

Examining Organizational Change and Procedural Justice: An International Cross-Site Evaluation of Two Police Departments

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Executive Summary

Background

With support from the Open Society Foundation, the Vera Institute of Justice (Vera) partnered with University College London's (UCL) Institute for Global City Policing in 2019 to undertake an assessment of organizational justice reforms within West Midlands Police (WMP) in the United Kingdom and Arlington Police Department (APD) in Texas, United States of America. The aim of this partnership was to comparatively assess how organizational changes are being implemented in WMP and APD and to propose recommendations for other departments to implement similar reforms. This comparative evaluation examines the process of implementation and whether reforms geared toward organizational justice are both understood and accepted by the members of police organizations. Because the evaluation focused on these internal organizational justice reforms, there are limitations to the extent that this research can predict increased community perceptions of fairness and trust. In this report, the researchers present a preliminary evaluation of the changes introduced in both police organizations, focusing on the implementation of principles of organizational justice in the two workforces.

Methods

Following initial conversations between WMP and APD leadership and UCL and Vera researchers, the working group jointly decided to focus on five key areas for comparative evaluation: Professional Standards Department (in WMP) and Internal Affairs (in APD); Promotions; Recruitment (in APD); Training; and Taser Training (in WMP) and Defensive Tactics (in APD). Three researchers at Vera and two researchers at UCL carried out fieldwork in Birmingham, Coventry, and Wolverhampton (in the West Midlands) and in Arlington (Texas) between June and December 2019. Vera researchers conducted 16 semi-structured interviews and UCL researchers conducted 24 semi-structured interviews, a combined total of 40 interviews with police officers and employees of both organizations. Each research team also organized and moderated two focus group discussions to understand the perceptions of rank-and-file and middle management officers. Both teams carried out qualitative fieldwork, including observations at police stations, in training academies, and on patrol. Additionally, officers from both organizations participated in two exchange trips, visiting each other to learn reform and implementation strategies that have generated the most success. The two key research questions in this evaluation are whether the organizational justice reforms were implemented in the respective organizations and whether these reforms were understood and accepted by members of the organization.

Summary of Key Findings

- **Strategies:** WMP and APD chose distinct organizational strategies for implementing changes. Whereas WMP took a more programmatic step-by-step approach, APD opted for a more organic overarching strategy. Organizational size and structure, jurisdictional size, and availability of resources were important factors in determining the approaches of both organizations. The progression from programmatic to organic implementation of these changes can vary depending on the size and structure of a police organization. There is no one-size-fits-all approach.
- **Scale:** In APD, many of the reforms were introduced in 2013 and at the time of the assessment were considered to have spanned the entire organization. In contrast, the change program in WMP ("Fairness in Policing") was in its second year of

implementation at the time of evaluation and thus had not reached across all of WMP's various departments and neighborhoods.

- **Results:** Because of differences in the longevity of each program, and the stages of implementation at the time of the evaluations, findings from the implementation at APD indicate generally positive outcomes, whereas findings from the WMP program are preliminary and cannot evidence exact outcomes of the changes introduced.
- **Conceptual confusion:** Both departments' organizational changes combine principles of organizational and procedural justice. In WMP, the conflation of the two concepts appears to confuse the delivery of the change program in certain areas. In APD, the conflation of the two terms did not affect the implementation of the changes but was noticeable during participant interviews.

Summary of Recommendations

- Those in charge of implementing changes must address the lack of conceptual clarity between the differences in "organizational" and "procedural" justice in order for future evaluations to assess exactly how such changes benefit organizations internally (to deliver organizational justice) and how the delivery of organizational justice affects perceptions of procedural justice externally, if at all. Conceptual clarity can be increased via a Theory of Change that offers clear desired outcomes and impacts of reforms.
- Further evaluation needs to take place to adequately assess the outcomes and impact of organizational justice programs in WMP and APD. This evaluation should be undertaken at a time when the changes have been more fully introduced across departments and geographies to understand the effects on both workforces.
- The procedural justice project in APD has survived despite changes in management and leadership because of a sustained commitment and institutionalized reforms. This commitment is important for building organizational memory, which could not be observed in WMP at the time of evaluation. To institutionalize organizational and procedural justice, departments should continue delivering the relevant organizational changes regardless of changes in management.
- The language and messaging of organizational reforms must be carefully and strategically selected to increase the likelihood of acceptance from rank-and-file officers and avoid resistance and backlash.
- Well-respected members of a department should be selected to champion the organizational changes. Experienced leaders will increase perceptions of legitimacy of the changes and may increase buy-in from the department.
- Areas in which organizational justice reforms are implemented should have a feedback mechanism to ensure that the reforms have measurable outcomes. A feedback mechanism will also hold those in charge accountable for the reforms to regularly evaluate the fairness of the organization.
- Organizational justice training should not be limited to rank-and-file personnel but should include all sworn and non-sworn employees in an organization. The training

should be distinct from other trainings that employees receive with tangible examples of the importance of organizational justice.

Introduction

Public trust in police organizations is vital for the continuous functioning and maintenance of these agencies.¹ However, the origins and ongoing practices of policing as a tool of social control have had lasting impacts on people's lives, especially the lives of Black Americans.² These historical and contemporary practices alike have continuous implications for public trust, and perceptions of police legitimacy, in both the US and the UK.³ A *Washington Post* database created in 2015 shows that US police officers shoot and kill an average of three people per day, and Black Americans are being killed by police at more than twice the rate of white Americans.⁴ A 2018-2019 analysis in the UK found that Black Britons were eight times more likely than white Britons to be stopped and searched by the police.⁵ More recently, public trust in police in the US has declined, particularly in the wake of the killings of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, and Tony McDade in the US, and with widespread protests and calls for systemic change.⁶ Gallup public opinion polls of Americans conducted from June to July 2020 found lower levels of confidence in the police among white and Black respondents compared to previous years, but also indicated that there is a persistent racial gap in ratings of the police that has increased in recent years. In 2016, 29 percent of Black respondents reported confidence in the police compared to 58 percent of white respondents.⁷ This gap increased in 2020, with 19 percent of Black respondents reporting confidence in the police compared to 56 percent of white respondents.⁸ Both prior to and in response to these recent declines, police practitioners have tried to identify ways to improve police-community relations and to build trust.

Procedural justice is one important theoretical framework that informs how many police practitioners have attempted to address low levels of public trust in policing over the past few

¹ See for example Tom R. Tyler, "Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and the Effective Rule of Law," *Crime and Justice* 30 (2003), 283-357.

² S. Rebecca Neusteter, Ram Subramanian, Jennifer Trone, et al., *Gatekeepers: The Role of Police in Ending Mass Incarceration* (New York: Vera Institute of Justice, 2019), <https://perma.cc/UJN8-EUZA>; Elizabeth Hinton, LeShae Henderson, and Cindy Reed, *An Unjust Burden: The Disparate Treatment of Black Americans in the Criminal Justice System* (New York: Vera Institute of Justice, 2018), <https://perma.cc/9VV3-L36G>; Throughline, "American Police," NPR, June 4, 2020, <https://perma.cc/Z8DA-MWBA>.

³ John Gramlich, "From Police to Parole, Black and White Americans Differ Widely in Their Views of Criminal Justice System," Pew Research Center, May 21, 2019, <https://perma.cc/8RQD-HRTE>; "Confidence in the Local Police," Cabinet Office Race Disparity Unit, September 30, 2020, <https://perma.cc/K59D-GELV>.

⁴ "Fatal Force: Police Shootings Database," *Washington Post*, accessed December 1, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/investigations/police-shootings-database/>.

⁵ Annie Gouk, "All the Data on Black People and the Police in England and Wales," InYourArea, June 5, 2020, <https://perma.cc/DPF2-3PPE>.

⁶ A June 2020 survey found that concerns about racially targeted policing (both the over-policing and the under-protecting of Black communities) were correlated with negative views of police authority, fairness, and legitimacy, regardless of the race of respondents. Jonathan Jackson, Tasseli McKay, Leonidas Cheliotis, et al., "Racist Policing Is Making Black and White Americans Question Police Authority," London School of Economics United States American Politics and Policy (blog), July 14, 2020, <https://perma.cc/6XDE-5VJR>.

⁷ Frank Newport, "Public Opinion Context: Americans, Race and Police," Gallup, July 8, 2016, <https://perma.cc/ZL46-E86Z>.

⁸ Jeffrey M. Jones, "Black, White Adults' Confidence Diverges Most on Police," Gallup, August 12, 2020, <https://perma.cc/Q6CD-LQP6>.

decades.⁹ There are four key components of procedural justice: voice, neutrality, dignity and respect, and trustworthiness.¹⁰ The overarching goal of incorporating procedural justice principles into police policy and practice is to improve police legitimacy, defined as “a psychological property of an authority, institution, or social arrangement that leads those connected to it to believe that it is appropriate, proper, and just.”¹¹ Crucially, research suggests that procedural justice is predictive of perceptions of police legitimacy. That is, if people feel that an authority, such as law enforcement, behaves in a procedurally just manner, it will be deemed legitimate, resulting in greater voluntary compliance with its orders and instructions. Although procedural justice does assist in facilitating public trust in the police, questions remain about the effectiveness of procedural justice efforts in reducing harms that occur in interactions between police and the public.¹²

A key concern for researchers, policymakers, and practitioners attempting to apply procedural justice theory to policing is how to motivate officers to behave in procedurally just ways, to enhance trust, legitimacy, and public consent. Here, increasing attention is being paid to the idea of organizational justice. There is a growing body of work that suggests enhancing perceptions of justice *inside* police organizations will encourage officers to behave in a procedurally just fashion during their interactions with the public.

In consideration of current police-community relations, the idea of organizational justice inside law enforcement agencies complements, includes, and extends the idea of procedural justice. Initial policing research in this area of inquiry, which drew on the wider area of organizational justice research in psychology and business studies, focused on improving organizational “climates” to produce positive effects on employees’ participation in and identification with the organization and its processes.¹³ Organizational justice incorporates procedural justice in a workplace with related and overlapping notions of fair outcomes (distributive justice), respectful treatment (interactional justice), and overall fairness (commutative justice).¹⁴ Positive perceptions of fairness across these dimensions can have a positive effect on how police officers commit to an organization, the legitimacy they grant to it, the legitimacy they see in their own roles as police officers, and their job satisfaction and work performance; they can also reduce

⁹ See for example Victoria Herrington and Karl Roberts, “Organisational and Procedural Justice: Applying Theory to Police Practice,” *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism* 8, no. 2 (2013), 107-114, <https://perma.cc/3L5N-6THJ>; and Andy Myhill and Ben Bradford, “Overcoming Cop Culture? Organizational Justice and Police Officers’ Attitudes Toward the Public,” *Policing: An International Journal Of Police Strategies & Management* 36, no. 2 (2013), 338-356.

¹⁰ Jonathan Jackson, “Norms, Normativity, and the Legitimacy of Justice Institutions: International Perspectives,” *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 14 (2018), 145-165, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/155777511.pdf>.

¹¹ Tom R. Tyler, “Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy and Legitimation,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 57 (2006), 375-400.

¹² David Thacher, “The Limits of Procedural Justice,” in *Police Innovation: Contrasting Perspectives*, edited by David Weisburd and Anthony Braga (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 95-118.

¹³ Jack R. Greene, “Organizational Change in Law Enforcement,” *Journal of Criminal Justice* 9, no. 1 (1981), 79-91.

¹⁴ Maureen L. Ambrose and Marshall Schminke, “Organization Structure as a Moderator of the Relationship Between Procedural Justice, Interactional Justice, Perceived Organizational Support, and Supervisory Trust,” *Journal of Applied Psychology* 88, no. 2 (2003), 295-305.

counterproductive work behaviors.¹⁵ Given the power that police hold, work behaviors that may be counterproductive in a different organizational context can be actively harmful—or even deadly—in the context of policing.

It is also thought that enhancing internal legitimacy and the commitment of officers to the police organization encourages behavior that will enhance police legitimacy within the community. Multiple studies have shown that officers who feel treated fairly by their organization are more likely, for a number of interrelated reasons, to have positive views about, support, and possibly even enact procedural justice in their interactions with community members.¹⁶ Put bluntly, the experience of fairness in interactions with managers and senior leaders promotes a sense that this is the correct way to behave “out on the streets.”¹⁷

To better understand how police organizations are implementing these principles, the Vera Institute of Justice (Vera) and the University College London’s (UCL) Institute for Global City Policing partnered with the West Midlands Police (WMP) in West Midlands, UK, and the Arlington Police Department (APD) in Arlington, Texas, to conduct a process evaluation of their efforts to improve organizational justice. This evaluation was supported by the Open Society Foundation and was the product of two exchange trips organized in 2016 and 2018 by the foundation’s justice initiative, during which police executives from the US and the UK came together to discuss evidence-based policing practices and reform efforts, including organizational and procedural justice.¹⁸

¹⁵ Paul Quinton, Andy Myhill, Ben Bradford, Alistair Fildes, and Gillian Porter, *Fair Cop 2: Organisational Justice, Behavior and Ethical Policing* (Ryton-on-Dunsmore, Coventry, England: College of Policing, 2015), <https://perma.cc/KC64-FVM3>; Theresa A. Martelli, L. K. Waters, and Josephine Martelli, “The Police Stress Survey: Reliability and Relation to Job Satisfaction and Organizational Commitment,” *Psychological Reports* 64, no. 1 (1989), 267-273; Andrew Noblet, Saree Maharee-Lawler, and John Rodwell, “Using Job Strain and Organizational Justice Models to Predict Multiple Forms of Employee Performance Behaviours Among Australian Policing Personnel,” *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 23, no. 14 (2012), 3009-3026; Joseph A. Schafer, “The Role of Trust and Transparency in the Pursuit of Procedural and Organisational Justice,” *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism* 8, no. 2 (2013), 131-143; Tyler, “Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and the Effective Rule of Law,” 2003.

