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Policing a stigmatized community

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**Fostering trust in police in a stigmatized community: When does procedural justice and  
police effectiveness matter most to Muslims?**

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**Abstract**

Minority groups can be highly distrustful of police. This is problematic because it can lead to a reluctance to seek help from police when needed. As a stigmatized minority group, Muslims pose unique challenges for police engagement. This paper explores the importance of both police effectiveness and procedural justice for promoting Muslims' trust in police. Drawing on survey data collected from 398 Muslims living in Sydney, Australia, this paper tests whether these relationships are person- and context-specific. That is, it examines whether procedural justice or police effectiveness concerns matter most in police- or citizen-initiated contacts with police, and whether individual differences in stigmatization moderate the relationship between procedural justice/police effectiveness on trust. We confirm that Muslims who feel more stigmatized are less likely to trust police, and those who perceive police as more procedurally just and more effective are more likely to trust police. However, results also indicate that the police effectiveness/procedural justice effects are moderated by type of police contact and stigmatization. Procedural justice is more important in police-initiated contacts, while police effectiveness is more important in citizen-initiated contacts. Procedural justice and police effectiveness also more strongly affect trust for those who feel less stigmatized. Together, the results reaffirm the general value of procedural justice and police effectiveness for fostering trust in police but also emphasize that these effects are person- and context-specific.

**Key words:** Muslims; procedural justice; stigmatization; trust; police contact

## Introduction

In 2013, the Black Lives Matter movement began in the United States as a social movement protesting against incidents of police brutality and racially motivated violence against African-American people. The movement subsequently spread globally, with supporters calling for an end to the maltreatment of all minority communities by police.

Police maltreatment understandably damages trust in the police. Distrust of police is problematic because it can impact peoples' willingness to engage proactively with police. When people distrust police they are less likely to call police to report a crime or victimization (Murphy et al., 2014; Tyler, 2006; Tyler & Huo, 2002). As a religious minority group, Muslims pose unique and specific challenges for police engagement. Studies show that many Muslims—many of whom are also from ethnic or racial minority backgrounds—are highly distrustful of police (Innes, 2006; Spalek, 2010). Muslims frequently report experiencing police bias because their group is viewed as a 'suspect community' by police. This is highly stigmatizing and affects how Muslims perceive police, themselves and their place in society (Blackwood et al., 2013; Cherney & Murphy, 2016; Innes, 2006). Many Muslims therefore report being reluctant to engage proactively with police (Cherney & Murphy, 2016).

Identifying how police can improve relationships with minority communities—and Muslims specifically—is an important and avowed policy aim of most governments in multicultural societies. Prior research highlights that individuals place great importance on procedural justice and police effectiveness when evaluating the police. When police are seen to be treating individuals with procedural justice and when police effectively deal with crime and community problems this enhances trust in police (Murphy et al., 2014; Tyler & Huo, 2002). This suggests that if police commit to being procedurally fair when interacting with

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Muslims and when they deal effectively with their concerns about crime and safety this will enhance trust in police.

The current study has three objectives. First, it establishes whether feeling stigmatized does detrimentally affect Muslims' trust in police. Second, it tests the relative importance of procedural justice and police effectiveness to Muslims' trust in police in different policing contexts (i.e., in a citizen- vs police-initiated contact). Third, it examines how stigmatization (a 'person-specific' factor) moderates the relationship between procedural justice/police effectiveness on trust in police. Before outlining our approach, the following section first presents literature on how Muslims have been constructed as a 'suspect community'. This is followed by a discussion of trust research, which highlights the importance of both procedural justice and police effectiveness for improving public trust in police. Finally, we discuss when and why procedural justice concerns might matter more than police effectiveness concerns and vice versa, and how Muslims might respond to procedural justice or police effectiveness when they feel less or more stigmatized.

### **The construction of Muslims as a 'suspect community'**

Pantazis and Pemberton (2009) define a 'suspect community' as a sub-group of the population that is singled out for state attention as being problematic. Individuals may be targeted by authorities, not as a result of suspected wrong-doing, but because of their presumed membership in a certain group. Hillyard (1993) first coined the term 'suspect community' to describe how counter-terrorism legislation rendered the Northern Irish population a community to be feared and suspected of terrorism. Since then the term has been used to describe Muslims (Pantazis & Pemberton, 2009). Hillyard (1993) argued that suspect communities can be created simply through the application of counter-terrorism legislation. Subsequent theorizing expanded the concept to also reflect the consequences of "cultural,

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political and ideological discourses that combine to define and consolidate Muslims as the ‘enemy within’” (Cherney & Murphy, 2016, p.481). Hence, a suspect community is formed not only as a result of being targeted by counter-terrorism legislation but can also be socially constructed by non-Muslims through their discourse surrounding terrorism and their perception that Islam is associated with terrorism (Breen-Smyth, 2014).

The identification of Muslims as a ‘suspect community’ has allowed police to increase surveillance of Muslims and to search, profile and detain Muslims at a higher rate than non-Muslims (Breen-Smyth, 2014; Keeling & Hughes, 2011; Pantazis & Pemberton, 2009; Parmar, 2011). The result is that discriminatory policing practices send a clear message to Muslim communities about how police perceive them. Muslims feel they are viewed as suspect at minimum or terrorist at worst (Cherney & Murphy, 2016).

Viewing Muslims as suspect can produce unwanted consequences. It can result in Muslims feeling stigmatized, discriminated against, and socially excluded (Blackwood et al., 2013; Cherney & Murphy, 2016; Spalek, 2010). Research also shows it can produce high levels of distrust in police (Cherney & Murphy, 2016; Innes, 2006), with Blackwood et al. (2013) noting that feelings of stigmatization can lead to Muslims adopting an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ mentality regarding police. Distrust of police can result in reluctance to engage proactively with police. This is problematic because police rely heavily on members of the Muslim community to inform them about crime and even terror threats. Distrust of police is also problematic for communities more broadly because it means that many crime victims may not receive the help they need (Hanniman, 2008). This highlights the need for police agencies to rethink how they police Muslim communities and to identify strategies that foster more trusting relationships between police and Muslims.

**Promoting trust in police: Does procedural justice and police effectiveness matter?**

Trust is rooted in experience (Goldsmith, 2005). Individuals' interactions and past experiences with others create expectations about their future interactions with them. If an individual's past experience with police has been negative, then they will likely believe that future interactions with police will also be negative, thus reducing trust. If individuals routinely experience policing as unproblematic and unbiased, then expectations about future interactions will likely be positive and trust will be higher.

Hawdon (2008, p.186) suggests that people trust police more when they believe that police officers behave "in a manner consistent with the socially defined normative expectations associated with that role". In other words, people trust police to act in certain expected ways, and there are likely to be different 'valued actions' and expected types of behavior anticipated from police depending on the circumstance. Pass et al. (2020) highlight two specific valued actions as important for building trust in police: police effectiveness and procedural justice. Police effectiveness relates to expectations of police performance and competence, usually regarding the ability of police to deter and solve crimes, and to maintain order. If police perform their job well, solve local problems, and deter and deal with crime effectively, then this will increase public trust in police. Procedural justice refers to expectations of quality of treatment and quality of decision-making from police. That is, individuals expect that police officers will be *respectful* and *benevolent* in their treatment of people, and will be *neutral* and allow citizens *voice* before making decisions (Tyler, 2006).

Numerous policing studies exist demonstrating the importance of both police effectiveness and procedural justice for building public trust in police. For example, Tyler (2005) used survey data to examine trust in a multi-ethnic sample of White, Hispanic and African-American respondents in New York. As anticipated, White respondents expressed greater trust in police compared to both minority groups. Tyler (2005) also found that

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procedural justice and police effectiveness were both positively related to respondents' trust in police, but procedural justice mattered more than police effectiveness for all three ethnic groups. These findings have been replicated in different countries with many different population groups (for a review see Donner et al., 2015).

