

Recommendations for the Incorporation of Procedural Justice into Policing

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Recommendations for the Incorporation of Procedural Justice into Policing

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Lisa A. Wilson

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Abstract

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Lisa A. Wilson

Under the Supervision of Dr. C. Morris

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to advocate for law enforcement management to implement procedural justice as a foundational policing methodology to increase police legitimacy and improve community relationships and the internal work environment. Law enforcement has faced a myriad of significant policing challenges in the last 20 years; domestic and international terrorism incidents, high-profile police shootings, and mass shooting incidents for example. Law enforcement leaders have faced everything from community criticism to calls for dismissal when incidents such as these have occurred. Traditional policing methods and practices such as outcomes-based policing, militaristic policing, closed-off communications, and strict reliance on statutes, court decisions and professional norms for legitimacy have not engendered trust, encouraged cooperation, or created a sense of fairness with the populace served, especially minorities.

Police-public interaction affects legitimacy. Now more than ever, the police need the public as partners for diffusing critical incidents and effective crime control. This cooperation is especially critical with minority members of the community, who may be distrustful or afraid of

the police. Procedural justice policing research shows a positive correlation with increasing the public's confidence, trust, and sense of fairness with the police, leading to a greater likelihood of reporting crime, being a witness, and improving relations.

Methodology

The primary method of approach for this project will consist of a secondary data analysis of research and statistics related to police legitimacy and procedural justice. Data will be collected from academic, peer-reviewed, and reputable sources such as online scholarly articles and publications, textbooks, and credible law enforcement and management publications related to police legitimacy and procedural justice. Empirical case studies that illustrate an effect on police legitimacy, either positive or negative, may also be incorporated. Additional research information and statistics will be obtained from police leadership organizations such as the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), the Police Executive Research Foundation (PERF), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other established professional management, governmental, and police leadership groups.

Summary of Key Findings

The research of procedural justice, as applied to policing, has been occurring for almost 40 years. Initial research findings showed that people care more about their treatment from the police during their interactions versus the end result of that interaction. Continued research into procedural justice in policing has repeatedly validated these initial findings and has added greater

depth to the understanding of what facets of police-community interaction are improved—legitimacy, compliance, cooperation, collaboration, and trust. Studies have been conducted that show the implementation of procedural justice practices, both externally and internally reap relational improvements. Research results have shown that procedural justice can also improve police-citizen relationships with populations who have been shown to be more distrusting of the police and where trust of the police may be more tenuous. Some police agencies have been proactively working with academic partners to implement procedural justice practices both externally and internally and then examine their results, with these results showing as favorable in improving police legitimacy and trust. Research into procedural justice policing is continuing and is expected to show a more nuanced and detailed picture of the benefits of procedural justice to police-community relations.

Table of Contents

Approval Page	i
Title Page	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
Purpose of the Study	iv
Methodology	v
Summary of Key Findings	v
Section I: Introduction	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Purpose of the Study	3
Significance, Implications, and Anticipated Outcome of the Study	5
Methodology	6
Assumptions of the Study	6
Limitations of the Study	7
Section II: Literature Review	8
Section III: Recommendations/Conclusions	37
Conclusion	37
References Cited	39

Section I: Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Public perception of the police and police performance is stagnant despite significant decreases in the crime rate over the last quarter century, implementation of community policing, and increased investment in officer training.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) tracks annual crime rates by collecting data on crimes reported to the roughly 18,000 police agencies in the United States (US). The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) collects crime data through its annual National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), a nationally representative sample of over 130,000 households representing over 225,000 persons (“Data Collection: NCVS”, 2016). A review of BJS and FBI crime rates statistics by the Pew Research Center showed that from 1993-2016, the violent crime rate fell 48% per the FBI and 74% per the BJS. For that same time frame, the property crime rate fell 48% and 66% respectively (Gramlich, 2018).

However, the public’s perceptions about the US crime rate have not matched these significant decreases in violent and property crime rates. The Pew Research Center notes between 2008 and 2016, almost 60% of those polled thought crimes in the US was getting worse each year and almost 50% thought it was getting worse at their local level. Gallup polling noted nearly the same results when polling for public sentiment regarding the US crime rate (Gramlich, 2018).

Another interesting factor is the gulf between the public and police’s perceptions on police and policing. The following are some results from a 2016 Pew Research Center

nationwide survey (Morin, Parker, Stepler, & Mercer, 2017) of almost 4500 adults and approximately 8000 officers from agencies with more than 100 members:

- Risks and challenges of police work: 14% of police thought that the public understood this very/somewhat well, 46% not too well, 40% not well at all; 38% of the citizens surveyed thought they understood this very well, 45% somewhat well, 13% not too well, 3% not well at all.
- Police-related deaths of African-Americans: 67% of officers thought these were isolated incidents, while 31% thought these incidents were a sign of a broader problem. The public rated these as 39% and 60% respectively.
- Police officer firing in the line of duty: 83% of the public thought a police officer did this at least once in their career while only 27% of the police officers surveyed reported doing so.
- Being concerned for their physical safety at work: 42% of police officers report this as often/nearly always and 42% report as being sometimes concerned. The public reported their concern in their respective jobs as 14% and 19% respectively.
- The greatest divide, not only with the public but within police agencies as well, is in the opinion as to whether society needs to do more work to attain racial equality. Ninety-two percent of Caucasian officers have said the US has done what is necessary to give African Americans equal rights with Caucasian people, while only 29% of African American officers indicated as such. Citizen responses to this question were 57% for all Caucasians and 12% for all African Americans.

While there are favorable statistics showing general public support for police, it is critical to dig deeper and examine the differences amongst various racial, political, religious and socio-economic groups in their support and opinion of the police and police practices. There is great disparity amongst racial and ethnic groups regarding their confidence and trust in the police. Information collected by the Cato Institute show that African American and Hispanic people are over 20% less likely than Caucasian people to report a crime. Similar disparity patterns were shown in assessments of police use of force, impartiality, courteousness and competency (Ekins, 2016).

These gaps in perception, both internally within the police agency as well as between the police and community members, need to be bridged, otherwise the status quo of misunderstanding, mistrust, fear and resentment between the police and minority community members will continue.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to advocate for law enforcement management to implement procedural justice as a foundational policing methodology to increase police legitimacy and improve community relationships and the internal work environment. Police legitimacy refers to the public's trust and confidence in the police, their level of respect, deference and obligation to police authority, and their perceptions that police actions are moral, fair, and appropriate in each citizen contact (Fischer, 2014). Procedural justice, according to the US DOJ Community Oriented Policing Services Office (COPS Office), is the idea of fairness in interactions, processes and resource allocation. The COPS Office describes the pillars of police-community

procedural justice as 1) voice—being heard in the process, 2) respect—being treated with respect, 3) neutrality—the belief that the process is unbiased and trustworthy, 4) comprehension—understanding the process and how decisions are made, 5) helpfulness—the belief that those helping you are genuinely interested in doing so to the extent they can (Gold & Bradley 2013).

