



NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**BACK AT SQUARE ONE: RESHAPING LAW
ENFORCEMENT TRAINING FOR PROCEDURAL JUSTICE
AND COMMUNITY TRUST**

by

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September 2022

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**BACK AT SQUARE ONE: RESHAPING LAW ENFORCEMENT TRAINING
FOR PROCEDURAL JUSTICE AND COMMUNITY TRUST**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the extent to which and how select law enforcement organizations provide procedural justice training and identifies organizational barriers and drivers likely to affect broader implementation of procedural justice training. When procedural justice is a core operating and organizational principle in law enforcement, the results are higher public trust and lower adverse public interactions. Existing research, however, does not examine the extent or processes through which law enforcement organizations provide procedural justice training. This thesis presents the results of a qualitative analysis that included interviews and research on current practices and a Lewin force field analysis. This thesis found that while such training is provided to academy recruits, there is limited subsequent in-service training and a lack of internal procedural justice training for supervisors. Therefore, this thesis offers several recommendations for further research and policy change: a reassessment of when and how often procedural training is provided and the implementation of continuous annual in-service training for line personnel and those promoting to supervisory roles.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CALEA	Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies
CHP	California Highway Patrol
COPS	Community Oriented Policing Services
CPJ	conceptual procedural justice
DOJ	Department of Justice
IACP	International Association of Chiefs of Police
IB	implicit bias
IRB	Institutional Review Board
LPO	Leadership in Police Organizations
NOBLE	National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives
NSA	National Sheriff's Association
PERF	Police Executive Research Forum
PJ	procedural justice
POST	Peace Officer Standards and Training
RIPA	Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory (Board)
TPJ	tactical procedural justice

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In times of great challenge, there is no greater need than the nobility of policing to nurture and protect democracy.

—Michael J. Nila¹

Police legitimacy is vital to a democratic society, but over the past decade across the United States, police legitimacy has declined.² As far back as Sir Robert Peel in the 1800s, scholars have acknowledged that legitimacy enhances public compliance with the law and authorities and encourages public support and cooperation.³ Legitimacy improves cooperation with officers, strengthens relationships between the police and the community, increases trust in the police, and fosters public compliance, not to mention promotes officer safety and employee wellness.⁴ However, according to a 2021 Gallup poll, only half of American adults report having confidence in the police.⁵

According to extensive research on the subject, procedural justice enhances police legitimacy.⁶ Regarding the public's evaluation of the police, Murphy and Tyler note, "Research consistently finds that people place more emphasis on procedural justice than police performance."⁷ This finding suggests that law enforcement executives, practitioners, and stakeholders working with law enforcement organizations should invest in procedural

¹ Michael J. Nila, *The Nobility of Policing: Guardians of Democracy* (Salt Lake City: FranklinCovey, 2008), 4.

² Tom R. Tyler, Phillip Atiba Goff, and Robert J. MacCoun, "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, no. 3 (2015): 76, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44151272>.

³ Seth W. Stoughton, "Principled Policing: Warrior Cops and Guardian Officers," *Wake Forest Law Review* 51 (October 2016): 611–76.

⁴ Michelle D. Bonner and Lucía Dammert, "Constructing Police Legitimacy during Protests: Frames and Consequences for Human Rights," *Policing and Society* 32, no. 5 (2021): 629–45, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2021.1957887>.

⁵ Jeffrey M. Jones, "In U.S., Black Confidence in Police Recovers from 2020 Low," Gallup, July 14, 2021, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/352304/black-confidence-police-recovers-2020-low.aspx>.

⁶ Tom R. Tyler, "Public Trust and Confidence in Legal Authorities: What Do Majority and Minority Group Members Want from the Law and Legal Institutions?," *Behavioral Sciences & the Law* 19, no. 2 (2001): 215–35, <https://doi.org/10.1002/bsl.438>.

⁷ Kristina Murphy and Tom R. Tyler, "Experimenting with Procedural Justice Policing," *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 13, no. 3 (2017): 288, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-017-9300-8>.

justice and its training. Such investments are important because “the way people are dealt with by legal and political authorities has implications for their connection with the social group and their position in the community.”⁸ Individuals gauge the level of procedural justice in encounters with authorities on whether they have been treated with respect and dignity, been given a voice, and been dealt with fairly and impartially.⁹ According to Schulhofer, Tyler, and Huq, “Individuals’ beliefs that law enforcement is legitimate are shaped by the extent to which police behavior displays the attributes of procedural justice.”¹⁰ In their study of police legitimacy and its importance in shaping public support of law enforcement, Sunshine and Tyler found that procedural justice has a greater influence than police performance on police legitimacy.¹¹

Although substantial literature has shown that procedural justice strongly influences police legitimacy, few studies have analyzed the extent of procedural justice training or the training methods employed by law enforcement organizations for their recruits, the rank and file, and those in supervisory roles. A lack of such training, however, might derive from the complexities of police culture and the law enforcement community’s resistance to change. This research contributes to the understanding of police legitimacy’s role in a democratic society and the contribution of procedural justice training in advancing legitimacy. Police culture can hinder change and the efficacy of training, but organizational change models can assist those in leadership roles with achieving successful outcomes to improve their organizations and the law enforcement profession as a whole.

This thesis helps to address this problem by answering the following questions:

1. To what extent and how are selected state law enforcement agencies in the United States providing procedural justice training?

⁸ Tom R. Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 164.

⁹ Tyler, 7.

¹⁰ Stephen J. Schulhofer, Tom R. Tyler, and Aziz Z. Huq, “American Policing at a Crossroads: Unsustainable Policies and the Procedural Justice Alternative,” *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 101, no. 2 (2011): 338, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23074042>.

¹¹ Jason Sunshine and Tom R. Tyler, “The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing,” *Law & Society Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 513–48, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1555077>.

2. What are the organizational barriers to broader implementation?
3. What are potential drivers or levers to support broader implementation of evidence-based and validated training?

The research consisted of two phases. Phase 1 answered the first research question by analyzing publicly available documents describing the organization and training curricula from state law enforcement organizations in the United States. Phase 2 answered the latter research questions, drawing from the data obtained in Phase 1 and interviews with participating law enforcement organizations. Finally, utilizing force field analysis, developed by Kurt Lewin, the research identified restraining and driving forces likely to support or hinder organizations in implementing or continuing procedural justice and legitimacy training to further guide the development of recommendations.¹²

Through a qualitative analysis, this thesis examined the data and findings from the selected participating organizations. The analysis of each organization documented the number of hours, frequency, topics, and delivery format of academy training, in-service training, and supervisory training. The analysis showed that to an extent, law enforcement organizations are providing training in procedural justice, legitimacy, and bias awareness to their recruits and delivering such training consistently to cadets in the academy. Nevertheless, the analysis also found annual in-service procedural justice training for the rank and file and, most significantly, for those promoting to supervisory roles severely lacking.

Drawing from the existing literature and the interviews, this thesis recognizes that organizational change in law enforcement has happened to an extent, as law enforcement organizations have implemented recommendations from the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, as well as scholars and practitioners, in their quest to enhance police legitimacy and build and maintain the public's trust. However, training and education could

¹² Kurt Lewin, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Concept, Method and Reality in Social Science; Social Equilibria and Social Change," *Human Relations* 1, no. 1 (June 1947): 5–41, <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872674700100103>.

be improved, and while this thesis identifies organizational barriers, it also highlights potential drivers to support broader implementation.

The most prominent theme and, thus, most important recommendation for broader implementation lies in the leadership of an organization. As authors Gau and Gorby put it, “Management must demonstrate a commitment to procedural justice by personally endorsing it and encouraging” its supervisors to engage in conversation with their officers about the benefits of procedural justice to law enforcement.¹³ Furthermore, this top-down approach can assist with breaking down the resistance from the rank and file about shifting police culture from a warrior to guardian mentality—wherein procedural justice is part of the fabric of every contact. Also, if law enforcement organizations want to enhance their efficiency, productivity, and legitimacy, they must focus on the internal dynamics of the organization. Law enforcement executives must concentrate on the organization’s culture because it poses significant barriers not only to broader implementation of the training but also in officers’ interactions with the public. As Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff note, the internal dynamics of an organization greatly influence the officers’ approach to their duties and their relationship with the organization.¹⁴ Therefore, when officers experience fair treatment—in other words, procedural justice—“they are more likely to endorse a service-oriented style of policing.”¹⁵

Placing greater emphasis on procedural justice does not mean that law enforcement leaders ignore crime control and community safety issues but rather underscores the importance of communicating and taking necessary actions to build legitimacy through procedural justice practices. Tyler maintains, “Leaders can articulate the benefits of building public support, benefits that include help in fighting crime and greater officer

¹³ Jacinta M. Gau and David Gorby, “Blending Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy into Police Culture,” *Police Chief*, September 2015, 36, https://www.policchiefmagazine.org/wp-content/uploads/Policyreform_September2015.pdf.

¹⁴ Rick Trinkner, Tom R. Tyler, and Phillip Atiba Goff, “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, no. 2 (2016): 158–72, <https://doi.org/10.1037/law0000085>.

¹⁵ Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, 158.

safety but also general support for policing and for the community.”¹⁶ By communicating and highlighting the “gains” for law enforcement, which “is central to changing the police culture,” according to Tyler, police leadership can be successful.¹⁷ In sum, this top-down approach needs to trickle down to the organization’s training programs—that is, into academy-level, in-service, and supervisory training.

This greater emphasis on training should focus on evidence-based practices, as was highlighted in the *Final Report of the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing*, under Pillar 5.¹⁸ As Tyler stresses, “Police training needs to emphasize the importance of framing policing actions when dealing with the public in terms of procedural fairness, since building legitimacy is a goal of policing. . . . This training should lead officers to frame every interaction as an opportunity to build or undermine legitimacy through quality treatment.”¹⁹ Moreover, law enforcement leaders need to assess their organizations’ “reward structures” and identify opportunities for law enforcement personnel to develop the perspective that building legitimacy is just as important as controlling crime.²⁰ However, these structures should focus not on material rewards but on intrinsic motivation, which studies have shown urge employees to fulfill their mission with a sense of respect from their organizations.²¹ Furthermore, such initiatives will require organizations to collect new data focused on police legitimacy rather than quantitative metrics relating to arrests and citations, for example.²² With continuous support from law enforcement executives, practitioners, and stakeholders, such as the Peace Officer Standards and Training Commission, law enforcement organizations can enhance training and education while driving organizational change to increase police legitimacy and keep America safe.

¹⁶ Tom R. Tyler, “Trust and Legitimacy: Policing in the USA and Europe,” *European Journal of Criminology* 8, no. 4 (2011): 262, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370811411462>.

¹⁷ Tyler, 263.

¹⁸ President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Final Report of the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2015), 51, https://cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/taskforce/taskforce_finalreport.pdf.

¹⁹ Tyler, “Trust and Legitimacy,” 262.

²⁰ Tyler, 262.

²¹ Tyler.

²² Tyler.

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Last, to the women and men in law enforcement and the entire homeland security enterprise, thank you for your devotion in keeping the homeland safe! To the true heroes, who have lost their lives in the line of duty, thank you for your dedication and service.

I. INTRODUCTION

The strength of a democracy and the quality of life enjoyed by its citizens are determined in large measure by the ability of the police to discharge their duties. If we think what we do on the front lines doesn't affect the quality of life of all those in the community, we need to wake up and understand the impact of what we do every day.

—Herman Goldstein¹

A. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Police legitimacy is vital to a democratic society, but over the past decade across the United States, police legitimacy has declined.² A psychological characteristic known as police legitimacy leads people to believe that law enforcement is fair and appropriate.³ Legitimacy improves cooperation with officers, strengthens relationships between the police and the community, increases trust in the police, and fosters public compliance.⁴ If law enforcement wants people to comply voluntarily with the police as a felt obligation rather than obeying only out of fear of punishment, law enforcement agencies require legitimacy.⁵ However, according to a 2021 Gallup poll, only half of American adults report having confidence in the police.⁶ Regarding the criminal justice system, the poll found that “while Black Americans are far less likely than White Americans to have confidence in the police, neither group has strong confidence in the criminal justice system, more generally.

¹ Michael J. Nila, *The Nobility of Policing: Guardians of Democracy* (Salt Lake City: FranklinCovey, 2008), 5.

² Tom R. Tyler, Phillip Atiba Goff, and Robert J. MacCoun, “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, no. 3 (2015): 76, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44151272>.

³ Tom R. Tyler, “Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy and Legitimation,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 57 (2006): 1, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.57.102904.190038>.

⁴ Michelle D. Bonner and Lucía Dammert, “Constructing Police Legitimacy during Protests: Frames and Consequences for Human Rights,” *Policing and Society* 32, no. 5 (2021): 629–45, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2021.1957887>.

⁵ Tyler, “Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy and Legitimation.”

⁶ Jeffrey M. Jones, “In U.S., Black Confidence in Police Recovers from 2020 Low,” Gallup, July 14, 2021, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/352304/black-confidence-police-recovers-2020-low.aspx>.

Just 17% of White Americans and 11% of Black Americans have a great deal or fair amount of confidence in it.”⁷

Extensive research finds that procedural justice enhances police legitimacy.⁸ Individuals gauge the level of procedural justice by the extent to which they have been treated with respect and dignity, given a voice, and dealt with fairly and impartially during encounters with authorities.⁹ According to Schulhofer, Tyler, and Huq, “Individuals’ beliefs that law enforcement is legitimate are shaped by the extent to which police behavior displays the attributes of procedural justice.”¹⁰ In their study of police legitimacy and its importance in shaping public support of law enforcement, Sunshine and Tyler found that procedural justice has a greater influence than police performance on police legitimacy.¹¹ As Tyler observes, people who have a voice in the decision-making process typically accept the outcome, whether good or bad.¹² Therefore, police–public contacts that convey procedural justice bolster perceptions of police legitimacy.¹³

Although substantial literature shows that procedural justice strongly influences police legitimacy, existing research suggests that police agencies provide only limited, focused training on procedural justice and legitimacy. Furthermore, evaluations suggest

⁷ Jones, para. 8.

⁸ Tom R. Tyler, “Public Trust and Confidence in Legal Authorities: What Do Majority and Minority Group Members Want from the Law and Legal Institutions?,” *Behavioral Sciences & the Law* 19, no. 2 (2001): 215–35, <https://doi.org/10.1002/bsl.438>.

⁹ Tom R. Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

¹⁰ Stephen J. Schulhofer, Tom R. Tyler, and Aziz Z. Huq, “American Policing at a Crossroads: Unsustainable Policies and the Procedural Justice Alternative,” *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 101, no. 2 (2011): 338, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23074042>.

¹¹ Jason Sunshine and Tom R. Tyler, “The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy in Shaping Public Support for Policing,” *Law & Society Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 513–48, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1555077>.

¹² Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law*, 6.

¹³ Lorraine Mazerolle et al., “Legitimacy in Policing: A Systematic Review,” *Campbell Systematic Reviews* 9, no. 1 (2013): 8, <https://doi.org/10.4073/csr.2013.1>.

that traditional training has produced weak results.¹⁴ Arble and Arnetz drive this point home in asserting that although “the training of law enforcement officers is recognized as one of the nation’s most important concerns . . . training is marked by capriciousness and inconsistency.”¹⁵

Two studies—by Dai and by Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, respectively—evaluated police training programs on the principles of procedural justice.¹⁶ Dai’s study assessed the short- and long-term effects of Norfolk Police Department’s procedural justice training, including officers’ attitudes and behaviors on patrol, as well as police–citizen interactions and perceptions of the police.¹⁷ Based on Dai’s findings, both immediate and long-term successes were evident after the procedural justice training.¹⁸ A study by Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy evaluated the Chicago Police Department’s initiative to instill the principles of procedural justice in officers to improve community relations.¹⁹ Regarding short-term effects, the study found that the training increased officers’ support for procedural justice and increased the likelihood that officers would endorse the four pillars of procedural justice.²⁰ The long-term effects were consistent with those in the short term except for trust—the researchers found no statistically significant relationships between training and trust.²¹ Overall, this assessment of the Chicago Police Department

¹⁴ Tom R. Tyler, “Enhancing Police Legitimacy,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 593, no. 1 (2004): 84–99, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716203262627>; Dennis Rosenbaum and Daniel Lawrence, “Teaching Procedural Justice and Communication Skills during Police–Community Encounters: Results of a Randomized Control Trial with Police Recruits,” *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 13, no. 3 (September 2017): 293–319, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-017-9293-3>.

¹⁵ Eamonn P. Arble and Bengt B. Arnetz, *Interventions, Training, and Technologies for Improved Police Well-Being and Performance* (Hershey, PA: IGI Global, 2021), 232.

¹⁶ Mengyan Dai, “Training Police for Procedural Justice: An Evaluation of Officer Attitudes, Citizen Attitudes, and Police–Citizen Interactions,” *Police Journal* 94, no. 4 (2021): 481–95, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032258X20960791>; Wesley G. Skogan, Maarten Van Craen, and Cari Hennessy, “Training Police for Procedural Justice,” *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 11, no. 3 (2015): 319–34, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-014-9223-6>.

¹⁷ Dai, “Training Police for Procedural Justice.”

¹⁸ Dai.

¹⁹ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, “Training Police for Procedural Justice.”

²⁰ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy.

²¹ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy.

determined procedural justice training could play a role in improving police–community relations, thus enhancing police legitimacy.²²

However, scholars such as Owens et al. warn that although academic literature has argued procedural justice is necessary for effective policing, “there is scant evidence on how the goals of procedural justice can be implemented in a practical way.”²³ Furthermore, Skogan and his colleagues found that according to designated police trainers, fully adopting the practices of procedural justice and promoting change within the organization would require reinforcement training.²⁴ Likewise, scholars have cited the need for support and engagement from the organization’s leaders: “Supervisors and their managers set the tone of the work environment, and studies of the effectiveness of training suggest that it is in combination with effective management that training works best.”²⁵ A study by Mastrofski and Ritti, which analyzed the effectiveness of police training for apprehending drivers under the influence of alcohol, revealed that the length of training officers received had no effect on their behavior if their organizations’ culture conflicted with their training.²⁶

Organizational support—and sometimes change—coupled with appropriate training and implementation is required to ensure the success of the intended initiative. MacQueen and Bradford examined the efficacy of the Scottish Community Engagement Trial, which involved implementing a modified version of the Australian Queensland Community Engagement Trial, whose outcome was positive perceptions of the police among Australian citizens. However, Scotland’s experience contradicted that of Australia. After studying the failure of Scotland’s trial, MacQueen and Bradford concluded,

²² Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy.

²³ Emily G. Owens et al., *Promoting Officer Integrity through Early Engagements and Procedural Justice in the Seattle Police Department* (Washington, DC: Police Foundation, 2016), vi, <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/249881.pdf>.

²⁴ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, “Training Police for Procedural Justice.”

²⁵ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, “Training Police for Procedural Justice,” 333. See also Dai, “Training Police for Procedural Justice.”

²⁶ Stephen D. Mastrofski and R. Richard Ritti, “Police Training and the Effects of Organization on Drunk Driving Enforcement,” *Justice Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (June 1996): 291–320, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418829600092951>.

The implementation of a procedural justice model of policing is not a straightforward matter. . . . At least in policing contexts where interaction and satisfaction are already high, other factors, for example subtleties and nuances of communication context, content and style, can intervene. Failure to acknowledge and provide for these in attempting to operationalise the procedural justice model may, perversely, undermine public trust and police legitimacy.²⁷

Ensuring that organizations communicate with and seek buy-in from their employees in performing the duties is essential.²⁸ Likewise, MacQueen and Bradford highlight the importance of organizational climate and leadership in success:

Achieving buy-in and fostering open environments conducive to new practice requires a substantial change in internal, and external, approaches to undertaking and implementing policing research, experimental or otherwise. The importance of good communication, and fair treatment of officers within their own organization, cannot be over-estimated, and the value of investing in procedural justice oriented training, backed up with reinforcement and feedback by fellow and senior officers in terms of espousing the need for positive public engagement ensuring internal organizational justice, is clear.²⁹

However, the extent to which the training has been implemented and how it has been taught remain unclear. This research helps to address this problem by assessing the extent of procedural justice training among selected state law enforcement agencies, identifying barriers and drivers that influence implementation, and making recommendations to support the broader implementation of validated training.

B. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This thesis answers the following questions:

1. To what extent and how are selected state law enforcement agencies in the United States providing procedural justice training?

²⁷ Sarah MacQueen and Ben Bradford, “Procedural Justice in Practice: Findings from the Scottish Community Engagement Trial (ScotCET),” *Scottish Justice Matters* 3, no. 2 (June 2015): 12, http://scottishjusticematters.com/wp-content/uploads/SJM_3-2_June2015_Policing_in_Scotland.pdf.

²⁸ Sarah MacQueen and Ben Bradford, “Where Did It All Go Wrong? Implementation Failure—and More—in a Field Experiment of Procedural Justice Policing,” *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 13, no. 3 (2017): 321–45, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-016-9278-7>.

²⁹ MacQueen and Bradford, 343.

2. What are the organizational barriers to broader implementation?
3. What are potential drivers or levers to support broader implementation?

C. RESEARCH DESIGN

This research consisted of two phases. Phase 1 answered the first research question by collecting publicly available documents describing the organization and training of approximately 10–15 state law enforcement agencies in the United States. Specifically, this research focused on large highway patrol or state trooper organizations certified by the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) whose credentialing authority relies on partnerships with the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, the National Sheriff’s Association, and the Police Executive Research Forum.³⁰

Notably, only public safety agencies that have demonstrated compliance with CALEA standards receive accreditation. A few of the benefits of CALEA accreditation include increased community advocacy, greater accountability within the agency, and reduced risk and liability exposure.³¹ As CALEA states, “Accreditation embodies the precepts of community-oriented policing. It creates a forum in which law enforcement agencies and citizens work together to prevent and control challenges confronting law enforcement and provides clear direction about community expectations.”³² Furthermore, the research included organizations from states representing a broad range of ethnic diversity because diverse communities, specifically communities of color, have the least trust in law enforcement. As such, one would hope to see law enforcement organizations with diverse communities providing some sort of procedural justice training to their employees.

The researcher collected recruiting information, mission statements, organizational charts, and training materials. To analyze the data, the researcher developed criteria to

³⁰ “About Us,” Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies, accessed September 3, 2022, <https://www.calea.org/about-us>.

³¹ “Benefits of Accreditation,” Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies, September 3, 2022, <https://www.calea.org/benefits-accreditation>.

³² Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies.

assess the current status of procedural justice training, the trainees involved, the extent and delivery of the training, and the total number of hours offered during academy, in-service, and supervisory training. This research phase assessed the extent of each agency's implementation of procedural justice training.

The focus of Phase 2 was to answer the latter research questions—What are the organizational barriers to broader implementation, and what are potential divers or levers? To answer these questions, the researcher drew from the Phase 1 results to select state highway patrol or state trooper organizations representing greater and lesser implementation of procedural justice training. The researcher then conducted interviews with the selected agencies' training coordinators about their procedural justice training, encompassing the following categories: academy training, in-service training for the rank and file, and leadership training. Because interviews were conducted with the respective organizations' training coordinators to obtain organizational materials and information, the researcher described the information being sought to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and requested a determination letter. On February 22, 2022, the IRB determined the research did not involve the use of human subjects and, thus, a review and approval were not required.

The analytical approach consisted of a force field analysis, as developed by Kurt Lewin, which involved identifying internal and external forces that have either supported or hindered efforts to drive change.³³ Following the analysis, the researcher integrated the findings and compiled recommendations from the data collected.

³³ Kurt Lewin, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Concept, Method and Reality in Social Science; Social Equilibria and Social Change," *Human Relations* 1, no. 1 (June 1947), <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872674700100103>.

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II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Considerable research has explored the role of legitimacy and procedural justice in policing. This research consistently shows that when the police are viewed as legitimate, the public is more willing to respond to police requests.³⁴ This finding suggests that a deeper understanding of the role of legitimacy and procedural justice will assist law enforcement leaders in building trust, compliance, and cooperation. Research also shows that law enforcement culture may inhibit organizational change, which will be required to build understanding. Force field analysis was successfully applied to understand and support organizational change. This chapter first provides an overview of research on legitimacy, the theory of procedural justice in enhancing police legitimacy, and the influence of police culture on organizational change. Then, the chapter provides an overview of force field analysis, as created by Kurt Lewin.

A. POLICE LEGITIMACY

The legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public is important because it is the fulcrum of the relationships between the police and the public.

—Jason Sunshine and Tom Tyler³⁵

Over the years, scholars have studied the formation of legitimacy, its importance in policing, and actions that can negatively affect it—all essential areas for law enforcement organizations in the 21st century. Tom R. Tyler, an established scholar of psychology and social justice, highlights that decades of research have shown people not only obey but also cooperate with the authorities if and when they perceive those authorities as legitimate.³⁶ Extensive literature has addressed how law enforcement earns legitimacy from the people

³⁴ Tom R. Tyler, “Trust and Legitimacy: Policing in the USA and Europe,” *European Journal of Criminology* 8, no. 4 (2011), <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370811411462>.

³⁵ Sunshine and Tyler, “The Role of Procedural Justice,” 516.

³⁶ Tyler, “Trust and Legitimacy,” 257.

policed.³⁷ Tyler defines legitimacy as “a psychological property of an authority, institution, or social arrangement that leads those connected to it to believe that it is appropriate, proper, and just.”³⁸ Thus, people deem the authority worthy of receiving their cooperation and deference, yet, as Sunshine and Tyler point out, the authority’s ability to reward or punish is not the only factor in the public’s sense of obligation.³⁹ Balkin emphasizes the role of legal institutions in legitimacy: “Legitimacy is a feature of legal systems that makes them worthy of respect, so that people living in legitimate legal systems have reasons to accept the use of state coercion to enforce laws that they do not necessarily agree with and may even think quite unjust.”⁴⁰ Together, these two definitions suggest that legitimacy means worthiness of respect—even when the outcomes may not favor the parties involved.⁴¹

However, law enforcement faces a legitimacy crisis due to recent incidents involving force—particularly deadly force—with individuals such as George Floyd, Eric Garner, and Michael Brown.⁴² Although scholars may disagree on the source of legitimacy, they converge on its results: when an individual perceives a law enforcement officer, organization, or legal system—such as the criminal justice system—as legitimate, the person is more inclined to cooperate and comply with the same.⁴³ One thing is certain: police legitimacy is essential for a democratic society in which citizens are free and may

³⁷ Lorraine Mazerolle et al., “Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy: A Systematic Review of the Research Evidence,” *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 9, no. 3 (September 2013): 245–74, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-013-9175-2>.

³⁸ Tyler, “Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy and Legitimation,” 375; Mazerolle et al., “Legitimacy in Policing,” 12.

³⁹ Sunshine and Tyler, “The Role of Procedural Justice,” 514.

⁴⁰ Jack M. Balkin, “Respect Worthy: Frank Michelman and the Legitimate Constitution,” *Tulsa Law Review* 39 (2004): 486, <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.13051/1723>.

⁴¹ Balkin, “Respect Worthy.”

⁴² Tyler, Goff, and MacCoun, “The Impact of Psychological Science.”

⁴³ Committee on Proactive Policing: Effects on Crime, Communities, and Civil Liberties; Committee on Law and Justice; and Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, *Proactive Policing: Effects on Crime and Communities*, ed. David Weisburd and Malay K. Majumdar (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.17226/24928>; Tom R. Tyler and Jonathan Jackson, “Popular Legitimacy and the Exercise of Legal Authority: Motivating Compliance, Cooperation, and Engagement,” *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 20, no. 1 (February 2014): 78–95, <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0034514>; Mazerolle et al., “Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy.”

voice their concerns while the police uphold the rule of law and respond fairly and impartially to complaints from the public.⁴⁴ Even though scholars disagree on its source, law enforcement organizations need legitimacy to accomplish their goals and fulfill their missions.

While the National Academy of Sciences concludes that existing research is insufficient to support a causal link between procedurally just policing and perceived legitimacy or cooperation, studies demonstrate that the public's perception of fair treatment by the police correlates with police legitimacy and the willingness to cooperate.⁴⁵ Sunshine and Tyler, examining the determinants of legitimacy, have found through their research that "legitimacy is based predominantly on procedural justice . . . and to a lesser extent on distributive justice . . . and police performance."⁴⁶ Some scholars, however, worry that procedurally just behavior may threaten officer safety. Procedurally just treatment during police–citizen encounters, argue skeptics Nagin and Telep, does not lead to increased compliance with the law; while they question its impact, they concede the social value of procedural justice.⁴⁷ Further, as noted by Sunshine and Tyler, procedural justice does not limit an officer's use of force when it is justifiable.⁴⁸

In this context, governmental authorities, such as President Barack Obama and his administration, have underscored the importance of addressing the need for positive and healthy relationships between the public and the police. In 2014, Executive Order 13684

⁴⁴ Michelle D. Bonner, "What Democratic Policing Is . . . and Is Not," *Policing and Society* 30, no. 9 (2020): 1044–60, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2019.1649405>; Annabelle Dias Felix and Tina Hilgers, "Community Oriented Policing Theory and Practice: Global Policy Diffusion or Local Appropriation?," *Policing and Society* (2020): 1–9, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2020.1776280>.

⁴⁵ Committee on Proactive Policing, Committee on Law and Justice, and Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, *Proactive Policing*.

⁴⁶ Sunshine and Tyler, "The Role of Procedural Justice," 530.

⁴⁷ Daniel S. Nagin and Cody W. Telep, "Procedural Justice and Legal Compliance: A Revisionist Perspective," *Criminology & Public Policy* 19, no. 3 (2020): 761–86, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12499>.

⁴⁸ Sunshine and Tyler, "The Role of Procedural Justice."

under President Obama created the Task Force on 21st Century Policing.⁴⁹ The aim of the task force was to distinguish best practices to enhance police–citizen relationships while reducing crime and building trust.⁵⁰ The resulting report from the task force distinguishes six pillars of policing practices, all with the purpose of gaining greater public buy-in: “Building Trust and Legitimacy, Policy and Oversight, Technology and Social Media, Community Policing and Crime Reduction, Officer Training and Education, and Officer Safety and Wellness.”⁵¹ Ultimately, law enforcement agencies have considered adopting these best practices to achieve healthier relationships with the public.

The Task Force on 21st Century Policing highlights the importance of legitimacy in effective policing and the role of procedural justice in building police legitimacy:

Decades of research and practice support the premise that people are more likely to obey the law when they believe that those who are enforcing it have authority that is perceived as legitimate by those subject to the authority. The public confers legitimacy only on those whom they believe are acting in procedurally just ways.⁵²

In this context, research has offered several examples of procedural justice in action. For instance, Theodore Boe examines procedural justice models from U.S. law enforcement agencies to illustrate how the critical principles of procedural fairness can increase trust and enhance legitimacy by reducing the number of negative police–citizen encounters.⁵³ Notably, the Chicago Police Department’s Quality Interaction Program for police recruits was the first training program of its kind in the United States to implement the principles of procedural justice.⁵⁴ Notwithstanding this example, few law enforcement organizations have turned research into training, and academic assessments of the training that does exist

⁴⁹ President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Final Report of the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2015), 51, https://cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/taskforce/taskforce_finalreport.pdf.

⁵⁰ President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing.

⁵¹ President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 1.

⁵² President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 1.

⁵³ Theodore A. Boe, “Benefits of Utilizing Procedural Justice Principles in Hiring and Training Officers” (master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2019), <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/63433>.

⁵⁴ Rosenbaum and Lawrence, “Teaching Procedural Justice.”

have deemed it weak at best—despite extensive studies that indicate a strong correlation between procedural justice and legitimacy.⁵⁵

Some research suggests that police officers are unaware of the need for legitimacy and its relationship to procedural justice. Most research on the existing training suggests that agencies' inconsistent implementation contributes to weak outcomes.⁵⁶ In his dissertation on critical-thinking in police academies, Spruill finds that nearly half of police cadets know little about police legitimacy.⁵⁷ Spruill's findings suggest that the police may be challenged by the public if they do not understand the sources of their legitimacy. Moreover, although research on legitimacy and procedural justice has existed for several years, its application to law enforcement in fostering relationships with community members is a recent development.⁵⁸ However, in a 2021 policy assessment, the Task Force on Policing notes that no systematic data exist on the number of law enforcement organizations that have implemented training on procedural justice.⁵⁹ This lack of data is a problem because adopting procedural justice training was the first recommendation under Pillar 1 of the President's Task Force report—published over five years before the policy assessment—to build trust and enhance police legitimacy.⁶⁰

B. PROCEDURAL JUSTICE

Research suggests a lack of public cooperation, obedience, and acceptance derives from perceived procedural injustice, thus undermining legitimacy.⁶¹ On the other hand, according to Sunshine and Tyler, when law enforcement authorities are perceived as

⁵⁵ Rosenbaum and Lawrence, "Teaching Procedural Justice," 297.

⁵⁶ Rosenbaum and Lawrence, 297.

⁵⁷ Billy J. Spruill, "Critical Thinking in Law Enforcement Training Academies: A Phenomenological Study of Officer Experiences" (PhD diss., Abilene Christian University, 2021), <https://digitalcommons.acu.edu/etd/375/>.

⁵⁸ Lisa A. Wilson, "Recommendations for the Incorporation of Procedural Justice into Policing" (seminar paper, University of Wisconsin–Platteville, 2019), <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1793/79429>.

⁵⁹ Task Force on Policing, *Procedural Justice Training: Policy Assessment* (Washington, DC: Council on Criminal Justice, 2021), 2, <https://counciloncj.foleon.com/policing/assessing-the-evidence/vi-procedural-justice-training/>.

⁶⁰ President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Final Report of the President's Task Force*.

⁶¹ Mazerolle et al., "Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy."

procedurally just, their legitimacy increases in the eyes of citizens, who are more likely to accept intrusive police tactics, which may better control crime because police have more flexibility.⁶² The President’s Task Force has acknowledged the importance of enhancing law enforcement’s legitimacy. In establishing pillars that improve legitimacy—the task force asserts that trust between the public and the police is vital in a democracy.⁶³

However, trust cannot be expected or demanded—it must be nurtured like legitimacy. Mazerolle et al. assert that when the public does not view officers as procedurally just, it deems the police less legitimate.⁶⁴ According to Mazerolle et al., undermining an officer’s legitimacy can lead a citizen to disobey or impede the officer.⁶⁵ Therefore, Pillar 1 of the President’s Task Force acknowledges the importance of fostering trust to enhance legitimacy and adopting practices to build and improve police–community relations.⁶⁶ As such, the task force recommends that law enforcement organizations engrain into their departments the principles of procedural justice, both internally and externally.⁶⁷ Therefore, as noted by MacQueen and Bradford, law enforcement organizations should see value in providing procedural justice training to their staff, as well as reinforcing internal organizational justice—in other words, treating officers fairly and impartially, without favoritism, while communicating and soliciting feedback from all stakeholders.⁶⁸

Although studies on the efficacy of procedural justice training programs for police have been limited, two studies conducted by different researchers suggest that procedural justice training is practical.⁶⁹ Both studies found that procedural justice training works, primarily when implemented adequately. The first was Mengyan Dai’s study, which

⁶² Mazerolle et al., 247.

⁶³ President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Final Report of the President’s Task Force*, 1.

⁶⁴ Mazerolle et al., “Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy.”

⁶⁵ Mazerolle et al.

⁶⁶ President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Final Report of the President’s Task Force*.

⁶⁷ President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing.

⁶⁸ MacQueen and Bradford, “Where Did It All Go Wrong?”

⁶⁹ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, “Training Police for Procedural Justice.”

evaluated the Norfolk Police Department’s procedural justice training. Consisting of an eight-hour formal training day, the training involved a variety of modules covering such topics as the theory of procedural justice, legitimacy, and internal procedural justice—that is, how the command level treats its officers.⁷⁰ Dai’s evaluation focused on the degree to which training on the pillars of procedural justice changed long-term and short-term attitudes of the police and their conduct toward the public. Finally, the study assessed the police from the citizens’ perspective.⁷¹ Dai’s findings verified the effectiveness of procedural justice training in the short and long term.⁷² According to Dai, two factors may contribute to the success of the training program: 1) tailoring the training to the organization and jurisdiction and 2) creating a “supportive organizational context” within the department.⁷³

The second study, by Wesley G. Skogan, Maarten Van Craen, and Cari Hennessy, also evaluated a procedural justice training program for police.⁷⁴ As part of the evaluation, the scholars conducted short-term and long-term examinations of the effects of procedural justice training. Both focused on the Chicago Police Department’s training program, which consisted of modules like those of the Norfolk Police Department. After the examinations, Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy found that, overall, the procedural justice training program was effective, in both the short and long term, as officers who had received the training were more supportive of the principles of procedural justice.⁷⁵ The scholars concluded that providing limitations and barriers—if taken into context—can produce positive results in adopting a procedural justice culture while enhancing police legitimacy and creating organizational change.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Dai, “Training Police for Procedural Justice,” 485–86.

⁷¹ Dai.

⁷² Dai, 481.

⁷³ Dai, 492.

⁷⁴ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, “Training Police for Procedural Justice.”

⁷⁵ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy.

⁷⁶ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy.

Despite these few documented successes, the research on procedural justice training is scant, and barriers to implementing the training have affected the outcomes for police agencies.⁷⁷ According to the National Research Council, there are few studies on the effects of training, and some studies indicate that the influence of training depends on whether the organizational environment—specifically, top leadership, supervision, performance monitoring, and incentive systems—reinforces the lessons learned during training.⁷⁸ Thus, the National Research Council warns that police training often “suffers from one or more serious methodological limitations . . . [such as] failure to take the characteristics of the organizational environment into account.”⁷⁹ Nonetheless, the council concludes that police officer training mandates should require “scientifically rigorous programs” to test effectiveness.⁸⁰ Overall, the council stresses the need for further research on law enforcement training.⁸¹

Although research on police training is limited, existing studies suggest that the way legitimacy and procedural justice training is provided at the academy level influences training outcomes. According to Blumberg et al., recruits acquire critical-thinking skills and both stronger communication and emotional intelligence when they are taught in accordance with adult-learning theory.⁸² However, as noted by Makin, this style of training—problem-based learning—is generally not what takes place in police training.⁸³ What is most common in law enforcement training academies is the traditional training model, which focuses on lectures and teaches recruits “to treat every individual they

⁷⁷ MacQueen and Bradford, “Where Did It All Go Wrong?”; Mazerolle et al., “Legitimacy in Policing”; Dai, “Training Police for Procedural Justice.”

⁷⁸ Wesley Skogan and Kathleen Frydl, eds., *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2004), 142, <https://doi.org/10.17226/10419>.

⁷⁹ Skogan and Frydl, 142.

⁸⁰ Skogan and Frydl, 154.

⁸¹ Skogan and Frydl, 147.

⁸² Daniel M. Blumberg et al., “New Directions in Police Academy Training: A Call to Action,” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 16, no. 24 (2019): 3, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16244941>.

⁸³ David A. Makin, “A Descriptive Analysis of a Problem-Based Learning Police Academy,” *Interdisciplinary Journal of Problem-Based Learning* 10, no. 1 (2016): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.7771/1541-5015.1544>.

interact with as an armed threat and every situation as a deadly force encounter in the making. *Every individual, every situation—no exceptions*” (original emphasis).⁸⁴ Therefore, changing how most law enforcement organizations teach and treat their recruits is essential, yet police culture often hinders change.

