

Leading Experiments in Police Legitimacy

Professor Lorraine Mazerolle
University of Queensland

7th International Conference on Evidence Based Policing

7 - 9 July 2014

Overview of Presentation

- Legitimacy Policing: What is it?
- Systematic Review Findings
- Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET)
- Key Findings
- QCET Replications and other PJ Trials
- Policy Implications

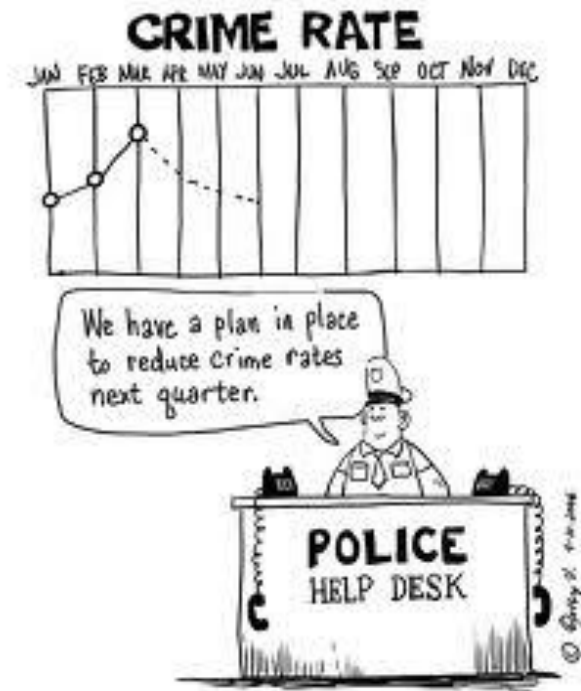
What is Legitimacy Policing?

- **Legitimacy Policing is crucial for maintaining social order within communities....**
- Promotes a sense of public trust in police
- Facilitates law abiding behavior
- Fosters compliance and cooperation
- Increases reporting of crimes to police

When police promote feelings of fairness and trust within the community

↑ increased compliance

↓ decreased crime and disorder



Legitimacy Policing

PJ PRINCIPLES

- Neutrality in Decisions
- Citizen Participation
- Dignity & Respect
- Trustworthy Motives

Perceptions
of Police
Legitimacy

DIRECT OUTCOMES

Cooperation
Compliance
Satisfaction
Trust

INDIRECT OUTCOMES

Decreases in...
• Reoffending
• Crime
• Social Disorder

Enhanced
Police
Effectiveness

Our Systematic Review

- Systematic **search** conducted for National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA) in 2009/2010
 - Created a ‘bank’ of literature on procedural justice (PJ) and legitimacy
 - Sought to assess the impact of police legitimacy
- Over **20,500** documents reviewed
- Identified **794** legitimacy and/or PJ studies
- Systematic **review** of eligible studies funded by George Mason University via NPIA. Campbell Review titled “Legitimacy Policing”
- Only **12** studies had data that could be synthesized

Systematic Review Results

- **Direct effects (Legitimacy, Procedural justice, Compliance/cooperation, Satisfaction/confidence)**
 - Included police interventions that comprised *dialogue* with a PJ component (or stated specifically that the intervention sought to increase legitimacy)
 - We found that these interventions enhanced citizens' views on the legitimacy of the police
 - Direct outcomes including cooperation, compliance, satisfaction and trust were statistically significant.
- **Indirect (Reoffending)**
 - Police-led legitimacy interventions showed a marginal effect on reoffending.

Systematic Review Summary

- By adopting procedurally just **dialogue** as a part of any intervention, the police can...
 - increase citizen compliance and cooperation
 - increase citizen confidence in and satisfaction with police
 - enhance citizen perceptions of procedural justice
 - build citizen perceptions of police legitimacy (but evidence of this impact differs according to how legitimacy is measured)
 - Police can use a variety of interventions—conferencing, community policing, problem-oriented policing, reassurance policing, informal police contact, and neighborhood watch—as vehicles to enhancing citizen perceptions of legitimacy
 - It is the procedurally just **dialogue** of an intervention that matters...not the specific type of strategy (or vehicle of delivery)
-