¹⁶ Jiatian Chen, Douglas R. May, Catherine E. Schwoerer, and Bob Augelli, “Exploring the Boundaries of Career Calling: The Moderating Roles of Procedural Justice and Psychological Safety,” *Journal of Career Development* 45, no. 2 (2018), 103-116; Matthew S. Crow, Chang-Bae Lee, and Jae-Jin Joo, “Organizational Justice and Organizational Commitment among South Korean Police Officers,” *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 35, no. 2 (2012), 402-423; Fernando Jaramillo, Robert Nixon, and Doreen Sams, “The Effect of Law Enforcement Stress on Organizational Commitment,” *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 28, no. 2 (2005), 321-336; and Schafer, “Trust And Transparency,” 2013.

¹⁷ Ben Bradford, Jonathan Jackson, and Mike Hough, “Police Legitimacy in Action: Lessons for Theory and Practice,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Police and Policing*, edited by Michael D. Reisig and Robert J. Kane (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2236691; Emily Owens, David Weisburd, Karen L. Amendola, and Geoffrey P. Alpert, “Can You Build a Better Cop? Experimental Evidence on Supervision, Training, and Policing in the Community,” *Criminology & Public Policy* 17, no. 1 (2018), 41-87, <https://perma.cc/T2HX-MGUN>; and Tom R. Tyler, “From Harm Reduction to Community Engagement: Redefining the Goals of American Policing in the Twenty-First Century,” *Northwestern University Law Review* 111, no. 6 (2016), 1537, <https://perma.cc/JZ7S-PDFH>.

¹⁸ Open Society Justice Initiative, <https://www.justiceinitiative.org/>.

This comparative process evaluation of WMP's and APD's reform efforts reflects differences in context, resources, and approach. The evaluation examines the different processes and approaches undertaken within each organization with the goal of answering whether the organizational justice reforms had been implemented, and whether these reforms were understood and accepted by members of the organization. The evaluation was conducted in 2019, when WMP was in the second year of a planned three-year rollout of organizational justice reforms. Many of APD's reforms, on the other hand, were not restricted to a planned timeline, and many had been implemented in 2013. As a result, WMP's experience reflects many of the initial successes and challenges of implementing organizational reforms internally, and APD's experience draws on a deeper foundation and longer history of change efforts.

Another difference is that WMP, a larger police organization than APD, took a very programmatic, step-by-step approach in an attempt to achieve the desired outcomes. Meanwhile, APD describes its efforts as a top-down, but organic, process to spread the values of procedural justice and advance various aspects of reform throughout the organization over the course of many years. Despite their differences, both organizations share a desire to advance organizational justice and improve perceptions of trust, fairness, and transparency within their organization and the community.

The following sections of this report describe WMP's and APD's organizational reforms in detail, highlighting five key areas of the reforms:

- recruitment;
- training;
- promotions;
- Professional Standards Department and Internal Affairs; and
- defensive tactics and Taser training.

The report includes an analysis of how organizational strategy, structure, governance, and culture impacted the implementation of reforms. It concludes with a series of recommendations for other police organizations interested in learning from WMP's and APD's experiences and advancing organizational justice reforms of their own.

Methodology

This report presents findings and recommendations from an international comparative process evaluation of the implementation of organizational justice reforms within APD and WMP. The evaluation draws on a review of administrative documents and policies, site visits, interviews, and focus groups with APD and WMP leadership, mid-level management, and rank-and-file officers completed between June and December 2019. Two additional exchange trips occurred in September and November 2019 (subsequent to the earlier exchange trips in 2016 and 2018), during which APD and WMP leadership visited their counterparts to learn about each other's reforms firsthand. Researchers from Vera were responsible for data collection and analysis for APD and researchers from UCL were responsible for data collection and analysis for WMP. Leadership at APD and WMP had the opportunity to review an initial draft of the findings and recommendations.

Site Characteristics: Arlington and West Midlands

Arlington, population 398,854 as of July 1, 2019, is the seventh most populous city in the state of Texas and forms part of the Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington metropolitan area (see Appendix

B).¹⁹ The median household income for Arlington is \$58,502.²⁰ APD was created in 1894.²¹ At the time of this evaluation, the chief was Will Johnson, who held this role from 2013 until his retirement in June 2020.²² APD currently employs 673 officers and is one of the few law enforcement agencies in the US that requires a four-year college or university degree.²³ APD's workforce is 60.9 percent white and 80.1 percent male. Detailed racial and sex demographics for APD and Arlington can be found in Appendix A.

West Midlands has a population of roughly 2.8 million people and includes the city of Birmingham, the second-largest city in the United Kingdom (see Appendix B).²⁴ The median household income for Birmingham is \$36,675.²⁵ WMP is the third-largest police force in the United Kingdom and was formed from smaller agencies in 1974.²⁶ The current chief constable is Dave Thompson.²⁷ WMP currently employs 6,723 officers; 89 percent of its workforce is white and 68.9 percent is male. Detailed ethnicity and sex demographics for WMP and West Midlands can be found in Appendix C.²⁸

Study Activities

Administrative document and policy review

Vera and UCL researchers requested and reviewed a variety of administrative documents to better understand the details of each organization's reform efforts and the process of implementation. APD and WMP provided documents covering strategic planning, training materials, and specific processes and policies such as recruitment, promotions, and professional standards. Additional materials were also obtained from the APD and WMP websites.

¹⁹ United States Census Bureau, "QuickFacts: Arlington City, Texas," <https://perma.cc/YN5Z-N9KK>.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Arlington, Texas Public Library, "Digital Photo Collection, History of the Arlington Police Department," <https://www.arlingtonlibrary.org/digital-photo-collection#:~:text=The%20City%20of%20Arlington%2C%20TX,with%20the%20appointment%20of%20W.M.>

²² Reese Oxner, "Arlington Police Chief Will Johnson to Retire, Effective in June," *Dallas Morning News*, April 27, 2020, <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2020/04/27/arlington-police-chief-will-johnson-to-rotate/>.

²³ One percent of departments in the U.S require a four-year degree. Brian A. Reaves, *Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015), 7, <https://perma.cc/6HEJ-HYH5>.

²⁴ Birmingham has a population of 1.3 million in the city and 2.8 million in the greater metro area. "West Midlands, UK Metro Area Population 1950-2021," <https://www.macrotrends.net/cities/22835/west-midlands/population>.

²⁵ Birmingham, UK Government, "Average Earnings 2019." https://www.birmingham.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/2867/average_earnings_2019.pdf

²⁶ West Midlands Police Department, "History," <https://west-midlands.police.uk/about-us/history#:~:text=On%201%20April%201974%2C%20Birmingham,was%20Sir%20Derrick%20Capper%20QPM.>

²⁷ West Midlands Police Department, "Executive Team," <https://west-midlands.police.uk/about-us/executive-team/chief-constable#:~:text=Dave%20Thompson%20is%20our%20Chief,Police%20and%20Crime%20Commissioner's%20plan.>

²⁸ WMP and APD collected different demographic data, with APD collecting racial demographics and WMP collecting ethnic demographics.

Site visits, interviews, and focus groups

Vera and UCL researchers conducted in-depth site visits with APD and WMP to observe a range of training, management, and operations activities. Researchers also conducted interviews and focus groups with APD and WMP leadership, mid-level management, and rank-and-file officers. These interviews were conducted both in person during site visits and by phone or video conference.

For the research observations, researchers introduced themselves and the purpose of the project to APD and WMP participants at the beginning of relevant activities and took detailed field notes.

For the interviews and focus groups, researchers used a semi-structured interview guide with a series of questions exploring participants' understanding and perceptions of their organization's reforms. Each interview or focus group was approximately one hour in length. Researchers obtained written consent from WMP participants and audio-recorded and transcribed the interviews and focus groups. With APD participants, researchers obtained verbal consent and took detailed notes; these interviews and focus groups were not audio-recorded in order to make officers more confident in their anonymity given the political climate and polarization around police reform in the US.²⁹

For APD, Vera researchers conducted a total of 18 interviews and focus groups with 30 people, including leadership ($n=6$), mid-level management ($n=12$), and rank-and-file ($n=12$). APD leadership facilitated recruitment and scheduling for the interviews and focus groups. During the APD site visit, research observations included academy training courses, ride-outs, defensive tactics presentations, supervisor meetings, and police operations during public events. The research observations were conducted in August 2019 and November 2019, and interviews and focus groups were completed between August and December 2019.

For WMP, UCL researchers conducted a total of 26 interviews and focus groups with 33 people, including leadership ($n=4$), mid-level management ($n=12$), rank-and-file officers ($n=10$), and general employees ($n=7$). Participants were selected in consultation with WMP leadership, based on their organizational role and involvement in the reforms. During the WMP site visit, research observations included various trainings, promotional processes, and management meetings. The site visits, including all interviews and focus groups, were conducted between June and November 2019.

For a complete list of the interviews and focus groups conducted for both sites, see Appendix D, and for a detailed list of the research observations, see Appendix E.

Data Analysis

Vera and UCL researchers conducted a thematic analysis of the field notes, interview and focus group notes, and interview and focus group transcripts for patterns and themes around the four principles of organizational and procedural justice (voice, neutrality, dignity and respect, and trustworthiness) and perceptions of the organizational reforms and their implementation. Researchers collected and compared data from the research observations, interviews, and focus groups with the administrative documents to verify key components of the reforms.

²⁹ Rich Morin, Kim Parker, Renee Stepler, and Andrew Mercer, "Behind the Badge: Police Views, Public Views," Pew Research Center, January 11, 2017, <https://perma.cc/9F4T-YMBW>.

Key Findings

This evaluation lays out the researchers' findings and answers two key questions. The first is whether the organizational justice reforms were implemented, and the second is whether these reforms were understood and accepted by the members of the organization. After introducing the terms used within each department and their distinction from academic literature, the report provides a general overview of the reforms in both organizations to identify the desired impact. It then covers a number of different dimensions within the two departments that were reformed as part of the broader efforts to improve organizational justice. Last, the report offers discussion of the reform implementation strategy undertaken by each organization, along with various aspects that may have helped or hindered successful implementation.

Landscape of Organizational Justice Reforms

The two participating departments aimed to reform internal organizational justice and external procedural justice.

Despite the differences between the two organizations, they shared goals and objectives, namely a desire to improve police legitimacy within their respective communities while also improving perceptions of fairness within each organization and among its employees.

Arlington Police Department

Procedural justice was introduced in APD during previous chief Dr. Theron Bowman's tenure. Dr. Bowman invited Professor Tom Tyler of Yale Law School, a leading scholar on policing and procedural justice, to visit APD in 2005. At the time of Professor Tyler's visit, the former chief, Chief Johnson, was on the command staff and was struck by how the public's declining trust and perceptions of police nationally changed little despite significant drops in crime. Johnson supported the implementation of procedural justice reforms in the hopes it would lead to an increased trust of the police.³⁰ Dr. Bowman began to implement initial reforms that focused on improving internal and external relationships, including the creation of an internal brochure for the department detailing the internal affairs process. Additionally, under Dr. Bowman, the department began using procedural justice terms: fairness, voice, transparency, and respect. Initial reforms included improving internal communications, bridging the gap between sworn and non-sworn employees, and referring to non-sworn employees as professional staff instead of civilians.³¹ Dr. Bowman also worked to improve relations with the community by focusing on partnerships with clergy throughout Arlington.³²

In 2013, Johnson was promoted from the command staff to Arlington's chief of police. Under his leadership, APD has received awards for promoting community policing, protecting the civil rights of all persons, and procedural justice.³³ Chief Johnson was intentional in the procedural justice branding of initiatives. He supported and helped roll out efforts to improve organizational and procedural justice throughout the department and in the community. His

³⁰ "WMP Exchange_Visit_11.2019 Notes," copy on file with Vera.

³¹ Interview with APD employee, December 16, 2019.

³² Robert Cadwallader, "Arlington Police and Clergy Partnership Helps Officers and Community," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, December 19, 2014, <https://www.star-telegram.com/news/local/community/arlington-citizen-journal/article4678698.html>

³³ Arlington, Texas Government, "Arlington Police Department Awarded IACP Leadership in Human and Civil Rights Award," https://www.arlingtontx.gov/news/my_arlington_t_x/news_stories/iacp_leadership_award.

efforts included the integration of the four pillars of procedural justice within the organization's core values, expansion of community-oriented programs, and improvement in employee morale to improve organizational effectiveness.³⁴

According to APD documents from 2014, one of the stated goals of reforming organizational justice was to “achieve improved relationships both internally and externally by implementing the four pillars of procedural justice throughout the organization.”³⁵ APD's focus was on both internal and external procedural justice, with the belief that if officers are treated fairly by their department, they will treat the public fairly as well.

West Midlands Police

In 2017, WMP began its efforts to enhance organizational and procedural justice in response to the discovery that 18 police officers resigned from WMP per month. Internal surveys identified this frequency in resignations as a product of perceptions of unfair treatment resulting in resentment, poor work-life balance, and poor career progression. Furthermore, police officers had reported being harassed by fellow officers. Based on the results of the internal surveys, improving job satisfaction within the WMP workforce became a priority. This led to the introduction of the three-year Fairness in Policing (FiP) project, under the leadership of Chief Constable Dave Thompson. The aims and objectives of the FiP project are defined in the Project Initiation Document (PID) drafted by WMP.

The overarching aim of the WMP project is to improve officer and staff perceptions of fairness (internally) and public perceptions of police legitimacy in the West Midlands (externally). As specified in the PID, “The ambition is to integrate the principles of procedural justice and organizational justice into everything WMP do internally and externally.”³⁶

In terms of the internal changes desired through the FiP, WMP intended that “Fairness in Policing will ultimately infuse across every process, document and type of communication, learning package and interaction across the force.”³⁷ When describing the reforms, FiP was explicit which reforms focus on internal organizational justice and which focus on external procedural justice. To do that, the four guiding principles of procedural justice—voice, neutrality, dignity and respect, and trustworthiness—are incorporated into various strategic and operational areas of WMP (see Appendix F: FiP Project Principles).

