

9-16-2024

## **Influence of Procedural Justice Training on Police Perceptions of Interactions With Racial Minority Citizens**

Christopher Michael Felton  
*Walden University*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.waldenu.edu/dissertations>

---

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies Collection at ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact [ScholarWorks@waldenu.edu](mailto:ScholarWorks@waldenu.edu).

# Walden University

College of Psychology and Community Services

This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation by

Christopher M. Felton

has been found to be complete and satisfactory in all respects,  
and that any and all revisions required by  
the review committee have been made.

Review Committee

Dr. Melanye Smith, Committee Chairperson,  
Criminal Justice Faculty

Dr. Howard Henderson, Committee Member,  
Criminal Justice Faculty

Chief Academic Officer and Provost  
Sue Subocz, Ph.D.

Walden University  
2024

Abstract

Influence of Procedural Justice Training on Police Perceptions of Interactions With

Racial Minority Citizens

by

Christopher M. Felton

MS, Trine University, 2013

BS, University of Toledo, 2007

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Criminal Justice

Walden University

November 2024

## Abstract

Relationships between police and racial minority communities continue to be strained as traditional cultural diversity training for police struggles to equip officers with the skills needed to interact with and build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. Previous quantitative research indicated that when the police treat citizens according to procedural justice, citizens are more likely to report a positive experience. However, there was a lack of qualitative research aimed at understanding the lived experiences of officers who have been trained in procedural justice and their perceptions of how that training influenced their ability to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. The purpose of this phenomenological study was to explore the lived experiences of police officers trained in procedural justice and their perceptions of how that training influenced their ability to interact with and build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. The theoretical framework was Tyler's procedural justice theory. Data were collected from semistructured interviews with 12 patrol officers trained in procedural justice from a large Midwest U.S. police department serving a racial minority population of over 35%. The process of explication and thematic analysis was used to interpret the data. Findings indicated that when police learn about the historical impact of police mistreatment of racial minorities, they become more equipped to implement the tenets of procedural justice, resulting in most people cooperating with the police regardless of the outcome of the encounter. Findings may inform police policymakers regarding the best way to train officers in implementing procedural justice with the goal of positive social change by improving police–community relationships.

Influence of Procedural Justice Training on Police Perceptions of Interactions With

Racial Minority Citizens

by

Christopher M. Felton

MS, Trine University, 2013

BS, University of Toledo, 2007

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Criminal Justice

Walden University

November 2024

## Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the amazing men and women of law enforcement who go out every day, in the face of evil and danger, and do good.

## Acknowledgments

I would first like to acknowledge my amazing wife, Fiorella, who stood by me, pushed me, would not let me quit, and motivated me. Thank you for standing by me and putting up with the lonesome nights while I typed away, as well as my ever-changing, stressed-out mood. Thank you for being there. I would not have finished this without you.

Thank you also to my amazing friends and family, who frequently asked how my project was going and continuously offered support, never judging how long this took me.

To the 12 officers who volunteered their time and allowed me to capture their experiences, thank you. Thank you for caring about your communities.

Lastly, thank you to my chair, Dr. Melanye Smith, for your continued guidance and support.

## Table of Contents

List of Tables.....	vi
List of Figures .....	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study .....	1
Background .....	3
Problem Statement.....	5
Purpose.....	6
Research Questions.....	7
Theoretical Framework.....	7
Nature of the Study.....	8
Definitions.....	9
Assumptions .....	10
Scope and Delimitations .....	10
Limitations .....	12
Significance.....	13
Summary .....	14
Chapter 2: Literature Review .....	15
Literature Search Strategy.....	16
Theoretical Foundation.....	16
Origins of Procedural Justice Theory.....	17
Relationship to Police Legitimacy .....	18
Police–Community Relations.....	20



Overview of Police–Community Relations.....	20
Improving Police–Community Relations.....	23
Police–Community Relations Versus Community-Oriented Policing .....	24
Public Support for Police–Community Relations.....	24
Police Support for Police–Community Relations.....	25
Police Cultural Diversity Training.....	27
Diversity Training Programs and Attempts .....	28
Traditional Cultural Diversity Training .....	28
Implicit Bias .....	30
Previous Studies.....	32
Support for and Against Implicit Bias Training .....	33
Cultural Competence.....	36
Previous Study .....	38
Current Applicability of Procedural Justice .....	39
Police Legitimacy .....	40
Previous Interventions.....	42
Recent Research.....	43
Summary and Conclusion .....	47
Chapter 3: Research Method.....	50
Research Questions.....	50
Research Design and Rationale .....	50
Role of the Researcher .....	52

Methodology .....	54
Participant Selection .....	54
Sampling Strategy .....	55
Sample Size and Saturation .....	56
Instrumentation .....	57
Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection.....	60
Data Analysis Plan .....	62
Trustworthiness .....	64
Credibility .....	64
Transferability.....	65
Dependability.....	65
Confirmability.....	66
Ethical Procedures .....	67
Summary .....	70
Chapter 4: Results.....	71
Setting .....	71
Demographics.....	71
Data Collection.....	72
Data Analysis .....	75
Trustworthiness .....	77
Credibility.....	77
Transferability.....	78

Dependability.....	78
Confirmability.....	79
Results.....	79
Theme 1: Perceptions of the Effects of Procedural Justice on Citizen Behavior.....	82
Theme 2: Giving Citizens a Voice Is the Most Effective and Important Tenet of Procedural Justice.....	93
Theme 3: The Way People Are Treated Matters More Than the Outcome and Influences How They Later View Police.....	104
Theme 4: Procedural Justice Training Helped Participants Understand Different Cultures, Which Prepared Them to Implement Procedural Justice.....	110
Summary.....	116
Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations.....	118
Interpretation of the Findings.....	119
Theme 1: Perceptions of the Effects of Procedural Justice on Citizens’ Behavior.....	119
Theme 2: Giving Citizens a Voice Is the Most Effective and Important Tenet of Procedural Justice.....	122
Theme 3: The Way People Are Treated Matters More Than the Outcome and Influences How They Later View Police.....	123

Theme 4: Procedural Justice Training Helped Participants Understand  
Different Cultures, Which Prepared Them to Implement  
Procedural Justice..... 125

Limitations of the Study..... 128

Recommendations..... 130

Implications for Social Change ..... 132

Conclusion..... 134

References..... 136

Appendix: Interview Questions..... 162

List of Tables

Table 1. Participants' Demographic Data.....72

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Themes and Subthemes.....	81
-------------------------------------	----

## Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Police–community relations continue to be strained, and have been for quite some time. Events of the past decade, ranging from Ferguson, MO, to Baltimore, MD, to Minneapolis, MN, have continued to illustrate that the police and the communities they serve, particularly racial minority communities, have relationships that must be mended. From the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s to the 2015 President’s Task Force on 21<sup>st</sup> Century Policing and beyond, calls continue to be made to improve police training on diversity, implicit bias, cultural competence, and procedural justice (Coon, 2016; Nix & Pickett, 2017), yet most attempts by police departments to repair relationships with racial minority citizens have yielded little success (Fildes et al., 2019; Moon et al., 2018; Workman, 2022).

Further, although academic attention has been increasing over the past several years on researching the best practices for repairing relations and training police in how to interact with the communities they serve, particularly with racial minority communities, research in this arena has been minimal and has not focused on the lived experiences of police officers regarding their interactions with and attempts to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens (Bond et al., 2015; Fildes et al., 2019; Trinkner et al., 2019). Procedural justice theory has laid the foundation for training officers to treat citizens in a procedurally just manner: making citizens feel as if they have a voice during the encounter; that they have been treated with dignity, respect, and the same approach that anyone else in their situation would have been treated; and that any decisions that were made were made in a neutral fashion (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Empirical research has uncovered promising results: The more the police employ procedural justice, the more the citizens they interact with perceive them as legitimate and agree to cooperate with and trust the police (Antrobus et al., 2018; Mazerolle et al., 2012; Skogan et al., 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Trinkner et al., 2019; Tyler et al., 2007; Worden et al., 2020).

However, most existing research focused on the perceptions of citizens when interacting with the police, failing to explore and understand the experiences and perceptions of the police themselves when interacting with community members (Bond et al., 2015; Fildes et al., 2019; Trinkner et al., 2019). The current phenomenological study explored the lived experiences of police officers trained in procedural justice when employing the tenets of procedural justice. The purpose of this study was to understand how procedural justice training influenced police officers' ability to interact with and build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. The potential social implications of this study are vast; rather than simply confirming the existing theory that employing procedural justice improves police–community relations, this study may serve to contribute findings to practitioners and future researchers regarding the best methods to employ procedural justice during police–citizen interactions and how to effectively train officers to treat citizens in a procedurally just manner.

In Chapter 1, I provide a background of the research problem and describe the gap in research that my study sought to fill. I also describe the purpose, significance, methodology, and theoretical framework of the study. My research questions are stated,



and I provide definitions of key terms, the assumptions related to this study, the scope and delimitations, and the limitations.

### **Background**

Traditional diversity training attempts by police have not been successful at improving police–community relations (Fildes et al., 2019; Workman, 2022; Zimny, 2015). When encounters with the police go differently than how citizens expect them to go (e.g., when the police treat them rudely or fail to listen to them), this results in a discrepancy between what the public expects and what actually happened, resulting in feelings of animosity toward the police (Törnblom & Vermunt, 2007). Furthermore, after heavily publicized use-of-force incidents, public perception of and trust in police has plummeted (Weitzer, 2015). Not only do poor police–community relations have negative effects on citizens, but officers suffer as well in the form of burnout, cynicism toward citizens, potential excessive force, and low morale (Marier & Moule, 2018; Schuck & Martin, 2013). Fildes et al. (2019), Schlosser (2013), and Skogan et al. (2015) posited that traditional diversity training covers topics that have no effect on officers’ perceptions of racial minorities or how to build trust with racial minority communities.

On the other hand, a significant amount of empirical research found that when the police employ the tenets of procedural justice, the perceived legitimacy of the police increases, and citizens are more inclined to cooperate with and respect the police both at the present time and in the future, regardless of the outcome of the present encounter (Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Mazerolle et al., 2012; Saarikkom, 2016; Skogan et al., 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Trinkner et al., 2019; Wheller et al., 2013). Despite this, it is

still unclear how to best train officers to employ procedural justice when interacting with members of the public (Miles-Johnson, 2015; Moon et al., 2018; Workman, 2022). The gap in research that the current study sought to address was the lack of qualitative research on this phenomenon. Trinkner et al. (2019) noted that although a significant amount of quantitative research exists on the importance of procedural justice in police work, more diverse research is needed, particularly on police officers' perceptions and experiences of police–citizen interactions in the context of procedurally just policing.

Additionally, Tyler et al. (2015) and Trinkner et al. (2019) noted that most existing research used cross-sectional methods and hypothetical scenarios; however, how the participants (police) think they would act and how they actually act might be different. Because of this, Antrobus et al. (2018), Bond et al. (2015), Nagin and Telep (2017), Radburn et al. (2022), and Urbanska et al. (2019) noted that other methodologies besides quantitative are needed to understand procedurally just policing because little is known about the police perceptions and experiences. Bond et al. observed that

if procedural justice policing is to work in promoting increased citizen trust and compliance, it is not sufficient to simply understand the citizen perceptions and evaluations; future procedural justice research also needs to take account of the attitudes and behaviours of officers, including how they think they might be able to use procedural justice effectively in the field, what barriers they see to implementing it in the field, and how they subsequently actually use it in the field.

(p. 241)

The current study was needed to fill this gap and understand the lived experiences of officers when employing procedural justice while interacting with and striving to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. As Radburn et al. noted, researchers must continue to understand police experiences to “unpack the teachable moments of police-public interactions” (p. 73).

### **Problem Statement**

Traditional diversity training for police officers has not been effective at teaching them how to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens (Engel et al., 2020; Fildes et al., 2019; Moon et al., 2018; Skogan et al., 2015; Workman, 2022; Zimny, 2015). This has resulted in racial minorities often experiencing unpleasant, potentially violent encounters with the police, as well as high rates of cynicism and low morale among officers (Marier & Moule, 2018; Schuck & Martin, 2013). Currently, diversity training provided to police officers covers general topics of racism and profiling but does not provide education on how to communicate with and build trusting, respectful relationships with racial minority communities (Coon, 2016; Fildes et al., 2019; Workman, 2022). Despite research on why improving police–community relations is imperative, few departments have made attempts to change the curriculum of their traditional diversity training (Zimny, 2015). This problem impacts racial minority communities and officers because when racial minority communities have low levels of trust in the police, the citizens are less likely to follow the law, cooperate during an encounter, or assist with investigations (Jones, 2021; Nix, 2017; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). There are many factors contributing to this problem, including a lack of

understanding of other cultures, stereotypes and biases among new officers, and inadequate training to change officers' behaviors (Guo-Brennan & Guo-Brennan, 2022; Radburn et al., 2022; Zimny, 2015). Literature reviewed for this study identified police–community relations, traditional cultural diversity training, and procedural justice as the focus of previous studies ( Coon, 2016; Cunningham & Gillezeau, 2021; Fildes et al., 2019; Nix & Pickett, 2017). Studies did not explore the experiences of police officers trained to give citizens a voice and employ respect, dignity, and neutrality in decision making (the principles of procedural justice) and how that training influences the way they interact with racial minority citizens. My study may contribute to the literature by providing policymakers with information on how officers trained in procedural justice perceived how that training influenced the way they interact with and build trust with racial minority citizens.

### **Purpose**

The purpose of this phenomenological study was to understand the lived experiences of police officers trained in procedural justice and their perceptions of how that training influenced their interactions with racial minority citizens, as well as their perceptions of how procedural justice influenced their ability to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. To address this gap, I used purposive random sampling and semistructured interviews with police patrol officers working for a Midwest U.S. police department that provides procedural justice training to its officers. The results could be used to inform policymakers on how the participants perceived the training to influence the way they interact with racial minority citizens and whether procedural

justice properly equips them to build trust and increase respect between police and racial minority community members.

### **Research Questions**

RQ: What are the lived experiences of police patrol officers trained in procedural justice when interacting with racial minority citizens?

Subquestion: What are the experiences of police patrol officers using procedural justice to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens?

### **Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework for this study was procedural justice theory.

Procedural justice theory suggests that when citizens perceive that they are being treated in a procedurally just manner, when they feel as if they are given a voice, when they are treated respectfully and the same as anyone else in their position, and when they receive neutrality in decision making, their trust and cooperation with the police, both at the time of the encounter and in future situations, increases (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). On the other hand, when a citizen encounters the police and the encounter goes other than how the citizen expects it should go (i.e., they perceived they were disrespected or treated unfairly), this incongruence results in cognitive and behavioral reactions within the person such as being angry at or not trusting the police, (Törnblom & Vermunt, 2007).

Tyler expanded the work of Thibaut and Walker (1975), who sought to understand procedural justice's relation to perceptions of just or unjust treatment by the criminal justice system as a whole. Thibaut and Walker discovered that citizens who dealt with an adversarial court system in which they perceived the process as fair reported a

satisfactory experience, regardless of the outcome, as opposed to those who faced an adversarial court system that they perceived as unfair and reported an unsatisfactory experience, again, regardless of the outcome. Tyler (2003) explained that there is a direct correlation between how someone perceives their treatment by police and the likelihood of their current and future cooperation, trust, and respect for police. The willingness of a person to trust and cooperate with the police is based on how well the police treat people according to the tenets of procedural justice. Chapter 2 provides a more detailed description of this theory within the underpinnings of Tyler's process-based psychological model of procedural justice, which states that the public's level of trust, respect, and cooperation with the police is based on subjective evaluations of police treatment (e.g., whether were they treated in a procedurally just way) and not based on philosophical opinions of whether the law should be obeyed. Therefore, a phenomenological study using semistructured interviews was appropriate to understand the lived experiences of police officers trained in procedural justice when interacting with members of the public and their perceptions of how that training influenced the way they interact with racial minority citizens, as well as their ability to build trusting and mutual relationships with racial minority citizens.

### **Nature of the Study**

The nature of this study was a qualitative phenomenological design using purposeful random sampling to recruit police officers trained in procedural justice working for a police department in the Midwest United States that had a sizeable racial minority population. The number of participants increased until saturation was achieved.

Semistructured interviews were used to collect data. This approach was appropriate because phenomenological research seeks to identify and understand the lived experiences of people regarding a common phenomenon (Creswell, 2014; Thomas, 2006). Because phenomenological researchers routinely employ interviews, semistructured interviews were appropriate because they not only allowed for open-ended and follow-up questions but also helped keep the interview on track (see Ravitch & Carl, 2016). Finally, purposeful random sampling not only added to the trustworthiness of the study but was necessary to select officers who had received procedural justice training. This research design aligned with the purpose of understanding the experiences of officers regarding procedural justice training, their interactions with racial minority citizens, and trust building.

### **Definitions**

*Cultural competence:* Being aware of and able to consciously think and behave in ways that are responsive to cultural differences (Hammer et al., 2003).

*Implicit bias:* The forming of cognitive biases and stereotypes about others arising out of the perceived need to make quick judgments and reach quick conclusions (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Hall et al., 2016; Moon et al., 2018).

*Police legitimacy:* A subjective evaluation on behalf of the public on whether the police are a legitimate entity that should be obeyed, cooperated with, and permitted to operate (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

*Procedurally just policing:* A manner in which police treat a citizen in a way that the citizen feels as if they have a voice in the matter at hand and are listened to; are

treated with respect, dignity, fairness, and the same approach that anyone else in their situation would be treated; and that any decisions made by the police are made neutrally without any preconceived thoughts or agendas (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler et al., 2007).

### **Assumptions**

Because this study involved interviewing officers to understand their lived experiences when interacting with racial minority citizens, I assumed that the participants were truthful in their responses. Police officers are held to a higher standard involving the utmost integrity; therefore, I assumed that they would answer truthfully. Because the interview questions addressed officers' interactions with racial minority citizens, participants may have feared a poor response would reflect negatively on them; therefore, I stressed that participants' identities would remain strictly confidential and that my role as a researcher would have no influence on their job status. Another assumption was that the participants would be familiar with the terms and definitions; because purposive random sampling was used, I assumed that those interested had been through procedural justice training and understood the terms and concepts I inquired about. Finally, because my research question focused on interactions with racial minority citizens, I assumed that the participants had adequate interactions with racial minority citizens to provide relevant experiences.

### **Scope and Delimitations**

I conducted this study to understand the lived experiences of police officers who had been trained in procedural justice when interacting with and attempting to build



trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. The main scope and delimitation was that I sampled officers (a) from a large Midwest U.S. police department, (b) who had received procedural justice training, (c) who were assigned to patrol duties, and (d) who worked in a city with at least a 25% racial minority population. The findings of my study may not be transferable to small towns or those without diverse populations.

I used a purposive random sampling method to recruit interview participants from a large Midwest U.S. police department. This was necessary because not every officer in every department had been trained in procedural justice; therefore, I excluded those who had not. Procedural justice theory addresses face-to-face, routine police interactions between police and citizens (e.g., traffic stops, taking reports, making arrests). As such, my population was limited to patrol officers who work the street. Anthony (2018) explained that this is where most of the interactions take place between police and citizens. Therefore, I excluded officers with no or limited exposure to the public (e.g., executive-level officers, investigators such as Internal Affairs). Radburn et al. (2020) noted that most existing literature addressed police departments as a whole or as a unidimensional entity; however, most departments have several types of officers (e.g., patrol officers, detectives, community relations officers, property room clerks), and their experiences with procedurally just policing may vary. Limiting my population to patrol officers also involved excluding any officers whom I had worked with directly; I work in a small specialty unit of 10 detectives in a department of over 500 officers. I aimed for a sample size of 20 participants, although saturation was achieved after 12.

This study did not include criteria for length of service. Because recruiting police officers to participate in a study can sometimes be challenging, I relied on purposive random sampling of all officers trained in procedural justice who met the selection criteria regardless of the length of service. Because I explored the experiences of participants and their perceptions of using procedural justice to build relationships with racial minority citizens, I was not able to quantitatively establish any causal relationships.

### **Limitations**

My study was limited in scope to larger police departments serving diverse populations; officers who work in smaller departments or in cities with homogeneous populations might not have the same experiences. Consistent with any qualitative phenomenological study, my sample size was small; thematic saturation was achieved after 12 participants. A potential limitation was my role as a sergeant within the same organization and any potential biases I may have held as a police officer. However, several safeguards were employed to ensure credibility, reliability, and validity. I had initially planned to ask a peer to assist in identifying and selecting potential participants to prevent any bias I may have had from affecting the participant pool. This peer, a fellow adjunct instructor, would have scheduled the phone interviews for me so that I did not know whom I was interviewing. However, this did not receive institutional review board (IRB) approval. Instead, once I had an initial list of 20 potential participants who met the inclusion criteria, I assigned a random number to each and used a random number generator to generate the initial interview list. I then

used a random number generator again to create the order of participants so that each had equal opportunity for inclusion.

Next, I ensured that I asked the same interview questions and did not interject my thoughts or experiences, or judge or otherwise respond to a participant's story; I simply recorded it to avoid influencing a participant's response (see Sorsa et al., 2015). Further, to account for any bias, I engaged in reflexivity throughout data collection in the form of field notes, memos, journals, and other media that helped me evaluate my positionality, biases, and choices (see Ravitch & Carl, 2016). I recorded and transcribed the interviews, maintained audit trails, and used member checking to review the findings to ensure confirmability. Last, data were analyzed via coding and explication to generate themes. I used the qualitative software NVivo 14 to assist with this.

### **Significance**

This research may fill a gap in understanding because it explored the lived experiences of police officers to understand the participants' perceptions of how being trained in procedural justice influenced their behaviors and affected their ability to build trust with racial minority citizens. Existing research indicated that public trust and respect for police increases when the public feels they are treated fairly and equally and are given a voice (Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Mazerolle et al., 2012; Saarikkom, 2016; Skogan et al., 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Trinkner et al., 2019; Wheller et al., 2013). However, little research existed on the best way to train officers to employ procedural justice (Miles-Johnson, 2015; Moon et al., 2018; Workman, 2022). Therefore, the results of the current study may provide insight beyond whether simply replacing traditional diversity training

with procedural justice training improves trust by understanding, from the officers' perspectives, how the training influences the way officers interact with and treat citizens. This may contribute to positive social change by providing data to policymakers and police trainers on the best methods for effectively training officers to build trust with racial minority citizens by understanding how officers implement such training.

### **Summary**

In this chapter, I discussed the problem and gap that I sought to address. I also provided the background of the problem and discussed the theoretical framework, the scope, the delimitations, and potential limitations of my study. In Chapter 2, I provide an in-depth review of the recent literature and my theoretical foundation.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study was to understand the lived experiences of police officers trained in the tenets of procedural justice and their perceptions of how that training affected the way they interact with racial minority citizens, as well as their perceptions of how it affected their ability to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. Traditional cultural diversity training has failed to teach officers how to work with and build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens (Fildes et al., 2019; Moon et al., 2018; Workman, 2022; Zimny, 2015). Subsequent attempts have been employed over the past decade, largely in response to President Obama's 2015 Presidents Task Force on 21<sup>st</sup> Century Policing, and significant research has been conducted on improving police–community relations. However, most of the research examined citizens' perceptions and experiences with policing and police–community relations; only a few studies focused on police perceptions and experiences (Bond et al., 2015; Fildes et al., 2019; Trinkner et al., 2019). My study sought to fill this gap.

Chapter 2 provides an exhaustive review of the literature on research and training aimed at teaching officers how to interact with racial minority communities and improve police–community relations. The following topics are addressed: (a) literature search strategy, (b) theoretical foundation, (c) overview of police–community relations, (d) police–community relations vs. community-oriented policing, (e) public and police support for police–community relations, (f) police cultural diversity education, (g) diversity training programs and attempts, (h) traditional diversity training, (i) implicit

bias, (j) cultural competence, (k) procedural justice and police legitimacy, and (l) recent research and previous interventions.

### **Literature Search Strategy**

In addition to Google Scholar, I used the Walden University Library and the Trine University Library to search for scholarly peer-reviewed journal articles. Databases accessed included Academic Search Complete, SAGE Journals, Thoreau, Walden University Thesis and Dissertations, ProQuest, EBSCOHost, PsycInfo, JSTOR, and NexisUni. Search terms included *procedural justice*, *police legitimacy*, *procedural justice AND police legitimacy*, *police AND community AND relations*, *police AND minority AND relations*, *implicit bias*, *cultural competence*, *diversity training*, *police relations*, *de-escalation*, *procedurally just policing*, *procedural justice AND training*, *community relations*, and *community policing*. Each time the term *police* was searched, I also searched for *law enforcement* and *cops* interchangeably to avoid excluding results.

### **Theoretical Foundation**

The theoretical foundation for this study was Tyler's procedural justice theory. Because this theory posits that a citizen's trust and cooperation with police increases, both at the time of encounter and in future encounters (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), when the citizen perceives they are being given a voice and are treated respectfully and equally, procedural justice theory lays the groundwork for developing training on how to foster trust and cooperation. Additionally, Törnblom and Vermunt (2007) explained that when a police-citizen encounter goes differently than how the citizen expects it should go (e.g., the citizen is not treated with respect or fairness), this creates a discrepancy between what

is expected and what is occurring, resulting in cognitive and behavioral reactions on behalf of the citizen such as anger, resentment, violence, and resistance. I used procedural justice theory to understand officers' perceptions of how procedural justice training influenced the way they interact with and treat citizens during encounters, as well as how the training influenced officers' ability to build trust.

### **Origins of Procedural Justice Theory**

Tyler's procedural justice theory expanded the work of Thibaut and Walker (1975), who explored procedural justice to understand societal perceptions of just or unjust treatment by the system as a whole. In these early studies, Thibaut and Walker found that people were more satisfied by an adversarial court system that they perceived as fair, regardless of the verdict, than they were when they faced an inquisitional system that they perceived as unfair. Tyler and Huo (2002) echoed this, finding that the outcome of an enforcement encounter, regardless of incarceration or warning, did not affect the perceived legitimacy of the police if the person felt they were treated fairly and in the same manner that anyone else would have been treated. Tyler (2003) built on this research by developing a process-based model of legitimacy applicable to police and found a direct correlation between how people perceive they are being treated by police and people's likelihood of cooperating with and respecting police; in other words, a person's willingness to concede to law enforcement is directly influenced by how well the police implement procedural justice.