Law enforcement has faced a myriad of significant policing challenges in the last 20 years; domestic and international terrorism incidents, high-profile police shootings, and mass shooting incidents for example. Law enforcement leaders have faced everything from community criticism to calls for dismissal when incidents such as these have occurred, more so when high profile use-of-force incidents occur.

Both before, but especially after these high profile incidents, traditional policing methods and practices such as outcomes-based policing, militaristic policing, closed-off non-transparent communications, and strict reliance on statutes, court decisions and professional norms for legitimacy have not engendered trust, encouraged cooperation, or created a sense of fairness with the populace served, especially minority members. One such incident that illustrates the shortcomings of relying primarily upon traditional policing methods and adverse effects to legitimacy occurred in Ferguson, Missouri, in 2014, when a Caucasian male officer shot and killed an unarmed African American male. This incident and the subsequent non-indictment of the officer sparked numerous days of civil unrest and rioting with an overtly militaristic response by police. This police agency, incident and the subsequent police response was investigated by the US Department of Justice (US DOJ). The US DOJ investigative report offers many learning and improvement opportunities for police leaders. It highlights failed historical outcomes-based policing practices that relied on aggressive and unconstitutional police conduct that negatively

impacted police legitimacy prior to this incident (US DOJ, March 4, 2015, pg. i). The report's recommendations for improvement specifically address increasing community trust (building legitimacy) by implementing a myriad of practices including those that encourage procedural justice within both the community and the police department (US DOJ, March 4, 2015, pg. 90-102).

Police-public interaction affects legitimacy. Now more than ever, the police need the public as partners for preventing and diffusing critical incidents as well as effective crime control. Public cooperation and support of the police is especially critical with minority members of the community, who may be otherwise distrustful or afraid. Research shows a positive correlation between procedural justice policing and increasing the public's confidence, trust, and sense of fairness with the police, thus leading to a greater likelihood of reporting crime, being a witness, and improving relations. Standard police-citizen interactions (traffic stops, field interviews, calls for service, community groups) as well as the police agency's transparency with the public offer the police numerous daily opportunities to increase legitimacy, educate, and instill/reinforce a sense of fairness with the public. Police leaders must ask themselves if they seek active support or merely passive acquiescence from the citizens they serve (Suchman, 1995, p. 575)

Significance, Implications, and Anticipated Outcomes of the Study

The concepts and practices of and related to law enforcement legitimacy are critical for 21st century policing. This paper will contain information on the history of legitimacy and procedural justice and its application to law enforcement as well as the history of policing in the

US; it will report on numerous academic studies and publications that show a positive correlation between procedural justice practices, police legitimacy, and community/citizen relations; it will examine/make reference of what to measure to assess legitimacy and procedural justice practices; and it will illustrate the interconnectivity of internal and external law enforcement legitimacy. Additionally, this research project will serve as an educational resource for law enforcement agencies, and their collaborative partners and customers.

Methodology

The primary method of approach for this project will consist of a secondary data analysis of research and statistics related to police legitimacy and procedural justice. Data will be collected from academic, peer-reviewed, and reputable sources such as online scholarly articles and publications, textbooks, and credible law enforcement and management publications related to police legitimacy and procedural justice. Empirical case studies that illustrate an effect on police legitimacy may also be incorporated. Additional research information and statistics may be obtained from police leadership organizations such as the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), the Police Executive Research Foundation (PERF), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other established professional management and police leadership groups.

Assumptions Necessary to Undertake Study

This study assumes that police leaders are aware of legitimacy and procedural justice, and have programs, made attempts, or possess an interest to maximize positive citizen relationships.

Limitations of Study

While the concepts of legitimacy and procedural justice have been around for quite some time, they have only recently been applied to policing and stressed as critical for the building and improvement of police-community relations. As such, there is a significant amount of academic research that shows the positive correlation between police legitimacy and procedural justice, however, less extant data on the implementation of procedural justice policing practices and subsequent results.

Section II: Literature Review

The following literature review will be divided into four sections. The first section will provide an historical overview of legitimacy, procedural justice, and policing in the US. The second section will denote the integration of procedural justice into policing and the benefits of procedural justice policing. The third section will examine the benefits of internal police legitimacy and the positive correlation between internal organizational legitimacy and external community legitimacy. The final section will examine police professional organizations and procedural justice, to include an overview of a police agency that has implemented procedural justice practices in partial fulfillment of their consent decree.

Historical Overview of Legitimacy, Procedural Justice, and Policing in the US

Historical overview of legitimacy

To understand why citizens obey the law and cooperate with the police, it is important to understand the history of legitimacy and procedural justice and their application to government and criminal justice systems. While political legitimacy goes back thousands of years, its more recent influences will be briefly examined.

John Locke (1632-1704), English philosopher and political theorist, has been credited with influencing the United States (US) founding fathers in their creation of the Constitution (Connolly, n.d.). Locke posited that prior to the existence of organized government, people lived as rational, apolitical, and equal individuals following only the rules of nature conferred upon all. However, this ultimately was unstable and unsustainable due to outside threats and the

limitations of what could be achieved individually. People therefore came together to form a civil society with shared ideals and mores that represented their general collective will, allowing for greater stability, protections and benefits for the society as a whole. Locke specifically endorsed a republic in which people came together to form a government in which no one person ultimately had authority over the rest, laws were applicable to all, and people voluntarily relinquished certain individual rights to create a civil society for the benefit of all (Connolly, n.d.).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), a Genevan political theorist, expanded upon the concept of political legitimacy by positing that long-term governance with sustained legitimacy, societal duration, and stability were dependent upon a governing body that adhered to laws that were applicable to all, neither burdensome nor intrusive, and created in accordance with the general will of those governed (Bertram, Fall 2018).

German philosopher Maximilian K.E. Weber (1864-1920) explored why citizens, at a macro level, would confer legitimacy upon their government. Weber noted the following: 1) tradition/habit, meaning the government and its laws have been in existence for a long time; 2) charisma, meaning the faith and trust citizens hold in their politicians; and 3) laws and legislation, meaning the citizenry trusts and believes the laws created by their governing representatives are rational (Peter, 2017). Weber specifically noted that coercive relationships do not grow legitimacy, compliance, or cooperation (Murphy & Cherney, 2011).

Legitimacy is applicable to law enforcement as policing is a service provided by a government to its people. While some governmental leaders may find it acceptable to maintain the status quo by relying on tradition, charisma, or the belief that citizens find existing laws and

governance just and rational, history has repeatedly shown that a lack of fairness, whether real or perceived, can create problems that range from civil unrest to governmental overthrow.