Additionally, although training is essential in promoting procedural justice within an organization, Murphy and Tyler highlight that the inherently unequal internal dynamics of many law enforcement organizations is a significant barrier to police change.⁸⁵ Murphy and Tyler maintain that when officers are trained in the principles of procedural justice but do not experience it within their own agencies, it is difficult to expect officers to treat people fairly.⁸⁶ Conversely, according to Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff,

When officers [work] in a procedurally fair department, they [are] more likely to trust and feel obligated to obey their superiors, less likely to be psychologically and emotionally distressed, and less likely to be cynical and mistrustful about the world in general and the communities they police in particular. More importantly, these effects [are] associated with greater endorsement of democratic forms of policing.⁸⁷

Therefore, as Wilson insists, procedural justice needs to be woven into the fabric of the organization and promoted internally from the “top down” on a continuing basis—from the beginning of an officer’s training at the academy until the officer’s retirement.⁸⁸ Overall, the existing literature suggests individuals greatly value how they are treated, which has implications for how they relate to others and their environment.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Seth Stoughton, “Law Enforcement’s ‘Warrior’ Problem,” *Harvard Law Review Forum* 128, no. 6 (April 2015): 228, https://harvardlawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/vol128_Stoughton.pdf.

⁸⁵ Kristina Murphy and Tom R. Tyler, “Experimenting with Procedural Justice Policing,” *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 13, no. 3 (2017): 291, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-017-9300-8>.

⁸⁶ Murphy and Tyler.

⁸⁷ Rick Trinkner, Tom R. Tyler, and Phillip Atiba Goff, “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, no. 2 (2016): 158, <https://doi.org/10.1037/law0000085>.

⁸⁸ Wilson, “Recommendations for the Incorporation of Procedural Justice into Policing.”

⁸⁹ Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law*, 164.

C. POLICE CULTURE—THE LIMITS OF TRAINING EFFECTIVENESS

We've been taught to trust nobody, to show less emotion. . . . We come to see everything as bullshit—going to another domestic, going to a beat meeting, going to training. We come to see people as assholes. But in reality, there's a big population we never come in contact with. It's the rest of the world.

—Procedural justice training officer⁹⁰

Police culture has been a topic of research and discussion by academics and practitioners alike for many decades. This should not come as a surprise, as the existing literature suggests that police culture has been highlighted as a barrier to reform, organizational change, and accountability and may explain why law enforcement officers engage in certain types of behavior.⁹¹ Also, some scholars argue that the most significant barrier to change in law enforcement is its culture, due partly to internal and external forces.⁹² As Gelles, Mirkow, and Mariani from the Deloitte Center for Government Insights observe, “Change is difficult in any industry and even more so in law enforcement where complex organizations must interact with complex societies often in unclear circumstances.”⁹³ Therefore, understanding what police culture entails and which forces drive it should not be ignored by researchers and, most importantly, law enforcement executives seeking to implement training or organizational change within their departments.

According to Ingram, Paoline, and Terrill, police culture is a term recognized by scholars, practitioners, and the public, but it is loosely defined and can carry a different

⁹⁰ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, “Training Police for Procedural Justice,” 331.

⁹¹ Jason R. Ingram, Eugene A. Paoline, and William Terrill, “A Multilevel Framework for Understanding Police Culture: The Role of the Workgroup,” *Criminology* 51, no. 2 (May 2013): 365–97, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9125.12009>.

⁹² Stephen R. Sigmon, “Exploring the Influence of Path Dependence within the Police Culture of Law Enforcement Agencies Considering New Policing Initiatives” (PhD diss., Northcentral University, 2017), ProQuest.

⁹³ Michael Gelles, Alex Mirkow, and Joe Mariani, *The Future of Law Enforcement: Policing Strategies to Meet the Challenges of Evolving Technology and a Changing World* (New York: Deloitte Insights, 2019), 9, https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/xs/Documents/public-sector/DI_Future-of-law-enforcement.pdf.

meaning for each individual.⁹⁴ The recognized characteristics of police culture include a belief that outsiders, such as academics, politicians, and community activists, are hopelessly ill informed about the nature of policing.⁹⁵ This culture poses two limitations for expanding perceptions of procedural justice. First, police culture has been found responsible for unsuccessful organizational change and police reform.⁹⁶ Second, police culture also drives adherence to the traditional policing model, which focuses on more aggressive tactics to gain public compliance and is incompatible with procedural justice.⁹⁷ Further, there is also the argument that some law enforcement agencies tend toward the warrior over the guardian mindset of policing, which magnifies the complexities of police culture. This research on police culture suggests that law enforcement organizations must be open to different approaches, regardless of their personal views and beliefs.

Silver et al. define traditional police culture as “a set of attitudes and values, developed as coping mechanisms for police work’s unique and inherent strains, that fosters distrust toward, and isolation from, citizens.”⁹⁸ This definition is consistent with scholars Ingram, Paoline, and Terrill, whose research has identified characteristics relevant to officers simply because of the nature of their work environment.⁹⁹ Ingram, Paoline, and Terrill contend that aggressive police tactics are favored by officers who are skeptical of the public and reject management authority.¹⁰⁰ It is widely accepted that the “us-versus-them” or “insider-versus-outsider” mentality exists in law enforcement organizations and is inherent to the culture.¹⁰¹ MacQueen and Bradford add that hesitation to take on new

⁹⁴ Ingram, Paoline, and Terrill, “A Multilevel Framework for Understanding Police Culture.”

⁹⁵ Wesley G. Skogan, “Why Reforms Fail,” *Policing and Society* 18, no. 1 (March 2008): 26, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439460701718534>.

⁹⁶ MacQueen and Bradford, “Where Did It All Go Wrong?”; Scott W. Phillips, “The Attitudes and Goals of Police Supervisors: Results from a National Sample,” *Police Practice & Research* 16, no. 5 (October 2015): 364–77, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2014.888349>.

⁹⁷ Jasmine R. Silver et al., “Traditional Police Culture, Use of Force, and Procedural Justice: Investigating Individual, Organizational, and Contextual Factors,” *Justice Quarterly* 34, no. 7 (2017): 1272–1309, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2017.1381756>.

⁹⁸ Silver et al., 1272.

⁹⁹ Ingram, Paoline, and Terrill, “A Multilevel Framework for Understanding Police Culture.”

¹⁰⁰ Ingram, Paoline, and Terrill, 368.

¹⁰¹ Skogan, “Why Reforms Fail.”

practices may relate to doubting outside researchers and law enforcement executives and managers.¹⁰² The belief that “no-one knows the job like they do” is prevalent among officers engrained in police culture.¹⁰³ According to Brimbal et al., over the years, research has shown that when suggested practices from outside sources differ from traditional policing models, the police make known their hesitance to accept these changes.¹⁰⁴

Another critical issue pertains to the practice of law enforcement executives’ checking the box for training as opposed to examining the training’s effectiveness.¹⁰⁵ Brimbal et al. examined the procedurally fair organizational climate within law enforcement organizations and its importance in promoting openness to change.¹⁰⁶ In their study, three critical factors emerged to explain the prevalence of resistance among law enforcement organizations: 1) the police culture, 2) the top-down nature of reform, and 3) the officers’ level of discretion coupled with little to no managerial oversight from operating in a “low-visibility environment.”¹⁰⁷ According to Paoline, among these three factors, law enforcement culture is the greatest barrier to police reform.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the culture frequently condones the abuse of police authority and the infringement of civilian rights.¹⁰⁹ However, according to some experts, the culture can, however, be used to reform an organization and regulate and prevent inappropriate police action.¹¹⁰ Overall, these three factors pose challenges for law enforcement leaders and researchers when

¹⁰² MacQueen and Bradford, “Where Did It All Go Wrong?,” 327.

¹⁰³ MacQueen and Bradford, 327.

¹⁰⁴ Laure Brimbal et al., “On the Importance of a Procedurally Fair Organizational Climate for Openness to Change in Law Enforcement,” *Law and Human Behavior* 44, no. 5 (October 2020): 395, <https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000422>.

¹⁰⁵ Nagin and Telep, “Procedural Justice and Legal Compliance,” 780.

¹⁰⁶ Brimbal et al., “A Procedurally Fair Organizational Climate.”

¹⁰⁷ Brimbal et al., 395.

¹⁰⁸ Eugene A Paoline, “Taking Stock: Toward a Richer Understanding of Police Culture,” *Journal of Criminal Justice* 31, no. 3 (May 2003): 199–214, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2352\(03\)00002-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2352(03)00002-3).

¹⁰⁹ Paoline, 200.

¹¹⁰ Paoline, 200.

attempting to implement change, so exploring change in law enforcement organizations is necessary.¹¹¹

The literature also describes officers as not trusting the public, having negative perceptions of the organization's leadership, and favoring traditional policing models over a guardian mentality of policing.¹¹² Traditional policing models focus on performance measures ranging from citations to the number of arrests, with little to no emphasis on the performance objectives of community policing.¹¹³ Further, Sunshine and Tyler add that these models focus on the belief that to deter individuals from engaging in criminal misconduct, they must feel the fear of being caught and punished.¹¹⁴ However, as the literature has suggested, deterrence has not always been an effective tactic for gaining long-term compliance and cooperation from the public but is more likely to be encountered with resistance.¹¹⁵ These models, coupled with the warrior mindset taught in various law enforcement organizations, only hinder the development of healthy police–citizen relationships.

The warrior mindset, according to Sue Rahr and Stephen K. Rice, produces recruits who unquestionably follow orders and are combat ready, as trained in the military-style boot-camp model at the academy.¹¹⁶ The authors also add that de-escalation and communication skills receive less emphasis than weapons and techniques of physical control.¹¹⁷ In this mindset, recruits are also trained that every individual they encounter might be a threat, which could result in a deadly use-of-force encounter.¹¹⁸ Such training

¹¹¹ Brimbal et al., “A Procedurally Fair Organizational Climate.”

¹¹² Ingram, Paoline, and Terrill, “A Multilevel Framework for Understanding Police Culture”; Silver et al., “Traditional Police Culture.”

¹¹³ Phillips, “The Attitudes and Goals of Police Supervisors.”

¹¹⁴ Sunshine and Tyler, “The Role of Procedural Justice.”

¹¹⁵ Sunshine and Tyler.

¹¹⁶ Sue Rahr and Stephen K. Rice, *From Warriors to Guardians: Recommitting American Police Culture to Democratic Ideals*, New Perspectives in Policing (Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, 2015), 4, <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/248654.pdf>.

¹¹⁷ Rahr and Rice, 5.

¹¹⁸ Seth W. Stoughton, “Principled Policing: Warrior Cops and Guardian Officers,” *Wake Forest Law Review* 51 (October 2016): 611–76.

leads to officers' developing hypervigilance, which might be good for maintaining officer safety but hinders the development of positive relationships with the community.¹¹⁹

In contrast, the guardian mentality of policing concentrates on working closely with the community in preventing and combating crime.¹²⁰ As Stoughton describes, the guardian model prioritizes a heart of service over crime-fighting while also valuing police–citizen interactions as an avenue to building long-term relationships.¹²¹ He adds that this model requires that interactions be considerate, respectful, fair, and empowering—and not just legally justified.¹²² In essence, this mindset centers on communication, cooperation, “and legitimacy over authority.”¹²³ Furthermore, the guardian mentality of policing stresses that both within the agency and with citizens, procedural justice should direct policy and its implementation.¹²⁴ This cultural shift requires an emphasis on procedurally just behavior; however, law enforcement leaders must first understand the police culture before diving into organizational change.

A study by Silver et al. found that adherence to traditional police culture was associated with “less support for procedural justice.”¹²⁵ This finding is consistent with that of Terrill and Paoline, who found a connection between the traditional police mentality and weak procedural justice.¹²⁶ Being mindful of what produces weaker procedural justice can help when considering a cultural change. Indeed, aspects of the police culture, such as the different styles of policing—i.e., warrior versus guardian—often act as impediments to implementing change within an organization.¹²⁷ Also, over the past decades, researchers

¹¹⁹ Stoughton.

¹²⁰ Stoughton.

¹²¹ Stoughton, “Law Enforcement’s ‘Warrior’ Problem.”

¹²² Stoughton, 231.

¹²³ Stoughton, 231.

¹²⁴ President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Final Report of the President’s Task Force*, 1.

¹²⁵ Silver et al., “Traditional Police Culture,” 1293.

¹²⁶ William Terrill and Eugene A. Paoline, “Citizen Complaints as Threats to Police Legitimacy: The Role of Officers’ Occupational Attitudes,” *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 31, no. 2 (2015): 192–211, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986214568842>.

¹²⁷ Stoughton, “Principled Policing.”

have documented that aggressive policing and crime-fighting tactics have been part of many organizations' police cultures. In a study that examined police supervisors' attitudes toward their policing model, Phillips found that supervisors, even as part of a community policing model, favored aggressive enforcement policing—that is, the traditional policing model.¹²⁸ Research on police culture thus suggests that recommendations for implementing organizational change in law enforcement account for law enforcement culture. According to Gelles et al., the new environment requires adapting police culture to society—much more than relying on any one tool or new technology—to ensure the future of policing.¹²⁹

D. ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Organizational change, regardless of the institution, can be challenging and often controversial, but this is especially true of the law enforcement profession. Bringing transformational change to an organization's culture can require extensive time and energy for it to be successful, unlike adaptive change. Any reform, according to Schafer and Varano, can be significantly affected by “drivers of change” such as employee support, cooperation, and the leadership's role during the implementation.¹³⁰ Furthermore, as Brimbal et al. have found, organizations will be most successful at driving change when they are procedurally just.¹³¹ Therefore, treating employees in a procedurally just manner can help an organization achieve success in the intended implementation.

For years, research has found widespread resistance to change among law enforcement.¹³² Schafer and Varano claim that organizational change is a difficult and often contentious process; nevertheless, they assert that the history of American law

¹²⁸ Phillips, “The Attitudes and Goals of Police Supervisors.”

¹²⁹ Gelles, Mirkow, and Mariani, *The Future of Law Enforcement*, 9.

¹³⁰ Joseph A. Schafer and Sean P. Varano, “Change in Police Organizations: Perceptions, Experiences, and the Failure to Launch,” *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 33, no. 4 (2017): 392–410, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986217724532>.

¹³¹ Brimbal et al., “A Procedurally Fair Organizational Climate,” 394.

¹³² Brimbal et al.

enforcement is one of growth and innovation.¹³³ As the authors note, law enforcement organizations have been under pressure to evolve as crime patterns change and the expectations of community policing continue to increase, but such change is not always easy. Furthermore, without clear direction about the core mission and indicators of success, organizations struggle to mandate change or evaluate progress.¹³⁴

Kelsey Miller, a contributing writer for Harvard Business School, defines organizational change as “the actions a business takes to change or adjust a significant component of its organization. This may include company culture, internal processes, underlying technology or infrastructure, corporate hierarchy, or another critical aspect.”¹³⁵ There are two types of organizational change: adaptive and transformational.¹³⁶ While adaptive changes are minor and involve improvements to a product or process, transformational changes are much more significant and dramatic and intended to depart from the status quo.¹³⁷ Furthermore, transformational changes require much more time and energy to implement.¹³⁸ An initiative to change a police culture from a warrior to a guardian mentality would fall under the transformational category as it would require changing an organization’s culture, which is not a simple process.¹³⁹ Organizational change models can guide leaders who hope to drive transformational organizational change.

Police organizations, like many other institutions both in the public and private sectors, are no strangers to the successes and failures of organizational change.¹⁴⁰ Although leaders often implement change with good intentions or reasons, such as

¹³³ Schafer and Varano, “Change in Police Organizations,” 393.

¹³⁴ Schafer and Varano, 394.

¹³⁵ Kelsey Miller, “5 Critical Steps in the Change Management Process,” *Business Insights* (blog), March 19, 2020, <https://online.hbs.edu/blog/post/change-management-process>.

¹³⁶ Miller.

¹³⁷ Miller.

¹³⁸ Tim Stobierski, “What Is Organizational Change Management?,” *Business Insights* (blog), January 21, 2020, <https://online.hbs.edu/blog/post/organizational-change-management>.

¹³⁹ Miller, “5 Critical Steps in the Change Management Process.”

¹⁴⁰ Schafer and Varano, “Change in Police Organizations.”

increasing the effectiveness of the organization or garnering higher levels of public support, success is not always guaranteed.¹⁴¹ However, according to Shafer and Varano, failure in organizational change is not isolated to policing but quite common in other industries and professions—with scholars estimating a failure rate of 30–90 percent across industries and professions alike.¹⁴² Difficulties and drawn-out processes face police departments that implement organizational change. Also, it bears mentioning that external factors often push for the change.

Acknowledging the different drivers of change—whether internal, external, or a combination thereof—only benefits the intended transformation. However, supporting the growth and success of organizational change requires identifying influencers to build an accepting community that encourages the change.¹⁴³ Just as important is the timing and means of introducing the change, which significantly influence the reception of an initiative.¹⁴⁴ As detailed by Schafer and Varano, studies from the 1980s and 1990s on the success of community policing efforts demonstrated that employees’ perceptions and buy-in were a key factor in determining the programs’ success.¹⁴⁵ Another crucial factor in successful outcomes involved leadership’s participation and communication with personnel at the initial phase and throughout the implementation process. Nevertheless, leadership often neglects this important aspect of organizational change.¹⁴⁶ Although organizational change is a complicated endeavor, law enforcement can draw from research findings to yield more positive outcomes.

According to the research, the effectiveness of community policing consistently relies on support and employee understanding.¹⁴⁷ In their study of factors associated with organizational change outcomes, Schafer and Varano found that communication,

¹⁴¹ Schafer and Varano.

¹⁴² Schafer and Varano.

¹⁴³ Schafer and Varano, 396.

¹⁴⁴ Schafer and Varano.

¹⁴⁵ Schafer and Varano.

¹⁴⁶ Schafer and Varano.

¹⁴⁷ Schafer and Varano.

leadership, and clarity were most critical for positive results.¹⁴⁸ As part of their study, the researchers surveyed 996 students attending the Federal Bureau of Investigation Academy who had held supervisory positions between 2009 and 2010. Students were asked to identify a success or failure of a recent organizational change they had experienced and share their perceptions of the outcome.¹⁴⁹ The researchers found that for change to be successful, leaders need to be invested, and those who will be most affected by the change should have a voice in the process—that is, an opportunity to communicate with their leaders.¹⁵⁰ Schafer and Varano drive this point home:

Affected personnel want to understand why a change is necessary and what it means; some forms of change are evident, but often agencies ask personnel to change their demeanor or policing strategies in ways that are not entirely self-evident (i.e., what does it mean to “attempt to de-escalate” in a potential use of force situation or how do officers “build legitimacy and trust” with residents of their beat?).¹⁵¹

Regarding factors associated with failed change efforts, the participants identified inadequate communication, poor leadership, and ambiguity surrounding the intended change.¹⁵² These findings align with those of general management studies.¹⁵³ Thus, law enforcement organizations that seek to implement changes to police training cannot do so in a vacuum.¹⁵⁴ Relationships, dialogue, and discussion can ensure compliance and lessen resistance, even though leaders have the authority to mandate change.¹⁵⁵

Unsurprisingly, police officers want input into the structure and implementation of organizational change.¹⁵⁶ According to Brimbal et al., changing the relationship of officers

¹⁴⁸ Schafer and Varano.

¹⁴⁹ Schafer and Varano.

¹⁵⁰ Schafer and Varano.

¹⁵¹ Schafer and Varano, 405.

¹⁵² Schafer and Varano, 403.

¹⁵³ Schafer and Varano, 404.

¹⁵⁴ Schafer and Varano.

¹⁵⁵ Schafer and Varano, 404.

¹⁵⁶ Schafer and Varano.

to their organizations is a best practice in promoting change.¹⁵⁷ Law enforcement organizations can benefit from practicing internal procedural justice as the consequences can be positive and far-reaching. Interestingly, Brimbal et al. have observed that staff personnel are more likely to follow the rules and the public is more likely to comply when law enforcement leadership and officers follow principles of procedural justice.¹⁵⁸ This finding tracks with research by Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, namely, that officers are more inclined to obey and respect their leaders and less likely to feel distressed or express a negative opinion of the public when they work in procedurally fair and just departments.¹⁵⁹ Additionally, these same officers exhibit a greater sense of well-being, better organizational effectiveness, and stronger support for democratic policing.¹⁶⁰ Also, as Murphy and Tyler stress, procedural justice is a model for managing organizations and is not exclusively for dealing with the public.¹⁶¹ Finally, Tyler urges law enforcement organizations not only to hire officers “with an eye” for building trust with the public but also to train and reward officers who are doing their part to enhance trust—in other words, strengthening legitimacy.¹⁶²

E. CONCLUSION

Law enforcement is facing a legitimacy crisis. As far back as Sir Robert Peel in the 1800s, scholars have acknowledged that legitimacy enhances public compliance with law authorities and encourages public support and cooperation.¹⁶³ According to the literature, procedural justice is a tool that can help strengthen law enforcement legitimacy. However, as the literature has shown, there is limited information about whether police are receiving procedural justice training and, if so, how the content is delivered. A lack of such training may stem from the complexities of police culture and the resistance to change within the

¹⁵⁷ Brimbal et al., “A Procedurally Fair Organizational Climate,” 395.