### **Relationship to Police Legitimacy**

Tyler (2003) explained that this process-based model is a psychological model concerned with subjective judgments about procedural justice's effects on police legitimacy, and not with philosophical inquiries about why people should or should not obey the law. Tyler explained that process-based judgments about procedural justice are the antecedents of police legitimacy, specifically judgments about the quality of decision making and the quality of treatment by police. This led to the development of the key tenets of procedural justice theory: giving citizens a voice; making sure citizens feel as if they are being treated fairly, respectfully, and equally; and employing neutrality in decision making (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Procedural justice theory suggests that when the police employ these tenets, the public is more likely to view the police as legitimate and cooperate with them, both at the time of the encounter and in future encounters (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Sunshine and Tyler (2003) tested their theory in 2001 and 2002 (before and after 9/11) in New York City. In 2001, surveys were sent to random households in New York, with the researchers receiving 483 responses. In 2002, 1,653 telephone interviews were conducted (participants were selected using a stratified sample of New York City residents). Both studies set out to determine the effect of procedural justice on perceived police legitimacy, and both studies found that the way people were treated by the police (i.e., procedurally just) had a stronger effect on their perceptions of the police's legitimacy than the outcome of the encounter (arrest, citation, warning), as well as a



stronger effect than the citizen's perception of how well they thought the police controlled and investigated crime.

Mazerolle et al. (2012) supported the theory with a randomized controlled trial in Australia in which police setup 60 DUI roadblocks (each roadblock saw between 300 and 400 vehicles). In the control group, officers offered a portable breath test and either dismissed the driver if they passed or arrested them for drunk driving if they failed. In the experimental group, the officers administered the same portable breath tests but did so while displaying a friendly, pleasant, respectful demeanor; giving the citizens a chance to voice their thoughts; and passing out literature on intoxication and drunk driving, all while releasing those who passed or arresting those who failed. Both groups of citizens received surveys before they departed that they could return at a later time, resulting in 2,746 respondents. The drivers who encountered the officers employing procedural justice reported not only higher levels of respect and cooperation at the time of the checkpoint, but a general improvement in their overall perception of police legitimacy.

Regarding the findings of these studies, it is not hard to understand then why racial minority citizens, particularly the Black community, have reported low levels of perceived police legitimacy. If people base their perceptions on how fairly, equally, and respectfully the police enforce the law, it is not difficult to understand why the Black community has reported low levels of trust, desire to cooperate, and positive perceptions of police legitimacy and authority (Johnson, 2015; Jones, 2021; Krogstad, 2014). Therefore, it was crucial to understand the lived experiences of officers employing the tenets of procedural justice theory, specifically when interacting with and building

relationships with racial minority citizens, to build on the foundations of procedural justice theory and contribute to improving fragmented police–community relations.

### **Police–Community Relations**

Police–community relations continue to be strained, and have been for quite some time. The role of policing and subsequent relationships has been a debated topic for decades (Fox-Williams, 2019; Gau & Paul, 2019; Stansfield, 2022). Although it may seem that events of the past 10 years, including Ferguson, MO; Baltimore, MD; and Minneapolis, MN, have been particularly hard on police–community relations, it was necessary to look back further to understand the historical context of police–community relations.

#### **Overview of Police–Community Relations**

Documented police mistreatment of African American communities, whether real or perceived, dates back a century. In the 1930s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People began addressing police brutality and poor community relations as part of its official mission (Cunningham & Gillezeau, 2021; Sartain, 2013). During the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, riots and uprisings increased in response to the perceived mistreatment of Black citizens (Cunningham & Gillezeau, 2021; Gau & Paul, 2019; Lee et al., 2019). Cunningham and Gillezeau (2021) documented over 700 uprisings due to racial mistreatment from 1966 to 1971. The costs of these uprisings were profound: Hundreds were killed, thousands were injured and arrested, and property damages totaled in the billions (Harris & Wilkins, 1988). It was clear relations were poor.

Political policies and policing tactics did not help. In response to the perceived increase of crime and disorder, particularly in urban, racial minority communities, tough-on-crime policies became a common theme among politicians. The War on Crime Act of 1968, introduced by President Johnson, funded the hiring of more and more police officers with the goal of combatting crime in urban neighborhoods. Although the intentions may have been good, this inadvertently increased tensions between Blacks and law enforcement (O'Reilly, 1988). These policies, and subsequent funding, increased the number of officers, which increased the number of officers in Black neighborhoods, which increased the number of interactions, many of them negative, which perpetuated the problem (Cunningham & Gillezeau, 2021). Stansfield (2022) explained that having officers on every corner made it nearly impossible for citizens to forget about police and police encounters, both positive and negative, and to forget about perceived injustices. Because these policies were concentrated on high-crime areas, which had a large population of racial minority citizens, officers used aggressive tactics, which led to more and more strained relations (Fridell & Lim, 2016; Smith & Holmes, 2014; Stansfield, 2022).

Even though these tough-on-crime and overpolicing tactics have subsided in recent decades, the damage persists. Police officers hired in the past few decades were not alive during the Civil Rights era, might not appreciate the struggles older Black citizens went through, and might not understand officers' role in repairing damages caused by their predecessors (Mentel, 2012). East Palo Alto Police Chief Davis Ronald Davis explained that young officers go into the houses of Black citizens, many of whom

lived through the civil rights era and experienced police racism, attempt to tell them what to do, and do not understand when they are met with pushback (Mentel, 2012). A narrative persists among Black communities that the police lie and are only interested in arresting Black citizens, while a similar harmful narrative exists among some officers that the community does not care about itself or fixing problems and that the community is complicit in crime, so there is no point in trying to improve relations (Mentel, 2012). Mentel (2012) noted that neither the police nor racial minority citizens take the time to understand each other's points of view.

Poor relations are further exacerbated when these circumstances are combined with the effects that publicized negative police encounters have on public perception of police (Rosenfeld, 2016). Rollins (2019) and Stewart et al. (2012) wrote that because of overpublicized events, citizens think police use force much more often than they do, and that Blacks perceive that racial mistreatment occurs much more often than Whites. Stewart et al. additionally found that a large percentage of the public believes that use-of-force encounters happen much more frequently than they do.

Stansfield (2022) and Zimmy (2015) noted that the prevalence and overreporting of negative police encounters over the past decade have shaken police–minority relations to the core. A substantial amount of research has documented that issues over the past decade, including controversial police shootings, cases of misconduct, and issues of fairness, continue to lead to problems between police and racial minority communities, a deep mistrust from both sides, and calls for police reform (Cunningham & Gillezeau, 2021; Ramsey & Robinson, 2015; Schulhofer et al., 2011; Trinkner et al., 2016). Lee et

al. (2019) compared events of the past decade, including the deaths of Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Freddie Gray, and the ensuing civil unrest, to the Civil Rights and antiwar protests of the 1960s. The effects of poor relations are substantial: adverse, hostile interactions with police; cynicism and low morale among officers (Marier & Moule, 2018); increases in officer sick leave and use of force (Bejan et al., 2018); and declining perceptions of police trust and legitimacy (Nix, 2017; Rosenfeld, 2016; Weitzer, 2015).

The communities that most need police see them as racially biased and not legitimate; the police are charged with fixing many of society's problems, yet their only tools are handcuffs (Mentel, 2012). Unless something is done, relations will continue to be strained, and citizens' trust in police will continue to deteriorate. Grohe et al. (2012) and Square-Smith (2017) wrote that the absence of police and citizens working together may contribute to an increase in crime and a decrease in safe communities.

### **Improving Police–Community Relations**

Because police–community relations continue to be strained, it was necessary to review research examining whether there is support for fixing relations from the viewpoints of the police and the public. The police depend on the community for help (e.g., providing information on suspects or problem areas), and the community depends on the police to keep them safe and maintain order; Lee et al. (2019) explained it is a two-way relationship. If neither party is interested in improving relations, it would be necessary for the police to pursue other means to maintain order. The overwhelming theme from recent research is that law enforcement and the public care about and want to

improve police–community relations (Hall et al., 2016; Lee et al., 2019; McCarthy, 2022), with racial minority communities being even more motivated than White communities (Wehrman & De Angelis, 2011).

### **Police–Community Relations Versus Community-Oriented Policing**

Before reviewing the literature exploring the general public’s support for improving police–community relations, a discussion of definitions was required. Lee et al. (2019) noted what I have noticed as well when reviewing the research: there was a lack of universal definitions of police–community relations and community-oriented policing, etc. Much of the literature seems to use the two almost interchangeably when talking about relationships between police and communities. As such, I turned to the U.S. Office of Community-Oriented Policing (2012), which stated that community policing is a broad term that focuses on police–community relations, as well as organizational transformation and problem-solving strategies. Several studies echoed this, explaining that community-oriented policing programs depend on positive police–community relations to be successful, because such programs require collaboration and communication between the police and the community (Cordner, 1995; Greene, 2000; Lee et al., 2019; Stone & Travis, 2011; Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990). Consequentially, community-oriented policing programs are often and largely evaluated based on the quality of police–community relations (Greene, 2000).

### **Public Support for Police–Community Relations**

There is a large amount of support from the general public in improving police–community relationships; Lloyd & Naguib (2020) noted in particular that the time is ripe

for improving relationships between the police and African American citizens. This was echoed by Jones's (2021) finding that only 27% of Black citizens have confidence in the police. This is down from 34% in the 1990s and 37% in the 2000s (Jones, 2021). Not surprisingly then, in the post-George Floyd era, 89% of Americans support various changes in policing, with two-thirds of Americans specifically supporting "requiring officers to have good relations with the community" (McCarthy, 2022, para. 5). In Lee et al.'s (2019) study of 408 participants, the majority supported community policing, which included improving police–community relations. Other studies attempted to examine support through the lens of (1) citizen demographics, indicating that Black citizens reported poorer relationships overall compared to White citizens but also were less enthusiastic about programs focusing on improving relationships (Lambert et al., 2013; Lee et al., 2019; Wu et al., 2012); (2) residents fear of crime and how much the citizens relied on the police to keep their communities safe (Gill et al., 2014; Sozer, 2013); and (3) prior experience with police, finding Black citizens reported negative experiences more often than White citizens (Lambert et al., 2014; Lee et al., 2019) as reasons supporting the overall support for improving police–community relations.

### **Police Support for Police–Community Relations**

Recent literature indicated that law enforcement supports increasing relationships with the community as well. The mid-twentieth century saw poor police–community relations, causing academics and police chiefs to acknowledge the necessity for law enforcement to embrace their communities and the needs of their communities (Gau & Paul, 2019). In response to persistent poor relations, departments large and small, local to

federal, have shifted focus to strengthening police–community relationships. In fact, President Obama proposed a three-year, \$200 million investment in strengthening relations and community-oriented policing programs (Executive Office of the President, 2014; Lee et al., 2019). Numerous studies exist noting the same: That officers in general support improving community relations and collaboration (Jenkins, 2016; Lurigio & Skogan, 1994). Gau and Paul (2019), in a study of 203 officers, found that Black officers embrace community policing and relations even more so than White officers, and officers with bachelor’s degrees embrace community policing more so than those without.

However, this shift in focus was not without roadblocks; officers were initially suspicious of the increased focus on community relations and community policing (Gau & Paul, 2019; Paoline et al., 2000). Early reformers believed in creating a new era of officers who were more in tune with their communities and cultures (Lurigio & Skogan, 1994). Additionally, Ortmeier (1997) and White and Escobar (2008) noted that police are commonly trained, and operate in, a paramilitary environment and thus are apt to model the paramilitary mindset as a result. Gau & Paul (2019) noted that when officers are then expected to behave in manners consistent with community policing, this can cause internal confusion for the officers. Not only must officers be committed to improving community relations and the methods that accompany that, but law enforcement managers and leaders must echo that commitment and employ the same procedurally just principles when managing internal operations (Ford et al., 2003; Trinker et al., 2016).



### **Police Cultural Diversity Training**

The fact that the police need the public's help to prevent and solve crime was not new (Coon, 2016). Nor was the realization that gaining this cooperation requires that the police are able to relate with, or at least build rapport with, citizens of all cultures. Some officers are less skilled at working with citizens from different cultures, and some departments have perpetuated policies that outright alienate communities of color, which have contributed to strained police–community relations (Jannetta et al., 2019). Although history has shown us that some officers are unequivocally racist, that more often than not, officers simply do not realize that their demeanor or actions might be misinterpreted by another culture (Fridell & Scott, 2005), which is why effective cultural diversity training is so important (see Coon, 2016). McMurray and Karim (2008) noted that racial minorities are often hesitant to seek assistance from the police because of the perception that the police are culturally insensitive. Further complicating the problem is that some citizens themselves are not equipped with the social or cultural skills necessary to communicate with the police (Shusta et al., 2005). As a result, police departments began implementing diversity training programs for officers decades ago with the intention of equipping officers with the knowledge necessary to work with racial minority communities.

Engel et al. (2020) and Walker (2019) explained that in the years after the riots and unrest following the 2014 events in Ferguson, Missouri, academics and practitioners conceded that the country was experiencing a national police crisis and that police practices and reform needed to be addressed. President Obama echoed this in the 2015

President's Task Force on 21<sup>st</sup> Century Policing, advocating for more training and funding for implicit bias and cultural diversity training. This was crucial, as Workman (2022) noted that society will continue to experience problems like this if training and practices are only evaluated after major problems arise. Moon et al. (2018) echoed this sentiment, noting that cultural diversity training programs are typically emphasized during current race-crisis situations.

### **Diversity Training Programs and Attempts**

Over the past few decades, primarily beginning during the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, various programs and curriculums have been developed, aimed at sensitizing and training officers to work with diverse and racial minority communities (Hennessy et al., 2001). Traditional Cultural Diversity Training, Implicit Bias, and Cultural Competence are examples of the major programs that have survived since or were given re-birth post-2014 Ferguson, yet society continues to see adverse relationships (e.g., the 2020 events in Minneapolis). Additionally, there is no central standard for the delivery of, or the assessment of, these various training regimes (Moon et al., 2018). Therefore, it is necessary to examine the various attempts - and their successes and failures - to learn from and improve as society moves forward.

#### **Traditional Cultural Diversity Training**

Bittner (1975) noted that the power over others and authority to use force is what differentiates the police profession from other professions; because of this power, the police, more so than other professions, must have a familiarity with the people and cultures they patrol (Workman, 2022). This is not a new concept; Muir (1977) wrote long

ago that the police must have a passion for, and understand the perspectives of, the communities they police. Therefore, diversity training programs were created for police that cover broad topics such as racism and racial profiling (see Coon, 2016) or avoiding stereotyping and prejudice (see Schlosser, 2013).

Recent research indicated that this traditional diversity training that has perpetuated academies for so long has been ineffective at meeting its goal (Zimny, 2015), largely because the broader realm of police cultural diversity training has been largely empirically understudied (Engel et al., 2020; Moon et al., 2018; Skogan et al. 2015; Workman, 2022). Skogan et al. (2015) and Wheller et al. (2013) echoed this, with the former writing that we have yet to examine the long-term effects of diversity training for police, and the latter noting it is therefore unknown which type of diversity training/intervention actually works, if any.

Schlosser (2013) and Zimny (2015) noted that diversity training does little to change officers' attitudes toward other races and cultures and offered several reasons why. For example, traditional diversity training is basic in nature, covers general topics of racism, prejudice, etc., is usually delivered via an hours-long PowerPoint presentation at the end of the training day, and does little to build trust and promote legitimacy (Schlosser, 2013; Workman, 2022). Coon (2016) explained that diversity training that is too general, or that is outdated or perceived as "white hate" is not received well by officers, either. Similarly with teaching officers interpersonal skills; the training is typically much less in duration than training on enforcement skills (Fildes et al., 2019). As a result, officers are typically not excited about diversity training, which contributes to

departments placing a low priority on such training, frequently providing it simply to meet state mandates. Consequently, these officers are less equipped to work with racial minority communities and build trust and rapport, which results in racial minority communities being reluctant to contact the police (Schlosser, 2013).

Lastly, traditional cultural diversity training is delivered in a standard classroom setting, which is counterproductive. Birzer (2003) and White and Escobar (2008) noted that this traditional pedagogical approach of lecturing officers while they sit in classrooms is ineffective, as there is an absence of focus on critical thinking and other skills necessary for solving diverse problems. Moon et al. (2018) also noted that a pedagogical shift is needed, from learning objectives and simply measuring classroom hours to demonstrable learning outcomes. Barker (2011) and McCoy (2000) echoed this by writing that the standard practice is teacher-directed learning, which is not conducive to encouraging critical thinking; that we ask officers to enter other cultures and solve their problems without equipping officers with the skills to interpret, analyze, evaluate, or infer; i.e., the ability to think critically about the situation at hand. Barker further noted that veteran officers, after years of practical experience being immersed in other cultures might finally acquire this skill, but that we should not wait; We fail new officers and society when we do not give them the skills and competencies necessary to solve complex problems within diverse/minority populations.

### **Implicit Bias**

Implicit bias is a newer theory in the world of police cultural diversity training (Golbeck et al., 2016) and is in demand (see Engel et al., 2020). Implicit bias theory

suggests that the need for humans to develop ways to make quick judgments and reach quick conclusions about others, and as a product of our upbringings, socializations, and exposures, have formed cognitive biases and stereotypes about other races and cultures that we inherently are not aware of (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Hall et al., 2016; Moon et al., 2018). In other words, unconscious beliefs we hold about others, particularly those different from ourselves, that affect how we act towards and treat those individuals. Greenwald and Banaji (1995) and Hall et al. (2016) distinguished *implicit bias* from *explicit bias*, explaining that *explicit bias* is a conscious thought to discriminate, whereas *implicit bias* occurs unbeknownst to the person.

Implicit Bias theorists posit that even when a person openly refutes racism and discrimination, and makes conscious decisions to eschew, that it is very possible and probable for that person to still possess *implicit* biases and prejudices that they are consciously unaware of (see Fridell & Lim, 2016; Hall et al., 2016; Moffett, 2020), and that they may act on these biases unknowingly and without malicious intent (Hall et al., 2016). Moon et al. (2018) and Worden et al. (2020) noted that this is because these unconscious biases might not manifest until a person is in an uncomfortable or stressful situation, or until they are faced with a person of a different race or culture (e.g., police–community interactions). Additional research elaborated on this; Golbeck et al. (2016) and Moon et al. (2018) noted that police-citizen encounters are inherently contentious and stressful, thus lessening cognitive judgment and increasing the emergence of unconscious stereotypes and attitudes.

Continuing, Implicit Bias theorists suggest that even when officers vocalize an allegiance to non-racist ideals, that because officers still possess these internal unconscious biases, negative interactions can occur. For example, officers might unconsciously believe that Black males are more athletic or stronger than they are, or have a higher pain tolerance and therefore need to be handcuffed more aggressively or handled with stronger force (Tait & Chibnall, 2014; Waytz et al., 2015). This is not new; Duncan (1976) long ago noted that when presented with a video of a person shoving another person, participants perceived a Black person shoving another as doing so more violently than a White person. However, this phenomenon is not restricted to just police.

### **Previous Studies**

Numerous studies have found that implicit biases exist and influence actions, whether among police officers or society at large. A large body of research has examined shoot/don't shoot scenarios, finding that both officers and citizens are more likely to perceive a Black person as a threat and/or shoot them than a White person (see Correll et al., 2007; Correll et al., 2002; Eberhardt et al., 2004; Sim et al., 2013). This is not limited to White officers; Correll et al. (2007) and Plant et al. (2005) found that Black officers and citizens in a shoot/don't shoot scenario exhibited the same behaviors towards Blacks as White officers and citizens. Plant et al. found that Black males had a higher chance of being improperly shot than Black females, and that participants wrongfully chose *not* to shoot Black women, White males, and White females at higher rates than Black males. In an examination of non-deadly-force encounters, Fridell and Lim (2016) conducted a quantitative study analyzing almost 2,000 use-of-force reports to compare police

encounters among Black and White male suspects, finding evidence of implicit bias in the use-of-force decisions towards Black males.

Implicit bias plays a role in non-use-of-force situations as well. In a series of studies, Goff et al. (2014) presented participant officers and undergrads with Black, White, and Hispanic suspects and asked the participants to assess the age of the suspects and their likely culpability in the given situation. Participants estimated Black males to be older than they were and more guilty than the White suspects (see Goff et al., 2014). Hall et al. (2016) expanded on this study this by noting that the estimation of the Black suspects to be older than they were could setup a situation where officers would (unconsciously) engage in a greater use-of-force in an enforcement situation.

It is worth mentioning that the effects of implicit bias are not found solely in the law enforcement profession. Trachok (2015) conducted a study to determine if teachers exhibited implicit bias towards Black students, finding that despite the participants vocalizing their beliefs in equality and anti-racism, that when observed and in their practices, the participants were found to indeed engage in implicit biases towards Black students (e.g., beliefs that they were lazier than the White students or came from single-parent homes).

### **Support for and Against Implicit Bias Training**

A body of research exists noting that people who have received implicit bias training, aimed at increasing their awareness of such biases, were motivated to consciously be aware of such biases and engage in behaviors to offset them (Devine et al., 2012; Lane et al., 2007). Agencies like the Anti-Defamation League (2024) offer

training curriculums aimed at identifying such biases, being sensitive to the perspectives of others, and working through cultural differences to better law enforcement's ability to engage with diverse communities. However, best practices for implementing implicit bias training in law enforcement remain under-researched (Moon et al., 2018; Skogan et al., 2015; Workman, 2022), and the longterm effects of such training are not promising.

Although studies have shown that implicit bias training increases an officer's awareness of the existence of biases and how they might unconsciously influence their actions, these increases are moderate at best and do not appear to be long-term (Worden et al., 2020; Jannetta et al., 2019). Worden et al. (2020) also noted that research on implicit bias should be taken with a grain of salt because it is difficult to measure unconscious cognitive processes since the participant is unaware of them, arguing that the claims that implicit bias creates disparities in how police treat racial minority citizens are "a matter of informed speculation rather than scientific fact" (p. 2). Worrall et al. (2018) noted that there is recent conflicting research on the effects an officer's implicit bias has on their decision to use force.

For example, Correll et al. (2007) conducted a study in which both police officers and community members from the communities those officers served participated in two shoot/don't-shoot scenarios via video simulations that each included 100 images of armed or unarmed people, half White people and half Black people. Correll et al. wanted to test if officers' training and experience increased their ability to determine whether the target was armed or not over the civilian participants, and if the race of the target affected both the accuracy of the decision and the time it took to reach that decision. Correll et al.



found that community–member participants not only shot unarmed Black citizens more frequently than unarmed White citizens more so than police officers, but found that police officers were better able to distinguish whether a Black person was a legitimate threat or not compared to the community–member participants. Additionally, James et al. (2016) noted that police officers not only take more time when deciding to shoot a Black suspect compared to a white suspect, but erroneously shoot unarmed Black suspects less frequently than mistakenly shooting unarmed White suspects. Hall et al. (2016) noted that implicit biases that society attributes solely to police officers are found in society in general, and that efforts to combat racism in policing might be better directed toward the general population.

As with cultural diversity training, officers have not always been eager or receptive to implicit bias training, for a variety of reasons. The title of the training often leads officers to become defensive, as do suggestions that their instincts or decision-making processes are wrong or harmful (Moon et al., 2018). Hall et al. (2016) also noted that training regimes and research labeling officers, or at least certain groups of officers, as racists, not only reinforces tensions between police and communities but also delays reform progress. Worden et al. (2020) argued that because research is not clear that implicit bias in fact affects officers' treatment of racial minority citizens, that implicit bias training, even when well prepared and delivered, will not help improve police–community relations.

## **Cultural Competence**

The examination of attempts at repairing and improving police–community relations necessitated a discussion about Cultural Competence in the police–community context. It is no secret that our communities are diverse and that the police need to understand their community’s’ needs and desires (see Gau & Paul, 2019). Moon et al. (2018) explained that it goes deeper than just understanding a community as a whole, however; That diversity awareness and cultural competency are mutually exclusive and that a person’s culture is unique to that person and cannot be understood by simply examining social groups and communities at large. We as humans tend to generalize people based on what community or culture we believe they belong to and by the stereotypes that come with those cultures (Tarver et al., 2020). However, Moon et al. noted that not enough attention is placed on studying or training law enforcement in cultural competence, explaining that there is no national or standard measurement of police cultural competency, nor is there much research exploring to what extent police departments engage with it. Miles-Johnson (2015) and Skogan et al. (2015) echoed the fact that police implementation of cultural competency is under–researched and nonstandardized.

Cultural competence means being aware of and able to consciously think and behave in ways that are responsive to cultural differences (Hammer et al., 2003). In other words, possessing an understanding and acceptance of diverse groups (ethnic and cultural) and their traditions, beliefs, etc. (Bush, 2000). Stemming from the field of intercultural communication and the human development perspective, it has long been

believed that cultural competence is not automatically acquired but can be learned (Bennett, 2004). Tarver et al. (2020) noted that cultural competency training teaches individuals how to work with historically discriminated against communities by being aware of and through the lens of their “lived experiences from a historical-socio-cultural perspective” (p. 253). Cultural competence education is provided in other disciplines (education, business, mental health, medicine, etc.) but is severely lacking in policing (Fletcher, 2014; Moon et al., 2018).

Bawden et al. (2015) explained that less than 1% of law enforcement agencies require four-year college degrees, meaning a large percentage of officers miss out on the exposure to other cultures that typically occurs during one’s college experience, leaving these officers lacking the opportunities to develop skills for interacting with other cultures. Further, police officers do more than simply arrest criminals; their jobs require them to interact with the various segments of society, which inherently demands cultural competence, as does the expectation of police to build communication and trusting, safe, and respectful relationships; the tenets of procedural justice (Moon et al., 2018). Furthermore, police need to be culturally competent because officers routinely rely on nonverbal cues to detect aggression, deception, and fear, especially during tense or stressful encounters, yet nonverbal cues can differ across cultures; Hammer (2009) wrote in his Intercultural Conflict Style Model that with a lack of cultural competency, one may misconstrue the actions of another and incorrectly perceive them as angry or hostile. Guo-Brennan & Guo-Brennan (2022) noted that law enforcement might benefit from increased education and awareness of not only their own communication styles but the

styles of the diverse populations they patrol as well, perhaps modifying their instincts which could help avoid unnecessary deadly encounters.