One notable and consistent finding from many policing studies is that procedural justice concerns typically dominate public evaluations of police (including trust in police). Concerns about police effectiveness seem to matter less. Research also demonstrates that this procedural justice effect tends to be invariant across different population groups (see Wolfe et al., 2016). Indeed, Wolfe et al. (2016) provided empirical evidence to support this 'invariance thesis'; they found that procedural justice impacted a variety of different groups equally (the exception being crime victims, who focused more strongly on procedural justice than non-victims). This has led many to conclude that police can improve relations with the community if they behave in a procedurally just way in encounters with the community.

However, a growing number of studies question the validity of the invariance thesis. They raise the possibility that the strength of the association between procedural justice and trust in police, or the relative importance of procedural justice compared to police effectiveness concerns, can vary in certain contexts and across groups and individuals (see Murphy, 2017). This suggests that procedural justice may not always be the best and only solution to improving trust in police in all circumstances. In some circumstances police effectiveness may prove more effective.

### **The contingency of police effectiveness and procedural justice effects**

Several factors have been shown to condition both the police effectiveness and procedural justice effect. *Policing context* is one such example, with type of 'police contact' being shown to condition these effects (e.g., Wells, 2007; Murphy, 2009). Researchers



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generally differentiate between two types of police-citizen contact: police-initiated (involuntary contact) or citizen-initiated (voluntary contact). Murphy (2009) found that Australians placed more emphasis on procedural justice than police effectiveness when evaluating police in a police-initiated contact. In citizen-initiated contacts, however, she found that police effectiveness dominated citizens' satisfaction with their police contact (see also Wells, 2007).

Other studies have also revealed that police effectiveness and procedural justice effects can vary for different *groups* in the community. Wolfe et al. (2016), for example, found that procedural justice had a stronger positive effect on trust in police for crime victims compared to non-victims. While Wolfe et al. did not find variant effects of police effectiveness, or for procedural justice for different racial groups, Sargeant et al. (2014) revealed that ethnic background conditioned the association between procedural justice and trust in police and between police effectiveness and trust. Using survey data, Sargeant et al. found that procedural justice and police effectiveness were both positively associated with trust in police for all three of their studied groups (White, Indian, and Vietnamese Australians). However, the strength of this association varied by ethnic group. Procedural justice was less important to Vietnamese respondents, while police effectiveness concerns dominated their trust assessments. In contrast, procedural justice concerns dominated White and Indians' trust evaluations, with police effectiveness being less important.

Research shows that procedural justice effects can also vary when *person-specific* attitudinal or personality factors are considered (e.g. DeCremer & Van den Bos 2007; Huo, 2003). For example, Huo (2003) found that strength of national identity moderated the association between procedural justice and racial minorities' acceptance of police officer decisions; strong identifiers responded more positively to signs police were being procedurally just. Murphy et al. (2020) also found that Muslims who felt highly stigmatized

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by police were more sensitive to signs that police treated them with procedural justice when deciding whether to cooperate with police in counterterrorism.

Together these studies provide evidence of ‘variant’ effects of procedural justice, and in some cases police effectiveness, on public evaluations of the police. They also provide justification for why more studies are needed to explore the contingency of these effects across different policing contexts, groups, or individuals. Knowing whether or not procedural justice or police effectiveness judgments are equally important for different individuals across different policing contexts has important theory and policy implications. On the one hand, evidence that procedural justice effects are invariant between individuals and policing contexts will confirm that the ‘invariance thesis’ is valid and a procedural fairness-based approach to policing is a viable strategy for improving police-minority relations in *all* situations. In contrast, if results show that procedural justice matters less or that police effectiveness concerns matter more for particular people in particular situations, this will contradict the ‘invariance thesis’ and will highlight the need for alternative policing approaches for improving police-minority relations. Of course, if we find that procedural justice matters little to certain people or situations, our intention is not to argue that procedural justice should not be used in these contexts. Rather, our aim is to identify *when* procedural fairness or police effectiveness matter most to people. Doing so will better inform theory and police practice.

### **When and why might procedural justice or police effectiveness matter most?**

One notable explanation for why people place importance on procedural justice and police effectiveness stems from research on *group identity*. People identify with different societal groups and derive a sense of self-worth from membership in these groups.

Individuals assess their status within valued groups by evaluating the extent to which

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important group representatives (e.g., police) treat them fairly and consider their concerns (Tyler & Huo, 2002). Group identity theorists posit that people value procedural justice and police effectiveness because fair and effective treatment signifies to them that they are valued and respected members of society, which bolsters self-worth (Murphy et al., 2021).

Murphy (2009) drew on this group identity perspective to explain why citizens might focus most on procedural justice in police-initiated contacts, but on police effectiveness in citizen-initiated contacts. She suggested that citizens' *expectations* of police are likely to vary in different types of police encounter. She argued that when people initiate contact and call police for assistance they generally want and expect police to take some action to resolve their situation. While fair and respectful treatment is likely to be important in this type of contact, whether the officer does their job effectively or keeps the person informed about their case is likely to play a more important role because there is an expectation that the police will be able to do something about the situation. In police-initiated contacts, in contrast, such encounters are generally forced upon citizens. Such involuntary contacts are more likely to be viewed in an adversarial light (Skogan, 2005). Individuals can also perceive police-initiated contact as more threatening, particularly if they belong to a 'suspect community'. Murphy (2009) suggests this will lead individuals to focus most on how police officers treat them. Here they look for signals from police that convey that they are worthwhile, respected and valued members of the 'ingroup'. This theorizing suggests that Muslims will focus less on police effectiveness and more on procedural justice during a police-initiated contact. In citizen-initiated contacts, the opposite may be true.

There are reasons to expect that individual differences might also condition the effect of procedural justice and police effectiveness on Muslims' trust in police. We suggest that the degree of *stigmatization* felt by individuals may be an identity-relevant factor that conditions how Muslims respond to perceived procedural (in)justice and police (in)effectiveness. Many

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Muslims express feeling stigmatized by police, but not all Muslims will necessarily experience stigmatization equally (Murphy et al., 2020). Some will experience greater stigmatization while others will experience less stigmatization (some not at all). This may condition police effectiveness/procedural justice effects on their trust in police in different ways. Some scholars suggest that feeling highly stigmatized may make individuals *more* sensitive to signs of ineffective or unjust treatment from police, because ineffective and unjust treatment signals that police disrespect individuals, see them as the ‘outgroup’, and do not take their concerns seriously. DeCremer and Sedikides (2005), for instance, argued that procedural injustice can be perceived as more threatening to people who have insecure status within a group. They suggest that insecure status individuals are “more responsive to variations in procedural justice because they use procedural information to infer their acceptance, respect or social standing” within a valued group (DeCremer & Sedikides 2005, p.157). Lind and Tyler (1988, p.238) also propose that “when persons of insecure status see a procedure as being unjust, they will react especially strongly to the procedural injustice, and the perception of injustice will have strong negative effects on a wide variety of attitudes, beliefs, and behavior”. This likely also applies to how they might perceive police ineffectiveness. Ineffectiveness also signals police are withholding their services from that community. Focusing more strongly on injustice and ineffectiveness occurs because when someone experiences insecure status within a group (perhaps by feeling highly stigmatized), it can leave them feeling anxious about what to expect from police (i.e., will they want to help me; will they be procedurally fair). To reduce such negative feelings, individuals focus on how police treat them (Van den Bos & Lind, 2002) and how effective police are in handling their concerns (Murphy, 2009). According to this perspective, then, *highly* stigmatized Muslims might focus more strongly on signs that police are effective and procedurally just. Muslims who feel *less* stigmatized, in contrast, might be less concerned

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about signals denoting their societal status and value, because they view their group membership as less fraught. Here, procedural justice and police effectiveness may prove *less* important.