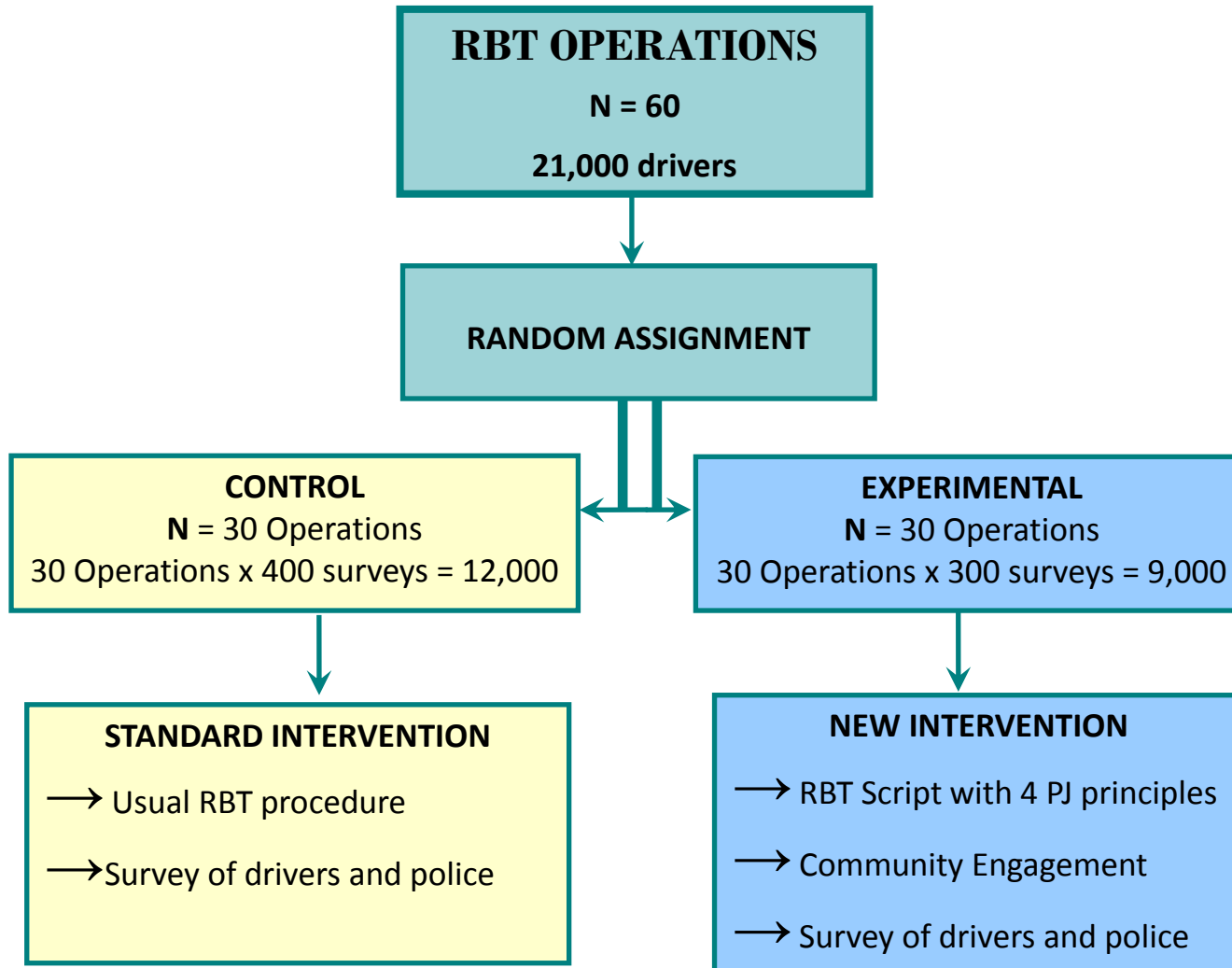
Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET)

QCET: UQ-Police Partnership

- UQ and Queensland Police Service partnership to explore legitimacy policing around a specific high volume police-citizen encounter
- 3 million **Random Breath Test** (RBTs) conducted each year by police in Queensland; 400,000 in Metro South each year
- High volume and regularity of the RBT police-citizen encounter offers an experimental opportunity to test the impact of procedural justice “active ingredients” on police legitimacy
- **Site:** Metropolitan South Region of Brisbane
- **Timing:** December 2009 to June 2010
- **Units of Random Assignment:** 60 RBT stationary operations
- 21,000 police-citizen contacts



QCET Process Flow Chart



What Police Say to Drivers (Treatment Script)

Police given a card with the following instructions

- ✓ Neutrality: Have you ever taken part in a random breath test before? We are pulling cars over today at random. That means that you were not specifically singled out for this test. We are **randomly** testing drivers for alcohol use so that we can reduce the number of alcohol related traffic crashes on our Queensland roads.
- ✓ Trustworthy Motives: In Queensland alone there were **354 deaths** in 2009. One of the hardest parts of our job is to tell a person that their loved one has died or has been seriously injured in a traffic crash. Can you please help us to reduce these accidents by continually driving carefully and responsibly?
- ✓ Citizen Participation: Here is a police bulletin that has additional crime prevention tips. It also **tells you about what's going on in this community** and gives you some important numbers if you want to get in contact with us for any event that is not life threatening. Please be aware that thieves are targeting money, satellite navigation systems and mobile phones that are left in people's cars. Please make sure you remove all valuables when you leave your car.
Do you have any questions about this?