¹⁵⁸ Brimbal et al., 395.

¹⁵⁹ Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, “Justice from Within,” 158.

¹⁶⁰ Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, 158.

¹⁶¹ Murphy and Tyler, “Experimenting with Procedural Justice Policing.”

¹⁶² Tyler, “Trust and Legitimacy.”

¹⁶³ Stoughton, “Principled Policing.”

law enforcement community. This research contributes to the understanding that police legitimacy is essential in a democratic society, and procedural justice training is practical. Police culture can hinder change and the efficacy of training, but organizational change models can help those in leadership roles achieve positive outcomes.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

This research consisted of two phases. The focus of Phase 1 was to answer the first research question—To what extent and how are selected state law enforcement agencies in the United States providing procedural justice training?—by analyzing publicly available documents describing the organization and training of state law enforcement organizations in the United States. The aim of Phase 2 was to answer the latter research questions—What are the organizational barriers to broader implementation, and what are potential drivers or levers to support broader implementation? To answer these questions, the research drew from the data obtained in Phase 1 and interviews conducted with the participating law enforcement organizations. Finally, a force field analysis, as developed by Kurt Lewin, identified restraining and driving forces likely to support or hinder the implementation and continuation of procedural justice and legitimacy training and guided the development of recommendations.¹⁶⁴

A. PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

The researcher contacted 10 state law enforcement organizations, including state highway patrol and state trooper organizations, representing more or less ethnically diverse states. The organizations were certified by CALEA and demonstrated compliance with CALEA’s standards. According to its official website, CALEA “was created in 1979 as a credentialing authority through the joint efforts of law enforcement’s major executive associations: International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP); National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE); National Sheriff’s Association (NSA); and the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF).”¹⁶⁵

A few of the benefits of CALEA accreditation include increased community advocacy, greater accountability within the agency, and reduced risk and liability exposure.¹⁶⁶ Specifically, as CALEA states, “Accreditation embodies the precepts of

¹⁶⁴ Lewin, “Frontiers in Group Dynamics.”

¹⁶⁵ Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies, “About Us.”

¹⁶⁶ Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies, “Benefits of Accreditation.”

community-oriented policing. It creates a forum in which law enforcement agencies and citizens work together to prevent and control challenges confronting law enforcement and provides clear direction about community expectations.”¹⁶⁷

The researcher contacted each law enforcement organization’s CALEA accreditation manager through an introductory letter that provided a brief introduction, the purpose of the contact, and the information requested (see Appendix A). Four of the 10 agencies agreed to participate in the research. The researcher then contacted a large metropolitan law enforcement organization, located on the East Coast. This organization, although not a state law enforcement organization, was chosen as part of this research, due to its being CALEA accredited and meeting CALEA’s standards. Thus, five law enforcement organizations participated in this study.

B. DATA COLLECTION

The five participating law enforcement organizations provided the researcher with their training curricula. The collected data and training curricula consisted of internal and publicly available documents. See Appendix B for tables summarizing the data collected from each organization that were then analyzed and evaluated. The researcher assessed all the data to determine to what extent each organization provides procedural justice, legitimacy, and implicit bias training to its officers; how the training is delivered; and how many hours are dedicated to academy, in-service, and supervisory training.

The researcher also conducted interviews with the training coordinators of three of the participating organizations. The interviews asked participants about their organization’s procedural justice training, encompassing the following categories: academy, in-service, and supervisory training. Two of the interviews were conducted via Zoom while the third was conducted via email. Because the purpose of the interviews was to obtain organizational materials or information, the NPS IRB determined on February 22, 2022, that the research did not involve the use of human subjects and, therefore, required no further IRB review.

¹⁶⁷ Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies.

C. DATA ORGANIZATION AND SUMMARY

The researcher organized the data into the following categories: learning activities; learning domains (workbook); course lesson plans; handouts; Power Point presentations; interviews, follow-up information; and facilitator guides. Notably, information from the data collected often overlapped, which demonstrated some consistency in the training provided. Table 1 summarizes the quantity and page counts of materials collected by category.

Table 1. Quantity and Page Counts of Learning Materials and Research Activities

Materials	Org. 1	Org. 2	Org. 3	Org. 4	Org. 5
Interview	1	1			1**
Learning activities	8 (18 pages)				
Workbook	1 (135 pages)		1 (118 pages)		
Lesson plan	2 (20 pages)	1 (43 pages)	32 (649 pages)*		
Handouts	1 (6 pages)				
PowerPoint	32 (304 pages)	1 (84 pages)	2 (96 pages)	2 (103 pages)	5 (252 pages)
Facilitator guide		3 (127 pages)			
Training summary report/audit			3 (34 pages)		
Policy/legal docs				3 (20 pages)	2 (8 pages)
Total pages	491	254	897	123	260

* Leadership Development Program

** Via email response and follow-up emails

1. Learning Activities

The researcher collected data on eight learning activities, all from one organization, Organization 1 (see Appendix B, Table 4). The learning activities involve the following

topics related to procedural justice, legitimacy, and implicit bias training: the community bank account, expectations and cynicism, law enforcement history, grouping, implicit and explicit bias, cultural competency, achieving police legitimacy, and procedural justice in practice. The learning activities are designed for teaching and enhancing the recruits' knowledge, skills, and abilities related to procedural justice, legitimacy, and bias.

2. Learning Domains (Workbooks)

The researcher collected data on two learning domains (workbooks) from the five participating law enforcement organizations (see Appendix B). The learning domains include various topics pertaining to procedural justice, legitimacy, and implicit bias. The material referenced in the learning domains includes the definition of procedural justice and its principles, the benefits of procedural justice for law enforcement organizations and methods for enhancing community relationships and building trust, the definition of legitimacy and how legitimacy benefits law enforcement organizations, various forms of biases and how they affect law enforcement officers' interactions with members of the public, and in-group and out-group dynamics. The learning domains (workbooks) are part of academy recruit training and provided to all new recruits.

3. Course Lesson Plans

The researcher collected over 30 course lesson plans as part of this study. Not all of the participating law enforcement organizations provided the researcher with course lesson plans. For example, one organization did not provide a course lesson plan because it does not deliver procedural justice and legitimacy training to officers. As outlined in one of the course lesson plans, the course is intended to develop and enhance existing academy recruits' skills, knowledge, and attitudes related to procedural justice, legitimacy, and bias—coined “principled policing” by the organization. Furthermore, the lesson plans are designed for students to leave with the ability to implement the lessons practically. It is worth highlighting that many of the course lesson plans pertain to just one organization's leadership development program. Although the leadership development program does not reference the terms procedural justice, legitimacy, or bias, the training does, according to the organization's participant, cover at least some of the principles of procedural justice—

voice, respect, neutrality, and trustworthiness—so it was included and referenced in this study.

4. Handouts

The researcher collected nearly 10 handouts as part of this study. The handouts consisted of data pertaining to training summary reports, audit reports, and legal documents pertaining to training requirements. Most of the handouts address to varying degrees the topics of procedural justice, legitimacy, and bias, as well as outline training requirements. One of the handouts, “Achieving Police Legitimacy through Community Policing,” contains edited excerpts from a dissertation on community policing and police training and is provided by one of the participating organizations to its academy recruits to emphasize the importance of procedural justice vis-à-vis community policing and legitimacy.

5. PowerPoint Presentations

The researcher collected 42 PowerPoint presentations from the five participating law enforcement organizations (see Appendix B). After evaluating and assessing the data, the researcher determined that not all the data collected contained material pertaining to procedural justice, legitimacy, or bias training. The material referenced in the PowerPoint presentations includes the definition of procedural justice and its principles, the benefits of procedural justice for law enforcement organizations and methods for enhancing community relationships and building trust, the definition of legitimacy and how legitimacy benefits law enforcement organizations, and the various forms of biases and how they affect law enforcement officers’ interactions with members of the public.

6. Follow-Up Information

Because one of the interviews was conducted via email—as opposed to via Zoom—with written responses to the questions sought as part of this study, the researcher followed up with the participant after reviewing the initial information collected. These data were used to augment the analysis of this study.

7. Facilitator Guides

The researcher collected three facilitator guides pertaining to procedural justice, legitimacy, and bias training. The guides consist of the following three segments, all intended as eight-hour training sessions: “Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy” (conceptual procedural justice; CPJ), “A Tactical Mindset: Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy” (tactical procedural justice; TPJ), and “Tactical Perception: The Science of Justice” (implicit bias; IB).¹⁶⁸ All three publicly available facilitator guides were obtained by the researcher from the National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice’s website after a participant from one of the organizations directed the researcher to the data. As noted on its website, the National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice exists as a “clearinghouse to provide the latest research, tools and guides, best practices, and a wide variety of other resources to communities and law enforcement agencies interested in engaging in process to reduce implicit bias, enhance procedural justice, and promote reconciliation.”¹⁶⁹

The data evaluated and analyzed were intended for use by any law enforcement organization seeking to provide training in procedural justice, legitimacy, and bias awareness. Each facilitator guide delineates the following categories: course details such as duration of the course, materials and equipment for the course, course goal, learning objectives, and research information pertaining to studies on the topics to be presented.¹⁷⁰ Table 2 outlines the contents of the three facilitator guides.

¹⁶⁸ Jesse Jannetta et al., *Learning to Build Police–Community Trust* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2019).

¹⁶⁹ “Tools & Guides,” National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice, accessed April 16, 2022, <https://trustandjustice.org/resources/tools-guides>.

¹⁷⁰ National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice, “Tools & Guides”; Phillip A. Goff et al., *Tactical Perception—Using the Science of Justice (PJ3)*, Facilitator Guide (Los Angeles: National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Legitimacy, 2017), https://s3.trustandjustice.org/misc/PJ3_Community_Guide.pdf. The facilitator guides consulted also include one published in 2016 and one in 2019 by the National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Legitimacy, anonymized here to protect the identity of the research participants.

Table 2. National Initiative Training Modules¹⁷¹

	CPJ	TPJ	IB
Module 1	Introduction to the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy, including the benefits of legitimacy to police.	Conceptual review of procedural justice.	Introduction, how implicit bias operates (fast and slow traps), connection to procedural justice trainings.
Module 2	How law enforcement work can lead to cynicism; cynicism's effect on professional performance and officer wellness; solutions for addressing cynicism.	Transparency as a way to develop trust (scenario 1).	Exploration of fast traps and how they influence decisionmaking.
Module 3	Detail on procedural justice and its four components: voice, neutrality, respect, and trustworthiness.	Community perceptions of the police; informing the community about procedural justice; considering its role in that process (scenario 2).	Exploration of slow traps and how they influence decisionmaking.
Module 4	History of policing and race, and relations to marginalized communities.	Treatment matters (scenario 3).	Strategies for defusing traps to improve decisionmaking.
Module 5	Positive examples of procedural justice in practice; training is wrapped up.	Communication matters/tactical communication (scenario 4).	N/A
Module 6	N/A	The higher purpose of policing.	N/A

D. FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS

Kurt Lewin's force field analysis, created in 1951, provided a framework for integrating the findings of this thesis to make recommendations.¹⁷² According to Lewin, "An organization exists in a state of quasi-stable 'equilibrium,' which is the balancing point between opposing forces. Driving forces push in the direction of change, while restraining forces resist the potential change."¹⁷³ To bring change, leaders should enhance and draw from driving forces while reducing restraining forces; change leaders should identify and assess forces.¹⁷⁴ Drawing from the existing literature on implementing procedural justice training and considering the findings from this thesis, the researcher identified driving forces. Furthermore, law enforcement executives should consider the driving forces to reduce barriers while ultimately achieving their desired goals.

¹⁷¹ Source: Jannetta et al., *Learning to Build Police–Community Trust*, 20.

¹⁷² Lewin, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics"; Scott W. Phillips, "Using Volunteers in Policing: A Force Field Analysis of American Supervisors," *Police Journal* 86, no. 4 (2013): 289–306, <https://doi.org/10.1350/pojo.2013.86.4.630>.

¹⁷³ Phillips, "Using Volunteers in Policing," 292.

¹⁷⁴ Phillips, "Using Volunteers in Policing"; Lewin, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics."

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IV. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter presents an analysis of the data and findings. The analysis of each organization documents the number of hours, frequency, topics, and delivery format of academy training, in-service training, and supervisory training. Four of the five participating agencies provide officers with training in procedural justice, legitimacy, and bias awareness, to an extent. However, the data also suggest commonalities such as the timing of training for recruits during their academy training program and, more significantly, the apparent lack of procedural justice training for those promoting to a supervisory role—which might translate to insufficient internal procedural justice. This chapter then concludes with an overall summary of the findings and their relationship to the existing literature.

A. ORGANIZATION 1

Organization 1 is a state law enforcement organization located in the western United States.

1. Academy Training

This state law enforcement organization provides eight hours of “Principled Policing” training, which includes the core concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy. This training curriculum is provided between weeks two and four of the 24-week academy program. The “Principled Policing” course focuses on building and developing recruits’ knowledge, skills, and abilities related to the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy, including neutrality, listening, respect, trust, and addressing common biases.¹⁷⁵ This training relies on student-centered instructional strategies and encourages students to analyze policing through history, human biases, and legitimacy lenses.¹⁷⁶ The training curriculum includes the following components: procedural justice, legitimacy, implicit

¹⁷⁵ California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, “Principled Policing for the Basic Academy: Course Lesson Plan” (West Sacramento: California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, April 2020).

¹⁷⁶ California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, 1.

biases, explicit biases, historical events, and cultural competency.¹⁷⁷ One overall objective of the training is for recruits to apply procedural justice so that the public views law enforcement as legitimate when it exercises its power to complete a mission.¹⁷⁸

The California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST) identifies the following benefits of such training:

improved safety (officer safety and community safety); reduced stress (officers and stakeholders); fewer complaints (individual and departmental); increased cooperation (victims, suspects, and witnesses); improved community relations (local, national, dignity and respect); and reduced crime (quality of life, community empowerment, greater satisfaction with services, and reduced fear of crime).¹⁷⁹

Figure 1, which appears in the training curriculum, summarizes the desired results.¹⁸⁰

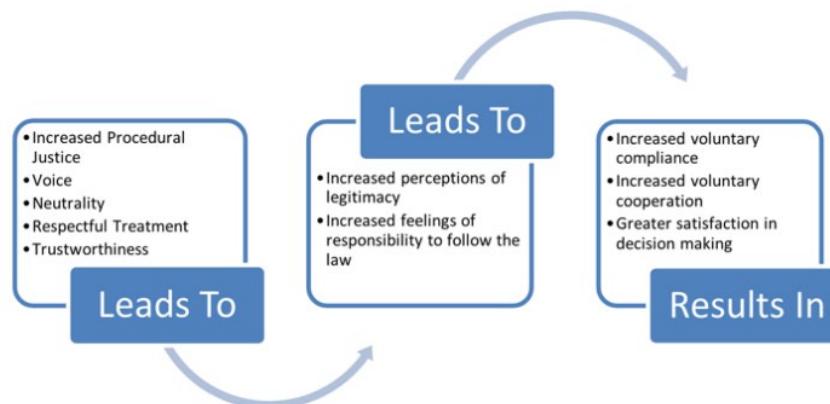


Figure 1. Benefits of Principled Policing¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, *Principled Policing in the Community*, version 5.1, Basic Course Workbook Series Student Materials Learning: Domain 3 (West Sacramento: California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, 2020).

¹⁷⁸ California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, 4–9.

¹⁷⁹ California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, 4–8.

¹⁸⁰ California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, 4–9.

¹⁸¹ Source: California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, 4–9.

Consistent with recommendations from the existing literature, Organization 1 specifically addresses common barriers to procedural justice in its training. For example, cynicism and both implicit and explicit bias are discussed, as well as the importance of communication skills. According to POST, the course is designed for recruits to “recognize the existence of implicit bias [and] the concept of cultural competency, and how both can influence decision-making and procedural justice.”¹⁸² Additionally, according to POST, communication skills are essential and must be developed by peace officers to perform effectively.¹⁸³ This training curriculum addresses the various elements of communication, such as the sender, receiver, message, and circumstances.¹⁸⁴ Notably, the delivery format of this course is not strictly lecture-based but adult-learning-based—that is, it adopts an andragogical methodology. According to Birzer, the theory of andragogy “establishes a learning approach rather than a teaching approach by a series of planned, structured activities enabling the learner to acquire the appropriate knowledge.”¹⁸⁵ As such, presentations, group discussions, and videos are part of the training. It is worth highlighting that, as part of the course, the recruits research historical events and present their findings, applications, and understanding of procedural justice and legitimacy to the class. They also participate in a community service project that reinforces the principles of the overall academy training experience.

2. In-Service Training

Organization 1 requires all uniformed personnel to complete two to four hours of interactive, web-based, in-service training titled “Beyond Bias: Racial & Identity Profiling Update” created by POST. Although California Penal Code § 13519.4 requires all law enforcement personnel to complete the training once every five years, this organization exceeds the training requirement and requires its personnel to complete the training once

¹⁸² Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, “Principled Policing for the Basic Academy,” 2.

¹⁸³ California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, *Principled Policing in the Community*, 2–10.

¹⁸⁴ California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training.

¹⁸⁵ Michael L. Birzer, “The Theory of Andragogy Applied to Police Training,” *Policing* 26, no. 1 (2003): 38, <https://doi.org/10.1108/13639510310460288>.

every four years. The training addresses the concept of procedural justice and includes a series of interactive scenarios that require participants to apply procedural justice principles. This training also includes other modules essential for effective community policing and police legitimacy, such as managing bias, the responsibility to report, and connecting with the community.

3. Supervisory Training

The curriculum for supervisors only briefly describes procedural justice and legitimacy to students, and the organization shared no supporting materials or activities, as shown in Appendix B, Table 4. However, although supervisors are not receiving in-depth procedural justice training, starting in 2021, the organization began teaching procedural justice to middle managers. The training consists of four hours of material delivered through a lecture and PowerPoint presentation. Since its inception, the organization's leadership has recommended and will be incorporating procedural justice training in the following courses: the commander's course (for commanders, not including middle managers) and the sergeant's leadership forum (a five-day training course for sergeants with three or more years in grade). POST is currently revising the first-line supervisor's academy training, a three-week mandatory supervisory course required upon promotion. If given the opportunity to provide input, Organization 1 will recommend a block on procedural justice be added to the first-line supervisor's academy training curriculum.

B. ORGANIZATION 2

Organization 2 is a large metropolitan law enforcement organization located in the midwestern United States.

1. Academy Training

Organization 2 provides a total of 16 hours of training to its recruits, and the curriculum is broken down as follows: eight hours of procedural justice and police legitimacy, which is normally covered between weeks 10 and 12 of the 24-week academy training. The goal of the course is for recruits to understand the concepts of procedural

justice and legitimacy to build better relationships in the communities they serve.¹⁸⁶ The course is delivered in a lecture format with an emphasis on the Socratic method—that is, asking the student questions and engaging them in dialogue. According to *Merriam-Webster* dictionary, the Socratic method consists of “a series of questionings the object of which is to elicit a clear and consistent expression of something supposed to be implicitly known by all rational beings.”¹⁸⁷

The training curriculum entails five modules. Module 1 focuses on the definitions of procedural justice and legitimacy and the connection between the two. Module 2 addresses barriers such as cynicism and the phenomenon, as described by Ferrero and Ferreira, of “how we see things affects how we act.”¹⁸⁸ This module delves into the parts of law enforcement that can lead to cynicism, which affect one’s professional and personal life, while also providing “solutions for defeating cynical behavior and attitude.”¹⁸⁹ This portion of the training is critical because, according to the facilitator guide, cynicism leads some police personnel to reject the concept of police legitimacy and the principles of procedural justice.¹⁹⁰ Module 3 provides a more in-depth discussion of the principles of procedural justice and addresses the effects of communication. The tenets of voice, neutrality, respect, and trustworthiness are discussed at length.¹⁹¹ Module 4 addresses the historical and generational effects of policing, stressing the importance of local historical events, not just nationwide events, and introduces the concept of the community bank account.¹⁹² According to the training curriculum, this latter concept suggests that the actions of an officer are either positive, thus a deposit, or negative, thus a withdrawal. The purpose of this module is to conceptualize police legitimacy as a series of positive or

¹⁸⁶ Anonymized 2016 facilitator guide.

