

Officers as mirrors: Policing, procedural justice and the (re)production of social identity

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Abstract

Encounters with the criminal justice system shape people's perceptions of the legitimacy of legal authorities, and the dominant explanatory framework for this relationship revolves around the idea that procedurally just practice increases people's positive connections to justice institutions. But there have been few assessments of the idea – central to procedural justice theory – that social identity acts as an important social-psychological bridge in this process. Our contribution in this paper is to examine the empirical links between procedural justice, social identity and legitimacy in the context of policing in Australia. A representative two-wave panel survey of Australians suggests that social identity does mediate the association between procedural justice and perceptions of legitimacy. It seems that when people feel fairly treated by police, their sense of identification with the superordinate group the police represent is enhanced, strengthening police legitimacy as a result. By contrast, unfair treatment signals to people that they do not belong, undermining both identification and police legitimacy.

Key words

Police; procedural justice; legitimacy; social identity.

Introduction

Criminology appears to have recently re-discovered social identity, and particularly the idea that criminal justice institutions can create and shape the objective and subjective identities of those they police, sentence or incarcerate. Recent approaches as varied as McAra and McVie's (2012) negotiated order theory, Bosworth and colleague's accounts of identity creation and negation in the globalized prison and immigration detention complex (e.g. Bosworth and Kaufman 2011), and investigations of policing, identity and belonging in the context of young British Asian men (Millings 2013) have all considered, in one way or another, the criminal justice system as an engine of identity production and influence. An emphasis on identity has, of course, a long pedigree in criminological theory, going back to theories of anomie, labeling and symbolic interactionism. The 're-discovery' builds on both tradition and a continuous trajectory of work stretching over 70 years.

Much of the renewed emphasis on social identity in criminology resonates with Tyler and colleagues' work on procedural justice, which has linked the experience of procedurally fair treatment at the hands of criminal justice agents – particularly the police – to positive assessments of their trustworthiness and legitimacy, as well as to enhanced propensities to cooperate with legal authorities and comply with the law (Tyler *et al.* 2010; Huq *et al.* 2011a 2011b; Papachristos *et al.* 2012; Tyler & Jackson 2014; Jackson *et al.* 2012a, 2012b, 2013; Murphy *et al.* 2009; Murphy & Cherney 2012; Mazerolle *et al.* 2013; Sargeant *et al.* 2013; Dirikx and Van den Bulck 2014). Procedural justice theory provides, among other things, a way of understanding the dynamics of relations (and particularly power relations) within social groups, and of explaining why people comply with group norms and internalize group values. On this account, the experience of fairness at the hands of authority figures, such as police officers, has positive effects on trust, legitimacy and people's compliance-related behaviours, because such experiences strengthen their connections to the social groups those authorities represent, promoting allegiance to group norms and values (Tyler and Blader 2000, 2003; Blader and Tyler 2009). People are sensitive to signs and symbols that communicate information about their status and position within a group (de Cremer and Tyler 2005) and the fairness with which authority figures treat them communicates their status within it. Fairness also strengthens the social bonds between individuals and institutions (Tyler and Huo 2002; Tyler 2003a) and feeling one belongs to a group may encourage not only the belief that authorities are legitimate (Tyler and Jackson 2014) but also that one should by the norms and values of the group (Jackson *et al.* 2012a).

Take the police, an institution charged with enforcing the law and maintaining order, and an important representative of the dominant norms and values of society (Loader and Mulcahy 2003). According to procedural justice theory, the way police officers treat citizens communicates to the latter the extent of their inclusion, value and status within this society (Tyler & Huo 2002; Sunshine & Tyler 2003a; Tyler 2006a). Fair treatment communicates that 'we respect you and we see you as a worthwhile member of this community', promoting identification by generating a positive sense of the individual's place in society. Legitimacy is strengthened because procedural justice indicates that power-holders are wielding their power in fair, justified and measured ways, but also because one's identification with the group the police represent is enhanced by the identity-relevant information that procedural justice conveys. By contrast, unfair treatment signals marginalization by, or exclusion from, society. Legitimacy suffers not only because the power-holder seems to be abusing his or her power, but also because people become alienated from the group that the police represent.

While there are many different ways of conceptualizing social identity, it is this active and relational understanding – predominant in the procedural justice literature – that motivates the present study. The idea that police action shapes peoples' social identities is far from new, with symbolic interactionists and labeling theorists long describing how authorities shape the 'objective' (suspect, offender, prisoner) as well as 'subjective' identities

(outsider, deviant) of those they encounter (Becker 1963; Ericson 1975; Ericson and Haggerty 1997). The notion that criminal justice agents might affect identities of these types is well established, although still debated (Akers 1999). But are they also able to influence identities of the type described above, associated most importantly, perhaps, with the nation state as an imagined community (Anderson 1983)? Procedural justice theory claims that such identities provide one of the causal mechanisms that link fair process, legitimacy and compliance. But these are identities that are subject to a wide range of influences, and seem likely to pre-date contact with police officers and other criminal justice actors.

These are important issues, to be sure. If the idea that identity provides a bridge between fairness, legitimacy and compliance does not find empirical support, a key aspect of procedural justice theory would be called into question. Yet, these questions have only rarely been tested in the context of criminal justice and policing, and those studies that have assessed the proposition that social identity is the mechanism linking procedural justice and legitimacy have utilized primarily cross-sectional survey data (Tyler and Huo 2002; Bradford 2012). Findings have also largely been constrained by the use of single snapshot surveys.

In this paper we use panel data from a representative sample survey of Australians to explore the associations between procedural justice, social identity and police legitimacy. Longitudinal data allow us to model intra-individual change. With such data we are unable to demonstrate causality. But we are able unravel a convincing set of associations that link change in judgements about the procedural fairness of the police – and direct experience of officer behaviour – with change in relevant social identities and in assessments of police legitimacy. By linking procedural justice to police legitimacy via the posited, intervening, mechanism of social identity, our findings contribute to a growing international literature on policing, legitimacy and procedural justice. Conceptualising the target of identification as the ‘law-abiding Australian’, our theoretical contribution is to develop the linked notions of national identity, citizenship and law-abidingness in the context of procedural justice and legitimacy.

Procedural justice, labeling and social identity

Social identity is an inherently relational and discursive phenomenon. People’s identities develop in reflexive reaction to the opinion of others (Ericson 1975; Burke and Stets 2009) in a process implicating what Cooley (1902) called the ‘looking glass self.’ This is a concept of self that posits three principal elements – “the imagination of our appearance to the other person, the imagination of his judgement of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification” (Cooley 1902: 152, quoted in Ericson 1975: 64). A key aspect of our sense of self is what we imagine others think of us, for example, in relation to our value, standing, or worth within shared social formations.