### **Previous Study**

However, as with implicit bias and cultural diversity training, cultural competency training is not always accepted among law enforcement because it is usually delivered by an outside agency that lacks buy in from the police, and is delivered with a focus on technical application and number-of-hours requirements rather than being outcome-based (Hennessy et al., 2001; Moon et al., 2018; Workman, 2022). Nonetheless, Tarver et al. (2020) set out to determine the best practices for delivering Interdisciplinary Cultural Competence training to law enforcement. Their goals were to see how this training could be implemented as a tool for a local law enforcement agency, as well as how the officers would perceive the training. Thirty-six upper-level officers from a southeastern state attended the training and participated in the study, which included a pretest and posttest adaptation of a cultural competence assessment tool initially designed by Schim et al. (2003) that assessed cultural competency.

Tarver et al. (2020) found that the participants showed improvement in general cultural competence and awareness as well as in sensitivity and culturally competent behaviors. Common themes from participants posttraining included the thought that officers should not judge someone based on stereotypes of that person's assumed culture, that everyone should be treated with respect regardless of their culture, and that people from different backgrounds may have different ontological assumptions about the police (Tarver et al., 2020). Additionally, the participants recognized the importance of

implementing cultural competence into their overall police organization. However, Tarver et al. wrote that they were unable to prove statistical significance in the increase between pretest and posttest assessments because of the low number of participants.

### **Current Applicability of Procedural Justice**

Finally, we turn our attention to the focus of this dissertation, Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy, specifically on the lived experiences of officers employing the tenets of procedural justice to build and improve relationships and perceived legitimacy specifically among racial minority populations. A substantial amount of research and quantitative studies support procedural justice (officers giving citizens a voice and making sure the person feels that they are being treated fairly, with respect, and the same as any other person in their position, all while employing neutrality in decision making) as being key to increasing police legitimacy (Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Mazerolle et al., 2012; Saarikkom, 2016; Skogan et al., 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Trinkner et al., 2019; Wheller et al., 2013).

These quantitative studies have demonstrated that when the public views police as legitimate, the police are empowered to do their jobs. Additionally, these studies have shown that it does not matter what kind of interaction the citizen is having (meeting with an officer on foot patrol, getting arrested, or filing a report); that as long as procedural justice is employed, people quantitatively reported increased cooperation and respect for police (see Saarikkom, 2016; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Nor does the citizen's fear of being caught or going to jail motivate them to respect and cooperate with police as much as does the way the police treat them (Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

However, although we quantitatively know that procedural justice works, we did not know what it was like (lived experiences) for officers to employ the tenets of procedural justice on a daily basis. Nagin and Telep (2017) and Tyler (2017) noted that research on how procedural justice shapes legitimacy or compliance was still lacking, and Radburn et al., (2022), Radburn and Stott (2019), and Urbanska et al. (2019) noted the need for other methodologies to examine procedural justice and police legitimacy.

### **Police Legitimacy**

Before examining recent research on procedural justice in relation to police legitimacy, it was necessary to review the concept of police legitimacy. To understand the concept of police legitimacy, legitimacy must first be understood on its own. Legitimacy, in this context, is best understood as that “feeling” a person gets when they are faced with some sort of authority (rule, officer, or law that needs to be obeyed, and the person recognizes they must concede to that authority not out of fear of consequence, but because they understand that that authority must be obeyed for the good of society (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Hence, police legitimacy refers to the public’s willingness to cooperate with police officers because they view the police as legitimate (need to be obeyed for the good of society, not simply to avoid arrest; Hinds & Murphy, 2007). The more a person perceives the police as legitimate, the more likely that person is to cooperate with and respect the police, even if the person is being arrested or ticketed (Trinkner et al., 2019; Tyler & Huo, 2002).

If a person feels disrespected by an officer (even if that person is not arrested but merely given a warning), that person is likely to view the police as less legitimate and be

hesitant to cooperate in future encounters (Törnblom & Vermunt, 2007). In fact, feelings of mistreatment by police have long been the leading cause of mistrust and displeasure with law enforcement (see Marier & Moule, 2018; Rosenfeld, 2016; Sarat, 1977).

Therefore, law enforcement is constantly striving to increase its legitimacy in the eyes of the public. Several models have emerged attempting to explain what contributes to increased levels of police legitimacy, with the most common being the instrumental model and the process-based (also referred to as the normative) model.

According to the instrumental model, the police can increase and maintain legitimacy by effectively detecting and controlling crime, apprehending offenders, and equally distributing police services across the entire community (Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). This model states that if the public believes police officers are effective at their jobs, those officers will be respected and cooperated with. On the other hand, the process-based model explains that police legitimacy is increased and maintained based upon judgments by the public on how the police treat people and not simply by how they control crime (Mazerolle et al., 2012; Peyton et al., 2019; Stansfield, 2022;; Trinkner et al., 2016). The more a person feels respected and as if they were treated equally by an officer (treated according to procedural justice principles), the more legitimate that person will view the police (Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Mazerolle et al., 2012; Skogan et al., 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Wheller et al., 2013).

Farrell and Barao (2022) and Trinkney et al. (2019) noted that both practitioners and academics should continue to reform policing with the goal of improving procedural justice and promoting good policies. The police do more than just arrest and fight crime,

which is why positive relationships that promote trust, respect, and communication are so crucial (see Moon et al., 2018). The more citizens believe they are treated with these tenets, the more legitimacy they assign to the police, which increases their compliance and cooperation (Jonathan-Zamir, 2015). Additionally, departments must internally exercise procedural justice within the organization from the top down; Myhill and Bradford (2013), Trinkner et al. (2019), and Quattlebaum et al. (2020) noted that officers were less likely to employ procedural justice on the street when it was not present within the ranks; but when it was, they were more likely to see themselves as true public servants. Radburn et al.'s (2022) qualitative study extrapolated a similar theme: When procedural justice is not employed within the ranks of the department, officers are not as likely to employ it when dealing with the public. Finally, Murphy and Barkworth (2014) found that the willingness of victims of personal crimes to report their victimization was more dependent on their perception of how they would be treated by police rather than how effective they thought the police would be at solving their case.

### **Previous Interventions**

Despite attempts at improving police–community relations by educating officers on implicit bias and cultural competence, emotions remain tense between police and racial minority communities (Farrell & Barao, 2022; Scott et al., 2017; Tarver et al., 2020). As with cultural diversity training, implicit bias training, cultural competence training, and the like, there is still no agreed-upon method of how best to train officers in procedural justice and prepare them use it to increase police–community relationships (Moon et al., 2018). Some efforts aim at teaching officers about attitudes and the benefits



of procedural justice (see Rosenbaum and Lawrence, 2017; Skogan et al., 2015), some provide scripts for officers to read when interacting with the public (see MacQueen & Bradford, 2015; Sahin et al., 2016), while others provide interpersonal communication and skills training (see Antrobus et al., 2019; Wheller et al., 2013).

### **Recent Research**

Antrobus et al. (2019), Fildes et al. (2019), Heslop (2011), and Platz et al. (2017) noted that educating recruits in the police academy is the most opportune time for training officers in procedural justice and ensuring they internalize and gain an appreciation for the concepts. Antrobus et al.'s study identified a recruit class of 56 recruits and divided the recruits into two 28-member groups, with only one group receiving procedural justice training. The study aimed to evaluate the impact of the procedural justice training on their attitudes towards it over time, surveying the recruits themselves, their field training officers' observations of them regarding employing procedural justice, and public perceptions of their contacts with the officers. Unfortunately, public responses to the study were low and were not included in the article.

In general, measured by surveying both the recruits and their training officer's observations, the treatment group's results showed positive impact on the recruits' procedurally just behaviors when interacting with the public, but a slightly less impact on their reported attitudes towards procedural justice. Of interest, the experimental group had higher rates of employing procedural justice with dealing with suspects and "other types of members of the public" than the control group, whereas both groups seemed to

treat victims, witnesses, and other “morally worthy citizens” with the basic tenets (respect, fairness, and neutrality; p. 44). This was in line with the findings of Mastrofski et al. (2016), who noted that people who the police view as deserving of their services (victims, witnesses, etc.) were more likely to be treated in a procedurally just manner.

Bond et al. (2015) examined 450 police recruits during their training academy on their attitudes towards procedurally just policing and procedural justice in general, as well as how they believed they would act during a hypothetical traffic stop (imagining they pulled over a driver for a traffic stop and rating how much priority should be given to procedurally just behaviors such as listening before making a decision or treating the person with respect). Most of the recruits reported positive attitudes towards procedural justice in general, with those more passionate about community relations reporting higher rates compared to those less excited about community relations. However, Bond et al. noted that their results were based solely on recruits’ reports of hypothetical behavior (what they think they would do or how they think they would act) and that real-world behavior may differ.

Fildes et al. (2019) went a step further with their longitudinal study examining recruit self-assessments of their own behavior and attitudes towards procedural justice and use of force at the start of training, at the completion of six months of training, then again after one year of actual police service, explaining that police attitudes towards the public typically change during recruit training and then during the first few years of police service. Fildes et al. hypothesized that recruit training would have a positive effect on their self-assessments of procedurally just policing and that one year of street

experience would have a negative effect, citing Chan's (2003) theory of training decay: That any positive attitude changes observed during the police academy are nullified once the recruit transitions to the cynical world of real police work. However, the results indicated the opposite of their hypothesis. Fildes et al. found a statistically significant decrease in scores from self-assessments on attitudes towards procedural justice and use of force from the beginning of training to graduation, but no significant change after one year on the job. Fildes et al. wondered if the reason for this was the same as echoed throughout the previous several pages of this literature review; that police academies focus on the technical skills required to enforce laws and ensure safety and spend less time on interpersonal skills and community relations, leading the recruits to place more priority on those skills and less on procedural justice.

Finally, although most existing research on procedural justice and police legitimacy has been quantitative, the need to explore and understand the scope of procedural justice theory through the phenomenological lens of the police and public has been receiving more and more attention. Radburn et al. (2022) embarked on a qualitative study utilizing semistructured interviews with 22 police officers to understand how officers "make sense of their varied interactions" with the public, how officers talk about themselves and the communities they police, and what influences their perceptions of their roles and interactions with citizens (p. 63). In addition to developing themes specifically related to their research questions, their study revealed several noteworthy concepts relating to and complementing previous studies.

First, the large body of existing research on procedural justice has traditionally examined only the initial contact between police and citizens (the first traffic stop or call for service) and has not examined longer interactions (e.g., between the police and someone who is in custody and might be interviewed for an extended period of time, or between the police someone who they repeatedly have contact with over and over; Radburn et al., 2022; Radburn & Stott, 2019; Trinkner et al., 2019). Further, Radburn et al. (2022) found that police–public interactions cannot be reduced to or studied as single, isolated incidents or simply as an interpersonal exchange between two people. This mirrored the findings of Charman (2020) and Waddington et al. (2015), who noted that police–citizen encounters are not isolated encounters but rather sequential; That officers rely on prior experiences with a person or community group as the basis for how they might act or treat the person in subsequent encounters. Worden and McLean (2017) noted that because of previous experiences, officers do not go into situations with a ‘clean slate’ mindset, which potentially questions whether officers can realistically (whether consciously or subconsciously) stay true to tenets of procedural justice.

Likewise, a theme emerged in Radburn et al.’s (2022) study that indicated that police conceptualize the community not as a single unit but as multiple communities, often portrayed along the lines of socioeconomic or ethnic lines. This is consistent with O’Brian et al. (2019) and Urbanska et al. (2019) noting that future research is needed to examine relationships and experiences between the police and various group–level bodies, such as affluent neighborhoods, low income neighborhoods, urban communities, and rural areas, and that it is all too common in existing procedural justice literature to

oversimplify the concepts of “public perception” and “citizens.” Finally, Radburn et al. noted that most research has viewed police departments as a singular unit, when in fact police departments (particularly larger ones) have several different types of officers and thus their experiences employing procedural justice might be vastly different, even when they work for the same department (patrol officers versus community relations officers versus sex crimes detectives).

### **Summary and Conclusion**

As discussed in this literature review, when the police treat people fairly, equally, with respect, and give them a voice, the public is more inclined to respect the police and comply with orders (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). In this chapter, I began with the search strategy used to exhaust the current knowledge surrounding the topic of procedural justice and police legitimacy, I detailed the theoretical foundation on which this study is based on, provided the origins of procedural justice theory, and explained the relationship to police legitimacy. One must not look far, or even deep into academic databases, to understand that police–community relations are strained, and have been for some time. Abhorrent historical treatment of racial minority communities by police severely scarred relationships that still have not fully healed.

Over the past couple of decades, particularly after high-profile police use-of-force events and especially as a result of President Obama’s 2015 Presidents Task Force on 21<sup>st</sup> Century Policing, both academia and law enforcement professionals have been seeking ways to repair and improve police–community relations. Unfortunately, those early attempts at improving diversity training that have perpetuated police academies have

frankly failed at doing so (see Moon et al., 2018; Workman, 2022; Zimny, 2015).

Traditional diversity training for police is usually not prioritized, is delivered at the end of the day via a PowerPoint presentation, and does little to equip officers with the skills necessary to work with and build trust with racial minority communities (Fildes et al., 2019; Workman, 2022).

Therefore, law enforcement professionals and academics have continued searching for ways to improve police–community relations and to properly train the police, although it is still unknown what the best program or training regime is, much less the experiences of how officers employ procedural justice during police–public encounters (Miles-Johnson, 2015; Moon et al., 2018; Workman, 2022). Training programs that focus on topics such as Implicit Bias, Cultural Competence, and Procedural Justice continue to be in demand (see Antrobus et al., 2019; Engel et al., 2020; Moon et al., 2018) and seem to have risen above the demand for traditional cultural diversity training.

However, there were some gaps in the existing body of research that this study sought to fill. A handful of studies have used juvenile participants rather than adults. Tyler and Trinkner (2018) wrote that juveniles’ attitudes towards the legal system can differ and be more malleable than adults; consequently, future studies should include adult samples (Trinkner et al., 2019). However, the overwhelming gap is that despite the emergence of and vast attention that has been given to procedural justice training, most research has focused almost exclusively on citizens and their perceptions of police, scarcely studying the perspectives of the police (Bond et al., 2015; Fildes et al., 2019;

Trinkner et al., 2019). In order to contribute to good policy and policymakers, it is necessary to examine *all* of the involved parties in the police–community relationship dynamic (Trinkner et al., 2019). Radburn et al. (2022) noted that in particular, qualitative methods are crucial to “unpack the teachable moments of police-public interactions” (p. 73). Nagin and Telep (2017) echoed this, noting that additional studies with different methodologies are needed to continue to explore and verify procedural justice’s impact on police legitimacy and, ultimately, on improving police–community relations.

Fildes et al. (2019) and Sivasubramaniam and Heuer (2007) noted the extent to which officers subscribe to and employ procedural justice may be correlated to their social roles as decision-makers. When interacting with the public, with the public being the decision–recipients, the way officers act may be more influenced by matters such as enforcing the law and maintaining order than their inherent desire to act in a procedurally just way, despite the decision–recipients placing more value on how they are treated over how the police do their job. This study sought to fill these gaps by exploring the lived experiences of officers when consciously employing the tenets of procedural justice and how doing so influences their ability to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. As such, Chapter 3 will lay the for the qualitative phenomenological research design and will describe the participant selection, the semistructured interview process, and saturation.

### Chapter 3: Research Method

The purpose of this phenomenological study was to understand the lived experiences of police officers trained in procedural justice and their perceptions of how that training influenced their interactions with racial minority citizens, as well as their perceptions of how it influenced their ability to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. In Chapter 3 I explain the methods and procedures that were used in the selection of participants and the collection and analysis of data. Further, I discuss my role as the researcher and the safeguards that were put in place to protect participants and ensure the confidentiality of their data. I also offer a discussion on the issues of trustworthiness and ethical considerations.

#### **Research Questions**

RQ: What are the lived experiences of police patrol officers trained in procedural justice when interacting with racial minority citizens?

Subquestion: What are the experiences of police patrol officers using procedural justice to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens?

#### **Research Design and Rationale**

The phenomenon of interest in this study was the influence that procedural justice training had on the way patrol officers interact with and treat racial minority citizens, as well as the influence it had on the way police patrol officers work to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. Quantitative methodologies typically restrict how much of a participant's lived experiences a researcher can ascertain, whereas qualitative methodologies offer the opportunity for the researcher to uncover rich data



related to these experiences (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 2015). Therefore, a phenomenological design using purposeful random sampling and semistructured interviews was appropriate for the current study.

Phenomenological research seeks to understand the way people perceive a particular phenomenon (e.g., a lived experience) and to understand the shared common experiences surrounding this phenomenon to allow common themes to emerge that might help predict or explain how others would react to the phenomenon (Creswell, 2014; Thomas, 2006). Because a phenomenological study seeks to explore these experiences and produce transferable themes (Blustein et al., 2013), and because the results from a phenomenological study can help the reader understand what it is like to have experienced the phenomenon, the phenomenological design was well-suited for studying intense human experiences such as police-citizen interactions (see Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002). Whereas narrative research typically focuses on only one or two participants, phenomenology focuses on a slightly larger number so that common themes can emerge (Creswell, 2014).

Although random sampling is typically the method of choice in quantitative studies, it should also be used in qualitative studies to combat the threat of researcher bias (Shenton, 2004). Purposeful random sampling means identifying participants who meet certain criteria and selecting them at random (Patton, 2015). This is feasible when there is a large pool of potential participants (as was the case in the current study) and contributes to the credibility of the study by reducing selection bias (Patton, 2015; Shenton, 2004).

Semistructured interviews asking open-ended questions and guided by an interview guide are appropriate because interviews are used for understanding and exploring common experiences of individuals (Kvale, 1996). Semistructured interviews allow the researcher to build rapport with the participant and provide the opportunity for probing and follow-up questions to explore the phenomenon and obtain rich, detailed insight (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). Bryman (2006) and Zohrabi (2013) wrote that interviews are the second most common type of research instrument used in qualitative research, with semistructured interviews being more common than fully structured interviews.

### **Role of the Researcher**

In qualitative studies, the researcher is the instrument of data collection (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). Like the participants in my study, I was a police officer trained in procedural justice, meaning I had experienced the phenomenon and had my biases, preconceived notions, thoughts, and opinions that could have affected my data collection and interpretation (see Ravitch & Carl, 2016). Although it is nearly impossible for researchers to set their biases aside, researchers must be aware of their positionality, biases, and assumptions and must take steps to reduce researcher influence and account for any biases to understand the perceptions and experiences of the participants (Groenewald, 2004; Ravitch & Carl, 2016).

To account for any possible effect that my experiences may have had, I used bracketing during data collection and analysis, setting aside my assumptions, prejudices, biases, and thoughts regarding my knowledge of and experience with the phenomenon. I documented and engaged with the participants' experiences in as unbiased a manner as

possible (see Groenewald, 2004; Pedersen, 2010). Also, I engaged in reflexivity by creating field notes and memos and maintaining a journal throughout the data collection and analysis process so I could document and reflect on my reactions, feelings, personal thoughts, decisions, and anything else that might have influenced my actions and to be mindful of the threat of bias (see Chan et al., 2013). I communicated with my committee members, family members, and colleagues regarding my thoughts and reactions throughout the research process to keep my biases in check (see Ravitch & Carl, 2016). In addition, I offered the participants the opportunity to review their transcribed interviews to ensure the transcripts accurately reflected their experiences and that I did not interject my biases or personality on their responses (see Ravitch & Carl, 2016).

I interviewed officers employed at the same police department where I was employed and where I served as a sergeant. However, several safeguards were put in place to ensure credibility, dependability, confirmability, and trustworthiness and to ensure that I was recording and analyzing the participants' experiences in an unbiased a manner as possible. First, although my police department has over 500 officers, I am a sergeant in a small specialty unit of only 10 detectives in which I supervise and evaluate only five of them. I have minimal interaction with the other 500 officers and have no influence on their evaluations, discipline, and promotions. The detectives that I work with were excluded as potential participants for my study. Second, to ensure the privacy and confidentiality of the participants, I conducted the semistructured interviews over the phone. I had initially planned to have a fellow adjunct professor act as an assistant to help recruit and schedule interviews, but this was not approved by the IRB. Therefore, after I

had an initial list of 20 participants, I assigned each potential participant a random number (one through 20) to bolster the trustworthiness of the study. I also used a random number generator to generate the initial interview list and create the interview order of participants so that each officer had an equal opportunity for inclusion. During the informed consent phase and throughout the interview process, I stressed to the participants that their decision to participate or not participate would remain completely confidential and would have no bearing on anything work related, even if they decided to back out at a later time, and that their responses would remain confidential.

Last, the participants were identified by a participant number assigned, and the only participant demographics that were recorded were their years of service (e.g., 1–4 years, 5–8 years), their gender, and their race/ethnicity. In this study, participants were referred to only by their participant number; no other demographic or identifying information was included to protect their privacy, ensure their confidentiality, and eliminate any possibility that their responses could be used to identify them.

## **Methodology**

### **Participant Selection**

Because my phenomenon of interest was the influence that procedural justice training had on the way patrol officers interact with and treat racial minority citizens, as well as the influence it had on the way police patrol officers work to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens, I used purposeful random sampling of officers from a large Midwest U.S. police department in a city of nearly 300,000 residents with over 65% White residents (not Hispanic or Latino ethnicity) and the remaining 35%

being Black or African American/American Indian/Asian/Pacific Islander/two or more races/White-Hispanic or Latino decent. Because this police department employed over 500 sworn police officers and had been training officers in procedural justice since 2013, it was an appropriate population for selecting participants.

### **Sampling Strategy**

I used purposeful random sampling because purposeful random sampling means giving participants who meet certain criteria an equal chance of being selected at random, satisfying the Belmont Principle and contributing to the credibility of my study by reducing the risk of researcher bias (see Patton, 2015; Shenton, 2004). The criteria the participants had to meet were as follows:

- must have been an active police officer working for a municipal police department with a racial minority population of at least 25%
- must have been assigned to patrol duties
- must have received procedural justice training

When I received correspondence from officers interested in participating, I screened them to make sure they met the criteria. Of the 22 responses I received, two did not meet the criteria and were thanked for their interest and excluded.

After receiving IRB approval (# 01-09-24-0661661), I posted the IRB-approved recruitment flyer at the various precincts explaining the purpose of my study, the criteria for inclusion, the voluntary nature of my study, informed consent, and compensation. This flyer also included instructions for contacting me by a particular date to voice interest in participating in the study. I maintained a list of those interested in participating,

compiled a final list of those who met the selection criteria, and randomly assigned numbers to the list of potential participants. I then used a random number generator to select numbers from this list to form my list of interviewees and the order of interviewees. Finally, I coordinated with those on the list to select interview dates and times and instructed the participants to call me for their scheduled interview. Each participant was provided with a \$15 Amazon gift card as a token of appreciation. Ravitch and Carl (2016) noted that a small token such as this is appropriate because it is not high enough to make it the sole motivation for participating in the study.

### **Sample Size and Saturation**

The appropriate sample size for a qualitative phenomenological study remains undefined. Because qualitative phenomenological research strives to document and understand participants' experiences regarding a particular phenomenon, not record data for generalization, a much smaller number of participants is required as compared to a quantitative study (Mason, 2010). Baker and Edwards (2012) and Mason (2010) wrote that there is no absolute minimum or maximum number of interview participants, and that too many participants can have a negative effect on the study. Rather than strive for a defined, large number of participants, I strove for data saturation; I kept interviewing and coding until I started to notice redundant responses and no new themes emerged from the data (see Baker & Edwards, 2012; Lacey & Luff, 2009; Mason, 2010).

Data saturation may be achieved from as few as three participants (Creswell, 2014) to as many as 25 (Mason, 2010). Morse (1994) noted that no fewer than six participants should be included. Further, Patton (2015) explained that it is the quality of

the data received from each participant and interview that matters; if each participant is asked only one question, then the researcher probably will not obtain decent quality data until a large number of people have been interviewed. On the other hand, the more in-depth, quality data gathered from each interview, the fewer number of participants needed (Patton, 2015). I used the random number generator to randomly select 15 participants out of the initial 20 who expressed interest and who met the inclusion criteria. I then used the random number generator again to create the interview order of those 15 participants. I planned to interview the first 15 according to the randomly generated order until saturation was achieved, at which time I would cease data collection. This occurred after 12 interviews. If that had not occurred and I had interviewed all 15, I would have interviewed the remaining five until saturation was achieved, and would have worked with my committee to recruit additional participants if that need had arisen.

### **Instrumentation**

The primary instrument of data collection was individual semistructured interviews that took place over the telephone and included open-ended questions with the assistance of an interview guide. Interviewing a participant individually provided an opportunity to obtain rich, detailed insight into the person's lived experiences with the phenomenon, and how they made sense of and constructed their reality. The interview setting was a nonthreatening environment that was more intimate than a focus group, alleviating any potential fears of public speaking or of being judged by others (see Ravitch & Carl, 2016). Additionally, using open-ended interview questions allows the researcher to gather rich, fruitful information and responses, not simple yes-or-no

answers (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Finally, semistructured interviews allowed for probing and follow-up questions to explore the phenomenon and obtain rich, detailed insight (see Ravitch & Carl, 2016).

Interviews that are well designed, are prepared for, and employ good strategies create a bit of familiarity and rapport, which contributes to an overall comfortable atmosphere favorable for good dialogue (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). This can be accomplished by the use of an interview guide. The interview guide that was used for the current study contained relevant administrative information (date and time of interview and interviewee number), the individual interview questions, probes, and potential follow-up questions. Guion et al. (2011) wrote that a good interview guide includes probes and follow-up questions so that the researcher does not have to think on their feet and can maintain consistency among interviews. My interview guide helped me keep the interview on track and ensured that I asked the same questions to each participant. I planned to make note of new probes and follow-up questions as the interviews progressed. I asked the participants if it would be okay for me to ask follow-up questions after their interview had concluded, if the need arose.