¹⁸⁷ *Merriam Webster*, s.v. “Socratic method,” accessed September 3, 2022, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Socratic+method>.

¹⁸⁸ Anonymized 2016 facilitator guide, 17.

¹⁸⁹ Anonymized 2016 facilitator guide, 15.

¹⁹⁰ Anonymized 2016 facilitator guide, 22.

¹⁹¹ Anonymized 2016 facilitator guide.

¹⁹² Anonymized 2016 facilitator guide.

negative transactions. Module 5 concludes the training by illustrating what effective procedural justice looks like.

The training curriculum also covers the formula for procedural justice: $A = O + P$. The assessment (A) of the interaction, whether positive or negative, depends not just on the outcome (O) but on the process (P) utilized by the officer during the interaction. The training covers verbal and nonverbal communication, voice, tone, and volume, noting these can have an impact during a police–citizen interaction.¹⁹³ The remaining hours address implicit bias and its impact on officers’ decision-making process, specifically relating to procedural justice.

2. In-Service Training

Organization 2 is unique in that it augments and provides follow-on procedural justice and legitimacy training. The training course “Procedural Justice 2: A Tactical Mindset” (PJ2) is an eight-hour course specifically designed to build on the initial procedural justice and legitimacy training from the academy. According to the organization’s facilitator guide, the purpose of the training “is to reintroduce the principles of procedural justice, gain a deeper understanding of the core concepts of police legitimacy, and build relationships within the communities that [it serves] via the use of visual and scenario-based training.”¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, “PJ2 revisits the concepts introduced in PJ1, focusing on the application of procedural justice concepts utilizing everyday policing scenarios. The participants recognize, analyze, and display the concepts of Procedural Justice in scenario-based situations.”¹⁹⁵ This training consists of six modules, which address the following general areas and build on the community bank account concept. As part of the training curriculum, participants discuss, review, and present on definitions related to procedural justice and police legitimacy and how to increase the latter, relationships between the police and the community, understanding the importance of

¹⁹³ Anonymized 2016 facilitator guide.

¹⁹⁴ Anonymized 2019 facilitator guide.

¹⁹⁵ The source of this information has been anonymized as requested by the participating organization.

nonverbal communication, and emphasizing the nobility of policing.¹⁹⁶ Throughout the course, role-playing scenarios allow participants to practice the principles of procedural justice. At the conclusion of the scenarios, participants receive feedback and after-action reports on their application of the principles.¹⁹⁷

Again, noting the uniqueness of this organization and building on the other procedural justice and legitimacy trainings (PJ1 and PJ2), “Procedural Justice 3: Managing Implicit Bias” (PJ3) is an eight-hour course in which “members are introduced to the concept of Implicit Bias and how it impacts [their] behaviors, safety, decision making, and Police Legitimacy.”¹⁹⁸ The aim of this training is for participants to understand that implicit bias is inevitable and, as noted in a report by Organization 2 on its reform progress, “describes the automatic association people make between groups of people and stereotypes about those groups.”¹⁹⁹ The training is facilitated, and as with the other courses, scenarios, role-playing, and tabletop exercises are components. It is worth noting that this training was developed in partnership with the Anti-Defamation League, whose objective is a world free from discrimination for any group or individual.²⁰⁰

In addition to the procedural justice courses (PJ1, PJ2, and PJ3), all sworn members must complete 40 hours of in-service training annually. Although not specifically on procedural justice and legitimacy, according to the reform progress report by Organization 2, all training curriculum reflects the organization’s “commitment to procedural justice.”²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ Anonymized 2019 facilitator guide.

¹⁹⁷ The source of this information has been anonymized as requested by the participating organization.

¹⁹⁸ The source of this information has been anonymized as requested by the participating organization.

¹⁹⁹ The source of this information has been anonymized as requested by the participating organization.

²⁰⁰ “Who We Are,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed September 3, 2022, <https://www.adl.org/who-we-are>.

²⁰¹ The source of this information has been anonymized as requested by the participating organization.

3. Supervisory Training

No procedural justice or legitimacy training is provided to supervisors upon their promotion from officer to a supervisory position, other than the 40 hours of in-service training required annually that incorporates the principles of procedural justice (see Table 5). The participant from Organization 2 explained, “It’s been talked about, but it’s just never been really dedicated. But right now, the principles are incorporated into the 40 hours of in-service training. . . . I’ll be honest, it’s probably more of the cost factor than anything else.”²⁰²

C. ORGANIZATION 3

Organization 3 is a state law enforcement organization located in the midwestern United States.

1. Academy Training

Organization 3 provides a total of 18 hours of training to its recruits on procedural justice and legitimacy. As with the timing for other organizations, these recruits receive this training during week six of the 27-week academy. This organization also runs a paramilitary-style stress academy. The training is made possible through a collaboration with another state law enforcement organization, also from the midwestern United States, that borders Organization 3. The neighboring agency is responsible for teaching six hours to the recruits. The training curriculum includes the following categories related to procedural justice and legitimacy: procedural justice and its benefits for law enforcement officers, legitimacy, implicit bias and how to counter it, cultural competency, community/cultural diversity, in-groups and out-groups and how competing perspectives can influence interactions, the community bank account, and communication skills.²⁰³

The training curriculum is delivered through lectures and adult-learning principles, which consist of a PowerPoint presentation, group discussions, videos, and case studies.

²⁰² Participant from Organization 2, personal communication, May 4, 2022.

²⁰³ Clayton A. Harris et al., *Community Diversity & Procedural Justice*, Peace Officer Basic Training, Unit 1, Topic 4 (London, OH: Ohio Peace Officer Training Commission, 2016).

Notably, research found that Organization 3 requires its recruits to dress in civilian attire, not their uniforms, to enhance the training and encourage a relaxed learning environment. Two of the 18 hours are designated for a community panel at the academy, providing an opportunity for the recruits to interact and hold a dialogue with panel members. The panel comprises community members, including those from local activist groups and other organizations.²⁰⁴ As detailed by Organization 3's training curriculum, the community panel discussion may include group values and how they impact interactions with other groups, social norms that influence verbal and nonverbal communication styles, behaviors or words that reflect respect or disrespect, and issues that influence the relationship between a group and law enforcement.²⁰⁵ Also, as part of the organization's training curriculum, recruits are required to participate in a community service project—like Organization 1 requires. Finally, one difference between this training and that provided by other organizations is that Organization 3 does not include content on cynicism and historical events that have contributed to police–citizen relationships.

2. In-Service Training

Organization 3 does not provide a specific procedural justice or legitimacy curriculum to its personnel as part of in-service training. However, regardless of the state's legislative mandate, Organization 3 requires its uniformed personnel to attend and complete a four-hour course on implicit bias and diversity. The training is delivered in a format similar to academy training—though podcasts were used instead during the COVID-19 pandemic. These podcasts were produced with the help of community members to fulfill the organization's annual training requirement. It is worth noting that at the time of this study, the organization's training curriculum is undergoing revisions, pending approval.

²⁰⁴ Harris et al.

²⁰⁵ Harris et al.

3. Supervisory Training

Again, research found that no specific training on procedural justice or legitimacy is provided to supervisors upon promotion from officer to a supervisory position by this organization. However, two hours of “Appreciating and Valuing Our Differences,” provided by the state’s Department of Administrative Services and modified by Organization 3, are provided. This training is delivered via lecture and adult-learning principles.

Furthermore, although Organization 3 does not provide specific procedural justice or legitimacy training to its supervisors upon promotion, its two-week leadership development program for newly promoted first-line supervisors entails, to an extent, the principles of procedural justice. The purpose of the program, which has been adapted from West Point’s leadership course, is for police leaders to

1. Understand and apply modern behavioral science and leadership theories that enhance human motivation, satisfaction, and performance in the achievement of organizational goals.
2. Learn frameworks to organize their knowledge and experiences into effective leader actions.
3. Integrate course content into daily leadership practices.
4. Develop and achieve personal leadership abilities to the fullest potential.
5. Inspire a lifelong commitment to the study and practice of effective leadership.²⁰⁶

All supervisors, both uniformed and non-uniformed personnel, attend this program. This training is delivered through lectures that incorporate adult-learning principles, such as PowerPoint presentations, group discussions, active participation, case studies, and writing assignments.

D. ORGANIZATION 4

Organization 4 is a state law enforcement organization located in the western United States.

²⁰⁶ Participant from Organization 3, email message to the researcher, May 4, 2022.

1. Academy Training

Organization 4 does not provide its recruits with in-depth training on procedural justice or legitimacy. However, the organization does provide them with eight hours of anti-bias training. Recruits receive this training in week four of the 29-week academy training program. The curriculum, delivered in a lecture format that incorporates videos and requires recruits to participate in group discussions, covers the following topics: biases, cultural diversity, law enforcement culture, and community support.²⁰⁷ According to Organization 4's training curriculum, *Anti-Bias Policing: Patterns, Practices, and Protocols*, at the conclusion of the training, the recruits will have a basic understanding of "the patterns of profiling and bias based policing; the practices and perception of bias based policing; and the concepts and practices that prevent profiling and bias based policing."²⁰⁸ Furthermore, the course objectives include having students identify local and national incidents that demonstrate bias-based policing and the impacts of bias-based policing on communities, departments, and the law enforcement profession.

2. In-Service Training

As with the academy training, Organization 4 does not offer in-depth in-service training on procedural justice or legitimacy, but like the curriculum and format for recruits, officers receive at minimum two hours of anti-bias training and biased policing issues every year.²⁰⁹ This annual training—consisting of modules on biases, cultural diversity, law enforcement culture, and community support—complies with the Colorado Revised Statutes, which require anti-bias training every year as part of in-service training.²¹⁰

3. Supervisory Training

As of this writing, Organization 4 provides no procedural justice or legitimacy training to its newly promoted supervisors.

²⁰⁷ Participant from Organization 4, personal communication.

²⁰⁸ Participant from Organization 4.

²⁰⁹ Participant from Organization 4.

²¹⁰ Concerning Measures to Improve Peace Officer Training, Colo. Rev. Stat. §§ 24–31-302 et seq. (2015); Participant from Organization 4.

E. ORGANIZATION 5

Organization 5 is a state law enforcement organization located in the Pacific Northwest of the United States.

1. Academy Training

Organization 5 provides eight hours of procedural justice and racial bias training to its recruits during the first three weeks of the 24-week academy program. The training curriculum, which covers procedural justice, legitimacy, historical events, and racial bias and law enforcement, is delivered by academy instructors in a lecture format that incorporates videos and requires recruits to participate in group discussions.²¹¹ Furthermore, the curriculum includes a discussion of Sir Robert Peel’s Principle 7, which states in part that “the police are the public and that the public are the police.”²¹² It describes the definition of procedural justice and how to accomplish it during interactions, reinforcing the notion that “police can increase the public’s belief in their legitimacy by providing procedural justice.”²¹³ Regarding racial bias, the curriculum addresses explicit bias, implicit bias, unconscious bias, internalized bias, and externalized bias.

2. In-Service Training

Organization 5 provides 24 hours of in-service training to officers annually, which complies with Washington Administrative Code § 139–05-300.²¹⁴ Officers receive training on implicit and explicit bias and procedural justice, but not all required hours are dedicated to these topics, and the topics may vary from year to year. According to Washington Administrative Code § 139–11-060, officers must receive 40 hours of in-service training on violence de-escalation and mental health once every three years.²¹⁵ This requirement includes training on procedural justice and implicit and explicit bias. The

²¹¹ Participant from Organization 5, personal communication.

²¹² Stoughton, “Principled Policing,” 619; Participant from Organization 5.

²¹³ Participant from Organization 5.

²¹⁴ Requirement for In-Service Training, Wash. Adm. Code § 139–05-300 (2022).

²¹⁵ Law Enforcement Training and Community Safety Act, Wash. Adm. Code § 139–11-060 (2019).

objectives, as detailed in Washington Administrative Code § 139–111-020, include “understanding the psychology and foundational principles of procedural justice to build trust and rapport” and “recognizing and mitigating the impact of implicit and explicit bias on the officer’s perceptions and reactions.”²¹⁶ In compliance with the Law Enforcement Training and Community Safety Act, “this training may substitute for the annual twenty-four hour in-service requirement under [Washington Administrative Code] 139–05-300 in the year the officer completes the forty hour violence de-escalation training.”²¹⁷

3. Supervisory Training

Organization 5 does not provide specific training to its newly promoted supervisors on procedural justice; however, supervisors are required to attend a three-week course on leadership. The training, called “Leadership in Police Organizations” (LPO), was created by the IACP. According to the IACP, LPO “is the IACP’s flagship leadership development training program. LPO is modeled after the training concept of dispersed leadership (‘every officer a leader’) and delivers modern behavioral science concepts and theories uniquely tailored to the law enforcement environment.”²¹⁸ According to the course overview, “the three-week LPO course explores leadership at different levels in the organization: leading individuals, leading groups, and leading organizations.”²¹⁹ These levels of leadership are taught using such methods as applied learning, translation of theory to practice, and practical leadership strategies.²²⁰ The participant from Organization 5 supplied no supporting materials or activities, so no further information is available for this training.

F. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

From the five organizations analyzed regarding procedural justice and legitimacy training, the research suggests that organizations are providing this training to their

²¹⁶ Law Enforcement Training and Community Safety Act, § 139–11-020.

²¹⁷ Law Enforcement Training and Community Safety Act, § 139–11-060.

²¹⁸ “Leadership in Police Organizations (LPO),” International Association of Chiefs of Police, accessed May 18, 2022, <https://www.theiacp.org/LPO>.

²¹⁹ International Association of Chiefs of Police.

²²⁰ International Association of Chiefs of Police.

personnel, to an extent. Furthermore, the findings suggest that organizations have also incorporated crucial training on implicit and explicit bias; indeed, the literature suggests that bias can have an impact on the outcome of police–citizen encounters. According to the National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice, “Reducing the influence of implicit bias is vitally important to strengthening relationships between police and minority communities.”²²¹ Thus, citizen and police interactions are often shaped by implicit bias.²²² Therefore, bringing awareness to implicit bias is critical to healthy police–citizen interactions and relationships with the community.

Furthermore, this study suggests that most of the participating organizations deliver the training to their recruits through adult-learning principles; however, most organizations provide this training to their recruits early on in their academy training programs. The timing of such training should be studied further, particularly because in paramilitary-style stress academies, recruits might not capture or understand the significance of procedural justice, legitimacy, and implicit and explicit bias when they are experiencing stressors in an already challenging environment. Thus, the timing of the content may influence their future understanding of the principles and applications in the field.

This thesis also found that not all law enforcement organizations are providing focused procedural justice reinforcement training to the rank and file as part of in-service training—at least not annually. However, on a positive note, most organizations are providing in-service implicit and explicit bias training annually. The fact that bias training is provided every year, at least by most organizations, shows promise and is a step in the right direction, toward organizational transformation.

This research also found that no mandatory national standard related to curricula and the length of training exists for recruits or the rank and file. Although some of the training curricula have topics similar or related to procedural justice, legitimacy, and bias training, all curricula are different. This finding is no surprise, as Arble and Arnetz observe

²²¹ “Implicit Bias,” National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice, accessed May 6, 2022, <https://trustandjustice.org/resources/intervention/implicit-bias>.

²²² National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice.

that although developments have led to consistency across law enforcement trainings, “specific educational content, training emphasis, and instructor-effectiveness can vary greatly across cities and states, as these standards are sometimes the result of tradition and convenience.”²²³ Also, the number of hours provided to recruits differ, with some organizations providing more hours of training—this trend carries through to in-service training as well.

The last, most significant finding is the inattention to procedural justice for those promoting from officer to supervisor across all participating organizations. It is common knowledge that supervisors have the most interactions with the rank and file, as they are responsible for officer oversight. The literature suggests that officers are more inclined to model procedurally just behavior when their supervisors and organization have adopted such conduct. For example, in a 2016 study, Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff found that

when officers were in a procedurally fair department, they were more likely to trust and feel obligated to obey their supervisors, less likely to be psychologically and emotionally distressed, and less likely to be cynical and mistrustful about the world in general and the communities they police in particular. More importantly, these effects were associated with greater endorsement of democratic forms of policing, increased organizational efficiency, and officer well-being.²²⁴

Based on these findings and the supporting literature, infusing procedural justice into the internal work environment pays dividends in officer well-being and performance and improved community relationships with police.²²⁵ However, the findings from this thesis suggest that training in procedural justice for supervisors is lacking and should be enhanced. Table 3 summarizes the findings from this chapter.

²²³ Arble and Arnetz, *Interventions, Training, and Technologies*, 232.

²²⁴ Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, “Justice from Within,” 158.

²²⁵ Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, 158.

Table 3. Findings from the Analysis

Finding 1	• Recruits are receiving procedural justice and legitimacy training. • Organizations are incorporating bias training—as the existing literature suggests, biases can be a barrier to procedural justice. • Recruits are receiving training early in their academy program.
Finding 2	• Organizations are not providing focused procedural justice reinforcement training to the rank and file (in-service training).
Finding 3	• The law enforcement field lacks a national standardized curriculum for academy and in-service training. • Data show, however, that training curricula have similar or related topics, but they are all different. • No national standard mandates the number of hours for academy or in-service training.
Finding 4	• Law enforcement generally lacks focused procedural justice training—i.e., internal procedural justice—for those promoting to a supervisory role.

V. DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The actions of any police officer, in an instant, can impact an individual for life, and even a community for generations. Given this realization, every police officer must be centered on what is important. Service, justice, and fundamental fairness—these are the foundational principles in which every police action must be grounded. The nobility of policing demands the noblest of character.

—Stephen R. Covey²²⁶

In 2015, the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing affirmed the need for law enforcement training in procedural justice to improve public trust and enhance community relations.²²⁷ Then, in 2021, the Council on Criminal Justice “established police legitimacy as a foundational pillar of exemplary policing and specifically recommended procedural justice training, policies, and practices as a means of enhancing the public’s trust in the police and their compliance with the law.”²²⁸ As Murphy and Tyler explain, when it comes to the public’s evaluating the police, “research consistently finds that people place more emphasis on procedural justice than police performance.”²²⁹ As such, a premise and motivation for this thesis was that although a vast amount of literature exists on procedural justice as a means by which to enhance police legitimacy and build public trust, limited research exists on procedural justice training. This thesis investigated to what extent and how state law enforcement organizations in the United States provide procedural justice training, what the barriers to broader implementation are, and what potential drivers might help overcome the barriers.

This research makes two key findings. Organizational change in law enforcement is happening to an extent, as law enforcement organizations are implementing recommendations from the President’s Task Force, scholars, and academia in their quest

²²⁶ Nila, *The Nobility of Policing*, 3.

²²⁷ Task Force on Policing, *Procedural Justice Training*; President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Final Report of the President’s Task Force*.

²²⁸ Task Force on Policing, *Procedural Justice Training*, 1.

²²⁹ Murphy and Tyler, “Experimenting with Procedural Justice Policing,” 288.

to enhance police legitimacy and build and maintain the public's trust. Also, law enforcement organizations are, to an extent, providing training in procedural justice, legitimacy, and implicit bias to their recruits. However, training and education could be improved by implementing annual in-service refresher training focused on procedural justice and legitimacy training for the rank and file. Law enforcement organizations are utilizing different training curricula of varied lengths. The Department of Justice (DOJ) should research, develop, and possibly implement a national standardized curriculum. Last, one of the most significant findings of this thesis was the lack of procedural justice training for those promoting from officer to supervisor. The following section relates these findings to the existing literature, providing an in-depth discussion and recommendations.

