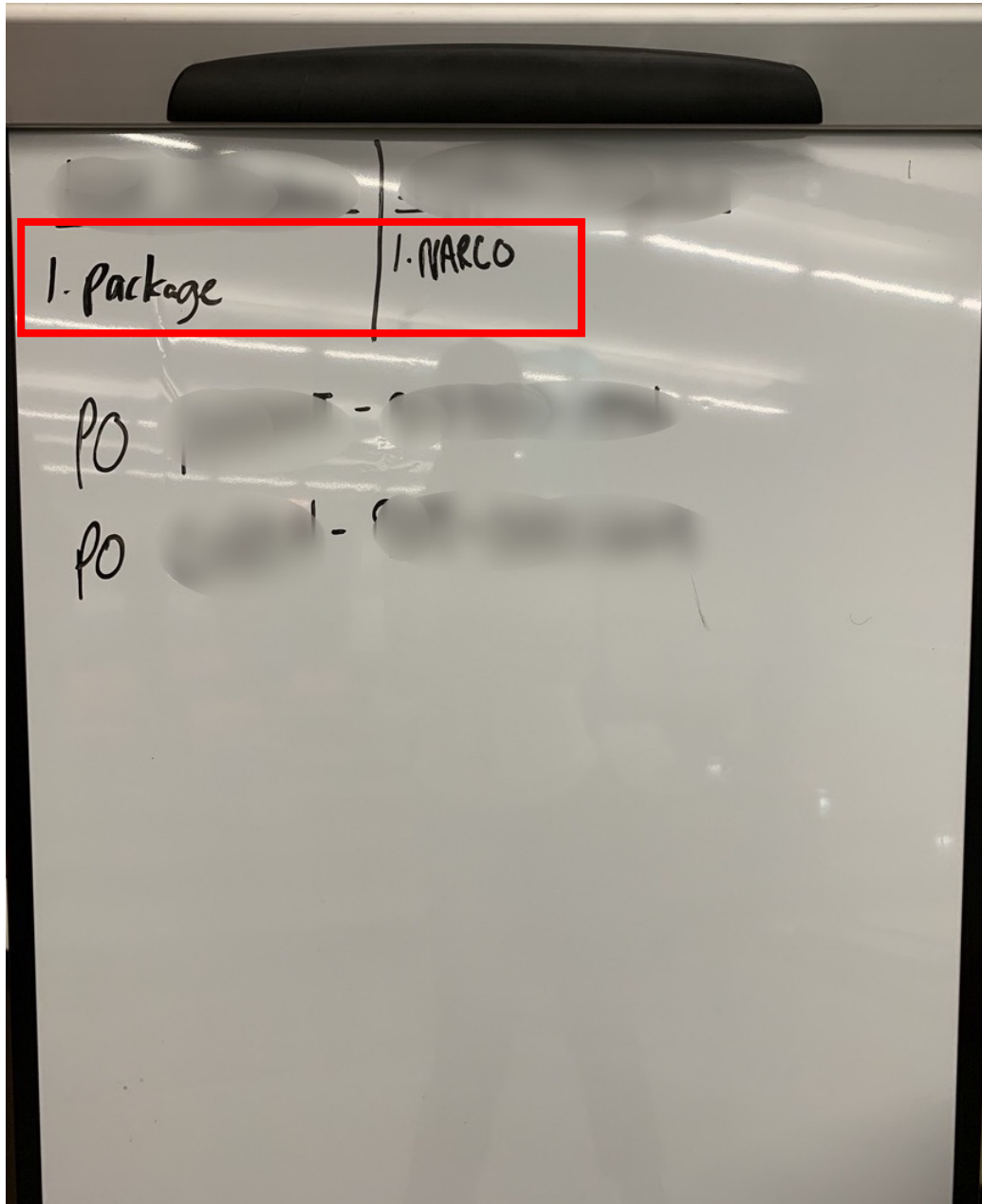




POLICE DEPARTMENT CITY OF NEW YORK	
Neighborhood Policing Meeting Reviewed	
Meeting ID: [REDACTED]	
Crime Type :	Larcenies
Location :	[REDACTED]
Date/Time :	[REDACTED]
Detail :	A unknown female did remove a package from the lobby of above listed location.
Plan to address Crime/Condition :	NCO will keep in contact with complainant and attempt to obtain footage from the building super. As well as conduct directed patrols and interiors inside of above listed location.
Crime Type :	Controlled Substance Use/Sale (Crack, Cocaine, Heroin, etc.)
Location :	[REDACTED]
Date/Time :	[REDACTED]
Detail :	People selling drugs on the corner of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] ave during the summer time
Plan to address Crime/Condition :	NCO will keep in contact with complaintent and conduct directed patrols around the area.

Source: Author's Photograph (left) and FOIA (right)



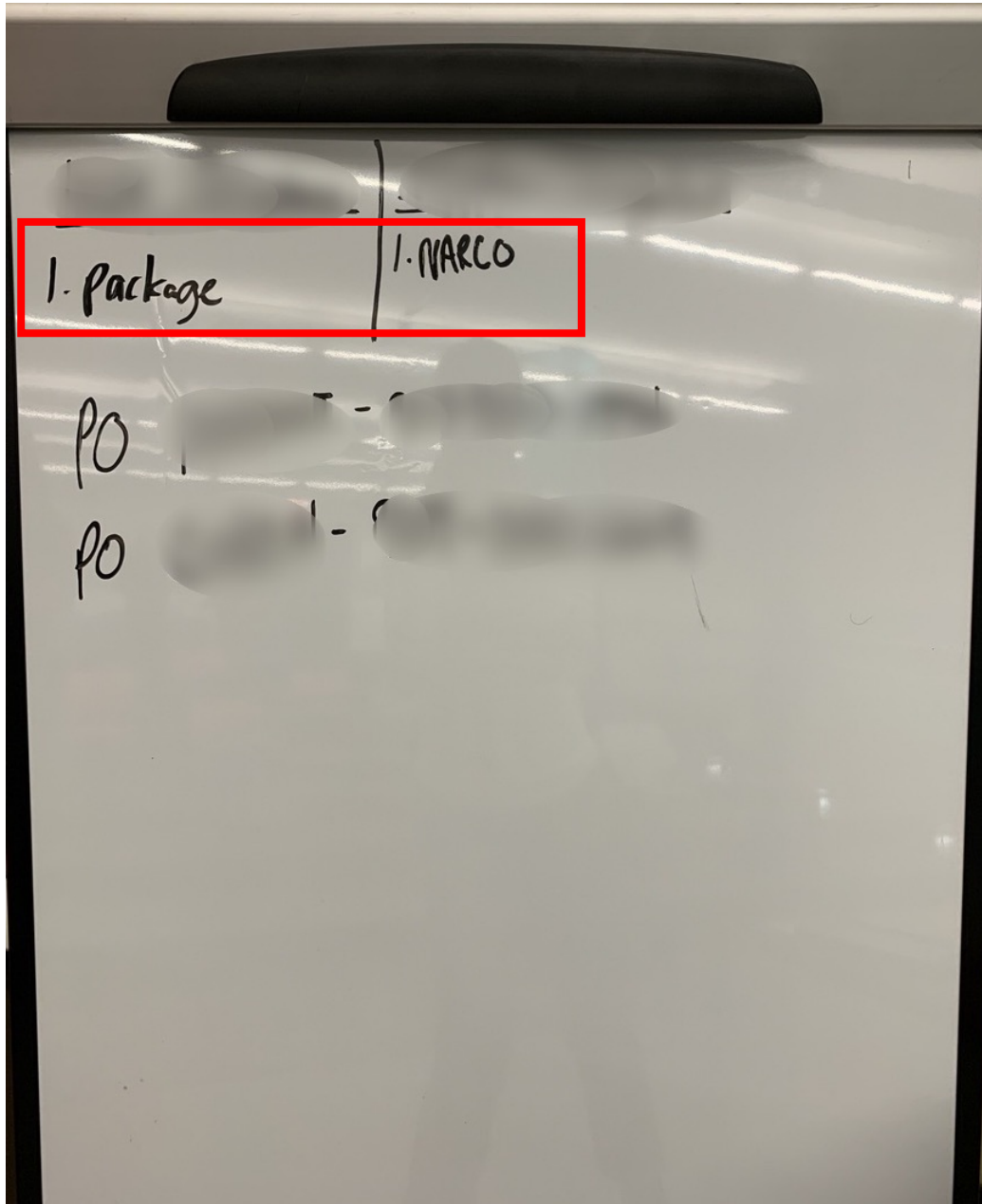


POLICE DEPARTMENT CITY OF NEW YORK	
Neighborhood Policing Meeting Reviewed	
Meeting ID: [REDACTED]	
Crime Type :	Larcenies
Location :	[REDACTED]
Date/Time :	[REDACTED]
Detail :	A unknown female did remove a package from the lobby of above listed location.
Plan to address Crime/Condition :	NCO will keep in contact with complainant and attempt to obtain footage from the building super. As well as conduct directed patrols and interiors inside of above listed location.

Crime Type :	Controlled Substance Use/Sale (Crack, Cocaine, Heroin, etc.)
Location :	[REDACTED]
Date/Time :	[REDACTED]
Detail :	People selling drugs on the corner of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] ave during the summer time
Plan to address Crime/Condition :	NCO will keep in contact with complaintent and conduct directed patrols around the area.

Source: Author's Photograph (left) and FOIA (right)



 **Neighborhood Policing Meeting Reviewed**   
Meeting ID: [REDACTED]

**Crime Type :** Larcenies

**Location :** [REDACTED]

**Date/Time :** [REDACTED]

**Detail :**  
A unknown female did remove a package from the lobby of above listed location.

**Plan to address Crime/Condition :**  
NCO will keep in contact with complainant and attempt to obtain footage from the building super. As well as conduct directed patrols and interiors inside of above listed location.