When developing the interview questions and interview guide, I took into account the sequence of the questions, putting easy, ice-breaking questions up front and uncomfortable or difficult ones in the middle (see Jacob & Furgeson, 2012; Patton, 2015). I also added probes (via bullet points) and potential follow-up questions. Finally, I took into account Patton's (2015) suggestion of having the participant relive the experience first (experience question) before asking about opinions and feelings. I



classified each interview question as being an experience question, opinion question, feelings question, or knowledge question, with each interview question focused on extracting information to answer my research question and each based on either my exhaustive literature review or personal experience through the lens of the theoretical foundation for this study. A peer debriefer was used to help ensure the rigor and credibility of the interview guide, as this peer was otherwise uninvolved in this study and was thus able to provide objective input.

For example, the question “*Tell me about how you interacted with minority citizens prior to receiving procedural justice training*” is rooted in the findings of Engel et al., 2020, Fildes et al., 2019, Moon et al., 2018, Skogan et al. 2015, Workman, 2022 and Zimny, 2015 that traditional cultural diversity training received in the police academy has not properly equipped officers on how to interact with and build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. The question “*Tell me about a time when you saw a minority citizen not treated according to procedural justice principles,*” was rooted in literature by Marier and Moule (2018) and Schuck and Martin (2013), which found that interactions between police and racial minorities that lack respect, understanding, and equal treatment often end in hostile and violent encounters. A final few examples of interview questions are “*How do you feel about what you learned (procedural justice) in relation to working as a police officer?*”, which elicited the participant’s feelings; and “*Describe for me how the minority citizen reacted?*” or “*tell me about a time when procedural justice was employed, but the citizen did not seem to want to cooperate*

*with/respect officers*” which sought experiences. The full interview guide is available (see Appendix) for further review.

### **Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection**

The procedures for recruitment, participation, and data collection were the same for both my research question and subquestion. Data were collected from a large Midwest U.S. police department with over 500 sworn police officers serving a population just shy of 300,000 residents, roughly 35% of which were racial minority citizens (black or African American/American Indian/Asian/Pacific Islander/two or more races/White-Hispanic or -Latino decent). I was the sole researcher who conducted the interviews and analyzed and coded the data.

I posted flyers at the various police precincts and the main police station explaining the purpose of this study and all of the other relevant details. The flyers directed those interested to contact me for consideration. I screened those interested against the inclusion criteria and compiled a list of those that qualified. I assigned random numbers to the list of potential participants, after which I used a random number generator to create the interview list and then used it again to create the order of participants.

I instructed those on this list to select from available interview dates and times and to call me for their scheduled interview. Each interview took place over the telephone, and at the beginning of the interview, while going through informed consent (which was also provided to the participants upon their initial correspondence with me), I explained that the participant would only be known by their randomly generated

participant number, that I would be recording the audio, that they were free to end the interview and leave at any time without explanation, and that I would send them a copy of the completed transcript if they wished to review it for accuracy. I asked each participant to provide a verbal “I agree” before beginning the interview.

At the completion of each interview, the participants were debriefed on the following. I asked if they had any questions or concerns and reminded them that they could still decide to opt out of the study by contacting me and providing their interviewee number, and that I would destroy their recording and transcript. I reviewed confidentiality protections and reminded them that their identities would be completely confidential and that any results would be reported in a way that would not be able to be traced back to them. I told each participant that I would send them a transcript of their interview for their review to ensure that I captured their experiences properly if they were interested, asked if I could reach out should any follow-up questions arise, and if they would like to be provided with a final copy of my dissertation.

I planned to complete the initial 15 interviews (unless saturation was achieved prior to 15) within one week, depending on the schedules and availability of each interviewee. I envisioned that each interview would last between 60 and 90 minutes. In addition to electronically recording each interview, in accordance with what Rubin and Rubin (2012) noted, I took brief notes on interview memos about topics or questions that I wanted to return to, and notes that highlighted main or important ideas that could act as a backup should my electronic records fail.

If saturation was not achieved with the first 15 interviews, I planned to use the random number generator to generate an interview order from the remaining five participants while working with my committee to recruit additional participants (I would have posted flyers explaining that the study was still ongoing and inviting those who may have missed the first sign-up period to contact me).

### **Data Analysis Plan**

The analysis plan for this dissertation was that of explication, which allows the researcher to analyze the data and participants' experiences as they relate to the phenomenon as a whole (see Hycner, 1999), thus answering my research questions. To accomplish this, I first had to engage in bracketing (writing down and setting aside all presuppositions, prejudices, existing beliefs, personal knowledge, and anything else that I thought or understood about the phenomenon) so that I was able to extract the experiences of the participants as objectively as possible (see Groenewald, 2004; Pedersen, 2010). I then read each transcript several times before I began reading through each transcript, seeking to identify units of meaning (statements that meant something, shed light into an experience, or related to the phenomenon) while continuing to bracket presuppositions and avoiding thinking about how any units of meaning or statements related to one another (see Pedersen, 2010). These statements of meaning were then transferred to a separate document, and any redundant statements were discarded.

I also created three foci to help organize data: (a) experience with procedural justice training, (b) experiences working with minority citizens while implementing

procedural justice, and (c) building trust/cooperation. These three foci directly related to my research question and subquestion.

Next, the statements of meaning were read through, and using NVivo 14 to help organize data, I dragged and dropped the relevant statements to the appropriate foci. I then read through the statements of meaning and began coding, allowing for similarities, or repetitive themes, to emerge (see Groenewald, 2004) while continuing to reread the transcripts to not lose the essence of the phenomenon as a whole. Ravitch and Carl (2016) noted that coding should not be confused with analysis; coding is simply labeling the data, not analyzing it. Once a transcript has been coded, the researcher should then look through the codes to see if there are codes or concepts that deal with the same topic (or concept) and put these codes into categories (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). Next, the researcher should strive to link concepts and categories together to establish themes (Rubin & Rubin, 2012).

I initially planned to color-code themes to help organize my data (for example, the theme of feelings; any unit of meaning that had to do with feelings would have been color-coded green), but the organization capabilities of NVivo 14 was such that I did not need to color code anything to keep the data organized. I then identified themes to further organize the data into more general themes, extracting more themes that explained the participants' experiences. I then checked for specific phrases or words in the transcripts that supported these themes (see Pedersen, 2010), and then finally identified themes common in all the interviews, being careful not to cluster themes if they were actually different or had different meanings, and then wrote a final composite summary (see

Groenewald, 2004). I then began to create thematic categories; for example, explaining how officers felt while implementing procedural justice when interacting with racial minority citizens, and then did this for the rest of the themes that emerged. Finally, I checked my findings with the participants to make sure their experiences were properly captured.

Regarding handling discrepant cases, Both Ravitch and Carl (2016) and Rubin and Rubin (2012) noted that researchers cannot discredit or discard data or concepts that dispute or question the themes that emerge or anything else in the study. Researchers must still record and use the information and perhaps write a memo about thoughts and feelings on when the discrepancy was discovered in order to document and avoid bias and ensure rigor and transparency. No discrepant cases emerged from the data.

### **Trustworthiness**

Similar to quantitative research, qualitative researchers need to illustrate that their research is credible, trustworthy, and dependable (Golafshani, 2003). In quantitative studies, the researcher must show that the chosen instrument was constructed properly to maintain validity and reliability; however, in qualitative studies, the researcher *is* the instrument. Thus, it must be demonstrated that biases were kept in check, that the data and findings accurately represent the experiences of the participants, and that the methods used were credible, trustworthy, and dependable (Golafshani, 2003; Shenton, 2004).

### **Credibility**

In qualitative research, credibility refers to the concept that the data, findings, and interpretations are truly representative of and in line with the reality of the participants,

free from any influence on behalf of the researcher (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004). This can be accomplished via member checking, triangulation, and protecting the autonomy of the participants (Shenton, 2004). Upon the completion of coding my data and generating themes, I asked my participants to review the findings to ensure they were consistent with and accurately captured their experiences. I utilized audit trails and engaged in reflexivity throughout the process by keeping a reflexive journal and field notes and ensured that my participants understood the confidentiality of their responses.

### **Transferability**

The concept of transferability means that the results of one study should be applicable to another similar population elsewhere (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004). However, because qualitative research focuses on a small number of cases, many argue that transferability is inherently not achievable (Shenton, 2004). Nonetheless, to support transferability, I documented everything about the study; the participants, environment, cultures, qualities, methods, questions, processes, and all other components of this study so that another researcher could take this information and determine if their population is similar enough to mine that the data might transfer (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004).

### **Dependability**

The concept of dependability refers to the fact that another researcher should be able to take my methods, replicate my study, and obtain similar results (Shenton, 2004). I documented every component of the study (the rationale, research design, methods, interview guide, data collection, and data analysis) and will make this available should

another researcher desire to replicate this study. Additionally, I maintained an audit trail, field notes, and analytic memos, all of which will be available in detail and available for a fellow researcher wishing to replicate this study.

### **Confirmability**

Finally, confirmability refers to the concept that the methods, data, findings, and results, can be validated as objective and sound, and that an outsider can analyze my study and verify that my results accurately reflect the experiences of the participants without influence from any personal biases I might hold (see Shenton, 2004; Toma, 2011). I used member checking to confirm that the data is objectively captured and free from personal influence. Further, any biases or preconceived notions were dealt with by engaging in reflexivity. Ravitch and Carl (2016) explain that reflexivity means assessing your positionality and bias and ensuring that you have an ongoing awareness of how your beliefs and experiences might affect the way you do things (such as structure research questions or interpret data). I maintained and demonstrated objectivity by keeping a reflexive journal and positionality memos during my interviews, coding, and other processes. Lastly, a potential issue that could arise would have been choosing to exclude a particular statement if I did not agree with it. This is another example of why reflexivity is important; in remaining open-minded and vulnerable to change, and by realizing that the participants are the “experts of their own experiences,” a researcher must remember that it is not acceptable to disagree or chose not to include something, but rather the researcher is simply there to learn and record (Ravitch & Carl, 2016, p. 370).



### **Ethical Procedures**

Data was collected from a Midwest U.S. police department. I obtained permission from the Chief of Police to interview officers per the IRB requirements. I explained to the chief that nowhere in the final study would the names or any identifying information of any participants be included, and that I would not record demographic information beyond gender and race/ethnicity of officer, to avoid deductive disclosure. I also explained that nowhere in the final study would the name of the city or police department be included. Last, it was explained that I would ensure that the participants were off duty when interviewing them.

I followed APA and IRB ethical guidelines regarding the treatment of participants. The participants were recruited in a way that confidentiality was guaranteed. I posted materials advertising my study with instructions to contact me if interested, and that I would schedule phone interviews so that no one would know who was participating.

Participants were provided with a typed letter detailing the IRB approved informed consent by me once the participant was found to meet the selection criteria, prior to the participant scheduling their interview time. Ravitch and Carl (2016) noted that the informed consent letter should be perfectly clear of what is expected of the participant, what the time demands/constraints are, what the researcher and participant will be doing, what risks (if any) are present, and what will happen with the data (who will handle it, what will be done with it, who will access it, and if/how it will be published or disseminated). This letter explained that participation was completely voluntary, and that the participant could cease participation at any time, including up to

final publication, without any explanation needed, and that their identity would remain confidential as they would only be referred to by a participant number. The informed consent letter explained that I would be audio recording the interview for transcription purposes and that they would be provided a copy of the transcribed interview if they would like, as well as that our conversation would remain confidential unless the participant disclosed child or elder abuse, or imminent threats of harm to self or others (however, because my interview questions did not ask about anything to do with those topics, the risk of disclosure of something like that was virtually non-existent).

After the participant had a chance to review the informed consent letter, I reviewed it with them, asking if they had any questions prior to seeking their consent to participate. I obtained a verbal acknowledgement of informed consent from the participant prior to the interview. When the participant called me, I reviewed the informed consent with them and obtained a verbal “yes” acknowledgement that was recorded along with their participant number.

Regarding data collection, phone interviews allow the participant to choose the location of their interview so that they can ensure the level of privacy that they prefer. Phone interviews also ensure that there is no physical risk to the participant, and that the participant is free to eat or drink throughout the interview if they so desire. Lastly, none of the interview questions revolved around sensitive topics, so there was no risk of mental harm to the participants.

Interview data was stored in the following ways. The audio recordings of each phone call was stored on two different thumb drives, each being an exact replica of the

other, in case one thumb drive had a monumental failure. Those thumb drives are secured in a locked filing cabinet in my home office that only I have the combination to. I did not use any outside human transcription services. The transcriptions of each interview are also stored on the thumb drives mentioned above. Upon completion of the study, the data/thumb drives will be stored in the locked filing cabinet in my home office for five years, after which the thumb drives will be destroyed.

I collected data from my own police department, but numerous safeguards were in place to ensure the trustworthiness of my study and the confidentiality of my participants. The actual real names of my participants will never be known to anyone but me. I did not ask any identifying information about them beyond gender and race/ethnicity and making sure they met the inclusion criteria, and I reported my findings in a manner that nothing will be able to be traced back to any particular participant. I stressed to the participants that I was solely a researcher, and that because their identities would remain strictly and fully confidential, if they should say something that may harm the reputation of the department, that I would simply record their experience without any judgement or requirement to notify the department, as I was only legally obligated to breach confidentiality for reports of child/elder abuse or threats of imminent harm to self or others. The informed consent process made note of my employment at the police department and distinctly noted that their participation (or refusal to participate) had no effect on their own employment.

Each participant was provided with a \$15 Amazon Gift card as a token of appreciation post-interview. Ravitch and Carl (2016) noted that small tokens of

appreciation are appropriate, so long as the amount is not large enough that it becomes the sole motivation for participating. I arranged with the participant for the discreet delivery of the gift card so that no one would know they received one.

### **Summary**

The purpose of this phenomenological study was to understand the lived experiences of police officers trained in procedural justice and their perceptions of how that training influenced their interactions with racial minority citizens, as well as their perceptions of how it influenced their ability to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. In this chapter, I explained the research design and rationale for the study, including the methods and procedures that will be used for the selection of participants and the collection and analysis of data. I explained my role as a researcher and the safeguards put in place to protect the confidentiality of the participants and their data, as well as the safeguards to ensure the trustworthiness, credibility, and dependability of the research design. Last, this chapter covered ethical considerations including informed consent, data storage, confidentiality, and compensation for the participants. Chapter 4 will detail how the data were collected and analyzed, how trustworthiness was maintained, and the results of the study.

## Chapter 4: Results

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study was to understand the lived experiences of police officers trained in procedural justice and their perceptions of how that training influenced the way they interact with racial minority citizens, as well as their perceptions of how the training influenced their ability to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. In Chapter 4, I describe the setting for my semistructured interviews and provide the demographic data of my 12 participants. I also explain the data collection and analysis processes and how data collection differed from what I originally planned. I also discuss evidence of trustworthiness in my study, and I present the results.

### **Setting**

I interviewed 12 police officers who were employed by a Midwest U.S. police department, had been trained in procedural justice, and worked patrol. These interviews took place over the phone to provide the participant with the comfort and privacy of their choosing, thereby ensuring confidentiality. I remained alone in my home office while conducting each interview. The interviews were recorded using a Yeti-brand microphone hooked up to my laptop by placing my phone speaker next to the microphone.

### **Demographics**

Because I sought to understand the experiences of police officers working with racial minority citizens through the lens of procedural justice, each potential participant was screened to ensure they met the selection criteria (active police officer working for a municipal police department with a racial minority population over 25%; assigned to

patrol duties; and had been through procedural justice training). Because there was the potential that I might be familiar with the participants, I used purposeful random sampling to identify my interview participants.

All 12 participants worked for a Midwest U.S. police department and had a range of experience from 2 years to 24 years on the job. The gender, years of service, race/ethnicity, and assigned shift for the 12 participants are shown in Table 1. To protect the privacy of each participant, I did not collect or report further demographic data.

**Table 1**

*Participants' Demographic Data*

Gender	Service (years)	Race/ethnicity	Shift
Female	24	White	Night
Female	21	White	Afternoon
Female	3	White	Afternoon
Male	3	White	Night
Male	8	Hispanic	Day
Male	8	Hispanic	Day
Male	5	Hispanic	Night
Male	3	Black	Day
Male	11	White	Day
Male	10	White	Night
Male	2	White	Night
Male	7	White	Night

**Data Collection**

After receiving IRB approval to collect data, I posted my approved recruitment flyer at several spots in the various police precincts, which provided contact information. This began January 12, 2024. Within 2 weeks, I had 22 officers send notice that they were interested in being participants. Two did not meet the selection criteria and were thanked for their time and excluded. From the remaining 20, I assigned each one a

random number (1 through 20) and then used a random number generator to create my interview list. Keeping in line with qualitative research principles, I knew that theoretical saturation could be achieved in as few as three to 10 interviews (see Creswell, 2014) or as many as 25 (see Mason, 2010). I then used the random number generator to randomly create my participant interview order, which began with Participant 4. After interviewing the first 12 participants on my randomly generated list (Participants 4, 8, 17, 9, 12, 2, 11, 20, 7, 6, 16, and 10), I achieved data saturation. Due to the schedules and availability of the participants, the interviews with these 12 were conducted during the months of February and March.

Once I had my randomly generated order of participants, interviews were scheduled according to the participants' availability. Prior to the interview date and time, I emailed the approved IRB informed consent form and recruitment invitation to the participant. Data were collected via telephone interviews, with me sitting alone in my home office and the participants at a private place of their choosing. I recorded the telephone interviews using a Yeti-brand microphone that was hooked up to my laptop by placing my phone's speaker next to the microphone. At the beginning of the interview, I made sure the participant was comfortable where they were located and engaged in small talk to build rapport. I then reviewed the informed consent that they were previously provided as well as the confidentiality rules with the participants, and I obtained a verbal "yes" acknowledgment per the informed consent form before beginning.

The interviews lasted between 60 and 75 minutes. At the completion of the interviews, I asked the participants if they had any questions and if they would like a

copy of their transcribed interview for review purposes. Those who said yes were provided with an emailed copy. I did not receive any feedback on the provided transcripts. I also explained the remaining process and that my study would be available on ProQuest when completed but that I would provide them with a completed copy. I also asked them if I could contact them should any follow-up be needed and thanked them for their time. Finally, I maintained a reflexive journal throughout this process, in which I documented and reflected on my own thoughts, reactions, and feelings before and after each interview.

At the completion of each interview, I uploaded each audio file into Microsoft Word, where I used the auto-transcription option to transcribe the interview. The transcripts that this produced were not fully accurate because the auto-transcription was prone to either omit words that the participants said or transcribe a different word than what was said. Therefore, after each interview was auto-transcribed, I opened the transcription and listened to the audio recording while reading along through the transcript, pausing the audio when needed to make any corrections until the transcript accurately and fully captured all of the spoken words.

I initially planned to use a fellow adjunct instructor as my research assistant to help recruit and schedule interviews for me. However, this did not gain IRB approval because it would have violated the IRB's confidentiality standards. I resubmitted my plan to the IRB, removing my plan to use an assistant and instead having me do everything my assistant would have done, including posting the approved IRB recruitment flyers instructing interested participants to contact me so that we could schedule the interviews



and only I would know their identities. This was approved by the IRB, and the study was carried out as planned. Lastly, I initially planned to aim for 15 interviews, but saturation was achieved after 12.

### **Data Analysis**

The data analysis approach for this study was explication. After all of the interviews were transcribed, I uploaded the transcriptions into NVivo 14, which allowed me to code, categorize, and establish themes. For ease of organization and reporting, the transcripts were renumbered as Participants 1 through 12.

I first read and reread all of the transcripts without coding or pulling statements of meaning so that I could gain a holistic sense of the experiences of the participants. I then engaged in the process of bracketing, writing down any preexisting thoughts, biases, beliefs, and anything else that I thought about the phenomenon in my reflexive journal so that I could remain objective and focus on extracting the experiences of the participants. Next, after reading each transcript several times, I read through each transcript and identified statements of meaning (i.e., statements in which a participant described an experience, thought, feeling, or anything else that related to the phenomenon). I continued to engage in bracketing, consciously setting aside my thoughts and beliefs so that I could extract statements of meaning. Once a statement of meaning was identified, I highlighted it and transferred it to the node in NVivo 14 that I labeled as Statements of Meaning, eventually generating a lengthy list of statements. Doing this in NVivo 14 allowed me to click on any of the statements of meaning and return directly to where that statement was located in its respective original transcript, thereby allowing me to stay

true to the essence and context of the statement. Throughout the rest of the process, I constantly switched from the data to the transcripts and audio recordings to make sure I accurately captured not only what but how the participants were saying what they were saying.

After statements of meaning were pulled from each transcript, I continued as planned in Chapter 3, creating three foci in NVivo 14 to help organize the data: (a) experience with procedural justice training, (b) experiences working with minority citizens while implementing procedural justice, and (c) building trust/cooperation. I then went through the statements of meaning, dragging them to the relevant foci. For example, statements that addressed experiences during the training, or if the training changed something in the participant, were placed under the first focus, and so on.

I then read through all of the statements in each focus and began the initial inductive open coding, which produced 28 codes. As Ravitch and Carl (2016) noted, coding is labeling the data, not analyzing them. After completing initial coding, I went back to the data and read through all of the coded statements, going back and forth from the data to the transcripts while keeping my research questions in mind and engaging in bracketing/reflexivity. I then engaged in thematic analysis, a process that allows themes to emerge that are important to the phenomenon at hand, by carefully reading and rereading the data (see Daly et al., 1997; Rice & Ezzy, 1999). Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) wrote that this is an iterative process of pattern recognition that allows themes to emerge.

I looked for codes and statements that had similarities and began to cluster these similar codes and statements into categories, being careful not to cluster them if they had different meanings. This was an iterative process in which I constantly read through the codes and statements and revisited the transcripts, revising and clustering similar codes, statements, and categories. Holloway (1997) and Hycner (1999) detailed the importance of this. I continued to go through the categories looking for repetitive themes to create thematic categories and finally organized these categories into themes and subthemes that explained the participants' experiences and answered my research question and subquestion. I then wrote a composite summary of each theme. These findings were also shared with the participants in the interest of member checking to ensure they accurately captured the experiences of the participants.

### **Trustworthiness**

In qualitative studies, it is crucial for the researcher to demonstrate that steps were taken to ensure the results are credible, trustworthy, and dependable (Golafshani, 2003). I accomplished this by rigorous adherence to the principles and steps outlined in Chapter 3, with the exception of the deviation in data collection, which had no impact on the collection or quality of the data.

### **Credibility**

Credibility was ensured via several strategies. First, I maintained a reflexive journal throughout the data collection and analysis phases, constantly journaling my thoughts, experiences, and things I found surprising, and acknowledging any biases or preexisting thoughts I had to allow me to bracket everything and stay true to the data.

Next, member checking was used. Not only were transcripts provided to the participants who requested them (from which I received no feedback), I engaged in member checking by emailing the participants the findings to ensure they were consistent with and captured their experiences accurately. Finally, I stressed to the participants that their participation was confidential and completely voluntary, and that they could withdraw at any point (including after the data collection was finished).

### **Transferability**

Transferability means that the results of a study should be applicable to a similar population somewhere else (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004). I documented all aspects of the study as thoroughly as I could without violating confidentiality (e.g., participant size, recruitment criteria, population characteristics, research methods, and interview questions) so that another researcher could decide whether the population and results are similar to theirs, or to replicate the study if they choose. Lastly, I provided thick, rich descriptions and quotations from the data, which contributed to the transferability of the study (see Ravitch & Carl, 2016).

### **Dependability**

To enhance dependability, I documented every component of the study (e.g., participant/recruitment criteria, recruitment procedures, research design and methods, the interview guide, data collection and analysis procedures) either within the text or the appendix, should another researcher desire to replicate this study. I also maintained an audit trail when deviating from the data collection procedure outlined in Chapter 3.

**Confirmability**

Confirmability was achieved by constantly engaging in reflexivity. I maintained a reflexive journal throughout the data collection and analysis stage, making sure to be conscious of any preexisting biases, thoughts, beliefs, or experiences that might influence how I perceived or interpreted statements by the participants. By keeping this journal, I was able to maintain objectivity by writing these thoughts down and engaging in bracketing; I removed myself from the study and allowed the experiences of the participants to emerge from the data analysis. As Ravitch and Carl (2016) explained, it was not up to me to agree or disagree with something a participant said, or to exclude something that I might not agree with. By keeping the reflexive journal and audit trail and engaging in member checking, I was able to ensure that the data were objectively captured and free from my influence. Finally, confirmability was ensured by providing rich, thick data that included direct quotations from the participants, as well as providing the findings to the participants and a copy of the final overall study once approved.

**Results**

In this qualitative phenomenological study, I explored the lived experiences of police patrol officers trained in procedural justice when interacting with and attempting to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. Interview questions were asked that directly related to the research question (What are the lived experiences of police patrol officers trained in procedural justice when interacting with racial minority citizens?) and subquestion1 (What are the experiences of police patrol officers using procedural justice to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens?). For

example, the 12 participants were asked about the procedural justice training that they experienced and what, if anything, influenced how they interact with, view, or feel about racial minority citizens; to describe how they interacted with racial minority citizens both prior to and after receiving procedural justice training; to describe their experiences employing procedural justice while interacting with racial minority citizens and how they implement each tenet, their feelings on doing so, and how the citizens appear to respond; and to describe their experiences attempting to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. For a complete list of the interview questions, see the Appendix.

Four main themes emerged from the data, each with subthemes. The first theme was perceptions of effects on citizen behavior. Subtheme A was citizens respond positively when procedural justice is implemented. Subtheme B was some citizens will never respect/cooperate with police regardless of treatment, and officers must cut their losses. Subtheme C was participants' feelings.