Procedural Justice vs. Organizational Justice

The academic literature makes a distinction between procedural and organizational justice, with procedural justice generally referring to the relationship between police and the public, and organizational justice referring to relationships inside the police organization itself. Although organizational justice encompasses notions of procedural and distributive justice (and other concerns, such as commutative justice), it is common for fairness in policing to highlight procedural and distributive justice as two distinct, and possibly contrasting, aspects of people's experiences of policing and the legitimacy they grant the organization.

³⁴ Interview with APD employee, December 16, 2019.

³⁵ Arlington Police Department, “14_Investing in Workforce Through PJ,” PowerPoint slide deck, copy on file with Vera.

³⁶ West Midlands Police, “Project Initiation Document,” 8, copy on file with Vera.

³⁷ Ibid.

The two departments covered in this report used a working definition of *organizational justice* based on the four principles of *procedural justice* common in police-community relations literature and incorporated into discussions on what makes the organization fair. These principles are:

1. **Voice**—the opportunity to participate in the issue, problem, or conflict by presenting suggestions about what should be done and being listened to, and in return, feeling valued.
2. **Neutrality**—being balanced and unbiased, as well as honest, impartial, and objective in interactions.
3. **Dignity and respect**—the recognition and acknowledgement of the dignity of people as members of society and respect for their rights and their status in society.
4. **Trustworthiness**—the recognition that authorities will be benevolent and caring, genuinely concerned about their situation and needs.³⁸

Although APD used the term procedural justice when describing both internal and external facing reforms, and FiP looked at both internal organizational justice and external procedural justice, this report uses the term organizational justice to describe internal reforms and the term procedural justice to describe external reforms. The combination of the terms procedural justice and organizational justice in APD and WMP led to conceptual confusion and highlights the need for a clear distinction of each reform’s desired goals.

Reform Dimensions

The findings from this evaluation are broken into five different reform dimensions. These dimensions were identified by both APD and WMP as areas that could benefit from more organizationally just practices. For specific objectives listed by WMP, see Appendix G. Though the departments may have different names for the units, the following areas provided the best opportunity for a meaningful comparison.

- Training
- Recruitment (APD)
- Promotions
- Professional Standards Department (WMP) and Internal Affairs (APD)
- Taser Training (WMP) and Defensive Tactics (APD)

Each of these dimensions is broken into five subsections for ease of presentation and understanding.

- *Problem Identification*: The underlying issues in the reform dimensions that need to be addressed to improve fairness.
- *Interventions*: The strategies, activities, plans, or practices put in place to improve the fairness of the area.
- *Resulting Changes*: Whether the reforms appear to be understood and accepted by the organization based on document analysis, interviews, and focus groups.

³⁸ Adapted from the definitions of the four procedural justice principles. West Midlands Police, “Project Initiation Document,” and Arlington Police Department, “17_PJ PowerPoint,” copies on file with Vera.

- *Areas for Improvement:* Challenges that have prevented the successful implementation of the reform.
- *Recommendations for Reform:* Recommendations that may be helpful in achieving the desired impact of these reforms to both APD and WMP, as well as other departments interested in implementing similar changes.

Training

Training on the principles of procedural and organizational justice was a key component of the reform efforts for both departments, from recruit training to leadership training.³⁹ WMP's FiP project incorporated the principles of fairness and organizational justice into the department's onboarding process for all recruits (an approximately 14-week long process that includes student officer training, induction events, social events, pre-employment checks, fitness tests, medical tests, and support from recruitment officers) and into the department's Strategic Leadership Training (SLT) for senior-ranking members.⁴⁰ APD developed a class on procedural justice that all staff are now required to complete; it was rolled out to all supervisors first in 2014, followed by all rank-and-file employees, and incorporated into the academy training for all recruits starting in 2016.⁴¹

Problem Identification

When FiP began to introduce concepts of fairness and organizational justice into different areas of WMP, the FiP team recognized that the initial student officer training, which takes place during the onboarding process, was a critical point at which to orient new officers about the FiP and increase their faith in the organization.⁴² The FiP team believed that incorporating an additional class on organizational justice principles into student officer training would allow new recruits to internalize and embed these principles in their socialization from the beginning of their service. The aim was to ensure new recruits would have awareness and understanding of FiP and increased perceptions of self-legitimacy in their new roles. However, this decision was not made in response to the identification of a specific problem. Rather, it was selected as an important channel for the delivery of organizational and procedural justice concepts.

Prior to the implementation of the senior leadership training, many rank-and-file officers mentioned that leadership was an area of concern that would benefit from FiP. WMP rank-and-file officers discussed a lack of trust in the senior leadership: "Fairness has to come from the top, from the Home Office, from our leadership."⁴³ "Communication by senior leaders and management needs to be better."⁴⁴ WMP leadership encouraged FiP to instill principles of organizational justice into senior leadership during their training.

Within APD, Chief Johnson recognized that, to implement a cultural shift with a procedural justice lens, it was important to incorporate a class on procedural justice for the incoming recruits. Training incoming recruits would allow procedural justice to permeate the entire organization by ensuring that new recruits recognized what priorities were important to the department. Chief Johnson knew what he wanted in the final product but left it up to the

³⁹ Interview with WMP employee, August 29, 2019; interview with APD employee, December 20, 2019.

⁴⁰ Interview with WMP employee, August 29, 2019.

⁴¹ Interview with APD employee, December 20, 2019.

⁴² Student officer trainer, WMP.

⁴³ Focus group with WMP employees, October 21, 2019.

⁴⁴ Interview with WMP employee, September 11, 2019.

trainers to decide the best way to implement a holistic and universal approach. Chief Johnson stated that he gave “explicit instructions where I wanted us to end up and what I wanted [training] to look like.”⁴⁵ It was also important that the principles of organizational justice were incorporated into other existing training to ensure a holistic and universal approach for organizational change.

Intervention

At WMP, the onboarding process included FiP training during student officer training sessions, in which new recruits received a half-day classroom-based training in fairness in policing and police legitimacy. Within this training, the FiP team and training officers focused on making new recruits understand the “consequences of the public seeing the police service as lacking legitimacy”; the principles of procedural justice and organizational justice; and the benefits of FiP as well as its challenges.⁴⁶ Recruits were taught that organizational justice can help the workforce recognize its own legitimacy and increase fairness within the department, which WMP believes will eventually lead to the public’s increased perceptions of legitimacy.

The Strategic Leadership Training team was hesitant to incorporate FiP and procedural justice as an optional training within SLT, but multiple teams worked together to develop a strategy in which they could integrate FiP into SLT. This model, Leadership Promise, encourages senior police officers to develop their competencies by

1. Embracing change, looking for creative solutions to challenges, and becoming a “service improver.”
2. Instilling confidence in others and becoming a “trust builder.”
3. Acting and behaving in positive ways that can inspire others and becoming an inspirational role model.
4. Developing their own potential, helping others reach their full potential, and becoming a “people developer.”
5. Championing and spreading a positive voice of WMP by becoming an “organizational advocate.”
6. Taking personal accountability for delivering high standards and becoming a “performance manager.”⁴⁷

This Leadership Promise complemented FiP delivery for WMP but was still developing at the time of the evaluation and was distinct from the FiP training of new recruits. However, similarities exist in the method APD used to incorporate organizational justice principles into its training.

APD leadership expressed a desire to culturally shift to embrace and incorporate organizational justice in each aspect of the department. One lieutenant was tasked with creating the class, as he was well respected by all ranks within the department.⁴⁸ Recruits and employees all participate in what is referred to as the “procedural justice class.”⁴⁹ This was rolled out in 2014 to all supervisor staff, both commissioned and professional. The class was then provided to all rank-

⁴⁵ Interview with APD employee, December 16, 2019.

⁴⁶ “West Midlands Police Presentation, 2018,” copy on file with Vera.

⁴⁷ This list is taken verbatim from West Midlands Police, “WMP Management Statement on the Leadership Promise,” copy on file with Vera.

⁴⁸ Interview with APD employee, December 16, 2019.

⁴⁹ West Midlands Police, “16_PJ Lesson Plan 2019,” copy on file with Vera.

and-file employees. The entire Arlington workforce had received procedural justice training via this class by June 2016. This class was incorporated into recruit training beginning with the January 2016 academy class.⁵⁰

Similar to the onboarding class at WMP, the APD procedural justice class focuses explicitly on the concepts of procedural justice and legitimacy.⁵¹ Topics covered include the history of policing in the United States as well as an open discussion with recruits on the controversial and challenging aspects of policing. Recruits work in groups to discuss incidents over the previous decades that have affected community perceptions of legitimacy. To improve internal perceptions of legitimacy of the organization, the facilitator emphasizes the strengths of the organization. Topics the facilitator discusses include the pride associated with working for APD and the unique benefits of the department.⁵² These include APD's stringent four-year degree requirement, a high starting salary for recruits, an emphasis on taking care of oneself as an officer, and resources such as access to a peer support team and free access to mental health programs.⁵³

Alongside the procedural justice training class, the elements of procedural justice are incorporated into other aspects of training, including ethics, fair and impartial policing, and constitutional policing. All sworn staff are required to complete an additional 40 hours of in-service training annually and classes may cover these topics.⁵⁴ Additional classes that are included within in-service training are cultural diversity, implicit biases, and hate crimes. The four pillars of procedural justice are incorporated throughout the trainings despite procedural justice not being explicitly mentioned.

Resulting Changes

The recruits at WMP had received previous classroom-based training on FiP and were familiar with both procedural and organizational justice. However, one factor that hindered support for the FiP training was the perception that it was repetitive of other trainings received during the onboarding process, such as a training on the code of ethics. Recruits expressed fatigue and frustration with the additional training, as well as difficulty understanding the differences between the trainings: "We had the Code of Ethics drilled into us. Then, we had fairness taught to us. It is essentially the same thing. So, it's a bit confusing. Why do we have the FiP if we have the Code of Ethics? It's the same thing."⁵⁵

Another issue was that recruits often focused on the external factors shaping police legitimacy, such as media and perceived misinformation, and not how police practices can affect police legitimacy. It is unclear how recruits develop this set of beliefs, but it was mentioned throughout the interviews. Thus, despite the training they had received, the new recruits had not internalized the concept of organizational justice and felt that telling the police to be fair, inside or outside the organization, "is like preaching to the choir."⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Arlington Police Department, "13_APDProcedural Justice Initiative." copy on file with Vera.

⁵¹ Arlington Police Department, "16_PJ Lesson Plan 2019," copy on file with Vera.

⁵² "8.6.19_APD PJ Class," copy on file with Vera.

⁵³ "8.6.19 APD PJ Class," copy on file with Vera; "8.6.19 Interview #1 Rank_File."

⁵⁴ Focus group with APD employees, August 8, 2019.

⁵⁵ Interview with WMP employee, September 12, 2019

⁵⁶ Interview with WMP employee, September 12, 2019.

Interviewees did not have a consensus on how the SLT team guiding FiP and assisting in the development of the Leadership Promise model has changed the development of senior leadership. This is important given that SLT offers optional leadership training courses, rather than requiring leadership to participate in training comparable to the training for others in the organization. However, senior police officers who chose to participate in the FiP training felt much more confident that it would be useful and shared that they would recommend it to other senior leadership members.

The success of APD and its incorporation of training on procedural justice suggests the organization's organic implementation approach was successful. The trainings were frequently mentioned in interviews and focus groups. Although participants were unable to explicitly recall the procedural justice class, they were able to accurately define both procedural justice and legitimacy. As one officer stated, "It was hammered into us. It was something we learned in the first week of the academy. Before I even had an opinion on it, it was clear that it was very important to the department."⁵⁷

The annual in-service trainings that APD has outside of the procedural justice class were frequently mentioned in interviews and focus groups. Participants expressed a general feeling that procedural justice, though not explicitly mentioned, was incorporated into the various classes. However, some sentiment existed that the training was unnecessary and political in nature, with one veteran staff member saying there is "lots of actual training they could be using, instead of going to something about sensitivity."⁵⁸ Despite this, people were still able to recognize the culture of APD to embrace the four pillars of procedural and organizational justice, indicating that the training is somewhat effective in conveying the concepts, though some officers still push back against procedural justice training.

Areas for Improvement

For WMP, one of the initial aims—designing training materials with embedded FiP materials—was met. However, incoming recruits had not yet internalized the importance of organizational justice within the organization and procedural justice within the community. Nevertheless, toward the end of this evaluation, the FiP team had recognized the importance of improving the messaging and communication strategies around organizational justice, to make them both more relatable to the workforce and distinct from existing frameworks and guidelines (such as the Code of Ethics). The FiP team was tasked with designing pilot surveys and scenario assessments, but it is unclear whether any surveys were conducted. The FiP team has also revised its strategy around SLT with the goal of building an "inclusive leadership." This goal would be achieved by increasing "maturity, capability and confidence" across WMP leadership, through capacity building, dialogue, and diversification of role models. Managers within WMP also emphasized using simpler terms when describing the FiP project and changing the narrative to demonstrate that the leadership is committed to FiP and that it is part of the organization.

WMP can learn from APD how to embed fairness initiatives into the culture of the department and how to frame initiatives in the most effective way to increase buy-in. However, there is currently a single facilitator for all procedural justice training courses at APD. The department should consider including additional facilitators to provide more opportunities to continue

⁵⁷ Interview with APD employee, January 16, 2020.

⁵⁸ Interview with APD employee, December 10, 2019.

implementing an organizational justice culture. In interviews, APD leadership also mentioned their intent to reform leadership training with a more organizational justice lens, beginning in 2020.⁵⁹ APD leadership suggested that some employees within the department may be resistant to the training, including cultural sensitivity and bias training, because they feel it is reactive to public outcry or politically motivated.⁶⁰ Continuing to incorporate this training into the department, through election cycles and leadership changes, as well as having facilitators who are well-respected within the department, may help to reduce this perception.

Recommendations for Reform

Several recommendations may assist practitioners who are interested in implementing similar reforms within this area.