**Crime Type :** Controlled Substance Use/Sale (Crack, Cocaine, Heroin, etc.)

**Location :** [REDACTED]

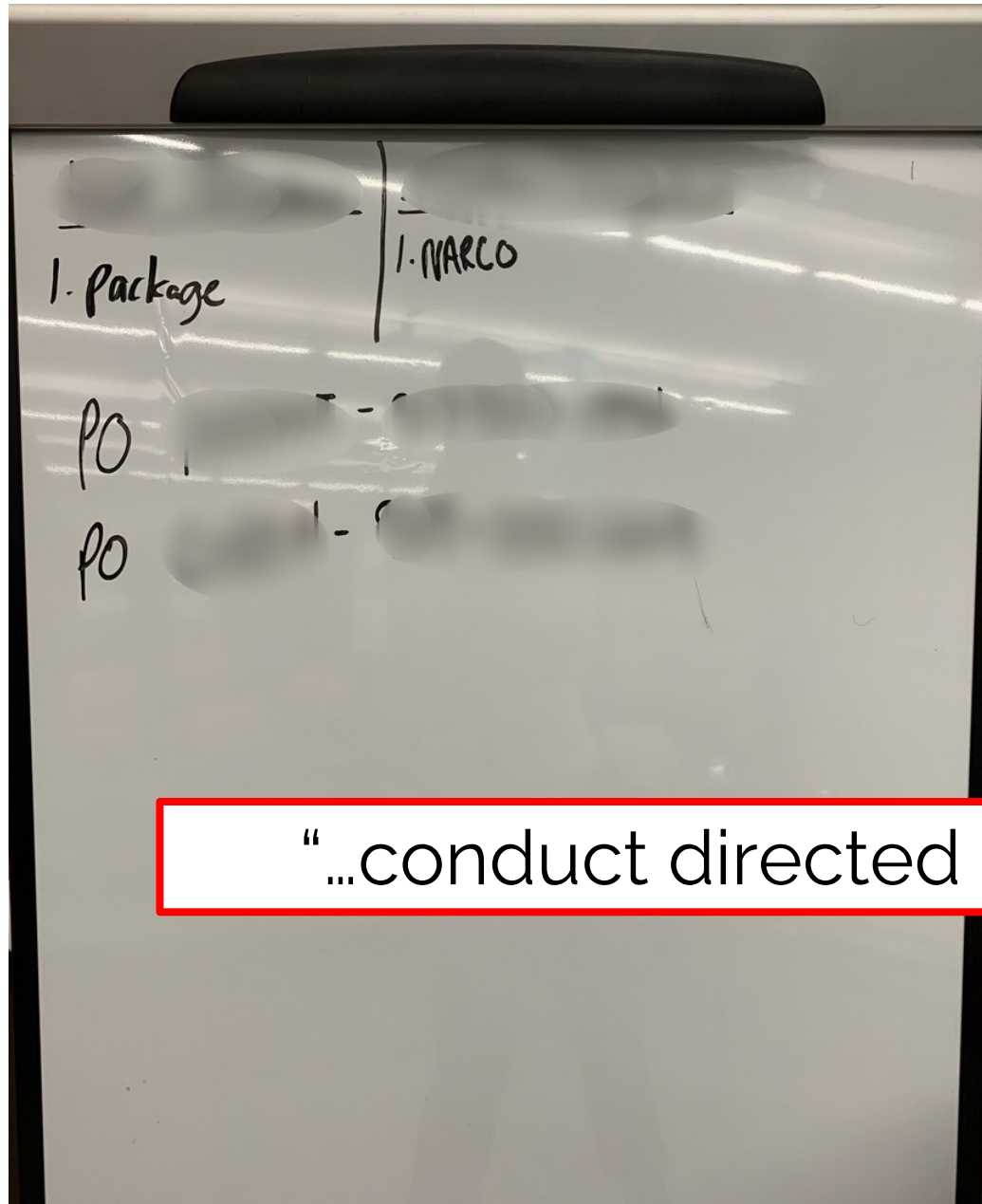
**Date/Time :** [REDACTED]

**Detail :**

**"Larcenies"**

**"Controlled Substance Use/Sale (Crack, Cocaine, Heroin, etc.)"**

Source: Author's Photograph (left) and FOIA (right)



**POLICE DEPARTMENT CITY OF NEW YORK**

## Neighborhood Policing Meeting Reviewed

Meeting ID: [REDACTED]

**Crime Type :** Larcenies

**Location :** [REDACTED]

**Date/Time :** [REDACTED]

**Detail :**  
A unknown female did remove a package from the lobby of above listed location.

**Plan to address Crime/Condition :**  
NCO will keep in contact with complainant and attempt to obtain footage from the building super. As well as conduct directed patrols and interiors inside of above listed location.

**Crime Type :** Controlled Substance Use/Sale (Crack, Cocaine, Heroin, etc.)

**Location :** [REDACTED]

People selling drugs on the corner of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] ave during the summer time

**Plan to address Crime/Condition :**  
NCO will keep in contact with complainant and conduct directed patrols around the area.

“...conduct directed patrols...”

Source: Author's Photograph (left) and FOIA (right)





# NYPD

## Neighborhood Policing Portal

### Crime Condition:

Type: \*

Location: \*

Date/Time: \*

Detail:

Plan to Address

Please select a value...

Abandoned/Derelict/Unregistered Vehicles

Bar/Nightlife

Bicycle (On the sidewalk, Roving Bands, etc.)

BBQs

Burglaries

Car Break-Ins

Commercial Parking

Controlled Substance Use/Sale (Crack, Cocaine, Heroin, etc.)

Dirt Bikes

E-Bikes

Gambling

Graffiti

Homeless Issues (Encampments/Shelters/Panhandling)

Larcenies

Lighting/Scaffolding Conditions

Loitering/Disorderly Groups

Mailbox Fishing

Marijuana Use/Sale

Noise

Other Crime

Other Parking (Blocked Driveways, Double Parking, etc.)

Other Quality of Life (Vendors, Untaxed Cigarettes, Dog Off Leash, etc.)

Prostitution

Requests for Services/Info (CCTV, Neighborhood Watch, etc.)

Sanitation Issues (K9 Waste/Public Urination/Illegal Dumping)

School Issues (Dismissals/Fights)

Traffic Violations (Speeding, Red Lights, etc.)