Therefore, it is critical for police leaders to understand not only how legitimacy has been historically established and sustained in policing, but how to expand it, especially within those demographics that have felt or experienced marginalization by the police. Procedural justice engenders fairness at the micro-level by encouraging respectful citizen-officer interactions, validating citizens, and demonstrating value and compassion for citizen contribution, thus increasing legitimacy organically.

Historical overview of procedural justice in policing

Despite the fact that the term “due process” is enshrined into the US Constitution and its amendments and has been further detailed through judicial review and decisions, the psychological study of what subjectively comprises justice, fairness, and due process only became popular after World War II (Tyler, 1987, p.41). Even then, researchers initially only focused on people’s subjective assessments regarding the deprivation or equity of the outcomes obtained in the criminal justice system—the “distributive justice”. It was not until the 1970’s that researchers began to explore the weight and value of people’s subjective assessments regarding the processes utilized in the criminal justice system to obtain the outcome—the “procedural justice” (also known as “procedural fairness”).

One of the first seminal research studies that examined the importance of procedural justice within the criminal justice system was conducted by John Thibaut and Laurens Walker. In their book, *Procedural Justice: A psychological analysis* (1975), Thibaut and Walker examined

the institutional methods/standardized procedures of arbitration, mediation, and adjudication used in third-party conflict resolution between individuals or groups. Their research showed that the participants in conflict resolution were just as concerned with the process being fair as they were for the outcome (Tyler, 1987). Thibaut and Walker noted that procedural justice—the subjective sentiment and perception of the fairness of due process—had not yet been studied with the lens of social science research (Thibaut & Walker, 1975, p.2). Their findings and observations launched a wave of academic research into procedural justice in policing that continues to date.

Historical overview of policing in the US (Potter, 2013)

Organized municipal police departments came into existence in the mid-1800's with Boston establishing the first American police force in 1838. By the 1880's, all major US cities had established police forces as growing urbanization led to greater concentrations of people and greater societal problems to include increases in the crime rate. These police forces were accountable to a centralized government authority, bureaucratic, and publicly supported, with full-time continuous employees that had fixed rules and procedures. They also came to be notoriously corrupt and brutal, targeting minorities, and serving political machines, private economic interests, and self-interests. In the south, the police first served as slave patrols to hunt down and return runaway slaves, and in the post-Confederate War era, served to enforce discrimination and Jim Crow laws.

Recognizing the need for police reform and to address the crime rate, various practices were implemented to improve police professionalism in the first part of the 20th century. These

include selection standards, new recruit training, promotion via objective processes and criteria, implementation of a chain of command, and the creation of specialized investigation areas.

Police professionalism came into prominence in the 1950s with O.W. Wilson's book, *Police Administration*, which emphasized military-style policing and discipline, motorized patrols instead of foot patrols, and centralized police command structures. Policing emphasis was placed on crime control and efficiency. Law enforcement embraced this book and its policing principles to reduce corruption and incorporate standards and practices to increase professionalism. An unintended consequence was the creation of authoritarian police agencies with isolated police practices, both internally within the organization and externally with the community. Unions were created to address internal authoritarianism and facilitate internal communication and advocacy for the rank-and-file personnel. Externally, the police became more removed from the public they were supposed to be serving, not only through police practices, but also through police technology and science such as police radios, squad cars, in-squad computers, and police record systems. The goal of reducing police corruption through professionalism and technology resulted in the police become further removed from the public. This isolation and social tension was compounded in the 1960s and 1970s by police response to civil rights and anti-war demonstrations, which was perceived by many in the public as brutal and oppressive.

This distant and antagonistic relationship between police and community continued into the 1980s – 2000s with policing practices such as zero tolerance, which evolved from the broken windows theory that low-level, quality-of-life disorder, whether it be environmental (broken windows, graffiti) or social (petty crimes), creates an opportunity for crime to thrive and increase in severity, and therefore must be nipped in the bud. Strict, non-discretionary order maintenance

policing practices such as zero tolerance policing (ZTP) were perceived externally as aggressive and targeting low-income and minority neighborhoods. For example, in New York where ZTP was implemented in 1994, African-Americans and Hispanics represented about 25% of New York's population but accounted for 52% and 32% of ZTP arrests in 2002-2003 (Bowling & Sheptycki, 2011). Other researchers noted no evidence of a positive correlation between the 2500% increase of misdemeanor marijuana arrests and the reduction of serious violent or property crimes from 1994-2000 in New York (Bowling & Sheptycki, 2011).

While some police agencies and researchers ascribed to order maintenance policing in the 1980s and 1990s, other police agencies and researchers began to explore methods to reconnect with and involve their communities in their policing. Community oriented policing (COP) emerged as one strategy to do so. The goal of COP is to involve citizens in the policing process as partners to collaboratively make their community better, with the police delivering decentralized and personalized quality police service at the grassroots level (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, p.14, 1991). This grassroots level service includes foot patrols, citizen police academies, decentralized neighborhood offices, surveys and canvassing, and community education projects on crime prevention, drugs, health, and safety.

While COP primarily attracts citizens who proactively seek an opportunity to cooperatively work with the police to provide input to determine and obtain a mutually desirable outcome for the community or neighborhood, procedural justice policing practices address the everyday police-citizen interactions regardless of who initiates contact or what the outcomes are. Research into the application of procedural justice principles to policing also developed in the 1980s and has continued since, creating an ever-growing body of data that has repeatedly demonstrated its benefit in police-community relations. Procedural justice has been shown to be

more effective in increasing compliance, cooperation, and legitimacy than instrumental and constitutional policing methods such as distributive justice, deterrence, ZTP, and order maintenance policing. That does not mean that these methods should be discarded. Instrumental and constitutional policing methods can improve legitimacy provided the police can show that they can be effective in controlling criminal behavior by creating a credible risk of detection and sanctions through the fair distribution of resources to achieve credible and fair outcomes (Schulhofer, Tyler, & Huq, 2011, p. 339-341). With instrumental and constitutional policing methods, legitimacy comes from the objective demonstration of police effectiveness; with procedural justice, police legitimacy comes from the subjective perceptions of a participatory democracy (Schulhofer et al., 2011, p. 339-341).