- When introducing changes within police organizations, departments should provide sufficient clarity between which changes are meant for enhancing organizational justice internally and which will improve procedural justice externally. In both APD and WMP, officers did not appear to make the connection between enhancing internal organizational justice and external procedural justice, which made it difficult to assess which interventions were targeting specifically identified problems.
- When concepts of organizational justice are first introduced, there may be resistance among recruits and officers who believe that external factors have a greater impact on perceptions of police legitimacy and that internal police practice is not a problem. Leaders should carefully consider the messaging and framing of these concepts prior to their delivery.
- Departments should also be mindful of packaging organizational justice trainings and reforms so they are not repetitive of other trainings. Doing so will avoid the workforce feeling fatigued and overwhelmed by multiple, overlapping frameworks.
- Beyond training, agencies should develop a feedback process to adequately assess how each cohort of new recruits is socializing into police organizations and how their perceptions of the organization or the community change, if at all, in the initial years. This routine communication can give important insights into perceptions of fairness and help police organizations improve their recruitment and onboarding efforts.
- Police organizations need to strengthen their focus on organizational justice for the recruitment and training processes by making them more transparent and efficient, in addition to ensuring that contact and communication between new recruits and their trainers or recruitment officers is open, frequent, and fair. Police organizations can do more to instill organizational justice ideals in new officers during these processes than by simply introducing recruits to these concepts in a class or presentation. Organizational justice ideals can be embedded in the training by actively soliciting feedback on it via surveys or questions and encouraging open discussion during the class-based training.
- Leadership commitment and support for organizational justice reforms need to be consistent and unwavering. For large departments like WMP, it is imperative to allocate

⁵⁹ Interview with APD employee, December 16, 2019.

⁶⁰ Interview with APD employee, December 10, 2019.

the requisite resources for designing and delivering principles of organizational justice to senior leadership.

Recruitment

Though both APD and WMP recognized the importance of having a diverse workforce, APD actively focused efforts on attracting a diverse group of potential recruits. APD had the resources to take a more active recruitment approach compared to WMP, which has faced austerity cuts and budgetary constraints. WMP leadership hoped that by improving the perceptions of legitimacy of the department, they would attract a more diverse pool of recruits (see Appendix A for detailed race and sex demographics for APD and Arlington and Appendix C for detailed ethnicity and sex demographics for WMP and West Midlands).

Identification of Problem

Throughout history, police departments have not looked like the communities they serve, which has contributed to the lack of trust of police.⁶¹ Recognizing this, APD focused on improving recruitment. By recruiting a more diverse workforce that is more reflective of the community it serves, APD believed that external procedural justice, perceptions of trustworthiness, and (perceptions of) legitimacy of the department could be improved.

WMP has faced significant budgetary constraints that cut the workforce for the department, leading to a significant reduction in the number of officers applying to and joining WMP. The restructuring of the FiP project brought a more focused approach to recruitment, though at the time of this evaluation there was not enough evidence to evaluate whether this has been successful in increasing applicant diversity.

Intervention

APD's focus on recruiting a diverse pool of candidates led to strategic planning documents on how to purposefully recruit candidates to the department. Efforts to improve diversity within the ranks began under the previous chief of police and have continued and expanded under current leadership with a number of different tactics, including social media, campus visits targeted to Hispanic-Serving Institutions, internship fairs, and marketing programs to recruit more members of traditionally underrepresented racial, ethnic, and gender identities.⁶² Most notably, in 2015 the department started a program titled "Hometown Recruiting," which aims to incentivize Arlington residents who attended Arlington secondary schools to return to the city after obtaining a four-year degree.⁶³ APD conducts annual surveys to identify which recruitment strategies were effective for the academy class, and the applicant pool is reviewed to maximize departmental diversity that reflects the community.⁶⁴ Recruitment efforts have also turned to a more holistic overview of candidates. In addition to seeking applicants capable of the physical demands of the job, the department emphasizes their work within the community and its desire to find those who have a desire for and focus on serving the public.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Arlington Police Department, "8.6.19 APD PJ Class," copy on file with Vera; Neusteter et al., *Gatekeepers*, 2019.

⁶² Arlington Police Department, "37_Recruiting Plan 2019," copy on file with Vera.

⁶³ City of Arlington, Texas, "Youth Initiatives: Hometown Recruiting," <https://perma.cc/4JUS-ATU9>.

⁶⁴ Arlington Police Department, "37_Recruiting Plan 2019," copy on file with Vera.

⁶⁵ Interview with APD employee, December 20, 2019.

At the time of this evaluation, WMP had just brought FiP under the Diversity and Inclusion (D&I) department to enhance its focus on organizational justice as D&I was also looking inward to improve staff satisfaction within the organization.⁶⁶ The mandate for D&I was focused on the belief that inclusion begins from the inside and works to build inclusivity within the culture, the leadership, colleague diversity, and to reflect the community they serve in order to enhance trust. The aim is to improve police-community interactions, but also to attract a more diverse pool of applications to WMP.

Resulting Changes

The recruitment efforts within APD were discussed often in the focus groups and interviews. Many participants mentioned the department's efforts to reflect the community in Arlington by actively recruiting people from traditionally underrepresented racial, ethnic, and gender identities. As one officer said, "diversity in this department and diversity in the recruits shows that relationship in the community."⁶⁷ Participants frequently raised that the four-year degree requirement helps create a better officer. Senior officers and members with more tenure believe that this requirement led to a shift in the type of candidate that the department hired: those who view the position as a service job for the community instead of those whose talents are primarily the physical ability to do the job. The desire is to recruit those who have a desire to be a public servant and activities that focus on "what they do towards the community."⁶⁸ The number of applicants increased from 2015 to 2018, both overall (472 to 484), as well as in female (77 to 105) and Latinx representation (80 to 109), reflecting that the purposeful recruiting is effective. Furthermore, the number of hired recruits who are from traditionally underrepresented racial, ethnic, and gender identities has improved. For example, the number of Latinx officers increased from 89 to 98 between 2017 and 2018.⁶⁹

For WMP, it is too early to identify whether bringing FiP under the D&I department has led to more recruits and enhanced diversity within the department. However, these are active efforts that work to improve applicant diversity.

Areas for Improvement

APD should continue to recruit people who reflect the community, including concentrated efforts to recruit more people with underrepresented gender, racial, and ethnic identities to join the department. These efforts can include reaching out to specific community groups and different career fairs throughout the year.

WMP should begin to identify specific activities that will increase recruitment of diverse populations. These activities should be measurable to help improve recruitment strategies and enhance the success of FiP's operation.

Recommendations for Reform

- Though not all departments have the same resources as APD, efforts to diversify applicant pools are still possible, such as reaching out to local organizations, job fairs, or schools to set up information booths to recruit new police officers.

⁶⁶ West Midlands Police Department, "D&I Strategy Document 2018-2021," copy on file with Vera.

⁶⁷ Interview with APD employee, August 7, 2019.

⁶⁸ Interview with APD employee, December 20, 2019.

⁶⁹ Arlington Police Department, "37_Recruiting Plan 2019," copy on file with Vera.

Promotions

Each department has a unique way of promoting people. The promotional process for WMP candidates had changed just prior to FiP's establishment. The previous process included a written portion and manager recommendations. The new promotional process now includes three exercises: a competency-based interview, role playing, and a presentation.

APD has a consistent process that had been in place prior to the promotion of the current police chief. Candidates must meet the eligibility requirements and then apply to the process. There are two portions of the exam, one written and one verbal. The study resources for the written examination are made available online. The verbal examination is conducted in front of a third-party contractor that rates the applicants.

Identification of Problem

As both departments embarked on their efforts to implement organizational justice reforms, the promotions process was identified as an area where perceptions of fairness and transparency could be improved to align with the principles and goals of organizational justice.

Within WMP, candidates perceived a lack of impartiality in the promotions process due to perceptions of favoritism by senior officers. At APD, leadership noted the lack of diversity within upper ranks of the department as an area for improvement. Chief Bowman initiated outreach to internal organizational groups to identify ways to improve the fairness of performance evaluations and promotion processes, and to identify reasons for the lack of diversity in leadership.⁷⁰

Intervention

For WMP, FiP recommended a range of reforms to improve the promotions process, including (1) forming a working group to oversee changes in the promotions process; (2) incorporating principles of FiP into all communications related to the promotions process; (3) designing exercises and evaluation criteria for the promotions process; (4) including community members as assessors; and (5) capturing feedback from candidates. At the time of this evaluation only the first reform had been implemented: a Promotions Governance Board was formed to oversee changes in the promotions process. The department also created new exercises and evaluation criteria and planned to implement a mechanism for feedback in two steps of the promotional process.⁷¹

APD had a consistent promotions process in place prior to Chief Johnson's tenure, but there is now increased attention to ensuring that communication about the promotions process for all ranks, excluding at-will employees, is widely disseminated and easily accessible. Information, including eligibility requirements, the process for petitioning for a promotion, and study materials for the written exam, is advertised throughout the department and made available online. To increase perceptions of fairness, a third-party company is involved in interviewing and ranking candidates for the verbal exam. For at-will employees, who include deputy chiefs and higher, applicants are selected by the chief and are subject to both a department interview panel and a community interview panel.⁷² APD's promotions process also emphasizes evaluating

⁷⁰ Interview with APD employee, December 16, 2019.

⁷¹ Brandon Langley, "West Midlands Police: Fairness in Policing," presentation given to the West Midlands Police, 2018, copy on file with Vera.

⁷² "WMP Exchange_Visit_11.2019 Notes", copy on file with Vera.

how candidates are advancing the department's vision and values, which include the principles of procedural justice, as well as leadership and involvement with community initiatives and external programs, such as Mentoring Arlington Youth (MAY) and Coach 5-0.⁷³

The department consistently conducts a yearly review and discussion of the evaluation process. One change the department implemented in 2015 to ensure a more holistic review is the requirement that employees complete and discuss a self-evaluation in conjunction with their supervisor's evaluation.⁷⁴

Resulting Changes

The two departments have had varying levels of success in implementing organizational justice principles in the promotions process, with the caveat that each has different areas of focus and is at a different stage of implementing the reforms.

Although the Promotions Governance Board was formed at WMP to oversee changes in the promotions process, some participants felt that the changes were imposed on them without adequate time or processes to provide feedback, leading to perceptions of unfairness and ineffectiveness surrounding some of the changes. For example, some participants felt that removing the written assessments and line managers' recommendations unfairly advantaged "extroverted, talkative people" rather than weighing experience and performance reviews. Based on discussions with the assessors and observations of the promotions process, how candidates received feedback was relatively ineffective—the feedback sessions are held at the end of a long day when candidates may be too tired to communicate effectively and may not always "stick around." Though it was conveyed that community members had partaken in previous assessment processes, this was not observed by the researchers during the evaluation, indicating that perhaps community inclusion needs to be more consistent.⁷⁵

Participants did report, however, a general feeling that the idea of fairness is woven into the assessment process, primarily through the questions posed to the candidates. For example, during the candidate interview, one of the questions in the assessment packet asks the candidate to describe a time they gathered detailed information to solve a complex problem for a job-related activity. This question is followed by one about fairness. Similarly, the remaining four questions encourage the candidate to discuss diversity and inclusion, communication, public trust, and confidence, all of which are relevant for internalizing procedural justice.

The desire to capture candidate feedback and analysis had not been adequately implemented by WMP at the time of this study. Nevertheless, the FiP managers recognized the need to review the feedback provided by candidates who have undergone the promotions process and said that the promotions team would be encouraged to do so. Despite the exclusion of line managers (supervisors) from the promotions processes, FiP managers recognized that performance write-ups should be included in the materials considered for each candidate. This way, supervisors would use more evidence linked to candidates' performance as opposed to relying on their own perceptions. This would give candidates a stronger foundation upon which to be assessed.

⁷³ MAY and Coach 5-0 are both mentoring programs for youth in Arlington through sports or leadership initiatives. See City of Arlington, Texas, "Youth Initiatives," <https://perma.cc/4JUS-ATU9>.

⁷⁴ Interview with APD employee, December 19, 2019.

⁷⁵ Site visit to WMP, February 2019.

For APD, leadership reported an increase in the racial and gender diversity of candidates coming up for promotions, as well as greater diversity of those promoted, which suggests that APD may have been successful in addressing some aspects of the promotions process. Interestingly, although participants felt that the department has been consistent in circulating advertisements and communication about promotions, there were still feelings that this information is often passed via word of mouth. This may contribute to perceptions of unfairness because promotion information is unevenly shared throughout the department, reaching only those who are told by colleagues or supervisors.⁷⁶

Many participants also mentioned external programs that officers participate in as a point of pride, which suggests that the emphasis on external programs in the promotions process and evaluations may be contributing to APD staff internalizing this aspect of the department's vision of values.⁷⁷

Participants reported an understanding of the performance evaluations, as well as awareness of changes implemented during Chief Johnson's tenure, although some participants did feel that there could be more consistency between how supervisors from different districts carry out their evaluations.⁷⁸

Areas for Improvement

Both departments' promotional processes have room for improvement. For WMP, many participants reported that the time allotted for feedback is ineffective due to the assessors being too tired to provide meaningful comments. To improve the effectiveness of feedback the researchers suggest the feedback be typed clearly instead of handwritten. It is also suggested that each assessor evaluate the candidate separately in order to keep the scores independent of each other. As the promotions process was recently changed, some participants felt that the exclusion of line managers, while reducing favoritism, also created an unfair process because the managers have no voice, an area on which the FiP team has already started to work.

For APD, it is important to identify those who feel that they are not informed of the promotional process. This personnel information can be collected and disaggregated to identify ways to improve the awareness of promotions. It is also important to collect more descriptive data on the diversity of candidates who apply for promotions, as well as those who are promoted. This will improve the already high perceptions of fairness of the promotional process and would have the added benefit of demonstrating the process is in fact fair.

There was mention that APD's evaluation process could be improved, and some employees desire more consistency between supervisors in each district.⁷⁹ Transparency can be improved by ensuring that officers know what to expect in their evaluation and that supervisors are properly trained on providing effective evaluations.

Recommendations for Reform

⁷⁶ Interview with APD employee, January 7, 2020; focus groups with APD employees, August 7, 2019.