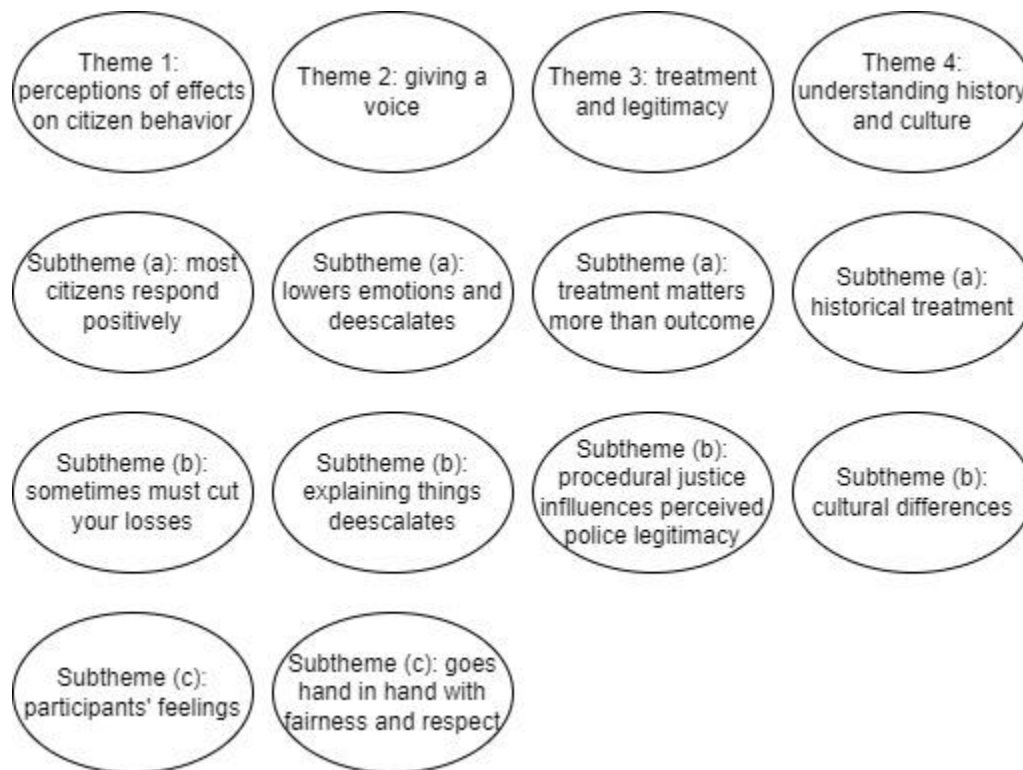
The second theme was giving citizens a voice is the most effective and important tenet of procedural justice. Subtheme A was giving citizens a voice lowers emotions and deescalates situations. Subtheme B was when officers explain things, citizens respond positively and the situation deescalates. Subtheme C was giving a voice goes hand in hand with the tenets of fairness and respect.

The third theme was the way people are treated matters more than the outcome and influences how they later view police. Subtheme A was treatment matters more than outcome. Subtheme B was procedural justice influences perceived legitimacy.

The fourth theme was that the training helped participants understand different cultures, which prepared them to implement procedural justice. Subtheme A was the impact of historical treatment of racial minorities by police and its effects on the present day. Subtheme B was understanding cultural differences. In the following sections, each theme and its subthemes are explained using summaries and verbatim statements from the transcribed data.

**Figure 1**

*Themes and Subthemes*



**Theme 1: Perceptions of the Effects of Procedural Justice on Citizen Behavior**

Three subthemes emerged that comprise this main theme; the first two, while directly at odds with each other, offer insight into the experiences of officers working with citizens while employing procedural justice. The first subtheme is that when officers treat citizens according to the tenets of procedural justice, the majority of citizens respond positively. The second subtheme is that there are instances, however, where regardless of the employment of procedural justice, some citizens appear to have no interest in ever trusting or cooperating with the police, and the officers must thus accept it and move on; they must cut their losses. The third subtheme that came from the data is that it feels good when officers are able to employ procedural justice to produce positive outcomes, and frustrating when they are not.

***Subtheme A: Most Citizens Respond Positively When Treated With Procedural Justice***

Three-quarters of the participants explained that more often than not, when procedural justice is employed, particularly when it was not initially, racial minority citizens respond positively. Participant 12 said it precisely: “I would say situation dictates, but more times than not, intervening and implementing procedural justice, I think that that does have a positive outcome.” Participant 4 had a similar sentiment:

There are people who might be defensive at first around you, and might think that that you’re doing something because of their skin color, so they might be a little sharp-tongued, but if, you know, by the way you treat them, you can actually steer that conversation and turn around and help them realize that that’s not the case, they usually calm down and it goes well.



Continuing, Participant 8 stated,

Usually, they react fairly positively. Sometimes they're frustrated because obviously the justice system itself has its own ups and downs. But if you're at least empathetic with them and listen to them and respectful with them, that does seem to help their frustration.

Participant 5 spoke about having to chase and then fight with someone in order to apprehend them, and how it can be easy to be angry at that person:

Once they're in the cop car, I think it's easy to, you know, go back and forth with them. Argue with them. But when you kind of, at least for me, when I get them in the car and they're, you know, they're going to jail, I think that, like I said, a lot can happen from just a conversation and how you treat them. And you can turn that bad situation into a, a good situation in a way. And I want to say, like, kind of persuade them to be better. But I definitely think that when you treat them respectfully, it may change the interaction.

Participant 1 offered a similar thought:

Like I said, sometimes it's hard. You know, because they can push every button, but you know, you, you still have to be fair, and you still have to be respectful because at the end of the day, if you're being fair and respectful, it's been multiple times where they would end up saying 'Officer [redacted], man, my fault, you know, I shouldn't disrespect you out there, you're just doing your job, man.'

Participant 11 explained,

I think of the best example I can give is a buddy of mine I work with. There were scenes I would be on where the person was being belligerent, I'm trying to find the common ground, it's not going well, so I'm trying to get the situation under control and it's happened a couple times where I'm on scene and this particular officer walks in, calm, cool and collected, and has this look of, a genuine look on him, and he starts just asking questions, basic questions, like 'why are we here? Explain it to me, I've just arrived' and everything else, and makes them feel like he actually wants to hear them and understand and is just fair with them, and every single time, everyone just starts relaxing and everyone ends up calm. It's not that the rest of us officers were being rude or anything, but you can tell when he just makes them feel heard, it calms people down. Most of the time, anyway. So I've started emulating, trying to copy him, and it works.

Participants 1, 3, 7, and 12 all offered that even when another officer might not be treating a citizen according to procedural justice, or even treating the citizen rudely, that more often than not, when someone steps in and implements procedural justice, it results in the citizen responding positively. Participant 3 shared a story about a traffic stop illustrating this:

There's a traffic stop before I went to third shift, I had actually interacted with this person before – I pulled him over for speeding and I didn't give a ticket, just said slow down or whatever – but another officer tries to pull him over and he puts his four ways on and slow rolls, I want to say about 2-3 blocks, he parked by his house off Warsaw. I came up and him and the other officer had gotten in to, they

both got into a verbal argument and literally are just yelling at each other on the side of the street. I showed up because I was closest. I recognize the vehicle, I go to the passenger side, and there was a 10-year-old in the car and you could tell the 10-year-old was super uncomfortable, obviously, given what was going on. I let the 10-year-old out because Grandma was out there and I'm like he can, he can go. He, he does not need to be in this car right now. I still didn't know what was going on, right, with the situation. So the officer goes back after getting his information runs everything and the guy is yelling at me, and he's, he's upset. Which is, again, I don't know what was going on, but I mean, I never, not once, raised my voice. I talked to him just like I'm talking to you now, and that brought the level of his, you know, his anger, he was anxious, like all this stuff, all his emotion, and it dropped it down to where he ended up talking to me like this. I talked to the other officer, figured out what was going on because the guy didn't understand what was going on. So I explained it to him. I explained like, hey, this is how we got here, and I definitely used that, that 'hey, do you remember me? Like, I pulled you over on Anthony by the, you know, by McDonald's' and he was like 'oh, yeah.' Like we just started talking. And then we got to the point of why we're here and what the situation was and I mean it definitely, I mean it definitely helped because I mean, there was a gun in the car, it wasn't nothing, he just, he was he was saying, he's like well I'm a black male, down in southeast [city redacted] and I have a gun. So, I just explained to him, I said 'hey, do you, do you really think this is the first time that we've pulled over a black man with

the gun in southeast [city redacted]? Like, I'm pretty sure 90% of the traffic stops that I have down here, somebody has a gun on them.' I said 'there's no reason to amp up the situation, if you're so worried about it, why are we, why are we yelling? Because that's how things get miscommunicated. That's how things get out of hand.' We just, we just talked and even the other officers that showed up left and I was still talking to him. Probably about five minutes after the initial officers left, Grandma came up and she asked me if she could give me a hug. So I gave her a hug and she was like 'thank you, I appreciate you.' And the guy was actually decent at that point, too.

Participant 7 had a similar opinion:

That's the nice thing about having, you know, the police force that we have. Somebody else is usually there. Even though a person might hate another officer on scene, don't, I would say don't give up just because that person is upset at the other officer; that doesn't mean you suddenly treat them differently. If it can be salvaged, just get another officer there, try to talk to them and if the different officer does these things, they might be able to calm the situation and still get really helpful information from the citizen from your investigation.

Participant 12 offered,

I think it goes back to, you know, we're our brother and sister's keeper. So if you see them lacking in a certain skill set, you try your best to step in and take over that role. You see a lot on a daily, you know, where a subject doesn't maybe communicate with Officer A that well, and Officer B steps in and listens to them

and makes them feel, you know, as if they're actually being listened to and respected, and maybe they can establish a better rapport with the suspect and they take over.

Participant 1 summed it up by stating:

I think when Officer A isn't treating a citizen right and Officer B steps in and implements procedural justice, I think it's a win for everybody. I think it's a win for the department, I think it's a win for the officer who had to be told to step back, I think it's a win for the officer stepping up, and I think it's a win for the, the citizen because the citizen then sees that, hey, I got into an argument with Officer A, you know, like, I was treated unfairly by this officer, but then Officer B stepped up and said or did XYZ, and now I feel a lot better that I'm no longer dealing with Officer A. I'm now dealing with officer B and I feel better now that this is all taken care of.

***Subtheme B: Some Citizens Will Not Respect/Cooperate With Police Regardless of Implementing Procedural Justice, so Officers Just Cut Their Losses***

However, sometimes the participants were not able to gain the citizen's trust or cooperation, regardless of employing procedural justice. In these situations, rather than escalate the situation or argue with the citizen, officers just accept that fact and move on.

Participant 11 summed this subtheme up succinctly:

You can't, uh, win over everybody. We had made contact with somebody who was attempting to get our attention and then was yelling at us, screaming at us, wanted nothing to do with us. We, uh, tried to talk to them several times. We

found out he had a warrant, and we tried to explain it to him and everything. No matter what we did it, it just didn't go well. This person, he just had a real disdain for cops, he did not like us at all. Those, uh, are, sometimes, it doesn't matter how well you treat them or what you do for them to try to be nice, those types you just can't win with.

Participant 2 shared,

Some people are just so annoyed or perturbed that you're, you know, you're going to write them a ticket, or that you pulled them over, that they're not going to want to hear anything you have to say. Sometimes you just have to realize it's not going to get anywhere and you just, you know, you gotta end the situation as cordial as possible and move on.

Participant 4 stated bluntly:

I mean, there are, you know, people that you can't change their mind no matter what, and it's pretty easy to understand, when you have a minority that just hates you for being white or hates you for being a cop or hates you for both. You can't help those people. There's, there's no point in trying, just accept it, do your job and move on. Like I said, there are some people that will accept explanations and some people won't. And there's nothing you can do about those that won't.

Participant 5 shared an experience where despite how she treated a person, it was not reciprocated, and she just had to move on:

The one that I can remember in particular was the guy that got into a pursuit with officers, and ended up like going to his mom's house, and he ended up running

over his mom, and tried to run over an officer or a detective, so an officer shot him. So I met them at the hospital to help guard him and from there on, like, he was, he was treated with the utmost respect from me, as far as like, I'm not going to sit here, and, you know, ridicule you for what you did, (a) because I didn't know all of the details, but also, because, like I said, I, once they're in handcuffs, there's no reason to, you know, keep fighting with them. And he just kept running his mouth, like he was using profanities, he was saying some derogatory things towards me, and he just did not cooperate with or listen to us or anything at all, despite everyone treating him with respect. So I mean yeah, you're not, you're not always going to gain everybody's trust, and that just comes with the job. Like you just have to take it as it is and not let it affect you with the next one.

Moving on, Participant 6 posited that "you're obviously not going to be able to have a conversation with every single person you come across. Some people are just set in their ways, and then, and then, they're unable to even have a logical conversation."

Participant 7 echoed this by expressing:

You know, there are some people that you are not going to get through to, and it's better to respect that than to try to force it. It's better just to accept and respect their opinion, regardless of how right or wrong you think it.

Participant 12 conveyed,

You know, there are times where, despite how fair you, you think you are, or, or how respectful you are coming off in terms of your questions, or, you know, dealings with people, some people, I think, just have their mind made-up already.

They're, they don't like police, no matter how nice you are, you know, for whatever reason that they have, you know, it's, their, their mind is made-up, they, they don't, they don't want to talk to you. No matter what you say or do, they're not going to trust or believe anything you say.

Finally, Participant 8 relayed,

A lot of times, even if we try to explain it to them, and we try to treat them fairly and with respect, they are still upset with us because they're simply, it's not going the way they wanted it to go. And those are the situations, like I said, where you have to just not take it personally, do what you have to do, follow the rules, do your job well, and let it wash out. Some people are going to be upset no matter what you do, and you got to stop being so defensive, and just, it is what it is.

### ***Subtheme C: Participants' Feelings***

The majority of the participants described feeling good and rewarded when succeeding in using procedural justice to build trusting or cooperative relationships. For example, Participant 11 conveyed:

It feels good when, like, you deal with somebody who has obviously had a previous bad experience with an officer, or all they know is what they hear on the news or social media and think all cops are like that, and you're able to, like, connect with them, and, I think to myself, 'well, hopefully that changed a little bit of their perspective,' and it feels good. I specifically had a traffic stop on a known known gang member and after having a conversation with him about why I



stopped him, I believe this one was for headlight, he actually reached out and wanted to shake my hand. Makes you feel good.

Similarly, Participant 12 told me:

I would say it's relieving for both me as an officer and, and them, whether they're a witness, third party civilian, suspect, even. I would say it is relieving for all parties when the explanation of that why, for example, is accepted. I would say it feels rewarding is an accurate term.

Participant 1 was discussing how it feels when implementing procedural justice, especially after another officer had failed to, and told me:

Oh it's been times I felt awkward. It's been times I've definitely felt, you know, happy, and felt like I made a deposit. But there's been times where I know for sure that the individual is not being heard by another officer, you know, the other officer might think the person is lying and I'm like 'hey man, like, I don't think he's lying. I think he's maybe telling the truth, we probably should, you know, investigate this a little further.' That's the awkward moment, you know, when you step up and you, you're trying to give everybody a voice and make sure you're impartial, but not every officer is, that's the awkward part of it. But in terms of, you know, the end result, I've always felt, you know, felt good about it.

Both Participants 2 and 3 discussed situations where a racial minority citizen was initially upset, but they were able to employ the tenets of procedural justice and secure a positive ending. Participant 2 recalled, "you know, when we could get him to understand that we weren't out to get him, and we're different from those other officers, and see us in a

positive light, you know, it was a good feeling.” Likewise, Participant 3 shared, “and so I, I think that was a really cool moment, that she wanted to hug me. I mean, where I work, southeast [city redacted], where it’s a majority of minority groups, it was nice.”

Continuing, Participants 4 and 8 were very brief in their responses; Participant 4 stated, “yeah, it does feel good to do that,” while Participant 8 conveyed, “I think most of the time, it feels good.” Participant 7 went on to discuss how it feels succeeding when other officers fail, telling me:

It makes me feel good when I can get across to somebody that may struggle speaking to another officer because, you know, maybe some words were said and maybe somebody’s a little amped up or something. But I, I always, it makes me feel good to calm down a situation that other people have struggled with.

Participant 5 summed up the positive feelings by stating:

I mean, it feels good when we have a positive outcome. It feels really good knowing that, you know, you treated this person just like a normal person, and you just, I mean, it just, it feels good in a way because, you know, that at the end of the day, you can lay your head down and not feel like you’re a bad person

Finally, Participants 3 and 10 relayed that when the opposite happens and they are unable to contribute to a trusting or cooperative relationship, it results in feelings of frustration. Participant 3 told me about a parking dispute where one of the parties refused to listen and cooperate, but instead screamed at him regardless of how procedurally just he treated her. Participant 3 stated,

That was frustrating as I was talking calmly like this, trying to be like, 'hey, listen, like I get that you're frustrated. But my hands are tied, like, there's nothing I can do.' And she just, she just was, she was just so mad that nothing I said would was gonna change her attitude. So that was frustrating."

Participant 10 shared that it is frustrating when trying to explain to someone why he is doing what he is doing, and the person is not cooperating:

Sometimes people just don't want to hear it. You know, they'll just kind of talk over us, saying that we're making it up or, you know, we stopped them for no reason or whatever. And it's like that part can be kind of frustrating, because the guys that I work with on a daily basis are all pretty proactive and pretty read up on Supreme Court rulings. We know several court cases by hand that allow us to do things in certain scenarios when it, when it comes to our safety. And we will gladly share those to the public, but people usually don't care that and don't want to listen and it's frustrating.

## **Theme 2: Giving Citizens a Voice Is the Most Effective and Important Tenet of Procedural Justice**

Although the participants were asked about all of the tenets of procedural justice, giving citizens a voice clearly emerged as the most important principle when interacting with racial minority citizens and attempting to build trusting relationships. The first subtheme that emerged was that when officers take time to listen and give a voice to racial minority citizens, particularly when the scene is hostile or tensions are high, emotions typically lower, scenes are deescalated, and cooperation is typically achieved.

The second subtheme to emerge was that when officers not only listen, but also take the time to explain things so that the citizen understands and feels heard, the same results are achieved: emotions are usually lowered, and the officers can contribute to building trusting relationships. The final subtheme to emerge was that giving citizens a voice goes hand in hand with the tenets of fairness and respect.

***Subtheme A: Giving Citizens a Voice Lowers Emotions, Deescalates Situations, and Achieves Cooperation***

The categories that made up this subtheme included listening helps, listening/giving a voice reduces emotions, and listening fosters cooperation. Three-quarters of the participants reported that when they encounter situations where tensions are high, citizens are upset with them or others, that when they allow the citizen to vent or explain why they did what they did, that more often than not, the citizen calms down and the participants were able to accomplish their goal.

For example, Participant 3 expressed,

If you listen, and you let them talk, and even if they're mad, and like, let them yell at you for a minute, like, that's like, it's not hurting anything, right? And most of the time, from my experience, it's so much better afterwards, you know. Like, that they got that out.

Participant 11 told me about a partner that goes the extra mile to make people feel heard, and the effects that it has, stating:

He makes them feel like he actually wants to hear them and understand, and is just fair with them, and every single time, everyone just starts relaxing and

everyone ends up calm. It's not that the rest of us officers were being rude or anything, but you can tell when he just makes them feel heard, it calms people down. Most of the time, anyway.

Participant 1 explained,

You know, when you respond to the domestic incidents between, you know, the mother and the kid or mom and boyfriend or whatever, and everybody is screaming, you're separating them, but you know, I've learned to allow them to just scream and yell. Because it's not at you, you know, it's, it's more so just them trying to get out what they think needs to get out to make them calm down and they just want someone to listen to them. I think, I think more so with the older individuals, you know, that have been around more than a few times and have had involvement with police, who are used to not having a voice in most instances, like they just, they just simply got arrested or ticketed in the past. And when you give them that voice, they feel like, you know, you're someone they can trust. And they can build a relationship with you, and it's, you know, oh, thank you officer [redacted], I appreciate you, man. You know, it works. So yeah, that why I think it's beneficial. It doesn't matter what the scene is, let people be heard because then they feel they can talk to you freely and they can calm down and have some peace in their heart about whatever incident or issues there are.

Participant 2 conveyed a similar sentiment:

I mean, being heard and having a voice is what makes people feel comfortable because I could be writing somebody a ticket, but if they feel heard and

understood, you know, that's good. Say you respond to a domestic situation, you're going in there possibly to try to tell a grown man what to do, in his own home, like, yeah, that doesn't sit well for most people, and that's where giving somebody a voice and letting them speak their mind can help deescalate the situation. Or sometimes, you know, people are very amped up, and they're yelling, and they're angry, and, you know, you can you let them get that off their chest and it helps deescalate the situation.

Participant 5 had the following thoughts:

I think that with the procedural justice, I think that I learned to listen to people a little bit more. And, you know, we talk about how people like to tell their story and they like to feel heard, so since being through all that training, I think that that definitely helps on the street.

Continuing, Participant 6 relayed,

Basically, give them time to either explain themselves or vent, or just giving them the opportunity to speak to you and not, you know, to hold off judgment. I'm sure you've been on several scenes where, you know, you're, you're going up to somebody and they're screaming and yelling and, it's not you, they're not angry at you, they're angry at the situation that they found themselves in, you know, or whatever is occurring. So giving them the opportunity to, like, let that get out of their system before you, you know, have a an actual conversation with them.

Participant 7 described how making people feel like you are actually listening to them and that they are truly being heard goes a long way, explaining:

Most of the time, people are just upset that they don't think the officer is taking them seriously or that they're not being heard. So just taking them to the side, one-on-one, and trying to speak to them. Then they at least feel that they're being heard. And that gives you a basis for the rest of the process to work a little bit more smoothly. And it's something as simple as like writing it down. If they see you writing things down, they feel like their voice is being heard. So even if you have the world's most amazing memory, just the simple tool of writing something down so that they don't feel like you're gonna shortchange the report, it just, it goes a long long way to building that trust, making them feel that they have the voice and then everything else will just proceed, usually much, much better from that point.

Participant 8 concurred, sharing,

By recording what they're saying and recording their problems, you are giving them a voice. Like this silly police report I was typing, neighbors smoking weed in their apartment, not a lot we can do about that. But even by just listening to him, telling him that yes, I will write a police report even though it's not going to go anywhere. But at least he feels at this point that someone is listening to him.

Finally, Participant 4 was describing their experiences working during the riots and interacting with people who were present, telling me:

I remember one of them asking me straight up, do you think George Floyd should be dead? And I'm like, no, he should not be dead. He should be in prison, but he shouldn't be dead. And like opening up that dialogue, like, she just needed to hear

a police officer, a white police officer, say that to her, and listen to her side, you know. So, you know, it helps, that whole idea of dialogue between the two sides during the tense situation helps kind of bridge that gap.

***Subtheme B: When Officers Listen and Then Explain Things, Citizens Respond Positively and Deescalate***

The participants discussed that when they not only listened and gave citizens a voice but went a step further to explain things to people so that they understood and felt as if they were indeed heard, citizens overwhelmingly responded positively, and trusting relationships can emerge. Categories included explaining things and citizen understands and feels heard. For example, Participant 3 stated,

I don't *have* to explain myself. I don't *have* to let people know what I'm doing and why I'm doing it. But it definitely helps in certain situations when the opportunity presents itself to explain, hey, this is how we got here, this is why this decision, you know, whatever that may be. And I've noticed a lot of times that when I do that, people end up calming down.

Participant 7 described the successes he has had when making traffic stops, taking the time to listen and then explain to the driver why things were happening the way they were, and then giving the person a voice in the matter, relaying:

I think that giving them a voice and fully explaining what's going on is huge for the interaction and that's why I get thank yous when I give a ticket, or I've even given people the option, do you want me to give you a ticket or do you want me



to tow the car, and they make the decision on it, they feel like they have a say in the decision, in their own penalty, which I think goes a hell of a long way.

Moving on, Participant 5 offered, “instead of going in guns blazing, I think that a lot can happen with just explaining to them, you know, why we’re doing this or that,” while Participant 9 said concisely, “explaining things to people does, it does help.” Participant 10 has similar thoughts, telling me:

Explaining why we’re doing something, I think, goes a long way into helping interactions go, go smoothly, you know. We’ve had a lot of situations where, you know, you’re kind of thinking beforehand, like, oh, this could really pop off or go badly. But, you know, we, we go into it, calm, not freaking out or pointing guns or doing something crazy, but just, you know, trying to say, hey, so and so, he’s got a warrant. We just need to take care of it. It’s not a big deal, but blah blah. You know, sometimes that works, sometimes it doesn’t. But you know, I’ve definitely seen it work.

Participant 4 shared the following example:

You know, if I do have to handcuff them, I explain it, like, hey, I’m the only officer on scene right now, I’m gonna need to handcuff you because I’m going to turn my back to you, you know, it’s like, I explain it to them. And I found that they’re, they’re a lot more receptive to it. And, maybe it’s a little less degrading to them when they see it from our perspective.

Similarly, Participant 2 told me,

Explaining things to people, letting them understand what's going on, because they don't necessarily understand what our protocols, our procedures are, or how we're supposed to deal with a specific situation, it helps. And if, if you're not kind of almost walking them through the situation and treating them like a person, you have a possibility to aggravate the situation and make it worse; whereas just the simple explanation, or you know, kind of giving them humility, helps the situation overall.

Participant 11 shared how the training helped him to understand the value of explaining things to people, telling me that it certainly works on the street. Participant 11 stated,

I think the training made me a little bit more aware of the importance of explaining things to people. Basically, just explaining our jobs to the public when we're dealing with them on the road, I think, too many times I think, I've thought, well, the cops show up, people don't fully understand what's going on but the cops are doing what they're doing and you know, that's just the way it works, and goodbye. So the, taking that extra minute, when it's safe, to talk to the public and explain why we do what we do and what we're doing, hey, you did this, so we got to do this, because that's how it works. I think the training helped me in that aspect because I never would have thought of that, but, that's, I've seen, what really works with having people understand and I guess trust us.

Finally, Participant 12 summed it up by offering:

One of the universal truths is people want to know why. And that's come to light as the years progress and I gain more experience as a police officer that, that, you

know, people *do* want to know the *why* to what is happening. Whether you're giving them a, a command and telling them to get back, or interviewing or questioning in terms of a criminal investigation, people, people certainly want to know why. So, I think that, that portion certainly pays a huge profit.

***Subtheme C: Giving a Voice Goes Hand in Hand With the Tenets of Fairness and Respect***

The final subtheme that emerged was that giving citizens a voice goes hand in hand with the tenets of fairness and respect in achieving cooperative, trusting relationships. For example, Participant 4 explained,

Nobody wants to be treated unfairly, and nobody wants to believe that they're not being heard, you know? Sometimes, even just letting them vent, even though you can't change their situation at all, um, is very healing to them if you make them feel like you heard them and, you know, respected at least. Like, I can't change your situation, I can't help you, but I'm sorry you're going through that. You know, um, things like that would help. Cause, I mean, that's, that's a, that's the humanity thing across the board. It doesn't matter what your race or gender or anything is. Just being heard is helpful.

