

A Review of Self-Legitimacy in Policing

While police brutality is not a new subject in America, the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement in response to consecutive deaths of Black men and women has catalyzed conversations surrounding the structure and function of policing in America. The field of cognitive and behavioral science offers various voices and perspectives into these conversations, including discussions of police legitimacy. This paper will address the current psychological literature on police self-legitimacy, or police officers' perceptions of their own authority. Specifically, it will examine what influences self-legitimacy and how self-legitimacy affects commitment to procedurally just policing. It will also connect the empirical literature to current day conversations and interventions in policing, while also paying mind to the influence of justice system reform on poverty.

Theoretical Frameworks of Self-legitimacy

Broadly defined as the right to govern and the recognition by the governed of this right (Beetham, 1991; Coicaud, 2002; Jackson & Bradford, 2010), the concept of legitimacy developed at the conjunction of political theory (Beetham, 1991; Coicaud, 2002) and social scientific thought (Tyler, 1990). Legitimacy is a necessary component of any social or political institution that hopes to operate and progress effectively. Research on legitimacy began with the psychologically framed question, "why do people obey the law?" (Tyler, 1990). Tyler's (1990) exploration of this question employed a procedural justice framework, which attends to the presence or absence of fairness in processes surrounding the administration of justice and the law within a society. Within this framework, he divided forms of obedience into "personal morality" and "legitimacy", the former referring to citizens' general beliefs about how they should act and the latter referring to citizens' perceptions as to whether law enforcement officials rightly have

authority over them. Tyler (1990) concluded that compliance with the law centers more heavily around the belief that legal authorities are legitimate than around fear of punishment. Predicated on this finding is the fact that legitimacy is a bidirectional and conditional relationship between the authority figure and the subordinate. In other words, legitimacy requires the voices of both the authority and the subordinate to engage in an ongoing conversation that cyclically presents discontentment and subsequently finds resolutions.

In light of the conditional nature of the conversation, much of the discussion surrounding legitimacy centers around the concept of consent (Beetham, 1991; Coicaud, 2002). Beetham (1991), a political theorist, describes expressed consent as a core backbone that codifies legitimacy. Likewise, Coicaud (2002) argues that once consent is withdrawn, legitimacy all but disappears. Use of force by those in power is proof that an authority's legitimacy has failed (Coicaud, 2002). Because this is an ongoing dialogue, variation often emerges between powerholders and their subordinates' perceptions of powerholder legitimacy. This variation can cause strain on the institutional structure of society, leading to changes in how an agency is constructed or how it operates (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012). In present day America, this strain is clearly evident in the area of policing. Dialogues surrounding legitimacy are increasing in volume and frequency, largely shaped through the Black Lives Matter movement. However, there is variability in how these dialogues are being responded to by powerholders across localities.

Much of the existing research on legitimacy stems from the dialogue of consent and conditionality. This dialogue has historically catered to psychological examination of audience legitimacy, or what defines police legitimacy in the eyes of citizens. Audience legitimacy is not the focus of this paper, but it is worthwhile to highlight a cross-cultural police legitimacy

assessment conducted by Tankebe, Reisig, and Wang in 2015. Four hundred and forty-four students from a university in Ghana and 516 students from a university in the southwest region of the United States were surveyed. In both Ghana and the United States, results demonstrated that the audience view of police legitimacy is grounded in assessments of police effectiveness, lawfulness, procedural fairness, and distributive justice. In other words, citizens evaluate if the police are competent, if they comply with the law, if they act fairly towards citizens, and if they act equally among all citizens when determining legitimacy. In line with the emphasis on consent, police legitimacy was associated with individuals' willingness to cooperate with police forces. Also influencing cooperation was an obligation to obey, which mediated the relationship between legitimacy and cooperation in the U.S. sample (Tankebe, Reisig, & Wang, 2015). These findings demonstrate that normative status of authority does influence cooperation with authority, though it is not the only influence present.

Though the conditionality of legitimacy has been thoroughly studied, bidirectionality of legitimacy has not. Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) redirected researchers to focus on the bidirectionality of legitimacy with a seminal article addressing powerholders' perceptions of self-legitimacy. Self-legitimacy is defined as the self-belief that authority figures hold in the moral rightness of their claims to exercise power (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012). Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) outline potential sources of such perceived legitimacy in the police force, including relationships between officers and colleagues, officers and managers, and officers and the public. Powerholder self-legitimacy may be an important factor in the stabilization and effectiveness of authority. The remainder of this paper will discuss self-legitimacy, examining the literature written since this informative theoretical paper.