It is just such a relational notion of identity that underpins the group engagement model of procedural justice and which corresponds with the idea of identity adopted in this paper (Tyler and Blader 2003; Blader and Tyler 2009). On this account, when people assess the behaviour of authorities such as police officers, they are alert to its identity-relevant content. The behaviour of the officer – a ‘proto-typical group representative’ (Sunshine and Tyler 2003b) – provides information to the individual about their value, moral worth, and social standing within the group the officer represents (Sunshine and Tyler 2003a). When police treat people with dignity and respect, behave neutrally, and allow them a voice, they feel included and that they have status and worth within this group (Blader and Tyler 2009; de Cremer and Tyler 2005; Tyler and Blader 2003). The ‘image in the looking glass’ is a positive one, generating feelings of pride and self-value that encourages them to identify with the group, legitimize its structures of authority, comply with its rules, and cooperate within and on its behalf. Conversely, when people’s treatment by police is lacking across some or all of the same criteria, they may infer the opposite (Tyler and Wakslak 2004). The ‘image in the

looking glass' is a negative one – they perceive they are not valued by the group, and they may begin withdrawing from it. This in turn might encourage a turn to alternative relational others who *can* provide feelings of inclusion and self-worth, or result in a sense of anomie or drift (Matza 1964), and a loosening of normative constraints on behaviour.

Social identity thus comprises a core theoretical mechanism in the procedural justice model – particularly under its group engagement specification – that is invoked to explain the frequently observed empirical link between procedural justice and legitimacy. The proposition is that people are motivated to legitimate the authorities of groups within which they feel status and standing. They feel they should support the leaders of groups to which they belong; they believe they share moral values with proto-typical group representatives; they identify with the role that legal authorities expect from citizens; and they internalize the value that they should obey the authorities of a group with which they identify. Social identities, on this account, define specific roles and expected behaviours (Kelman and Hamilton 1989). Indeed, the notion of 'role' and 'identity' are deeply intertwined. Roles – such as 'mother', 'care-giver' or 'citizen' – exist in a mutually defining relationship with identities: each helps constitute the other (Burke and Stets 2009). Moreover, when police demonstrate they are wielding the power vested in them in a normatively justifiable (i.e. fair) manner, they also demonstrate that they are fulfilling *their* proper role in society. This again may activate identification with the group and strengthen the belief that police actions are appropriate and just, and in turn encourage in those receiving such treatment the idea that they, too, should fulfill their 'proper' role in society; for example, by obeying the law.

Seen in these terms, Tyler's procedural justice model almost becomes a species of labeling theory. People's social identities are symbolically defined by their interactions with police officers (among a range of many 'significant others') and this may have important consequences. Yet, labeling theory is often interested primarily in what happens when individuals are assigned to specific, negatively valorized 'criminal justice' categories, such as delinquent, offender or prisoner (Akers 1999), which becomes their 'master status' shaping both experience and behaviour. Procedural justice theory, on the other hand, is concerned with a largely subjective, and in a broad sense positive, notion of identity that revolves around affiliation with superordinate groups that are both valued by the individual concerned and subject to a much wider range of influences than the actions of criminal justice authorities. While the ability of police officers to place an individual in the category of 'offender' appears almost trivially true, the role of the police in defining identities in relation to the social categories envisioned by procedural justice theory is much less clear, not least because these are aspects of the self that are likely to have developed before contact with police.

What is the group that people are identifying with?

We suggest, however, that encounters with criminal justice agents may indeed have a 'wider' identity-relevant potential. Such an idea flows naturally from symbolic interactionism in its more general form, where identity is seen as contingent and relies on a continual process of negotiation and reproduction, and corresponds with the emphasis in procedural justice theory on the extent to which people's identification with superordinate social groups is continually tested against the behavior of group representatives.

The exact nature of this group has, however, rarely been theorized or empirically examined in criminologically oriented procedural justice literature. Several authors have suggested that the relevant identity is a national one (Huo et al 1996; Murphy & Cherney 2012; Tyler and Huo 2002), but it seems to us that the nature of the police organization (what it represents), and its consequent relationship with 'the public' demands fuller consideration than has hitherto been the case. *Which* group, specifically, do the police represent, and, relatedly, *why* should affiliation with this group promote (define roles that encourage) the types of behaviors described above?

In regard to the first question we are able to draw on the rich literature that has considered what the police, as organization and institution, represents for – and to – those it polices (Jackson and Sunshine 2007; Jackson and Bradford 2009; Loader and Mulcahy 2003; Waddington 1999). Most appositely, Loader and Mulcahy (2003: 45) argue that the state police serve as a ‘condensation symbol’ (Turner 1974):

“an interpretive lens through which people make sense of, and give order to, their world ... a vehicle that enables individuals and groups to make sense of their past, form judgements on the present, and project various imagined futures. As an institution intimately concerned with the viability of the state ... policing remains closely tied to the maintenance of ontological security, the production of subjectivities, and the articulation of collective identities”

Loader and Mulcahy thus draw an explicit link between the nation-state as a community of individuals and groups, the police as a centre of order and meaning within this community, and processes of identity formation and reproduction among its members (citizens) – that is, among the ‘policed’. One implication is that police practice experienced as identity confirming or enhancing may ‘draw’ people toward developing a sense of shared aims and endeavor, based on the articulation of collective identities, that is oriented toward the reproduction of collectively validated norms of security and order (Loader and Walker 2007).

A rather different – but broadly complementary – account can be found in Waddington (1999). Here the agency of police is more apparent. Police officers make active choices in relation to defining the majority of “ordinary decent people” (ibid: 41) against the ‘disrespectable’ minority. Placement in either camp by an officer affects both how they treat the person concerned and how they imagine the individual will respond; they assign a role to the individual in a way that, again, recalls labeling theory. And, crucially for current purposes, Waddington suggests that what is at stake for the minority defined outside the realm of the respectable is not merely criminalization but their very position as citizens. Policing is about exclusion as well as inclusion, and to be excluded is to be deemed as less than a full citizen. Again, the link between the police and the nation-state is underlined, with the former patrolling the boundaries of group identities linked indelibly to the latter.

Why, then, should such processes of identification affect individual’s behaviours? This question once more highlights the congruence between procedural justice and labeling theories, in that both are concerned with the links between the actions of criminal justice agents, identity, and behaviour. However while work on procedural justice has tended to stress the implications of unfairness for the *police* – primarily in terms of lost trust, legitimacy and cooperation – research associated with labeling theory has focused on the implications of police behaviour for the individuals affected by it. McCara and McVie (2007, 2012) describe a growing body of international research that suggests ‘system contact’, such as involvement with the youth justice system, or stop and search, is as likely to result in enhanced offending as in diminished offending (e.g. Farrington *et al.* 1977, 1978; Huizinga *et al.* 2003; Tracy and Kempf-Leonard 1996; Wiley and Esbenson 2013). Such contact is held to promote ‘delinquent’ identities that promote offending; in short, the argument is that criminal justice agents promote – or inhibit – particular identities, linked in this literature not to compliance with and legitimation of superordinate group norms and structures but with deviant, law-breaking behaviour.