A. TRAINING—IT IS HAPPENING, BUT THE SCOPE OF DELIVERY AND SCHEDULE PLACEMENT SHOULD BE ASSESSED

Although law enforcement organizations are providing procedural justice, legitimacy, and implicit bias training to their recruits, the training is provided early in the academy training program, which may pose limitations, as discussed in the subsequent chapter. Organizations are providing training on implicit bias. Indeed, the academic literature identifies implicit bias as a “significant threat to procedural justice.”²³⁰ Organizations are delivering training through “interactive adult learning techniques, such as andragogy,” which is consistent with recommendations in the literature that recognize “police recruits are adults and interactive learning techniques are more effective than teacher-centered approaches.”²³¹ The organizations that participated in this research have paramilitary-style, stress-based academies and, thus, the schedule of training might pose limitations to absorbing the information. However, citing data from the Bureau of Justice, Blumberg et al. note that “quasi-military or stress-based training involving intense psychological and physical demands are still implemented in almost half of [American]

²³⁰ California Department of Justice, *Principled Policing Procedural Justice and Implicit Bias Training* (Stanford: Stanford SPARQ, 2016), 4, <https://sparq.stanford.edu/principled-policing-report>.

²³¹ Allison T. Chappell, “Police Academy Training: Comparing across Curricula,” *Policing* 31, no. 1 (2008): 40, <https://doi.org/10.1108/13639510810852567>.

police academies.”²³² This finding is concerning—as Makin cautions, “Active learning is likely stressful, which is only compounded by the stressful nature of police training.”²³³

Existing research shows that officers who do not experience procedurally just treatment in their internal work environment may struggle to demonstrate procedural justice in the community.²³⁴ Furthermore, as authors Blumberg et al. maintain, “The traditional authoritarian academy training style does not provide recruits with role models to emulate when their training officers and academy instructors demonstrate a rigid, autocratic leadership style.”²³⁵ Therefore, recruits might not capture or understand the significance of procedural justice and police legitimacy due to the stressors experienced in the challenging paramilitary environment, contributing to deficiencies in applying procedural justice principles once out in the field. Makin, too, has found that the “paramilitary orientation of the academy appears to influence knowledge and skill acquisition and retention.”²³⁶ Cohen argues such training environments undermine essential skill development, “such as internal personal communication and decision making skills,” which are vital to 21st century policing.²³⁷

Driving this point further, according to the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS),

A stress academy’s structure and culture does not always lend itself to the philosophical underpinnings of community policing, even when there is an effort to incorporate community policing and collaborative problem solving into the curriculum. The paramilitary training format can help to establish

²³² Blumberg et al., “New Directions in Police Academy Training,” 2.

²³³ Makin, “A Descriptive Analysis of a Problem-Based Learning Police Academy,” 12.

²³⁴ Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, “Justice from Within.”

²³⁵ Blumberg et al., “New Directions in Police Academy Training,” 8.

²³⁶ Makin, “A Descriptive Analysis of a Problem-Based Learning Police Academy,” 12.

²³⁷ Galia Cohen, “Public Administration Training in Basic Police Academies: A 50-State Comparative Analysis,” *American Review of Public Administration* 51, no. 5 (2021): 352, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0275074021999872>.

esprit de corps and discipline, but it may be at the expense of isolating officers from the citizens they serve.²³⁸

To evaluate the effectiveness of academy training, authors Chapell and Lanza-Kaduce examined one police academy that emphasized problem-solving and community policing in its training curriculum.²³⁹ The authors found that “despite the philosophical emphasis on community policing . . . the most salient lessons learned in police training were those that reinforced the paramilitary structure and culture.”²⁴⁰ Moreover, one of the biggest challenges to teaching community policing at the academy is the instruction itself. According to Chapell and Lanza-Kaduce, community policing does not always align with the culture and format of the academy.²⁴¹ Furthermore, the paramilitary culture, as the authors point out, supports and maintains the us-versus-them mentality and the belief that genuine police work is related to crime-fighting activity, defensive tactics, vehicle pursuits, and arrests, which are still commonplace today.²⁴² Instruction on community, communication, diversity, problem-solving, and partnerships does not capture the imagination of recruits in the same way—and these topics rarely form the basis of war stories or elicit excitement or interest. Indeed, the academy culture encourages instructors to go beyond the formal teaching materials, so when instructors talk about their experiences (i.e., war stories), they provide potent informal lessons, many of which undercut the formal curriculum.²⁴³ These aspects of the academy environment can undermine the value of procedural justice training as a driver of legitimacy.

²³⁸ Karl W. Bickel, “Recruit Training: Are We Preparing Officers for a Community Oriented Department?,” *Community Policing Dispatch* 6, no. 6 (Spring 2013), https://cops.usdoj.gov/html/dispatch/06-2013/preparing_officers_for_a_community_oriented_department.asp#eight.

²³⁹ Allison T. Chappell and Lonn Lanza-Kaduce, “Police Academy Socialization: Understanding the Lessons Learned in a Paramilitary-Bureaucratic Organization,” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 39, no. 2 (2010): 187–214, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241609342230>.

²⁴⁰ Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce, 187.

²⁴¹ Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce, 207.

²⁴² Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce, 288.

²⁴³ Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce, 288.

B. REINFORCEMENT TRAINING—MUCH MORE IS NEEDED

Not all law enforcement organizations provide focused procedural justice reinforcement to the rank and file as part of in-service training. However, on a positive note, most organizations are providing annual implicit and explicit bias training. The fact that bias training is provided annually, at least by most organizations, is a positive step toward fostering organizational transformation and creating cultural change. According to the existing literature, to change the practice of procedural justice and promote change within an organization, follow-up refresher training is required; however, as this study found, follow-up reinforcement training on procedural justice is not being provided to the rank and file—not yet at least.²⁴⁴

1. Consistency Is Key—Hours and Training Curricula

Organizations vary in how training is delivered in terms of curricula and hours provided to recruits and the rank and file. According to the DOJ in its 2018 analysis of the nation’s 18,000 state and local law enforcement academies, the average duration of academy training programs is 833 hours, yet as Blumberg et al. assert, “academy training varies greatly state to state.”²⁴⁵ Although, some of the training curricula cover topics similar and related to procedural justice, legitimacy, and bias training, the training curricula evaluated in this thesis varied. The number of hours devoted to training—for both recruit and in-service training—also varied.

As history has shown, local police–citizen encounters can have nationwide implications—as evident by the killing of George Floyd. According to Alex Altman, writing for *Time*, the killing of George Floyd triggered civil unrest in the United States at a scale not seen since the murder of Martin Luther King Jr.²⁴⁶ Furthermore, with most

²⁴⁴ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, “Training Police for Procedural Justice,” 333.

²⁴⁵ Duren Banks et al., *National Sources of Law Enforcement Employment Data* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016), <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/nsleed.pdf>; Blumberg et al., “New Directions in Police Academy Training,” 2. See also Emily D. Buehler, *State and Local Law Enforcement Training Academies, 2018—Statistical Tables*, NCJ 255915 (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2021).

²⁴⁶ Alex Altman, “U.S. Protests: Why the Killing of George Floyd Sparked an American Uprising,” *Time*, June 4, 2020, <https://time.com/5847967/george-floyd-protests-trump/>.

people having access to cell phones, police–citizen encounters are likely to “reach a national or international viewership.”²⁴⁷ Law enforcement organizations can benefit as a profession by consistently providing officers with evidence-based training because they are perceived by the citizenry as one entity. However, to enrich the discussion and drive police legitimacy, law enforcement organizations should focus on the internal dynamics of their organizations—the most significant finding of this research.

2. Lack of Internal Procedural Justice Training—Rule Adherence, Employee Wellness, and Democratic Policing

As previously referenced, this thesis found a significant lack of (internal) procedural justice training for those promoting from officer to supervisor. This finding is concerning as supervisors oversee officers and can influence behavior and organizational commitment.²⁴⁸ The existing literature suggests, “Supervisors need procedural justice training as much as anyone in the organization, but with an eye toward exercising its principles internally rather than externally.”²⁴⁹ According to Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, “Supervisors and their managers set the tone of the work environment, and studies of the effectiveness of training suggest that it is in combination with effective management that training works best.”²⁵⁰ In their guidebook on police recruitment and retention, Wilson et al. from the RAND Corporation, in partnership with the COPS office, highlight that procedural justice has been linked to several benefits, including organizational commitment, work satisfaction, and positive evaluations of supervisors and law enforcement organizations.²⁵¹

²⁴⁷ Brian A. Jackson, *Respect and Legitimacy—A Two-Way Street: Strengthening Trust between Police and the Public in an Era of Increasing Transparency* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2015), 9, <https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PE154.html>.

²⁴⁸ Jeremy M. Wilson et al., *Police Recruitment and Retention for the New Millennium: The State of Knowledge* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2010), 150, <https://cops.usdoj.gov/RIC/Publications/cops-p199-pub.pdf>.

²⁴⁹ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, “Training Police for Procedural Justice,” 333.

²⁵⁰ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, 333.

²⁵¹ Wilson et al., *Police Recruitment and Retention*.

a. Rule Adherence

As Wilson et al. state, “The relationship that immediate and midlevel supervisors have with their employees often has the most influence on an officer’s decision to stay or leave a department.”²⁵² Furthermore, how supervisors uphold “policies and procedures can also impact an officer’s attitudes, behaviors, and feelings toward the organization.”²⁵³ According to Walker et al., studies “suggest that employees will be more satisfied with decisions if they perceive the processes used for making them to be fair.”²⁵⁴ This notion is substantiated by Tyler, Callahan, and Frost, who have explored whether law enforcement officers and soldiers are better motivated to adhere to the rules of the organization if they believe their organizations are “legitimate or that rules and policies are morally right or wrong.”²⁵⁵ Consistent with other academic literature, “the results show that the procedural justice of the organization is central to rule adherence.”²⁵⁶ Furthermore, as the authors explain, “When [law enforcement officers] experience their own working conditions as defined by principles of procedural justice, i.e., when they experience justice on the job from their superiors and work organization, they accept the values of their organization and follow its rules.”²⁵⁷ Therefore, law enforcement organizations can develop a dedicated, loyal, and committed organization with minimal cost by implementing procedural justice training.²⁵⁸

²⁵² Wilson et al., 39.

²⁵³ Wilson et al., 40.

²⁵⁴ Wilson et al., 40.

²⁵⁵ Tom R. Tyler, Patrick E. Callahan, and Jeffrey Frost, “Armed, and Dangerous(?): Motivating Rule Adherence among Agents of Social Control,” *Law & Society Review* 41, no. 2 (2007): 457, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5893.2007.00304.x>.

²⁵⁶ Tyler, Callahan, and Frost, 457.

²⁵⁷ Tyler, Callahan, and Frost, 482.

²⁵⁸ Wilson et al., *Police Recruitment and Retention*.

b. *Employee Wellness and Democratic Policing*

The existing literature suggests that officers are more inclined to adopt procedurally just behavior when their supervisors and organizations serve as models. Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff's findings bear repeating:

When officers were in a procedurally fair department, they were more likely to trust and feel obligated to obey their supervisors, less likely to be psychologically and emotionally distressed, and less likely to be cynical and mistrustful about the world in general and the communities they police in particular. More importantly, these effects were associated with greater endorsement of democratic forms of policing, increased organizational efficiency, and officer well-being.²⁵⁹

Based on the findings and supporting literature that suggest the benefits of procedural justice within the work environment, Trinkner, Tyler and Goff recommend that the concept be infused "into the internal working climate as a means to improve police officer job performance, their well-being, and their relationship with the communities they police."²⁶⁰ This recommendation is consistent with the state-of-the-art meta-review of procedural justice—both in police–citizen encounters and organizational decision-making—by Donner et al. and documented in their paper.²⁶¹

As part of their research, the authors identified 46 studies about police–citizen encounters and organizational decision-making. Of these studies, "28 studies analyzed procedural justice within the context of police–citizen encounters and 18 studies examined procedural justice within the context of police organization decision making."²⁶² Based on their research, the authors conclude,

First, citizens' perceptions of procedural justice during interactions with the police positively affect their views of police legitimacy, satisfaction with police services, satisfaction with interaction disposition, trust in the police, and confidence in the police. Second, the perception of police personnel of

²⁵⁹ Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, "Justice from Within," 158.

²⁶⁰ Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, 158.

²⁶¹ Christopher Donner et al., "Policing and Procedural Justice: A State-of-the-Art Review," *Policing: International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 38, no. 1 (2015): 153–72, <https://doi.org/10.1108/PIJPSM-12-2014-0129>.

²⁶² Donner et al., 153.

procedural justice in organizational decision making positively influences their views of decision outcomes, trust in the administration, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, desire to stay with the agency, and overall views of the agency.²⁶³

However, this thesis suggests that training in procedural justice for supervisors is lacking and should be enhanced. Furthermore, Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff highlight that “creating fairer workplaces for police officers promotes procedurally fair officer behavior on the streets.”²⁶⁴ Conversely, according to Murphy and Tyler, “current styles of policing promote officer stress and, with it, a variety of physical and psychological” issues.²⁶⁵ However, according to the authors, when departments are fairer, officers experience fewer problems.²⁶⁶

As Murphy and Tyler assert, training is a crucial development in police efforts to advance procedural fairness.²⁶⁷ But it is also critical to acknowledge that the inherently unequal internal dynamics of many police organizations pose a significant barrier to organizational change within law enforcement organizations. When officers do not experience procedural fairness at work, it is difficult to train them to treat individuals fairly on the street.²⁶⁸ However, this challenge can be addressed when organizations treat officers fairly. As Tyler, Callahan, and Frost found in their study, officers are more likely to abide by the organization’s policies and procedures in performing their duties when they feel respected by their superiors and treated procedurally justly by the organization.²⁶⁹ Such a dynamic drives democratic policing forward, thus enhancing police legitimacy.

²⁶³ Donner et al., 153.

²⁶⁴ Murphy and Tyler, “Experimenting with Procedural Justice Policing,” 291; Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, “Justice from Within.”

²⁶⁵ Murphy and Tyler, “Experimenting with Procedural Justice Policing,” 291.

²⁶⁶ Murphy and Tyler.

²⁶⁷ Murphy and Tyler, 291.

²⁶⁸ Murphy and Tyler, 291.

²⁶⁹ Tyler, Callahan, and Frost, “Armed, and Dangerous(?)”

C. RECOMMENDATIONS

Law enforcement leaders, administrators, and executives play a key role in maintaining or transforming their organizations and shifting their organization's culture from within, while enhancing police legitimacy and building public trust. As Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff found in their study, "Officers want from their organizations the same thing that citizens want from officers: to be treated with respect in an honest and fair manner by those around them."²⁷⁰ Therefore, as the authors suggest, a good place to start if law enforcement wants to improve its relationship with citizens is changing the climate within the organizations.²⁷¹ This thesis recommends actions that have the potential to enhance the effectiveness of law enforcement organizations while increasing officer satisfaction and allowing them to focus on the type of policing that the literature suggests can produce healthy, productive, and useful interactions with the public.²⁷²

1. Recommendation 1—When Training Is Delivered Matters

Procedural justice and legitimacy training should be provided to recruits during the early part of their academy program. For procedural justice to be modeled externally, however, employees need to witness it and experience it internally. Law enforcement executives and academia should evaluate whether providing the aforementioned training in the latter part of a recruit's academy program would be more beneficial for retention. This recommendation is consistent with the existing literature. For example, authors Skogan and Frydl highlight that training programs should consider the timing of the training.²⁷³ Also, law enforcement executives need to ensure that recruits are being treated respectfully by the training staff while receiving their academy training, which may also drive recruits to exercise procedural justice once they are on patrol. As Blumberg et al. warn,

²⁷⁰ Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, "Justice from Within," 170.

²⁷¹ Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, 170.

²⁷² Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, 170.

²⁷³ Skogan and Frydl, *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing*, 141.

The traditional authoritarian academy training style does not provide recruits with role models to emulate when their training officers and academy instructors demonstrate a rigid, autocratic leadership style. Instead, the academy staff can foster social competence by treating recruits “in a tactful and respectful manner” and by providing every recruit with an opportunity to practice effective leadership during training. Recruits should be treated in ways in which police agencies expect their officers to interact with members of the community. To learn how to show sensitivity and concern for others, recruits, need to experience how it feels to be treated with sensitivity and concern, which in no way detracts from learning how to maintain officer safety.²⁷⁴

Furthermore, as noted by Blumberg et al., “There should be greater continuity between recruits’ academy training and their field training. . . . This alliance shows recruits that there is not some arbitrary distinction between what is expected from them in the academy and the behavioral standards once they graduate and begin working the streets.”²⁷⁵ To conclude, simply providing procedural justice, legitimacy, and implicit bias training to recruits during their academy training program is not sufficient. Law enforcement executives, researchers, and academia should evaluate their academies and conduct future research on when the training should be provided to ensure effectiveness and retention.

2. Recommendation 2—Enhancing Reinforcement Training for the Rank and File

Law enforcement executives should implement procedural justice refresher training. This recommendation is consistent with the study by Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, referenced previously.²⁷⁶ As the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing stresses, “To be effective in an ever-changing world, training must continue throughout an officer’s career.”²⁷⁷ Therefore, it is recommended that law enforcement organizations implement focused procedural justice training on an annual basis for their rank and file. POST has already developed an eight-hour training course for in-service

²⁷⁴ Blumberg et al., “New Directions in Police Academy Training,” 8–9.

²⁷⁵ Blumberg et al., 10.

²⁷⁶ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, “Training Police for Procedural Justice.”

²⁷⁷ President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Final Report of the President’s Task Force*, 52.

personnel that meets the legislative mandates of California Penal Code § 13519.4, which requires the curriculum be evidence-based.²⁷⁸ According to the 2021 Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory (RIPA) Board, the course “covers several topic areas such as Principled Policing, law enforcement cynicism, community relations, and implicit bias.”²⁷⁹ While, according to POST, the training is only voluntary for in-service personnel, based on the research from this thesis and existing literature, the recommendation here is for it to become mandatory for the rank and file.²⁸⁰ The RIPA Board concurs with this recommendation for all officers.²⁸¹

3. Recommendation 3—Consistency Matters: Adopting Evidence-Based Practices in Training

First, the public perceives law enforcement as one entity, and research suggests that procedural justice can enhance legitimacy, so a nationally standardized curriculum on procedural justice, legitimacy, and bias training should be developed and implemented by the DOJ. Otherwise, the curriculum should comport with one recommendation from the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing: “Support the development of partnerships with training facilities across the country to promote consistent standards for high quality training.”²⁸²

Ensuring all law enforcement organizations in the country are providing the training is essential for building public trust and police legitimacy. Weisburd et al. suggest, “One possible explanation . . . for the lack of influence of treatment on perceptions of police legitimacy may be the continued presence on these streets of untrained patrol officers responding to emergency calls to the police.”²⁸³ Furthermore, the DOJ should make this

²⁷⁸ Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory Board, *2021 Annual Report* (Sacramento: California Department of Justice, 2021), 148–50.

²⁷⁹ Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory Board, 150.

²⁸⁰ Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory Board, 150.

²⁸¹ Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory Board, 154.

²⁸² President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Final Report of the President’s Task Force*, 52.