Correlates of Self-Legitimacy

Organizational Justice

Organizational justice refers to the degree to which the structure of and members of an organization operate in a procedurally fair way (Bradford & Quinton, 2014; Trinkner, Tyler, & Goff, 2016). Though it is difficult to conceptualize organizational justice within a quasi-military structure that emphasizes rank and obedience to authority, it is often viewed in police organizations through the evaluation of standards and procedures, and whether these are adhered to and applied equally to officers by supervisors and other leadership (Bradford & Quinton, 2014).

In the Durham Constabulary, a relatively small, non-metropolitan police force in Northern England, researchers examined the effects of perceived organizational justice on self-legitimacy (Bradford & Quinton, 2014). Perceptions of fair treatment of officers by their organization was associated with a sense of positive identification with the organization, which in turn was positively associated with self-legitimacy. The effect of organizational identity on self-legitimacy was so strong that it almost entirely mediated the association between the organizational leadership's procedural justice and self-legitimacy (Bradford & Quinton, 2014). Poor treatment by the organization was positively associated with cynicism, which in turn was negatively associated with self-legitimacy.

Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff (2016) also examined the influence of a procedurally fair organizational climate on a patrol division of a large, urban police force in the United States. In their study, procedurally fair climates were assessed from self-reports examining supervisor fairness, officers' use of procedurally fair behaviors, and the department policies on discipline, job assignment, and promotion. They found that fair organizational climates were positively associated with perceptions of organizational legitimacy and negatively associated with officer

cynicism and emotional distress. Organizational legitimacy refers to the perception that an organization rightfully holds a position of power in a community. Positive perceptions of organizational legitimacy were positively associated with officer self-legitimacy (Trinkner, Tyler, & Goff, 2016).

Public Support

An additional finding in the Bradford and Quinton study (2014) was that public support was positively associated with self-legitimacy. Following the deaths of Michael Brown and Eric Garner in 2014, Nix and Wolfe (2017) conducted a study on negative publicity that replicated Bradford and Quinton's findings on public support. Using 2015 data from a metropolitan city sheriff's department, they found that lower motivation as a result of negative publicity was associated with less self-legitimacy. Interestingly, the degree to which officers felt that their job had become more dangerous as a result of bad publicity had no measurable effect on self-legitimacy. These findings remained true after controlling for both organizational justice and officers' relationships with colleagues (Nix & Wolfe, 2017).

Officer Relationships

Officers' relationships with citizens, colleagues, and supervisors have frequently been examined as predictors of self-legitimacy (Hacin, Fields, & Meško, 2019; Tankebe, 2014; Tankebe & Meško, 2015; Tankebe, 2019). Using 2006 survey data across seven police stations from Accra Metropolis in Ghana, Tankebe (2014) examined whether supervisor, colleague, and citizen relationships shape officer self-legitimacy. While relations with citizens and colleagues were found to have some influence on self-legitimacy, the most critical influence stemmed from having fair or just interactions with supervisors. This finding connects back to the necessity of just organizational environments for self-legitimacy (Bradford & Quinton, 2014; Trinkner, Tyler,

& Goff, 2016). Interestingly, this effect of supervisors disappeared for officers who had served for at least 20 years (Tankebe, 2014). These findings were replicated in a 2015 study of eight regional police directorates in Slovenia (Tankebe & Meško, 2015). While self-legitimacy was shaped by supervisor fairness, interpersonal relations with colleagues, and citizen perceptions of legitimacy, relationships with colleagues had the strongest effect (Tankebe & Meško, 2015).

In 2019, Tankebe examined peer recognition, positive perceptions of citizens, and supervisor recognition in a UK sample, finding that peer recognition and acceptance was positively predictive of self-legitimacy, but recognition by supervisors and positive perceptions of citizens were not associated with self-legitimacy. This lack of significant findings may be attributed to the fact that experienced officers were overrepresented in the sample compared to inexperienced ones (Tankebe, 2014; Tankebe, 2019). Finally, Hacin, Fields, and Meško (2019) conducted a longitudinal study of prison staff in Slovenia using Tankebe and Meško's (2015) questionnaire. In their first collection of data, relations with colleagues and citizen perceptions of legitimacy were predictive of self-legitimacy. In their second collection of data two years later, supervisor fairness and age of officer were found to influence self-legitimacy (Hacin, Fields, & Meško, 2019). It is clear from these findings that the influences of self-legitimacy are variable and may shift according to environments surrounding officers and their length of stay in those environments.

