



ARCHIVED - Archiving Content

Archived Content

Information identified as archived is provided for reference, research or recordkeeping purposes. It is not subject to the Government of Canada Web Standards and has not been altered or updated since it was archived. Please contact us to request a format other than those available.

ARCHIVÉE - Contenu archivé

Contenu archivé

L'information dont il est indiqué qu'elle est archivée est fournie à des fins de référence, de recherche ou de tenue de documents. Elle n'est pas assujettie aux normes Web du gouvernement du Canada et elle n'a pas été modifiée ou mise à jour depuis son archivage. Pour obtenir cette information dans un autre format, veuillez communiquer avec nous.

This document is archival in nature and is intended for those who wish to consult archival documents made available from the collection of Public Safety Canada.

Some of these documents are available in only one official language. Translation, to be provided by Public Safety Canada, is available upon request.

Le présent document a une valeur archivistique et fait partie des documents d'archives rendus disponibles par Sécurité publique Canada à ceux qui souhaitent consulter ces documents issus de sa collection.

Certains de ces documents ne sont disponibles que dans une langue officielle. Sécurité publique Canada fournira une traduction sur demande.

Crime Prevention Research Review

No. 10

Legitimacy in Policing



Lorraine Mazerolle
*Institute for Social Science Research
The University of Queensland*

Sarah Bennett
*Institute for Social Science Research
The University of Queensland*

Jacqueline Davis
*Institute for Social Science Research
The University of Queensland*

Elise Sargeant
*Institute for Social Science Research
The University of Queensland*

Matthew Manning
*School of Criminology and Criminal Justice
Griffith University*



COPS
*Community Oriented Policing Services
U.S. Department of Justice*



THE CAMPBELL
COLLABORATION

Suggested citation:

Mazerolle, Lorraine, Sarah Bennett, Jacqueline Davis, Elise Sargeant, and Matthew Manning. 2013. *Legitimacy in Policing*. No. 10 of *Crime Prevention Research Review*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

The opinions contained herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice. References to specific agencies, companies, products, or services should not be considered an endorsement by the author(s) or the U.S. Department of Justice. Rather, the references are illustrations to supplement discussion of the issues.

The Internet references cited in this publication were valid as of the date of this publication. Given that URLs and websites are in constant flux, neither the author(s) nor the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services can vouch for their current validity.

The Campbell Collaboration Crime and Justice Group (www.campbellcollaboration.org/ccjg) is an international network of researchers that prepares, updates, and rapidly disseminates systematic reviews of high-quality research conducted worldwide on effective methods to reduce crime and delinquency and improve the quality of justice.

June 2013

e041325579

ISBN: 978-1-932582-79-6

Contents

Acknowledgments	2
Introduction.	3
Summary of Systematic Review Methods	7
Objectives	8
Inclusion Criteria.	8
Selection of Studies	9
Meta Analysis.	11
Findings	13
The Systematic Review	14
Characteristics of Studies Included in the Meta-Analysis	14
Meta-Analysis.	17
Direct Outcomes	17
Indirect Outcomes	20
Conclusion.	23
Studies Included in the Meta-Analysis	27
References	31
Appendix: Summary of meta-analysis studies' characteristics	35

Acknowledgments

This paper briefly reviews the research on interventions that seek to enhance police legitimacy. Readers interested in a more detailed assessment of the crime prevention value of police legitimacy should acquire the full report (Mazerolle et al. 2013) available on the Campbell Library web page, <http://campbellcollaboration.org/lib/project/141/>.

We would like to acknowledge the support of the National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA), George Mason University, and the Campbell Collaboration that made this systematic search and review possible. We are particularly grateful to David Wilson and Kerrie Mengersen for providing valuable insights on content and analysis techniques. Our thanks to Phyllis Schultz, information specialist at Rutgers University, for her assistance in locating difficult-to-find publications. Gentry White provided statistical support. The authors would also like to thank Adele Somerville, Sarah-Ann Burger, Jegar Pitchforth, and Jen Owens for their assistance on the review.

A grant from the National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA) provided financial support for the systematic search, and George Mason University (sub-award no. E2216645) provided financial support for the systematic review. The Institute for Social Science Research at the University of Queensland and the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security (CEPS) provided additional financial support.

“The most common pathway the police use to increase citizen perceptions of legitimacy is through the use of procedural justice.”

Introduction

Introduction

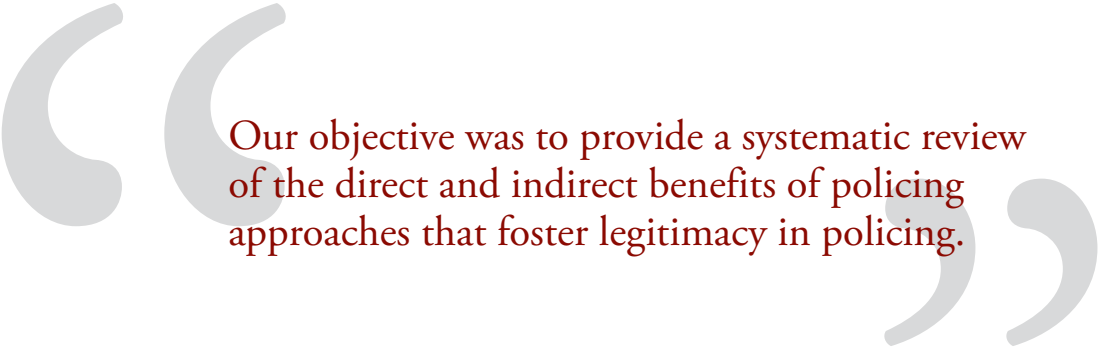
Police require voluntary cooperation from the general public to be effective in controlling crime and maintaining order. Research shows that citizens are more likely to comply and cooperate with police and obey the law when they view the police as legitimate (Tyler 1990, 1997; Tyler and Fagan 2008; Tyler and Huo). Tyler (2006, 375) defines legitimacy as “a psychological property of an authority, institution, or social arrangement that leads those connected to it to believe that it is appropriate, proper, and just.” The defining feature of a legitimate authority is that people feel obliged to voluntarily comply with that authority’s directive. This sense of obligation is distinct from compliance out of fear of punishment or expectations of reward (Tyler 2006).