Procedural justice in policing

Studies on the importance of legitimacy and procedural justice in policing began in earnest in the 1980s and the first significant publication on this topic was in 1988 with *The Social Psychology of Procedural Justice* by E. Allan Lind and Tom R. Tyler. Lind and Tyler began by denoting the difference between objective procedural justice, in which the end decisions and the decision-making processes themselves are made fairer and are perceived as conforming to a normative understanding of fairness, and subjective procedural justice, which involves enhancing the perceptions of fairness by those affected by the end decisions and involved in the decision-making processes (Lind & Tyler, 1988, p. 3-4). The primary focus of their book and research was subjective procedural justice. Their research showed that peoples' perceptions about fairness were not reliant on the process outcome or the process structure, but

rather their sentiment as to whether they felt they had a voice in the process or were treated in a polite and respectful manner by the process arbiters (Lind & Tyler, 1988).

Expounding upon this research, Tyler (2006) was able to show a direct and independent correlation between police legitimacy and legal compliance. Tyler's continued research (2006, p. 269-270) found the following:

The greater the public legitimacy for the police, the greater the amount of compliance and cooperation the public will give the police.

The assessment of police legitimacy is based primarily upon peoples' procedural judgments, not instrumental judgments.

People define procedural justice—building trust—primarily by social interactions and ethical judgments, not by deterrence or self-reward.

In addition to Tyler's work over the past few decades, numerous researchers have studied legitimacy and procedural justice in policing, creating a significant body of research illustrating its benefits in improving police-community relations. Some of these studies and their findings are presented as follows:

Procedural justice, and citizen compliance and cooperation

As noted, procedural justice practices encompass the police treating citizens with fairness, dignity, and respect, explaining the process while giving citizens a voice, and being considerate of their feelings during the interaction, and presenting a decision that is fair and well-considered. Studies have found that procedural justice practices increase citizen compliance and

cooperation. One such study has found that police consideration of the citizen voice is likely to reduce citizen non-compliance, potentially resulting in a decrease of a police-citizen violent encounters (Dai, Frank, and Sun, 2011). Allowing the citizen to make requests, to state their observations, to express their displeasure are all methods in which an officer can give a citizen a voice during the process. The officer explaining their reasons for contact, what the process entails, and what the officer can or cannot do in the process are all methods that encourage citizen interaction, allow the citizen their voice, and provide transparent communications to the citizen so they know the reason for the police contact, what the process is, and the reasoning for the contact outcome. It is this exchange of information which makes the citizen feel their voice is being heard and considered. It is also something that citizens have expressed that they want in police interactions. Citizens, regardless of race, have been near unanimous in wanting officers to explain their reasoning, decisions, and courses of action (Dai et al., 2011, p. 166).

Officer demeanor has also been shown to have a significant impact on compliance (Dai et al., 2011). Quite simply, negative officer behavior has been shown to have an adverse effect on citizen behavior and compliance during police-citizen interactions, whether this negative behavior was directly experienced, witnessed, or happened to someone they know. Therefore, the likelihood of citizen compliance does not come just from giving the citizen their voice during police interaction, but also comes from how that officer interacts with the citizen. There is a direct correlation that policing with courtesy and respect elicits citizen compliance, and research has also shown that it can reduce citizen complaints against officers as well (Dai et al., 2011, p. 166).

Procedural justice, positive police perceptions, and police satisfaction

In addition to improving citizen cooperation and compliance, studies of procedural justice and its influence on citizens' satisfaction with the police also show a positive correlation. One such study shows that procedural justice, not citizens' perceptions of police effectiveness on crime control, is the most important predictor of citizen satisfaction with the police (Smith, June 2012, p. 18).

A second study considers the nature of the police-citizen contact and the effects of procedural justice on citizen satisfaction with the police. In this study, it was found that procedural justice has the greatest influence on citizens' satisfaction with the police in police-initiated contacts, as compared to citizen-initiated contacts, in which police performance shows to be the biggest influence on citizen perceptions of the police (Murphy, 2009). Considering the potential adversarial, contentious, or shame-inducing nature that police-initiated contacts may have, the promise of procedural justice in maintaining or improving citizen perception of the police in these types of contacts is significant.

Finally, a third study has shown a positive correlation between procedural justice and youth perceptions of the police and their legitimacy. Procedural justice was shown to be the strongest predictor of positive police legitimacy among youth while negative police contact showed a significant detrimental impact on police legitimacy. This study noted that increased youth perception of police legitimacy should lead to an increase in compliance to laws and social norms, as well as cooperation and support for the police, which should extend into adulthood (Hinds, 2007, p. 201-202).

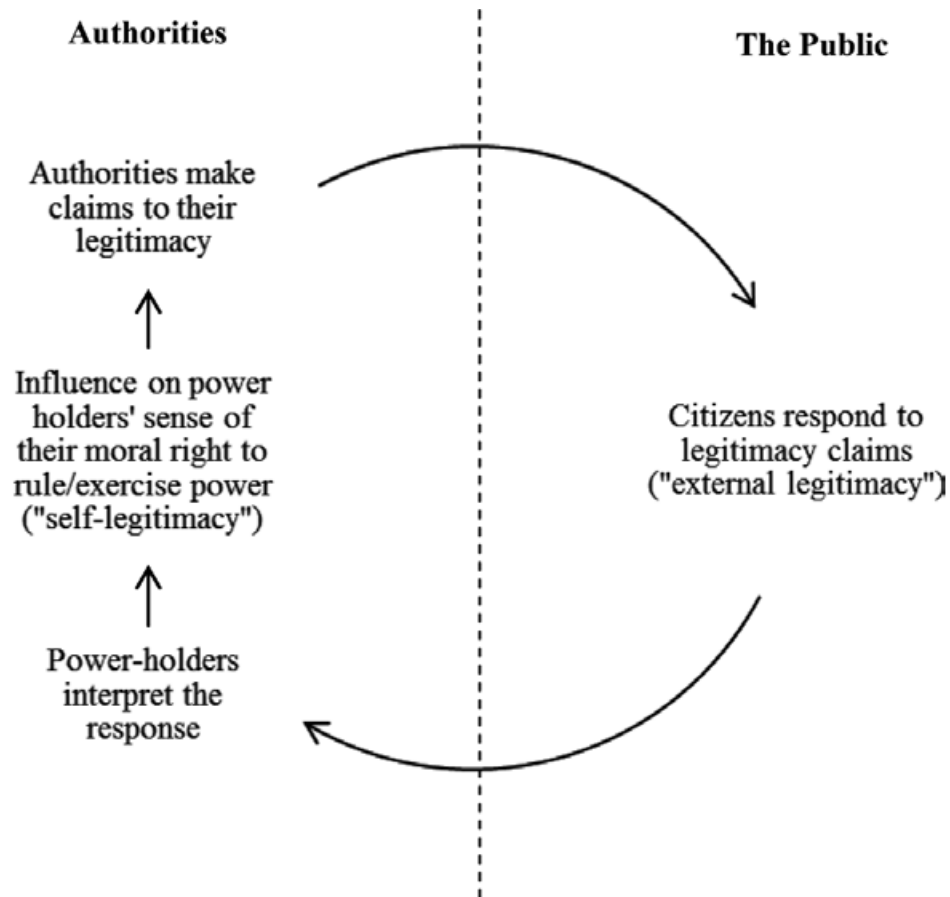
Procedural justice and traditional policing methods

Traditional policing methods have focused on the objective end results and lawfulness, not the processes and psychology of interaction. Of course the goal and role of policing is effective crime control—nobody wants to be a victim of a crime. However, what needs to be understood and embraced by law enforcement is that this goal cannot be optimized solely by the police and solely through reliance on lawfulness, deterrence, or response time statistics. Citizen interaction, cooperation, and input is needed and critical in maximizing police-community relationships and police effectiveness.