Police Effectiveness

Another factor that has been examined in relation to self-legitimacy is police effectiveness (Tankebe 2014; Tankebe, 2019). In the study of self-legitimacy, police effectiveness measures officers' perceptions of the competency of their own police forces. Police effectiveness differs from self-legitimacy in that it assesses group-level competence as opposed

to individual sense of moral authority. Tankebe (2014) found that perceived police effectiveness was positively associated with self-legitimacy, but only accounted for a small portion of variance in self-legitimacy. In Tankebe's 2019 study, there was no association found between police effectiveness and self-legitimacy. However, police perceptions of the effectiveness of their local force, rather than self-legitimacy, was the only consistent predictor of police officers' individual commitment to procedural justice and positive attitudes towards citizens (Tankebe, 2019).

Stereotype Threat

Most recently, stereotype threat has been examined as a means of understanding the racially disparate use of force by officers (Trinkner & Kerrison, 2019). Stereotype threat is the concern with confirming a negative stereotype associated with a group to which one belongs (Steele, 1997 as cited in Trinkner & Kerrison, 2019). Past researchers have argued that concerns about confirming the racist officer stereotype diminishes an officer's sense of moral authority (Richardson & Goff, 2014). This is in line with previous research stating that an essential part of police officers' moral authority is their identity as representatives of a legal system built on justice and equality (Bradford & Quinton, 2014). Confrontations with BIPOC individuals may activate the stereotype, causing threats to this belief of moral authority, which in turn can erode police officers' identification with being justice representatives. When this connection to justice and equality deteriorates, policing may revert to use of coercion tactics such as threats and physical force (Trinkner & Kerrison, 2019). Examining this theoretical framework, Trinkner and Kerrison (2019) found that stereotype threat was negatively associated with self-legitimacy and self-legitimacy was negatively associated with support for coercive policing. Additionally, self-legitimacy functioned as a partial mediator between stereotype threat and coercive policing. Though it did not fully mediate the relationship, low self-legitimacy was associated with greater

support for coercive policing (Trinkner & Kerrison, 2019). The implications of this study suggest that calling attention to the paradigm of the racist police officer can harm BIPOC individuals by perpetuating coercive policing tactics. Dialogue is essential to determining and maintaining legitimacy, but it appears that certain types of dialogue, such as bad publicity and negative stereotyping, can cause harm to the powerholder's sense of their own authority. The question then shifts to the following: What happens to policing practices when self-legitimacy is reduced?

Correlates of Self-Legitimacy on Policing Behavior

Democratic Policing

Most of the literature examining the effects of self-legitimacy focus on the self-reported outcome of democratic policing, also called noncoercive policing (Bradford & Quinton, 2014; Trinkner & Kerrison, 2019). Broadly speaking, democratic policing is defined as respecting the rights of all who come in contact with the law. Police commitment to external procedural justice is another term used to describe the construct of democratic policing. In practice, this means avoiding excessive use of force, exercising force only when absolutely necessary, respecting the rights of others, being open, honest, and accountable with the public, and providing options for community participation (Bradford & Quinton, 2014). Researchers have operationalized self-reported democratic policing in various ways. Trinkner and Kerrison (2019) measured noncoercive policing through a 19-item questionnaire assessing officer endorsement of voice, respect, accountability, benevolence, and neutrality. Bradford and Quinton (2014) operationalized democratic policing through questions assessing procedurally just policing habits, opinions about suspects' rights, and opinions about use of proportionate force. In a different study, Trinkner, Tyler, and Goff (2016) assessed democratic policing through support for use of force, for community policing, and for procedurally just policing. Though slightly

different in their conceptions of democratic policing, the results of all three of these studies articulate that self-legitimacy is positively associated with self-reported support for noncoercive policing tactics. In line with these findings, Tankebe and Meško (2015) found that officers with a greater sense of self-legitimacy were more likely to report giving verbal warnings than threatening the use of force.