Having said that, Tyler and Lind (1990) argue that procedural justice becomes *less* relevant in interactions between an authority and individuals who come from different cultural groups. Tyler and Lind argue that if an authority (i.e., police officer) is perceived to represent a group to which an individual feels weaker attachment to (perhaps a highly stigmatized individual), then procedural justice concerns should become *less* relevant because unjust treatment from an ‘outgroup’ authority conveys little about one’s status or self-worth in their own valued ‘ingroup’. Tyler et al. (1998) further argue that in this situation, people focus more strongly on instrumental aspects of their police encounters (i.e., were police effective). According to this alternative perspective then, highly stigmatized Muslims may see police as members of an ‘outgroup’. As a perceived outgroup, how police treat them will be less relevant to Muslims’ sense of self and will have a weaker effect on their trust in police. Here, instrumental concerns may matter more.

### **The current study**

This study aims to shed light on the role of procedural justice and police effectiveness in influencing Muslims’ trust in police in Australia. It draws on survey data collected from 398 Muslims to address three objectives. First, it will establish whether Muslims’ feelings of stigmatization are associated with reduced trust in police. Second, it will test the relative importance of procedural justice and police effectiveness concerns on Muslims’ trust in different types of police-citizen encounter (i.e., citizen-initiated vs police-initiated contact). Third, it will test if feelings of stigmatization moderate the association between procedural

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justice/police effectiveness on Muslims' trust in police, and whether this varies further across different police-citizen encounters.

Our study makes two novel contributions to the policing literature. First, few studies examine if and how procedural justice and police effectiveness concerns shape Muslims' trust in police. The vast majority of existing studies are conducted in the US and tend to focus on 'White', 'Black' or 'Hispanic' minority groups. Further, studies with Muslims tend to focus on Muslims' trust of counter-terrorism police or their willingness to work collaboratively with counter-terrorism police (e.g., Cherney & Murphy, 2016; Murphy et al., 2020; Tyler et al., 2010). Our study focuses on Muslims' trust of *general-duties police*, and we explore how procedural justice and police effectiveness concerns are related to their trust in police across different types of police-citizen encounters.

Second, we extend previous procedural justice research by questioning and testing the validity of the 'invariance thesis'. The 'invariance thesis' suggests that the procedural justice effect is "invariant across people, groups and contexts" (Murphy, 2017, p.430). Few studies have explicitly examined the contingency of both procedural justice and police effectiveness effects between individuals, groups or policing context. Of those that do, they either focus on: (a) how police effectiveness/procedural justice effects vary across groups, (b) they explore how one psychological factor conditions the procedural justice effect, or (c) they explore how type of police contact moderates the relationship between procedural justice/police effectiveness on citizens' evaluations of the encounter.

Psychologists advocate that research should utilize a *person-by-situation* approach in which specific situational contexts are examined in conjunction with person-specific factors (LeBel, 2008). A person-by-situation approach is important in policing because what might be effective in one situation for certain individuals may be less helpful, or possibly detrimental, in a different situation. The current study considers for the first time how

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individual differences in stigmatization *and* type of police-citizen contact both moderate the relationship between procedural justice/police effectiveness and Muslims' trust in police.

This will more clearly identify when procedural justice and police effectiveness concerns matter most for building Muslims' trust in police. Based on the literature above, we test five hypotheses:

*Hypothesis 1:* Heightened feelings of stigmatization will be associated with reduced trust in police;

*Hypothesis 2:* Perceiving police as more procedurally just and more effective will be associated with heightened trust in police;

*Hypothesis 3:* Type of police contact will moderate the effect of procedural justice/police effectiveness on trust; procedural justice concerns will be more important in police-initiated contacts, while police effectiveness will be more important in citizen-initiated contacts.

*Hypothesis 4:* Individual differences in stigmatization will moderate the effect of procedural justice/police effectiveness on trust (the direction this takes is unspecified, however).

*Hypothesis 5:* Type of police contact will further moderate the stigmatization by procedural justice/police effectiveness interaction effects.

## Methods

### Participants

We utilize survey data collected in 2018/19 from 398 Muslims residing in Sydney, Australia. Sydney was selected as it is Australia's most populous city, accounting for 20% of Australia's total population of 25 million. It also has the eighth largest immigrant population among metropolitan areas world-wide, with overseas-born residents accounting for 43% of

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Sydney's population (ABS, 2016). Sydney is also where most of Australia's Muslims live (Hassan, 2018).

Further, prior research shows that Sydney's Muslims are more distrustful of police than Muslims elsewhere in Australia, with younger male Muslims being particularly distrustful (XXX, 2015; Cherney & Murphy, 2016). Perceptions that police in Sydney are more disrespectful of, and heavy-handed with, Muslims than elsewhere in the country may contribute to Sydney Muslims' distrust. In September 2014, for example, Australia's largest counter-terrorism operation occurred in Sydney. The operation involved 800 police and was seen by many in Sydney's Muslim community as a sign of extreme over-policing (Cherney & Murphy, 2017). Unfortunately, official statistics on police contacts involving Muslims are not recorded or available. While Muslims are over-represented in prison statistics in New South Wales—the state where Sydney is located (approximately 10% of the prison population; McCutchan & Campbell, 2018)—it is difficult to gauge an accurate picture of whether Muslims are also over-represented in police-initiated contacts. Self-report data from Muslims, however, suggests they are (Cherney & Murphy, 2016; 2017). Certainly, the *perception* of police bias and disrespectful police treatment of Muslims is highly prevalent in Sydney's Muslim community (XXX, 2015). Police complaints data also shows that western Sydney suburbs—where high numbers of overseas-born minorities and Muslims reside—were over-represented in recent police complaints data (Singhal & Thompson, 2020).

### **Sampling and procedure**

Muslims comprise approximately 4% of Sydney's overall population, so normal random probability sampling techniques are inappropriate. An ethnic surname sampling strategy was used. This involved generating names and telephone numbers from Sydney's Telephone Directory using 525 Muslim surnames (e.g., Ahmed; Mohammed). A sampling frame of 7,477 contacts was constructed, and potential participants were randomly contacted



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by phone from this sample list. A next-birthday method was used to select a single person aged 18+ living in the household. All participants had to be Australian citizens (so illegal immigrant status did not confound results), but to more closely represent population characteristics of Sydney's Muslims, demographic quotas for gender and immigrant status were applied (50% female; 50% 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrant (overseas born; both parents born overseas); 50% 2<sup>nd</sup> generation immigrant (born in Australia, both parents born overseas)). Those younger than 30 were oversampled, however, as youth typically view police more negatively and have more frequent contact with police (Piquero, 2008).

On initial telephone contact, interviewers arranged face-to-face appointments with interested and eligible participants. Interviewers spoke English and Arabic, allowing participants to complete the survey in their preferred language. All participants were offered a \$40 store voucher for participating. Of the 7,477 names in the sampling list, 1,112 phone numbers were used to obtain 398 completed surveys (cooperation rate = 35.79%) (see technical report for more details: XXX, 2019).

The age distribution of respondents was 18-80, 50% were men, and half were first generation immigrants (49.5%). Most respondents reported being fluent in English (96.5%). The majority had completed at least secondary school (86.8%), and 20.4% reported having a University qualification. Table 1 presents sample demographic characteristics against Census data for Sydney's Muslim population.

[Table 1]

## Measures

The survey contained 160 questions, but only measures discussed below are used in this paper. Multi-item scales were subjected to a factor analysis, with all items loading as expected onto their respective factor with no cross-loading across factors (see Table 2).

### ***Dependent Variable***

*Trust in police.* The 3-item trust scale was developed by the first author and measured how much Muslims trusted police in Australia. Higher scores on this scale indicated that participants trusted police more (Mean=3.70; SD=0.81; measured on a 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neither disagree or agree, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree scale;  $\alpha = 0.84$ ).

### ***Independent variables***

*Procedural Justice.* Procedural justice was measured with 8-items adapted from Sunshine and Tyler (2003). It included the principles of respect, benevolence, neutrality, and voice. Higher scores indicated that participants perceived the police as more procedurally just (Mean = 3.34; SD = 0.76; 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree scale;  $\alpha = 0.91$ ).