Citizen perceptions of police legitimacy encourage law-abiding behavior not only *during* an actual or potential police-citizen encounter but also *outside* of encounters, during everyday life (Sunshine and Tyler 2003; Tyler and Huo 2002). As Tyler (2004, 85) suggests, unless the police are “widely obeyed” by the public, the capacity of police to maintain order is compromised (see also Tyler 1990).

Research shows that when people perceive the police as legitimate, they are more likely to report higher levels of satisfaction and confidence in the police (both for individual officers and the institution), perceive the police as effective in their crime-control efforts, and are more willing to assist police and accept the manifest outcomes of an interaction with police (Tyler 2004). Police legitimacy thus engenders compliance, fosters cooperation, and improves citizen satisfaction with police, thus facilitating the capacity of police to maintain order and control crime.

The most common pathway the police use to increase citizen perceptions of legitimacy is through the use of procedural justice, which, as described in the literature, comprises four essential components: citizen participation in the proceedings prior to an authority reaching a decision (or voice), perceived neutrality of the authority in making the decision, whether the authority showed dignity and respect toward citizens throughout the interaction, and whether the authority conveyed trustworthy motives (Goodman-Delahunty 2010; Tyler 2008; Tyler and Huo 2002; Tyler and Murphy 2011).

Bottoms and Tankebe (2012, 159–160) highlighted the importance of procedurally just “dialogue” during front-line police-citizen encounters in their argument that the dialogic character in policing cultivates perceptions of legitimacy. They argue that the consequences of ongoing claims to legitimacy from the power holders (i.e., front-line police) and iterative responses from citizens mean that “legitimacy needs to be perceived as always dialogic and relational in character” (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012, 129). Police departments throughout the world should be implicitly and explicitly weaving a dialogue incorporating these four principles of procedural justice into their operational policing programs and interventions.



Our objective was to provide a systematic review of the direct and indirect benefits of policing approaches that foster legitimacy in policing.

Summary of Systematic
Review Methods

Summary of Systematic Review Methods

Objectives

This systematic review synthesizes published and unpublished empirical evidence on the impact of interventions led by the public police to enhance citizen perceptions of police legitimacy. Our objective was to provide a systematic review of the direct and indirect benefits of policing approaches that foster legitimacy in policing. Studies had to either state explicitly that the intervention sought to increase police legitimacy, or report that police applied at least one of the principles of procedural justice: participation, neutrality, dignity or respect, and trustworthy motives.

Inclusion Criteria

To be eligible for the systematic review, studies had to conform to the following criteria:

- Involve the public police from any level of government (i.e., federal, state, or local law enforcement)
- Contain some type of training, directive, or organizational innovation that was provided to or by the police and that either was explicitly aimed at improving police legitimacy or that used at least one of the following elements of procedural justice: citizen participation, perceived neutrality of the police, police showing dignity and respect, or police demonstrating trustworthy motives
- Use an experimental (randomized) design, or use a quasi-experimental approach (including a time series or a pre/post design) where the treatment group is compared to a matched or unmatched control group
- Have been conducted from 1980 to 2009 in any geographic location

Studies also had to report on at least one of the following direct or indirect outcomes:

- Direct outcomes
 - Perceived legitimacy
 - Procedural fairness
 - Willingness to cooperate with police
 - Trust/confidence in police
 - Social ties
 - Compliance
 - Satisfaction
- Indirect outcomes
 - Reduction in offending
 - Reduction in crime
 - Reduction in social disorder

To be eligible for meta-analysis, studies must have been reported in such a manner that effect sizes could be identified and/or calculated.

Selection of Studies

We used a database of documents identified during a systematic search of the police legitimacy literature conducted for the National Policing Improvement Agency (see Bennett et al. 2009). The research team identified studies by searching six electronic databases (CSA, Informit, Ingenta Connect, Ovid, Proquest, and Web of Knowledge) and two library catalogs (National Police Library, and Cambridge University and dependent libraries) using keywords to focus the search on the concepts of policing, legitimacy and procedural justice, and on our selected outcomes. The research team also searched the reference list of each eligible study and reviewed the biographies and publication lists of influential authors in the field of procedural justice and police legitimacy to determine if any relevant studies were not retrieved in the original search.

“Combining compliance and cooperation allowed us to retain all of these studies in the meta-analysis to ensure broad coverage and meaningful results.”

Meta-Analysis

Meta-Analysis

Data analysis was conducted using Comprehensive Meta-Analysis 2.0 (CMA), a statistical meta-analysis software package. We conducted separate meta-analyses using random effects models for each policing intervention outcome that at least two evaluations had measured. We obtained or calculated a single effect size per study per outcome, either a standardized mean difference for a continuous outcome or an odds ratio for outcomes reported as dichotomous.