Attitude Towards Citizens

Only one study to date has examined the effect of self-legitimacy on officers' attitudes towards the communities they patrol. Tankebe (2019) examined the influence of self-legitimacy on officers' moral orientation towards crime victims. He assessed these orientations through questions which included, "It is a waste of time trying to help some victims of crime" and "Some victims of crime do little to deserve respect of the police". Tankebe also examined officer perceptions of police effectiveness and officer self-reported commitment to external procedural justice. He found that self-legitimacy predicted officers' self-reported commitment to external procedural justice but did not predict their reported moral orientation toward crime victims (Tankebe, 2019). Instead, perceived police effectiveness and reported commitment to external procedural justice were positively correlated with moral orientation towards victims. The more that officers perceived their organization to be effective in maintaining social order, the more positive were their orientations towards victims. Similarly, the stronger their reported commitment to democratic policing techniques, the more positive their orientation towards victims.

Age as an Individual Difference Factor

An important question to consider amidst these findings is whether individual difference factors affect the conclusions being made. In the previous section, age and experience of officers

were found to predict whether various factors influenced officers' self-legitimacy (Tankebe, 2014; Hacin, Fields, & Meško, 2019). Age is also a significant predictor of commitment to democratic policing (Bradford & Quinton, 2014; Trinkner & Kerrison, 2019). Older officers with more years of experience report higher commitment to democratic policing. In the United Kingdom police force, recently sworn-in officers scored consistently lower than more senior officers on all three measures of democratic policing (Bradford & Quinton, 2014). Additionally, age was significantly and inversely correlated with attitudes supporting unreasonable use of force in the Trinkner and Kerrison article (2019). This finding has clear implications for the organizational structure of police units that will be discussed in more detail later.

Current Standing of Literature

Limitations of Data

Before addressing the implications of this research, it is important to understand strengths and weaknesses of existing empirical literature on self-legitimacy. Of all the studies discussed thus far, only one has been longitudinal (Hacin, Fields, & Meško, 2019). The rest of the study designs are cross-sectional data analyzed and interpreted through multiple regression frameworks. Because of their cross-sectional nature, directionality cannot be assumed in any of the current findings. Though the data suggests that some variables covary together, and the direction of effects is hypothesized based on theoretical considerations, the nature of cause and effect cannot be concluded without longitudinal or experimental design.

All of the studies employed survey data with varying degrees of randomization, ranging from convenience sample (Bradford & Quinton, 2014) to randomly selected officers across several police stations (Tankebe, 2014). Survey data introduces a risk of response bias and lack of randomization decreases the data's generalizability across broader populations. One positive

counterpoint to this lack of generalizability is that the topic of police self-legitimacy is studied cross-culturally and has come back with similar findings many times over.

Assessing Behaviors Through Attitudes

In light of response bias, it is also problematic to make assumptions about behavior on the basis of information about attitudes. An officer's belief in democratic policing does not directly translate to acts of democratic policing in everyday patrol. One potential remedy to the lack of behavioral data is the examination of body camera footage over a period of time. Video analysis could be used to assess policing techniques in relation to self-legitimacy. Access to such footage could be an issue in implementing such a methodological design. The research in this area is still in its infancy when it comes to methodological hardiness. As results continue to be replicated, more advanced methods of examining self-legitimacy including experimentation and longitudinal design should be pursued.

Implications

Organizational Reforms

While more research is needed to fully assess the extent to which self-legitimacy affects democratic policing, it is worthwhile to consider the implications of intervention at this point in the literature. Officers' perceptions of the degree to which their workplaces, supervisors, and colleagues are equitable, just, and supportive appear to impact self-legitimacy. These predictors of self-legitimacy – perceptions of organizational justice, supervisor procedural justice, and relations with colleagues – reflect general spheres of company life that every organization has to address. Across all professional contexts, failure in these areas is associated with decreased productivity and well-being of employees, and the research fields of organizational behavior and industrial/organizational psychology inform ways to address these problems. Having a fairly

operated workplace is fundamentally connected to carrying those democratic principles into everyday work life. If officers are to treat others justly, they too must be treated justly by their departments (Trinkner, Tyler, & Goff, 2016). It is common to hear the call for increased direct supervision of officers as a means of increasing police effectiveness. Research examined here argues not for increased supervision but increased procedural fairness within the department. Changing or intervening at the level of senior management can only carry the department so far. In order to address colleague relationships, supervisor interactions, and organizational policies, a holistic approach to increasing organizational justice is needed.

