

Policing the Streets: Legal Compliance among People Experiencing Homelessness

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Abstract

Objective: Drawing on work into the dynamics of authority-subordinate relationships, we examined whether police procedural justice, legitimacy and deterrence predict compliance with the law among people experiencing homelessness.

Hypotheses: We hypothesized that people living on the streets of London will be less attuned to the relational and value-relevant aspects of police activity, i.e. that the well-established procedural justice–legitimacy–compliance pathway will not work for this highly marginalized group. We also predicted that motivations to engage in criminal behavior will vary significantly according to the nature of the behavior concerned (minor, street population specific, and serious crime).

Method: A survey that included measures of procedural justice, police legitimacy, deterrence, risk of sanction, morality and compliance was completed by 200 people experiencing homelessness on the streets of an inner London borough (87% male, 49% aged between 45–64, 37% white British).

Results: Procedural fairness and perceptions of police legitimacy did not explain variation in any of the three types of compliance (i.e. statistically significant effects were not detected). Police effectiveness positively predicted compliance via perceived risk of sanction, but only for offences that can be occasionally be important for survival on the streets, e.g. begging. Morality was associated with all three types of compliance behaviors, with the more wrong behaviors were perceived to be, the greater the compliance with those behaviors.

Conclusions: The lack of relevance of relational connections to legal authority may be down to marginalization, alienation and the need to survive. More research is needed into the sorts of marginalized communities for whom structural factors may reduce normative group connections.

Key words: procedural justice; deterrence; compliance; police; homeless people

Public significance statement

This paper shows that deterrence-based policing strategies may promote street population compliance with what might be termed *vagrancy laws* (e.g. begging on the streets and sleeping rough in restricted areas). However, deterrence-based policing strategies may have little purchase on the ‘wider’ criminal activity of this same group – activity in which many of them were engaged. It appears that for this group of ‘regular customers’ of police, neither deterrence nor procedural justice approaches to policing really ‘work’.

People obey the law for a variety of different reasons, but the two we focus on in this paper are (1) fair treatment at the hands of police officers, which promotes perceptions of police as legitimate enforcers of the law (Tyler, 2006) and (2) the fear of the consequences of breaking the law (Nagin, 2013). A central distinction in police practice, policy and, indeed, ideology rests on which one of these motivations is prioritized in police-centric efforts to reduce offending—should it be consent-based, legitimacy-building policies that promote normative compliance with the law, or enforcement-led approaches that concentrate on the provision of a credible deterrent threat?

We contrast these relational and instrumental perspectives on compliance in a context where noncompliance has been found to be common: namely, people living on the streets of London (Pyper et al. 2019). How might the police be able to motivate compliance among this highly marginalized group? Might they be able to generate compliance by acting in a procedurally just, legitimate manner, by demonstrating the risk of sanction, or some combination of the two? We do this via a convenience sample of a difficult to reach special population, having gained access to, and the trust of, research participants.

Answers to these questions are important for at least two reasons. First, people living on the streets have high levels of contact with police. They are often vulnerable in multiple ways, prone to high levels of substance misuse as well as other physical and mental health problems, and can be forced to commit offences of various types just to survive. Developing ways to police this population that are attuned to these issues is vital if police activity is not to add to and embed their vulnerability and marginality. Deterrence-based strategies seem likely to do exactly this (Geller et al. 2014; Trinkner et al. 2018), as well as providing a direct route into the criminal justice system, with all its attendant harms (McAra & McVie 2007). Knowing whether the provision of a credible deterrent threat has any purchase in this context is central to developing appropriate police tactics and strategies, regardless of the answer to the question posed, but perhaps particularly if only weak or null effects of deterrence on behavior can be identified.

Second, testing the relative weight of legitimacy versus deterrence-based predictors of compliance among this special population constitutes an important test of the applicability of procedural justice theory to a group that is especially vulnerable and sometimes needs to commit crimes to get by. Numerous studies have identified associations between legitimacy judgements and people's compliance behavior (Walters & Bolger 2019), while finding that deterrence-related factors tend to be much less relevant. However, a large majority of these studies have used general population, 'youth' or student samples (*ibid.*), with most of the rest focusing on prisoners (for exceptions see Walters & Morgan 2018; White et al. 2016). Arguably, none have focused on a non-prison based population as marginal and socially excluded as the homeless.