A gap exists in police-community relations due to differences in perception between police and citizens of what effective policing means and how the shared goal of crime deterrence can be obtained. Along with the gap data presented earlier in the Pew and Cato studies, consider the results of an Israeli Police Force study illustrating the gap in police officer/citizen perspective on effective policing. In this study, which replicates what US studies have shown, a survey of Israeli police officers found that they believed that their legitimacy in the public's assessment was derived from their crime-fighting results via deterrence (traditional policing method). Meanwhile, the survey of Israeli citizens showed that from their perspective, police legitimacy came more so from procedural justice as compared to crime-fighting results (Jonathan-Zamir & Harpaz, 2014).

This Israeli police research study invokes a call from another study (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2013) for a “dialogic approach to legitimacy”. This approach calls for an ongoing conversation between the police and the public in which the police utilize public input to understand how their

legitimacy is derived beyond their legal mandate for existence. This dialogic approach provides an avenue for the police to understand what their citizenry cares about (see below diagram).



(Jonathan-Zamir & Harpaz, pg. 2)

Along with examining the derivation of their own legitimacy from the perspective of the public, police agencies should also examine legitimacy internally within their organizations, ascertaining how officers' self-beliefs in legitimacy are developed and compare to legal, organizational, and community standards and values. Any gaps between internal and external constructs of police legitimacy should be identified (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2013, p. 160-163).

Procedural justice and minorities

The primary area where the police need to do their greatest outreach and bridge-building is with minority populations served. Though most people, regardless of race, expect equal treatment from the police (77% Caucasian, 72% Hispanic, and 60% African American), African Americans expect to be treated worse by the police as compared to Caucasian and Hispanic Americans [(33%, 6%, and 13% respectively)(Ekins, 2016)]. Additionally, polling statistics show that 65% of Americans think that the police regularly engage in racial profiling (81% African American, 70% Hispanic and 62% Caucasian), and 63% oppose racial profiling (Ekins, 2016). Quite clearly, the perception of police profiling weakens the trust and deference the public will show the police.

A series of academic studies were conducted into police racial profiling. Two of the studies included citizens in Oakland, Los Angeles, and New York who had recent police contacts. The other two studies examined citizens' general evaluations on the prevalence of profiling (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004). Predictably, their findings showed that citizens who believed they were being profiled by the police or believed police profiling was prevalent were less likely to accept the police decision and be supportive of the police. Second, those who believed the police were neutral or that the police treated them in a polite and respectful manner and acknowledged their rights during the contact were less like to attribute the police contact to profiling (Tyler & Wakslak, 2004, p. 259).

These studies went on to show that amongst minorities, profiling was directly linked to assessments of police legitimacy and performance. The procedural justice practices of quality of treatment and quality of decision making were the most important factors amongst non-

Caucasians in perceptions of police profiling. The level of citizen trust for the police was not statistically significant for profiling but was for influencing deference to authorities (Tyler & Wakslak, p. 277). Again, procedural justice practices have been shown to improve police-citizen relations, in this case with minority populations.

Studies related to procedural justice practices and Muslims have shown that procedural justice policing enhances Muslims' willingness to report suspected terror concerns to the police, especially amongst Muslims who feel highly stigmatized by reporting (Murphy, Madon, & Cherney, 2018). As the cooperation of the Muslim community is critical in identifying potential terror threats, radicalization, and extremism, procedural justice practices with this minority population, as with other minority populations, are critical in improving relationships and encouraging cooperation to increase effectiveness and collaboration in crime control.

Finally, studies have shown that procedural justice can overcome distrust in neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantage and low collective efficacy (Nix, Wolfe, Rojek, & Kaminski, 2014, p. 23). While the police should treat all with respect, politeness and fairness, procedural justice policing is especially critical in these neighborhoods, where trust for the police may be lower and more tenuous.

Studies illustrating the effectiveness of procedural justice in community relations; QCET and LEED

QCET study

One such empirical research field study that shows the benefits of procedural justice in police-citizen interactions is the Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET) (Mazerolle, Bennett, Antrobus, & Egghins, 2012). This study, conducted in Australia, utilized citizen surveys to assess police behavior post-interaction from routine high-volume police-citizen interactions that occurred during 60 random breath-testing (RBT) stationary checkpoints. RBT checkpoints are a standard police practice in Australia and can be done ad hoc for short periods of time or can be large-scale organized operations. The RBT checkpoint is set up by establishing strategically placed roadblocks in places where people often drink and drive. In a random manner, officers signal to vehicle operators to pull over in the roadblock zone so their alcohol levels can be tested with a portable breath tester. If the test is negative, operators are free to leave, and this entire police-operator interaction takes about 20 seconds. If the test is positive, then the vehicle operator is escorted to a breath analysis station at the RBT site to undergo further testing that may lead to a drunk driving charge. The goals of these operations are to deter drunk driving and catch drunk drivers.

Researchers decided to set up two trials at these RBT checkpoints. One trial involved RBT checkpoints conducted in a traditional manner. A second RBT checkpoint trial was conducted implementing procedural justice practices into the dialogue between the officer and vehicle operator. In this second trial, researchers worked with the police to develop a script that officers would use in their interactions with citizen operators. This script started by officers informing the operators that they were chosen in a random manner rather than being profiled, conveying the police actions as neutral to the citizen operator. The next message conveyed was the importance of doing RBT checkpoints to reduce drunk driving fatalities. Accompanying the message content was body language, manners, and politeness. Officers were instructed to crouch

to be at eye level with the vehicle operator, be polite and respectful in their verbal and body language, and to express gratitude to the operator for their time and for positive driving behaviors (wearing their seatbelt). Finally, and the most difficult procedural justice practice to operationalize during the interaction was giving the driver a voice in the process as RBT checkpoints and driver participation in the breath testing are mandatory. It was decided that the police would discuss crime deterrence with citizens by either inquiring what citizen operators did to deter crime and provide positive affirmation for their efforts or talk about how the police and citizenry could collaborate to deter crime together.