It is also important to recognize the effects of age and experience on policing. Officers that are older and have more experience hold greater commitment to democratic policing techniques (Bradford & Quinton, 2014; Trinkner & Kerrison, 2019) and more positive orientations towards victims of crime (Tankebe, 2019). In light of this knowledge, one organizational strategy could be to routinely pair younger officers with more seasoned officers when on patrol, so that they defer to an authority that more strongly emphasizes noncoercive tactics of policing. The findings about age also suggest that there is a critical missing link within the training curriculum for new officers. There seems to be a disconnect between younger officers' conceptions about policing and the fact that officers are present to justly and fairly care for the community. This disconnect has prompted dialogue over the past several decades about how to best train officers to be effective community agents.

Police Effectiveness Reforms

In addition to perceptions of their own self-legitimacy, officers' perceptions of the effectiveness of their police force emerged as a significant correlate of self-reported beliefs about democratic policing. In the grand scheme of police reform, intervention surrounding this point

can, and has, involved many different strategies. In the past several decades, problem-oriented policing and community policing have been pushed as strategies for developing more effective policing techniques (Ikerd & Walker, 2010). Problem-oriented policing moves away from traditional incident-driven policing and towards a proactive stance of identifying and responding to the underlying causes of incidents. Community policing builds off of problem-oriented policing, adding the specific goals of developing community partnerships and transforming the police organization to facilitate community partnership (Ikerd & Walker, 2010). In spite of these attempts to address police effectiveness, excessive use of force and extrajudicial killings still haunt the daily news.

A newer intervention in policing is Crisis Intervention Team (CIT) training, which equips officers with special mental health training and prepares them to serve as a first-line police response to mental health crises (Borum, 1998). The CIT program is a community partnership between law enforcement, mental health professionals, individuals who have experienced mental illness, and their advocates (CIT International). Its basic goals include increasing the safety of officers and consumers and diverting individuals experiencing addiction or mental illness from the criminal justice system into treatment (Bratina et al., 2020). CIT training has been found to increase officer confidence (Borum, 1998), improve understanding of signs and symptoms of mental illness (Demir et al., 2009), and change some behaviors including decreased use of force and increased diversion from arrest, though more work needs to be done in this realm before major conclusions are drawn (Compton et al., 2011; Bratina et al., 2020). Though they cannot address the full spectrum of changes needed in policing, CIT programs serve as an example for conceptualizing interventions that put the literature on self-legitimacy into practice.

Addressing Self-Legitimacy Through CIT

One major focus of CIT training is the strengthening of community partners in crisis response (CIT International). Officers spend a significant amount of training time visiting the sites of other organizations and walking through typical operations in these places. The main goal of this part of training is to increase organizational effectiveness by building a network of support for individuals in crisis and helping all partners, including police officers, to understand how that network operates. The increase in organizational effectiveness resulting from this cross-organizational communication would conceivably lead to a stronger commitment to democratic policing. This aspect of training could also benefit officers who may have felt misunderstood when previously interacting with these other organizations. Members of these organizations are now collaborators of the police who understand the difficulties regularly faced by police. This understanding translates to an increase in support of the police, which could strengthen organizational identity and positive perceptions of police by the community, both of which positively influence self-legitimacy and democratic policing.

The framing of CIT training also offers opportunities for increased self-legitimacy. The training is not crafted under the perspective that officers need to address something they are currently doing poorly. It is framed as an opportunity to add a new layer of expertise to their daily patrol work by becoming a specialist with a leadership role (Crisis Intervention Team Programs: A Best Practice Guide, 2019). This framework naturally increases officers' sense of positive, moral authority while also fighting against stereotype threat. The training assigns a positive stereotype to officers with the new title of "CIT-trained". The title demonstrates to others that there is a positive archetype of officers who are trained and prepared to help individuals with mental illness or addiction.

Training in itself is also a bonding experience for colleagues, as they participate in site visits and role play scenarios together. Finally, CIT training builds on something that self-legitimacy fails to effect – the practice of empathy. Police officers develop empathy for consumers through open dialogue sessions between citizens with mental illness and officers during the training sessions. Though the CIT training curriculum may not have been explicitly grounded in research on self-legitimacy, this training may provide some practical examples of how self-legitimacy interventions can be embedded within broader policing interventions internationally.