Participant 2 posited,

I think the important part about employing procedural justice is, is back to the, the fairness and respect, but I think it also mitigates a lot of risk when you're treating somebody with the fairness and respect, and you let them feel heard. You're not going to incite a situation. I mean, being heard and having a voice is what makes

people feel comfortable because I could be writing somebody a ticket, but if they feel heard and understood, you know, that's good. And as long as I'm not coming up there and treating them like, you know, my 6-year-old child and belittling them, I can walk away and get a thank you while giving somebody a ticket and they understand the situation at hand.

Similarly, Participant 1 told me,

If they feel that, you know, they have a voice, and you see them as a person, and they're not just being looked at as, you know, a piece of meat to be arrested, yeah, they're, they're, they're, they're gonna, they're gonna cooperate with police.

Participant 5 went on to explain that:

It can literally change the outcome of the whole scenario when you're treating people based off of the, off of your procedural justice training, you know, you're treating them with respect. You're allowing them an opportunity to be heard, and you're being fair. That can make things go positive versus the opposite, where if you're treating the minority in this situation differently than the person next to them, they're obviously going to feel some type of way and it's not gonna be a good thing.

Next, Participant 7 conveyed,

I think the two things that are most important, as far as like principles of procedural justice, would be the treating people with dignity and respect and then giving citizens a voice during the encounters. Like, that trust is going to be built, or ruined, essentially immediately.

Participant 6 described a traffic stop he had where a car swerved into his lane, almost striking him, and how he allowed the driver to explain what happened, stating:

When you approach people that way, with just some respect, I mean it's, it's the, you know, the old, you know, you get more bees with honey, right? You're respectful and give somebody a voice and they're able to, you know, feel comfortable with you and talk to you. And then, of course, you're going to get, it's just going to be an easier interaction overall.

Participant 3 went on to say:

Obviously, equal treatment, fairness, and respect, but I really feel like building the trust comes with giving the citizens a voice. They feel that you're, that they're, you're eye to eye with them, and that everyone is on an even level, everyone is on the same page, and they feel respected. It may not be the outcome that they wanted it to be. But they trust that you've heard them and you have the full story instead of them believing, well, he heard the other half and he only took like 30 seconds with me, so they're biased. Or he already had his decision made-up at that point. So I think giving citizens a voice really builds that rapport, really builds that trust.

Finally, Participant 11 relayed that,

When they feel like they've been heard, they think they've gotten their whole story out and everything else, and that you haven't taken one side or the other, it matters. And you've got to be fair. If you're talking to somebody and you've spoken to them for 10 minutes on scene and then you go to talk to the other party,

and you only speak to them for two minutes, well then they feel, well, my opinion doesn't matter, that the cops don't care, they're not fair, they've already made up their mind and everything else.

### **Theme 3: The Way People Are Treated Matters More Than the Outcome and Influences How They Later View Police**

The two subthemes that emerged for this theme were that the way citizens are treated typically matters more than the outcome (e.g., warning, ticket, arrest), and that the way they are treated influences how the person might view or act towards police at later encounters; that procedural justice influences perceived legitimacy.

#### ***Subtheme A: Treatment Matters More Than Outcome***

Most of the participants explained that the way the police treat a citizen during an encounter contributes more towards trusting relationships than the outcome of the encounter. For example, Participant 11 offered:

I think it's more of how the officer treats them at that point, especially if the officer is able to defuse a situation and have a conversation about, like, hey, this is why I stopped you. I know I've specifically issued tickets for speeding, reckless driving, and everything else, and I've gotten, "well, have a nice day, officer. I appreciate it. Thank you" because of how I treat them with respect and like adults. Yeah, I do think nine times out of 10 it's going to be how the officer, how the encounter with the officer went, not necessarily whether they got a ticket or warning or whatever, but how the officer made them feel.

Participant 1 echoed this by stating:

I mean, the way they're treated, I don't think the individual really cares if the officer gives them a ticket or even really explains the ticket, if the officer has a good decorum about them the entire time. I think no matter what, whether the individual knows they were wrong, or, or in the wrong, if the officer treats them fairly and has a good decorum, the individual is usually fine with that. However, if it's the other way around, if the officer does not have a good decorum and they're just being a jerk, then the person is going to be upset regardless of what happens. So, the way they are treated definitely will make or break the encounter.

Participant 2 relayed,

I think how you deal with the situation plays a significant role, how you handle the situation, and if you handle it properly, I think a ticket or a warning really doesn't become that much of a factor as much as how you handle them or treat them. I think the only time, like, the outcome matters, is if you handle the whole situation negatively and you're belittling somebody or making them feel unnerved, a ticket would be, you know, almost like putting salt in the wound.

Participant 12 conveyed a similar sentiment, stating:

I bring my tone down, my presence down, in the sense of they're human and made a mistake. And when you, I think, approach it from that perspective, the respect and fairness to them, you know, despite whatever mistake that they made, they're like, okay, this guy's just doing his job. I mean, I think treating people with fairness and respect and just, you know, as, as a human, certainly deescalates

and, and gains their, their trust and cooperation more times than not, you know, regardless if you give them a ticket or a warning.

Participants 3 and 7 both described traffic stops they have had where they either had to fight the person or issued numerous tickets because of the situation at hand, but because they still treated the person with the tenets of procedural justice the entire time, that the person ended up thanking them, despite being at jail or receiving tickets. Additionally, Participant 10 conveyed,

I think, you know, how you treat somebody, even if you give them a ticket or an arrest, it goes a long way. And, you know, I've had people that we've had to arrest for one thing or another, but they were fine with me and I was fine with them. And you know, they, they said, "yeah, you, you haven't treated me poorly or anything like that", you know. And I think that goes a long way into possibly their next interaction with the police.

Finally, Participant 9 offered a similar statement but from a different perspective, relaying "an example, like, if I get pulled over and I was doing something wrong, and the officer is very polite, you know, and still writes me a ticket, I think I would still have generally a positive experience."

### ***Subtheme B: Procedural Justice Influences Perceived Legitimacy***

The second subtheme that emerged was that the way officers treat someone, whether according to the tenets of procedural justice or not, might influence how that person views or interacts with police at any subsequent encounters, thus either contributing to trusting relationships or destroying them. As Participant 10 stated,



I think the biggest importance is, uh, treating people with procedural justice so that they are not scared to call the police when they're in trouble. And on that note, like, if I'm on the side of the road getting my butt kicked by somebody, maybe a person stops because they think, hey, officer so and so was nice to me that one time and I have this respect for police officers dealing with people who may not be productive members of society and try to tear us down every day. Having that one good interaction with somebody, you know, maybe he decides not to pull a gun on the next officer he comes across because the first officer left such a good impact.

Likewise, Participant 2 conveyed that,

I think you can create enemies for the police in just how you handle a situation and how you deal with people, and I don't think a lot of officers take into account, like, you might need that person's help someday, or you might have just created a problem for your coworker the next time they have to deal with that person.

Participant 8 went on to say,

We're fighting an uphill battle because of social media, and all we can do is the best we can do. You know, there's been hundreds of times, where I've had to say, like, I'm, I'm not that officer on that social media that you saw. I'm Officer [redacted] and I'm trying to have a conversation with you and figure out what's going on. So I don't know what the story was with whatever cop video you saw, but let's just, you and me, have a conversation here. And I've had to do that hundreds of times, just, because, you know, some family member had a, a bad

experience with an officer or somebody saw something on social media, and now *I'm* paying for that.

Participant 7 also posited that:

They need a voice when we're doing our policing, and they, you know, a lot of the community wants to be engaged with police officers, which is, you know, another tenet, get that community engagement because that's going to lead to cooperation with police investigations. And you know, that's the kind of thing that leads to those videos you see on the internet of citizens coming to an officer's aid. They've probably had a chance to meet officers and a chance to discuss with officers and get their point of view.

Continuing, Participant 5 explained,

People who have their own stories of, you know, bad interactions with police. And they obviously tell you. So I would, I would say, their stories, so, like you hear about how unfairly they were treated in the past, and you, it just makes you want to do better for not only for that person, but, like one person can have an influence on like 10 people and so not only do you have one person thinking that police are bad, they're going to go around and tell their friends, and then you're going to have 10 people also feel that way just by hearing their story. So I guess the, the big thing that I want to do is make sure that there's good stories about me floating around on the street and not bad ones.

Participant 4 shared,

I can actually think of one particular time on a traffic stop where I was upset about something and I misinterpreted what the lady was saying about something, and I got really upset with her. And when I got back to my car, it was kind of, more of a, once, once I got out of that space and got back to my car and started looking into it, I realized I don't think she was saying this, I think she was saying this. I actually went back and apologized to her. Because, you know, I knew if I didn't, that would, you know, leave a bad taste in her mouth.

Finally, Participants 1 and 3 also talked about how the way citizens are treated can lead to relationships of information sharing that the police so desperately need. Participant 1 told me,

Citizens must believe in the Police Department in more ways than one, especially if we want them to also be a part of, you know, the homicide rates going down, or the, the solvability of other crimes. So when it comes to, you know, procedural justice, I think that it's, it's very imperative that we build that relationship in more ways than one. Then when it comes time to talk with you or another officer reference some other crime, to help us solve it, they'll be inclined to speak with you about it.

Participant 3 shared the following story:

Just the other night, all I did was talk to this guy. I didn't charge him. I found a bunch meth pipes on him. Like 12. I didn't charge him. I transported him to the Fourth and Wells area. And that whole way there, I just talked to him. And just

asked how his day was, what was going on, blah blah, you know, treated him like a person, and he gave me a bunch of information about people selling crack.

#### **Theme 4: Procedural Justice Training Helped Participants Understand Different Cultures, Which Prepared Them to Implement Procedural Justice**

The fourth theme to emerge was that the training helped officers understand, appreciate, and empathize with different cultures, which prepared them for implementing procedural justice. Subthemes identified were understanding the impact of historical police treatment of racial minorities and understanding cultural differences.

##### ***Subtheme A: Impact of Historical Police Treatment of Racial Minorities***

The categories that this subtheme was comprised of were history, empathy towards different cultures, and realize racial minority point of view. The participants discussed their experiences with procedural justice training and how it opened their eyes to reasons why racial minorities might have a distrust for them right off the bat, as well as talked about their perceptions of how the training influenced them to have more empathy with racial minority citizens, oftentimes by putting themselves in a racial minority person's shoes, which in turn helped them remember the importance of the tenets of procedural justice.

For example, Participant 11 stated,

I guess the training made me realize and be conscious about, you could say, that the senior minorities would have, would definitely have a different outlook on how police are and everything else, just from, from living through the civil rights era. That wasn't, uh, something I thought about or even realized I needed to think

about prior to the training, but that's not too long ago, when you really think about it, and that people that have went through that are still alive and still around. So, I guess you could say it was an eye opener, right, and I hope if I do come across somebody like that, who feels that way, I can hopefully change their mind that, yes, policing has changed over the past, you know, few decades, for the better.

Participant 4 shared a similar sentiment, that the training helped her understand history's influence on current police–community relations:

You could try to show more grace because when you realize how close the civil rights movement was to our time in history, it really does make sense that they're still, especially the older generation, still talking about it, and that the younger generation, who's been taught by the older generation not to trust the police, you have to keep that in the back of your head and be a little more understanding.

Participant 4 went on to tell me a story about taking a burglary report from a racial minority female, and when Participant 4 asked via her radio for a report number, the dispatcher responded and Participant 4 wrote down the report number and handed it to the female. Participant 4 relayed that the female immediately seemed upset and accused her of making the report number up rather than actually giving her a real one. Participant 4 said she instantly thought back to the procedural justice training and how perhaps this racial minority had been mistreated or lied to in the past by officers, and realized that this female was not aware that Participant 4 was wearing an earpiece in which

the report number was broadcasted through. After Participant 4 explained this, the female seemed more at ease.

Continuing, participants 1, 5, 6, and 8 all explained that the training helped them realize that racial minority citizens may have either been mistreated themselves by police, leading to current distrust, or that they may have been taught by family members to distrust police because of what the family members went through, and thus they should not take it personally. For example, Participant 5 stated,

I think that I definitely have to think about it sometimes, not necessarily treating people fairly, but like I mentioned before, how sometimes people can just have a bad, bad feeling about police just from previous experiences. I, I think that I have to think about, that, sometimes, when somebody is, you know, yelling at us or calling us names, trying to run from us, whatever. I kind of have to think back to that, especially when we catch the person.

Participant 1 echoed this sentiment by conveying: "I always tell myself it's not about you, you know? They, they, they may be upset with you and saying this and that about you, but it's not about you, it's about your uniform" and that the training helps him to put himself in the "citizen's shoes to understand they have some experiences I never thought they would have, and that makes sense of why they had, feel a certain way about police."

Participant 8 shared similar thoughts:

Not living through the Civil Rights Movement myself, I see it as being in the distant past and I forget that there are many people who saw that, lived through that, saw the ugliness of it. And of course, they're still scarred from it. So I should

be more understanding of them. And to remember that the reason why these people think that way is not because they're mad at me personally, but that they were mad at the system and the way they've been treated historically.

Participant 12 explained to me how the training helped him realize that not everyone, especially racial minority citizens, might always view police officers as heroes, stating that the training:

Just sort of drove home the point, like, not everybody views your profession, or our profession, the same as you. They may have had a bad experience or, or what have you. But yeah, that, that sort of was eye opening in the sense of not everybody, you know, looks at police officers in a in a positive way. Growing up, firefighters and police officers, you know, they're heroes, they're first responders, people can trust them. So then being exposed to the contrary, I would say, that, it certainly opened my eyes, that knowledge that came from that procedural justice class.

Continuing, Participant 1 shared,

The training came from what police did to certain minorities over time, so I think once you go through the training, you have more empathy and you're, you're more aware of why certain groups and certain cultures and races and etcetera act a certain way and you have more empathy, you have more empathy when dealing with them.

Participant 4 explained how she never realized prior to the training that handcuffing a racial minority citizen might be degrading or humiliating to them, and how it is important to understand that in order to improve relations:

If you don't try to see it from another person's perspective, if you don't understand their defensiveness or their weariness or their reason why they feel that way, if you don't try to see something from somebody else's perspective, you're just gonna perpetuate the problem. And as I've said before in this interview, we need citizens. We can't police citizens without the help of citizens.

Finally, Participant 8 told me about a time when a racial minority female citizen became upset with Participant 8, and how the training helped Participant 8 realize:

I needed to be more empathetic with her position and understand why she feels like she's not being treated fairly, that it could be because she actually lived through the civil rights era and saw black people thrown in jail because they wanted to use the same bathroom as white people, so it helped me to remember to consider their perspective.

### ***Subtheme B: Understanding Cultural Differences***

Understanding cultural differences is crucial for officers to succeed when interacting with racial minority citizens, or with any cultures different from their own. Otherwise, the interaction can turn hostile, and become the opposite of a procedurally just encounter. As Participant 7 explained:

If you're stepping into somebody's culture, you should have a general idea of what their culture is, otherwise you'll end up making a mistake that you didn't



even intend to. And now that person is set against you, they're offended, and that's it's hard to salvage that.

Participant 1 noted,

It's about, hey, like, this how people are, you know, they're just yelling because it's how they talk. But, you know, if you're not used to this, you think they're yelling at you and then you're gonna, you know, start yelling back at them and nothing gets resolved. I know that African Americans nine times out of 10, the way we come across in terms of our messaging, we're going to be very loud. We're, it's not intentional, but a lot of my co-workers didn't understand that, so I, I think from their perspective, that was eye opening for them. So the, the, the, the procedural justice class allowed me to have a little bit more insight even about my own race and culture.

Further, Participant 2 reiterated,

Sometimes, you know, people are very amped up, and they're yelling and they're angry, and, you know, you can, you let them get that off their chest and it helps deescalate the situation. Some officers will need to understand, also, that, different cultural backgrounds talk different. They talk in different tones, and understanding those are all cues on dealing with the situation, you know. You may think somebody, you may think somebody is being aggressive or rude, but it's really just their, almost a cultural norm, and understanding that helps a lot.

Participant 3 shared a similar observation, that some races and cultures do not give eye contact, which is important to understand when seeking to connect. Continuing,

Participant 4 explained that although the training did not influence their view on racial minorities, it helped understand subcultures better. Participant 12 summed it up by saying:

One of the positives is, that, you know, some, some recruits that, who may have gone to the small school or predominantly all white school, they may not have a full understanding of, of different cultures. So I think in that perspective it was certainly beneficial to, the exposure that people get to, you know, other cultures or races or backgrounds than, that, that may be different than theirs.

### **Summary**

The purpose of this study was to understand the lived experiences of police officers trained in the tenets of procedural justice and their perceptions of how that training influenced the way they interact with racial minority citizens, as well as their perceptions of how it influenced their ability to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens, so that policymakers can be informed on whether this training impacts the way officers interact with racial minority citizens and if it properly equips them to build trust and increase respect between police and racial minority citizens. The research question and subquestion that needed answered was RQ: What are the lived experiences of police patrol officers trained in procedural justice when interacting with racial minority citizens? and SQ: What are the experiences of police patrol officers using procedural justice to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens?

I discovered four main themes (each with subthemes) that answer both of these research questions. The first theme was the perceptions of effects on citizens behavior,

namely that citizens typically respond positively when procedural justice is implemented, but that there are some citizens who will never respect and cooperate with police regardless of how they are treated, and that it is better for the officers to just accept it and cut their losses than try to force them to change. The second theme was that giving citizens a voice is the most important and effective tenet of procedural justice because doing so lowers emotions, deescalates situations, helps people feel heard, and goes hand in hand with fairness and respect. The third theme was that the way people are treated matters more than the outcome of the interaction and influences how that person later views police, and the final theme was that the training helped the participants implement procedural justice because it helped them understand different cultures and the impact of historical of police treatment of racial minorities. These themes were described in detail using direct quotes from the participants' transcribed interviews.

In Chapter 5, I provide an interpretation of the findings, the limitations of this study, and any recommendations for future research. I conclude with the implications for positive social change.

## Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study was to understand the lived experiences of police officers trained in procedural justice and their perceptions of how that training influenced the way they interact with racial minority citizens, as well as their perceptions of how the training influenced their ability to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens. When police employ procedural justice, citizens are more likely to see the police as legitimate, meaning citizens are more likely to cooperate with and trust police, both at the time of the encounter and later (Antrobus et al., 2018; Mazerolle et al., 2012; Skogan et al., 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Trinkner et al., 2019; Tyler et al., 2007; Worden et al., 2020). The current study was needed because most of the existing research focused on the perceptions of citizens when interacting with police (Bond et al., 2015; Fildes et al., 2019; Trinkner et al., 2019) or quantitatively examined the impact of procedural justice on citizens' cooperation, trust, and perceived legitimacy of the police (Trinkner et al., 2019). Antrobus et al. (2018), Bond et al. (2015), Nagin and Telep (2017), Radburn et al. (2022), and Urbanska et al. (2019) reported the necessity of using methodologies other than quantitative to understand procedural justice and the attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions of the officers themselves. Therefore, I explored the lived experiences of police patrol officers trained in procedural justice when interacting with and attempting to build trusting relationships with racial minority citizens.

The first key finding was that most citizens respond positively when procedural justice is implemented, but some citizens will not cooperate regardless of how they are

treated. The next key finding was that the tenet of giving citizens a voice is the most important and effective tenet of procedural justice because when officers employ it, they typically see citizens' emotions lower and scenes deescalate. The third key finding was that the way people are treated matters more than the outcome of the encounter and influences the citizen's perceived legitimacy of police, both at the time of the encounter and later. The final key finding was that the training helped the participants understand aspects of different cultures, which prepared them to implement procedural justice.

### **Interpretation of the Findings**

The findings of this study extend the knowledge regarding procedural justice and police legitimacy by addressing the lack of qualitative research on this phenomenon and exploring the lived experiences of police officers trained in procedural justice when interacting with racial minority citizens. Purposeful random sampling and semistructured interviews allowed me to gather rich, thick data from which the following themes and subthemes emerged.

#### **Theme 1: Perceptions of the Effects of Procedural Justice on Citizens' Behavior**

Three subthemes emerged within this main theme, the first being that when officers treat citizens according to the tenets of procedural justice, most citizens respond positively. This aligns with the literature examined in Chapter 2 and the theoretical foundation of this study, Tyler's procedural justice theory. Sunshine and Tyler (2003) explained that the public is more likely to cooperate with the police when the police employ the tenets of procedural justice. The findings of the current qualitative study confirm this. Most of the participants offered experiences about employing procedural

justice from the start of an encounter, as well as employing procedural justice after a fellow officer did not. Participants reported that regardless of when the tenets of procedural justice are implemented, citizens tend to listen to and cooperate with the officers, resulting in a safe encounter for everyone. This supports Tyler's (2003) finding that there is a correlation between how people perceive the police are treating them and how likely they are to respect and cooperate with police.

Sunshine and Tyler (2003) and Mazerolle et al. (2012) quantitatively tested this, with Sunshine and Tyler mailing surveys to citizens in New York and Mazerolle et al. handing out surveys after citizens in Australia went through a DUI checkpoint. Both studies quantitatively supported the theory that when the police implement the tenets of procedural justice, more often than not the citizens respond positively in terms of cooperation, respect, and trust. In the current study, Participants 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, and 12 conveyed the same sentiments. As Hinds and Murphy (2007) noted, a person's fear of being caught or going to jail does not influence their desire to respect and cooperate with police nearly as much as the way they are treated by police. This concept can be an easy yet critical construct that should be stressed to all police officers, both during their initial training and subsequent training.

The second subtheme that emerged offered an opposing insight from the first subtheme: Sometimes, regardless of how procedurally just a person is treated by police, some people will not cooperate and respect the police, and the police need to accept that and move on. Although it was beyond the scope of the current study to assign a cause for this mindset, Törnblom and Vermunt (2007) noted that when a police-citizen encounter

progresses differently than how the citizen thinks it should go (regardless of whether the police truly are misbehaving or the citizen is perceiving mistreatment), the perceived discrepancy between what the citizen expects and perceives can result in the citizen being angry, violent, and uncooperative. This was echoed in later research by Schuck and Martin (2013) and Marier and Moule (2018) who noted that when a citizen feels that they are not being treated with respect, equality, or fairness (whether real or perceived), the encounter can often end in hostility. The participants in my study reported that it is better to accept when a person does not want to cooperate or respect them and cut their losses, rather than try to argue or force cooperation and respect. This concept should be stressed to officers new and old: Rather than continue to argue with a person, which could further escalate a situation, officers should fulfil their duties and disengage.

The final subtheme was that officers feel good and rewarded when they are able to use procedural justice to build trusting or cooperative relationships with racial minority citizens. Participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, and 12 used various adjectives to describe their feelings: good, relieving, rewarding, happy, nice, and really cool. Participants 3 and 10 relayed that it feels frustrating when they are not able to succeed in this. Gau and Paul (2019), Jenkins (2016), and Lurigio and Skogan (1994) found that officers in general are very supportive of improving police–community relations, which is why President Obama’s proposed 3-year, \$200 million investment in improving relations and community-oriented policing programs was so well received (Executive Office of the President, 2014; Lee et al., 2019). The findings of the current study not only support the current body of research but offer additional insight into the experiences of officers

succeeding in improving relations by implementing procedural justice. This knowledge may be helpful to share with future attendees of procedural justice training when striving to achieve buy-in from those officers.

## **Theme 2: Giving Citizens a Voice Is the Most Effective and Important Tenet of Procedural Justice**

When officers take time to listen and give a voice to racial minority citizens, particularly when scenes are tense and emotions are high, those emotions typically lower, scenes are deescalated, and cooperation typically ensues. Further, when the police not only listen and give citizens a voice but go a step further and explain things to people so that they understand and feel as if they were heard, citizens respond positively, and trusting relationships emerge. Not surprisingly, this treatment goes hand in hand with the tenets of fairness and respect in achieving cooperative, trusting relationships.

These findings extend the body of knowledge regarding the effects of procedural justice on police legitimacy by offering insight into the lived experiences of police officers employing the tenets of procedural justice. Quantitative research indicated that when the police succeed in making a person feels respected and treated with fairness and equality, the more likely that person is to view the police as legitimate (Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Mazerolle et al., 2012; Skogan et al., 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Wheller et al., 2013). However, previous research predominantly addressed police–public interactions as either short-term interactions, failing to examine longer interactions (e.g., when someone is in custody; Radburn et al., 2022; Radburn & Stott, 2019), or as simple, interpersonal exchanges between two people (Radburn et al., 2022). Police–citizen encounters are more



complex than this and required more in-depth study of the interactions and experiences of police, particularly when interacting with individuals in low-income neighborhoods (O'Brian et al, 2019; Urbanska et al., 2019). The current study was conducted to fill that gap by exploring how employing the tenets of procedural justice, particularly giving citizens a voice and treating them with fairness and respect, have contributed to gaining cooperating with racial minority citizens. Sharing these findings with policymakers may assist them with improving procedural justice training by offering lived experiences of the tenets in action.

### **Theme 3: The Way People Are Treated Matters More Than the Outcome and Influences How They Later View Police**

The first subtheme that emerged for this theme was the way citizens are treated typically matters more than the outcome (e.g., warning, ticket, arrest). Participants 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12 reported that citizens respond to and focus more on how they are treated by the police than whether they are being cited, arrested, or given a warning. Most participants talked about issuing citations and sometimes taking people to jail but still being thanked by the person because of how they were treated.

This aligns with the early research of Thibaut and Walker (1975) and later research by Tyler and Huo (2002), Sunshine and Tyler (2003), and Tyler (2003). Thibaut and Walker (1975) discovered that citizens who went through an adversarial court system reported a positive experience when they felt the process was fair, regardless of the outcome, as opposed to those who went through the same system and felt the process was unfair, also regardless of the outcome. Tyler and Huo (2002) reported the same: The

outcome of an enforcement encounter rarely affected the perceived legitimacy of the police regardless of whether the person was arrested, ticketed, or warned, as long as the person felt that they were treated fairly and equally. Tyler (2003) developed a process-based model of police legitimacy, explaining that there is a direct correlation between how likely a person is to cooperate with police with how they feel they are being treated; people are more concerned about how they are being treated than any philosophical beliefs about whether people should follow the law in the first place.