Largely missing from research into the implications of system contact, however, has been consideration of specific psychological mechanisms linking labeling with later behaviour (exceptions being Sherman’s (1993) defiance and Braithwaite’s (1989) reintegrative shaming theories). Although it makes intuitive sense to say that being labeled a delinquent or outsider

makes people more likely to act like one, this claim has little meaning without provision of, first, a plausible mechanism linking prior contact with latter identity and, second, a similar explanation for the identity-behaviour link. Procedural justice theory may provide one such mechanism. That is, it may not be system contact *per se* that leads to higher levels of offending, but rather contact with system agents, such as police officers, that is experienced as unfair (and thus labeling) in nature. This may lead not only to a de-legitimation of the police – representing one pathway to an increased likelihood of offending – but also a withdrawal from social identities associated with the police and, perhaps, a re-focusing of identity onto alternate sources of value and meaning with different relationships with offending behaviours; that is, affiliation with ‘deviant’ identities.

Key here is the idea that *identities* are inextricably linked to *roles* (Burke and Stets 2009). On this account, to identify as a citizen of a particular state is also to accept a particular set of roles attendant to that identity. Equally, one way to *be* a citizen of that state, to demonstrate inclusion and status to both self and others, is to enact those roles. People may be motivated to take on the ‘role’ of citizen when they identify as citizens: to express and fulfill the normative expectations placed on citizens in good standing, where good standing is constituted, in part and as Waddington (1999) suggests, by and through the actions of police officers. Police can thus provide experiences that either promote inclusion in the group officers represent and define roles in line with and conducive to group norms and rules (most importantly perhaps, when the group is associated with the state, the law). Alternatively, police can undermine such identities and diminish adherence to such roles (and, therefore, to the law).

To be clear, we cannot fully address the idea that procedural justice may add to labeling theory in this way with the data at hand for this paper. We use a general population sample that is unlikely to include many ‘delinquent’ individuals with a relatively high risk of offending; we also have no measures of self-reported offending, nor of identity structures that might promote such offending. What our data do allow, however, is investigation at the earlier stages of the process. We examine below: (a) whether it is possible that social identity judgments (defined as identification as a law-abiding citizen of Australia) may change as a result of procedurally just experiences with police; and (b) whether identification with a social group that police represent mediates some of the association between procedural justice and police legitimacy. Such a link appears plausible according to the small number of existing empirical studies that have considered the associations between procedurally fair treatment, social identity and legitimacy. For example, Tyler and Huo (2002) found that people’s identification with the United States was related to people’s perceptions that police were legitimate. Huo (2003) found that identification with the US was also positively related to perceptions that police were procedurally fair, while Bradford (2014) reported that police use of procedural justice seemed to shape identification with the UK among a sample of young ethnic minority men. Our aim here is to expand on these prior studies conceptually (by linking national identity with the ‘role’ of citizen) and empirically (by using panel data).

The challenge of multi-dimensional identities

Social identities are not, of course, uni-dimensional. Multiple, multi-faceted, group affiliations are formed and influenced by any number of cross cutting forces, and many ‘significant others’ constitute the mirror through which we construct and experience our sense of self. Some of these affiliations may be more important to people’s self-identity than others (Huo et al., 1996; Tajfel and Turner, 1986). For example, people may identify primarily with their own ethnic or cultural sub-group, primarily with a superordinate group such as Australian society (i.e., a national identity), or with both, or neither, of these groups.

Procedural justice theory is premised on just such a fluid, labile notion of identity and the existence of multiple social groups and affiliations. Many studies have examined processes

of fairness and group affiliation within work organizations, where the group identity is clearly only one aspect of people's sense of self (e.g. Tyler and Blader 2003; Blader and Tyler 2009). In such cases, identification with a specific group (e.g. the work organization) promotes adherence to group norms (work rules) when and where they are relevant (at work). However the context of policing poses a special challenge. Police may represent different social groups in a contingent, context dependent fashion: the meaning of those groups may vary between collectivities and individuals, and the nature of the formations involved is often contested. The police *can* be associated with inclusive social identities that relate to overarching concepts of community and citizenship meaningful to everyone in a given society (Loader and Walker 2007). All too often, though, police are associated with more limited, even exclusionary, social identities that deny access to certain groups (Waddington 1999), as is commonly exhibited when police engage with Indigenous groups or racial minorities (Cunneen 2001). As noted above, the extent to which police behaviour is *actually* identity-relevant in the ways suggested by procedural justice theory has remained under-explored, and this is particularly the case in relation to those who may feel marginal within the group the police represent, or who feel a strong sense of affiliation to an alternative.

Moreover, according to an alternative specification of procedural justice theory – the group value model (Tyler and Lind 1992) – procedural justice is differentially salient to people with varying levels of affiliation to relevant social groups. Under one version of this model, the procedural fairness of group authorities should be more important for those who feel firmly 'inside' the group (Huo *et al.* 1996). Under another version, however, procedural fairness is more important for those on the margins, who, uncertain about their status, have more at stake in social and institutional processes shaping their identities (De Cremer and Sedekides 2005; Murphy 2013). Given the extent to which police deal with the marginalized and excluded – and are involved in processes of marginalization and exclusion (Choongh 1997) – we might therefore expect significant variation in the association between assessments of police procedural justice and social identities among (a) those who 'start' with a different level of affiliation to the group the police represent; and (b) those who feel different levels of affiliation with alternate, and possibly conflicting, social identities.

Research hypotheses

Drawing on the above we can develop a number of hypotheses. First, we predict that positive change in perceptions of police procedural justice will be associated with stronger identification with the group the police represent (which we specify below as associated with both nationality and citizenship) (H1). Second, we expect that positive change in perceptions of police procedural justice will be associated with greater police legitimacy (H2). Third, a positive change in identification with the group the police represent should be associated with a stronger sense of its legitimacy (H3). Importantly, some of the association between procedural justice and legitimacy may be mediated by these identity judgments. That is, part of the reason why procedural justice enhances legitimacy is because it encourages group affiliations that structure people's attitudes and orientations toward police.

The fourth hypothesis takes account of the existence of multiple group identities, and the effect these may have on the processes linking procedural justice, social identity and legitimacy. Given the possible association of the police not with an inclusive 'citizen' identity but with an exclusive, possibly ethno-national, identity, ethnic group affiliation seems one obvious potential complicating factor. We therefore hypothesize that the association between procedural justice and national/citizen identity will vary according to the strength of an individual's affiliation with their ethnic group (H4a). We further expect that the association between change in procedural justice and legitimacy will vary according to the strength of this affiliation (H4b). Specifically, we expect a stronger affiliation with an ethnic identity to weaken the links between procedural justice, identity and legitimacy.