This is important because at the heart of procedural justice theory (PJT: Tyler, 1990, 2006) sits a notion of shared group identity. When police officers represent a social group that is salient and important to those they encounter, procedural justice is especially meaningful. Fair treatment at the hands of police officers indicates inclusion, belonging and status within the group, and the strengthening of group bonds and a consequent desire to act in accordance with group norms motivates compliance. But what about a group so marginal to 'mainstream society' that they find themselves living on the streets, among whom processes of social identification and belonging may have broken down or been fundamentally re-aligned, and who may have very immediate and pressing reasons to offend (indeed, for whom offending may be the norm)? Instrumental factors may be much more important in such a context (Lind & Tyler, 1998; Tyler & Lind, 1992).

Original conceptualizations of procedural justice theory (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Lind, 1992; Tyler, 1997) incorporated both relational and instrumental motivations for compliance (recent papers by Reisig et al. 2020, Trinkner, 2019, and Jackson et al. 2021 have also discussed this interplay of relational and instrumental motivation within procedural justice theory). On this account, which type of motivation is most important depends on dynamics of the authority-subordinate relationship and the context of a given situation. When individuals do not identify with the group an authority represents, or indeed have little motivation to be a member of that group, procedural justice theory predicts that orientations toward that authority, judgements/perceptions of authority, and compliance/cooperation behavior will be driven by instrumental factors to a greater extent than relational factors (Tyler, 1997). The importance of procedural justice concerns may also be different among the population studied here for reasons related to uncertainty and social status. For example, it is possible that their low status is so

clear to people experiencing homelessness that there is no uncertainty that directs their attention to procedural justice concerns (c.f. Lind & Van Den Bos, 2002); conversely, treatment might be important, but because it communicates inter- rather than intra-group standing (c.f. Heuer & Stroessner, 2011).

However, for various reasons—perhaps most importantly the focus on general population samples of most research in this area—relational perspectives of compliance have dominated procedural justice theory research in contexts like the US, UK and Australia, and instrumental motivations amongst marginalized groups have rarely been tested at the empirical level. Indeed, it has been argued that there has been a lack of adequate attention given to the social and cultural context within which the framework operates, and that more research is needed on groups and types of people who have the most contact with the police (Nagin & Telep, 2017; Tankebe, 2009).

Exploring the pathways to compliance among a street population in a city like London can therefore be considered a stringent test of an understudied aspect of procedural justice theory, since key under-tested theoretical mechanisms within the theory may be relevant in this context. The street population is an extremely marginalized group and generally has high levels of alienation from society (i.e., from superordinate categories that the police plausibly represent for most people). As such, this group might be less attuned to the relational and value-relevant aspects of procedural justice and consequently procedural justice and/or legitimacy might have few associations with compliance amongst this group.

To anticipate our main findings, it seems neither deterrence nor legitimacy has much correlation with self-reported offending among our sample. Our results resonate with the idea that the answer to issues of crime and offending associated with homelessness is unlikely to be policing in its traditional forms; but that if policing *is* going to work it needs to be more innovative and involve other services working in coordination with police. At the current time there are significant debates within and around policing, centred on the Black Lives Matter movement and the notion of ‘defunding’ the police. Important protagonists within these debates are critical of procedural justice theory (e.g. MacCoun, 2005; Vitale, 2018), seeing a potential for its cynical use to provide a smokescreen to cover the raw, and discriminatory, power of police. MacCoun (2005) has raised concerns about the “false consciousness” that can occur when authorities use the appearance of a fair procedure as a way to co-opt people by distracting them objectively (fair or unfair) outcomes they receive. But more pertinently for the current paper is an apparently growing recognition that police cannot provide long-term solutions to the problems faced by those with whom they have frequent contact (such as people living on the streets). Indeed, it seems police may be unable to address even proximate questions about the high level of offending within this group.

In this paper we investigate whether the tenets of procedural justice theory apply to one particular community that often features in these kinds of debates. Before proceeding to discuss our findings, we first outline the way homeless people in London are policed and provide a review of the literature on ‘police-centred’ predictors of compliance.

Policing the homeless

People experiencing homelessness are marginalized in many ways: they experience not only personal and economic hardship, but also stigma and structural discrimination because of their housing status and the forms of deep social exclusion that interact with homelessness, such as histories of institutional care, substance misuse, and participation in street culture activities (an experience termed ‘multiple exclusion homelessness’, c.f. Fitzpatrick et al. 2011). Much research in the UK and elsewhere has documented the instrumental consequences of such exclusion, with ‘multiple exclusion homelessness’ affecting people’s ability to transition out of homelessness and into employment and stable housing, as well as their well-being.