What Police Say to Drivers (Treatment)

Police given a card with the following instructions (continued)

- ✓ Researchers at the University of Queensland are running an important **survey about this RBT for you to fill in at home**. I have attached the survey to the bulletin. We would really appreciate your feedback. Do you have any other questions for me about this RBT or anything else?
- ✓ I now require you to provide a specimen of breath for a breath test...and **mandated message** to driver.
- ✓ Dignity and Respect. I just want to finish off by thanking you for... [say something positive to the driver...e.g. child being buckled up in a car seat/well maintained car/seat belt use for passenger or driver etc..]. Thank you for taking part in this Random breath test, **I appreciate your time and attention**. *If over the limit...process as usual.*



Random Allocations

RANDOM ALLOCATION			
District	Experimental	Control	TOTAL
<i>Oxley</i>	10	10	20
<i>South Brisbane</i>	10	10	20
<i>Wynnum</i>	10	10	20
TOTAL	30	30	60

Length of RBT Encounters

MEAN ENCOUNTER LENGTH

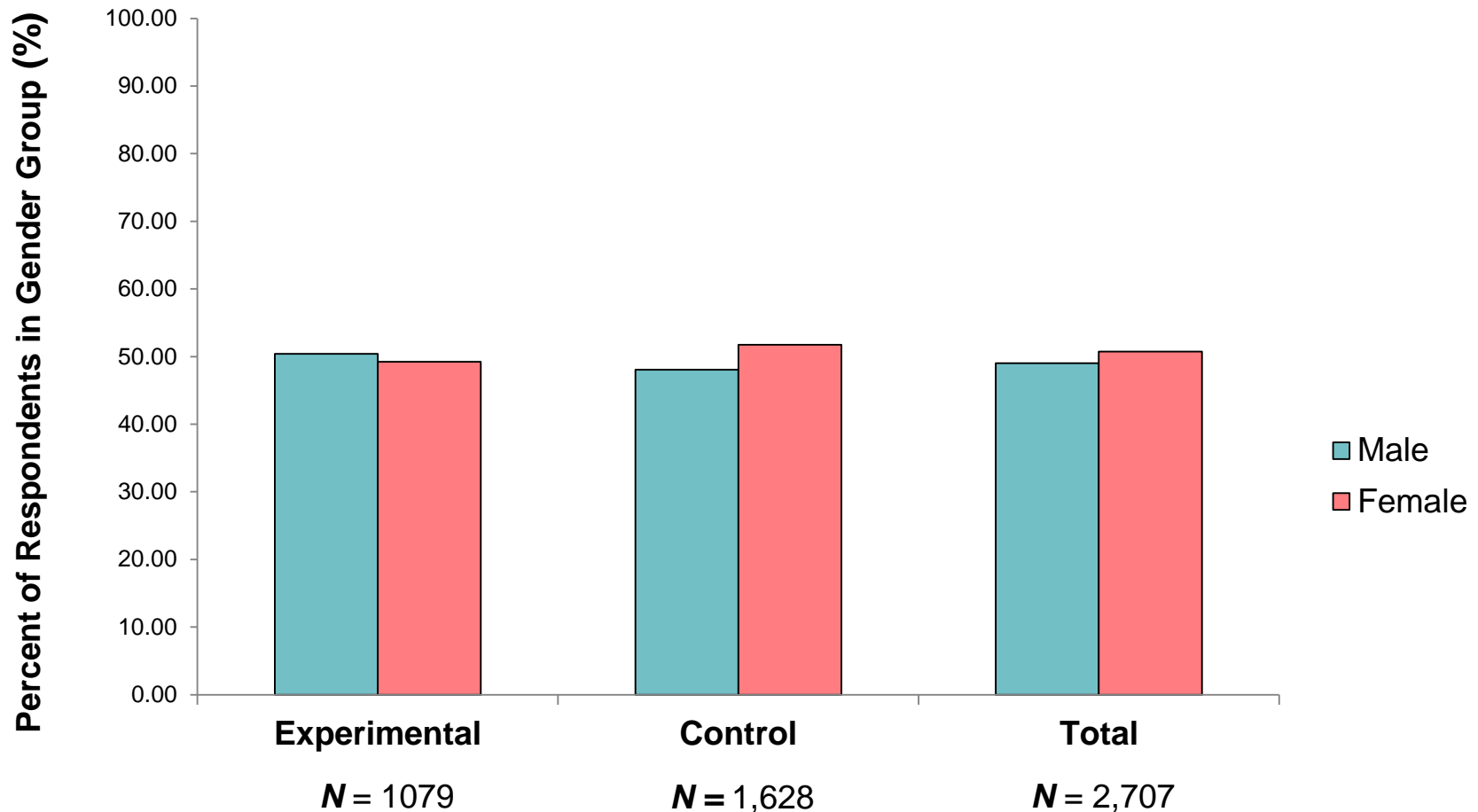
District	Experimental	Control
<i>Oxley</i>	1 min, 38.42 secs	24.56 secs
<i>South Brisbane</i>	1 min, 10.14 secs	21.96 secs
<i>Wynnum</i>	2 mins, 3.09 secs	29.50 secs
TOTAL	1 min, 37.22 secs	25.34 secs