The fifth hypothesis relates to the position one has within the group the police represent. Recall that inclusion and status within a group may affect the importance and salience of procedural justice: we expect that the strength of the association between perceptions of procedural justice and social identity will be moderated by the strength of an individual's original identification with the relevant group (H5a). Similarly, we expect that the association between change in procedural justice and legitimacy will also be moderated by the strength of an individual's initial group identification (H5b). Prioritising the second version of the group value model described above, we anticipate stronger initial identification with the group will dampen the strength of the associations between procedural justice, identity and legitimacy. Since they feel themselves more firmly 'on the inside', procedurally just (identity-relevant) police behaviour should be less salient to strong identifiers.

Data and methods

Participants and Procedure

In 2007 a random national sample of 5,700 Australian citizens were invited to participate in a survey on policing and crime in their community. Participants were drawn from Australia's publicly available electoral roll, which details the name and address of all Australian citizens over the age of 18. Voting and registering on the electoral roll are required by law, so the roll provides a representative subject pool. A sample containing only Australian citizens is appropriate, given our focus on identification with the nation-state.

Selection was stratified by State and Territory jurisdiction. Participants were initially sent a survey booklet and invitation letter detailing the study. A reply paid envelope was included, and no date for return was specified. A series of reminder letters were posted to non-responders over the course of several weeks. A total of 2,120 completed surveys were received. Adjusting for respondents whose address details were incorrect on the electoral roll, or whom were unable to complete the survey due to travel or illness (N=438), a response rate of 40.3% was achieved.

Two years later a follow-up survey was undertaken. Some 2088 of the original wave 1 responders were sent an invitation to participate in a second survey (32 wave 1 responders had removed their unique identifier tag from their completed survey booklet). Again, after a series of reminders, a total of 1,024 completed wave 2 surveys were received. After taking into account wave 1 responders who had moved address or who had died since completing the first survey (n=232), an adjusted response rate of 64.9% was achieved. Responses from both surveys were then merged to produce a panel survey dataset.

Respondents in the final sample (n=1,023) were between 18 and 93 years of age (one respondent aged under 18 was excluded), with a mean age of 56; 46 per cent were male, 75 per cent were married or in a marriage-like relationship, 32 per cent had attained a university qualification, 25 per cent were born overseas and the average household income was reported to be AUS\$82,344. Using 2006 Australian Census data, the sample was found to be broadly representative of the Australian population. However, like many mail surveys, those who were older and more educated were slightly overrepresented. Men were also slightly underrepresented. While married people were over-represented (59 per cent of Australia's adult population are married or in a marriage-like relationship), this may simply have reflected that the sample was older than average, and older people are more likely to be married.

Constructs and measures

All survey items used Likert-type response scales, with multiple indicators of each psychological construct of interest. We used confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) in Mplus 7.0, treating all observed indicators as categorical (i.e. ordinal), to define and validate the variables needed to test the hypotheses. Two CFA models were estimated, one for each survey

wave. Model fit was adequate in each case (see Appendix Table 1 for question wordings and factor loadings), and factor scores were extracted for further analysis in Stata 12.1. Appendix Table 2 shows the correlations between the latent variables.

Two response variables were required. The first represented the extent of respondent's identification with the social group the Australian police represent, that is, the 'Australian community'. Four survey items covered identification and salience of both 'Australianess' (e.g. 'Do you see yourself first and mainly as a member of the Australian community') and citizenship (e.g. 'Is it important to you to be seen by others as an honest, law-abiding citizen?'). All four items loaded strongly onto one underlying factor, which we called *citizen identity*. This variable therefore taps into both national identity, which prior studies have suggested may have important associations with procedural justice and legitimacy judgments (Murphy and Cherney 2012), and the notion of a reciprocal-role relationship based on being an 'upstanding citizen' that Jackson *et al.* (2012a) suggest provides a link between procedural justice, police legitimacy and compliance. The strength of the association between these two aspects of identity is striking. It may be that stating adhering to group norms and values – and laws – is an important way of expressing one's 'Australianess'. Moreover, being seen by others as law-abiding may be an important factor shaping a sense of acceptance into the wider group and, consequently, of a need to abide by its rules. This is not to claim, of course, that there are no other ways of 'being Australian', nor other reasons to be (seen to be) a law-abiding citizen. What is at stake here is simply one aspect of people's subjective sense of self.

The second response variable represented respondent's assessments of police legitimacy. Recent work on legitimacy in criminal justice settings has emphasized that this is a multi-dimensional concept. One approach is to suggest that legitimacy wraps up assessments of the legality of organizational behaviour, judgements about the moral rectitude of criminal justice actors, and a sense of duty toward, consent to and authorization of justice authorities (Jackson *et al.* 2012a, 2012b), while others have suggested that duty flows from rather than constitutes legitimacy (Tankebe 2013). Definitional debates aside (see Tyler and Jackson 2013), these studies collectively suggest a complex relationship between procedural justice, social identity and legitimacy (for example, social identity may have a stronger relationship with some aspects of legitimacy than others). However, in this study we have available only a limited measure of legitimacy, *perceived duty to obey police*, covering respondent's sense that they have a duty to obey the instructions of police officers. Thus defined, legitimacy is recognition of authority and a positive motivation to act based on the perceived right of the police to dictate appropriate behaviour. Importantly, this is a measure similar to that used in some of the classic procedural justice studies (e.g. Sunshine and Tyler 2003), thus making it suitable, and sufficient, for current purposes, although a fuller measurement of legitimacy might have altered some of the findings presented below.

Note, at the outset, the strong correlation between citizen identity and legitimacy, particularly at Wave 2 (see Appendix Table 1). While this confirms the significance of the relationship between these two variables (people who identified as 'Australian citizens' tended to feel a strong sense of duty toward police), it also suggests possible issues with discriminant validity. However, these two constructs are clearly conceptually different, and did not load satisfactorily onto one underlying factor, justifying their retention as separate variables.

Our main explanatory variable represented respondent's assessments of police procedural justice, and was measured by items such as 'Do you think police treat people with respect?'. We labeled this variable *trust in police procedural justice*, since it represents people's general assessments of police fairness, often made in very low information contexts, and is distinct from their judgements of specific encounters with officers (see below).

Our second explanatory variable represented respondent's sense of identification with their specific ethnic group, measured by two observed indicators: 'Do you see yourself first and mainly as a member of your racial/ethnic group' and 'Is it important that you are seen by others as a member of your racial/ethnic group'? This scale was largely orthogonal to the citizen scale ($r = -.05$ at Wave 1 and $-.08$ at Wave 2, with only the latter association significant at $p < .05$). Individuals could, and did, score low on both identity measures or high on both measures.