⁷⁷ Interviews with APD employee, August 7, 2019, December 19, 2019, December 20, 2019; focus group with APD employees, August 7, 2019.

⁷⁸ Interview with APD employee, August 7, 2019, December 20, 2019.

⁷⁹ Interview with APD employee, August 8, 2019.

The two departments' promotional processes allow for little comparison on the perceived success of their organizational justice reforms. However, they do highlight some areas that may be helpful for practitioners.

- The promotional process should be readily available to and widely encouraged for those involved, not relying on favoritism or word of mouth to inform people when positions become available. This will ensure equal opportunity for all employees and may help to increase diversity within higher ranking positions.
- Candidates should be evaluated on the extent to which they incorporate procedural and organizational justice into their work. This will be an additional way to convey the importance of procedural and organizational justice to officers.
- Leadership should ensure there is a clear understanding of how organizational justice reforms could lead to increased perceptions of fairness within the department in different processes. Simply incorporating questions on fairness during the promotional process does not appear to lead to the belief that the process itself is fair and only focuses on perceptions of procedural justice within the community.

Professional Standards Department and Internal Affairs

The Professional Standards Department (PSD) in WMP and the Internal Affairs (IA) unit within APD handle the same duties of investigating allegations of misconduct, both internally and externally, against those employed by the department.

However, PSD does not deal with the most serious complaints. The Independent Office of Police Complaints investigates allegations of corruption, sexual impropriety, and use of force. This is a stark difference between WMP's PSD and the IA unit within APD, which investigates all manners of misconduct. The reforms that were put in place within WMP applied only to the PSD unit. One additional key difference between the UK and US systems is the recent national push in the US to improve officer wellness. Evidence from the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing suggests that improving officer wellness may be connected to a reduction of incidents that require IA review.⁸⁰ APD has heeded this call and incorporated this focus within its IA program. Although WMP has a number of officer wellness initiatives in place, including BWell, they were not included in this evaluation as WMP has not yet sought to improve officer wellness programs as a coherent part of an attempt to improve organizational justice.⁸¹

Identification of the Problem

APD and WMP both agreed on the importance of implementing organizational justice reforms within their respective misconduct units. Both departments had received internal feedback from the rank-and-file officers that there was a lack of fairness within the investigative process. The main area of concern was a lack of communication between the investigative unit and the

⁸⁰ President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Implementation Guide: Moving from Recommendations to Action* (Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, 2015), <https://perma.cc/Z4K6-HAGD>.

⁸¹ BWell is a free and confidential counseling service offered to police officers and staff since 2017. It is part of an initiative within WMP known as the "People Deal," which outlines what WMP employees and officers, as well as the public, can expect from the organization. WMP, "People Deal," <https://peopledeal.west-midlands.police.uk/wp-content/uploads/iframe-sites/peopledeal-mobile/index.html>.

officers being investigated. Officers in both departments also mentioned a lack of transparency within the department before the implementation of the reforms, as well as concerns about the pace of investigations.⁸² As one WMP employee said,

PSD takes too long. It has detrimental effects on the health of the individuals and their performance. They need quicker and more effective investigations on complaints. It affects our morale.⁸³

WMP department members reported being unaware of the details of the complaint under investigation and the process of investigation, as well as being left with a sense of uncertainty and a lack of knowledge of the options available to them. During the interviews and focus groups, participants revealed that they viewed PSD as disrespectful and partisan. Participants also stated that PSD bullied staff, generating fear in the process.

There were similar sentiments within APD regarding the fairness of the process, the perception that no one knew exactly what happened during an investigation, and the feeling that there was inconsistency in discipline, based on internal surveys from 2013.⁸⁴ Both departments' chiefs expressed that reforms should begin from the inside, within their respective units. APD implemented reforms in the IA unit to increase buy-in within the department, whereas the FiP unit recognized that WMP was failing to incorporate the pillars of organizational justice within the practices and tenets of PSD.

Intervention

The interventions by the two departments stemmed from similar desires to improve communication, speed up the process, and acknowledge the feelings of officers who are investigated. FiP recommended that PSD incorporate a method by which complaints could be lodged against PSD. PSD subsequently changed its policies to reflect the suggestions made by the FiP team, including increasing communication between those being investigated and PSD, as well as a clearer explanation of the process through the use of a website. The FiP team further assisted PSD in redrafting its transparency policies to address the concern that PSD has a “culture of mystery.”

Similarly, APD created a more transparent process through the electronic availability of the standard operating procedures for all officers, as well as brochures that are available for employees that clearly lay out each step of the investigative process. Moreover, changes were implemented in 2017 that worked to improve perceptions of fairness and address concerns APD department members had surrounding the process. These reforms are listed below.

- A department-wide transition from a five-day work week with eight-hour shifts to a four-day work week with 10-hour shifts. This was done in an attempt to reduce the number of instances leading to IA investigations, under the idea that increased decompression time leads to a decrease in sick time and complaints.⁸⁵

⁸² Interview with APD employee, November 25, 2019.

⁸³ Interview with WMP employee, September 17, 2019.

⁸⁴ Interview with APD employee, November 25, 2019.

⁸⁵ Community Oriented Policing Services, US Department of Justice, *Improving Law Enforcement Resilience* (Washington, DC, 2016), <https://cops.usdoj.gov/RIC/Publications/cops-p362-pub.pdf>; Karen L. Amendola, David Weisburd, Edwin Hamilton, et al., *The Impact of Shift Length in Policing on*

- Updates in 2017 to an Early Intervention Program that triggers an alert to an officer's supervisor if a number of incidents occur within a certain time period.⁸⁶ These incidents can include complaints, use of force, pursuits, and sick time usage. The aim of the program is to provide an early warning to ensure the officer's wellness is considered and to identify any potential concerns to the department. The 2017 updates increased the focus on reducing officer injuries and usage of sick time.⁸⁷
- Increased focus on officer wellness, including having designated members in the department who are able to provide information on available resources for officers. This includes anonymous access to free mental health programs.⁸⁸
- Sergeant training on how to explain to their officers the IA process for both policy violations and officer-involved shootings.⁸⁹

Resulting Changes

Across both departments, the reforms appear to have been successful in initiating more organizationally just practices. Discussions with members of APD and WMP demonstrated awareness of the process. Members of both departments noted the improved accessibility of information and an increase in communication. However, PSD has not seen improvement in the timeliness of investigations due to a lack of resources. One change within APD that has been well received by the employees is the emphasis on officer wellness. Participants highlighted that this shift has led to officers not being afraid to reach out for help. As one officer stated, "For the first 6-7 years of my career, I thought I was bulletproof," noting that the focus on mental health has shifted the officer away from that mindset.⁹⁰ Additionally, since the implementation of a four-day, 10-hour work week, overall complaints toward the department have decreased, which was one of the desired outcomes for APD's reforms.⁹¹ The consistent decline in complaints after these changes indicates that the outcome is related to the work schedule adjustments, but it is difficult to assess direct causality to this reform. Both departments have areas of improvement that may be beneficial to consider if departments are looking to implement similar reforms.

Areas for Improvement

For both departments, the allocation of adequate resources to the relevant units will allow for (a) an improved timeliness of response on the part of WMP and (b) a designated position for the head of the peer support program in APD, which would increase the availability of mental health resources. The importance of consistency in the discipline handed out by the unit was also discussed as an important area for improvement within APD, as employees perceived that

Performance, Health, Quality of Life, Sleep, Fatigue, and Extra-Duty Employment (Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, 2011), <https://perma.cc/78FS-5KEP>.

⁸⁶ In 2019, the categories and thresholds were alleged racial profiling complaints (2+ in 90 days), citizen complaints (3+ in 90 days), chargeable fleet accidents (2+ in 365 days), formal complaints (2+ in 90 days), missed court appearances (2+ in 180 days), summary discipline (2+ in 90 days), vehicle pursuits (2+ in 365 days), unsubstantiated sick leave (32 hours in 90 days), use of force reports (6+ in 90 days). Arlington Police Department, "51_EIP Annual Report 2019," copy on file with Vera.

⁸⁷ Interview with APD employee, November 25, 2019.

⁸⁸ Interview with APD employee, December 6, 2019.

⁸⁹ Arlington Police Department, "29_Internal Affairs Standard Operating Procedure," copy on file with Vera.

⁹⁰ Interview with APD employee, December 10, 2019.

⁹¹ Arlington Police Department, "35_APD IA Numbers," copy on file with Vera.

discipline was doled out neither fairly nor consistently.⁹² However, as one mid-level manager stated, “[We can] improve in consistency, [we] work hard to be consistent, but people see things differently.”⁹³

Within PSD, respondents identified certain policies that hindered the effectiveness of the procedural justice reforms. WMP participants repeatedly highlighted the importance of changing whistleblower policies to ensure greater fairness during misconduct investigations. Whistleblowers need protection because of the way they are treated, which deters other potential whistleblowers and suggests a possible reason they are so rare. However, toward the end of their field research, UCL found that WMP’s whistleblower policies were scheduled for review and that the FiP team had taken these concerns into account. The relationship between the Police Federation and PSD also needs to be improved due to a sense of distrust between these two entities.⁹⁴ This relationship is key, and it is necessary for increased communication in order to provide a fair outcome for the officer and to assure the community that the investigation is transparent and impartial.

Recommendations for Reform

The differences between the two departments’ misconduct units highlighted differences that may be useful for practitioners who are interested in increasing organizational justice into a department:

- Publicly sharing the investigative process either online through an intranet or within the department allows better opportunity for understanding and gives transparency to the process by which investigations occur.
- For change to be effective, adequate resources need to be allocated to ensure that investigations are completed in a timely manner and communication about the next steps in the process is clear.
- Establishing measurable impacts allows leadership to ascertain whether the changes implemented have been effective. This includes officer complaints, complaints investigated by the misconduct unit, and use of sick time, which helps to ensure officer wellness.
- Officers should have a chance to voice their grievances with the investigative process. This feedback can allow departments, such as IA and PSD, to continue learning and improving fairness and organizational justice.
- Creating a matrix and rubric to ensure more consistent discipline across the organization may help improve perceptions of fairness to the officers. Providing examples of similar instances and imposing consistent discipline will continue to enhance the officers’ trust in the internal investigations process.

Taser Training and Defensive Tactics

The final reform dimension for APD and WMP was externally focused on improving perceptions of procedural justice and legitimacy within the community. The changes that both organizations

⁹² Interview with APD employee, August 8, 2019.

⁹³ Interview with APD employee, November 25, 2019.

⁹⁴ The Police Federation represents police officers under investigation by PSD and participants expressed receiving greater support from the federation than from PSD while they were under investigation. Focus groups with WMP employees, October 21, 2019 and October 22, 2019.

implemented within their respective use of force units, Taser training, and defensive tactics are commonly viewed as ways to improve perceptions of procedural justice in police-civilian encounters. However, neither organization appears to have considered that use of any force, even “less” force, may not be acceptable to the community.

WMP focused on incorporating fairness training within its Taser training, whereas APD sought to improve its defensive tactics by improving the public’s perceptions of encounters and helping officers maintain their perception of control in civilian encounters. The choice of the externally focused reform dimension is due, in part, to the availability and deployment of guns. Tasers and guns are issued to every officer within APD, whereas WMP only recently began using Tasers and has a specialized firearms unit that is deployed only when incidents involve guns or knives.

Identification of Problem

At WMP, Tasers were recognized as more effective than CapStun (pepper spray), and rank-and-file officers were receptive to carrying them. Leadership was hesitant to deploy more Tasers within the force because of concerns about public perception—a Taser looks like a gun—but ultimately increased the number of officers carrying them due to concerns about knife crime and terrorism. Interview participants noted that female police officers and older officers were not adequately considered for training with Tasers and, by extension, for carrying them.⁹⁵

Chief Johnson’s desire to incorporate procedural justice within APD culture led to the recognition that it was necessary to change the department’s defensive tactics. The goal was to improve the public’s perceptions of police-civilian encounters that reduce the risk of harm to the public and the officer. These new tactics were expected to increase civilian compliance while reducing unnecessary force by officers.

Intervention

The current Taser training at WMP lasts three days and includes a 20-minute presentation on FiP. This presentation is the only perceived incorporation of FiP into the Taser training process. As Chief Constable Dave Thompson stated, “The focus has been on the communication around the use of Tasers,” or how their use is packaged to make it more acceptable to the public, and not necessarily on the training’s content.⁹⁶ This is a much more external facing reform and has not been connected to improving organizational justice within the department.

Within APD, the defensive tactics reforms are also more externally facing as they focus on reducing the risk of harm to the civilian and the police officer and increasing perceptions of fairness to the public. APD connected the defensive tactics reforms to procedural justice by stating that these improved defensive tactics will likely generate fewer complaints and IA investigations, as well as decrease liability risk as they may reduce the likelihood of physical harm or injury to civilians. This overhaul began with a focus on the role of the prefrontal cortex in maintaining control in acute stress situations, using techniques built from Brazilian Jiu Jitsu training.⁹⁷ These techniques were designed to help officers maintain a perception of control,

⁹⁵ Interview with WMP employee, September 11, 2019.

⁹⁶ Interview with WMP employee, September 26, 2019.

⁹⁷ Arlington Police Department, “MOSC Summary,” copy on file with Vera.

which may lead to the ability to maintain control and assess acute stress situations, evaluate threats, and look for de-escalation opportunities.⁹⁸ These techniques include

- recognizing the bodily positions officers can assume that makes them less physically vulnerable to attack;
- identifying the distance required for a strike or attack to be effective;
- conserving energy to maintain the ability to perform any tactic and maintain control in the situation; and
- using leverage-based techniques instead of relying on strength and athleticism.

Resulting Changes

At WMP, the FiP delivery was best received by trainees when it was contextualized and connected to the use of force by linking it to community tensions and public perceptions. However, this finding surfaced after the Taser trainers emphasized this connection more, which showed organizational learning. Nevertheless, there was still a disconnect between the training and FiP. As one participant stated, “FiP was kind of forced on us. . . . Taser is not a good fit for FiP. FiP is too rushed; it needs regular reminders. It needs to be filtered into the organization, imprinted on everything.”⁹⁹ This sentiment reflects a desire for a more organic approach in FiP implementation instead of simply adding it into various reform dimensions without more comprehensive integration.