The researchers and police picked 60 RBT checkpoints for this study, 30 for the traditional method and 30 for the procedural justice experimental method. The researchers produced a citizen survey that would later be provided to those who went through the 60 RBT checkpoints. The survey utilized a Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree for citizens to provide their feedback on the following questions:

- 1) The officer was fair when deciding to stop me;
- 2) The officer gave me an opportunity to express my views;
- 3) The officer listened to me;
- 4) The officer treated me with dignity and respect;
- 5) The officer was polite during our interaction;
- 6) I felt the officer was trustworthy;
- 7) I had confidence the officer was doing the right thing.

The survey also asked if this interaction with the officer changed the vehicle operator's views on drunk driving and of the police in general, if the citizen was satisfied with the way the officer conducted the RBT, and if the citizen operator did as told by the officer.

A total of 20,985 surveys were distributed to 21,000 vehicle operators; 8985 went to those in the experimental RBT checkpoint group and 12,000 to those in the traditional (control) group. Response rates were low, with only 1097 being valid for the experimental group, and 1649 for the control group. The responses to the 7 questions were averaged to form a procedural justice encounter scale. Their findings for those who responded were as follows:

The experimental group scored significantly higher than the control group on the procedural justice encounter scale. The experimental group was 1.24 times more likely than the control group to report that their views on drunk driving had changed, and 1.47 times more likely to report that their views of the police had changed. Regarding satisfaction with the police interaction, the experimental group reported a significantly higher amount of satisfaction with the officers as compared to the control group. Regarding compliance, the vehicle operators reported a significantly higher amount of compliance with the officers in the experimental group as compared to those in the control group.

This study not only shows the importance of the police utilizing the pillars of procedural justice in citizen interactions, but also shows the impact of procedural justice on police legitimacy in short-term police-citizen interactions.

LEED study

As noted by King County Sheriff Sue Rahr, Seattle Police Chief John Diaz, and Washington State Criminal Justice Training Commission Director Joe Hawe (n.d.) good police officers have always integrated the pillars of procedural justice in their communications and interactions with citizens. However, this style needs to be integrated and promoted within police agencies from the top-down in an ongoing basis from the time the officer is hired and receives their certification training until the time the officer leaves the profession. One way to do so is for a police agency to adopt the LEED communication model, which embodies the pillars of procedural justice into police communications, both externally and internally. Like the QCET study, a study regarding a police department's use of the LEED communication model illustrates the importance of integrating procedural justice into the interactions between the police and citizenry.

What LEED is, and the study of its implementation at the Seattle Police Department (SPD) is as follows:

Listen: allow citizens to tell their side of the story; explain, vent, pontificate. This is their time—give them their voice. This builds investment in the process by being heard.

Explain: the officer/police employee explains their intentions during the interaction, what the process will be, what the citizen and officer can or cannot do, and what is going to happen. This is the roadmap for the interaction and puts forward the most likely outcome.

Equity: this is the “Why” of the interaction, so the citizen knows the reasoning for the actions being taken. This must be presented in an unbiased manner and shown to be done based on the totality of the circumstances to include the citizen's input.

Dignity: the officer/employee acts with dignity in their interaction with the citizen and leaves the citizen with theirs upon completion.

The above-noted Washington law enforcement agencies, in their intention to integrate procedural justice into the everyday police practices, received a \$400,000 grant from the US DOJ COPS office to integrate LEED into their police training and operations in August 2011. In May 2016, an evaluation of the LEED program implemented at the SPD as a result of this grant was released by the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS). As noted in the abstract of this report, *Promoting Officer Integrity through Early Engagements and Procedural Justice in the Seattle Police Department*, this academic study serves as an evaluation as to whether procedural justice and the LEED communications model creates quantifiable results of improvement in field outcomes. A synopsis of this training program and its findings are as follows (Owens, Weisburd, Alpert, & Amendola, May 2016, p. vi):

In partnership with SPD, researchers developed a High Risk Circumstance (HRC) model that identified geographic areas of higher risk, referred to as “behavioral hot spots”, where officers had an elevated risk of encountering dangerous persons or incidents. They also created a training group and control group of officers, with the first group receiving training in procedural justice and the LEED communications model through a meeting with their first line supervisor. The researchers then studied the following officer activity data between the training group and the control group: 1) total computer-aided-dispatch (CAD) incident responses; 2) officer-initiated incidents documented in CAD; 3) time spent on scene; 4) whether a report was generated for the incident. Researchers also examined how many of these incidents resulted in arrest, how often officer use of force occurred, and how many officer complaints were generated. They also

looked at other incident resolutions taken by officers such as citation, verbal warning, or assistance provided.

Using the HRC model created and input from SPD on how many officers could be involved without disrupting normal operations, officers from the HRC-identified behavioral hot spot areas were randomly assigned to the training and control groups, resulting in approximately 221 officers for the training group and 240 for the control group. The officers in the training group then had their non-disciplinary training meeting with their first-line supervisor within about 11 days of notification of being selected. A total of 221 PJ/LEED meetings were held (Owens, Weisburd, Alpert, & Amendola, May 2016, p. 3-4).

The officers' meetings with their respective first-line supervisors (sergeants) were designed to introduce procedural justice and LEED (PJ/LEED) by both training and modeling. Officers were given a greater voice in the focus and timing of the meeting than usually allowed under traditional hierarchical practices. The sergeants modeled the pillars of procedural justice during the meetings with officers. The sergeants discussed with their officers a recent substantive citizen encounter provided from a list constructed by the researcher. During that discussion, the sergeants pointed out to their officer instances during the incident where PJ/LEED practices could have been used but weren't. This was not done or presented in a disciplinary manner, but rather to train officers to recognize future incidents where PJ/LEED practices could be utilized. Lieutenants were present to intervene only as necessary if the sergeants strayed from the PJ/LEED pillars to which they had been trained (Owens et al., May 2016, p. 3-4).

The researchers examined the lasting effects of the PJ/LEED training and the results are positive and promising. The frequency of citizen encounters between the training group and control group were equal. However, the training group officers were 26% less likely to resolve an incident in arrest one week after meeting and training with their first-line supervisor in PJ/LEED. Six weeks out from the meeting and training, the training group officers were 12% less likely to resolve an incident by arrest. The researchers also noted that the data suggested that the PJ/LEED officers were 50% less likely to be involved in a use-of-force incident (Owens, et al., May 2016, p. vi). Additionally, researchers noted no change in response rates, self-initiated activity, or documentation for similar incidents worked by officers in either group. There was no change in the amount of time spent on an incident between the two groups. Researchers noted generally that with the 12% decrease in arrests as incident resolution, there was a moderate short-term increase “assistance-rendered” resolutions, and a long-term increase in citations-issued resolutions (Owens et al., May 2016, p. 5-6).