We decided to consider several of the originally proposed outcomes as a single outcome because of the low number of eligible studies that could have been included in each of these outcomes if they were kept separate. We combined studies that measured citizen satisfaction with and confidence in police together in a single meta-analysis because the operational definitions of these two often overlap in literature on policing. We also combined outcomes that measured citizen compliance and cooperation with police because only two studies measured cooperation. Combining compliance and cooperation allowed us to retain all of these studies in the meta-analysis to ensure broad coverage and meaningful results.

“The specific strategy used to influence citizen perceptions of police legitimacy differed between studies [but the] most common type...was community policing-type interventions.”

Findings

Findings

The Systematic Review

Of the 20,600 records retrieved from the systematic search, we identified 963 unique documents on police legitimacy and/or procedural justice and policing, of which 933 were obtained. Of those, 163 documents reported on police-led interventions. A final set of 30 documents, containing 41 independent evaluations, was eligible for meta-analysis.

Characteristics of Studies Included in the Meta-Analysis

The final 41 evaluations included in the meta-analysis differed according to their intervention strategies, components of procedural justice, and a number of other factors. The following section describes these differences, and a summary of study characteristics is included in the Appendix on page 36.

Intervention Strategies

The specific strategy used to influence citizen perceptions of police legitimacy differed between studies. The most common type of strategy was community policing-type interventions, where a closer partnership between the police and the community was established through community-oriented police training, the creation of special community-oriented task forces, foot patrol officers, the provision of grants for community policing activities (e.g., “Weed and Seed”), or a combination of these.

Twenty documents evaluated some type of community policing strategy. Within these 20, two defined the intervention as reassurance policing, which differs from community policing in its specific target of fear of crime (Singer 2004; Tuffin, Morris, and Poole 2006), nine documents evaluated a specific set of community policing grants known as Weed and Seed (Dunworth and Mills 1999a-h; Zevitz et al. 1997), and one identified its intervention explicitly as beat policing (Bond and Gow 1997). Although many of the interventions we screened used neighborhood watch strategies, only one evaluation of this type (Hall 1987) was eligible for meta-analysis. The other seven community policing documents evaluated a range of activities defined as “community policing” (Dai 2007; Eckert 2009; Murphy, Hinds, and Fleming 2008; Panetta 2000; Ren et al. 2005; Robinson and Chandek 2000; Skogan and Steiner 2004).

Of the remaining 10 documents, three evaluated alternatives to traditional police complaints procedures, one using an informal resolution process (Holland 1996), one using an explicitly restorative-justice-based procedure (Young et al. 2005), and one using an explicitly procedural-justice-based procedure (Kerstetter and Rasinski 1994). Three documents (Shapland et al. 2007; Shapland et al. 2008; Sherman et al. 1998) evaluated police-led restorative-justice conferencing, an alternative to court proceedings in which victims and offenders attended a police-facilitated meeting to discuss the offence and possible reparations, and three documents used problem-oriented policing strategies (Hartstone and Richetelli 2003; McGarrell and Chermak 2004; Weisburd, Morris, and Ready 2008). Finally, one document evaluated an informal contact intervention between police officers and school-age children (Hinds 2009).

Research Design and Data Collection Methods

The evaluations had differing comparison conditions. Four documents described randomized controlled-field experiments, including one problem-oriented policing study (Weisburd, Morris, and Ready 2008) and three restorative justice conferencing studies (Shapland et al. 2007; Shapland et al. 2008; Sherman et al. 1998). Fifteen documents described pre/post only designs (Bond and Gow 1997; Dunworth and Mills 1999a-h; Eckert 2009; Hartstone and Richetelli 2003; Hinds 2009; Kerstetter and Rasinski 1994; Murphy, Hinds, and Fleming 2008; Singer 2004), and eleven documents described other nonrandomized designs (Dai 2007; Hall 1987; Holland 1996; McGarrell and Chermak 2004; Panetta 2000; Ren et al. 2005; Robinson and Chandek 2000; Skogan and Steiner 2004; Tuffin, Morris, and Poole 2006; Young et al. 2005; Zevitz et al. 1997).

Studies were required to use “business as usual,” or a police intervention that did not include legitimacy-enhancing dialogue, as the comparison. The absence of randomized allocation to intervention and control conditions may have introduced bias into the results of some primary studies. Where possible, we tried to identify any effects of primary study methodology through moderator analysis (see Mazerolle et al. 2013).

Targeted Population

The evaluations differed with respect to their target populations, often according to the intervention strategy. Thus, the conferencing interventions targeted offenders and victims (Shapland et al. 2007; Shapland et al. 2008; Sherman et al. 1998); the community policing, reassurance policing, and neighborhood watch interventions targeted community members generally (Bond and Gow 1997; Dai 2007; Dunworth and Mills 1999a–h; Eckert 2009; Hall 1987; Murphy, Hinds, and Fleming 2008; Panetta 2000; Singer 2004; Skogan and Steiner 2004; Tuffin, Morris, and Poole 2006; Zevitz et al. 1997); the alternative complaints procedures targeted citizens with a complaint (Holland 1996; Kerstetter and Rasinski 1994; Young et al. 2005); and the informal interactions intervention targeted school-age children (Hinds 2009).