Trespass

+ Add Additional Crime/Condition

Source: Author's FOIA

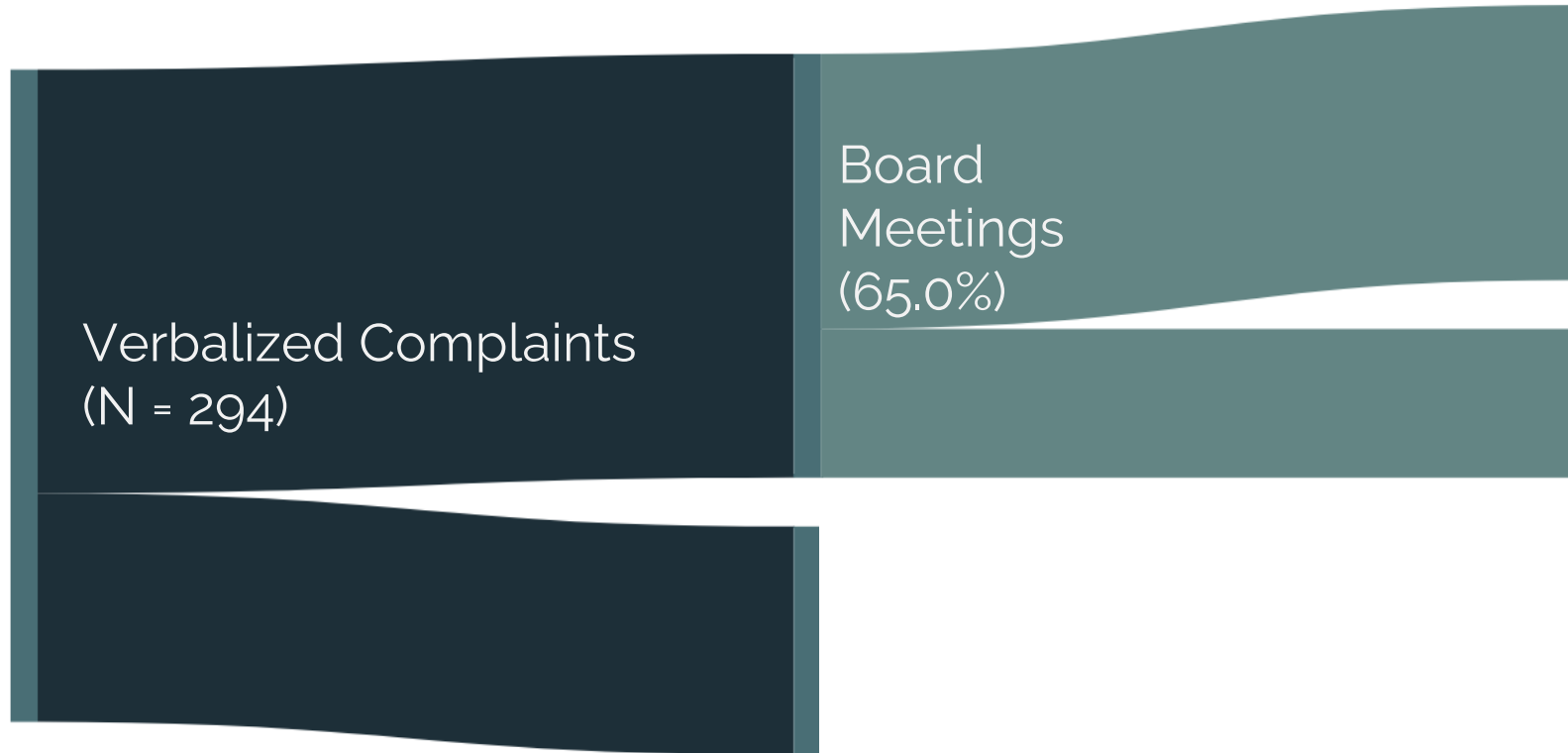
# Complaint Attrition



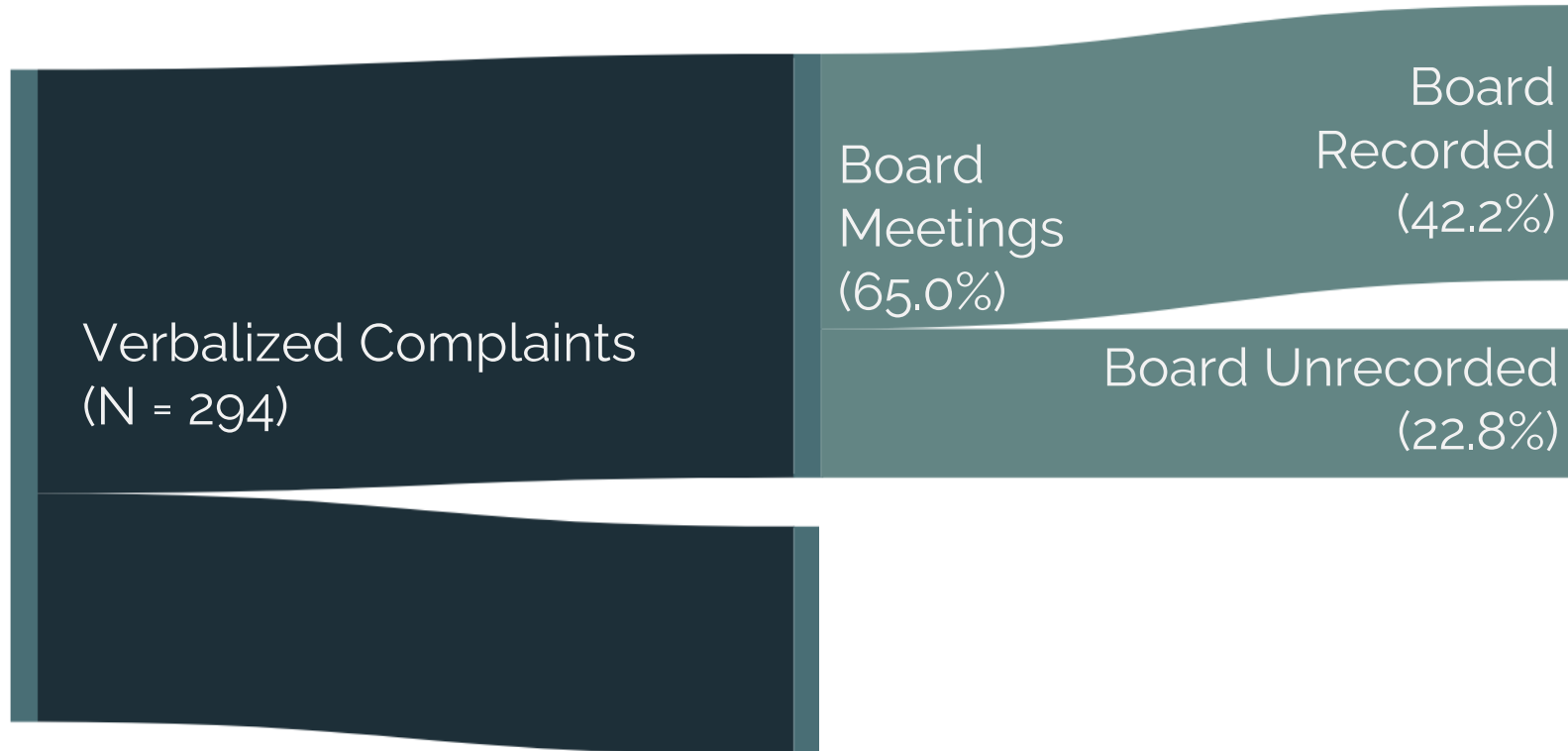
Verbalized Complaints  
(N = 294)