Three important control variables were included in the analysis. These were *trust in police effectiveness* (measured by items covering solving and preventing crime, and maintaining order); *concern about antisocial behaviour (ASB)* (covering respondent's assessments of the extent to which disorder and low-level criminality were problems in their neighbourhood); and *worry about crime* (covering crimes from physical assault to theft from cars). All three factors may confound some of relationships hypothesized above. Prior studies have found effectiveness can also predict legitimacy judgements (Bradford *et al.* 2013; Hinds and Murphy 2007; Tankebe 2009), and effective group authorities may trigger a sense of pride and identification (Tyler and Blader 2000, 2003). Equally, research has shown that perceptions of disorder and worry about crime can have important associations with both trust in the police and with legitimacy (Merry *et al.* 2012; Jackson & Sunshine, 2007).

Finally, the factor loadings of individual survey items were generally very similar across the Wave 1 and Wave 2 CFA models, suggesting that the factor structure was sufficiently similar to treat each pair of Wave 1 and Wave 2 latent variables as representing the same 'thing'. There was however one divergence from this pattern, in that the loadings for the legitimacy items did appear to change between waves, by over 10 per cent in relation to the item 'Overall, I obey the police with good will'. While we do not believe this change invalidates the analysis presented below, the reader should bear in mind that the meaning of legitimacy (as duty to obey) may have shifted slightly between the two waves of the study.

Results

Does procedural justice predict change in identity?

Table 1 shows the results of a series of linear regression models predicting the measure of 'citizen' identity as measured at Wave 2. Note that a number of additional control variables were included in all models: age, gender, housing tenure (dichotomized as home-owners and others), employment status (employed or not), educational attainment and country of birth (Australia or elsewhere). Model 1 in Table 1 shows that, unsurprisingly, scores on this variable at Wave 2 were strongly predicted by scores at Wave 1. Yet, controlling for this link, respondents who viewed police to be more effective at Wave 1 tended to evince a somewhat stronger citizen identification at Wave 2; those who identified strongly with their ethnic group at Wave 1 tended to have a somewhat weaker affiliation with the citizen identity at the later time point.

The real test of our first hypothesis comes in Model 2. Here, Wave 2 predictors are added, and, since the same variables and the identity variable as measured at Wave 1 are already in the model, the interpretation of the regression coefficients shifts. Each Wave 2 coefficient now represents the expected change in the response variable between Waves 1 and 2 associated with a one unit increase in the explanatory variable over the same period.

We find that change in both procedural justice and police effectiveness was associated with change in the citizen identity variable, with procedural justice having the largest statistical effect. In addition, an increase in worry about crime between the two waves was also associated with an increased identification with the superordinate group. There is also some evidence of the relationship between the two identities, in that 'citizen' identification tended to decline slightly among people whose identification with their ethnic group grew.

Model 3 examines whether procedural justice is a less important predictor of ‘citizen’ identification for those with strong affiliations to their ethnic identity. The interaction term testing this hypothesis was not significant – change in procedural justice was, on average, an equally important factor shaping ‘citizen’ identity for those with high and low levels of identification with their ethnic group at Wave 1.

Finally, Model 4 tests the hypothesis that the identity relevance of procedural justice varies depending on the extent of original citizen identification. Here, the interaction term was significant; the stronger an individual’s ‘citizen’ identity at Wave 1, the weaker the association between change in procedural justice and this aspect of identity. While procedural justice seemed to remain important for people across the scale, it was a *more* important predictor of identity judgments among those who, at the outset, felt *less* included in or positive about the group the police represent.

Table 1 near here

Contact with police officers and changes in identity judgements

Thus far we have shown that changes in judgements about police procedural fairness do appear to be associated with changes in social identity. Yet, the association between assessments of the fairness of group authorities and identity should, theoretically, be formed most immediately and most strongly during personal contact between authority figure and group member. The previous analysis simply examined survey respondents’ general perceptions that police use procedural justice when dealing with citizens. In this section we consider the association between identity judgements at Wave 2 and actual assessments of police behaviour during face-to-face encounters that occurred between the survey waves.

Figure 1 shows results from a Structural Equation Model (SEM) predicting three Wave 2 variables: ‘citizen ID’, trust in police procedural justice, and trust in police effectiveness. Included as covariates are the same variables measured at Wave 1, and assessments of any between-wave contact with the police, in terms of the procedural fairness of officer behaviour and of the perceived favourability of outcome.¹ Only respondents who had contact with the police between the two waves (n=472) are included; the contact questions asked about the most recent experience prior to Wave 2 interviewing. Note that paths were allowed from all Wave 1 variables to both contact variables and to all Wave 2 variables; faded lines in the Figure represent non-significant relationships, while those shown in bold (with coefficients) were significant at $p < .05$.

There are three main findings. First, people who trusted in the procedural fairness of the police at Wave 1 were more likely to judge that officers treated them in a procedurally fair way during the encounter. Prior trust in both fairness and effectiveness, and social identity, were also positively correlated with outcome satisfaction. Second, as before, Wave 2 trust in procedural justice and police effectiveness, as well as social identity, were strongly shaped by the same factors at Wave 1. Third, and most importantly, conditioning on the other variables in the model we find that people who felt they were treated in a procedurally fair manner by police officers during encounters between survey waves expressed a stronger ‘citizen’ identity at Wave 2 than those who felt that officers had treated them unfairly. Note also that contact procedural justice and outcome satisfaction were independently, and positively, associated with trust in procedural justice at Wave 2. Outcome was also associated with trust in police effectiveness measured at the same time point.

Figure 1 near here

¹ Question wordings and factor loadings from the measurement model are available from the lead author.

The findings from the SEM therefore correspond with those from the linear regression modeling. Conditioning on earlier levels of trust in the police, people who felt they were more fairly treated during personal encounters with police officers tended to identify more strongly with the group the police represent than those who also experienced such contacts but felt unfairly treated.

Does identity mediate the relationship between procedural justice and police legitimacy?

We now turn to the issue of legitimacy. Recall that previous work has tended to trace a direct path from procedural justice to perceptions of legitimacy. However, we follow here the approach taken by Bradford (2012) in suggesting that some of the effect of procedural justice on legitimacy will be *mediated* by identity judgements.

Table 2 shows results of a series of linear regression models predicting perceived duty to obey the police as measured at Wave 2. Model 1 shows that the strongest Wave 1 predictors were duty to obey and 'citizen' identity, with the procedural justice and police effectiveness variables also having a significant statistical effect. Model 2 adds the Wave 2 procedural justice and police effectiveness measures, worry about crime and perceptions of ASB. The coefficients suggest that change in procedural fairness was strongly, and positively, associated with change in perceived duty to obey the police. People who became more worried about crime also tended, on average, to feel a greater sense of duty to obey the police by Wave 2. Adding these Wave 2 variables, and concerns about crime and disorder, increased the explained variance, with the R^2 value moving from .40 to .63.