*Police Effectiveness.* This 8-item scale measured how effective police were perceived to be at preventing and solving crime. Questions were loosely based on Sunshine and Tyler's (2003) police performance scale. Higher scores indicated that participants thought the police were more effective (Mean=3.52; SD=0.91; measured on a 1=very poor job, 2=poor job, 3=neither good nor poor job, 4=good job, 5=very good job;  $\alpha = 0.96$ ).

*Stigmatization.* To assess stigmatization, four questions asked Muslims to reflect on how they thought police viewed Muslims. Items were taken from XXX (2015). Higher scores indicated heightened feelings of stigmatization (Mean=3.15; SD=0.96; 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree scale;  $\alpha = 0.85$ ).

*Type of Police Contact.* Respondents were asked to think back to the last time they had any contact with police and to indicate who initiated that contact (i.e., "Thinking back to the last time you had contact with a police officer, who initiated the contact you had with police?"). Respondents were given answer options of "Police" = 0 or "You" = 1. Police-initiated contact was reported by 47.2% ( $N=188$ ) of respondents, while 52.8% ( $N=210$ ) of contacts were citizen-initiated (*Note:* 48.5% of respondents indicated they had no contact with police in the previous

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two years). Younger participants were more likely to be involved in police-initiated contacts (Mean age=31.37,  $SD=11.21$ ) than citizen-initiated contacts ( $M=33.69$ ,  $SD=11.34$ ;  $t(396)=2.05$ ,  $p<.05$ ). While the reason for contact was not explored in the survey, respondents were asked if they were satisfied with the encounter. Those involved in police-initiated contacts were significantly less satisfied with the encounter, but there was no difference in Muslims' feelings of stigmatization between the two different police contact types (see Table 3)

### *Demographic and control variables*

Several variables controlled for individual differences between respondents as these have been found to shape citizens' evaluations of police in prior research (e.g., Skogan, 2005; Murphy et al., 2020; Piquero, 2008). Variables included: immigrant status (0=1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrant; 1=2<sup>nd</sup> generation immigrant); gender (0=male; 1=female); age ( $M=32.59$ ,  $SD=11.32$ ); English-speaking ability (0=no; 1=yes); household income before taxes (e.g., 1=AUD\$0 to 33=AUD\$250,000+;  $M=13.06$  (approx. AUD\$60,000),  $SD=6.99$ ); education (1=did not have any or much formal schooling to 10=postgraduate degree; range=1-10;  $M=5.81$ ,  $SD=2.13$ ); importance of religious identity ("How important is your religion to who you are as a person?"; 1=very unimportant; 2=unimportant; 3=not important or unimportant; 4=important; 5=very important;  $M=4.10$ ,  $SD=1.40$ ); and frequency of prior contact with police in previous two years (range 0-20;  $M=1.54$ ;  $SD=2.41$ ). As noted above, respondents were asked how satisfied they were with their most recent police encounter ("Overall, how satisfied were you with your most recent contact with police?"; 1=very dissatisfied to 5=very satisfied;  $M=3.64$ ;  $SD=1.03$ ). This was measured to ascertain and control for whether the prior contact was positive or negative in nature.

[Table 2]

## Results

All analyses reported were conducted in SPSS version 24. Table 3 presents the means and standard deviations for the trust, stigmatization, procedural justice, police effectiveness, and encounter satisfaction measures between those who experienced a police-initiated or citizen-initiated police contact. Table 4 presents the bi-variate correlations between all measures.

[Table 3]

[Table 4]

## Regressions

### *Predicting trust in police-initiated contacts*

The first OLS regression in Table 5 (Model 1) pertains to Muslims who reported having a previous *police-initiated* contact. Predictor variables were entered in blocks to ascertain the variation explained on trust by each block of variables.<sup>1</sup> The control variables and stigmatization scale were entered in Block 1, followed by the procedural justice and police effectiveness scales in Block 2. In Block 3, either a ‘stigmatization x procedural justice’ or stigmatization x police effectiveness’ interaction term was entered.

[Table 5]

Block 1 shows that none of the demographics or the frequency of police contact variable were significantly associated with Muslims’ trust in police. Encounter satisfaction and stigmatization, however, were significantly associated with trust; those more satisfied with their previous encounter trusted police more, while those who felt more stigmatized were less trusting. In Block 2, both procedural justice and police effectiveness were positively associated with trust. Those who perceived police as more procedurally just and

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<sup>1</sup> All variables were centered prior to entry to avoid multicollinearity in the model (Robinson & Schumacker, 2009).

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more effective trusted police more, but procedural justice was a stronger predictor of trust than police effectiveness<sup>2</sup>.

In Block 3, the ‘stigmatization x procedural justice’ or the ‘stigmatization x police effectiveness’ interaction term was entered. The ‘stigmatization x police effectiveness’ interaction effect was *not* significant, but the ‘stigmatization x procedural justice’ interaction effect was significant and negative. The insignificant interaction suggests that the strength of the police effectiveness relationship with trust did not differ significantly between *low* ( $b=.30, p<.01$ ) and *high* ( $b=.10, p>.05$ ) stigmatized individuals (although the relationship was positive and significant for *low* stigmatized individuals). For the significant ‘stigmatization x procedural justice’ interaction effect, follow-up simple slope analyses revealed that procedural justice had a strong positive association with trust for Muslims who felt *low* levels of stigmatization ( $b = .66, p<0.001$ ). For Muslims who felt *high* levels of stigmatization, procedural justice was also positively related to their trust in police ( $b = .39, p<0.001$ ), but this relationship was much weaker. Figure 1 presents the simple slopes at -1 and +1 standard deviations of stigmatization for the significant ‘stigmatization x procedural justice’ interaction effect (Figure 1a) and the insignificant ‘stigmatization x police effectiveness’ interaction effect (Figure 1b).

[Figure 1]

### ***Predicting trust in citizen-initiated contacts***

The analysis in Model 1 was repeated for Muslims who reported having a *citizen-initiated* encounter with police (see Model 2 in Table 5). Like in Model 1, few control

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<sup>2</sup> In Block 2 stigmatization ceased being a significant predictor of trust. This suggests that procedural justice or police effectiveness may mediate the relationship between stigmatization and trust. However, when procedural justice and police effectiveness were entered separately into the regression model (not reported here), neither mediated stigmatization (i.e., stigmatization remained significant). This suggests that the combination of procedural justice and police effectiveness in the model mediated the stigmatization effect on trust.

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variables were significantly associated with trust in Model 2. Only immigrant status and encounter satisfaction were significant; second generation Muslim immigrants were less trusting of police than 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants, and previous encounter satisfaction was positively related to trust. Like in Model 1, stigmatization was negatively associated with trust in Block 1, but not in Block 2<sup>3</sup>.

In Block 2 police effectiveness was again significantly and positively associated with trust, but unlike in Model 1, procedural justice had no significant association with trust in Model 2. Thus, police effectiveness concerns seemed to matter more than procedural justice for those Muslims involved in a citizen-initiated police encounter.

Finally, the ‘stigmatization x procedural justice’ (Figure 2a) and the ‘stigmatization x police effectiveness’ (Figure 2b) interaction effects in Block 3 were both significant and negative. Like in Model 1, follow-up simple slope analyses at -1 and +1 standard deviations of stigmatization revealed that procedural justice had a strong positive association with trust for Muslims who felt *low* levels of stigmatization ( $b = .55, p < .001$ ). For Muslims who felt *high* levels of stigmatization, in contrast, procedural justice was negatively related to trust ( $b = -.18, p < .05$ ). This differed from Model 1 findings. Follow-up simple slope analyses also revealed that police effectiveness had a strong positive association with trust for those who felt *low* stigmatization ( $b = .41, p < .001$ ) but had no significant positive effect on trust for those *high* in stigmatization ( $b = .07, p > .30$ ).