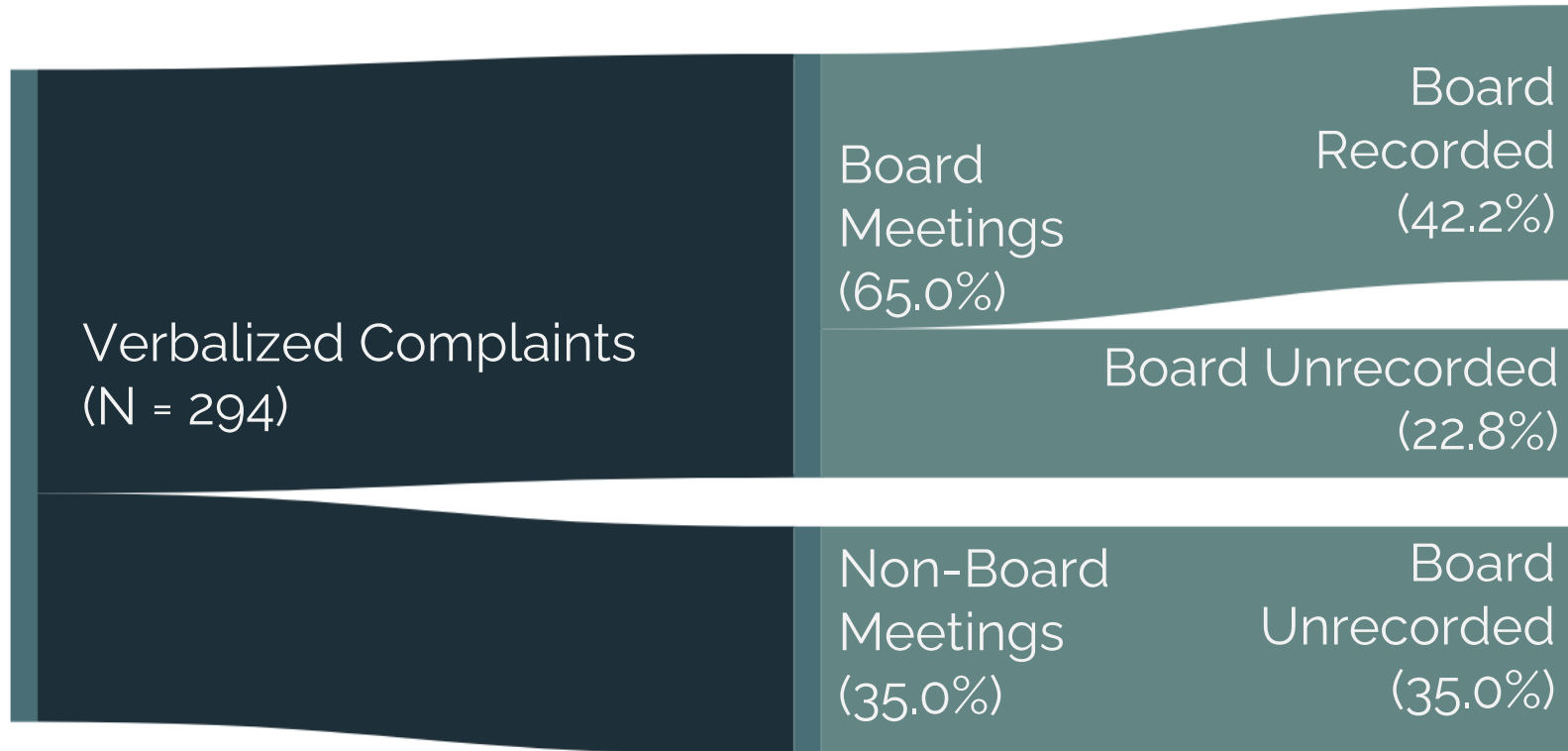
# Complaint Attrition



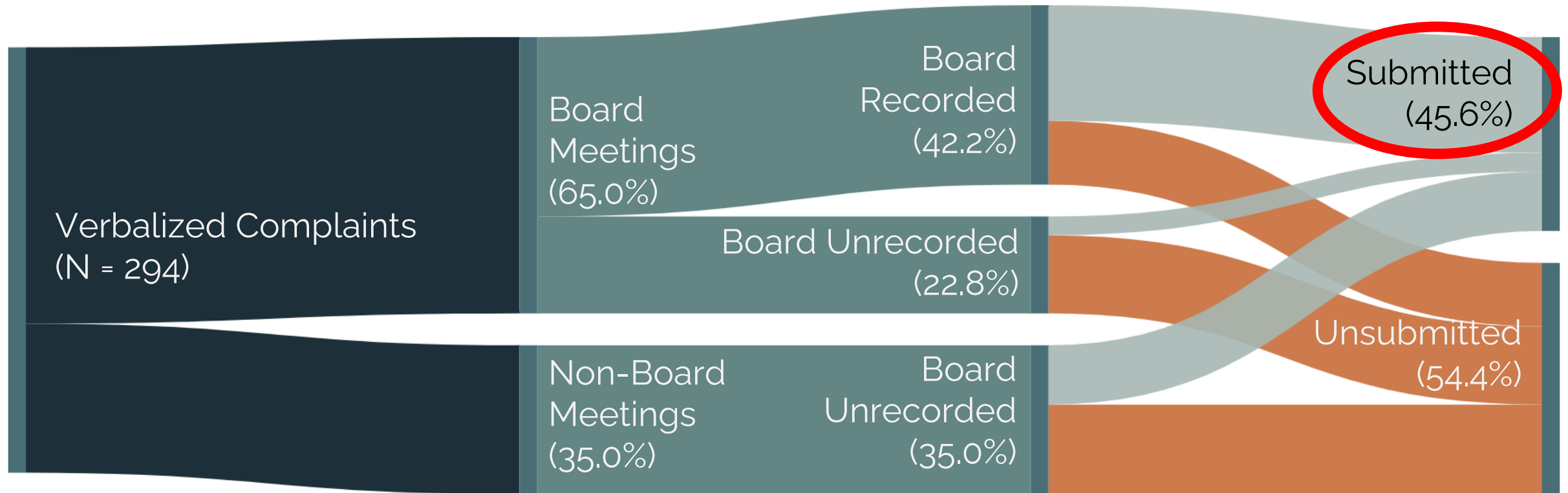
# Complaint Attrition



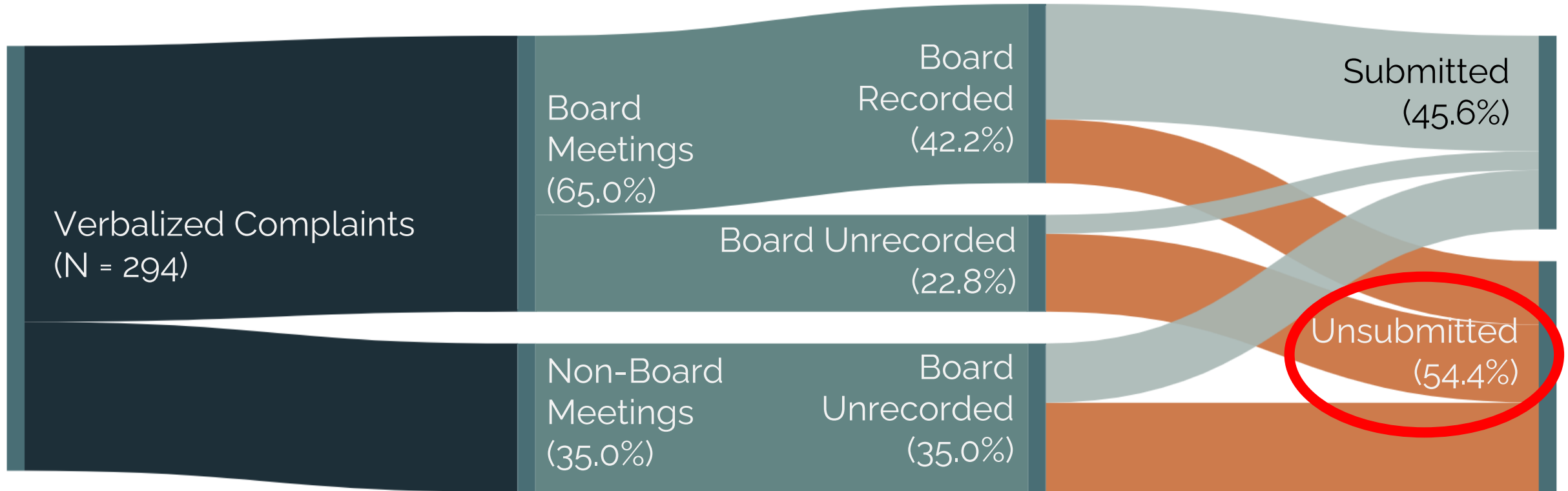
# Complaint Attrition



# NCOs submitted 46% into Organizational Records

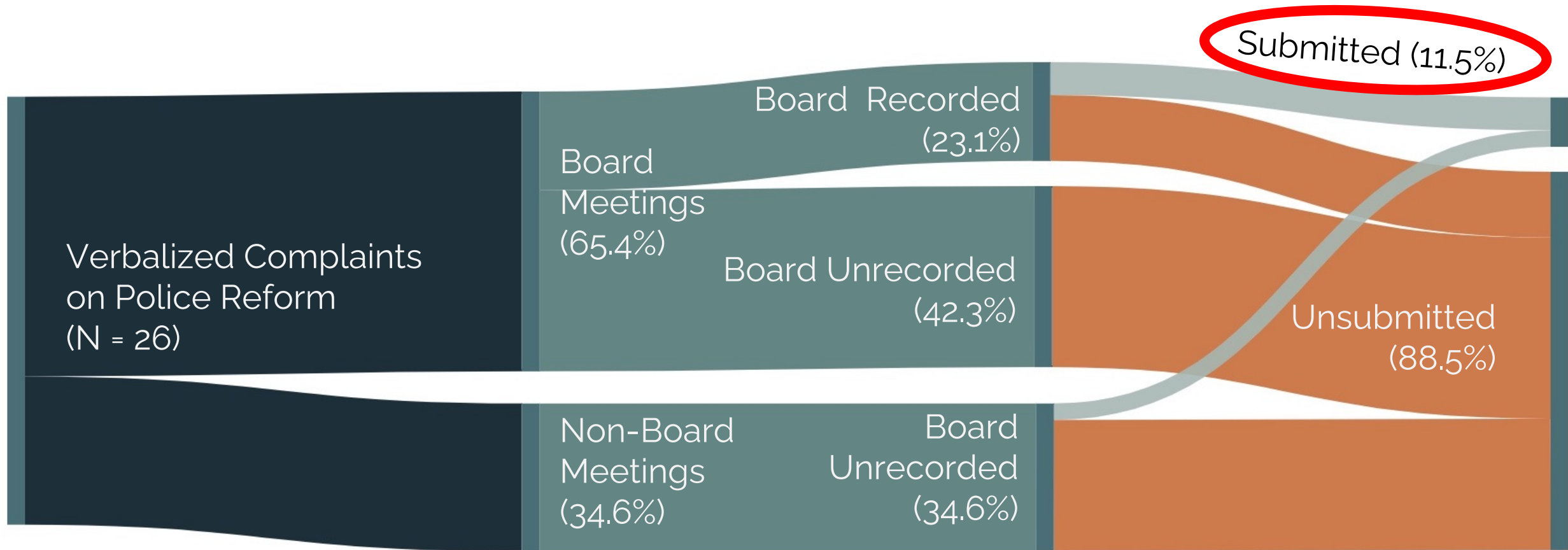


# NCOs omitted 54% from Organizational Records



Complaint attrition is concentrated in complaints  
critical of police and calling for police reform

# Complaint attrition is concentrated in complaints critical of police and calling for police reform





But as important as these meetings are...

Complaints involving police are  
still being voiced **outside** of them

# Community Complaints

Department  
Channels

Non-Department  
Channels


Build the Blocks

The screenshot displays the NYPD Neighborhood Policing Portal interface. At the top left is the NYPD logo, and to its right is the text 'NYPD'. Further right is the header 'Neighborhood Policing Portal'. Below the header is a form titled 'Crime Condition:'. The form contains several sections: 'Type: \*' with a dropdown menu showing 'Please select a violation...'; 'Location: \*' with a dropdown menu showing 'Abandoned/Derelict/Unregistered Vehicles'; 'Date/Time: \*' with a dropdown menu showing 'Bar/Nightlife'; 'Detail: \*' with a dropdown menu showing 'Bicycle (On the sidewalk, Roving Bands, etc.)'; and 'Plan to Address' with a dropdown menu showing 'BBQs'. Below these sections is a large text area for additional information. At the bottom left of the form is a link that says 'Add Additional Crime/Condition'.

# Community Complaints

## Department Channels

Build the Blocks

 **NYPD** Neighborhood Policing Portal

Crime Condition:

Type: \* Please select a value:

Location: \*

Date/Time: \*

Detail:

Plan to Address:

Abandoned/Derelict/Unregistered Vehicles  
Bar/Nightlife  
Bicycle (On the sidewalk, Roving Bands, etc.)  
BBQs  
Burglaries  
Car Break-ins  
Commercial Parking  
Controlled Substance Use/Sale (Crack, Cocaine, Heroin, etc.)  
Drift Trucks  
E-Bikes  
Gambling  
Graffiti  
Homeless Issues (Encampments/Shelters/Panhandling)  
Larcenies  
Lighting/Scaffolding Conditions  
Loitering/Disorderly Groups  
Mailbox Fishing  
Marijuana Use/Sale  
Noise  
Other Crime  
Other Parking (Blocked Driveways, Double Parking, etc.)  
Other Quality of Life (Vendors, Untaxed Cigarettes, Dog Off Leash, etc.)  
Prostitution  
Requests for Services/Info (CCTV, Neighborhood Watch, etc.)  
Sanitation Issues (K9 Waste/Public Urination/Illegal Dumping)  
School Issues (Disruptive/Events)  
Traffic Violations (Speeding, Red Lights, etc.)  
Trespass

◆ Add Additional Crime/Condition

## Non-Department Channels

### Partner Channels



### Independent Channels

**BLACK  
LIVES  
MATTER**

# Community Complaints

## Department Channels

## Non-Department Channels

### Build the Blocks

The screenshot shows the NYPD Neighborhood Policing Portal. At the top, there is a header with the NYPD logo and the text 'Neighborhood Policing Portal'. Below this, there is a form titled 'Crime Condition:'. The form has several sections: 'Type: \*', 'Location: \*', 'Date/Time: \*', 'Detail:', and 'Plan to Address:'. The 'Type: \*' section has a dropdown menu with the text 'Please select a violation:'. The 'Location: \*' section has a dropdown menu with the text 'Abandoned/Derelict/Unregistered Vehicles'. The 'Date/Time: \*' section has a dropdown menu with the text 'Bicycle (On the sidewalk, Roving Bands, etc.)'. The 'Detail:' section has a list of violations: 'BBQs', 'Burglaries', 'Car Break-ins', 'Commercial Parking', 'Controlled Substance Use/Sale (Crack, Cocaine, Heroin, etc.)', 'Driveways', 'E-Bikes', 'Gambling', 'Graffiti', 'Homeless Issues (Encampments/Shelters/Panhandling)', 'Larcenies', 'Lighting/Scaffolding Conditions', 'Loitering/Disorderly Groups', 'Mailbox Fishing', 'Marijuana Use/Sale', 'Noise', 'Other Crime', 'Other Parking (Blocked Driveways, Double Parking, etc.)', 'Other Quality of Life (Vendors, Unattended Cigarettes, Dog Off Leash, etc.)', 'Prostitution', 'Requests for Services/Info (CCTV, Neighborhood Watch, etc.)', 'Sanitation Issues (K9 Waste/Public Urination/Illegal Dumping)', 'School Issues (Disruptive/Heights)', 'Traffic Violations (Speeding, Red Lights, etc.)', and 'Trespass'. The 'Plan to Address:' section has a dropdown menu with the text 'Please select a plan to address:'. At the bottom of the form, there is a link that says 'Add Additional Crime/Condition'.

## Partner Channels

## Independent Channels



**BLACK  
LIVES  
MATTER**

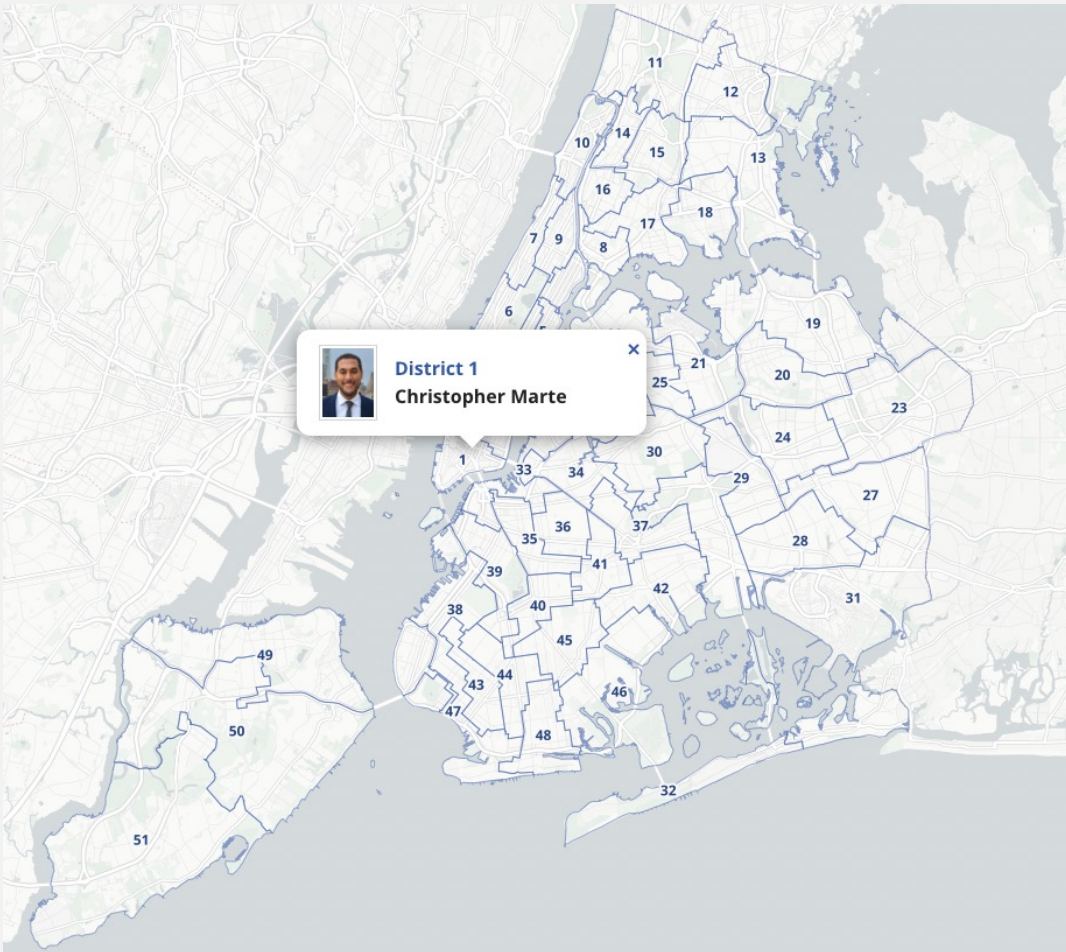
# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