Whose Voices Are We Missing in the Dialogue?

In addressing research findings, it is essential to go back to the theoretical framework that began this discussion. Do any of these policing strategies truly address the legitimacy dialogue occurring today in the United States? Phrases such as “defund the police” and “abolish the police” have become common cultural expressions, meant to trigger systemic change in how police organizations are structured. What does it mean that current findings on self-legitimacy point to interventions centered around increasing effort and funding into police organizations, rather than divesting from the police and reinvesting in other community resources for prevention and care? As a society and as psychologists, we need to carefully consider the mountainous efforts that have been made for decades to create policing interventions that are efficacious in decreasing injury and unnecessary loss of life and increasing trust and protection for citizens. Recognizing the failed history of policing reform requires us to examine divestment and the impact it could have on marginalized individuals. Amidst the dialogue on defunding police, researchers and organization leaders have diligently and thoroughly documented what changes in local budgeting could look like.

In 2017, individuals from the Center for Popular Democracy, Law for Black Lives, and Black Youth Project 100, in collaboration with 27 local organizations across the country, created a detailed report assessing what “safety” meant to overpoliced, under-resourced communities (Hamaji et al., 2017). The overwhelming response by the over 25 community organizations interviewed was that safety meant more money for infrastructure, job training and placement, affordable housing, drug rehabilitation, educational support, youth programs and jobs, healthcare, and mental health services. This review compared city and county spending priorities in 12 jurisdictions with the spending priorities of community organizations and their members, while also shedding light on the power of community grassroots efforts to positively impact their localities. On the finance end, this report analyzed total expenditures – which include city, state, and federal resources coming through local budgets – on police and corrections as a proportion of the total budget in comparison to total expenditures on health, mental health, education, youth development, workforce development, and public transportation. Among the 12 districts examined, police spending greatly surpassed spending on community resources and social safety net programs, with per capita police spending ranging from \$381 to \$772 (Hamaji et al., 2017).

Thinking about how money is allocated at the local level means considering whose voices are centered in these discussions. Historically, divestment from communities of color corresponded in time with the government’s “War on Drugs” that led to the criminalization of many marginalized people (Alexander, 2010). This 2017 report specifically highlighted the voices of low-income communities of color, who communicated a desire for less community investment in the form of patrolling and more investment in issues that the communities face on a daily basis (Hamaji et al.). This is not to say that all individuals in these communities are confident about divestment from police and corrections. Some community members believe that

officer accountability is essential and that it requires tools such as body cameras that necessitate funds (Mock, 2017). However, groups like ATLiSReady in Atlanta conducted a survey of 650 low-income community members, finding that their priority investments included access to housing, transportation, and affordable energy (Hamaji et al., 2017). Another community organization, Black Youth Power 100 Chicago, calls for a reinvestment of police resources in Black futures through setting a living wage and fully funding healthcare, social services, public schools, and sustainable economic development projects (Hamaji et al., 2017). Each locality's preferences for investment look different based on the community needs present.

It is clear that individuals residing in communities that typically lack power have detailed ideas of how to better their communities. Whether or not these ideas are manifested through divestment of police funds, one strategy for uplifting these voices is for communities to engage in processes of participatory budgeting. This is a democratic process where community members are given some decision-making power over government money (Hamaji et al., 2017). They are able to brainstorm, develop proposals, cast votes, and fund winning projects with a portion of the public budget. Participatory budgeting is an excellent place for research and community voices to collaborate, as empirical study and life experience blend together to create solutions to some of the toughest problems facing communities.

Conclusion

As research on policing grows towards assessing behaviors in addition to attitudes, more detailed implications for reform may arise. Research on self-legitimacy constitutes only a small slice of the many factors found to influence commitment to noncoercive policing methods, yet it is important for contextualizing the current dialogue between police and citizens in the United States. Future work conducted in this area should increase methodological rigor, focus on the

assessment of behavior, and craft interventions in ways that are mindful of and inclusive of community voices calling out for change.