Current findings confirm what Sunshine and Tyler (2003) noted: When people are treated according to the tenets of procedural justice, they are more likely to view the police as legitimate and cooperate with them, both during the encounter and in the future. This led to the second subtheme that emerged: Procedural justice influences perceived legitimacy. When the police treat someone according to the principles of procedural justice, that may influence how that person views or interacts with the police at later encounters; it also influences their perceived legitimacy of the police. Sunshine and Tyler (2003) defined *police legitimacy* as a subjective belief held by a person about whether the police, or any authority, are a legitimate entity and should be cooperated with and obeyed. An overwhelming amount of research supports this; when a person feels as if the police treated them according to procedural justice, that person is motivated to cooperate and respect the police not only during the present encounter but in any future encounters regardless of the outcome (Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Mazerolle et al., 2012; Saarikkom, 2016; Skogan et al., 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Trinkner et al., 2019; Wheller et al., 2013).

On the other hand, a person can receive a warning rather than a ticket or arrest, but if they feel disrespected by the officer, they are less likely to view the police as legitimate and to cooperate in future encounters (Törnblom & Vermunt, 2007). Coon (2016) and Lee et al. (2019) discussed the importance of the public in providing information (e.g., helping solve crimes). This would be hard to achieve if the police have low levels of perceived legitimacy. Additionally, whether a citizen views the police as legitimate can have safety implications for the officers. The participants in my study explained that people who feel respected and treated right by the police may in the future not only provide them with crime-solving information but also come to their aid should they be in danger and need of assistance on the street.

#### **Theme 4: Procedural Justice Training Helped Participants Understand Different Cultures, Which Prepared Them to Implement Procedural Justice**

The final theme to emerge was that procedural justice training helped the participants to understand, appreciate, and empathize with different cultures, which prepared them to implement procedural justice. The first subtheme was that the training helped open the eyes of the participants to the impact of historical treatment of racial minorities by police, and why some racial minorities might not trust and respect the police from the start. The participants described how the training influenced them to have more empathy with racial minority citizens and to see things from their point of view, which helped participants remember the importance of procedural justice.

Mentel (2012) explained that officers hired in the past few decades did not live through the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, and at no fault of their own

may not be aware of the struggles that racial minority citizens faced or the destructive ways the police treated them. Police brutality has been around longer than that; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People began combating police brutality in the 1930s (Gillezeau, 2021; Sartain, 2013). Blatant police brutality was not the only factor that damaged police–community relations. Tough-on-crime policies throughout the 1960s and later decades led to the hiring of more police officers, assigning them to high-crime areas that were predominately populated by racial minority citizens and encouraging the officers to use aggressive tactics, thereby damaging relations even more (Cunningham & Gillezeau, 2021; Fridell & Lim, 2016; O’Reilly, 1988; Smith & Holmes, 2014; Stansfield, 2022).

The findings of the current study extend the body of knowledge regarding the impact of procedural justice by offering insights into the lived experiences of police officers working with racial minority citizens through the lens of procedural justice. When the participants were able to realize that racial minority citizens might have been hostile or unreceptive to them not out of malicious defiance but because of previous negative interactions with police or the historical mistreatment by police, the participants were able to bracket themselves and have a little extra patience and understanding. This knowledge may inform future police training with strategies to avoid escalating scenes due to a misunderstanding of the racial minority citizen’s mindset.

Additionally, this complements the findings of the second subtheme, that understanding cultural differences, norms, and mannerisms, is critical for officers to succeed when interacting with racial minority citizens or cultures different from their

own. Otherwise, an unpleasant, negative interaction may result, further hampering police–community relations. Law Enforcement of today does more than simply arrest people who break laws, which requires an understanding of various aspects of different cultures (e.g., how certain cultures communicate or do not communicate, how they speak, or what constitutes disrespect; Guo-Brennan & Guo-Brennan, 2022; Moon et al., 2018). The findings support that when officers do not understand or take into consideration aspects of the different cultures they interact with, negative consequences might result; for example, the police may misinterpret something as a sign of hostility and respond with force (Hammer, 2009; Jannetta et al., 2019).

Some racial minority communities have resisted contacting the police for help because of the belief that the police were culturally insensitive (McMurray & Karim, 2008). By examining the lived experiences of officers trained in procedural justice and their perceptions of how that training influenced the way they interacted with racial minority citizens, the findings of this study extend the current body of knowledge by shedding light into how officers conceptualize understanding and working with different cultures. For example, two participants explained that if an officer does not understand that certain cultures simply speak loudly, not out of disrespect or defiance but solely because of a cultural norm, that the officer might perceive it as so and the encounter can deteriorate. In his doctoral dissertation, Charles (2023) found that the black community desired more training for law enforcement in understanding their cultures and cultural norms. Henceforth, the knowledge gained by this study both confirms and extends existing bodies of research and may inform policymakers on how procedural justice

training influences the way officers interact with racial minority citizens and what future trainings should focus on.

### **Limitations of the Study**

The current study provided valuable insights into the lived experiences of officers trained in procedural justice while interacting with racial minority citizens. However, any study of this magnitude is not without limitations that should be acknowledged. The first limitation was that of my sample size of 12 participants, only three were female and only four were racial minorities. While every member of the police department had an equal opportunity to express interest in the study, the method of purposeful random sampling produced the final list of participants, and saturation was achieved after 12. Perhaps an alternative sampling method could ensure more representation of female and racial minority officer perspectives. Another limitation was that the findings of this study only focused on the perceptions of police officers during police–citizen encounters. I initially wanted to study the perceptions of citizens as well, however that would have been a task too monumental for a dissertation.

The next limitation was that the participants from this study came from an urban midwestern U.S. police department with over 500 sworn police officers who serve a population of around 300,000 people, 34.7% of which are racial minorities, and which trains its officers in procedural justice. Therefore, the results of this study may not be transferable to officers who work in small cities or rural areas, those who police more homogenous populations, or officers who work for departments that do not train them in procedural justice. Nor may it be transferable to officers who work for statewide police

departments or federal law enforcement agencies who occasionally move locations and police different communities. However, rich, thick descriptions and quotations from the data were provided, as well as a thorough documentation of all aspects of the study, so that other researchers or police professionals can decide if the results are transferable to their population, or replicate my study if they desire.

The next limitation is multifaceted. First, as with any qualitative study utilizing interviews, the participants responses were self-reported. Second, I serve as a sergeant in the police department that was utilized. Because my initial plan to utilize a research assistant to help recruit and schedule interviews did not gain IRB approval, I ended up scheduling them myself. Consequently, this could have discouraged people from signing up if they knew who I was or could have influenced the participants to say things that they thought I wanted to hear. I managed this by explicitly disallowing anyone that I directly or indirectly supervise or work with from participating. One of the requirements for inclusion in my study was that the participant must be assigned to patrol duties. At the recruitment point of this dissertation, I had been away from patrol duties for over four years, working in an investigative specialty unit of 10 detectives in which I supervise and evaluate only five of them. Additionally, during the informed consent process, I stressed to the participants that neither someone's decision to participate or not participate, nor their responses, would have any influence, benefit, or cause any harm to anything related to their job as a police officer. I repeatedly reminded them that I was there as a student researcher and not as a police officer. I further stressed that no one else would ever know that they participated, that their responses would be completely confidential, and that

even if they were to decide to withdraw their responses at a later date, that that would be perfectly fine.

The final limitation requires the acknowledgement of my job as a veteran police officer trained in procedural justice. To account for this and any personal bias from affecting this study, I engaged in bracketing throughout the data collection and analysis. I maintained a reflexive journal and audit trail throughout, journaling my reactions, thoughts, things that surprised me, decisions, struggles, and experiences throughout the process. I consciously reminded myself to stay objective and unbiased, reminding myself to read, document, and code the data for what it was, not through any personal lens of mine. During analysis, I repeatedly went from the data to the transcripts to the audio recordings over and over to accurately capture not only what the participants said, but how they said it. I also utilized the processes of review and member checking when I emailed the transcripts (to those who requested) and results (to all the participants) to make sure their experiences were captured accurately and that the findings were consistent. Lastly, I did not interject my own thoughts or experiences during the interviews. Doing all of this allowed me to capture and report on the experiences of these participants, thus answering the research questions.

### **Recommendations**

The findings of this study offered insight into the lived experiences of police patrol officers trained in procedural justice when interacting with and trying to build trust and cooperation with racial minority citizens, with the overarching, north star goal of improving relationships between police and racial minority communities. Based on the



findings and limitations, there are several recommendations for future research to aid in the pursuit of this goal. The results of this study were limited to the experiences of predominately white male officers in the setting described above. Future research should consider examining the perceptions of officers working in other types of locales: rural areas, small cities, and those with mostly homogenous populations. Although procedural justice has shown promising results at improving relationships between police and racial minority communities, the tenets of procedural justice – fairness and respect, neutrality and equality in decision making, giving citizens a voice – are principles that should be employed when interacting with all citizens, not solely racial minority populations. Therefore, future qualitative or mixed-method studies should examine whether the background of the officer (if they are a racial minority themselves or grew up in a racial minority area, how they were raised, or previous life experiences) affects their willingness to employ procedural justice or their perceptions of their interactions and experiences. Additionally, future attempts should consider alternative sampling methods to recruit the experiences of more female and racial minority participants.

The population for this study was officers who work for a local police department and thus patrol the same areas for the duration of their careers, often residing in them. Future research might examine the influence of procedural justice on officers or agents who work for statewide or federal agencies and who occasionally move to different communities throughout their careers, and whether this influences their willingness or motivation to focus on and improve relationships with their communities. Another recommendation is that future studies should qualitatively examine the experiences of

citizens when interacting with police officers trained in procedural justice so that we might understand why being given a voice or being treated with procedural justice in general motivates citizens to calm down and cooperate, and how long after a positive encounter does the increase in cooperation and respect last. Finally, this study did not examine whether the internal culture of the police department (how the officers are treated by commanders or whether there is internal procedural justice) affects officers' willingness to employ procedural justice on the streets. Most police training and police cultures are paramilitary in nature, resulting in the officers taking on the same mindset (Ortmeier, 1997; White & Escobar, 2008). Hence, internal conflict might arise if officers are treated one way (not according to procedural justice) but then expected to engage in procedural justice on the streets (Gau & Paul, 2019).

### **Implications for Social Change**

The implications of this study for positive social change are promising. Police–community relations have been poor for quite some time, whether because of outright police brutality and racism or a simply lack of understanding of other cultures, combined with inadequate training (Guo-Brennan & Guo-Brennan, 2022; Radburn et al., 2022; Zimny, 2015). Despite significant quantitative research supporting the positive effects of procedural justice on police legitimacy, society still does not know the best method to train officers on how to implement procedural justice during their interactions with the community (Miles-Johnson, 2015; Moon et al., 2018; Workman, 2022).

The findings of this study furthered Tyler's (2003) procedural justice theory. Existing research demonstrated that when the police treated people with procedural

justice, the citizens reported positive experiences. We now have insight into the lived experiences of officers employing procedural justice, what it felt like for the participants when they would succeed, what seemed to work best, as well as their perceptions of what it was about the training changed them (e.g., that helped them realize the historical effects of police treatment and helped them understand different culture norms). Therefore, police departments and training academies would benefit to implement components of these findings into their daily practices, interactions, and training regimes. Doing so may lead to safer and more positive encounters.

For example, these findings can be used to supplement existing police training curriculums by informing them that not only does implementing procedural justice work (as supported by the existing body of research as a whole), but that giving citizens a voice and explaining things was the most effective at deescalating scenes, or that when they truly take time to understand other cultures, they may be able to empathize with the racial minority citizens more and realize why a citizen might be initially hostile. Better interactions like this can lead to safer encounters for both the officers and citizens, more pleasant experiences for the citizens, and safer communities in general if, as a result of the treatment, the citizens feel more inclined to cooperate and provide information on unsolved crimes, or even assist an officer in need.

Additionally, there are implications for the officers themselves if relationships improve; As Marier and Moule (2018) and Shuck and Martin (2013) wrote, poor relations can negatively affect officers in addition to citizens in the form of burnout, cynicism, and low morale. If officers continue to succeed at implementing procedural justice, it is hoped

that the positive feelings and emotions experienced by my participants will be experienced by all. By using the findings of this study, police departments, policymakers, and academics can continue to craft training regimes surrounding procedural justice as we work to improve police–community relations.

In sum, both individual officers and those responsible for training would be well served to implement components of these findings into their daily practices. Individual officers can take bits and pieces into consideration when they are interacting with racial minority citizens, and policymakers can use the findings by offering the experiences and insights of the participants to their own trainees. Doing so can contribute to safer encounters and ultimately to that north star goal of improving police–community relations.

### **Conclusion**

Police–community relations have suffered for too long. Both the police and the communities they serve, particularly racial minority communities, desire better relationships (Hall et al., 2016; Lee et al., 2019; McCarthy, 2022; Wehrman & De Angelis, 2011). The current study was conducted to examine the lived experiences of police patrol officers trained in procedural justice and their perceptions of how that training influenced the ways they interact with and build relationships with racial minority citizens. Because there had been limited qualitative research in the arena of procedural justice and police legitimacy, particularly from the perspectives of the officers, the results of this study provide a modest contribution to this gap in research.

Traditional training aimed at cultural diversity and improving relations has fallen short, typically talking at the officers telling them what to do, is delivered via death by PowerPoint, or perceived by the officers as “white hate” (Coon, 2016; Schlosser, 2013; Workman, 2022). It is hoped that the findings of this study can inform future training and policymakers that not only was procedural justice theory qualitatively supported, but what it was like for the participants implementing it. That treating people with respect and actually listening to them (the golden rules of human interaction) mattered more to the citizens than any ticket or arrest; that the civil rights era and impacts of historical police brutality still live on and officers would do good to remember this; that when officers listen and explain things to people so that they feel heard, the encounter can be safer and more enjoyable for everyone. By considering these findings and implementing them into everyday life, law enforcement can continue working towards enhanced legitimacy and the ultimate goal of positive police–community relations.

## References

- Anthony, L. (2018). *Police culture and decision making* (Order No. 10930883). Dissertations & Theses @ Walden University.  
<https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/police-culture-decision-making/docview/2099179914/se-2>
- Anti-Defamation League. (2024). *Implicit bias training for law enforcement professionals*. <https://www.adl.org/partnering-law-enforcement>
- Antrobus, E., Thompson, I., & Ariel, B. (2018). Procedural justice training for police recruits: Results of a randomized controlled trial. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 15, 29–53. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-018-9331-9>
- Baker, S., & Edwards, R. (2012). *How many qualitative interviews is enough? Expert voices and early career reflections on sampling and cases in qualitative research*. National Center for Research Methods, University of Southampton.  
[https://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/id/eprint/2273/4/how\\_many\\_interviews.pdf](https://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/id/eprint/2273/4/how_many_interviews.pdf)
- Barker, B. A. (2011). *Higher order, critical thinking skills in national police academy course development* (Order No. 3469798). Capella University Dissertations & Theses. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/higher-order-critical-thinking-skills-national/docview/893842919/se-2>
- Bawden, J., Rowe, W., & Sereni-Massinger, C. (2015). Policy point – Counterpoint: Mandating law enforcement to receive annual certification in cultural diversity through critical thinking. *International Social Science Review*, 91(2), 1–7.  
<http://digitalcommons.northgeorgia.edu/issr/vol91/iss2/21>

- Bejan, V., Hickman, M., Parkin, W., & Pozo, V. (2018). Primed for death: Law enforcement-citizen homicides, social media, and retaliatory violence. *PLoS ONE*, *13*(1), Article e0190571. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0190571>
- Bennett, M. J. (2004). Becoming interculturally competent. In J. Wurzel (Ed.), *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (pp.62 – 77). Intercultural Resource Corporation.
- Birzer, M. L. (2003). The theory of andragogy applied to police training. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, *26*, 29–42. <https://doi.org/10.1108/13639510310460288>
- Bittner, E. (1975). *The functions of the police in modern society: A review of background factors, current practices, and possible role models*. Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency (U.S.). <https://lawcat.berkeley.edu/record/480553?ln=en>
- Blustein, D. L., Kozan, S., & Connors-Kellgren, A. (2013). Unemployment and underemployment: A narrative analysis about loss. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *82*(3), 256–265. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2013.02.005>
- Bond, C. E. W., Murphy, K., & Porter, L. E. (2015). Procedural justice in policing: The first phase of an Australian longitudinal study of officer attitudes and intentions. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, *64*, 229–245. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-015-9587-1>
- Bradford, B., Jackson, J., & Stanko, E. A. (2009). Contact and confidence: Revisiting the impact of public encounters with the police. *Policing and Society*, *19*(1), 20–46. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439460802457594>

- Bryman, A. (2006). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: How is it done? *Journal of Qualitative Research*, 6(1), 97–113.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794106058877>
- Bush, C. T. (2000). Cultural competence: Implications of the surgeon general's report on mental health. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing*, 13(4), 177–178. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6171.2000.tb00099.x>
- Chan, J. (2003). *Fair cop: Learning the art of policing*. University of Toronto Press.
- Chan, Z., Fung, Y., & Chien, W. (2013). Bracketing in phenomenology: Only undertaken in the data collection and analysis process. *Qualitative Report*, 18(30), 1–9.  
<https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2013.1486>
- Charles, L. E. (2023). *Lived experiences of college-educated African American males during police interactions in central Kentucky* (Order No. 30248943). Dissertations & Theses @ Walden University.  
<https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/lived-experiences-college-educated-african/docview/2774890506/se-2>
- Charman, S. (2020). Making sense of policing identities: The 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' in policing accounts of victimisation. *Policing and Society*, 30, 81–97. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2019.1601721>
- Coon, J. K. (2016). Police officers' attitudes toward diversity issues: Comparing supervisors and non-supervisors on multicultural skills, values, and training. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 18(2), 115–125.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1461355716643091>



- Cordner, G. W. (1995). Community policing: Elements and effects. *Police Forum*, 5(3), 1–8. <https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/community-policing-elements-and-effects>
- Correll, J., Park, B., Judd, C. M., & Wittenbrink, B. (2002). The police officer's dilemma: Using ethnicity to disambiguate potentially threatening individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 13–14. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.83.6.1314>
- Correll, J., Park, B., Judd, C. M., Wittenbrink, B., Sadler, M. S., & Keesee, T. (2007). Across the thin blue line: Police officers and racial bias in the decision to shoot. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 1006–1023. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.92.6.1006>
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.
- Cunningham, J. P., & Gillezeau, R. (2021). Don't shoot! The impact of historical African American protest on police killings of civilians. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 37(1), 1–34. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-019-09443-8>
- Daly, J., Kellehear, A., & Gliksman, M. (1997). *The public health researcher: A methodological approach*. Oxford University Press.
- Devine, P. G., Forscher, P. S., Austin, A. J., & Cox, W. T. L. (2012). Long-term reduction in implicit race bias: A prejudice habit-breaking intervention. *Journal of*

*Experimental Social Psychology*, 48, 1267–1278.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2012.06.003>

Duncan, B. L. (1976). Differential social perception and attribution of intergroup violence: Testing the lower limits of stereotyping of Blacks. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 34, 590–598. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.34.4.590>

Eberhardt, J. L., Goff, P. A., Purdie, V. J., & Davies, P. G. (2004). Seeing black: Race, crime, and visual processing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87, 876–893. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.87.6.876>

Engel, R. S., McManus, H. D., & Herold, T. D. (2020). Does de-escalation training work? *Criminology & Public Policy*, 19(3), 721–759.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12467>

Executive Office of the President. (2014). *Review: Federal support for local law enforcement equipment acquisition*. The White House.

[https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/federal\\_support\\_for\\_local\\_law\\_enforcement\\_equipment\\_acquisition.pdf](https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/federal_support_for_local_law_enforcement_equipment_acquisition.pdf)

Farrell, C., & Barao, L. (2022). Police officer perceptions of diversity efforts: A disconnect between the goals and the methods. *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*, 24(2), 216–231.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2022.2098127>

Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development.

*International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(1), 80–92.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690600500107>

Fildes, A., Murphy, K., & Porter, L. (2019). Police officer procedural justice self-assessments: Do they change across recruit training and operational experience? *Policing and Society*, 29(2), 188–203.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2017.1290089>

Fletcher, M. N. (2014). *Cultural competency in law enforcement: Assessing cultural competence levels among college campus police departments* [Master's thesis, Southern Illinois University]. OpenSIUC. [https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/gs\\_rp/504/](https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/gs_rp/504/)

Ford, J.K., Weissbein, D.A., & Plamondon, K.E. (2003). Distinguishing organizational from strategy commitment: Linking officers' commitment to community policing to job behaviors and satisfaction. *Justice Quarterly*, 20(1), 159–185.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820300095491>

Fox-Williams, B. (2019). The Rules of (dis)engagement: Black youth and their strategies for navigating police contact. *Sociological Forum*, 34(1), 115–137.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12484>

Fridell, L., & Lim, H. (2016). Assessing the racial aspects of police force using the implicit-and counter-bias perspectives. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 44, 36–48.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2015.12.001>

Fridell, L., & Scott, M. (2005). Law enforcement agency responses to racially biased policing and the perceptions of its practice. In R. G. Dunham & G. P. Alpert (Eds.), *Critical issues in Policing* (5th ed.), pp. 403–421. Waveland Press.

- Gau, J. M., & Paul, N. (2019). Police officers' role orientations: Endorsement of community policing, order maintenance, and traditional law enforcement. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 42(5), 944–959. <https://doi.org/10.1108/pijpsm-04-2019-0044>
- Gill, C., Weisburd, D., Telep, C. W., Vitter, Z., & Bennett, T. (2014). Community-oriented policing to reduce crime, disorder and fear and increase satisfaction and legitimacy among citizens: A systematic review. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 10, 399–428. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-014-9210-y>
- Goff, P. A., Jackson, M. C., Di Leone, B. A. L., Culotta, C. M., & DiTomaso, N. A. (2014). The essence of innocence: Consequences of dehumanizing Black children. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 106, 526–545. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0035663>
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, 8(4), 597–606. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2003.1870>
- Golbeck, A., Ash, A., Gray, M., Gumpertz, M., Jewell, N., Kettenring, J., & Gel, Y. (2016). A conversation about implicit bias. *In Statistical Journal of the IAOS*, 32, 739–755. <https://doi.org/10.3233/SJI-161024>
- Greene, J. (2000). Community policing in America: Changing the nature, structure, and function of the police. In Horney, J., Mackenzie, D., Martin, J., Peterson, R., & Rosenbaum, D. (Eds.). *Criminal Justice 2000. Vol. 3: Policies, Processes, and Decisions of the Criminal Justice System*, 299–368. National Institute of Justice.
- Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. R. (1995). Implicit social cognition: Attitudes, self-

esteem, and stereotypes. *Psychological Review*, *102*, 4–27.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.102.1.4>

Greenwald, A. G., & Krieger, L. (2006). Implicit bias: Scientific foundations. *California Law Review*, *94*, 945–967. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20439056>

Groenewald, T. (2004). A phenomenological research design illustrated. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *3*(1), 1–26.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069040030010>

Grohe, B., Devalve, M., & Quinn, E. (2012). Is perception reality? The comparison of citizens' levels of fear of crime versus perception of crime problems in communities. *Crime Prevention & Community Safety*, *14*(3), 196–211.

<https://doi.org/10.1057/cpcs.2012.3>

Guion, L., Diehl, D., & McDonald, D. (2011). *Conducting an in-depth interview*. The Institute of Food and Agriculture Services: University of Florida.

Guo-Brennan, L., & Guo-Brennan, M. (2022). *Preparing globally competent professionals and leaders for innovation and sustainability*. IGI Global.

Hall, A. V., Hall, E. V., & Perry, J. (2016). Black and blue: Exploring racial bias and law enforcement in the killings of unarmed Black male civilians. *American*

*Psychologist*, *71*(3), 175–186. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0040109>

Hammer, M. R. (2009). Solving problems and resolving conflict using the intercultural conflict style model and inventory. In M. A. Moodian (Ed.), *Contemporary leadership and intercultural competence* (Vol. 17, pp. 219–232). Sage.

Hammer, M. R., Bennett, M. J., & Wiseman, R. (2003). Measuring intercultural

- sensitivity: The intercultural development inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27(4), 421–443. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767\(03\)00032-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(03)00032-4)
- Hardin, D. (2015). *Public-police relations: Officers' interpretations of citizen contacts* (Order No. 3740147). Dissertations & Theses @ Walden University. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/public-police-relations-officers-interpretations/docview/1749773890/se-2>
- Harris, F., & Wilkins, R. (1988). *Quiet riots: Race and poverty in the United States*. Pantheon Books.
- Hennessy, S.M., Hendricks, J., & Hendricks, C. (2001). *Cultural awareness training for police in the United States: A Look at effective methodologies*. Minneapolis, Minnesota. <https://wwwdocs.minneapolismn.gov/wcm1/groups/public/@civilrights/document/s/webcontent/wcms1p-133796.pdf>
- Heslop, R. (2011). Community engagement and learning as 'becoming': Findings from a study of British police recruit training. *Policing and Society*, 21(3), 327–342. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2011.592585>
- Hinds, L., & Murphy, K. (2007). Public satisfaction with police: Using procedural justice to improve police legitimacy. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 40, 27–42. <https://doi.org/10.1375/acri.40.1.27>
- Holloway, I. (1997). *Basic concepts for qualitative research*. Wiley-Blackwell Publications.