The problem-oriented policing strategies varied in their orientation: one targeted offenders (McGarrell and Chermak 2004), and two targeted community members (Hartstone and Richetelli 2003; Weisburd, Morris, and Ready 2008). One community policing intervention specifically targeted victims of domestic violence (Robinson and Chandek 2000), and another targeted community volunteers (Ren et al. 2005). The interventions targeting volunteers and complainants were included with those targeting community members for the purpose of moderator analysis, in order to investigate whether interventions targeted at people directly involved in a crime—offenders and victims—produced different results to interventions targeted at people not involved in a crime—volunteers, complainants, and community members. School children were kept as a separate group for the moderator analysis because this population has key characteristics differentiating them from other community members, in particular, average age (see Mazerolle et al. 2013).

Meta-Analysis

We conducted five separate meta-analyses for direct and indirect outcomes. All studies measured all of the outcomes at the micro level with data collected on individuals. At least two evaluations measured each outcome; other outcomes we searched for were either not measured in any eligible studies or were measured only in one study, rendering meta-analysis impossible. Specifically, the following outcomes were analyzed:

- **Direct outcomes:** Legitimacy, procedural justice, compliance/cooperation, and satisfaction/confidence
- **Indirect outcomes:** Reoffending or revictimization

The results of the meta-analysis indicate that legitimacy interventions have a reliable impact on some outcomes and a widely variable impact on others. The sensitivity analyses indicated that these results were generally not due to methodological decisions made by the reviewers. The moderator analyses did demonstrate that study-level variables, such as evaluation design, may have influenced the results for some outcomes.

However, the fact that only a small number of studies were found that could be included in the meta-analysis somewhat limits the robustness of the moderator analysis. This means that the inclusion of additional effect sizes from new studies could substantively change the results of the moderator analysis for some outcomes. See Tables 1 and 2 on pages 19 and 21 for a summary of the results of the meta-analyses.

Direct Outcomes

Legitimacy

Four documents (Eckert 2009; Hinds 2009; Murphy, Hinds, and Fleming 2008; Sherman et al. 1998), comprising seven evaluations, measured legitimacy as an outcome of the intervention and provided an effect size for legitimacy. Six evaluations had an odds ratio (OR) greater than 1, indicating that for these studies the policing intervention was associated with an increase in perceptions of police legitimacy. However, only one of the evaluations with an OR greater than 1 was statistically significant. The weighted mean OR for the seven evaluations combined was 1.58 using the random effects model; however, the confidence interval (lower limit = 0.85, upper limit = 2.95) was very large and included 1, indicating a high degree of uncertainty in the estimate.

Procedural Justice

Six documents (Murphy, Hinds, and Fleming 2008; Panetta 2000; Shapland et al. 2007; Sherman et al. 1998; Tuffin, Morris, and Poole 2006; Weisburd, Morris, and Ready 2008) provided outcome data on procedural justice, giving 14 independent effect sizes overall. Of these 14 evaluations, 13 had an OR greater than 1, indicating that for most included studies the policing intervention was associated with an increase in perceived procedural justice. Of the 13 evaluations with an OR greater than 1, five were statistically significant.

Overall, the interventions were associated with a large, significant increase in perceptions of procedural justice. The weighted mean OR for the 14 evaluations combined was 1.47 using the random effects model, and the 95 percent confidence interval did not include 1 (lower limit = 1.16, upper limit = 1.86), indicating a positive and very stable result.

Compliance and Cooperation

Five documents (Bond and Gow 1997; Dai 2007; Murphy, Hinds, and Fleming 2008; Robinson and Chandek 2000; Sherman et al. 1998) comprising eight evaluations reported compliance or cooperation as an outcome of the intervention. Seven of the eight evaluations had an OR greater than 1, indicating that for these studies the policing intervention was associated with an increase in compliance or cooperation. Of the seven evaluations with an OR greater than 1, three were statistically significant. Overall, the interventions had a large, significant, positive effect on this combined measure. The weighted mean OR for the eight evaluations was 1.62 using the random effects model, and the 95 percent confidence interval for the OR did not include 1 (lower limit = 1.13, upper limit = 2.32).

Satisfaction and Confidence

The most commonly used outcome in our population of studies was some measure of satisfaction or confidence. Twenty-two documents (Bond and Gow 1997; Dunworth and Mills 1999a-h; Hall 1987; Holland 1996; Kerstetter and Rasinski 1994; McGarrell and Chermak 2004; Murphy, Hinds, and Fleming 2008; Ren et al. 2005; Shapland et al. 2007; Sherman et al. 1998; Singer 2004; Skogan and Steiner 2004; Tuffin, Morris, and Poole 2006; Young et al. 2005; Zevitz et al. 1997), comprising 29 evaluations, reported satisfaction or confidence as an outcome of the intervention. We included both attitudinal measures in the one meta-analysis.

Of the 29 included evaluations, 27 had an OR greater than 1, indicating that for these studies the policing intervention was associated with an increase in positive attitudes toward the police. Of the 27 evaluations with an OR greater than 1, 16 were statistically significant.

Overall, the interventions resulted in a large, significant increase in positive perceptions of police. The weighted mean OR for the 29 evaluations combined was 1.75 using the random effects model, and the 95 percent confidence interval did not include 1 (lower limit = 1.54, upper limit = 1.99).