Strategy 1: Build new

# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 1: Build new

### NYC City Council Districts





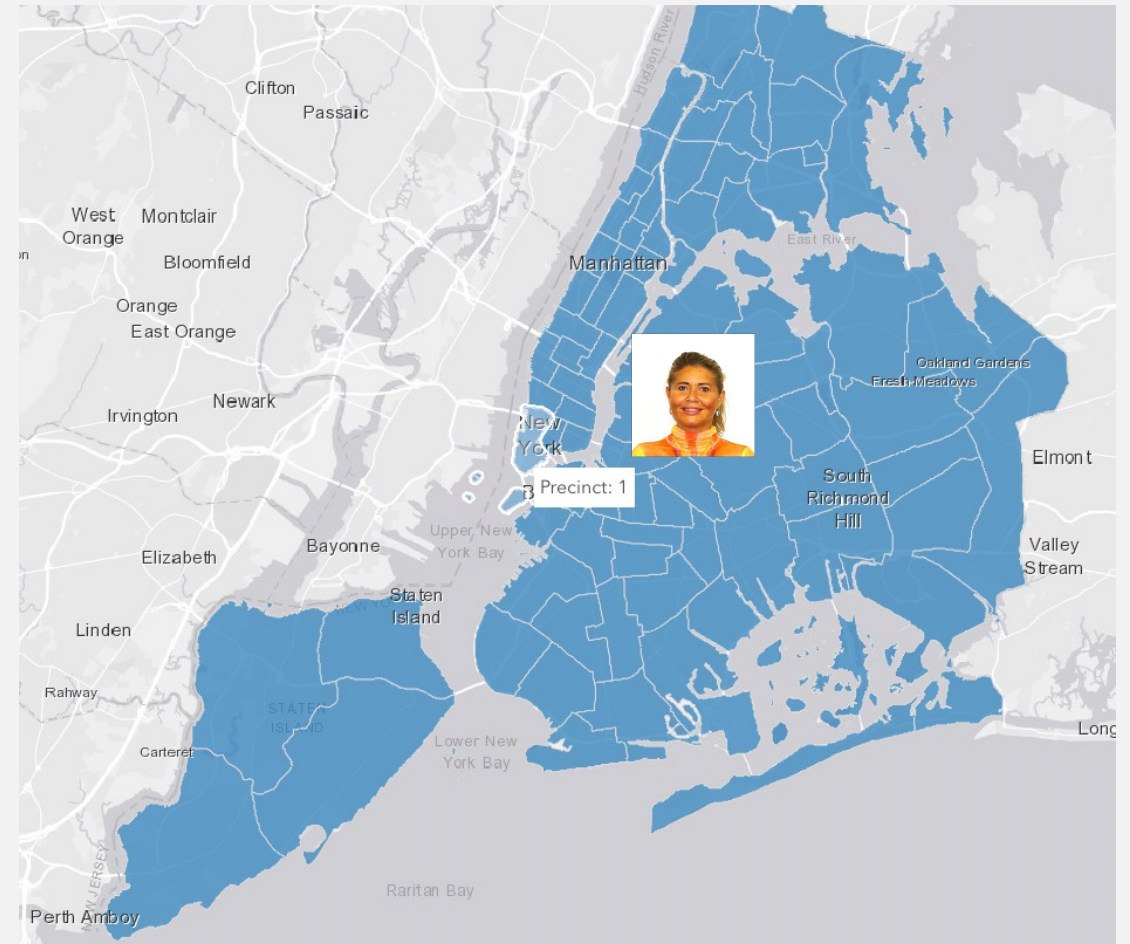
# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 1: Build new

### NYC City Council Districts



### NYPD Community Councils

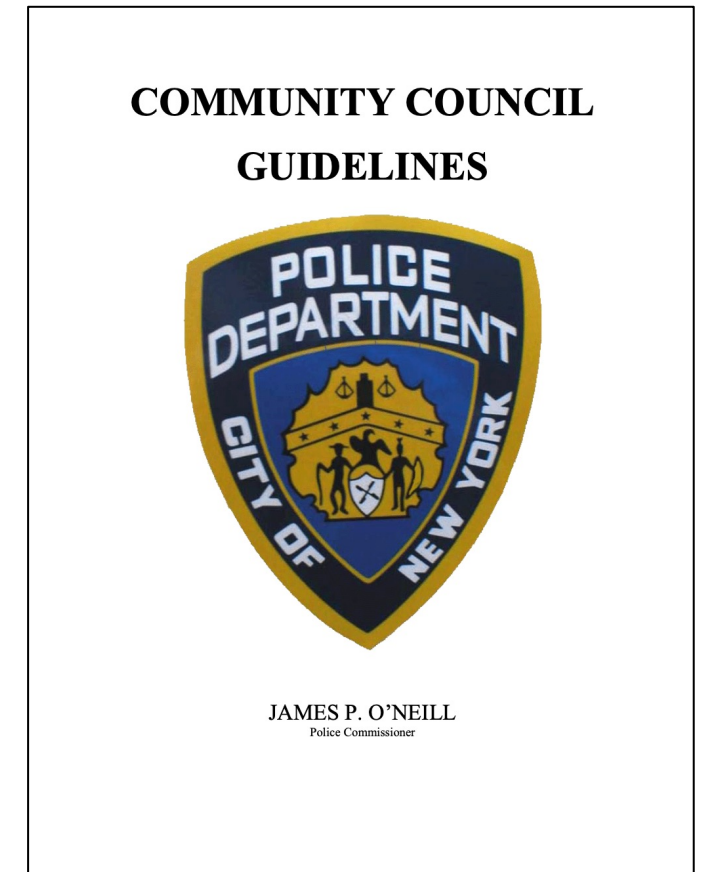
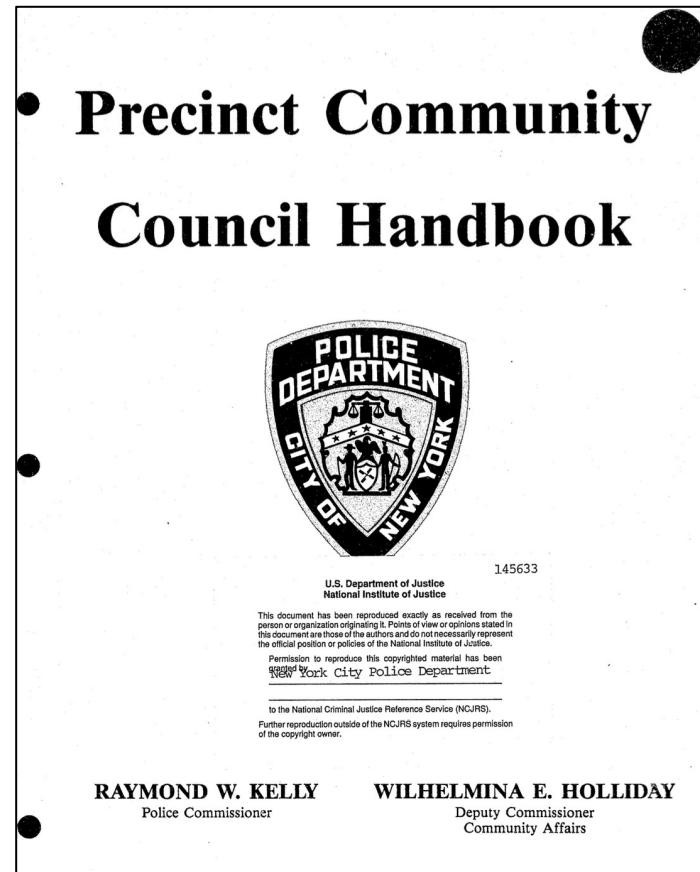




# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 1: Build new

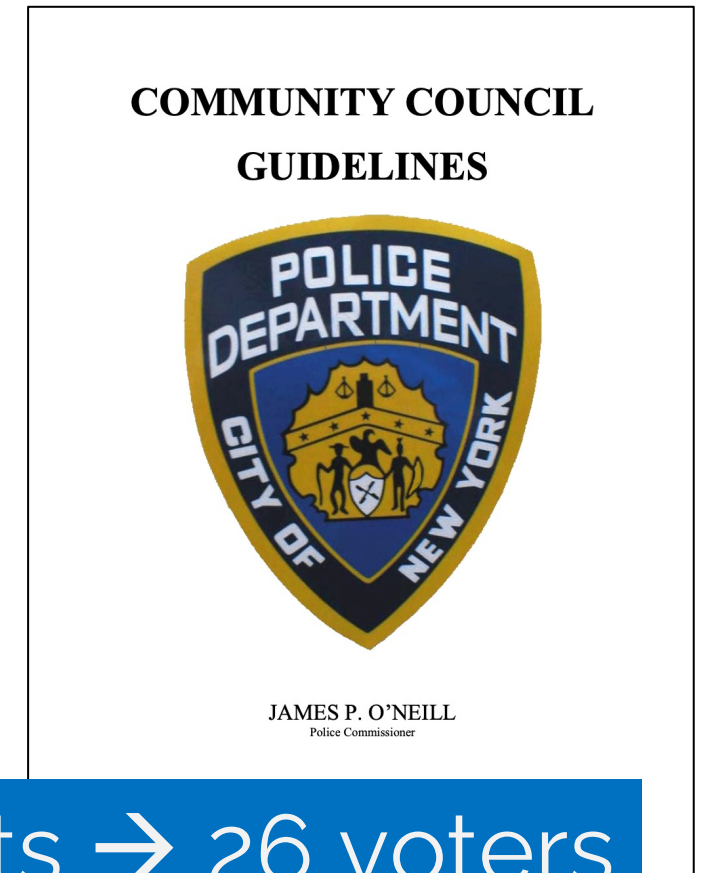
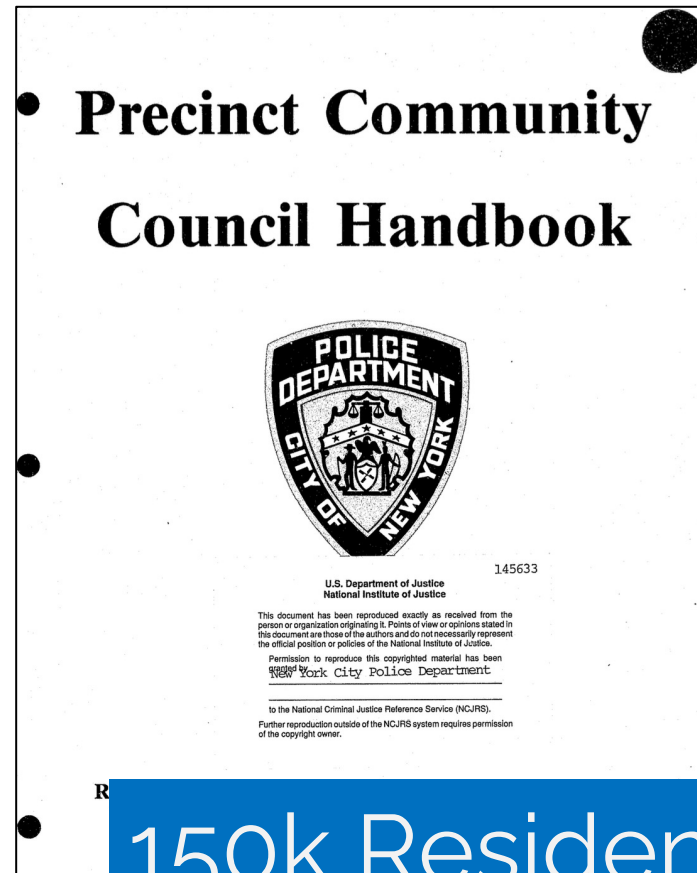
- ✓ Subject to NYPD influence & control



# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 1: Build new

- ✓ Subject to NYPD influence & control



150k Residents → 26 voters

# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 1: Build new

✓ Subject to NYPD  
influence & control

✓ “Authentic”  
neighborhood reps

<i>Position</i>	<i>Years in position</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Education</i>
President	22	67	African American	High school
Vice president	22	75	Trinidadian	College
Secretary	22	86	African American	Master’s
Treasurer	4	59	African American	Master’s
Corresponding secretary	1	47	Puerto Rican	Master’s
Assistant secretary	18	77	Trinidadian	High school
Sergeant at arms	3	77	African American	High school
Chaplain	5	70	African American	College

# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 1: Build new

- ✓ Subject to NYPD influence & control
- ✓ “Authentic” neighborhood reps

<i>Position</i>	<i>Years in position</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Education</i>
President	22	67	African American	High school
Vice president	22	75	Trinidadian	College
Secretary	22	86	African American	Master’s
Treasurer	4	59	African American	Master’s
Corresponding secretary	1	47	Puerto Rican	Master’s
Assistant secretary	18	77	Trinidadian	High school
Sergeant at arms	3	77	African American	High school
Chaplain	5	70	African American	College

# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 1: Build new

- ✓ Subject to NYPD influence & control
- ✓ “Authentic” neighborhood reps
- ✓ Endorse police



NYPD 109th Precinct  
@NYPD109Pct



In our monthly community council meeting, we presented our former CO, D.I. Hall with an excellence award from our community council. Congratulations to Sgt. Chi and P.O. Antonelli for getting the Cop of the Month awards. We also introduced our new NCO Sgt. Montero to everyone.



5:53 AM · Nov 9, 2023 · 975 Views



# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 1: Build new

- ✓ Subject to NYPD influence & control
- ✓ “Authentic” neighborhood reps
- ✓ Endorse police

HOW: Provide capacity & resources





# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

Strategy 2: Coopt existing

# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 2: Coopt existing

- ✓ Endowed w/ resources



# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 2: Coopt existing

### Watch Night Service (~600 congregants)

✓ Endowed w/ resources

✓ Faithful audiences

"We start service. We have Praise and Worship, where we do songs and praise to God, and then we do Prayer, and then I have [the NYPD precinct commander] come up"

- Pastor Greene

# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 2: Coopt existing

- ✓ Endowed w/ resources
- ✓ Faithful audiences
- ✓ Direct to dept channels

FREQUENCY OF BUILD THE BLOCK BY VENUE TYPE

VENUE TYPE	TOTAL	
	N	%
Religious institution . . . . .	673	30.5
Housing complex . . . . .	333	15.1
Educational institution . . . . .	312	14.1
Community center . . . . .	250	11.3
Commercial business . . . . .	235	10.6
Public library . . . . .	143	6.5
Charity/social service provider . . .	95	4.3
Hospital/health center . . . . .	58	2.6
	41	1.9
	41	1.9
	13	.6
	9	.4
	4	.2
Total . . . . .	2,207	100

30% of all Build the Blocks citywide  
held in religious institutions

NOTE.—Total % exceeds 100 due to rounding errors.  
The data are from the author's calculations using meeting  
addresses scraped from NYPD tweets and Facebook posts.

# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 2: Coopt existing

- ✓ Endowed w/ resources
- ✓ Faithful audiences
- ✓ Direct to dept channels

HOW: Prioritize clergy  
access & complaints



Source: NYPD Twitter



# Cultivating Constituents in Partner Channels

## Strategy 2: Coopt existing

- ✓ Endowed w/ resources
- ✓ Faithful audiences
- ✓ Direct to dept channels

HOW: Prioritize clergy  
access & complaints

### 55<sup>th</sup> Precinct Clergy Council Meeting:

“You have an issue at your church?  
A member arrested?  
Don't know what to do in the 55<sup>th</sup>?  
Call me. Call them.


When we call them, they will tell us  
exactly what's the deal, what's the  
case, what's the charges, and what do  
we do next.”

- President Pastor Young

# Community Complaints

## Department Channels

Build the Blocks

 NYPD Neighborhood Policing Portal

Crime Condition:

Type: \* Please select a value:

Location: \*

Date/Time: \*

Detail:

Plan to Address

Abandoned/Derelict/Unregistered Vehicles  
Bar/Nightlife  
Bicycle (On the sidewalk, Roving Bands, etc.)  
BBQs  
Burglaries  
Car Break-ins  
Commercial Parking  
Controlled Substance Use/Sale (Crack, Cocaine, Heroin, etc.)  
Drift Trucks  
E-Bikes  
Gambling  
Graffiti  
Homeless Issues (Encampments/Shelters/Panhandling)  
Larcenies  
Lighting/Scaffolding Conditions  
Loitering/Disorderly Groups  
Mailbox Fishing  
Marijuana View/Sale  
Noise  
Other Crime  
Other Parking (Blocked Driveways, Double Parking, etc.)  
Other Quality of Life (Vendors, Untaxed Cigarettes, Dog Off Leash, etc.)  
Prostitution  
Requests for Services/Info (CCTV, Neighborhood Watch, etc.)  
Sanitation Issues (K9 Waste/Public Urination/Illegal Dumping)  
School Issues (Disruptive/Heights)  
Traffic Violations (Speeding, Red Lights, etc.)  
Trespass

◆ Add Additional Crime/Condition

## Non-Department Channels

### Partner Channels



### Independent Channels

**BLACK  
LIVES  
MATTER**

# “Basketball for Accountability”



Source: Author's Photograph



## "Peace Tour"




Source: Author's Photograph

## “Peace Tour”

“I don't know if the messages [pause]—  
that's a decision that would have to be made by  
the family.

Since their son was killed by a cop,  
I don't know if they want to come out  
and play with a cop”





“Normally you should, yeah”

Source: Author's Photograph



# Regulatory Leniency

## Basketball for Accountability

## Peace Tour

**SOUND DEVICE APPLICATION AND PERMIT**  
PD 656-041 (Rev. 11-07)

Precinct \_\_\_\_\_  
App. Date 7/1/2018

**INSTRUCTIONS:**

1. Answer all questions (Print in Ink or Typewrite). Permit is to be picked up on morning of event.
2. File Application in Precinct wherein Device or Apparatus is to be used to the greatest extent.
3. File Application at least (5) Days in Advance of Event (exceptions listed in Sound Device Regulations).
4. Fee Will Be Required Upon Approval of Application (\$45.00 Per Day For Each Day Permit is Required).
5. Make Bank Teller's Check, Certified Check or Money Order payable to the Police Department, City of New York.

Name of Applicant \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Is Applicant a Corporation, Organization, or Association ☐ Yes ☐ No If Yes, Indicate:  
Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

**NATURE OF EVENT**

Location PLAY GROUND Date 8/1/2018 From 1200 Time 1800  
Location \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ From \_\_\_\_\_ Time \_\_\_\_\_ To \_\_\_\_\_

Is location within 500 feet of any School, Church, Hospital or Similar Institution ☐ Yes ☒ No  
Approximately how many feet from the device is speaker's voice proposed to be heard 100 feet.  
Approximately how many people will be at subject event 50 people.