Table 2 near here

Model 3 in Table 2 adds the Wave 2 citizen identity variable. It shows that a positive change in citizen ID was strongly associated with a positive change in perceived duty to obey. Note that in this model the coefficient for procedural justice reduces in size (from $B=.62$ to $B=.45$), suggesting that the statistical effect of change in procedural justice on legitimacy was indeed partially mediated by social identity. Change in both procedural fairness *and* in citizen identity had, therefore, independent and substantively large associations with change in legitimacy judgements. Finally, the R^2 value in Model 3 increases to .84 – over four fifths of the variation in Wave 2 legitimacy is explained by the variables in Model 3.

Model 4 adds identification with ethnic group – the hypothesis here being that identifying more strongly with one's ethnic group may dampen feelings of duty toward the police. We found the opposite; feeling a stronger affiliation with one's ethnic group was associated with a *greater* sense of duty toward the police, albeit weakly.

Finally, Model 5 tests two interaction effects. The interaction between Wave 2 procedural justice and Wave 1 'citizen' identity was insignificant, suggesting the association between procedural justice and police legitimacy did not vary according to where people 'started' on the citizen identity scale. However, the interaction between Wave 2 procedural justice and Wave 1 ethnic identity was significant – people who started with stronger ethnic identities tended, on average, to place somewhat less emphasis on procedural justice.

Discussion

Returning to the five hypotheses outlined above, we found support for hypothesis H1. Positive change in perceptions of police procedural justice was indeed associated with a stronger 'citizen' identity by Wave 2. Procedural justice in specific encounters with police officers also appeared to have the same effect. Hypothesis H2 also found support, with positive change in perceptions of procedural justice associated with greater police legitimacy at Wave 2. Hypothesis (H3) was that positive change in identification with the group the police represent would be associated with a stronger sense of its legitimacy and, in addition, that some of the

association between procedural justice and legitimacy would be mediated by identity. This hypothesis again found support – social identity may indeed provide one of the causal mechanisms linking procedural justice and police legitimacy.

Findings in relation to the remaining hypotheses were mixed. We found no support for hypothesis H4a. The association between change in procedural justice and ‘citizen’ identity did not vary according to the strength of an individual’s affiliation with their particular ethnic group at Wave 1. We did, however, find that the association between change in trust in police procedural justice and legitimacy varied according to an individual’s initial affiliation with their ethnic group (H4b), with stronger identifiers placing less emphasis on fairness. Such a finding is not inconsistent with recent work undertaken by Murphy and Cherney (2012), also in Australia. They found that ethnic minority groups were less responsive to procedural justice than non-minority groups. Yet, we also found that a growth in ethnic affiliation between the two waves was associated with a *greater* legitimization of the police. We are reminded, counterfactually, of Matza’s (1964) notion of drift. Since a loosening of normative ties with one group may not necessarily generate stronger ties with another – producing rather a sense of drift or anomie – it may be that ‘social embeddedness’, in and of itself and regardless of the specific object of identification, can in certain circumstances influence individual’s orientations toward authority figures.

Hypothesis H5a also found support. The strength of the association between change in trust in procedural justice and citizen identity was moderated by the strength of an individual’s original identification with this group; strong ‘initial’ identifiers placed less emphasis on fairness. By contrast, H5b found no support. The association between change in procedural justice and legitimacy was not moderated by the initial strength of ‘citizen’ identity.

Taken together, the findings described above offer significant support to the group engagement model of procedural justice. Not only was change in assessments of police procedural justice associated with changes in ‘citizen’ identity, but social identity also mediated some of the association between procedural justice and legitimacy. Furthermore, the procedural justice, social identity and legitimacy ‘pathway’ was found among those with high and low identifications with the ‘citizen’ and ‘ethnic’ formations: procedural justice appeared identity relevant to all.

We also found mixed support for the group value model of procedural justice. Under some conditions procedural justice appeared more important to those with weaker citizen identities; under other conditions, the identity relevance of procedural justice varied according to ethnic group affiliation. Being ‘marginal’ to the group the police represent could accentuate *or* dampen the importance of procedural justice. The message is perhaps that existing identities can moderate the links between procedural justice, identity and legitimacy in complex ways: a potential topic for much further research. In this Australian dataset police fairness was a consistently positive predictor of citizen identity and of legitimacy, but more for some and less for others.

Limits of the study

The present study has a number of shortcomings. First and most importantly the available data are not sufficient to demonstrate causality. While we consider processes of change captured between two points in time, the analysis presented above is still correlational; we cannot rule out confounders at the intra-individual level over time. Field and laboratory experiments would be one way to disentangle the types of causal processes proposed here (cf. Mazerolle *et al.* 2013; Braga *et al.* 2014). While assessing the causal impact of policing on public attitudes and behaviours is difficult in an experimental context, such an approach might prove effective in clarifying whether the relationships obtained in survey research are

plausible and robust. Multi-wave longitudinal studies would also be a welcome addition to work in this area.

Another significant limitation is that while we believe the 'citizen' identity used above is a suitable measure of the type of group identity linked to and represented by the police, alternate identities, which might mediate or moderate the associations described above, are only partially and arguably poorly represented by 'ethnicity'. Notably, we have no measures of the type of deviant identifications labeling theorists suggest should positively correlate with offending (Bernburg *et al.* 2006). Moreover we did not take account of the idea that unfair treatment might generate 'drift' or anomie. Future research might investigate the extent to which a decline in identification with the social group represented by the police is associated with a withdrawal from all over-arching group affiliations, and the possible consequences of this.

Conclusion

As far as we are aware, this paper presents one of the very few extant empirical tests – it certainly seems to be the first panel study – of the idea that police procedural justice is important because police behaviour carries identity relevant information. By specifying the group concerned as constituted by a sense of both 'Australianess' and 'citizenship', we have suggested that when people felt the police were fair in a general sense, and/or felt they had been personally fairly treated by officers, the strength of their identification with this group was enhanced, and they granted the police more legitimacy. Conversely, a sense that police were unfair was associated with a weakened affiliation with this group and a diminution of police legitimacy. However, there were also direct statistical effects of procedural justice on legitimacy – separate to a mediating path from procedural justice to legitimacy via social identification.

These findings resonate strongly with the group engagement model of procedural justice. People's social identities seem to be shaped by encounters with police officers – and presumably other authority figures – in an active sense, reinforcing the congruence between procedural justice and labeling theories. On both accounts, social identities are contingent, subject to alteration throughout people's lives, and open to influence by the actions of authority figures. Moreover, social identity seems to have significant downstream implications for legitimacy (our focus here) and offending behaviour (the focus of traditional labeling theory studies and the more recent system contact literature). We believe this convergence of perspectives is worthy of much further attention.