Table 1. Summary of results for direct outcomes: random effects model

Direct Outcome	Number of Effect Sizes	Odds Ratio (OR)	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	<i>p</i>
Legitimacy	7	1.58	0.85	2.95	.148
Procedural Justice	14	1.47	1.16	1.86	.001
Compliance & Cooperation	8	1.62	1.13	2.32	.009
Satisfaction & Confidence	29	1.75	1.54	1.99	<.001

Indirect Outcomes

While our review sought to examine the direct outcomes of police efforts to improve legitimacy, we also coded what the academic research literature defines as the *indirect* benefits of police legitimacy. These indirect outcomes are articulated as reductions in crime and disorder as well as reductions in self-reported reoffending (or revictimization). These studies varied in their measurement of reoffending; some used self-reported or official police records of reoffending, and some used self-reported victimization.

Reoffending

Fifteen documents (Bond and Gow 1997; Dunworth and Mills 1999a–h; Hartstone and Richetelli 2003; McGarrell and Chermak 2004; Shapland et al. 2008; Sherman et al. 1998; Tuffin, Morris, and Poole 2006; Weisburd, Morris, and Ready 2008) measured reoffending as an outcome of the intervention, contributing a total of 26 effect sizes to the meta-analysis. Because these outcomes were generally measured on a continuous scale, rather than dichotomously, we used the standardized mean difference (g) as the effect size. Of the 26 effect sizes, 20 had a negative g value, indicating that for these studies the policing intervention was associated with a decrease in reoffending. Of the 20 evaluations with a negative g value, two were statistically significant.

Despite most individual studies showing a null effect for reoffending, the meta-analysis showed that the interventions overall resulted in a decrease in reoffending that was marginally significant at the .05 level. The weighted mean g for the 26 evaluations combined was -0.07 using the random effects model (see Table 2), and the 95 percent confidence interval included zero at the very upper limit (lower limit = -0.14 , upper limit = 0.00).

Further analysis showed that studies measuring reoffending using official data recorded a null intervention effect overall, while studies measuring reoffending using victimization self-reports found a large and significant decrease in revictimization as a result of the interventions overall.

Table 2. Summary of results for indirect outcomes: random effects model

Indirect Outcome	Number of Effect Sizes	Standardized Mean Difference (g)	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	<i>p</i>
Reoffending/ Revictimization	26	-0.07	-0.14	0.00	0.053
Reoffending	10	0.03	-0.05	0.11	0.473
Revictimization	16	-0.13	-0.23	-0.05	0.001

“Using the principles of procedural justice can also be an effective way to prevent crime from reoccurring.”

Conclusion

Conclusion

Our systematic review explored the direct and indirect outcomes of a range of police-led interventions that sought to enhance citizen perceptions of police legitimacy. We included studies that evaluated police approaches to crime prevention or crime control where the intervention explicitly sought to enhance legitimacy or comprised at least one of the four principles of procedural justice.

We included any type of public police intervention (e.g., routine patrols, traffic stops, community policing, reassurance policing, problem-oriented policing, and conferencing) where there was a clear statement (articulated in the source material) that the intervention involved some type of training, directive, or organizational innovation that sought to increase “legitimacy.” We also included studies where the stated intervention (articulated in the source material) involved some type of training, directive, or organizational innovation that used at least one of the four core ingredients of procedural justice: police encouraging citizen participation, remaining neutral in their decision making, demonstrating dignity and respect throughout interactions, and conveying a sense of trustworthiness in their motives.

Bottoms and Tankebe’s (2012) central thesis that legitimacy is dialogic in nature is consistent with our efforts to cast a wide net across the extant evaluation literature and gather as many different types of interventions that captured the essence of police legitimacy. For our review, we were more interested in the *manner* in which interventions were delivered rather than the mechanism or vehicle in which the engagement between police and citizens occurred. As such, we understood that a broad set of police interventions could potentially increase citizen perceptions of police legitimacy, as long as the interventions had common, legitimacy-enhancing dialogue.

The studies included in our meta-analysis also had to report at least one *direct outcome* measure that fell within the broader construct of legitimacy. These direct outcomes included measures of perceived legitimacy; perceived procedural justice; and citizen compliance, cooperation, confidence, and satisfaction with the police. We also included studies in our systematic review that reported a range of *indirect outcomes* of police efforts to foster legitimacy. From the outset, we expected these indirect outcomes to include changes, post intervention, in levels of reoffending, crime, and/or disorder. Overall, our search of the literature found a relatively small and diverse group of studies that met our review criteria.

Moreover, very few studies used quasi-experimental or experimental methods to explore the direct and indirect impacts of police legitimacy.

Our review finds that police can use a variety of police-led interventions (including conferencing, community policing, problem-oriented policing, reassurance policing, informal police contact, and neighborhood watch) as vehicles for promoting and enhancing citizen satisfaction with and confidence in police, compliance and cooperation with police, and perceptions of procedural justice.

We conclude, therefore, that the procedurally just *features* of the training, directive, or organizational innovation foster legitimacy rather than any specific type of strategy that leads to enhanced citizen perceptions of legitimacy. It is conceivable, therefore, that with some training or a clear directive, *any* type of police intervention could be used to facilitate legitimacy, as long as it includes an opportunity for police to engage in dialogue with citizens. From traffic stops to field contacts, we suggest that if police apply the principles of procedural justice during any of their encounters with citizens, they create opportunities to enhance perceptions of legitimacy.