Are Funds to be Solicited ☐ Yes ☒ No Has Permit from Dept. of Social Services been obtained ☐ Yes ☐ No  
Dept. of Social Services Permit No. N/A If No, explain: \_\_\_\_\_

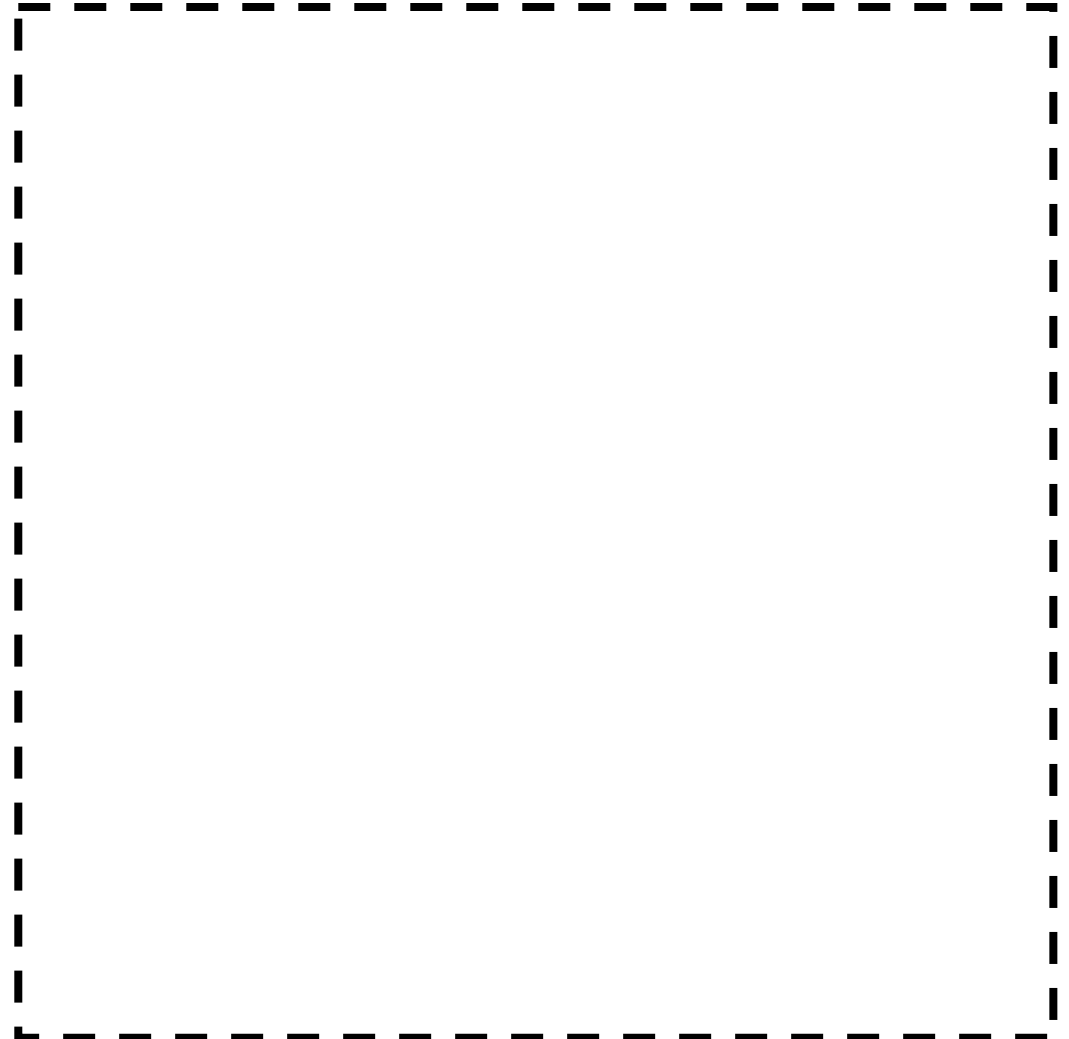
Penalty for Falsification of any statement made herein is an offense punishable by a fine or imprisonment or both.

Investigated By: \_\_\_\_\_ Precinct: \_\_\_\_\_  
☒ Approved ☐ Disapproved If Disapproved, Reason: \_\_\_\_\_

Area Office Notified ☐ Yes ☐ No Who Notified: \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Approved ☐ Disapproved If Disapproved, Reason: \_\_\_\_\_

Does Event Affect Adjoining Precinct? ☐ Yes ☐ No If Yes, Who Notified: \_\_\_\_\_ Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

PRECINCT FILE COPY



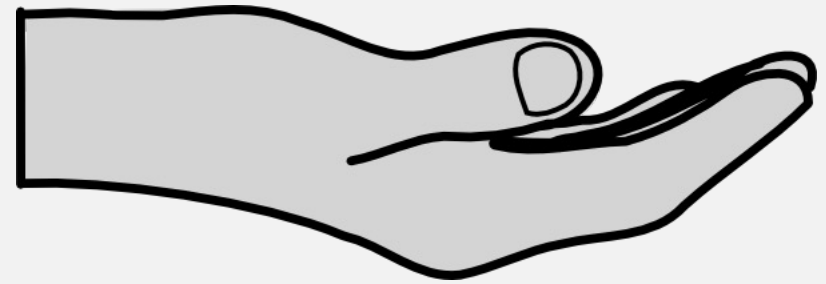
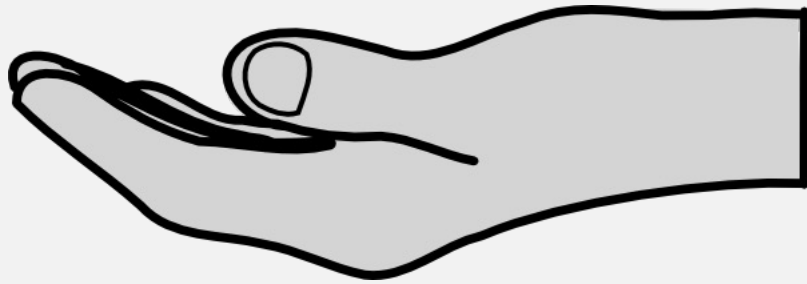
# Dilemma

- Apply for sound permit
- Pay \$45 fee to precinct
- Reinforce policing



# Dilemma

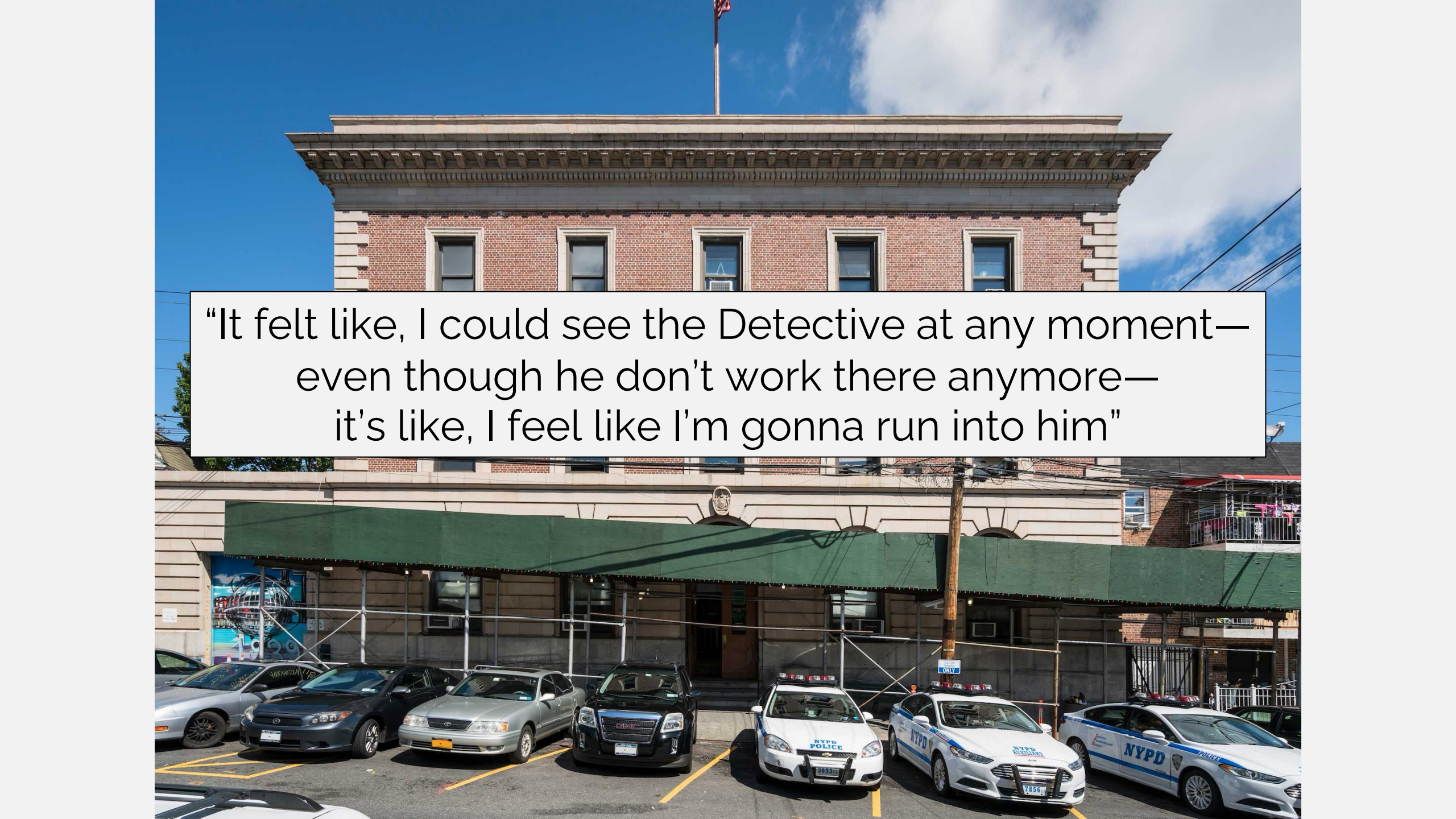
- Apply for sound permit
- Pay \$45 fee to precinct
- Reinforce policing
- Forgo sound permit
- Risk getting shut down
- Lack recourse





“My sister was killed by police,  
I’m not gonna now go ask them for permission  
to have a vigil for her”



A photograph of a three-story brick building with a green awning. Several cars are parked in front, including three NYPD police cars. The building has a classical architectural style with a prominent cornice. A flagpole is visible on the roof. The sky is blue with some clouds.

“It felt like, I could see the Detective at any moment—  
even though he don’t work there anymore—  
it’s like, I feel like I’m gonna run into him”

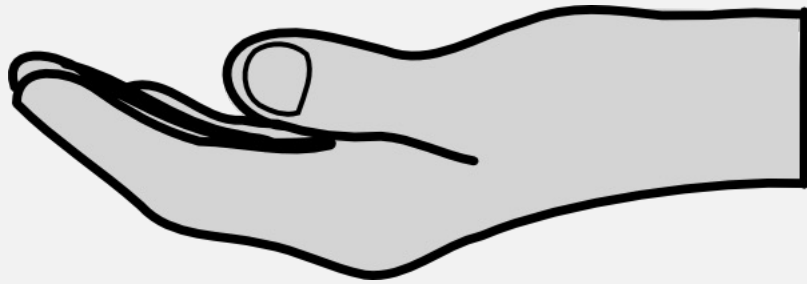
“When my sister was murdered,  
traffic was diverted down Broadway....