Experimental encounter about 4 times the length of control encounter

Response Rate

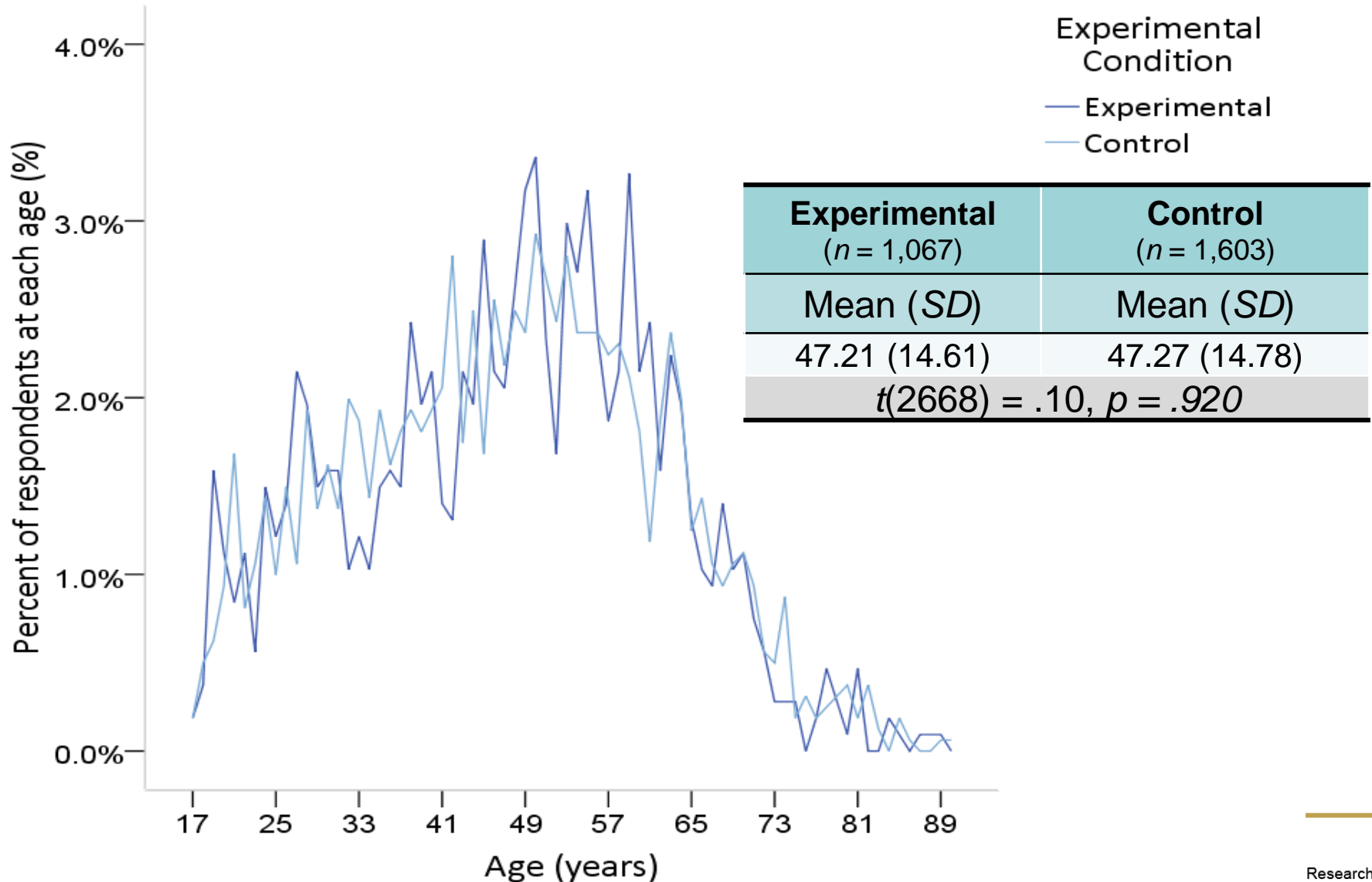
- Overall response rate = 13.11%; N = 2731
- Differences between districts
 - Wynnum = 14.73%
 - South Brisbane = 12.76%
 - Oxley = 11.85%
- Slightly higher response rate in control group
 - Control = 13.73%
 - Experimental = 12.30%