[Figure 2]

When comparing the interaction effects, procedural justice and police effectiveness both promoted trust for those who felt *low* levels of stigmatization. This was the case in both types of police contact experienced. For those who felt *high* levels of stigmatization,

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<sup>3</sup> Again, a separate regression analysis (not reported here) confirmed stigmatization remained a significant predictor of trust if procedural justice or police effectiveness were entered separately into the model. Hence, neither procedural justice or police effectiveness mediated the stigmatization/trust relationship. Rather, a combination of both variables in the model eliminated the significant stigmatization effect.

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however, only procedural justice was positively associated with trust in police-initiated contacts; police effectiveness was unrelated to trust in those who felt high levels of stigmatization. Police effectiveness was also unrelated to trust, and procedural justice was negatively related to trust, for those *high* in stigmatization in citizen-initiated contacts.

Another difference between the two regression models was that procedural justice and police effectiveness seemed to have different levels of importance for trust, depending on whether contact with police was initiated by police or by the citizen. As can be seen by the regression coefficients in Block 2 of Models 1 and 2 (see Table 5), when Muslims experienced a *police-initiated* contact, procedural justice concerns dominated their trust assessments ( $b = 0.52, p < .001$ ); police effectiveness concerns were much less important ( $b = 0.21, p < .01$ ). Using a calculation recommended by Paternoster et al. (1998) to test the equality of regression coefficients, the size of the procedural justice coefficient was significantly greater than the police effectiveness coefficient ( $z = 2.80, p < .05$ ). In contrast, for those who experienced a *citizen-initiated* contact, police effectiveness seemed more important ( $b = 0.17, p < .01$ ), with procedural justice being unrelated to trust ( $b = 0.12, p > .05$ ). The size of these two coefficients did not differ significantly, however ( $z = .55, p > .05$ ).

## Discussion

The current study shed light on the associations between stigmatization, procedural justice and police effectiveness on Muslims' trust in police in different police-citizen contacts. Findings revealed that Australian Muslims who felt more stigmatized by police were less trusting of police (Hypothesis 1 supported). Findings also revealed that both procedural justice and police effectiveness were positively related to Muslims' trust in police. When police were perceived as more procedurally just and more effective, Muslims trusted police more (Hypothesis 2 supported). However, the strength of these relationships varied

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depending on the type of police encounter Muslims reported having in the past. For Muslims who reported being involved in a police-initiated contact, concerns about procedural justice dominated their trust in police. For Muslims involved in a citizen-initiated contact, police effectiveness concerns mattered slightly more. Hence, type of police contact moderated the procedural justice/police effectiveness effects on trust (Hypothesis 3 supported).

We also found that individual differences in stigmatization moderated the relationships between procedural justice and trust in both police- and citizen-initiated encounters with police; procedural justice seemed to matter most to those who felt *less* stigmatized (Hypothesis 4 supported). Stigmatization did not moderate the association between police effectiveness and trust in police-initiated contacts, however, but it did in citizen-initiated contacts. Again, police effectiveness mattered significantly more to those who felt *less* stigmatized in citizen-initiated contacts (Hypothesis 4 further supported). Finally, type of police contact further moderated the stigmatization x procedural justice/police effectiveness interaction effects (Hypothesis 5 supported); that is, the nature of the stigmatization interaction effects differed across the two different types of police contact. Together, these findings contradict the ‘invariance thesis’ and suggest that both police effectiveness and procedural justice effects on trust can vary across individuals and across different policing situations.

### **Implications for theory and police practice**

The scrutiny that Muslims have faced in response to the West’s ‘War on Terror’ has placed Muslims at the forefront of police attention. It is not surprising, therefore, that Australian-Muslims who felt *more* stigmatized by police reported being less trusting of police (this relationship supports findings by Abu et al., 2017). Importantly, we found that both procedural justice and police effectiveness concerns were positively related to Muslims’ trust



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in police. These findings confirm prior research in policing (e.g., Murphy et al., 2014; Pass et al., 2020; Tyler & Huo, 2002) and confirm that both procedural justice and police effectiveness are important valued actions that Muslims use when deciding whether to trust police. However, while many prior studies on procedural justice show that citizens tend to place more importance on procedural justice than police effectiveness when evaluating police (see Wolfe et al., 2016), our findings show that procedural justice concerns did not always dominate Muslims' trust. Specifically, procedural justice only dominated Muslims' trust in police when Muslims were involved in a police-initiated contact. When involved in a citizen-initiated contact, police effectiveness concerns were more important. These findings support prior studies (e.g., Murphy, 2009; Wells, 2007), and suggest that policing context moderates the effect of procedural justice and police effectiveness on Muslims' trust in police.

As highlighted in the Introduction, the valued actions individuals expect from police are likely to vary in different types of police-citizen encounter. When contacting police for assistance, individuals likely expect that police will do something about their concerns. While individuals may appreciate procedural justice in this circumstance, whether police effectively deal with the person's problem is likely brought to the fore. This is why they contacted police in the first place. Ensuring individuals' concerns are taken seriously during a contact and keeping individuals informed about their case post-contact will demonstrate police effectiveness and promote trust.

In police-initiated contacts, in contrast, contact is forced upon the citizen. For Muslims, a police-initiated stop might provide another example that they and their group are viewed as a suspect community by police. Hasisi et al. (2012) also argue that minorities who feel ongoing discrimination from authorities are more likely to be sensitive to certain events or occurrences (such as police-initiated contact) because they remind them, or draw attention to, the general discrimination they experience in broader society. While many police-initiated

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contacts may not alarm most citizens, for individuals from a stigmatized community, such an encounter might remind them of their marginalized status. Hence, signs that police are procedurally just become more salient in police-initiated contacts because fair treatment signals respect and recognition of one's status in society (Lind & Tyler, 1988).

However, our results also suggest that individual differences in stigmatization can moderate the procedural justice effect on trust. In both types of police encounter (police-initiated and citizen-initiated) procedural justice effects on trust were significantly *weaker* for those Muslims who reported being *highly* stigmatized by police. This finding supports Tyler and Lind's (1990) argument that procedural justice concerns should be less relevant to individuals who feel less identified to police (i.e., those who feel highly stigmatized). This is due to the fact that the actions of 'outgroup' members carry less identity-relevant information about one's status in a valued group when compared to the actions of 'ingroup' members (Huo, 2003). It is also possible that seeing police act with procedural justice might signal to *highly* stigmatized individuals that police are using procedural justice in a disingenuous way; as an instrumental tool to 'win over' their support (Murphy, 2021). This latter suggestion might explain the negative relationship observed between procedural justice and trust for highly stigmatized Muslims involved in a citizen-initiated contact (c.f., Murphy & Cherney, 2011).

Having said that, it should be noted that procedural justice did enhance trust for *both* low and high stigmatized Muslims involved in a police-initiated contact. These findings suggest that in police-initiated contacts, at least, police being procedurally just will yield trust gains for police. This is particularly important in forced involuntary contacts where police can be perceived as more adversarial and threatening (Skogan, 2005). Even if procedural justice is less effective with highly stigmatized individuals, the findings suggest that when

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making contact, police should pay particular attention to how they treat Muslims; procedural justice it seems will enhance Muslims' trust.

One final point is worth mentioning. We found that procedural justice was most effective for promoting trust in Muslims who felt *less* stigmatized. This contradicts research conducted by Murphy et al. (2020), who found that procedural justice had a stronger positive effect on Muslims' willingness to cooperate with police in counter-terrorism for those who reported feeling *highly* stigmatized. Perhaps the different dependent variables between that study and the current study contributed to these contradictory outcomes. Decisions motivating cooperation with police in counter-terrorism may differ to factors motivating trust in police. A decision to cooperate with police may stem from an intrinsic feeling of obligation to do right by laws and society more broadly, particularly where an imminent terrorist attack may be present. In that context, highly stigmatized Muslims may not necessarily trust police but may feel an obligation to cooperate with police to show their solidarity with Australians more broadly. Here they may feel that reporting terror threats will keep other members of society safe. In contrast to the ramifications of not reporting a terror threat, there is no harm to others if a highly stigmatized Muslim chooses not to trust police, even if the police officer treats them with procedural justice.