I wanted 5 minutes....So 5 minutes for 1 day of the year,  
you couldn't respect my family?”

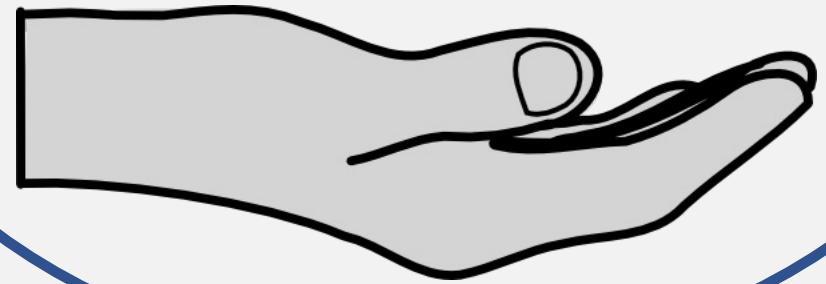


# Dilemma

- Apply for sound permit
- Pay \$45 fee to precinct
- Reinforce policing



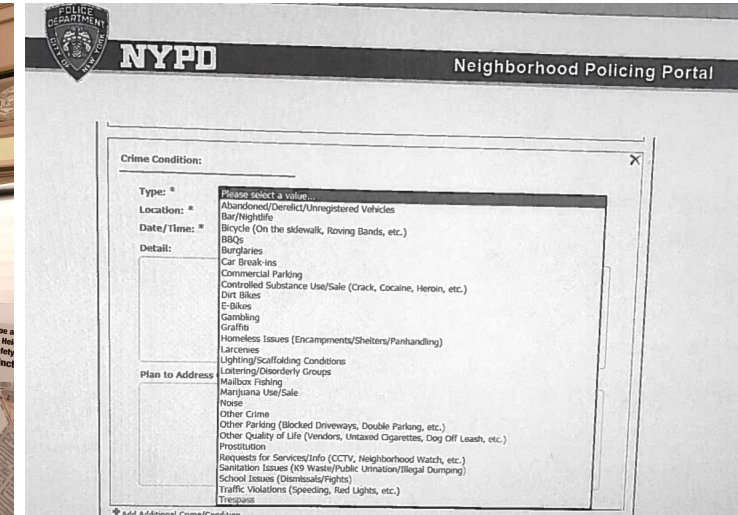
- Forgo sound permit
- Risk getting shut down
- Lack recourse



The Payoff: as critical voices like Erikah's drop out.....

# The Payoff: as critical voices like Erikah's drop out.....

- ✓ Amplify dept & partner channels



## The Payoff: as critical voices like Erikah's drop out.....

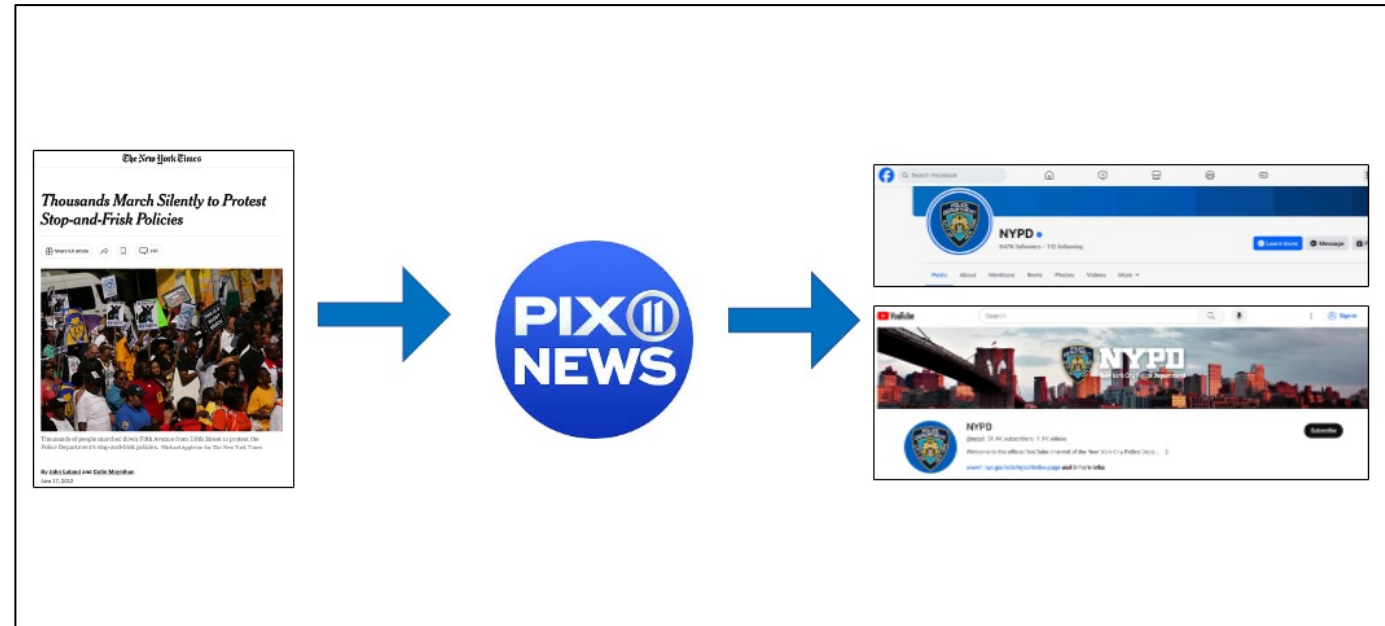
- ✓ Amplify dept & partner channels
- ✓ Contain independent channels





# The Payoff: as critical voices like Erikah's drop out.....

- ✓ Amplify dept & partner channels
- ✓ Contain independent channels
- ✓ Cultivate endorsements, while silencing alternatives



Framework

Data & Methods

Findings

Implications & Conclusion

# Implications & Conclusion



# Question

How do police departments resist intensifying public scrutiny?

# Argument



Public  
Legitimacy

+

Organizational  
Independence



Guides  
distribution  
of resources,  
leniency, & force



Direct complaints to department channels

Church meetings on narco/package thefts

Cultivate constituents in partner channels

Permit-less events run on police resources

Contain alt voices in independent channels

Vigil cleared with coercive force

# Consequences & Implications of the Policing Machine

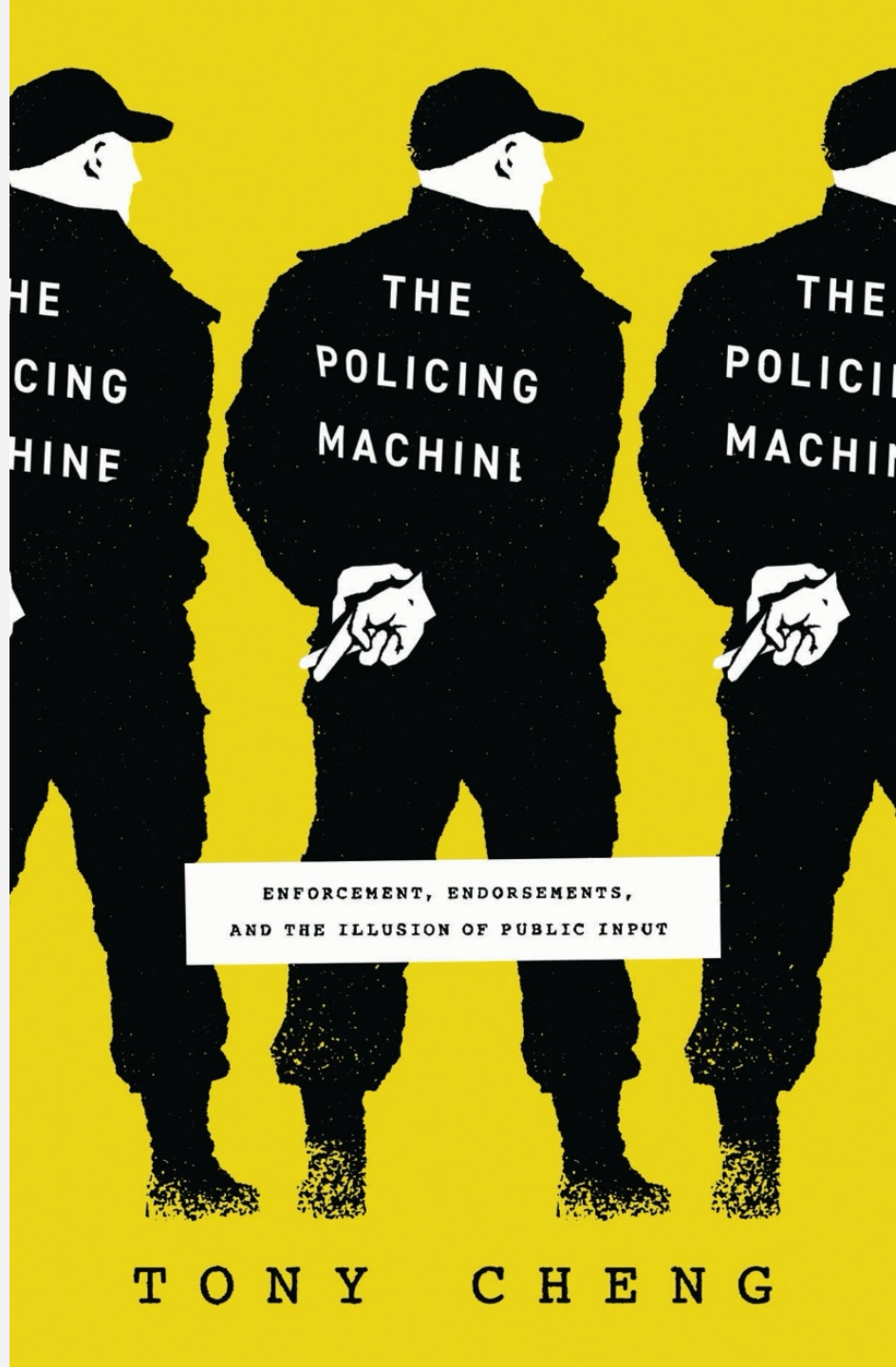
Police do not ignore community input, they **curate** it

Democratic governance as a **shield** against public scrutiny

Urban political regime where social controls are **blurred**

# Key Takeaway

The police-community relations that already exist are precisely what's impeding police transformation



# Thank you

Tony Cheng  
tony.cheng@duke.edu  
tonykcheng.com

[works cited available [here](#)]