The defensive tactic reforms implemented by APD reflect an effort to integrate the new concepts more comprehensively into the training content. The officers who participated in this study routinely cited these reforms and the associated training received as part of procedural justice reforms, even though the reform did not explicitly integrate any of the pillars of procedural justice. Officers referenced how the training they receive ends in the same outcome, an arrest, “but it looks and feels better.”¹⁰⁰ Those who seemed hesitant about the defensive tactic changes stated that, although the techniques may look soft, they are just as effective as more aggressive techniques.¹⁰¹ Officers said with pride that they now have training that reduces the risk of harm to themselves and the public, and that outcomes are much more positive, with increased compliance and the ability to have civil conversations with the people they arrest. However, it was mentioned that Hot Spot Enforcement and Assistance Teams (HEAT) are still used, which makes it difficult for procedurally just encounters to occur due to the nature of this specialty team’s work.¹⁰²

Areas for Improvement

APD and WMP both appear to have conceptual confusion of organizational and procedural justice, as these terms were conflated, particularly when discussing the Taser or defensive tactics

⁹⁸ Arlington Police Department, “49_Procedural Justice_Tactics Model 2019,” copy on file with Vera.

⁹⁹ Interview with WMP employee, September 11, 2019.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with APD employee, January 7, 2020.

¹⁰¹ Interview with APD employee, December 4, 2019; and WMP Exchange_Visit_11.2019 Notes,” copy on file with Vera.

¹⁰² HEAT does not respond to traditional calls for service, but instead patrols specific high-crime areas and works to reduce crime via proactive enforcement. See APD, “Inside APD Spring 2020: South HEAT,” YouTube, April 21, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nYe9t2pa4CA&feature=youtu.be>. For an overview of the evidence on and critiques of the disparate impact of hot spot policing and broken windows policing see Weisburd and Braga, *Police Innovation*, 2019; and Neusteter et al., *Gatekeepers*, 2019.

reform dimension. This led to confusion on the stated goals of reforming these use-of-force training areas. WMP officers' discussion around Taser training was often connected to observations on the time officers take to respond to emergency calls and not on the attempted integration of organizational principles within Taser training. One reason for this different focus is that WMP's performance management framework focuses on time and not on interactions or accountability. This leads to officers not considering the relevance of the interaction. One potential area for improvement is training; WMP officers should be trained in the importance of procedural justice and the use of Tasers instead of heavily emphasizing time in performance management. The exclusive focus on time as a measure of performance leads to questions surrounding how incorporating organizational justice into Taser training results in improvements in officers' perceptions of fairness of the organization. Organizational justice training should be contextualized within the use of Tasers and the use of force. Other areas of training, including public order training, personal safety, and firearms training, need FiP inputs that are contextualized and applicable to these different areas as well. The process for selecting officers to carry a Taser should be transparent and ensure that women and older officers are eligible for consideration.

Similar to WMP, it is important for APD to continue to ensure buy-in from the workforce. Framing training in defensive techniques in a manner that highlights the safety of the officer and the civilian ensures that officer safety is positioned as a priority, which may increase buy-in from those who may view these tactics as ineffective. An additional area that may have not been previously considered is the potential negative impact that the HEAT teams have on procedural justice efforts. APD officers assigned to a given location may find it difficult to rebuild trust among community members after more aggressive HEAT teams have deployed to that location. Leadership should consider the role that these specialized teams play in diminishing trust in the community.

Recommendations for Reform

- Departmental change that seeks to implement organizational justice principles into Taser, defensive tactics, firearms, or personal safety training must be applied to every use-of-force training area.
- Fairness initiatives departments implement should improve internal communication around aspects such as varying skill levels among officers, eligibility criteria for each type of training, assessment processes including physical tests or verbal examinations, and feedback and evaluation given to candidates for each training program based on their performance. These initiatives should also identify and address where there may be unfair policies, such as any that might exclude women and older officers from consideration for carrying Tasers at WMP. These efforts can explicitly promote organizational justice principles in various forms of physical training provided to police officers, thereby ensuring that changes do not simply focus on external procedural justice.
- Departments should consider how specialized units may negatively impact perceptions of procedural justice in the community. Although the officers in the specialized teams may work to incorporate the principles of procedural justice in their interactions, this may not outweigh the harm caused by more aggressive policing tactics.

Analysis and Discussion

There is no one-size-fits all approach to organizational change, nor should the changes recommended above be viewed as sufficient on their own to result in systemic change to policing in the US and the UK. Although APD and WMP implemented reforms to improve organizational justice across similar dimensions, the two organizations operate in different contexts and are in different stages of the implementation process of organizational reforms. This section covers the organizational strategies and approaches of APD and WMP, and factors such as police culture, resources, and organizational structure that have influenced the process of implementation of the reforms.

Organizational Strategy: Programmatic vs. Organic Change

Scholarship from organizational and management research has identified two general categories of processes of change: programmatic change and organic change.¹⁰³

Programmatic change can be characterized as a systematic approach to identifying areas for improvement and tackling them, with resources set aside to support change efforts. WMP's efforts, with its three-year FiP project and a defined set of aims and objectives informed by data on key areas of dissatisfaction among officers, followed a programmatic approach to organizational change. WMP members noted that the approach for their department was based on a project, FiP, in which the goal was to improve officer and staff perceptions of fairness internally and public perceptions of police legitimacy externally.

Organic change takes a less systematic approach and is characterized by consistent action over time, allowing for changes to take hold in different areas and infiltrate the day-to-day routines within the organization. APD's experience followed this more organic approach to change. From interviews with APD, the research team learned that leadership felt this organic approach facilitated the implementation of reforms throughout the entire organization, based on a broad set of goals set out by the leadership. Upper management had to "set the tone" for the department to recognize the importance of the reforms.¹⁰⁴

Although APD and WMP had similar goals and desired outcomes for organizational change, their approaches to implementation differed. Several factors may have informed the different strategies for APD and WMP. For APD, reforms have taken place over a much longer period of time than for WMP, and previous APD leadership had consistently placed importance on fairness and procedural justice, which has allowed Chief Johnson to integrate additional changes in many different areas of the organization.¹⁰⁵ APD is also a smaller organization than WMP, with less physical distance between leadership, management, and rank-and-file personnel. Leadership is also more connected throughout the department. For WMP, a much larger police department that covers a wider and more diverse jurisdiction, the disconnect between leadership and rank-and-file personnel is larger, which can have an adverse effect on the quality of interactions, communication, and experiences among employees and impact their relationship and affiliation with the organization. The findings of this evaluation suggest that WMP has incorporated FiP principles into the organization's overall values, but—noting that WMP's reform efforts are much younger than APD's—its deliberate, step-by-step approach and

¹⁰³ Henry Mintzberg and James A. Waters, "Of Strategies, Deliberate and Emergent," *Strategic Management Journal* 6, no. 3 (1985), 257-272.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with APD employee, December 20, 2019.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with APD employee, December 16, 2019.

lack of flexibility may have been one reason that individual units have not yet implemented organizational justice reforms.

The delivery of the reforms in each agency necessitated different strategies based on the size of the organization, the organizational culture, which will be discussed in further detail below, and the different leadership styles of management personnel.

Police Culture

Police culture has been widely viewed as presenting a potential barrier to procedural justice and impeding efforts to enhance police legitimacy and build public trust in police organizations. A 2013 study looked at the relationship between police culture and organizational change programs. The authors found that, to make policing more service-oriented and reforms more community-oriented, organizations should “address the least procedurally fair aspects of organizational culture, such as transactional leadership [where compliance is promoted through rewards or punishments], poor interpersonal treatment, and reluctance to explain decisions.”¹⁰⁶ The research team’s findings underlined the importance of continuity in leadership, leadership styles, communication, and interpersonal relations. This section considers some specific aspects of the cultures of both APD and WMP that have been affecting the delivery and success of the changes.

First, requiring a four-year degree to join the APD sets the department apart not only from WMP but also from the vast majority of American police organizations, especially because this requirement has been in place at APD since 1987.¹⁰⁷ Research on the effects of higher education on police behavior shows that officers with advanced degrees are less likely to use force as a first option and are less likely to be the subject of a disciplinary investigation.¹⁰⁸ This suggests that departments like APD that require higher education for their recruits may reap benefits in terms of their organizational culture and practices. Educational requirements in England and Wales, under the Policing Education Qualifications Framework, have only recently been introduced for WMP (in 2019), and it is too early to assess whether this is positively benefiting WMP’s organizational culture.

While considering police culture, it is important to note that both structural factors (social, political, historical, legal, and economic variables) and organizational principles, beliefs, and practices collectively contribute to the culture of policing in given contexts.¹⁰⁹

WMP, for example, faces a number of challenges across a wide range of areas, including large case volumes; counterterrorism and other major investigations; organized crime, such as drug trafficking; the political upheaval of Brexit and its implications for policing; regular protests; homelessness; knife crime; austerity and budget cuts; modern-day slavery; domestic violence; and increasing threats from right-wing extremists. Despite these challenges, the starting salary for a police constable is £22,065 (\$30,067) in Birmingham, where the median salary is

¹⁰⁶ Myhill and Bradford, “Overcoming Cop Culture?” 2013, 351.

¹⁰⁷ Less than 1 percent of all departments in the US require a four-year college degree. Reaves, *Local Police Departments*, 2013, 2015, 7.

¹⁰⁸ Rick Michelson, “Why Cops Should Pursue Higher Education,” *Police1*, March 8, 2016, <https://perma.cc/C7PL-H6NL>.

¹⁰⁹ Janet Chan, “Changing Police Culture,” *The British Journal of Criminology* 36, no. 1 (1996), 109-134.

estimated at £22,519 (\$30,686).¹¹⁰ This is less than half the average starting salary of an officer at APD, which is estimated at \$64,842, with Arlington, Texas, reporting a median salary of \$51,782.¹¹¹ Given this disparity in salaries and resources between WMP and APD, in addition to the differences in the size and structure of the organizations, it is plausible to suggest that the impediments WMP faced in addition to the current police culture led to increased pushback on programmatic, step-by-step change.

The continuity of police leadership at APD has assisted in the acceptance and implementation of reforms that focus on the four pillars of procedural justice within the organization. APD has had only three police chiefs in more than three decades.¹¹² All three chiefs have been recognized in the field for promoting fair and innovative policing practices. Moreover, a discussion with one former chief, Dr. Bowman, who began the implementation of many procedural justice reforms, demonstrated his respect for both his predecessor and his successor. Specifically, he highlighted how Chief Johnson has taken procedural justice to the “next level.”¹¹³ Dr. Bowman’s continual support for the procedural justice and departmental practices Chief Johnson implemented provides further evidence that the implementation of reforms was built and developed on the culture that has been forming in the department over the last three decades. This is contrary to many departments across the US, where cities have high rates of turnover that results in overhauling previous efforts and instituting new reforms.¹¹⁴ However, both the longevity of the chiefs and their desire for continuity to build upon the reforms suggest a unique case of the continued acceptance of more progressive practices at APD. Interviews at each level of the department suggest APD is unique because it polices differently due to procedural justice efforts as well as its culture, which focuses on “human dignity and respect.”¹¹⁵ Though organizational justice has been established within APD, there is not enough data to accurately evaluate whether the increase in organizational justice has led to an increase in perceptions of procedural justice from the community.

Governance and Organizational Structure

Although there are 43 geographically based police organizations in England and Wales, policing is largely funded by the central government, with some local government funding. This means that police organizations are susceptible to national austerity cuts. From 2010 to 2018, significant cuts were introduced across England and Wales, shrinking the number of police

¹¹⁰ West Midlands Police Department, “Police Officer Recruitment,” <https://jobs.west-midlands.police.uk/police-officer-recruitment/>; Birmingham, UK Government, “Average Earnings 2019,” https://www.birmingham.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/2867/average_earnings_2019.pdf.

¹¹¹ Arlington, Texas Government, “Benefits” https://www.arlingtontx.gov/city_hall/departments/police/recruiting/benefits; United States Census Bureau, “QuickFacts: Arlington City, Texas.”

¹¹² The average tenure for a police chief in the US is between 3.5 and 4.5 years. Fred W. Rainguet and Mary Dodge, “The Problems of Police Chiefs: An Examination of the Issues in Tenure and Turnover,” *Police Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (2001), 268-288; Arlington, Texas Public Library, “Digital Photo Collection.”

¹¹³ Interview with Dr. Bowman, chief of police, APD, December 16, 2019.

¹¹⁴ James T. Murdaugh, “Succession and the Police Chief: An Examination of the Nature of Turnover Among Florida Police Chiefs,” Florida State University Libraries, <http://diginole.lib.fsu.edu/islandora/object/fsu:180415/datastream/PDF/view>; and Rainguet and Dodge, “The Problems Of Police Chiefs.”

¹¹⁵ Interviews with APD employees, August 7, 2019, August 8, 2019, December 19, 2019.

officers by 21,700, a 15 percent decline.¹¹⁶ WMP has experienced a reduction of officers because of the austerity measures, and these measures have limited the success of and support for implementation of organizational justice. In contrast to WMP, APD's budget increased, and they have experienced more support for implementation of reforms (see Appendix H). WMP currently has 6,700 commissioned staff and is much more geographically spread out than APD. Meanwhile, compared to WMP, APD has a smaller number of commissioned staff, 673, allowing for reforms to be spread more quickly throughout the department.

During its inaugural year the FiP project was initially under People and Organization Development, the primary human resource function in WMP. During the second year, between 2018 and 2019, FiP was brought into the Diversity and Inclusion (D&I) department to expand its implementation. Bringing FiP under the D&I umbrella emphasized the complementary nature of the two units.