Gender by Tx and Control

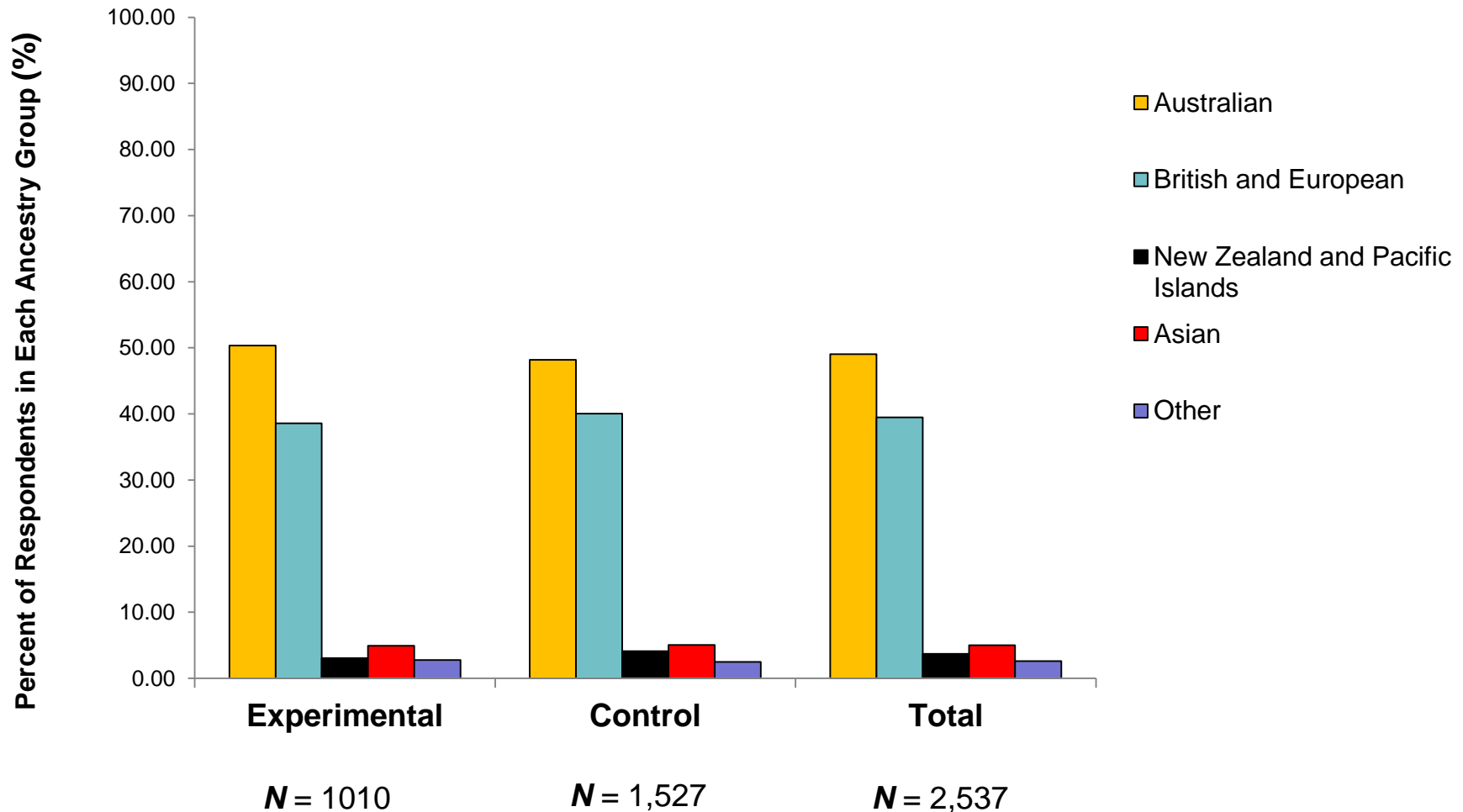


Gender equivalent across conditions ($\chi^2 = 1.55, p = .213$)