We also find that police can enhance citizen perceptions and attitudes toward compliance, cooperation, satisfaction, and confidence with police when there is a directive, training, or organizational innovation involving at least one of the following ingredients of procedural justice: explicit efforts by the police to actively involve citizen participation during the encounter, clear efforts on behalf of the police to be neutral in their decision making during the encounter, police demonstrating dignity and respect toward the citizen during exchanges, or police working hard to communicate their trustworthy intentions. Even if just one of these components of procedural justice was a part of the intervention, our results suggest that the intervention is likely to increase citizens' levels of compliance, cooperation, and satisfaction. Being polite during police-citizen interactions goes a long way.

Our systematic review also sought to examine the indirect outcomes of legitimacy policing. In our review, we searched for studies that measured the impact of legitimacy policing on crime or revictimization/reoffending. We identified four eligible studies that captured revictimization and 11 eligible studies that measured reoffending. Conferencing, problem-oriented policing, community policing, reassurance policing, and "risk-focused" policing were all featured in our meta-analysis examining reoffending and revictimization.

Our analysis shows a marginally significant impact in a favorable direction of these legitimacy policing interventions. Self-reported revictimization was significantly reduced as an outcome of legitimacy policing. Thus, using the principles of procedural justice can also be an effective way to prevent crime from reoccurring.

Overall, our study shows that the actual vehicle (or intervention mode) for police to engage with citizens is less important for fostering positive outcomes than the substantive content of the interaction itself (see Bottoms and Tankebe 2012). The police have many, varied opportunities to positively influence citizen perceptions, and there appears to be no downside for the police actively using the principles of procedural justice during any type of police activity. Thus, building an understanding and capacity to engage with citizens in a procedurally just manner is clearly important for police across all types of engagement: from responding to calls for service, to taking calls over the phone, to how police engage with all sectors of society during problem-solving and community-policing activities.

Studies Included in the Meta-Analysis

Studies Included in the Meta-Analysis

- Bond, Christine E.W., and David John Gow. 1997. "Policing the Beat: The Experience in Toowoomba, Queensland." In *Policing for Prevention: Reducing Crime, Public Intoxication and Injury*, ed. Ross Homel, 154–173. Monsey, New York: Criminal Justice Press.
- Dai, Mengyan. 2007. *Procedural Justice during Police-Citizen Encounters*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Cincinnati.
- Dunworth, Terence, and Gregory Mills. 1999a. *National Evaluation of Weed and Seed: Akron, Ohio Research Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.
- . 1999b. *National Evaluation of Weed and Seed: Hartford, Connecticut Research Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.
- . 1999c. *National Evaluation of Weed and Seed: Las Vegas, Nevada Research Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.
- . 1999d. *National Evaluation of Weed and Seed: Manatee and Sarasota Counties, Florida Research Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.
- . 1999e. *National Evaluation of Weed and Seed: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Research Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.
- . 1999f. *National Evaluation of Weed and Seed: Salt Lake City, Utah Research Report*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- . 1999g. *National Evaluation of Weed and Seed: Seattle, Washington Research Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.
- . 1999h. *National Evaluation of Weed and Seed: Shreveport, Louisiana Research Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.
- Eckert, Ronald. 2009. *Community Policing as Procedural Justice: An Examination of Baltimore Residents after the Implementation of a Community Policing Strategy*. Master's thesis, Villanova University.

- Hall, Patricia A. 1987. *Neighborhood Watch and Participant Perceptions*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Southern California.
- Hartstone, Eliot C., and Dorinda M. Richetelli. 2003. *Final Assessment of the Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative in New Haven*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.
- Hinds, Lyn. 2009. "Youth, Police Legitimacy and Informal Contact." *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology* 24:10–21.
- Holland, Robert C. 1996. "Informal Resolution: Dealing with Complaints Against Police in a Manner Satisfactory to the Officer and the Complainant." *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 20 (1): 83–93.
- Kerstetter, Wayne A., and Kenneth A. Rasinski. 1994. "Opening a Window into Police Internal Affairs: Impact of Procedural Justice Reform on Third-Party Attitudes." *Social Justice Research* 7 (2): 107–127.
- McGarrell, Edmund F., and Steven Chermak. 2004. *Strategic Approaches to Reducing Firearms Violence: Final Report on the Indianapolis Violence Reduction Partnership*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.
- Murphy, Kristina, Lyn Hinds, and Jenny Fleming. 2008. "Encouraging Public Cooperation and Support For Police." *Policing and Society* 18 (2): 136–155.
- Panetta, Michael Jon. 2000. *Identifying and Assessing Citizen Perceptions of Police and Community Policing Practices*. Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University.
- Ren, Ling, Liqun Cao, Nicholas Lovrich, and Michael Gaffney. 2005. "Linking Confidence in Police with the Performance of the Police: Community Policing Can Make a Difference." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 33:55–66.
- Robinson, Amanda L., and Meghan Stroshine Chandek. 2000. "Philosophy into Practice? Community Policing Units and Domestic Violence Victim Participation." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management* 23 (3): 280–302.