The larger concept connecting D&I strategy with FiP aims and objectives is that building a more inclusive, fair, and just environment within the department will simultaneously improve interactions between current police officers and the communities they encounter and attract a more diverse pool of applicants into WMP. At the time of this writing, WMP was preparing to recruit more than 1,200 officers as part of recruitment plans advanced by the UK government.¹¹⁷ The FiP team thus decided to strategize and package FiP and organizational justice in a way that would appeal to the department as it is seeking to attract new recruits.

APD did not create a singular reform implementation team in 2013 due to the consistent leadership and focus on the importance of organizational fairness from previous chiefs. When the expansion of reforms was initially discussed in 2013, the goal was "Let's not do it for the appearance; let's do it because it is right."¹¹⁸ APD wanted to ensure that changes were meaningful and not viewed as a transitory program that would end with new leadership. APD emphasizes a culture in which supervisors and officers have the flexibility to create their own initiatives and programs that are in line with the departmental values, including the pillars of procedural justice. In APD, the focus was on overall change as opposed to a single specific program due to the knowledge and culture of procedurally just practices already within the department; different people across the agency took it upon themselves to focus on their own areas to improve. Chief Johnson first stated his overall goals for the organization and disseminated them to his assistant chiefs and deputy chiefs. This then trickled down to the lieutenants and sergeants, who were given the opportunity to implement changes within their units. At the core of the rollout was the continuation of the reforms previously implemented and steeped in the departmental values and vision.¹¹⁹ Thus, APD staff had the latitude to develop or revamp initiatives that intentionally incorporated those principles.

¹¹⁶ Rachel Schraer, "Have Police Numbers Dropped?" BBC News, July 26, 2019, <https://perma.cc/Q2RW-QPNR>.

¹¹⁷ West Midlands Police Department, "1,200 More Officers Will See Quicker 999 Response and Offensive on Gangs," <https://west-midlands.police.uk/news/1200-more-officers-will-see-quicker-999-response-and-offensive-gangs>.

¹¹⁸ Interview with APD employee, December 16, 2019.

¹¹⁹ The vision and values statement that was created in 2015 was "Service Before Self, Honor Above All" and the core power words were "integrity," "compassion," and "fairness."

Leadership

Another key distinction between the two departments is their philosophical approaches. APD is a more generalist department where each person contributes to the entire department's success in achieving its aims, including reducing crime. In a more specialist approach, such as WMP's, employees focus solely on their individual units and less on the whole department's overall success.¹²⁰ The generalist approach seems to have provided for a more successful implementation for APD, as it allowed employees to recognize that their individual contributions can lead to success, thus facilitating more opportunities for buy-in.

Meanwhile, WMP has received some backlash against FiP as officers felt the training they received implied they were *unfair*. The FiP team responded to this by reframing the reforms as important for improving community engagement, which may lead to the increased buy-in that APD experienced.

Both departments have recognized that the implementation of reforms must be accepted and supported by leadership. Chief Johnson focused on the importance of implementing a top-down approach in which buy-in was first established with upper level management and then trickled down to rank-and-file personnel.¹²¹ As mentioned in some interviews with the WMP workforce, employees see the ideas of fairness as needing to “come from the top,” indicating that this implementation is recognized as important and the most effective method by which to create change within the department.¹²² The exchange trips between APD and WMP leaders helped to facilitate important conversations about the reforms that each organization implemented. The trips provided some direct contact with fellow law enforcement officers who understood the struggles of implementation and helped WMP begin to adjust reform implementation.

Recommendations

This evaluation focused on answering two key questions: whether APD's and WMP's organizational justice reforms were implemented successfully and whether the reforms were understood and accepted by members of the two departments. The findings of this evaluation, and the following recommendations, may be beneficial for other departments looking to implement similar changes. However, it is important to note that the following recommendations do not extend to whether the reforms will result in officers behaving in a procedurally just fashion during their interactions with the public and/or the impact this may have on community relations.

The two departments involved in this evaluation used very different approaches and timelines that likely contributed to the level of success found in this evaluation. The following recommendations bear in mind the two different approaches and timelines with the aim of guiding both APD and WMP, as well as other departments undertaking similar changes.

1. Clearly articulate the desired outcomes and impacts of reforms, and align inputs and activities to the desired outcomes and impacts.

¹²⁰ Arlington Police Department, “42_WMP Exchange Trip Feedback Questionnaire”, copy on file with Vera.

¹²¹ Interview with APD employee, December 20, 2019.

¹²² Focus group with WMP employees, October 22, 2019.

The reform efforts of both organizations highlighted in this report were multi-year efforts, with many inputs and activities and a range of interim and longer term desired outcomes and impacts.

For other police organizations implementing organizational justice reforms, one way to ensure that the inputs and activities of reform efforts are aligned with desired outcomes and impacts is through the use of a Theory of Change. This can be a useful planning tool for a more structured, programmatic approach, such as that undertaken by WMP, as well as for an organic, emergent change process like that of APD. Theory of Change is particularly useful to maintain a focus on the desired outcomes and impacts in the face of environmental changes and emergent processes.

The organization's leadership in charge of reforms should have a clear understanding of the connection between organizational justice and procedural justice to successfully implement different activities to achieve the desired outcomes. This understanding also lays the foundation for an agency to accurately measure the impact of those activities. Some activities, such as efforts to improve officer wellness, may be intended to increase officer perceptions of internal organizational justice as an interim outcome in order to impact external procedural justice. Other activities may be aimed directly at improving procedural justice, regardless of officer perceptions of organizational justice, such as reforming practices related to defensive tactics. It is important for those designing and implementing reforms to identify the desired outcomes and impacts of specific activities, and understand the mechanism of impact, so they can be appropriately measured and monitored during implementation. In the two agencies studied within this evaluation, there was conceptual confusion of organizational and procedural justice. By having clear articulations of the changes implemented and the desired outcomes, other organizations interested in implementing similar reforms can ensure that organizational and procedural justice are separate and distinct.

An example of a Theory of Change that may be a useful guide for other police organizations implementing organizational justice reforms can be found in Figure 1.

This Theory of Change offers a general outline, with inputs and activities that may vary by department depending on organizational structure, approach, and resources. For example, APD and WMP had the same desired outcomes and impacts but employed different inputs and activities based on their different approaches of programmatic and organic change. Regardless of the approach, making plain several key assumptions through the use of a Theory of Change increases the likelihood of successful planning and implementation of organizational reforms. These assumptions can be thought of as the ideal circumstances that will support the process of implementation from inputs to outputs/activities to outcomes to impacts. For departments interested in implementing organizational justice reforms, the key assumptions outlined in the Theory of Change are buy-in from senior leadership; a continued commitment to the change program over the medium term; adequate resources for a dedicated implementation team, in terms of both personnel and infrastructure; and support from subject matter experts or organizations. There should also be metrics attached to outcomes and impacts for appropriate monitoring and evaluation. For more information on Theory of Change models, see Appendix I.

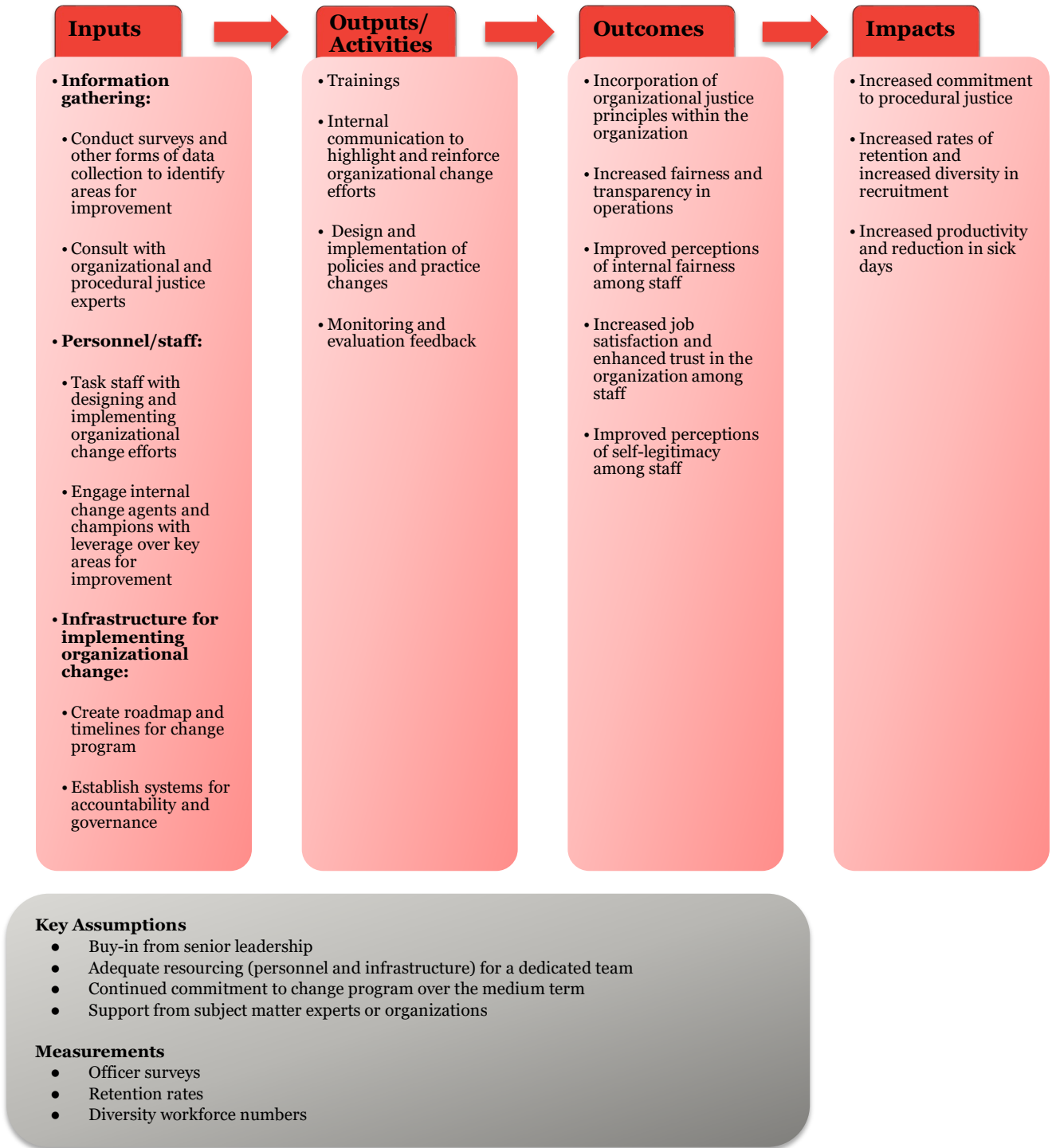


Figure 1. Theory of Change model for departments interested in implementing organizational justice reforms.

2. Ensure that reforms are institutionalized and that officers perceive reforms to be a long-term leadership commitment.

In this project, both APD and WMP emphasized the value of incorporating the four pillars of procedural justice into their organizational values and visions. This is one way that leadership can communicate to line staff that reforms are going to be a long-term commitment, not a one-off program that might disappear the following year. Policing reformers have also noted that although leadership commitment is vital to both initiating and implementing organizational change, change programs should be owned by the organization—not individual leaders—to ensure continuity in the event of leadership turnover.¹²³ Incorporating procedural justice concepts into an organization’s values and vision, or other forms of organizational strategic planning, should be recognized as a slow, ongoing process that will take time. It is necessary for WMP and APD to continue ensuring that their reforms are institutionalized as a long-term commitment, and that this commitment is communicated to and internalized by line staff. Additional reforms should meaningfully involve community stakeholders to demonstrate a commitment to the community to build and improve trust and legitimacy.

3. Organizational reforms and trainings should be framed strategically to increase the likelihood of acceptance from rank-and-file officers.

Language around increasing fairness should be carefully chosen, as suggestions that officers are not fair before reforms are even introduced could lead to resistance and backlash. In trainings, using examples that are applicable to police officers allows them to recognize the benefits to themselves, such as officer wellness, that more just practices provide. For example, if internal investigation reforms are to be implemented, the emphasis should be on increased officer wellness and more transparent processes to counter backlash against these reforms.¹²⁴ Training in different reform areas should be localized and contextualized with the use of respected facilitators to encourage open discussion.

4. Organizational justice reforms should be championed by leaders from within the department who are already well-respected.

By selecting people who are experienced and well-known within the department, the department can increase buy-in. Although many subject matter experts exist outside of the policing sphere, it is best to use people within the department to implement the reforms. Well-respected police officers will be perceived to have more legitimacy when introducing organizational justice because of their experience within law enforcement.

Providing departmental support for these facilitators will increase the likelihood of success and longevity of more organizationally just practices. Moreover, other leaders within the department should be encouraged to identify additional areas where reforms may be useful.

5. Ensure there is a mechanism in place for leadership to be held accountable for the implementation of reforms. This can include regular feedback and evaluation forms from police officers and staff to evaluate how the organization is faring in terms of fairness.

¹²³ Wesley G. Skogan, “Why Reforms Fail,” *Policing & Society* 18, no. 1 (2008), 23-34.

¹²⁴ Interview with APD employee, December 4, 2019; and Arlington Police Department, “WMP Exchange_Vist_11.2019 Notes,” copy on file with Vera.

Departments should work with individual units to collect and analyze feedback and then communicate to officers and staff how their feedback is being considered. This should be done with anonymity to alleviate concerns about potential retaliation. Accountability and feedback mechanisms are extremely valuable for giving voice, dignity, and respect to the internal audience of the change programs.

6. Training on organizational or procedural justice concepts should not be limited to training of rank-and-file personnel and should be distinct from other trainings that may contain similar concepts.

The adoption of organizational and procedural justice principles should be incorporated throughout the department and brought into daily briefings or meetings to maintain the importance of the principles to the department. However, a distinction should be made to ensure that it is not duplicative of other trainings, but rather complements or builds upon them to ensure that the principles are delivered effectively. To achieve this, departments should have a comprehensive review of their training curricula to ensure there is not duplication or confusion.