Age by Tx and Control



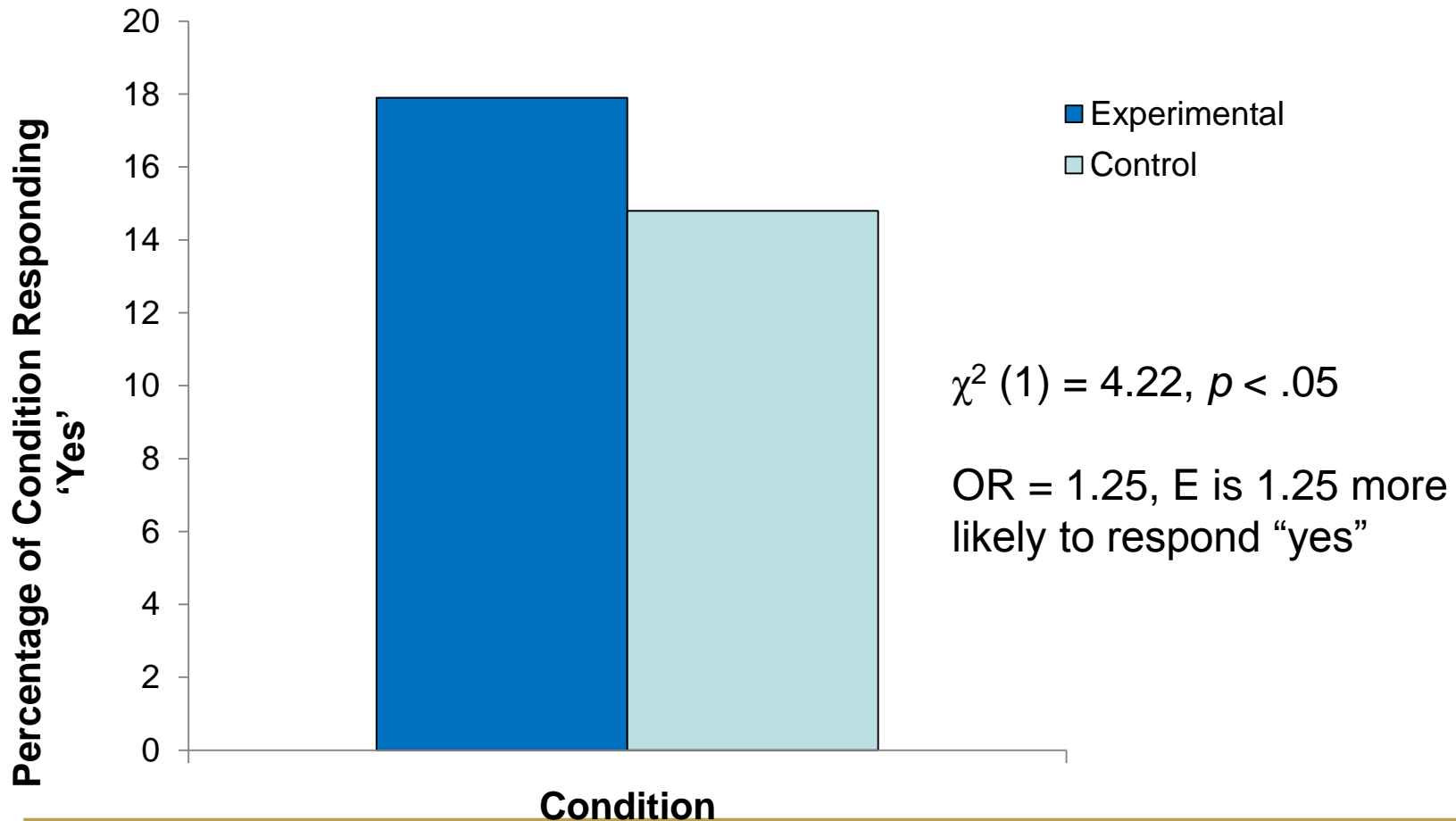
Ancestry by Tx and Control



Ancestry equivalent across conditions ($\chi^2 = 2.93, p = .569$)