²⁸³ David Weisburd et al., “Reforming the Police through Procedural Justice Training: A Multicity Randomized Trial at Crime Hot Spots,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 119, no. 14 (2022): 6, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2118780119>.

training mandatory for all existing law enforcement organizations in the country. An existing and viable option is for the DOJ to mandate procedural justice training for all law enforcement organizations by adopting and or enhancing the training curricula made available by the National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice (i.e., PJ1, PJ2, and PJ3), which are being taught by Organization 2.²⁸⁴ This recommendation is also consistent with existing research, including a suggestion by the RAND Corporation to “enlist outside entities, notably the federal government, to play a continuing and strong role in driving organizational change.”²⁸⁵

Second, law enforcement should adopt the training curriculum offered by Organization 1, which involves “Principled Policing in the Community.”²⁸⁶ This training has been designed for recruits and entails topics on procedural justice, legitimacy, and implicit and explicit bias. It bears mentioning that the training was initially developed in 2015 by the California Department of Justice in partnership with Stanford SPARQ; the California Partnership for Safer Communities, a community organization; and the Stockton and Oakland Police Departments.²⁸⁷ This training was then delivered by a diverse team of instructors—consisting of university professors, police leaders, a community leader, and the general counsel of the DOJ—to more than 50 law enforcement leaders in California.²⁸⁸ In 2018, Stanford SPARQ released its report after evaluating the 2015 “Principled Policing” course. As part of its study, SPARQ “collected and analyzed survey data from 135-course graduates—police executives and law enforcement officials at a variety of ranks—before and after they received the training” and found that the course

- improve [d] participants’ understanding of procedural justice and implicit bias;
- deepen [ed] participants’ understanding of how race can affect policing;

²⁸⁴ “Resources,” National Initiative for Building Community Trust and Justice, accessed June 4, 2022, <https://trustandjustice.org/resources>.

²⁸⁵ Jackson, *Respect and Legitimacy*, 20.

²⁸⁶ California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, *Principled Policing in the Community*.

²⁸⁷ California Department of Justice, *Principled Policing*, 2.

²⁸⁸ California Department of Justice.

- strengthen [ed] participants’ belief that relations between the police and the community can improve; and
- increase [d] participants’ confidence that they personally can make a difference in police–community relations.²⁸⁹

Then, in 2018, the RIPA Board conducted its own review of the 2015 “Principled Policing” course. This board was created in 2016 following California Assembly Bill 953 “to eliminate racial and identity profiling and improve diversity and racial and identity sensitivity in law enforcement.”²⁹⁰ According to the California Office of the Attorney General, some of the responsibilities of the Board consist of

- Reviewing and analyzing policies and practices to make policy recommendations that will eliminate racial and identity profiling by law enforcement in California;
- Conducting and consulting evidence-based research on intentional and implicit bias and law enforcement stop, search, and seizure tactics;
- Reviewing and analyzing stop data and civilian complaint data required by the Racial and Identity Profiling Act; and
- Reviewing training by the Commission on Peace Officer Standards Training (POST) regarding racial and identity profiling required by RIPA.²⁹¹

Given the course met many of the requirements outlined in California Penal Code § 13519.4, the board took an interest in it but “recommended [to POST] that the course be updated to include: 1) the obligations of peace officers in preventing, reporting and responding to discriminatory or biased practices by fellow police officers; 2) a discussion of California’s prohibition against racial and identity profiling; and 3) community participation.”²⁹² As a result of the board’s recommendation, POST integrated the elements into a new mandated academy course called “Principled Policing in the Community,” which Organization 1 teaches to its recruits.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ Sarah Lyons-Padilla et al., *Principled Policing: A Path to Building Better Police–Community Relations* (Stanford: Stanford SPARQ, 2018), 3, <https://sparq.stanford.edu/our-work/criminal-justice>.

²⁹⁰ “Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory Board,” California Office of the Attorney General, accessed September 3, 2022, <https://oag.ca.gov/ab953/board>.

²⁹¹ California Office of the Attorney General.

²⁹² Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory Board, *2021 Annual Report*, 149.

²⁹³ Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory Board.

Finally, the DOJ should evaluate and possibly adopt a much more intensive procedural justice training course, as referenced and researched by Weisburd et al.²⁹⁴ In their study, the authors posed the following question: “Can police be trained to treat people in fair and respectful ways, and if so, will this influence evaluations of the police and crime?”²⁹⁵ As such, a training course was developed in collaboration with various practitioners and academic experts on procedural justice training, including Professor Stephen Mastrofski from George Mason University, Professor Tom Tyler from Yale Law School, and Dr. Paul Quinton from the College of Policing in the United Kingdom.²⁹⁶ As part of their research, the authors then delivered the training in three cities—Tucson, Arizona; Cambridge, Massachusetts; and Houston, Texas—and conducted a “randomized field trial that tested whether [procedural justice] training would impact police officer behavior, hot-spot residents’ perceptions of police, and crime.”²⁹⁷ The duration of the experiment for all three cities spanned July 2017 to July 2020.²⁹⁸ This training consisted of 40 hours of coursework tailored to policing of hot-spot areas. Their study revealed the following results: “Intensive training in procedural justice . . . can lead to more procedural just behavior and less disrespectful treatment of people at high-crime places” and “the [procedural justice] intervention reduced arrests by police officers, [and] positively influenced residents’ perceptions of police harassment and violence.”²⁹⁹ The findings point “to the potential for [procedural justice] training not simply to encourage fair and respectful policing but also to improve evaluations of the police and crime prevention effectiveness.”³⁰⁰ Therefore, this training could be beneficial for law enforcement organizations responsible for policing areas of high crime, typically in communities of

²⁹⁴ Weisburd et al., “Reforming the Police through Procedural Justice Training.”

²⁹⁵ Weisburd et al.

²⁹⁶ David Weisburd et al., “Supplementary Information for Reforming the Police through Procedural Justice Training: A Multicity Randomized Trial at Crime Hot Spots.,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 119, no. 14 (2022): 4–5, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2118780119>.

²⁹⁷ Weisburd et al., “Reforming the Police through Procedural Justice Training,” 1.

²⁹⁸ Weisburd et al., “Supplementary Information,” 4–5.

²⁹⁹ Weisburd et al., “Reforming the Police through Procedural Justice Training,” 1.

³⁰⁰ Weisburd et al., 1.

color, where trust in the police tends to be lower than in other communities.³⁰¹ However, as the literature suggests, by treating people in a procedurally just manner, law enforcement organizations can improve relationships with those communities and increase cooperation from the public overall.³⁰²

4. Recommendation 4—Procedural Justice Training for Those Promoting to a Leadership Role

Law enforcement organizations should implement procedural justice training for those promoting to a leadership role. This recommendation is consistent with Action Item 5.3.1, outlined by the President’s Task Force, which recognizes that “strong, capable leadership is required to create cultural transformation” and calls for the development of learning goals and training curricula “for each level of leadership.”³⁰³ Furthermore, the President’s Task Force notes that the “training should be focused on organizational [i.e., internal] procedural justice.”³⁰⁴ Therefore, law enforcement organizations must incorporate procedural justice into their training for supervisors as they tend to have the most interactions with the officers out on patrol. As this thesis has found, Organization 1 is the only agency among those examined to provide training related to procedural justice to its leadership. Creating an organizational culture in which procedural justice is embodied by all personnel, both internally and externally, is a “win–win” for law enforcement organizations, police officers, and the community at large.³⁰⁵ To conclude, procedural justice is not just an essential model for dealing and interacting with the public; as the academic literature suggests, those in a leadership role should adopt the principles of procedural justice in the management of their organizations.³⁰⁶

³⁰¹ “Race, Trust and Police Legitimacy,” National Institute of Justice, January 9, 2013, <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/race-trust-and-police-legitimacy>; Nancy La Vigne, Jocelyn Fontaine, and Anamika Dwivedi, *How Do People in High-Crime, Low-Income Communities View the Police?* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2017), https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/88476/how_do_people_in_high-crime_view_the_police.pdf.

³⁰² Tyler, “Trust and Legitimacy,” 263.

³⁰³ President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Final Report of the President’s Task Force*, 54.

³⁰⁴ President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 54.

³⁰⁵ Murphy and Tyler, “Experimenting with Procedural Justice Policing,” 291.

³⁰⁶ Murphy and Tyler.

Finally, ensuring that supervisors and all levels of management receive training in procedural justice should be a top priority for executive leaders. According to the Council on Criminal Justice, “Studies have documented the powerful role supervisors and organizations can play in commending officers who engage in procedural justice practices.”³⁰⁷ Furthermore, the academic literature suggests this approach results in fewer civilian complaints filed, greater adherence to the organization’s rules and policies, and even a reduction in the use of force.³⁰⁸

Ensuring supervisors are applying procedural justice when dealing with alleged officer misconduct is important, too, not only for employee wellness but for the perceived legitimacy of the organization as a whole. According to the RAND Corporation,

Surveys of officers have identified concerns about internal review processes from the police point of view. Data from the National Police Research Platform identified a perceived lack of fairness in discipline processes in large departments in particular. . . . It is worth noting that the issue of officer trust in their internal investigation processes and internal affairs investigators is itself directly parallel to the question of public trust of the police more generally, because the same concerns of fairness in treatment, objectivity, and procedural justice apply in both cases.³⁰⁹

D. RESTRAINING AND DRIVING FORCES, AND IMPLEMENTING RECOMMENDATIONS

The challenges facing law enforcement organizations in implementing change are like those facing private-sector organizations. It could be argued, however, that law enforcement organizations experience even more difficulty in implementing change, as one of the biggest impediments to change is the police culture itself. As Phillips states, “Policing has always been resistant to change . . . [and] the police culture is commonly the

³⁰⁷ Edward R. Maguire, Belén V. Lowrey, and Devon Johnson, “Evaluating the Relative Impact of Positive and Negative Encounters with Police: A Randomized Experiment,” *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 13, no. 3 (September 2017): 4, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-016-9276-9>.

³⁰⁸ Maguire, Lowrey, and Johnson, “Positive and Negative Encounters with Police”; Owens et al., *Promoting Officer Integrity*.

³⁰⁹ Jackson, *Respect and Legitimacy*, 14.

explanation.”³¹⁰ Over the past decades, law enforcement organizations have struggled to implement well-researched, recommended practices, such as community policing, problem-oriented policing, evidence-based policing, intelligence-led policing, and Compstat.³¹¹ Therefore, to implement procedural justice and legitimacy training, law enforcement leaders must explore ways to successfully drive organizational change. Kurt Lewin’s force field analysis is a useful tool for identifying barriers and drivers of change. According to Lewin, “An organization exists in a state of quasi-stable ‘equilibrium,’ which is the balancing point between opposing forces. Driving forces push in the direction of change, while restraining forces resist the potential change.”³¹² If law enforcement leaders wish to change the status quo and overcome the barriers they may face throughout the process, “restraining forces must be reduced while driving forces are concurrently increased.”³¹³

This thesis provides a clear view of the current condition of the training provided and identifies restraining and driving forces. Phillips underscores how “identify [ing] the driving and restraining forces that account for the current state of equilibrium. . . [and] determin [ing] which forces are strong, weak, and controllable” can help leaders enact change.³¹⁴ Thus, the process of identifying and assessing restraining and driving forces highlights drivers that are weak and need to be strengthened and restraining forces that are strong and need to be weakened.³¹⁵ The existing literature and the interviews conducted for this thesis identify a strong restraining force, law enforcement organizational culture, which poses a potential barrier to enhancing procedural justice and legitimacy training but also a means to overcoming that force and supporting change.

³¹⁰ Scott W. Phillips, “Police Supervisor’s Attitude toward Analysis in Policing: A Force-Field Analysis,” *International Association of Law Enforcement Intelligence Analysis: Journal* 21, no. 1 (November 2012): 45.

³¹¹ Phillips.

³¹² Phillips, “Using Volunteers in Policing,” 292.

³¹³ Phillips, “Police Supervisor’s Attitude,” 43.

³¹⁴ Phillips, 43.

³¹⁵ Phillips.

The academic research and interviews conducted as part of this thesis suggest the strongest restraining force is internal resistance from the rank and file—that is, police culture. As the participant from Organization 1 observed,

When officers hear the word procedural justice, they relate it to Obama's administration. They express that resistance, and they shut down, and they can't see the value procedural justice has. . . . The fact that it came from the Obama administration, they automatically put a stamp on it—that it must be wrong or it's liberal or it's whatever—and they put a negative connotation on it, and they can become close minded until it's explained. Once it is explained, then they open up, but that's our initial barrier that we experience.³¹⁶

This resistance to change was also identified by another participant:

The biggest obstacle is law enforcement doesn't like change. . . . So I'll be honest, there was a lot of resistance . . . and that's why the cynicism became so important in the training.

So we had to carve through that cynicism and allow them to listen to the message, and at end of the day, most of the officers in time began to realize good officers on the street were doing this anyway, but now they have a name for it—now they have a reason for why I'm doing it.³¹⁷

In recognizing that the police culture itself is resistant to change, law enforcement executives must actively support procedural justice initiatives outside and inside their organizations. As authors Gau and Gorby put it, "Management must demonstrate a commitment to procedural justice by personally endorsing it and encouraging" their supervisors to engage in conversation with their officers about the benefits of procedural justice to law enforcement.³¹⁸ Also, they must focus on cultivating an environment of internal organizational justice. That is, they must not only seek procedural justice behavior from their personnel but also model it when interacting with them. This recommendation is important, as the literature suggests that officers who experience procedural justice from

³¹⁶ Participant from Organization 1, personal communication.

³¹⁷ Participant from Organization 2, personal communication.

³¹⁸ Jacinta M. Gau and David Gorby, "Blending Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy into Police Culture," *Police Chief*, September 2015, 36, https://www.policchiefmagazine.org/wp-content/uploads/Policyreform_September2015.pdf.

their organizations are more inclined to model that behavior and style of policing when interacting with the community.

To support procedural justice by officers outside their organizations, law enforcement leaders should create a “community policing plan that at the organizational level actively support [s] officers who illustrate the elements of procedural justice in their work.”³¹⁹ Law enforcement executives should also require their leaders to present on a consistent basis their units’ community efforts, making community engagement part of the promotional process, and clearly communicating to all personnel that they must be active in their communities while conducting themselves in a procedurally just manner.³²⁰ According to Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, the key to creating organizational change and promoting procedurally just behavior within the organization is holding officers accountable to the principles of procedural justice while incentivizing good customer service.³²¹

To create a culture of organizational justice that can support procedural justice, law enforcement leaders must focus on the internal dynamics of the organization. Law enforcement executives must concentrate on their organizations’ culture, which can pose significant barriers not only to broader procedural justice implementation but also in officers’ interactions with the public. As Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff note, it is the internal dynamics of an organization that determine how officers approach their duties and how they relate to their organizations.³²² Therefore, when officers experience fair and just treatment within their organizations, “they are more likely to endorse a service-oriented style of policing.”³²³ As one participant expressed,

I think the part that’s sad, if you were going to talk about an obstacle, is the recognition of organizational procedural justice and the treating of each other. We get the idea of treating the community, but how do we treat each

³¹⁹ Dai, “Training Police for Procedural Justice,” 492.

³²⁰ Dai.

³²¹ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, “Training Police for Procedural Justice,” 333.

³²² Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, “Justice from Within.”

³²³ Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, 158.

other internally? . . . And there [is the] obstacle . . . [of] the paramilitary model of law enforcement. There is always that kind of roughness.³²⁴

As Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy highlight in their study, no matter how much training officers receive, when organizations are not modeling what they ask their personnel to do, the training has little bearing.³²⁵

Similarly, Dai's study shows that supportive organizational structures and behavior can have a positive effect. In his study on procedural justice training, Dai found that a "supportive organizational" structure not only contributed to the efficacy of the training but also helped to maintain the effects of training over time, which is equally if not more important.³²⁶ If the training provided does not produce lasting results, then there is still a problem. However, this was not the case in Dai's study, which found a "top-down approach . . . snowballed into numerous grassroots efforts that officers authentically made as part of their everyday mission to serve the needs of local communities."³²⁷

To conclude, this chapter discussed the findings of this thesis before providing recommendations for driving procedural justice training forward to enhance police legitimacy and build public trust. As Cohen states, "Changing behavior is neither easy nor impossible," and law enforcement organizations are no different from any other organization.³²⁸ "To change them," Cohen maintains, "requires changing the hearts and minds within them. As history has shown, without a concerted effort to motivate, grow, and guide officers toward their new guardian roles, organizational policy and practice changes . . . will be evanescent."³²⁹ Last, for these recommendations to be effective, law enforcement executives must provide a supportive and motivating environment while offering clear direction to all levels of the organization.

³²⁴ Participant from Organization 2, personal communication.

³²⁵ Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy, "Training Police for Procedural Justice," 333.

³²⁶ Dai, "Training Police for Procedural Justice."

³²⁷ Dai, 492.

³²⁸ Ryan Cohen, "The Force and the Resistance: Why Changing the Police Force Is Neither Inevitable, nor Impossible," *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Law and Social Change* 20, no. 2 (2017): 122, <https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/jlasc/vol20/iss2/2/>.

³²⁹ Cohen, 122.

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VI. CONCLUSION

The most deadly poison of our time is indifference.

—St. Maximilian Kolbe³³⁰

Within a fraction of a second, law enforcement officers are often forced to exercise their authority, a power with which the people they have sworn to protect and serve have entrusted them. This is no easy undertaking, and the way officers “execute their discretionary powers . . . greatly depends on the way [officers] were trained and prepared for the job.”³³¹ Research suggests that the citizenry is interested in police–citizen outcomes, and the public’s assessment of those results is greatly influenced by the extent of procedural justice experienced during the interactions with the police.³³² Also, scholars have suggested that by practicing procedural justice in the field, police not only improve the citizenry’s perception of them—i.e., police legitimacy—but also reduce crime.³³³ Furthermore, the manner in which the police interact with citizens can have implications on group identification and self-esteem.³³⁴

This thesis asserts that police legitimacy is essential if law enforcement organizations want to accomplish their mission and that procedural justice enhances police legitimacy, as the literature suggests.³³⁵ However, even though studies show that procedural justice strongly influences police legitimacy and provides benefits to law enforcement organizations, the existing research suggests that police agencies provide only limited focused training on procedural justice and legitimacy. As such, this thesis investigated how and to what extent law enforcement organizations provide procedural justice training. Then it identified

³³⁰ “Maximilian Kolbe,” AZ Quotes, accessed September 8, 2022, <https://www.azquotes.com/quote/877960>.

³³¹ Cohen, “Public Administration Training in Basic Police Academies,” 345–46.

³³² Skogan and Frydl, *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing*, 301.

³³³ Mazerolle et al., “Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy”; Tom R. Tyler, “Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and the Effective Rule of Law,” *Crime and Justice* 30 (2003): 283–357, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1147701>.

³³⁴ Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law*, 164.

³³⁵ Tyler, “Public Trust and Confidence in Legal Authorities.”

organizational barriers to broader implementation and potential drivers and levers to support broader implementation.

Ten state law enforcement organizations were contacted and asked to participate in this study. Four state law enforcement organizations agreed to participate. Additionally, one large metropolitan police department agreed to participate. The five organizations provided their training curricula for procedural justice and legitimacy. The research process revealed that implicit bias is a major impediment to procedural justice. Therefore, this thesis assessed training materials for implicit bias in addition to procedural justice and legitimacy.

The analysis shows that the participating organizations provide some procedural justice and legitimacy training to academy recruits and incorporate training on implicit bias, which the literature identifies as a “significant threat to procedural justice.”³³⁶ However, the analysis suggests that this training is provided to academy recruits too early in their academy training program. All the organizations that participated in this research have paramilitary academies, also known as stress academies. Such an academy structure and environment, coupled with the stressors experienced by recruits in the early part of their academy training, suggest that future research should assess the best timing of procedural justice training.

This thesis also found that although the organizations’ training curricula include topics similar or related to procedural justice, legitimacy, and implicit bias training, the offerings and hours vary for academy training and in-service training across the organizations. One of the most important findings of this thesis is that none of the organizations provides procedural justice training to its supervisors upon promoting, and none of the organizations provides training for internal procedural justice. Internal procedural justice emphasizes procedurally just treatment of personnel in and by the organization. Nevertheless, Organization 1 provides four hours of procedural justice training to its middle managers.³³⁷ The organization’s leadership has recommended further implementation and will work with POST to incorporate the training that supervisors receive upon promotion. Ensuring organizations are supportive

³³⁶ California Department of Justice, *Principled Policing*, 4.