In sum, our results show there is value in looking at person-situation interaction effects in policing. Our person-by-situation analysis more clearly identified *when* procedural justice and police effectiveness concerns mattered to Muslims. We showed that procedural justice mattered most to Muslims' trust in police-initiated contacts, but also mattered less to Muslims who felt more stigmatized. Police effectiveness mattered most in citizen-initiated contacts, but again mattered less to highly stigmatized individuals. Whether these findings can be replicated with other stigmatized minority groups remains to be seen.

## **Limitations**

Before concluding, we should highlight some limitations of our study. These should be considered when interpreting the results. First, as our data were cross-sectional in nature, the causal relationships between our variables cannot be determined. While it is appealing to state that procedurally just treatment leads to enhanced trust in police, caution is needed in drawing this conclusion. It is unclear whether procedural justice led to enhanced trust or whether high trusting Muslims assessed police as more procedurally just. The same goes for other implied causal relationships. Second, we drew a non-probability sample and our cooperation rate was only 36%. This response rate might reflect general levels of trust in police among Muslim-Australians. The climate of suspicion regarding Muslims in Australia may have reduced Muslims' willingness to participate in a study about policing. Low response rates and non-probability sampling can introduce bias into the data (Etikan et al., 2016); perhaps those less trusting of police were less likely to participate in the research. Hence, while our sample was generally representative of Sydney's Muslim population, our findings may not be generalizable to Muslims living elsewhere in the world, or even in other parts of Australia. Third, we did not measure the nature of Muslims' contacts with police. Police-initiated contacts in response to offending may have been experienced differently and may have produced different results from respondents who were pulled over for a random breath test. Similarly, citizen-initiated contacts resulting from violent victimization may have been experienced differently to contact initiated to report car theft. Future research could explore whether these differences influence the results in different ways. Finally, we posited that procedural justice may have mattered less to our highly stigmatized Muslims because they viewed police as an outgroup. While this might be true, we did not test whether Muslims identified or not with police (or with the broader societal group that police are said to represent). Hence, future research could test whether police are perceived by Muslims as

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members of an ‘outgroup’, and whether identification with police or Australia interacts with procedural justice and stigmatization to affect Muslims’ trust in police.

### **Conclusion**

To conclude, our findings suggest that feeling stigmatized, and perceiving police as procedurally unjust and ineffective are important correlates of Muslims’ distrust in police. Our findings also point to the value of utilizing a person-by-situation approach to studying police effectiveness and procedural justice effects in police contacts. A person-by-situation approach to studying police contacts is important because what might work in certain situations for one individual may be less helpful in a different situation for another individual. Our findings showed that both police effectiveness and procedural justice effects on trust varied when accounting for both policing context and Muslim respondents’ level of stigmatization. Our findings generally confirm that police should act with procedural justice and communicate their effectiveness when interacting with Muslims, particularly in police-initiated contacts. However, when dealing with highly stigmatized individuals, police may have to consider additional strategies to build trust. Here, police will need to attend to the root cause of why Muslims feel stigmatized in the first place. Police need to ensure Muslims are not singled out for attention at a greater rate than non-Muslims. Police also need to be mindful of the language they use in public forums (in the media) associating Islam with terrorism. Such rhetoric can result in ‘othering’ and can damage trust, making relationships with police more tenuous.

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**Table 1. Sample Characteristics against Sydney Muslim Population Characteristics**  
(source: 2016 Census)

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Sample %</b>	<b>Census %</b>
<b>Gender</b>		
Female	50.0	51.7
Male	50.0	48.3
<b>Age</b>		
<30 years	49.0	24.5
>30 years	51.0	75.5
<b>Country of Birth</b>		
Australia	50.5	48.1
Overseas	49.5	51.9
<b>Marital status</b>		
Married	56.8	55.7
Unmarried	43.3	44.3
<b>English proficiency</b>		
Yes	96.5	94.5
No	3.5	5.5
<b>Income</b>		
<AUD\$35,000	26.1	17.8
AUD\$35,000-65,000	31.4	28.0
AUD\$65,000+	42.5	54.2
<b>Educational attainment</b>		
<High school	13.3	10.9
Year 12 or trade certificate	66.4	58.0
University	20.4	31.2

**Table 2. Principal Components Factor Analysis with varimax rotation – full sample (N=398)**

Scale	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
<b><i>Police Effectiveness (On the whole, how good a job are police doing at...)</i></b>				
Solving crime	.81			
Dealing with problems that concern you	.80			
Working with people in your suburb to solve local problems	.83			
Deterring criminals	.92			
Catching criminals	.88			
Preventing crime	.90			
Keeping order	.86			
Keeping the community safe	.88			
<b><i>Procedural Justice</i></b>				
Police treat people fairly		.75		
Police treat people with dignity and respect		.78		
Police let people speak before they make a decision		.78		
Police care about people		.70		
Police are polite to people		.75		
Police make their decisions based upon facts, not personal opinions		.74		
Police give people the chance to express their views before making decisions		.75		
Police take into account the needs and concerns of the people they deal with		.78		
<b><i>Stigmatization</i></b>				
Police are suspicious of people like you			.81	
Police view people like you as a threat to community safety			.82	
Police often make negative judgements about people like you			.76	
Police view people like you as criminals			.80	
<b><i>Trust in police</i></b>				
I have trust and confidence in the police		.35		.79
I support the actions of the police				.80
I respect the police				.81
Eigenvalues	9.52	3.39	2.17	1.56
Variation explained (%)	41.41	14.74	9.44	6.77

Note: factor loadings >.30 reported

**Table 3. Means and Standard deviations for scale measures for Muslims who experienced a police-initiated versus citizen-initiated police contact**

Scale	Police-initiated Contact (n=188)		Citizen-initiated Contact (n=210)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Trust in police	3.68	.83	3.70	.79
Stigmatization	3.09	.95	3.20	.95
Procedural justice	3.28	.78	3.39	.74
Police effectiveness*	3.63	.76	3.43	1.02
Encounter satisfaction**	3.47	1.09	3.80	.95

Groups significantly different at \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; scales range from 1-5, with higher scores indicating more favorable assessments.

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**Table 4. Bi-variate correlations between all measures – full sample (N=398)**