Yet, it also seems that procedural justice has an association with legitimacy beyond that mediated by social identity. This, too, is worthy of further study. What is the putative causal mechanism? Beyond identity judgements, why should feeling the police to be fair be linked to a greater sense of duty toward them? At this stage, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that procedural justice has both affective and evaluative (or cognitive) components (Bradford 2014). That is, it serves to both make people *feel* included in important social groups, and at the same time *demonstrates* to them that power-holders are using their power in a normatively justifiable manner (Tyler 2006a). Another important aspect of the link between procedural justice and legitimacy may therefore have some of the characteristics of a social contract. When police demonstrate via procedural justice that they are wielding their power properly and toward the correct ends, this may activate a reciprocal duty among the policed to support them and abide by the law (Jackson *et al.* 2012a, 2012b).

The findings described above are important for a number of reasons. Providing robust empirical evidence that the procedural fairness of police activity can affect people's identities, they open up avenues for wider exploration of the role of the criminal justice system in shaping people's subjective social identities, and the potential consequences of this. Readiness to cooperate and willingness to engage in other kinds of 'pro-social' activity are just two

examples, and such possibilities have many positive implications. Conversely, our findings underline the potential for police and other justice agents to act in ways that undermine people's social identities and damage their propensity to cooperate within and on behalf of the group those agents represent.

Recourse to labeling theory also activates the other interlocutor in the process envisaged by the procedural justice model: namely, the criminal justice agent. Specifically, the importance of the assessments police officers make about the moral character – and status – of those whom the encounter is underlined. Following Ericson (1975: 76), we suggest that when encountering an individual, officers make a judgement about their character that both generates a label and serves as a guide for the type of treatment they should receive. This has important theoretical and practical implications. Theoretically, greater emphasis is needed in the procedural justice literature on understanding why and how police officers treat members of the public in the ways that they do. If police activity is unevenly, and unequally, distributed across different social and physical contexts (Gau *et al.* 2012), why is this the case? What makes officers treat people more or less fairly? Classically-oriented studies of 'police culture' may have much to offer; alternatively, recent approaches to organizational justice within police agencies (e.g. Myhill and Bradford 2013) have considered what motivates officers to treat citizens in a procedurally fair manner (or not). Practically, it seems greater awareness of the identity-relevant aspects of officer behaviour is needed within police organizations. Police are not merely 'thief-takers' or agents of social order, but also negotiators of a much wider set of social processes (Loader and Mulcahy 2003: 39) with a potentially important role in shaping the subjective identities of those whom they encounter. We have only touched here on the possible implications of such encounters, and much work remains to be done.

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Table 1: Linear regression models predicting 'citizen' identity at Wave 2

	Unstandardized betas			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Control variables (as at Wave 2)				
Age	0	0	0	0
Gender (<i>ref: male</i>)				
Female	-0.14*	-0.11*	-0.11*	-0.11*
Tenure (<i>ref: other</i>)				
Home Owner	0.08	0.02	0.02	0.03
Economic status (<i>ref: other</i>)				
Employed	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03
Educational attainment (<i>ref: over year 12 but less than degree</i>)				
Year 12 or less	-0.05	-0.06	-0.06	-0.05
Degree or higher	-0.01	0	0	0
Place of birth (<i>ref: Australia</i>)				
Elsewhere	-0.04	-0.06	-0.06	-0.06
Wave 1 explanatory variables				
'Citizen' ID	0.52*	0.47*	0.47*	0.46*
Ethnic ID	-0.05*	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03
Trust in police effectiveness	0.08*	0.01	0.01	0.01
Trust in police procedural fairness	0.06	-0.08*	-0.08*	-0.07*
Concern about ASB	0	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Worry about crime	0.05	-0.04	-0.04	-0.04
Wave 2 explanatory variables				
'Citizen' ID				
Ethnic ID		-0.07*	-0.07*	-0.07*
Trust in police effectiveness		0.09*	0.09*	0.09*
Trust in police procedural fairness		0.28*	0.28*	0.27*
Concern about ASB		0	0	-0.01
Worry about crime		0.18*	0.17*	0.18*
Identity * PJ interaction				
Wave 1 ethnic ID * Wave 2 PJ			-0.03	
Wave 1 citizen ID * Wave 2 PJ				-0.07*
Constant	0.01	0.04	0.04	0.05
R ²	0.37	0.45	0.45	0.45
N	1136	1136	1136	1136