- Shapland, Joanna, Anne Atkinson, Helen Atkinson, Becca Chapman, James Dignan, Marie Howes, Jennifer Johnstone, Gwen Robinson, and Angela Sorsby. 2007. *Restorative Justice: The Views of Victims and Offenders. The Third Report from the Evaluation of Three Schemes*. Ministry of Justice Research Series 3/07. London: Ministry of Justice.
- Shapland, Joanna, Anne Atkinson, Helen Atkinson, James Dignan, Lucy Edwards, Jeremy Hibbert, Marie Howes, Jennifer Johnstone, Gwen Robinson, and Angela Sorsby. 2008. *Does Restorative Justice Affect Reconviction? The Fourth Report from the Evaluation of Three Schemes*. Ministry of Justice Research Series 10/08. London: Ministry of Justice.
- Sherman, Lawrence W., Heather Strang, Geoffrey C. Barnes, John Braithwaite, Nova Inkpen, and Min-Mee Teh. 1998. *Experiments in Restorative Policing: A Progress Report on the Canberra Reintegrative Shaming Experiments (RISE)*. Canberra: Australian Federal Police and Australian National University.
- Singer, Lawrence. 2004. *Reassurance Policing: An Evaluation of the Local Management of Community Safety*. Home Office Research Study 288. London: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.
- Skogan, Wesley G., and Lynn Steiner. 2004. *CAPS at Ten: Community Policing in Chicago. An Evaluation of Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy*. Chicago: The Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium.
- Tuffin, Rachel, Julia Morris, and Alexis Poole. 2006. *An Evaluation of the Impact of the National Reassurance Policing Programme*. Home Office Research Study 296. London: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.
- Weisburd, David, Nancy A. Morris, and Justin Ready. 2008. "Risk-Focused Policing at Places: An Experimental Evaluation." *Justice Quarterly* 25 (1): 163–200.
- Young, Richard, Carolyn Hoyle, Karen Cooper, and Roderick Hill. 2005. "Informal Resolution of Complaints Against the Police: A Quasi-Experimental Test of Restorative Justice." *Criminal Justice* 5 (3): 279–317.
- Zevitz, Richard G., Therese Palazzari, James N. Frinzi, and Ann Mallinger. 1997. *Milwaukee Weed and Seed Program Evaluation Final Report*. Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University.

References

References

- Bennett, Sarah, Rebecca Denning, Lorraine Mazerolle, and Belinda Stocks. 2009. *Procedural Justice: A Systematic Literature Search and Technical Report to the National Policing Improvement Agency*. Brisbane: Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security.
- Bottoms, Anthony, and Justice Tankebe. 2012. "Beyond Procedural Justice: A Dialogic Approach to Legitimacy in Criminal Justice." *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 102 (1): 119–170.
- Goodman-Delahunty, Jane. 2010. "Four Ingredients: New Recipes for Procedural Justice in Australian Policing." *Policing* 4 (4): 403–410.
- Mazerolle, Lorraine, Sarah Bennett, Jacqueline Davis, Elise Sargeant, and Matthew Manning. 2013. *Legitimacy in Policing: A Systematic Review*. Campbell Systematic Reviews 9(1). doi:10.4073/csr.2013.1.
- Sunshine, Jason, and Tom R. Tyler. 2003. "The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing." *Law & Society Review* 37 (3): 513–548.
- Tyler, Tom R. 1990. *Why People Obey the Law*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- . 1997. "The Psychology of Legitimacy: A Relational Perspective on Voluntary Deference to Authorities." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 1 (4): 323–345.
- . 2004. "Enhancing Police Legitimacy." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 593 (1): 84–99.
- . 2006. "Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy and Legitimation." *Annual Review of Psychology* 57 (1): 375–400.
- . 2008. "Psychology and Institutional Design." *Review of Law & Economics* 4 (3): 801–887.

Tyler, Tom R., and Jeffrey Fagan. 2008. "Legitimacy and Cooperation: Why Do People Help the Police Fight Crime in Their Communities?" *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 6:231–275.

Tyler, Tom R., and Yuen J. Huo. 2002. *Trust in the Law: Encouraging Public Cooperation with the Police and Courts*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Publications.

Tyler, Tom R., and Kristina Murphy. 2011. *Procedural Justice, Police Legitimacy and Cooperation with the Police: A New Paradigm for Policing*. CEPS Briefing Paper. Brisbane: Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security.

Appendix

Appendix: Summary of meta-analysis studies' characteristics

Author(s) and Year of Publication (Specific Evaluation)	Outcomes	Intervention	Research Design	Sample	Sample Size
Bond and Gow 1997	Cooperation Revictimization Satisfaction	Community policing (Beat policing)	Pre/post only	Community members	905
Dai 2007	Compliance	Community policing	Quasi-experimental	Community members	818
Dunworth and Mills 1999a	Revictimization Satisfaction	Community policing (Weed and Seed)	Pre/post only	Community members, Akron	457
Dunworth and Mills 1999b	Revictimization Satisfaction	Community policing (Weed and Seed)	Pre/post only	Community members, Hartford	136
Dunworth and Mills 1999c	Revictimization Satisfaction	Community policing (Weed and Seed)	Pre/post only	Community members, Las Vegas	546
Dunworth and Mills 1999d	Revictimization Satisfaction	Community policing (Weed and Seed)	Pre/post only	Community members, Manatee	473
Dunworth and Mills 1999e	Revictimization Satisfaction	Community policing (Weed and Seed)	Pre/post only	Community members, Pittsburgh	483
Dunworth and Mills 1999f	Revictimization Satisfaction	Community policing (Weed and Seed)	Pre/post only	Community members, Salt Lake City	391
Dunworth and Mills 1999g	Revictimization Satisfaction	Community policing (Weed and Seed)	Pre/post only	Community members, Seattle	633
Dunworth and Mills 1999h	Revictimization Satisfaction	Community policing (Weed and Seed)	Pre/post only	Community members, Shreveport	407
Eckert 2009	Legitimacy	Community policing	Pre/post only	Community members	636
Hall 1987	Effectiveness	Community policing (Neighborhood watch)	Quasi-experimental	Community members	118
Hartstone and Richetelli 2003	Revictimization	Problem-oriented policing	Pre/post only	Community members	831
Hinds 2009	Legitimacy	Informal contact (school-based)	Pre/post only	School children	414
Holland 1996	Satisfaction	Alternative complaints process	Quasi-experimental	Complainants	384
Kerstetter and Rasinski 1994	Confidence	Alternative complaints process	Pre/post only	Complainants	199