References

- Alexander, M., & West, C. (2012). *The new Jim crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. The New Press.
- Beetham, D (1991). *The legitimation of power*. London: Macmillan.
- Borum, R. (1998). Police perspectives on responding to mentally ill people in crisis: Perceptions of program effectiveness. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, 16, 393-405.
- Bottoms, A. & Tankebe, J. (2012). Beyond procedural justice: A dialogic approach to legitimacy in criminal justice. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 102(1), 119-170.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23145787>
- Bradford, B., & Quinton, P. (2014). Self-legitimacy, police culture and support for democratic policing in an English constabulary. *British Journal of Criminology*, 54(6), 1023–1046.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azu053>
- Bratina, M. P., Carrero, K. M., Kim, B., & Merlo, A. V. (2020). Crisis Intervention Team training: When police encounter persons with mental illness. *Police Practice and Research*, 21(3), 279–296. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2018.1484290>
- Coicaud, J.-M. (2002). *Legitimacy and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Compton, M. T., Demir Neubert, B. N., Broussard, B., McGriff, J. A., Morgan, R., & Oliva, J. R. (2011). Use of force preferences and perceived effectiveness of actions among crisis intervention team (CIT) police officers and non-CIT officers in an escalating psychiatric crisis involving a subject with schizophrenia. *Schizophrenia Bulletin*, 37(4), 737–745. <https://doi.org/10.1093/schbul/sbp146>
- CIT International. (n.d.). *Welcome to CIT international*. International Crisis Intervention Team.
<https://www.citinternational.org/Learn-About-CIT>

- Demir, B., Broussard, B., Goulding, S. M., & Compton, M. T. (2009). Beliefs about causes of schizophrenia among police officers before and after crisis intervention team training. *Community Mental Health Journal*, 45(5), 385–392. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10597-009-9194-7>
- Mock, B. (2017, July 14). The Price of Defunding the Police. *City Lab*. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-07-14/what-it-really-means-to-divest-from-policing>
- Hacin, R., Fields, C., & Meško, G. (2019). The self-legitimacy of prison staff in Slovenia. *European Journal of Criminology*, 16(1), 41–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370818764831>
- Hamaji, K., Rao, K., Stahly-Butts, M., Bonsu, J., Curruthers, C., Berry, R., & McCampbell, D. (2017). *Freedom to thrive: Reimagining safety & security in our communities*. Popular Democracy. <https://populardemocracy.org/sites/default/files/Freedom%20To%20Thrive%20C%20Higher%20Res%20Version.pdf>
- Ikerd, T., & Walker, S. (2010). *Making Police Reforms Endure: The Keys for Success*. U.S. Department of Justice: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.
- Jackson, J., & Bradford, B. (2010). Police legitimacy: A conceptual review. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1684507>
- Meško, G., & Tankebe, J. (Eds.). (2015). *Trust and Legitimacy in Criminal Justice*. Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-09813-5>
- Nix, J., & Wolfe, S. E. (2017). The impact of negative publicity on police self-legitimacy. *Justice Quarterly*, 34(1), 84–108. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2015.1102954>

- Tankebe, J. (2014). Rightful authority: Exploring the structure of police self-legitimacy. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2499717>
- Tankebe, J., & Meško, G. (2015). Police self-legitimacy, use of force, and pro-organizational behavior in Slovenia. In G. Meško & J. Tankebe (Eds.), *Trust and Legitimacy in Criminal Justice* (pp. 261–277). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-09813-5_12
- Tankebe, J., Reisig, M. D., & Wang, X. (2016). A multidimensional model of police legitimacy: A cross-cultural assessment. *Law and Human Behavior*, 40(1), 11–22. <https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000153>
- Tankebe, J. (2019). In their own eyes: An empirical examination of police self-legitimacy. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 43(2), 99-116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01924036.2018.1487870>
- Trinkner, R., Kerrison, E. M., & Goff, P. A. (2019). The force of fear: Police stereotype threat, self-legitimacy, and support for excessive force. *Law and Human Behavior*, 43(5), 421–435. <https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000339>
- Trinkner, R., Tyler, T. R., & Goff, P. A. (2016). Justice from within: The relations between a procedurally just organizational climate and police organizational efficiency, endorsement of democratic policing, and officer well-being. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 22(2), 158–172. <https://doi.org/10.1037/law0000085>
- Tyler, T. (1990). *Why people obey the law*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Usher, L., Watson A.C., Bruno, R., Andriukaitis, S., Kamin, D., Speed, C. & Taylor, S. (2019). *Crisis intervention team (CIT) programs: A best practice guide for transforming community responses to mental health crises*. Memphis: CIT International.