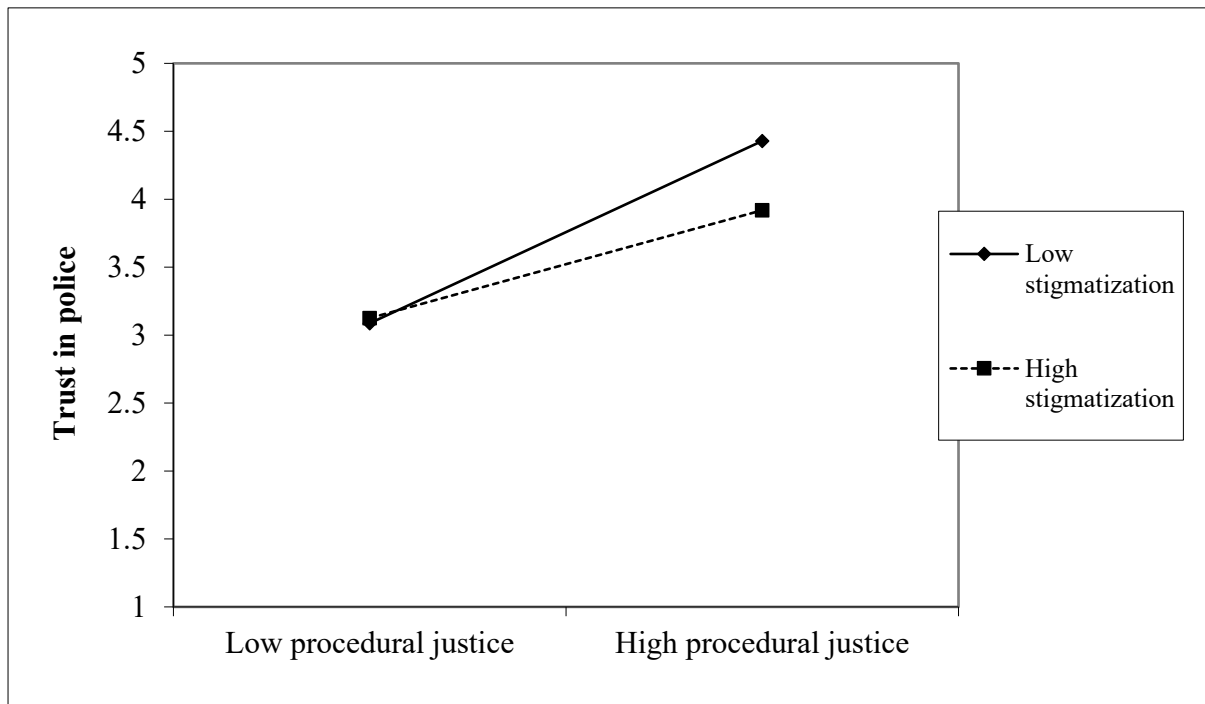
Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<b>1. Procedural justice</b>	-												
<b>2. Police effectiveness</b>	.42*	-											
<b>3. Stigmatization</b>	-.36*	-.32*	-										
<b>4. Trust in police</b>	.47*	.39*	-.28*	-									
<b>5. Frequency of police contact</b>	-.05	-.11*	-.08	-.05	-								
<b>6. Income</b>	-.04	.07	.06	.03	.05	-							
<b>7. Age</b>	.00	.01	-.12*	.07	-.04	-.08	-						
<b>8. Male</b>	.09	.09	.03	.01	-.16*	-.02	.04	-					
<b>9. Non-English speaking</b>	-.05	-.04	.02	-.01	-.02	-.04	-.17*	-.03	-				
<b>10. Education</b>	-.03	-.09	-.05	.01	.10*	.32*	-.13*	-.04	.00	-			
<b>11. 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrant</b>	-.05	-.05	.03	-.10	.05	-.06	-.58*	-.16*	.19*	.17*	-		
<b>12. Religious identity</b>	-.02	-.12*	-.01	-.04	-.05	.06	-.13*	-.01	.04	.11*	.11*	-	
<b>13. Encounter satisfaction</b>	.47*	.20*	-.23*	.35*	-.05	-.09	.08	.04	-.05	.03	-.01	.05	-

\*significantly correlated at  $p < .05$

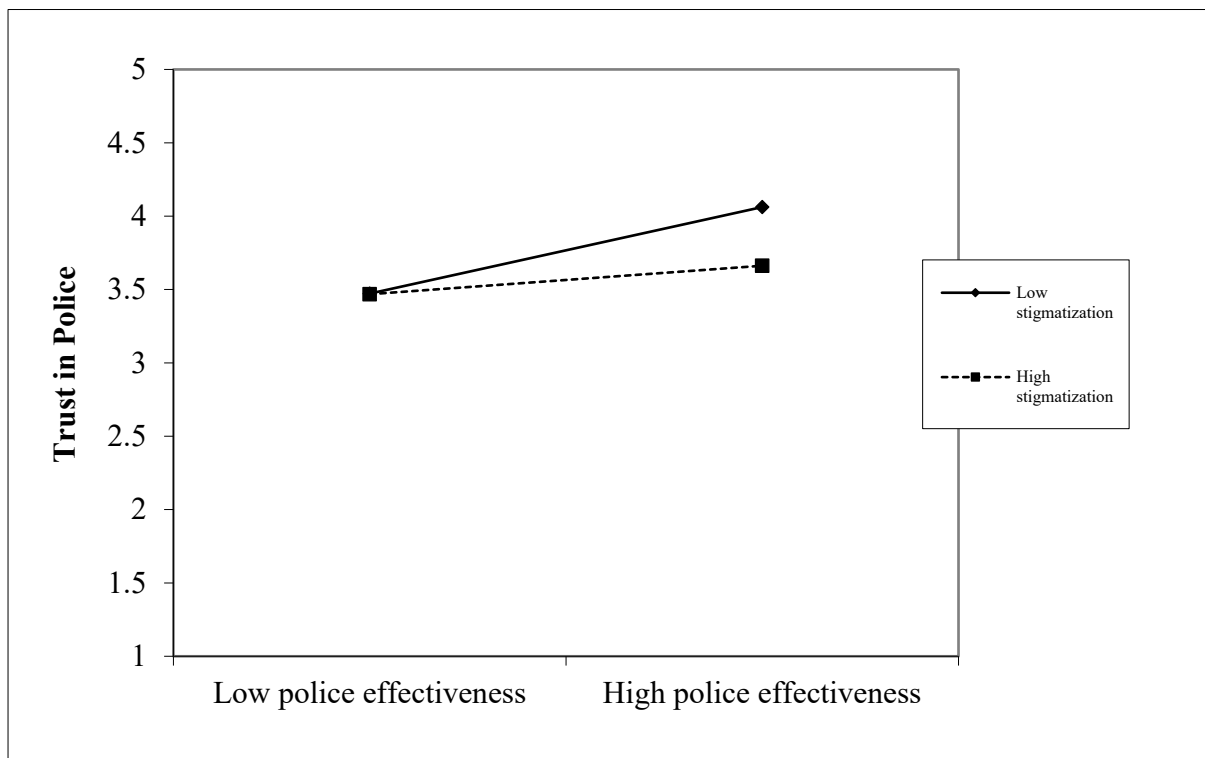
**Table 5. OLS Regressions with trust in police as the dependent variable, for those who experienced: a) a police-initiated contact and (b) a citizen-initiated contact**

Variable	Model 1 Police-initiated contact (n=188)				Model 2 Citizen-initiated contact (n=210)			
	Block 1	Block 2	Block 3	Block 3	Block 1	Block 2	Block 3	Block 3
	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)	b(SE)
<b>(Constant)</b>	3.68 (.06)***	3.69 (.05)***	3.64 (.05)***	3.66 (.05)***	3.70 (.05)***	3.70 (.05)***	3.63 (.05)***	3.65 (.05)***
<b>Male</b>	-.10 (.12)	-.12 (.10)	-.12 (.10)	-.10 (.10)	-.03 (.11)	-.07 (.11)	-.12 (.10)	-.12 (.11)
<b>Age</b>	.00 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)	-.01 (.01)	-.00 (.01)	-.01 (.01)	-.00 (.01)
<b>Non-English</b>	.32 (.45)	-.01 (.38)	-.05 (.38)	-.01 (.38)	.03 (.24)	.11 (.24)	.10 (.22)	.14 (.23)
<b>Income</b>	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.00 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.00 (.01)
<b>Education level</b>	-.00 (.03)	.01 (.02)	.01 (.02)	.01 (.02)	-.01 (.03)	.01 (.03)	.01 (.03)	.01 (.03)
<b>Religious identity</b>	-.00 (.04)	.01 (.03)	.02 (.03)	.02 (.03)	-.07 (.04)	-.04 (.04)	-.06 (.04)	-.05 (.04)
<b>1<sup>st</sup> Generation Immigrant</b>	-.11 (.14)	-.08 (.12)	-.06 (.12)	-.06 (.12)	<b>-.26 (.13)*</b>	-.20 (.13)	-.19 (.12)	-.21 (.13)
<b>Frequency of police contact</b>	-.02 (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.01 (.02)	.00 (.02)	-.00 (.02)	-.01 (.02)
<b>Encounter Satisfaction</b>	<b>.21 (.06)***</b>	.00 (.05)	.02 (.05)	.01 (.05)	<b>.25 (.06)***</b>	<b>.19 (.06)***</b>	<b>.20 (.06)***</b>	<b>.15 (.06)**</b>
<b>Stigmatization</b>	<b>-.25 (.07)***</b>	-.11 (.06)	<b>-.11 (.06)*</b>	-.10 (.06)	<b>-.13 (.06)*</b>	-.03 (.06)	.06 (.06)	.02 (.06)
<b>Procedural justice (PJ)</b>	-	<b>.52 (.08)***</b>	<b>.52 (.08)***</b>	<b>.52 (.08)***</b>	-	.12 (.08)	.14 (.08)	.06 (.08)
<b>Police effectiveness (PE)</b>	-	<b>.21 (.07)**</b>	<b>.20 (.07)**</b>	<b>.20 (.07)**</b>	-	<b>.17 (.06)**</b>	<b>.12 (.06)*</b>	<b>.24 (.06)***</b>
<b>Stigmatization x PJ</b>	-	-	<b>-.14 (.05)**</b>	-	-	-	<b>-.32 (.07)***</b>	-
<b>Stigmatization x PE</b>	-	-	-	-.10 (.05)	-	-	-	<b>-.17 (.05)**</b>
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	.23	.47	.49	.48	.16	.22	.29	.25
<b>Adjusted R<sup>2</sup></b>	.19	.43	.45	.44	.12	.17	.25	.20
<b>R<sup>2</sup> change</b>	.23	.23	.02	.01	.16	.05	.08	.04
<b>df</b>	10, 177	2, 175	1, 174	1, 174	10, 199	2, 197	1, 196	1, 196
<b>F</b>	5.35	38.37***	6.76**	3.66	3.88***	6.63**	20.96***	9.92**