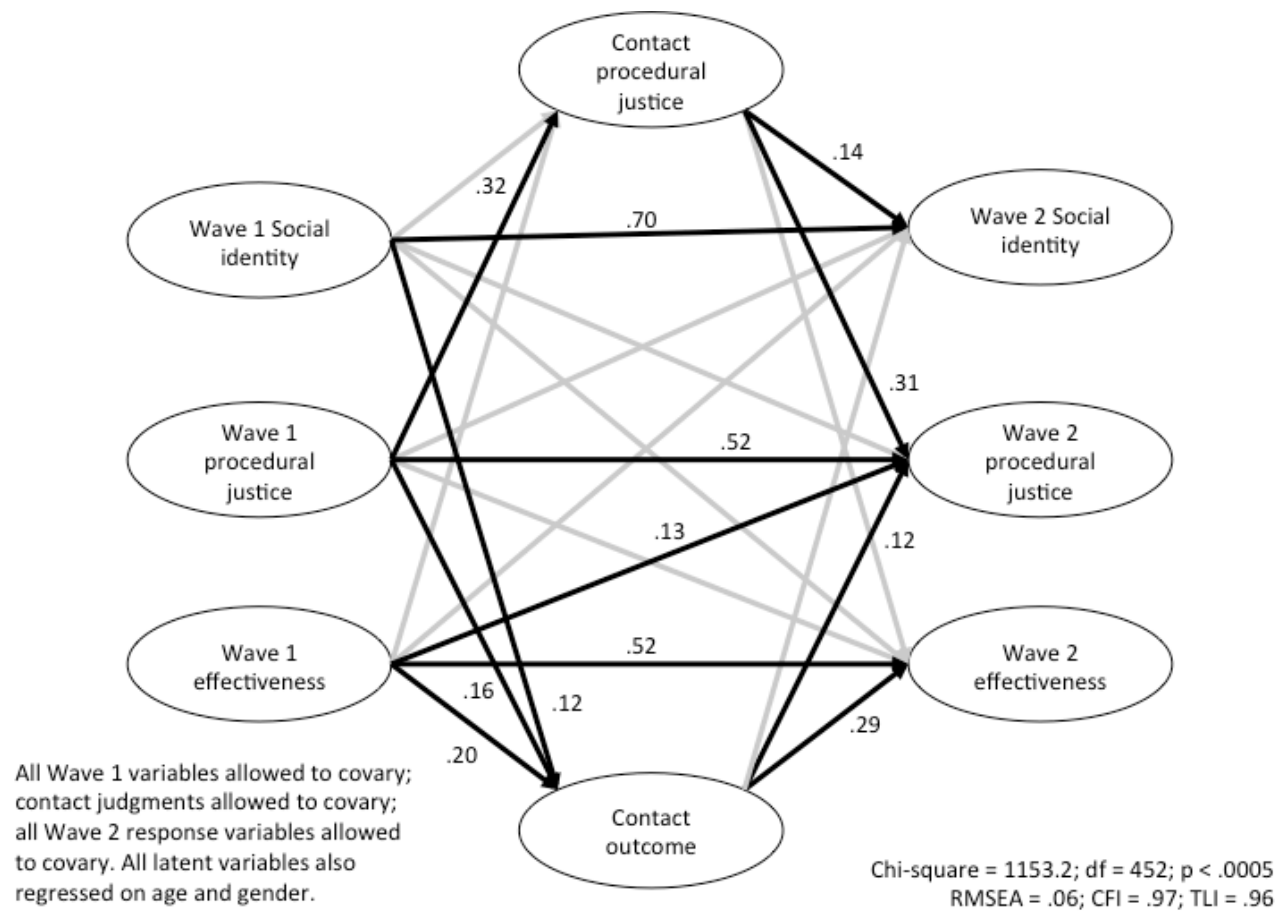
+ p<0.10 * p<0.05 ** p<0.01

Table 2: Linear regression models predicting perceived duty to obey police at Wave 2

	Unstandardized betas				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Control variables (as at Wave 2)					
Age	0.00	0.00	-0.00*	-0.00**	-0.00*
Gender (<i>ref: male</i>)					
Female	-0.12**	-0.08**	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
Tenure (<i>ref: other</i>)					
Home Owner	0.11*	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.01
Economic status (<i>ref: other</i>)					
Employed	-0.02	-0.02	0.00	0.00	0
Educational attainment					
(<i>ref: over year 12 but less than degree</i>)					
Year 12 or less	-0.06	-0.07*	-0.04+	-0.04+	-0.04+
Degree or higher	-0.06	-0.04	-0.05*	-0.04*	-0.04*
Place of birth (<i>ref: Australia</i>)					
Elsewhere	-0.04	-0.06*	-0.02	-0.03	-0.03
Wave 1 explanatory variables					
Duty to obey	0.26**	0.18**	0.12**	0.12**	0.12**
Trust in police effectiveness	0.11**	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0
Trust in police procedural fairness	0.11**	-0.13**	-0.07**	-0.07**	-0.07**
Concern about ASB	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
Worry about crime	0.01	-0.05+	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
'Citizen' ID	0.25**	0.22**	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03
Ethnic ID	0.00	0.01	0.04**	0.02	0.02
Wave 2 explanatory variables					
Trust in police effectiveness		0.04+	0.00	-0.01	-0.01
Trust in police procedural fairness		0.62**	0.45**	0.46**	0.46**
Concern about ASB		-0.04	-0.03+	-0.04*	-0.04*
Worry about crime		0.12**	0.02	0.01	0.01
'Citizen' ID			0.62**	0.63**	0.62**
Ethnic ID				0.06**	0.06**
Interaction effects					
Wave 2 PJ * Wave 1 'citizen' ID					-0.01
Wave 2 PJ * Wave 1 ethnic ID					-0.04*
Constant	0.09	0.16*	0.14**	0.15**	0.15**
R ²	0.40	0.63	0.84	0.84	0.84
n	1136	1136	1136	1136	1136

+ p<0.10 * p<0.05 ** p<0.01

Figure 1: Contact with the police, trust, and identity judgements



Officers as mirrors: Policing, procedural justice and the (re)production of social identity

Appendix Table 1: Latent constructs and factor loadings, Waves 1 and 2

	Wave 1	Wave 2
ID - 'Citizen' (The following questions are about how you see yourself in your community)		
Do you see yourself first and mainly as a member of the Australian community?	0.68	0.65
Is it important to you to be seen by others as a member of the Australian community?	0.74	0.72
Do you see yourself as an honest, law-abiding citizen?	0.79	0.84
Is it important to you to be seen by others as an honest, law-abiding citizen?	0.89	0.89
ID - Ethnic (The following questions are about how you see yourself in your community)		
Do you see yourself first and mainly as a member of your racial/ethnic group?	0.94	0.91
Is it important that you are seen by others as a member of your racial/ethnic group?	0.84	0.86
Trust in police procedural justice ('Do you think....')		
Police treat people with respect	0.78	0.75
Police give people the opportunity to express their views before decisions are made	0.89	0.85
Police listen to people before making decisions	0.91	0.72
Police make decisions based on facts, not their personal biases or opinions	0.73	0.78
Trust in police effectiveness ('how good a job are police doing in your neighbourhood at ...')		
Solving crime	0.83	0.83
Preventing crime	0.92	0.93
Keeping order	0.92	0.88
Perceived duty to obey police (what is your own view on these statements)		
I feel a moral obligation to obey police	0.92	0.84
Overall, I obey the police with good will	0.88	0.77
Concern about Antisocial Behaviour ('to what extent are the following behaviours a problem in your neighbourhood')		
Vandalism or graffiti	0.72	0.72
Rubbish or litter	0.67	0.72
Teenagers hanging around	0.82	0.89
Uncontrolled dogs or dogs mess	0.62	0.65
People being drunk or rowdy	0.85	0.89
Noisy disputes/arguments	0.75	0.83
Worry about crime ('how concerned are you about being the victim of....?')		
Physical assault (excluding sexual assault)	0.81	0.81
Sexual assault	0.77	0.75
Burglary/housebreaking	0.85	0.87
Other property theft	0.91	0.90
Damage to property or car, graffiti or other vandalism	0.80	0.76
Model fit statistics		
Chi square	1416.84	1379.028

Degrees of Freedom	278	278
P-value	<.00005	<.00005
RMSEA	0.06	0.06
CFI	0.97	0.97
TLI	0.96	0.96

Appendix Table 2: Correlation of latent variables

Correlations between Wave 1 variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
'Citizen' ID (1)	1						
Ethnic ID (2)	-0.05	1					
Trust in police procedural fairness (3)	0.39	0.05	1				
Trust in police effectiveness (4)	0.26	0.09	0.55	1			
Duty to obey (5)	0.73	-0.02	0.55	0.39	1		
Concern about ASB (6)	0.04	0.18	-0.07	-0.30	0.01	1	
Worry about crime (7)	0.28	0.23	0.10	-0.13	0.22	0.48	1

Correlations between Wave 2 variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
'Citizen' ID (1)	1						
Ethnic ID (2)	-0.08	1					
Trust in police procedural fairness (3)	0.46	-0.02	1				
Trust in police effectiveness (4)	0.36	0.05	0.69	1			
Duty to obey (5)	0.83	-0.01	0.71	0.51	1		
Concern about ASB (6)	0.01	0.22	-0.05	-0.21	-0.04	1	
Worry about crime (7)	0.20	0.20	0.01	-0.11	0.14	0.43	1