Two other significant observations related to the value of procedural justice practices can be noted from this study. First, this study notes the positive outcomes of procedural justice by studying officer performance data versus citizen survey response. Second, this study demonstrates the importance of partnering with academia to integrate empirical research and findings into police training and practices.

Simply stated, using the pillars of procedural justice and the LEED method of communication infuses respect and quality into the police-citizen encounter. Disrespect from the police officer towards the citizen during an encounter engenders disrespect from the citizen towards the officer. Police disrespect attacks the citizen’s social self-identity and can provoke a citizen to defend their social identity. It also shows a lack of professionalism and legitimacy.

Allowing citizens their voice during an interaction, as well as the police officer explaining the reason(s) a course of action can or cannot be taken, positively influences citizen cooperation and may prevent or at least reduce antagonistic citizen responses (Dai et al., 2011, p. 164, 166).

To build trust, maximize service, improve the community relationship, and increase cooperative crime control, the police need the people's voluntary cooperation and compliance. To gain voluntary cooperation and compliance, the police must understand what intrinsically motivates people to provide that. People care more about how they are treated during the process rather than the outcome of the process. Fairness promotes inclusion and value while bias promotes denigration and exclusion (Bradford, 2012). People want to understand the process, want to be heard in the process, and want to be treated with respect during the process. That is what empirical research has been showing for the last several decades, and it is critical the police leaders move their agencies to this foundational mindset in police training and practice.

Internal police legitimacy

As noted, procedural justice encompasses the police treating citizens with fairness, dignity and respect, explaining the process while giving citizens a voice and being considerate of their feelings during the interaction, and presenting a decision that is fair and well-considered. Consider if these principles of procedural justice were applied and practiced within the police organization itself and what the external ripple effect might be.

Police organizations have traditionally been autocratic in leadership and quasi-militaristic in operation, with policy and directives flowing from the top-down with little input or feedback from the bottom-up. However, progressive police agencies are looking to change that by

operationalizing procedural justice practices internally. Procedural justice has long been utilized in private organizations but has only recently being applied to public sector organizations such as police departments. Studies into the application of procedural justice practices within police agencies show positive correlations beneficial both to the organization and the community served.

For example, one study of 536 police officers within the Metropolitana Police in Buenos Aires, Argentina studied whether procedural justice practices had an effect on officer compliance with supervisors and policies, and officer endorsement of the regulations of use of force (Haas, Van Craen, Skogan, & Fleitas, 2015, p. 442). The expectation would be that internal procedural justice practices employed by supervisors towards their officers would result in greater compliance from their officers.

The officers were given the opportunity to participate in the research survey at their annual re-trainer. All officers chose to participate though it was not mandatory, with some expressing appreciation for the opportunity to have a “voice” related to their work. A Likert-scale survey was utilized and asked participants to answer questions about their supervisor’s trust, neutrality, accountability, respect, and voice allowance; about compliance with organizational policies and supervisory directives; and, sentiments towards the allowable levels of use of force.

The results of the survey indicated that the officers’ level of trust and perceived fairness for their supervisors is positively associated with compliance to supervisory directives and organizational policies; an increase in one leads to an increase in the other (Haas et al., 2015, p. 453). Additionally, the survey results suggested that perceived internal procedural justice and

trust encouraged officer endorsement for the rules regarding use of force, a result that has critical significance externally (Haas et al., 2015, p. 454).

Another study into the external effects of internal procedural justice replicated similar findings as the above noted study. In this second study, the researchers focused on two internal organizational factors that explain how internal procedural justice can foster external procedural justice. The first is supervisory modeling. Modeling means that observers learn and behave by imitating the behaviors of model others, especially if the model holds high status (supervision) with the observer. In the police organization, this means officers will model the behaviors they observe their supervisor perform. This study examines whether officers will externally model the procedurally just behaviors and actions that their supervisors model internally.

The second factor is fair supervision (Van Craen & Skogan, 2017). In this study, it is asserted that fair supervision engenders trust from those supervised. Procedurally just actions and behaviors by supervisors such as fair decision making and just treatment have been shown to have a strong positive influence on employee trust (Van Craen & Skogan, 2017, p. 8). This research explored whether officers perceptions of internal procedural justice and trust in their supervisor affect their external trust in citizens.

The results of this study show a positive correlation for both factors. First, internal procedural justice practices modeled by supervisors lead to officer support and practice of procedural justice externally. Second, internal procedural justice practices increase officer trust in supervision, and translate to greater trust for the citizenry (Van Craen & Skogan, 2017, p. 14-15). The importance of this study is twofold; it shows that procedural justice must not only be practiced externally, but internally as well as the latter affects the earlier. Second, it shows the

significant importance of first-line supervisors not only in modeling those behaviors that a police organization wants their officers to perform externally, but in growing employee trust internally as well.

Introduction of procedural justice practices within the law enforcement profession starts with training. One study examined the immediate short-term effects of procedural justice training on new Chicago police recruits as well as their post-academy retention of procedural justice practices. The procedural justice practices that were examined in this study included giving citizens a voice, granting them dignity and respect, demonstrating neutrality, and having trust in citizens to do the right thing. Research results showed short-term officer support for all four of these practices. Long-term officer support was shown for voice, dignity and respect, and neutrality, while the effects of training on citizen trust were found to be statistically insignificant (Skogan, Van Craen, & Hennessy, 2014, p. 319).

Increasing internal police legitimacy and growing trust within a police department requires a comprehensive approach. It starts with senior management choosing, modeling, and communicating procedural justice practices to grow legitimacy and trust internally and externally. They must have promotional processes which place an emphasis on selecting first-line supervisors who model procedural justice practices to their officers. Finally, procedural justice practices must be introduced to new recruits through their initial academy training and reinforced through their departmental probationary training period as well through mandatory yearly training sessions.

Police professionals and procedural justice

Along with the growing academic body of research showing the benefits of procedural justice in policing, professional police groups are also promoting procedural justice practices. One such professional group, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) has an entire section of their website dedicated to procedural justice.

The IACP quarterly publication, *The Police Chief*, has featured academic/police partnership articles on the benefits of procedural justice for policing. One such article, *Blending Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy into Police Culture*, notes the growing attention to police legitimacy via procedural justice, making the following points throughout the article: compliance is better gained through quality treatment of citizens versus threats of arrest or force; citizen compliance and cooperation is improved through procedural justice; and, coercion used without legitimacy breeds defiance. The article encourages integrating procedural justice practices into police culture so officers internalize these practices as part of their norms and values through academy training, first-line supervision, by stressing the quality of police encounters over the quantity of police encounters, by valuing time spent by officers in their citizen interactions, and by practicing procedural justice internally within the agency (Gau & Gorby, 2015).