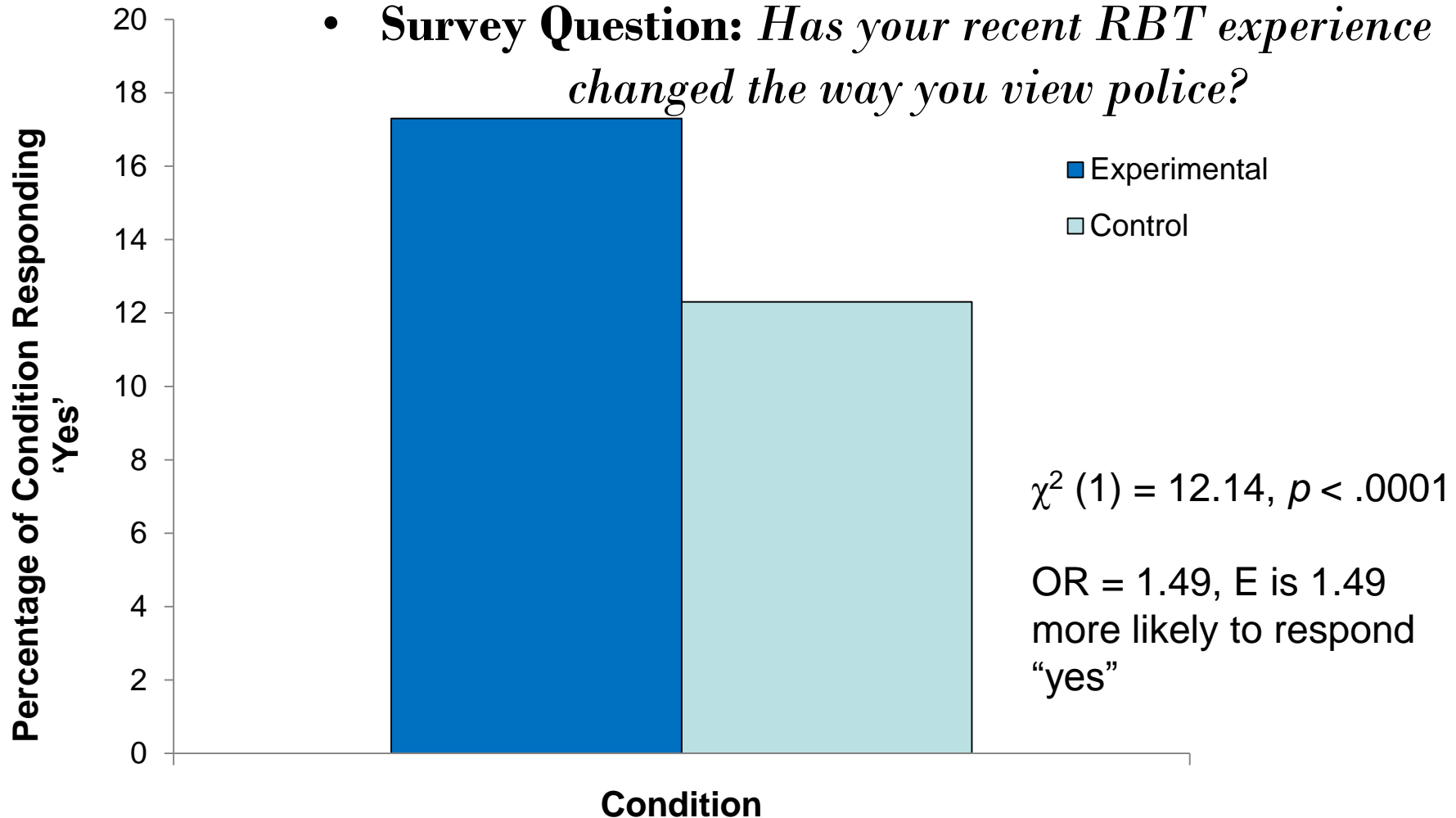
Changed Views...Drinking and Driving

- **Survey Question:** *Has your recent RBT experience changed your view on drinking and driving?*



Changed Way Drivers View Police

- **Survey Question:** *Has your recent RBT experience changed the way you view police?*



Perceptions of Police: Specific to RBT Encounter

	Experimental	Control	
	M (SD)	M (SD)	<i>p</i>
Satisfaction (<i>n</i> = 2675)	4.43 (.675)	4.28 (.736)	< .0001
Fairness (<i>n</i> = 2569)	4.05 (.814)	3.72 (.807)	< .0001
Respect (<i>n</i> = 2631)	4.44 (.694)	4.25 (.740)	< .0001
Trust (<i>n</i> = 2675)	4.21 (.804)	4.04 (.811)	< .0001
Confidence (<i>n</i> = 2634)	4.38 (.707)	4.30 (.667)	< .005
Compliance (<i>n</i> = 2634)	4.57 (.554)	4.52 (.525)	< .05