\*p<0.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001



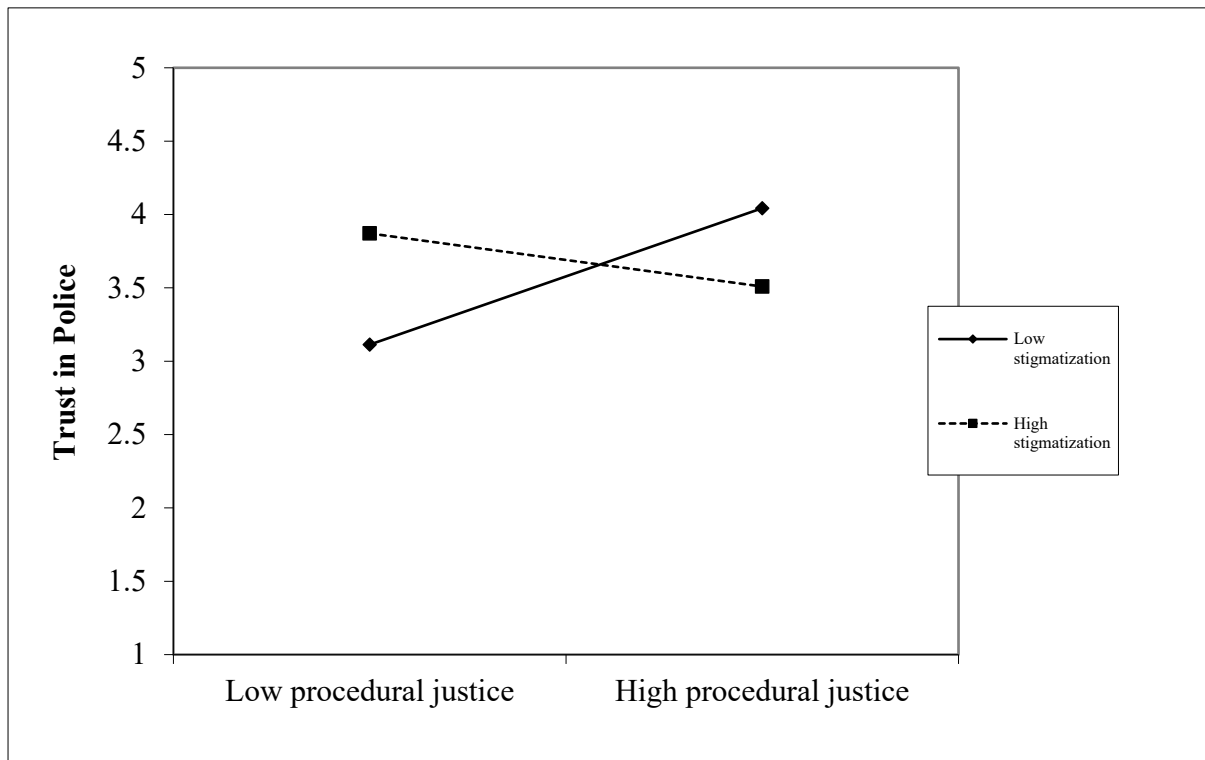
(a)



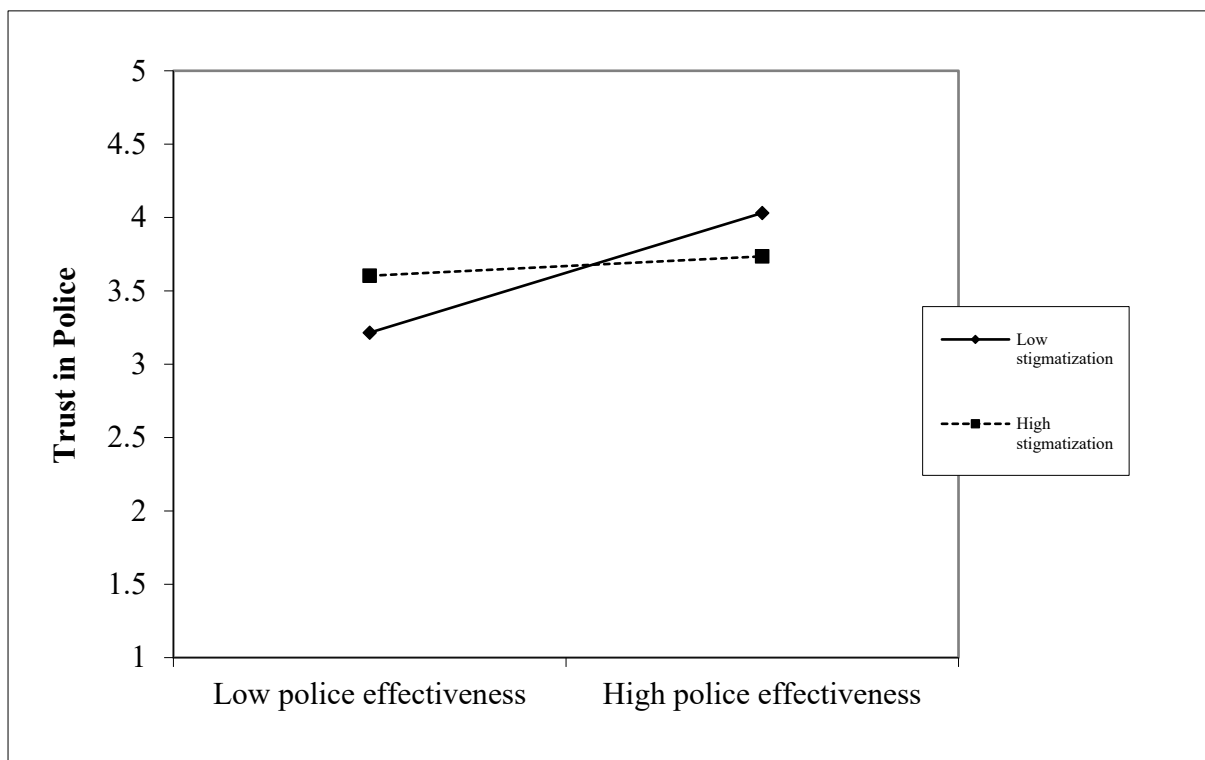
(b)

**Figure 1. Muslims' trust in police in police-initiated contacts as a function of: (a) procedural justice and stigmatization or (b) police effectiveness and stigmatization.**





(a)



(b)

**Figure 2. Muslims' trust in police in citizen-initiated contacts as a function of: (a) procedural justice and stigmatization or (b) police effectiveness and stigmatization.**