A second professional police group promoting procedural justice practices is the Police Executive Research Foundation (PERF). PERF partnered with the US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) to produce two reports on legitimacy and procedural justice. The first, *Legitimacy and procedural justice: A new element of police leadership*, argues that legitimacy and procedural justice are essential for policing success, and promotes the following overall points: community trust is important, legitimacy and procedural justice promote community trust as well as internal police agency trust, the public uses legitimacy to judge the

effectiveness of the police all the time, and increasing legitimacy is now a policing leadership element (Fischer, 2014, p. 33-35). The second report is a case study of the New Orleans Police Department and its integration of procedural justice to increase public legitimacy and trust.

Legitimacy and procedural justice: The New Orleans case study (Wexler, 2014)

In 2010, Ronal Serpas took the helm as the police chief for the New Orleans Police Department (NOPD). NOPD was in crisis, with many of its officers facing criminal charges for their actions during Hurricane Katrina, and the mayor requesting that the US Department of Justice come investigate the NOPD. Chief Serpas chose to be proactive in reforming NOPD versus waiting for the conclusion of the US DOJ study. Within a few months of becoming chief, he implemented 65 steps for reform, of which about half embraced and promoted legitimacy and procedural justice practices. Chief Serpas recognized that while legality, meaning officer conformance to law and court decisions, is important, the need for public support of the police through legitimacy and procedural justice is another critical benchmark in policing effectiveness (Wexler, 2014, p. 4). Chief Serpas also recognized the need for internal police legitimacy, with 10 of his 65 steps addressing treating employees fairly, rewarding employee initiative and hard work without playing favorites, and building trust internally and externally by having a zero-tolerance policy for lying.

New Orleans took the initiative to study the community's perception of police effectiveness and legitimacy via procedural justice through surveys. These surveys were initiated in 2009 by the New Orleans Crime Coalition (NOCC). The survey numbers are fascinating in showing the effectiveness of positively perceived police actions on the public's legitimacy of the

police, as well as the detrimental effects of a negative police action. In August 2009, only 33% of survey respondents reported being satisfied with the NOPD. In February 2011, after Chief Serpas took the helm as police chief and the US DOJ study of NOPD was initiated, that number jumped to 60%. It fell back to 47% in August 2011, this decrease being attributed to extensive media reporting on the trials of officers for their criminal actions during Hurricane Katrina. In February 2012, the police satisfaction level increased to 61%, but then fell again in August 2012 to 56%, which was attributed to an officer being indicted by a local grand jury for shooting an unarmed citizen. Overall satisfaction with the police registered at 58% in August 2013. These surveys also assessed citizens' perceptions of other specific aspects of police service, with increases being observed in all measured categories.

Category surveyed	August 2009	August 2013
Officer honesty & integrity	40%	56%
Officer professionalism	49%	66%
Officer attitude & behavior	50%	61%
Officer pleasantness	53%	72%
Crime reporting	79% (August 2010)	87%
Addressing citizen concerns	41%	61%

NOPD went into a consent decree in 2013, continuing on with their improvements while the NOCC has continued to survey the public's sentiment toward the NOPD. While there have been some fluctuations in the survey results, the result have been generally favorable, showing sustained improvement in the community's assessment of NOPD. In January 2019, the US district judge assigned to the consent decree called New Orleans' progress "remarkable". In

2018, there was 1 serious use of force incident compared to 14 in 2013, the number of officers involved shootings was at its lowest since the consent decree was enacted, and the homicide rate was at a 47 year low (Jonsson, February 26, 2019).

President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing

Finally, the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (May 2015) has mirrored the call of professional police leadership organizations promoting the need for legitimacy and procedural justice, making "Building Trust and Legitimacy" the very first pillar presented in their report (p. 9-19). President Barack Obama convened this task force in December 2014 after the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, MO, as well as other high-profile deadly force incidents against minorities by Caucasian officers. Within this first pillar, task force members specifically call for the integration of procedural justice both externally as well as internally. The task force report goes on to make some excellent points regarding police-community relations—that police and citizens should be mindful of how much they have in common versus how much separates them; that police can't hope to build trust with communities if they appear to come in as an occupying force with the goal to rule and control; and finally, that changes in policy and procedure without changes in organizational culture will be ineffective.

Section III: Recommendations/Conclusion

Recommendations

Procedural justice practices must be implemented into policing. Traditional policing practices of deterrence and lawfulness can no longer be solely relied upon as the primary foundational base for policing in the 21st century. While some citizens might find legitimacy in police performance statistics and the outcome, many more would prefer to be treated well during police interactions, having their say, and being heard with understanding, compassion, and acknowledgement that their input is valued and important.

Just as citizens want to be heard and valued externally, police agency employees also want the same internally. As internal police legitimacy has been shown to beget external police legitimacy, the police leader who chooses to proactively implement internal procedural justice practices can expect benefits both internally and externally.

There are still gaps in police-citizen understanding and opinion of what defines effective policing. As the data presented has shown, consistent and persistent procedural justice practices improve cooperation, compliance, trust, and goodwill between the police and the community. Close the gaps—implement procedural justice as the foundational tenet of policing.

Conclusion

It should be noted that there is no one singular policing practice that will create a sense of universal fairness across the ethnic, economic, social and political groups within the community served by law enforcement. As such, this study is not advocating for procedural justice policing

to replace existing policing methods, nor is it a call for non-contact or non-enforcement as both are essential to maintain societal order and reduce crime. Standard police-citizen interactions (traffic stops, field interviews, calls for service, community groups) as well as police transparency with the public offer the police numerous daily opportunities to increase legitimacy, educate, and instill and reinforce a sense of fairness and trust with the public.

To maximize service, community relationship, and crime control, the police need the peoples' voluntary cooperation and compliance. To gain voluntary cooperation and compliance, the police must understand what intrinsically motivates people to provide that. People care more about how they are treated during the process rather than the outcome of the process. As the police hold power as the arbiter in any citizen interaction whether it is mediation, requests, commands, seizures, or use of force, it is especially critical that police be mindful of the scope, breadth, depth, and impact of their communications and interactions with citizens. Fairness promotes inclusion and value while bias promotes denigration and exclusion (Bradford, 2012). People want to understand the process, want to be heard in the process, and want to be treated with respect during the process. That is what empirical research has been showing for the last several decades, and it is critical the police leaders move their agencies to this foundational mindset in police training and practice. Police leaders must ask themselves if they seek active support or merely passive acquiescence from the citizens they serve (Suchman, 1995, p. 575). With proper consideration, implementation, reinforcement, and balance with other policing practices, procedural justice can and should be part of a well-rounded and comprehensive 21st-century model of policing.

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