Author(s) and Year of Publication (Specific Evaluation)	Outcomes	Intervention	Research Design	Sample	Sample Size
McGarrell and Chermak 2004	Effectiveness Reoffending	Problem-oriented policing	Quasi-experimental	Offenders	365
Murphy, Hinds, and Fleming 2008	Compliance Legitimacy Procedural justice Satisfaction	Community policing	Pre/post only	Community members	102
Panetta 2000	Procedural justice	Community policing	Quasi-experimental	Community members	190
Ren et al. 2005	Confidence	Community policing	Quasi-experimental	Volunteers	838
Robinson and Chandek 2000	Cooperation	Community policing	Quasi-experimental	Victims	336
Shapland et al. 2007 (London Burglary)	Procedural justice Satisfaction	Restorative justice conferencing	Experimental	Offenders and victims	186
Shapland et al. 2007 (London Robbery)	Procedural justice Satisfaction	Restorative justice conferencing	Experimental	Offenders and victims	158
Shapland et al. 2007 (Northumbria Assault)	Procedural justice Satisfaction	Restorative justice conferencing	Experimental	Offenders and victims	165
Shapland et al. 2007 (Northumbria Property)	Procedural justice Satisfaction	Restorative justice conferencing	Experimental	Offenders and victims	105
Shapland et al. 2008 (London Burglary)	Reoffending	Restorative justice conferencing	Experimental	Offenders and victims	186
Shapland et al. 2008 (London Robbery)	Reoffending	Restorative justice conferencing	Experimental	Offenders and victims	158
Shapland et al. 2008 (Northumbria Assault)	Reoffending	Restorative justice conferencing	Experimental	Offenders and victims	165
Shapland et al. 2008 (Northumbria Property)	Reoffending	Restorative justice conferencing	Experimental	Offenders and victims	105

Author(s) and Year of Publication (Specific Evaluation)	Outcomes	Intervention	Research Design	Sample	Sample Size
Sherman et al. 1998 (Drunk Driving)	Compliance Legitimacy Procedural justice Reoffending	Restorative justice conferencing	Experimental	Offenders and victims	900
Sherman et al. 1998 (Juvenile–Personal Property)	Compliance Legitimacy Procedural justice Reoffending Satisfaction	Restorative justice conferencing	Experimental	Offenders and victims	93
Sherman et al. 1998 (Juvenile Property–Shoplifting)	Compliance Legitimacy Procedural justice Reoffending	Restorative justice conferencing	Experimental	Offenders and victims	80
Sherman et al. 1998 (Youth Violence)	Compliance Legitimacy Procedural justice Reoffending Satisfaction	Restorative justice conferencing	Experimental	Offenders and victims	80
Singer 2004	Satisfaction	Community policing (Reassurance policing)	Pre/post only	Community members	1205
Skogan and Steiner 2004	Satisfaction	Community policing	Quasi-experimental	Community members	~540
Tuffin, Morris, and Poole 2006 (Lancashire)	Confidence Procedural justice Reoffending	Community policing (Reassurance policing)	Quasi-experimental	Community members	386
Tuffin, Morris, and Poole 2006 (Leicestershire)	Confidence Procedural justice Reoffending	Community policing (Reassurance policing)	Quasi-experimental	Community members	354
Tuffin, Morris, and Poole 2006 (Manchester)	Confidence Procedural justice Reoffending	Community policing (Reassurance policing)	Quasi-experimental	Community members	365
Tuffin, Morris, and Poole 2006 (Metropolitan Police)	Confidence Procedural justice Reoffending	Community policing (Reassurance policing)	Quasi-experimental	Community members	390

Author(s) and Year of Publication (Specific Evaluation)	Outcomes	Intervention	Research Design	Sample	Sample Size
Tuffin, Morris, and Poole 2006 (Surrey)	Confidence Procedural justice Reoffending	Community policing (Reassurance policing)	Quasi-experimental	Community members	404
Tuffin, Morris, and Poole 2006 (Thames Valley)	Confidence Procedural justice Reoffending	Community policing (Reassurance policing)	Quasi-experimental	Community members	389
Weisburd, Morris, and Ready 2008	Procedural justice Reoffending	Problem-oriented policing	Experimental	Community members	800
Young et al. 2005	Satisfaction	Alternative complaints process	Quasi-experimental	Complainants	36
Zevitz et al. 1997 (Avenues West)	Satisfaction	Community policing (Weed and Seed)	Quasi-experimental	Community members	530
Zevitz et al. 1997 (Metcalfe Park)	Satisfaction	Community policing (Weed and Seed)	Quasi-experimental	Community members	772



U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Community Oriented Policing Services
145 N Street, N.E.
Washington, DC 20530

To obtain details on COPS programs,
call the COPS Office Response Center at 800-421-6770.

Visit COPS Online at www.cops.usdoj.gov.

June 2013
e041325579
ISBN: 978-1-932582-79-6