- Hycner, R. H. (1999). Some guidelines for the phenomenological analysis of interview data. In A. Bryman & R. G. Burgess (Eds.), *Qualitative research*, (pp. 143-164). Sage Publications.
- Jacob, S. A., & Furgerson, S. P. (2012). Writing interview protocols and conducting interviews: Tips for students new to the field of qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, 17(42), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2012.1718>
- James, L., James, S., & Vila, B. (2016). The reverse racism effect: Are cops more hesitant to shoot Black than White suspects? *Criminology & Public Policy*, 15, 457–479. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12187>
- Jannetta, J., Esthappan, S., Fonatine, J., Lynch, M., & La Vigne, N. G. (2019). *Learning to build police–community trust*. <https://www.urban.org/research/publication/learning-build-police-community-trust>
- Jenkins, M.J. (2016). Police support for community problem-solving and broken windows policing. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 41(2), 220–235. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-015-9302-x>
- Johnson, R. (2015). Police-minority relations: What should be done? *Public Action Training Council Legal & Liability Risk Management Institute*. [https://www.llrmi.com/articles/legal\\_update/2015\\_johnson\\_minorityrelations/](https://www.llrmi.com/articles/legal_update/2015_johnson_minorityrelations/)
- Jonathan-Zamir, T., Mastrofski, S. D., & Moyal, S. (2015). Measuring procedural justice in police-citizen encounters. *Justice Quarterly*, 32(5), 845–871. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2013.845677>

- Jones, J. M. (2021, July 14). *In U.S., Black confidence in police recovers from 2020 low*. Gallup. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/352304/black-confidence-police-recovers-2020-low.aspx>
- Krogstad, J. (2014). Latino confidence in local police lower than among whites. *Pew Research Center*. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/08/28/latino-confidence-in-local-police-lower-than-among-whites/>
- Kunard, L., & Moe, C. (2015). *Procedural justice for law enforcement: An overview*. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Sage Publications.
- Lacey, A., & Luff, D. (2007). *Qualitative research analysis*. The NIHR RDS for the East Midlands / Yorkshire & the Humber. [https://www.academia.edu/41423712/Qualitative\\_Data\\_Analysis\\_The\\_NIHR\\_Research\\_Design\\_Service\\_for\\_Yorkshire\\_and\\_the\\_Humber](https://www.academia.edu/41423712/Qualitative_Data_Analysis_The_NIHR_Research_Design_Service_for_Yorkshire_and_the_Humber)
- Lambert, E., Elechi, O., & Wu, Y. (2013). An exploratory comparison of the policing views of Nigerian and US college students. *International Journal of Police Science and Management*, 15(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1350/ijps.2013.15.1>
- Lambert, E., Wu, Y., Jiang, S., Jaishankar, K., Pasupuleti, S., Bhimarasetty, J., & Smith, B. (2014). Support for community policing in India and the US: An exploratory study among college students. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 37(1), 3–29. <https://doi.org/10.1108/pijpsm-01-2011-0098>



- Lane, K. A., Kang, J., & Banaji, M. R. (2007). Implicit social cognition and law. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 3, 427–451.  
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.3.081806.112748>
- Lee, H. D., Kim, D., Woo, Y., & Reys, B. W. (2019). Determinants of citizen support for community-oriented policing. *Police Practice and Research*, 20(1), 34–47.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2017.1396459>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Sage.
- Lloyd, C., & Naguib, D. (2020, June 16). *Implications of Inequitable Policing in Fragile Communities*. Gallup.  
<https://news.gallup.com/opinion/gallup/312707/implications-inequitable-policing-fragile-communities.aspx>
- Lurigio, A., & Skogan, W.G. (1994). Winning the hearts and minds of police officers: An assessment of staff perceptions of community policing in Chicago. *Crime & Delinquency*, 40(3), 315–330. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128794040003002>
- Marier, C. J., & Moule, R. K. (2018). Feeling blue: Officer perceptions of public antipathy predict police occupational norms. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-018-9459-1>
- Mason, M. (2010). Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 11(3). <https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-11.3.1428>
- Mastrofski, S. D., Jonathan-Zamir, T., Moyal, S., & Willis, J. J. (2016). Predicting procedural justice in police-citizen encounters. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*,

43(1), 119–139. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854815613540>

Mazerolle, L., Antrobus, E., Bennett, S., & Tyler, T. R. (2012). Shaping citizen perceptions of police legitimacy: A randomized field trial of procedural justice: shaping citizen perceptions of police. *Criminology*, 51(1), 33–63.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9125.2012.00289.x>

Mazerolle, L., Bennett, S., Davis, J., Sargeant, E., & Manning, M. (2013). Procedural justice and police legitimacy: A systematic review of the research evidence. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 9(3), 245–274.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-013-9175-2>

McCarthy, J. (2022, May 27). *Americans remain steadfast on policing reform needs in 2022*. Gallup. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/393119/americans-remain-steadfast-policing-reform-needs-2022.aspx>

McCoy, M. R. (2000). *Blackboards and badges: Teaching style in law enforcement education and training in Oklahoma* (Order No. 9979177). Dissertation & Theses @ Oklahoma State University. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/blackboards-badges-teaching-style-law-enforcement/docview/304656738/se-2>

McMurray, A., & Karim, A. (2008). A Perspective on multiculturalism and policing. *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal*, 15(4), 321–334.  
<https://doi.org/10.1108/13527600810914120>

Mentel, Z. (2012). Racial reconciliation, truth-telling, and police legitimacy. *U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services*.

- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. Jossey-Bass.
- Miles-Johnson, T. (2015). They don't identify with us: Perceptions of police by Australian transgender people. *International Journal of Transgenderism*, 16(3), 169–189. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15532739.2015.1080647>
- Moffett, B. L., Jr. (2020). *Influence of implicit racial bias on police officers' decision to use force* (Order No. 28025495). Dissertations & Theses @ Walden University. (<https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/influence-implicit-racial-bias-on-police-officers/docview/2425567284/se-2>)
- Moon, S. H., Morgan, T., & Sandage, S. J. (2018). The need for intercultural competence assessment and training among police officers. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Research and Practice*, 18(5), 337–351. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24732850.2018.1510274>
- Morse, J.M. (1994). Designing funded qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 220–235). Sage.
- Muir, W.K. (1977). *Police: Streetcorner politicians*. University of Chicago Press.
- Murphy, K., & Barkworth, J. (2014). Victim willingness to report crime to police: Does procedural justice or outcome matter most? *Victims and Offenders*, 9(2), 178–204. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15564886.2013.872744>
- Myhill, A., & Bradford, B. (2013). Overcoming cop culture? Organizational justice and police officers' attitudes toward the public. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 36, 338–356.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/13639511311329732>

Nagin, D., & Telep, C. (2017). Procedural justice and legal compliance. *Annual Review of Law and Social Sciences*, 13, 5–28. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-110316-113310>.

Nix, J. (2017). Do the police believe that legitimacy promotes cooperation from the public? *Crime & Delinquency*, 63(8), 951–975. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128715597696>

Nix, J., & Pickett, J. T. (2017). Third-person perceptions, hostile media effects, and policing: Developing a theoretical framework for assessing the Ferguson effect. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 51, 24–33. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2017.05.016>

O’Brian D. T., Farrell C., & Welsh B. (2019). Looking through broken windows: The impact of neighborhood disorder on aggression and fear of crime is an artifact of research design. *Annual Review of Criminology*, 2, 53–71. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-criminol-011518-024638>

O’Reilly, K. (1988). The FBI and the politics of the riots, 1964-1968. *Journal of American History*, 71(1), 91–114. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1889656>

Ortmeier, P. (1997). Leadership for community-policing: A study to identify essential officer competencies. *Police Chief*, 64(10), 88-96. <https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/leadership-community-policing-study-identify-essential-officer>

Paoline, E., Myers, S., & Worden, R.E. (2000). Police culture, individualism, and

- community policing: Evidence from two police departments. *Justice Quarterly*, 17(1), 575–605. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820000094671>
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Patton, M. Q. (2015). Chapter 5, Module 30: Purposeful sampling and case selection: Overview of strategies and options. In *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (4th ed., pp. 264–315). Sage Publications.
- Pedersen, J. (2010). *When husbands remain at home: A qualitative look at the support air force husbands receive during a deployment* (Order No. 3402700). Dissertations & Theses @ Walden University. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/when-husbands-remain-at-home-qualitative-look/docview/305227641/se-2>
- Peyton, K., Sierra-Arévalo, M., & Rand, D. G. (2019). A field experiment on community policing and police legitimacy. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 116(40), 19894–19898. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1910157116>
- Plant, E. A., Peruche, B. M., & Butz, D. A. (2005). Eliminating automatic racial bias: Making race non-diagnostic for responses to criminal suspects. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 41, 141–156. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2004.07.004>
- Platz, D.J., Sargeant, E., & Strang, H. (2017). Effects of recruit training on police attitudes towards diversity: A randomised controlled trial of a values education programme. *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing*, 1, 263–279.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s41887-017-0019-6>

- Quattlebaum, M., Meares, T. L., & Tyler, T. (2020). Principles of procedurally just policing. *Yale Law School*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3179519>
- Radburn, M., Savigar-Shaw, L., Stott, C., Tallent, D., & Kyprianides, A. (2022). How do police officers talk about their encounters with ‘the public’? Group interaction, procedural justice and officer constructions of policing identities. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 22(1), 59–77. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895820933912>
- Radburn, M., & Stott, C. (2019). The social psychological processes of ‘procedural justice’: Concepts, critiques and opportunities. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 19(4): 421–438. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17488958187802>
- Ramsey, C., & Robinson, L. (2015). *Interim report of the President’s task force on 21st century policing*. Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. [https://cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/taskforce/Interim\\_TF\\_Report\\_150228\\_Intro\\_to\\_Implementation.pdf](https://cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/taskforce/Interim_TF_Report_150228_Intro_to_Implementation.pdf)
- Ravitch, S. M., & Carl, N. M. (2016). *Qualitative research: Bridging the conceptual, theoretical, and methodological*. Sage Publications.
- Rice, P., & Ezzy, D. (1999). *Qualitative research methods: A health focus*. Oxford University Press.
- Rollins, A. (2019). Assessment of public sector service quality: Gauging experiences and perceptions of racial profiling. *Journal of Public Management & Social Policy*, 26(1), 59–72. <https://digitalscholarship.tsu.edu/jpmisp/vol26/iss1/5>
- Rosenbaum, D.P., & Lawrence, D.S. (2017). Teaching procedural justice and

- communication skills during police–community encounters: Results of a randomized control trial with police recruits. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 13(3), 293–319. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-017-9293-3>
- Rosenfeld, R. (2016). Documenting and explaining the 2015 homicide rise: Research directions. *U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs*. <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/249895.pdf>
- Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2012). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data* (3rd ed.). Sage.
- Saarikkom, E. (2016). Perceptions of procedural justice among young people: Narratives of fair treatment in young people’s stories of police and security guard interventions. *British Journal of Criminology*, 56(6), 1253–1271. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azv102>
- Sarat, A. (1977). Studying American legal culture: An assessment of survey evidence. *Law & Society Review*, 11(3), 427–488. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3053128>
- Sartain, L. (2013). *Borders of equality: The NAACP and the Baltimore civil rights struggle, 1914-1970*. University Press of Mississippi. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24hwds>
- Schim, S. M., Doorenbos, A. Z., Miller, J., & Benkert, R. (2003). Development of a cultural competence assessment instrument. *Journal of Nursing Measurement*, 11(1), 29–40. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1891/106137403780954949>
- Schlosser, M. D. (2013). Racial attitudes of police recruits in the United States Midwest police academy: A quantitative examination. *International Journal of Criminal*

- Justice Sciences*, 8(2), 215–224. <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/racial-attitudes-police-recruits-united-states/docview/1459136273/se-2>
- Schuck, A., & Martin, C. (2013). Residents' perceptions of procedural injustice during encounters with the police. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, 11(4), 219–237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377938.2012.762635>
- Schulhofer, S. J., Tyler, T. R., & Huq, A. Z. (2011). American policing at a crossroads: Unsustainable policies and the procedural justice alternative. *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*, 101, 335–374. <https://doi.org/10.1108/pijpsm.2012.18135caa.003>
- Scott, K., Ma, D. S., Sadler, M. S., & Correll, J. (2017). A social scientific approach toward understanding racial disparities in police shootings: Data from the department of justice (1980-2000). *Journal of Social Issues*, 73(4), 701–722. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12243>
- Sereni-Massinger, C., Bawden, J., & Rowe, W. (2015). Policy point–counterpoint: Mandating law enforcement to receive annual certification in cultural diversity through critical thinking. *International Social Science Review*, 91(2), 1-7. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/intesocierevi.91.issue-2>
- Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information*, 22(2), 63–75. <https://doi.org/10.3233/efi-2004-22201>
- Shusta, R., Levine, D., Wong, H., & Harris, P. (2005). *Multicultural law enforcement: Strategies for peacekeeping in a diverse society* (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.). Pearson Education.



Sim, J., Correll, J., & Sadler, M. (2013). Understanding police and expert performance:

When training attenuates (vs. exacerbates) stereotypic bias in the decision to shoot. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39(3), 291–304.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167212473157>

Sivasubramaniam, D. & Heuer, L. (2007). Decision makers and decision recipients:

Understanding disparities in the meaning of fairness. *Court review*, 44, 62–70.

<https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1249&context=ajacourtreview>

Skogan, W. G., Van Craen, M., & Hennessy, C. (2015). Training police for procedural

justice. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 11(3), 319–334.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-014-9223-6>

Smith, B. W., & Holmes, M. D. (2014). Police use of excessive force in minority

communities: A test of the minority threat, place, and community accountability hypotheses. *Social Problems*, 61(1), 83–104.

<https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2013.12056>

Sorsa, M., Kiikkala, I., & Astedt-Kurki, P. (2015). Bracketing as a skill in conducting

unstructured qualitative interviews. *Nurse Researcher*, 22, 5.

<https://doi.org/10.7748/nr.22.4.8.e1317>

Sozer, M., & Merlo, A. (2013). The impact of community policing on crime rates: Does

the effect of community policing differ in large and small law enforcement agencies? *Police Practice and Research*, 14(6), 506–521.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2012.661151>

- Square-Smith, D. (2017). *Police and citizens' perceptions of community policing in Richmond, Virginia* (Order No. 10617554). Dissertations & Theses @ Walden University. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/police-citizens-perceptions-community-policing/docview/1946178503/se-2>
- Stansfield, R. (2022). Police–community relations, excessive force, and community stress: Evidence from a community survey. *Psychology of Violence, 12*(4), 201–210. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000404>
- Stewart, G., Henning, K., & Renauer, B. (2012). *Public perceptions regarding the use-of-force by police in Portland, Oregon*. Criminal Justice Policy Research Institute: Portland State University. [https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/cjpri\\_briefs/3](https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/cjpri_briefs/3)
- Stone, C., & Travis, J. (2011). *Toward a new professionalism in policing. New perspective in policing*. National Institute of Justice.
- Sunshine, J., & Tyler, T. R. (2003). The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing. *Law & Society Review, 37*(3), 513–548. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-5893.3703002>
- Tait, R. C., & Chibnall, J. T. (2014). Racial/ethnic disparities in the assessment and treatment of pain: Psychosocial perspectives. *American Psychologist, 69*, 131–141. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035204>
- Tarver, S. Z., Herring, M. H., & Friend, C. A. (2020). Implementation of an interdisciplinary cultural competence training with law enforcement personnel. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work, 29*(4), 251–269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15313204.2019.1628682>

- Thibaut, J., & Walker, L. (1975). *Procedural justice: A psychological analysis*. Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Thomas, D. R. (2006). A general inductive approach for analyzing qualitative evaluation data. *American Journal of Evaluation, 27*(2), 237–246.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214005283748>
- Toma, J. D. (2011). Approaching rigor in applied qualitative research. In C. F. Conrad & R. C. Serlin (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook for research in education: Pursuing ideas as the keystone of exemplary inquiry* (2nd ed., pp. 405–423). Sage.
- Törnblom, K., & Vermunt, R. (2007). Towards an integration of distributive justice, procedural justice, and social resource theories. *Social Justice Research, 20*(3), 312–335. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-007-0054-8>
- Trachok, M. (2015). *Teacher interview as a methodology for assessing implicit bias: A qualitative investigation* (Order No. 3715447). Dissertations & Theses@ Indiana University. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/teacher-interview-as-methodology-assessing/docview/1701628838/se-2>
- Trinkner, R., Mays, R., Cohn, E., van Gundy, K., & Rebellon, C. (2019). Turning the corner on procedural justice theory: Exploring reverse causality with an experimental vignette in a longitudinal survey. *Journal of Experimental Criminology, 15*(1), 661–667. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-019-09358-1>
- Trinkner, R., Tyler, T. R., & Goff, P. A. (2016). Justice from within: The relations between a procedurally just organizational climate and police organizational efficiency, endorsement of democratic policing, and officer well-being.

*Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 22(2), 158–172.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/law0000085>

- Trojanowicz, R. C., & Bucqueroux, B. (1990). *Community policing: A contemporary perspective*. Anderson Publishing.
- Tyler, T. (2003). Procedural justice, legitimacy, and the effective rule of law. *Crime and Justice*, 30, 283–357. <https://doi.org/10.1086/652233>
- Tyler, T. (2017). Procedural justice and policing: A rush to judgment? *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 13(1), 29–53. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-110316-113318>
- Tyler, T., Callahan, P., & Frost, J. (2007). Armed, and dangerous (?): Motivating rule adherence among agents of social control. *Law & Society Review*, 41(2), 457–492. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5893.2007.00304.x>
- Tyler, T. R., Goff, P. A., & MacCoun, R. J. (2015). The impact of psychological science on policing in the United States: Procedural justice, legitimacy, and effective law enforcement. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 16(3), 75–109. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1529100615617791>.
- Tyler, T., & Huo, Y. (2002) *Trust in the law: Encouraging public cooperation with the police and courts*. Russell-Sage.
- Tyler, T. R., & Trinkner, R. (2018). *Why children follow rules: legal socialization and the development of legitimacy*. Oxford University Press.
- Urbanska, K., Pehrson, S., Platow, M.J., & Turner, R. (2019). Authority fairness as contingent on intergroup attitudes: Review and expansion of relational models of

procedural justice. *Center for Open Science*. <https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/j9ndy>

Waddington, P., Williams, K., Wright, M., & Newburn, T. (2015) Dissension in public evaluations of the police. *Policing and Society*, 25(2), 212–235.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2013.833799>

Walker, S. (2019). Not dead yet: The national police crisis, a new conversation about policing, and the prospects for accountability-related police reform. *University of Illinois Law Review*,(1), 223–268.

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331994864\\_Not\\_dead\\_yet\\_The\\_national\\_police\\_crisis\\_a\\_new\\_conversation\\_about\\_policing\\_and\\_the\\_prospects\\_for\\_accountability-related\\_police\\_reform](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331994864_Not_dead_yet_The_national_police_crisis_a_new_conversation_about_policing_and_the_prospects_for_accountability-related_police_reform)

Waytz, A., Hoffman, K. M., & Trawalter, S. (2015). A superhumanization bias in Whites' perceptions of Blacks. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 6, 352–359. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550614553642>

Wehrman, M, & De Angelis, J. (2011). Citizen willingness to participate in police–community partnerships: Exploring the influence of race and neighborhood context. *Police Quarterly*, 14(1), 48-49.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611110393134>

Weitzer, R. (2015). American policing under fire: misconduct and reform. *Society*, 52(5), 475–480. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12115-015-9931-1>

Wheller, L., Quinton, P., Fildes, A., & Mills, P. A. (2013). The Greater Manchester Police procedural justice training experiment. *College of Policing*, 22.

<https://www.college.police.uk/research/projects/greater-manchester-police->

[procedural-justice-training-experiment-rct](#)

- White, M. D., & Escobar, G. (2008). Making good cops in the twenty-first century: Emerging issues for the effective recruitment, selection and training of police in the United States and abroad. *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology*, 22(1–2), 119–134. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600860801925045>
- Worden, R. E., & McLean, S. (2017). *Mirage of police reform: Procedural justice and police legitimacy*. University of California Press.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1w8h1r1>
- Worden, R. E., McLean, S., Engel, R. S., Cochran, H., Corsaro, N., Reynolds, D., Najdowski, C., & Isaza, G. (2020). *The impacts of implicit bias awareness training in the NYPD*. International Association of Chiefs of Police.  
[https://www.nyc.gov/assets/nypd/downloads/pdf/analysis\\_and\\_planning/impacts-of-implicit-bias-awareness-training-in-%20the-nypd.pdf](https://www.nyc.gov/assets/nypd/downloads/pdf/analysis_and_planning/impacts-of-implicit-bias-awareness-training-in-%20the-nypd.pdf)
- Workman, S. B. (2022). *Cultural Responsiveness in Policing* (Order No. 28964883). Dissertations & Theses @ Walden University.  
<https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/cultural-responsiveness-policing/docview/2624983212/se-2>
- Worrall, J., Bishopp, S., Zinser, S., Wheeler, A., & Phillips, S. (2018). Exploring bias in police shooting decisions with real shoot/don't shoot cases. *Crime & Delinquency*, 64(9), 1171–1192. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128718756038>
- Wu, Y., Lambert, E., Smith, B., Pasupuleti, S., Jaishankar, K., & Bhimarasetty, J. (2012). An exploratory comparison of policing views between Indian and U.S. college

students. *International Criminal Justice Review*, 22, 68–82.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/105756771243946>

Zimny, K. (2015). Racial attitudes of police recruits at the United States Midwest police academy: A second examination. *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences*, 10(1), 91–101. <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/racial-attitudes-police-recruits-at-united-states/docview/1692045530/se-2>

Zohrabi, M. (2013). Mixed method research: Instruments, validity, reliability and reporting findings. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, (3)2, 254-262. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4304/tpls.3.2.254-262>

### Appendix: Interview Questions

First, let's start with some general questions about your role as a police officer and your thoughts on procedural justice training.

1. Tell me about your role as a police officer in general (experience/behavioral question).
2. Explain what procedural justice means to you. (knowledge question).
3. So with that said, tell me about your role as a police officer through the lens of procedural justice (opinion question).
  - a. probe: in what way, if any, did procedural justice training change the way you view your role as a police officer?
4. Describe for me how you *viewed* your role as a police officer before receiving procedural justice training versus how you view your role after receiving procedural justice training. (opinion question).
  - a. Probes:
    - i. Simply to enforce laws?
    - ii. Did you take time to explain things?
    - iii. Or also build trusting relationships?
5. How do you *feel* about what you learned (procedural justice) in relation to working as a police officer? (feelings question).
6. Tell me about the procedural justice pod that you experienced at the police academy or during an in-service (Birzer, 2003).
7. What was it about that pod, if anything, that influenced the way you view how you interact with minority citizens?
  - a. What was the most memorable thing about that pod?
8. What was the most *memorable* thing about procedural justice training in general?
9. What was the most important/impactful thing about the training that changed the way you interact with minority citizens?

Let's switch to employing procedural justice while interacting with minority citizens.

10. Tell me about *how* you interacted with minority citizens *prior* to receiving procedural justice training (Zimny, 2015; experience/behavior question).
  - a. Probe: do you think you were doing 'procedural justice' stuff without knowing it?



Thinking about the present/post-training:

11. Tell me about your experiences employing procedural justice while interacting with minority citizens. (Mazerolle, Antrobus, Bennett, and Tyler, 2012; experience/behavior question).
  - a. Probes:
    - i. What is it like?
    - ii. Do you do anything differently?
    - iii. Is it easy or hard?
  
12. Do you have to *consciously* think about PJ, or is it second nature?
  - a. Describe for me that process.
  
13. Describe for me a particular time where you employed procedural justice while interacting with a minority citizen. (experience/behavior question).
  - a. Was that time a conscious decision or second nature?
  
14. Describe for me how the minority citizen reacted?
  - a. Did it seem to have an effect on their cooperation? How could you tell?
  
15. Describe for me how you *felt* while employing procedural justice during this encounter? (feelings question)
  - a. Good? Happy? Nervous? Awkward? Comfortable? Hesitant?
  
16. . Can you describe for me *how* you implement each tenet of procedural justice? (behavior question)
  - a. Neutrality in decision making
  - b. Fairness and respect
  - c. Give citizens a voice
  - d. Equal treatment
  
17. Describe for me a time when you saw a minority citizen *not* treated according to procedural justice principles (not *mistreated* like excessive force, false arrest, anything like that, just not treated with the tenets of procedural justice) (Marier and Moule, 2018; Schuck and Martin, 2013; experience behavior question).
  - a. Did you or anyone else intervene and implement procedural justice?
  - b. Procedural justice principles reminder:
    - i. Neutrality in decision making
    - ii. Fairness and respect
    - iii. Give citizens a voice
    - iv. Equal treatment

18. Tell me about your experiences observing other officers implement the tenets of procedural justice? (experience question)
  - a. How did they seem to you? Nervous? At ease? Etc.
19. Tell me about a time when procedural justice was employed, but the citizen did *not* seem to want to cooperate with/respect officers. (experience question).

This next section will focus on the topic of building trust with minority citizens.

20. Regarding building trust between police and citizens; what has your experience been like using procedural justice to build trust with minority citizens? (behavioral question).
  - a. Trust meaning:
    - i. Cooperation
    - ii. Respect
    - iii. The citizen providing you (the police) with information
    - iv. Citizens allowing you (the police) to do your job
21. Describe for me what in particular about procedural justice is helpful in building trusting relationships with minority citizens? (opinion question)
22. Tell me about a time when you were unable to contribute to a trusting relationship (Törnblom and Vermunt, 2007; experience question).
23. What ways in particular are the tenets of procedural justice helpful in increasing trust among minority citizens? (opinion question).
  - a. Have you noticed any one particular tenet more helpful at building trust?
24. Tell me about any changes have you noticed among the community in general? (opinion question).

We're just about done.

There last few questions are more general in nature.

25. In what ways did the procedural justice training change your *views* on minority citizens in general? (Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, 2015; opinion question).
26. Describe for me how procedural justice changed the way you *feel* about minority citizens?
27. Describe for me whether the way your department treats you/other officers affects your willingness to employ procedural justice (White and Escobar, 2008; opinion question).

28. Tell me about the general cultural diversity training you received in the academy; what are your thoughts on that compared to this procedural justice training?
29. Tell me about the importance of employing procedural justice when interacting with minority citizens. (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; opinion question)
30. Is there anything else you would like to add?

#### Closing

Thank you again for participating.

If you would like, I will provide you a copy of your interview transcript for your review, as well as a copy of my final dissertation. Please feel free to contact me if any questions or concerns should arise. Also, if you decide you no longer want to be included in the study, please let me know and that will not be a problem.