Note. Scores on measures range from 1 to 5, whereby higher score indicate stronger and/or higher levels of the relevant construct

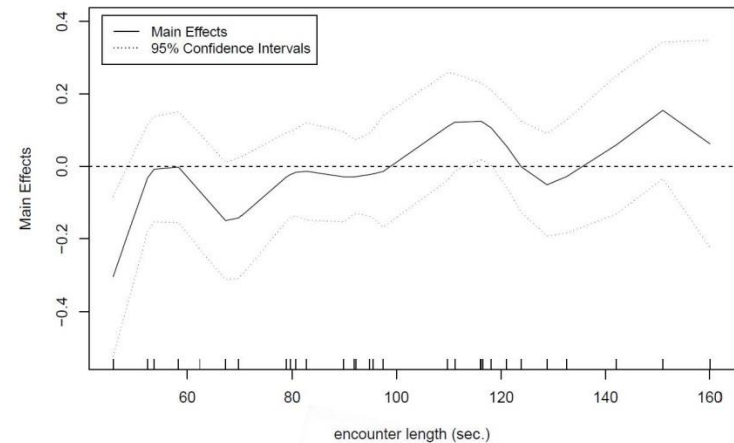
Perceptions of Police: General

	Experimental	Control	<i>p</i>
	M (<i>SD</i>)	M (<i>SD</i>)	
Satisfaction (<i>n</i> = 2667)	3.85 (.913)	3.78 (.920)	≤ .05
Fairness (<i>n</i> = 2614)	3.59 (.825)	3.49 (.807)	< .005
Respect (<i>n</i> = 2585)	3.55 (.866)	3.46 (.835)	< .05
Trust (<i>n</i> = 2671)	3.92 (.909)	3.88 (.900)	<i>ns</i>
Confidence (<i>n</i> = 2649)	3.92 (.879)	3.87 (.897)	<i>ns</i>
Compliance (<i>n</i> = 2651)	4.39 (.647)	4.38 (.632)	<i>ns</i>

Note . Scores on measures range from 1 to 5, whereby higher score indicate stronger and/or higher levels of the relevant construct

The Importance of Encounter Length

- Optimal length of time for PJ encounters just < 2 mins
- Individual citizens' positive perceptions of police performance and PJ increase as the length of the encounter increases, up to about 2 mins.
- Short encounters might be too quick to elicit convey PJ properly
- Long Encounters (>2 mins) - if the dialogue goes on too long, people do not report positive perceptions of police.



QCET Replications

Place	Randomisation	Intervention	Results
South Carolina (USA)	Sobriety Checkpoints	Community engagement bulletin/Safety tips leaflet	No significant differences in citizen perceptions of police PJ, legitimacy, etc.
Scotland	Road Policing Units (pre-post matched design)	Communication of 'key messages' (PJ) – verbal & leaflet	Pending, but some positive anecdotal feedback from experimental officers
Turkey	Speed Control Operations	PJ scripted traffic encounter	PJ policing changed perceptions of police in relation to the encounter, but no change to general trust/satisfaction in police
New Zealand (proposed)	Highway Patrol Officers	PJ scripted traffic enforcement encounter	Pending

Legitimacy Training Trials

- The Chicago Quality Interaction Training Program (QIP)
 - Police recruits randomly assigned to receive either QIP or standard academy training
 - QIP Training program designed to enable officers to resolve problems while utilizing PJ. Some scripts used.
 - QIP improved recruits' observed behaviour, but no impact on recruits' attitudes about PJ or interpersonal relations with citizens
- The Greater Manchester Police PJ Training Experiment
 - Police officers randomly assigned to received training or control
 - Training involved practical techniques and improving their general communications skills utilising PJ
 - Training had positive impact on some aspects of trained officer attitudes and behaviour and victim perceptions of officer fairness.

Policy Implications

- PJ dialogue is operationalisable!
- Language choice is important;
- Delivery is even more important;
- The capacity to script PJ dialogue is high in routine encounters like traffic stops;
- How might we work with police to translate principles of procedural justice into routine police-citizen interactions?
- Its not easy to script PJ into dynamic, fluid and longer encounters e.g. DV calls for service, crime scene encounters, entertainment precinct policing;
- Training is therefore crucial.