³³⁷ Participant from Organization 1, personal communication.

and provide training to their leadership is important for employee wellness and morale, as well as democracy in policing, as highlighted by Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff.³³⁸

To change the climate between law enforcement and the public, law enforcement should change the climate within their organizations, beginning with procedural justice training for their supervisors. When law enforcement officers act in a procedurally fair manner, the benefits are vast, as shown in numerous studies. According to the COPS office, these benefits include increased compliance with the law and a willingness to cooperate with authorities among the community and enhanced police legitimacy—thus increasing officer safety.³³⁹ By applying procedural justice, this framework can further drive community policing forward and develop organizational transformation.³⁴⁰

A. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

The existing literature suggests that law enforcement organizations should continuously strive to build and promote police legitimacy, as legitimacy allows law enforcement to more efficiently accomplish its mission and build public trust. In other words, as stated by the National Institute of Justice, “In the big picture, policing effectiveness depends on the vast majority of the public accepting that the police are a trustworthy and legitimate institution.”³⁴¹ As this thesis highlights, procedural justice is a driver of legitimacy; however, one of the most significant barriers to implementing change can be the police culture. However, to overcome that barrier, Tyler suggests examining the attitudes of executive leadership—the “tone from the top.”³⁴² As Tyler explains, “The organizational culture of police departments is shaped by the values articulated by their leaders. . . . Police officer

³³⁸ Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff, “Justice from Within,” 158.

³³⁹ Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, “Procedural Justice: Advancing Police Legitimacy,” *Community Policing Dispatch* 6, no. 1 (January 2013), <https://cops.usdoj.gov/html/dispatch/01-2013/advancing-police-legitimacy.asp>.

³⁴⁰ Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

³⁴¹ Gary Cordner, *Evidence-Based Policing in 45 Small Bytes* (Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, 2020), 47, <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/254326.pdf>.

³⁴² Tyler, “Trust and Legitimacy,” 261.

behavior responds to the directives of the leadership, and tone from the top is crucial to communicating the need for a new approach to policing.”³⁴³

Placing greater emphasis on procedural justice does not mean law enforcement leaders need to ignore crime control and community safety issues but rather underscores the importance of communicating and taking necessary actions to build legitimacy through procedural justice practices. As Tyler puts it, “Leaders can articulate the benefits of building public support, benefits that include help in fighting crime and greater officer safety but also general support for policing and for the community.”³⁴⁴ Central to organizational change in the police culture is leadership that communicates and highlights the “gains” to law enforcement.³⁴⁵

Furthermore, this top-down approach needs to trickle down to the organization’s training programs—that is, to the academy-level, in-service, and supervisory training. This greater emphasis on training should focus on evidence-based practices, as was highlighted by the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing under Pillar 5, “Training & Education.”³⁴⁶ According to Tyler, “Police training needs to emphasize the importance of framing policing actions when dealing with the public in terms of procedural fairness, since building legitimacy is a goal of policing. . . . This training should lead officers to frame every interaction as an opportunity to build or undermine legitimacy through quality treatment.”³⁴⁷

Also, law enforcement leaders need to assess their organizations’ “reward structures” and constantly find ways for law enforcement personnel to view the goal of building legitimacy with their communities as equal to their crime control mission.³⁴⁸ However, this reward structure should not be focused on material rewards, as studies suggest intrinsic motivation is more effective at shaping employee behavior and fostering mutual respect—

³⁴³ Tyler, 261–62.

³⁴⁴ Tyler, 262.

³⁴⁵ Tyler, 263.

³⁴⁶ President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Final Report of the President’s Task Force*, 51.

³⁴⁷ Tyler, “Trust and Legitimacy,” 262.

³⁴⁸ Tyler, 262.

that is, internal procedural justice.³⁴⁹ Furthermore, such an initiative will require organizations to collect new data focused on police legitimacy rather than quantitative information on such metrics as arrests and citations.³⁵⁰

The California Highway Patrol (CHP) is a state law enforcement organization that has historically “benefitted from a high level of public support” and can be seen as an exemplar for other agencies striving to enhance their legitimacy through principles of procedural justice.³⁵¹ As described in a CHP publication, the organization “is a highly respected law enforcement agency grounded since 1929 in its core values of courtesy and service.”³⁵² Moreover, CHP “continually seeks to achieve professional excellence in an effort to exceed the public’s expectations. This requires ongoing internal and external assessments to maintain a unified vision toward our goal of providing the highest level of safety, service, and security.”³⁵³ The organization stresses the importance of having a positive impact in every citizen interaction.³⁵⁴ One of the reasons the CHP has been successful in maintaining its legitimacy and the public’s trust is its Public Trust Initiative and its embrace of the following three principles, related to the pillars of procedural justice: individual evaluation, respect and dignity, and a unified vision.³⁵⁵

Under the principle of individual evaluation, the CHP calls for “each of us [to] be willing to evaluate our own actions and demeanor from the perspective of the people we serve.”³⁵⁶ In terms of respect and dignity, the CHP states,

We must enforce the law fairly and respectfully, and we must do so while demonstrating the highest level of compassion and professionalism. We must

³⁴⁹ Tyler.

³⁵⁰ Tyler.

³⁵¹ California Highway Patrol, “Earning the Trust of California’s Communities” (Sacramento: California Highway Patrol, 2016), 2, https://www.chp.ca.gov/CommunityOutreachAndMediaRelationsSite/Documents/Trust_Document.pdf.

³⁵² California Highway Patrol, 2.

³⁵³ “Earning Your Trust—A Lifetime Endeavor,” California Highway Patrol, accessed June 22, 2022, <https://www.chp.ca.gov/home/about-us/public-trust-page>.

³⁵⁴ California Highway Patrol.

³⁵⁵ California Highway Patrol, “Earning the Trust of California’s Communities.”

³⁵⁶ California Highway Patrol, 3.

evaluate every contact to determine a course of action that will provide the greatest benefit to both the individual and the public at large. Each public contact offers an opportunity to enforce and educate equally.³⁵⁷

Last, regarding a unified vision, CHP insists, “We can attain the same success over the course of our entire careers by maintaining a shared vision of our commitment and responsibility to public service.”³⁵⁸ Put simply, earning the public’s trust is CHP’s “lifetime endeavor.”³⁵⁹ These tenets, although not worded as principles of procedural justice, are related to the concept and should be adopted by all law enforcement organizations in the country.

B. LIMITATIONS

The initial design of this thesis involved contacting 10–15 state law enforcement organizations who had been accredited by CALEA. However, not all the organizations contacted responded or made themselves available for this study. Thus, the results of this study derive from an analysis of the training of five participating organizations. In addition, it is possible that the organizations that participated did not provide all their applicable training curricula. Although a rigorous attempt was made to identify all the material that pertained to procedural justice, legitimacy, and implicit bias training, it is possible that some material was missed. Last, some of the agencies that participated in this study did not consent to an interview. As such, this study was limited to only two interviews via Zoom and one written question-and-answer interview. Nevertheless, this study adds to the volume of literature and offers recommendations to law enforcement executives on existing procedural justice, police legitimacy, and implicit bias training and the benefits of such training for their organizations and the communities they have sworn to protect and serve.

C. FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research should assess what makes training programs more effective. In particular, research should investigate when procedural justice and legitimacy training should be delivered to recruits. Developing a training curriculum for supervisors and those in a

³⁵⁷ California Highway Patrol, 3.

³⁵⁸ California Highway Patrol, 3.

³⁵⁹ California Highway Patrol, “Earning Your Trust—A Lifetime Endeavor.”

leadership role to enhance employee wellness should also be a top priority for researchers, law enforcement executives, and academia, as studies suggest that officers who experience procedurally just behavior within their organizations are more likely to demonstrate it when interacting with the public. Also, future research should focus on ways in which law enforcement organizations can effectively measure an officer's performance in terms of public interactions, as most performance measures are currently focused on quantitative data. By effectively measuring an officer's performance, researchers and law enforcement leaders can work together toward developing more evidence-based policing practices that will produce more positive police–citizen encounters. Last, law enforcement organizations should pursue avenues for enhancing their personnel's familiarity with evidence-based policing. The advantages of using evidence-based policing are numerous, as Telep claims. These advantages include decreased crime and disorder, increased productivity, and improved accountability and transparency.³⁶⁰ Thus, as Telep points out, “These benefits could all positively affect resident perceptions of the police, particularly when evidence on fair and impartial policing is integrated into efforts to increase effectiveness.”³⁶¹ However, Telep concedes that for these benefits to materialize, an agency must increase an officer's receptivity through initiatives like advanced training and education and exposure to research.³⁶²

D. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS STUDY

This thesis builds on observations by many leaders over the past several years that law enforcement's legitimacy is in peril, and without legitimacy, law enforcement officers and organizations may struggle to gain public cooperation and obedience during interactions with the community. Law enforcement organizations struggle with low staffing levels, budgetary restraints, and attacks from the media, while still having to address their daily responsibilities, including additional roles and responsibilities, such as responding to mental health calls. Procedural justice and legitimacy training and continued implicit bias training are likely to

³⁶⁰ Cody W. Telep, “Police Officer Receptivity to Research and Evidence-Based Policing: Examining Variability within and across Agencies,” *Crime & Delinquency* 63, no. 8 (2017): 995, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128716642253>.

³⁶¹ Telep, 995.

³⁶² Telep, 995.

support efficient and effective police–citizen interactions and better outcomes. This thesis adds to the procedural justice, police legitimacy, and bias literature by describing what participating organizations across the country are doing to provide procedural justice and legitimacy training, including bias training, to their recruits, the rank and file, and those promoting to a supervisory role. This thesis concludes that law enforcement executives who want to build public trust and enhance their organizations’ legitimacy should seek ways to implement procedural justice practices both internally and externally for the betterment of their organizations and communities they serve.

E. FINAL THOUGHTS

As Jackson emphasizes, legitimacy, trust, and the respect that go along with them cannot simply be granted to an organization by using the appropriate language; rather, they must be attained through words and deeds.³⁶³ However, through procedural justice and implicit bias training, law enforcement leaders can enhance their legitimacy. According to Schulhofer, Tyler, and Huq, in the procedural justice model, law enforcement officials are not driven to settle disputes primarily by the threat of force.³⁶⁴ Officers are instead taught to use force only as a last resort and to view every interaction with a member of the public as an opportunity to establish legitimacy by the way they conduct themselves throughout the contact.³⁶⁵ This legitimacy is crucial and essential for law enforcement organizations in the 21st century, as it is through legitimacy that organizations can maintain social order, without relying on force.

³⁶³ Jackson, *Respect and Legitimacy*, 4.

³⁶⁴ Schulhofer, Tyler, and Huq, “American Policing at a Crossroads,” 351.

³⁶⁵ Schulhofer, Tyler, and Huq, 351.

APPENDIX A. LETTER TO LAW ENFORCEMENT ORGANIZATIONS

My name is Fabio Serrato, I am a lieutenant for the California Highway Patrol (CHP) and a graduate student at the Naval Postgraduate School Center for Homeland Defense and Security (CHDS), where I am currently working on my thesis. I am contacting your agency, because you are a leader in law enforcement as demonstrated through your compliance with CALEA and have been awarded CALEA Accreditation by the Commission. My thesis is focused on police legitimacy and procedural justice. Current literature suggests that procedural justice can enhance police legitimacy, encourage voluntarily compliance with the law, promote a greater willingness to cooperate with the police, and overall higher levels of trust in the police. However, what is limited in terms of the literature, is to what extent and how is procedural justice training being provided to recruits, as part of in-service training, and or after a promotion to a leadership role.

In the following days, I will be contacting you and nine other state highway patrol organizations within the United States, in hopes that you can assist me in providing me your training curriculum for your recruits while at the Academy, in-service training curriculum for your agency, and any other procedural justice training provided to your leadership upon promotion. I would like to stress, that at no point will I be seeking any personal identifying information. All information being sought pertains to the organization, specifically the training that is being provided regarding procedural justice and police legitimacy. I hope with your assistance, I can identify best practices, which can then be used by the law enforcement community as we strive to provide the highest level of safety, service, and security.

Thank you for your time and cooperation. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at XXX and or via e-mail XXX or XXX. I look forward to speaking with you.

Respectfully,

Fabio Serrato

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APPENDIX B. TRAINING DETAILS FROM PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

Table 4. Organization 1's Academy, In-Service, and Supervisory Training

Variables	Academy Training	In-Service Training	Promotion to Supervisory Position
Hrs.	• 26 hrs. total—of which 10 hrs. focus on community policing, community partnerships, and problem-solving and 8 hrs. on “Principled Policing” (specific to procedural justice) • 8 hrs. dedicated to community project • 16 hrs. total for cultural diversity/discrimination	• 2–4 hrs.	• Briefly introduces concept of procedural justice (hrs. not provided) • 4 hours on procedural justice provided to middle managers. • Leadership has recommended incorporating a block into the commander's course, sergeant's leadership forum (for sergeants of 3+ years in grade) • Agency plans to recommend an additional block to POST for required first-line supervisor's academy
Frequency	• Provided during weeks 2–4 of the academy • Total training is 24 weeks	• Once every four years, which exceeds legal requirements • Meets Cal. Penal Code § 13519.4	• Briefly describes procedural justice—no supporting materials or activities
Topics (hrs.)	• Principled policing (8 hrs.), procedural justice, implicit and explicit bias, legitimacy, historical events, cynicism, communication skills, community bank account, benefits of PJ, cultural competency, cultural diversity/discrimination (16 hrs.) • Topics include but not limited to diversity, implicit bias, racial profiling, inclusion	• Managing bias, procedural justice (four pillars), responsibility to report, connecting with the community	• Upon promotion
Delivery format	• Lecture and adult learning (i.e., PowerPoint presentation, group discussions, videos, research cases) • Adopted from POST	• Interactive web-based training (“Beyond Bias: Racial & Identity Profiling Update”) • Training created by POST	• Lecture-based

Table 5. Organization 2’s Academy, In-Service, and Supervisory Training

Variables	Academy Training	In-Service Training	Promotion to Supervisory Position
Hrs.	• 16 hrs. total	• 8 hrs. of “Procedural Justice 2—A Tactical Mindset” (PJ2) provided to all uniformed members after graduating from the academy • 8 hrs. of “Procedural Justice 3—Managing Implicit Bias” (PJ3) • 40 hrs. total	• No PJ or legitimacy training provided
Frequency	• Provided during weeks 10–12 of the academy • 24 weeks total training	• PJ2 (8 hrs.) provided only after graduating and on patrol • 40 hrs. annually	
Topics (hrs.)	• 8 hrs. of procedural justice; legitimacy; historical and generational effects of policing, including cynicism; communication; community bank account; benefits of PJ • 8 hrs. of implicit bias	• PJ2 builds on PJ1, which involves lecture, video, and scenario-based training. • PJ2 revisits concepts from PJ1, applying procedural justice concepts in everyday policing scenarios. The participants recognize, analyze, and display the concepts of PJ in scenario-based situations. • PJ3, which focuses on implicit bias, describes individuals’ automatic associations with groups of people and stereotypes about those groups. Learners take an abstract look at how implicit bias can be expressed in relation to non-racial factors, including gender, age, religion, or sexual orientation. • Involves discussions on reducing the influence of implicit bias to strengthen relationships between police and communities of color, as well as scenarios, role-playing, and tabletop exercises. • Though not specific to procedural justice and legitimacy, this training type incorporates these principles into all 40 hrs.	
Delivery format	• Lecture and adult learning (i.e., PowerPoint presentation, group discussions, videos, research cases) • Created by Organization 2 and Anti-Defamation League	• Lecture and scenario-based training (adult learning) • PowerPoint presentations, video clips, and group work	

Table 6. Organization 3's Academy, In-Service, and Supervisory Training

Variables	Academy Training	In-Service Training	Promotion to Supervisory Position
Hrs.	• 18 hrs. total, of which 6 are taught by Indiana State Patrol • 2 hrs. of community panel, composed of community members, local activist groups, organizations • Community service project • Items discussed by panelists include group values and how they impact interactions with others, social norms that influence verbal and nonverbal communication styles, behaviors or words that reflect respect/disrespect, issues that may influence cooperation between groups and law enforcement.³⁶⁶	• 4 hrs.	• No PJ or legitimacy training provided • 2 hrs. of "Appreciating and Valuing Our Differences" provided • Two-week (80 hrs.) leadership development program, based on West Point's leadership course • Principles of procedural justice incorporated into training (e.g., servant leadership)
Frequency	• Provided during Phase 1, week 6, of the academy • 27 weeks total training	• Once annually, regardless of legislative mandate	• Upon promotion • Provided to all first-line supervisors, uniformed and non-uniformed
Topics (hrs.)	• Procedural justice, legitimacy, implicit bias, cultural competency, community/cultural diversity, in-groups and out-groups, community bank account, communication skills, benefits of PJ • Does not include historical events or cynicism	• Implicit bias and diversity training • Specific PJ training not provided • Pending curriculum approval	• Topics discussed: inclusion, voice, and bias • Developed by Ohio Department of Administrative Services and modified by Organization 3 • Provides police leaders with a method to understand and apply modern behavioral science and leadership theories that enhance human motivation, satisfaction, and performance in achieving organizational goals.³⁶⁷
Delivery format	• Lecture and adult learning (i.e., PowerPoint presentation, group discussions, videos, research cases) • Includes presentation from partnering agency • Material adopted from Ohio Peace Officer Training Academy (rev. 2016) • Cadets not in uniform while attending training	• Lecture and adult learning (i.e., PowerPoint presentation, group discussions, videos, research cases) • In past, podcasts with community members	

³⁶⁶ Harris et al., *Community Diversity & Procedural Justice*, 66.

³⁶⁷ Participant from Organization 3, email message to the researcher, May 4, 2022.

Table 7. Organization 4's Academy, In-Service, and Supervisory Training

Variables	Academy Training	In-Service Training	Promotion to Supervisory Position
Hrs.	• 0 hrs. of PJ/legitimacy training • 8 hrs. of anti-bias training provided	• 0 hrs. on procedural justice/legitimacy • 2 hrs. of anti-bias training provided • Training developed by PoliceOne	• No PJ or legitimacy training provided
Frequency	• Provided during week 4 of the academy • 29 weeks total training	• Once annually • H.B. 15–1287 requires anti-bias training annually for in-service.³⁶⁸	
Topics (hrs.)	• Anti-bias training provided (e.g., biases, cultural diversity, law enforcement culture)	• Anti-bias training provided (e.g., biases, cultural diversity, law enforcement culture)	
Delivery format	• Lecture and adult learning (i.e., PowerPoint presentation, group discussions, videos, research cases) • Material developed by Organization 4	• Lecture and adult learning (i.e., PowerPoint presentation, group discussions, videos, research cases)	

³⁶⁸ An Act Concerning Measures to Improve Peace Officer Training, H.B. 15–1287, Colo. Rev. Stat. §§ 24–31-302 et seq. (2015).

Table 8. Organization 5's Academy, In-Service, and Supervisory Training

Variables	Academy Training	In-Service Training	Promotion to Supervisory Position
Hrs.	• 8 hrs. of procedural justice and racial bias • 4 hrs. of tactical communications • Coins awarded to officers for performance	• 24 hrs. of in-service training annually per Wash. Admin. Code § 139-05-300 • 40 hrs. every three years per Wash. Admin. Code § 139-11-060 (in compliance with the Law Enforcement Training and Community Safety Act)	• No specific PJ training provided • Supervisors required to attend the LPO course
Frequency	• Provided during the first three weeks of the academy • 24 weeks total training	• 24 hrs. annually, but every third year, 40 hrs. of training obviate the shorter training requirement under Wash. Admin. Code § 139-05-300 • Complies with Law Enforcement Training and Community Safety Act	• “Delivers modern behavioral science concepts and theories uniquely tailored to the law enforcement environment.”³⁶⁹
Topics (hrs.)	• 8 hrs. of procedural justice, legitimacy, historical events, racial bias, and law enforcement	• Includes implicit/explicit bias and procedural justice, but not all in-service hrs. are spent on these topics. See administrative requirements.	• Upon promotion
Delivery format	• Materials developed by Organization 5 and neighboring organizations	• Lecture and adult learning (i.e., PowerPoint presentation, group discussions, videos, research cases)	• Highly interactive group discussions, case studies, videos, role-playing, and class exercises

³⁶⁹ International Association of Chiefs of Police, “Leadership in Police Organizations.”

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