Conclusion

The comparative evaluation between APD and WMP provided a unique opportunity to discuss an overview of organizational justice reforms and make recommendations to a broader audience of police practitioners in departments that are similar in structure, size, or area to APD and WMP. Although the specific reforms implemented were unique to each department, the relative successes within each department provide a roadmap for other departments to implement organizational justice reforms.

Organizational justice within police organizations has the potential to influence the relationship and perceptions of procedural justice with the community.¹²⁵ Officers who gain a more positive perception of fairness within the department are more likely to treat the public in a fair manner as well.¹²⁶ This was the central goal of both departments: improving organizational justice to improve procedural justice within the community.¹²⁷ However, there is limited data from both departments on whether improvement of procedural justice has been a successful result of the reforms.

Implementing procedural and organizational justice is one way that police can reform their practices and policies to improve relationships with the community. Caution should be emphasized for departments interested in implementing these reforms that this alone is not sufficient to improve community trust in the police. This evaluation simply assessed whether these reforms were successfully implemented and accepted into APD and WMP. More research is needed on the changes necessary to improve communities' trust in police, and whether the reforms studied in this report had that effect.

¹²⁵ Herrington and Roberts, "Organisational And Procedural Justice," 2013.

¹²⁶ Myhill and Bradford, "Overcoming Cop Culture?" 2013.

¹²⁷ Although this goal was shared by both departments, the recommendations and community-oriented outcomes cannot be predicted based on the scope of this comparative evaluation.

Furthermore, the success of these reforms takes decades to be fully recognized; APD has achieved its current level of success due to the time and resources available. APD is now looking toward identifying whether its organizational reforms have affected the community's perceptions of fairness. WMP has struggled due to the relative novelty of the reforms but has had success in the initial stages of implementation over a relatively short time span. With organizational and procedural justice reforms, it is important to note a range of different factors that may influence the success of the reforms, including budgetary constraints, skepticism, departmental policy and practice, and turnover within departments. Regardless, continuing research within this area remains important to establish the best method for implementing organizational and, by extension, procedural justice reforms and finding measurable outcomes and impacts to evaluate these successes. The limits of organizational justice, and by extension, procedural justice have begun to show that these theories work only to the limits of an authority's power—in this case, the police.¹²⁸ Departments must consider that, despite the implementation of organizational or procedural justice reforms, belief that police authority is limited may still contribute to low levels of trust, even if the community is treated fairly.

Future research should continue to explore whether organizational justice reforms have measurable impacts on perceptions of procedural justice within the community. Such reforms and research should also meaningfully involve community stakeholders in determining what would help to improve police-community relationships.

¹²⁸ Rick Trinkner, Jonathan Jackson, and Tom R. Tyler, "Bounded Authority: Expanding 'Appropriate' Police Behavior Beyond Procedural Justice," *Law and Human Behavior* 42, no. 3 (2018), 280-293.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Demographics of APD and Arlington, TX¹²⁹

Race/Ethnicity	Percentage of Population¹³⁰	Percentage of APD
White alone	61.5%	60.9%
Black or African American alone	22.5%	16.2%
American Indian and Alaska Native alone	0.4%	0.7%
Asian alone	6.9%	4.0%
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander alone	0.1%	0.3%
Two or more races	3.1%	2.4%
Latinx	29.2%	15.4%
White, not Latinx	39.1%	--
Sex		
Male	49.2%	80.1%
Female	50.8%	19.8%

¹²⁹ Data obtained from the US Census Bureau American Community Survey, US Census Bureau, "QuickFacts: Arlington City, Texas," <https://perma.cc/YN5Z-N9KK>. Black or African American alone includes people reporting only one race, but Latinx people may also consider themselves another race, so those reporting Latinx identities are also included in applicable race categories.

¹³⁰ Percentages exceed 100 due to ability to choose multiple options.

Appendix B: Site Locations

Arlington, Texas, USA



West Midlands, UK



Appendix C: Demographics of WMP and West Midlands, UK¹³¹

Ethnicity	Percentage of Population	Percentage of WMP
White	70.1%	88.4%
Black or Black British	7.4%	1.4%
Chinese or other ethnic group	2.3%	0.2%
Mixed	3.5%	2.5%
Asian or British Asian	18.0%	6.9%
Sex		
Male	49.5%	68.9%
Female	50.5%	31.1%

¹³¹ WMP and West Midlands demographic information. The demographic breakdown differs from APD's because of each country's distinct classifications of demographic groups. UK Police, "Workforce Diversity in West Midlands Police," <https://www.police.uk/your-area/west-midlands-police/performance/workforce-diversity/>.

Appendix D: Interviews and Focus Groups Conducted with APD and WMP

APD Focus Groups and Interviews

Activity	Date	Rank/Group/Activity Type
Interview 01	6 August 2019	Detective (Rank & File)
Focus Group 01	7 August 2019	Rank & File (Officer, Corporal, Detective)
Interview 02	7 August 2019	Deputy Chief
Focus Group 02	8 August 2019	Mid-level management (Sergeants and Lieutenants)
Interview 03	8 August 2019	Deputy Chief
Interview 04	8 August 2019	Lieutenant
Interview 05	8 August 2019	Lieutenant
Interview 06	25 November 2019	Lieutenant (Internal Affairs)
Interview 07	4 December 2019	Corporal (Training Coordinator) (Rank & File)
Interview 08	6 December 2019	Lieutenant (Critical Incident Stress Management)
Interview 09	10 December 2019	Corporal (Rank & File)
Interview 10	16 December 2019	Dr. Theron Bowman
Interview 11	16 December 2019	Chief Will Johnson
Interview 12	19 December 2019	Deputy Chief
Interview 13	20 December 2019	Lieutenant (PJ Trainer)
Interview 14	20 December 2019	Sergeant
Interview 15	7 January 2020	Corporal (Rank & File)
Interview 16	16 January 2020	Officer (Rank & File)

WMP Focus Groups and Interviews

Activity	Date	Rank/Group/Activity Type
Interview 01	26 July 2019	Middle management
Interview 02	5 August 2019	Middle management
Interview 03	29 August 2019	Senior management
Interview 04	29 August 2019	Middle management
Interview 05	9 September 2019	Employee

Interview 06	9 September 2019	Employee
Interview 07	11 September 2019	Middle management
Interview 08	12 September 2019	Middle management
Interview 09	17 September 2019	Middle management
Interview 10	17 September 2019	Lower participant
Interview 11	17 September 2019	Lower participant
Interview 12	17 September 2019	Lower participant
Interview 13	19 September 2019	Employee
Interview 14	19 September 2019	Employee
Interview 15	24 September 2019	Employee
Interview 16	4 October 2019	Senior management
Interview 17	4 October 2019	Middle management
Interview 18	15 October 2019	Middle management
Interview 19	19 October 2019	Employee
Interview 20	21 October 2019	Lower participant
Focus Group 01	21 October 2019	Lower participants (3) and middle management (3)
Focus Group 02	22 October 2019	Lower participants (3)
Interview 21	22 October 2019	Middle management
Interview 22	29 October 2019	Senior management
Interview 23	19 November 2019	Senior management
Interview 24	19 November 2019	Employee

Appendix E: Research Observations for APD and WMP

Research Observations for APD	
August 2019	Procedural justice academy class
August 2019	Ride-outs with officers
August 2019	Manager meeting
November 2019	Ride-outs with HEAT team
November 2019	Defensive Tactics
November 2019	Internal Affairs discussion
November 2019	Recruiting/media discussion

Research Observations for WMP	
August 2019	Governance meeting
August 2019	Fairness in Policing input to chief inspectors
September 2019	Training promotion assessors
September 2019	Meeting on inclusive culture
September 2019	Fairness in Policing/organizational justice inputs for new recruits
September 2019	Taser training
September 2019	Promotions assessment day
September 2019	Talent management meeting

Appendix F: Fairness in Policing Project Principles¹³²

Fairness in Policing Project Principles	
Voice	When people feel they can express a problem in a way that reassures them that their voice is being heard, they will feel like they are positively contributing to the solution. Being listened to conveys a sense of value.
Neutrality	It is crucial that we are balanced and unbiased. People will be positively influenced if they see honesty, impartiality, and objectivity in all our interactions with the public. When people feel engaged in an honest, transparent process with clear explanations of law, processes, and options, their confidence will increase.
Dignity and respect	The public requires their dignity and status in society to be acknowledged and respected when dealing with the police. The emphasis here is on the quality of the communication.
Trustworthiness	People will judge and look for situational cues that prove that the police are benevolent and caring and are genuinely concerned about their situation and needs. When people feel they are being treated fairly, without bias, they will have confidence that they will be treated with benevolence by the police.

¹³² All principle verbiage shown in this table is taken from WMP, “Fairness in Policing Year 01 Review,” copy on file with Vera.

Appendix G: Objectives of Fairness in Policing Project

1. Creating a baseline understanding of public perceptions of police legitimacy in West Midlands
2. Integrating fairness-based values into the work force performance management framework
3. Designing new promotion assessments and evaluation processes
4. Implementing FiP principles into all onboarding training for new recruits
5. Creating a baseline understanding of staff perceptions of misconduct and complaints processes
6. Establishing a community advisory group for the misconduct and complaints processes
7. Introducing FiP in select operational areas
8. Embedding FiP principles across leadership training and talent management
9. Embedding FiP principles into PSD
10. Embedding FiP principles across a range of digital communications initiatives within WMP

Appendix H: 2005-2019 APD Budget¹³³

Year	Adopted Numbers	Actual Numbers	Additional Notes	Change (Adopted)
2005	\$66,010,370 745 positions	\$64,282,716	1x 5% increase, 1.36% raise	
2006	\$59,873,886 745 positions	\$61,966,163	911 transferred to general funds, not police and fire	-\$6,136,484
2007	\$67,869,748 763 positions	\$68,886,409 768 positions	1x 5.75% increase	+\$7,995,862
2008	\$70,095,049 780 positions	\$72,078,819 793 positions	4% increase, 1% merit bonus	+\$2,225,301
2009	\$79,387,891 816 positions	\$79,659,901 811 positions	Dispatch to internal service **AT&T opens	+\$9,292,842
2010	\$80,122,827 781 positions	\$79,423,798 781 positions	Decrease in numbers b/c transfer frozen/vacant positions to grant	+\$734,936
2011	\$81,375,496 788 positions	\$80,745,868 789 positions	\$1,794,013 in grants, 0.5% change in retirement, 11.9% increase in insurance	+\$1,252,669
2012	\$82,727,125 789 positions	\$82,941,207 789 positions	Eliminate challenge grant, 1x 4% increase	+\$1,351,629
2013	\$85,987,700 829 positions	\$85,793,827 829 positions	3% increase, 31 officers, 8 civilians move to general fund due to expired grants. *Chief Johnson promoted	+\$3,260,575
2014	\$89,766,726 837 positions	\$88,639,400 836 positions	City increase contribution to healthcare, 1x 2% increase, 1% increase for civilians, 2% for sworn	+\$3,779,026
2015	\$90,505,007 838 positions	\$90,504,705 838 positions	2%-9.4% increase varied	+\$738,281

¹³³ Arlington, Texas Government, "Public Safety Budget," arlingtontx.gov/city_hall/budget_finance/budget__business_plan/public_safety_budget.

2016	\$93,107,109 835 positions	\$93,213,398 835 positions	Procedural justice in annual report	+\$2,602,102
2017	\$102,754,350 839 positions	\$101,314,546 839 positions	COPS grant	+\$9,647,241
2018	\$106,701,472 847 positions		Increase health contributions by city, 4.3-9.5% increase	+\$3,947,122
2019	\$112,956,223 859 positions		4% health increase, 6 new positions, COPS grant expires	+\$6,254,751

Appendix I: Theory of Change

Theory of Change (ToC) models are born out of theory-driven evaluations that aim to understand how and why change programs will work based on a set of assumptions, or steps, that are built into the change program.¹³⁴ ToC has been defined as “an approach which describes how a programme brings about specific long-term outcomes through a logical sequence of intermediate outcomes.”¹³⁵

For the purposes of methodology and analysis, it is important to identify the four main components of a ToC, which this evaluation routinely draws upon to suggest what steps are necessary for meeting the goals of a change program, such as FiP and the reforms at APD. The necessary components for successful implementation of a ToC include:

- i. *Inputs*: Inputs are the resources, roadmaps, and planning activities required to put a change program into operation. These may include surveys, initial assessments, experienced staff with expertise in designing and delivering a program, data sharing, leadership commitment, the commitment of a governance board, adequate resources (including personnel), and external assistance (e.g., from academics or policymakers).
- ii. *Outputs*: Outputs are the activities undertaken for the delivery of a change program. These can include training courses, lectures, presentations, the delivery or publication of reports for relevant departments, and the messaging, communication, and promotion of the program.
- iii. *Outcomes*: Outcomes are the interim results produced after the delivery of outputs. These may include the initial feedback received from trainees or departments targeted by the change programs, the efforts undertaken by relevant departments to incorporate principles of the change programs into relevant areas of the organization, and any initial improvements noted in perceptions. Outcomes may be both *intermediate* and *long-term*. For example, intermediate outcomes may be the successful incorporation of organizational justice principles across police departments within an organization. Long-term outcomes may be improved officer perceptions of fairness.
- iv. *Impacts*: Impacts are the wider systematic changes that take place after the expected (intermediate and long-term) outcomes are achieved. For example, impacts of organizational change in this study’s context may include improvements in the behaviors of police officers when they interact with the public, thereby enhancing procedural justice and increasing police legitimacy.

¹³⁴ James P. Connell, *New Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives. Concepts, Methods, and Contexts. Roundtable on Comprehensive Community Initiatives for Children and Families* (Queensland, MD: Aspen Institute, 1995), <https://perma.cc/8P4E-4C6S>.

¹³⁵ Erica Breuer, Lucy Lee, Mary De Silva, and Crick Lund, “Using Theory of Change to Design and Evaluate Public Health Interventions: A Systematic Review,” *Implementation Science* 11, no. 1 (2016), 63, <https://perma.cc/RZ5M-388B>.