A punitive approach has increasingly defined the policing of homelessness in the UK (Cooper, 2016; as seems to be the case in the US, see Robinson, 2019). Rough sleeping has often been at the forefront of the political agenda, and there has been an increase in the use of enforcement measures in English public policy. Nineteenth Century vagrancy laws are still in effect in the UK, making it illegal to sleep rough or beg, and are now coupled with zero-tolerance enforcement strategies that target street-level activities – most of them associated with homelessness (Cooper, 2016). A number of recent studies, however, complicate the narrative of homelessness policing as uniformly hostile, punitive and exclusionary; and, instead, reveal a pattern (in London and other cities around the world) of

simultaneous disciplinary *and* less punitive approaches that promote joint police-social service interventions (Stuart, 2015). Multi-agency initiatives bringing together a range of stakeholders are now common. This includes police, outreach services, local homelessness organizations, local councils and others, who work together to tackle issues such as begging, rough sleeping, criminal activities and anti-social behavior (Sanders & Albanese, 2017). People living on the streets are therefore often subject to two contrasting modes of social control; one enforcement led, the other concerned with relationship building and consensual movement towards less risky lifestyles. Indeed, there exists a large body of work detailing how homelessness has been criminalized and managed via systems that variously control, care, observe and/ or punish (e.g. Feldman, 2004; Quirouette, 2018).

What can police do to motivate compliance: procedural fairness or deterrence?

Procedural justice theory has made an important contribution to our understanding of why people comply with the law. The theory speaks to four key principles that police officers can adopt in their dealings with members of the public if they are to encourage willing compliance. Police officers should treat people with fairness, dignity and respect; be transparent and trustworthy in their actions; provide the opportunity for voice; and be impartial in their decision making. Research has consistently found that when police adopt and ‘enact’ these pillars of procedural justice, people are more likely to perceive the police to be legitimate (i.e. they view the police as a morally appropriate authority that is entitled to be obeyed) (Jackson, 2018; Tyler, 1990). In turn (mostly observational) research consistently shows that public perceptions of police legitimacy predict behavioral intentions to comply with the law, over and above beliefs about risk of sanction (e.g. getting fined or arrested) (Murphy, Bradford & Jackson, 2016). This has been found to be the case for the general public in many different countries, such as the US (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), the UK (Jackson et al. 2012), Australia (Mazerolle, Antrobus, Bennett, & Tyler, 2013) and Slovenia (Reisig Tankabe & Mesko, 2014), and for both general criminal behaviors (e.g. Sunshine & Tyler, 2003) as well as specific offences such as breaking traffic laws (Bradford, Hohl, Jackson, & MacQueen, 2015). It has also been found to be the case for offender populations such as domestic violence perpetrators (Paternoster et al. 1997), violent offenders (Papachristos, Mearns & Fagan, 2012), and adolescent offenders (Gau & Brunson, 2010; Piquero et al. 2005).

As factors predicting compliance with the law, procedural justice and legitimacy are usually positioned in contrast to a deterrence-based (instrumental) perspective (Allingham & Sandmo, 1972; Gibbs, 1968; Tittle, 1969), based on the idea that individuals are rational actors motivated to comply out of the fear of the consequences should they be detected breaking the law. If the benefits of breaking the law outweigh the costs, then the rational choice will be non-compliance; conversely if the costs of breaking the law outweigh the benefits then the rational choice will be compliance. Three factors play a role in this decision-making process: the risk of detection of non-compliance, the effectiveness of authorities in dealing with non-compliance (particularly the speed with which sanctions are delivered); and the severity of sanction associated with non-compliance (Becker, 1968). If risk of detection, authority effectiveness, and sanction severity are high then non-compliance is the risky choice and compliance rational. According to the instrumental perspective, then, if would-be offenders perceive the possibility to get caught and punished by the authorities should they violate the law to be high, then they will abstain from offending (Williams & Hawkins, 1986).

Some research has demonstrated a link between police effectiveness, risk of sanction and compliance (Andreoni, Erard, & Feinstein, 1998; Nagin, 2013). Overall, however, the evidence for *general* deterrence is weak at best (Pratt et al. 2006). By contrast, *focused* deterrence strategies (e.g. on gang and group-involved drug markets, overt drug markets, or ‘repeat’ offenders) do appear to have a significant, albeit small, effect on crime (Braga et al. 2018). While it seems most people are not accurate rational choice calculators when it comes to decisions about offending, some individuals, in some places, at some times can be deterred from offending by, in our case, police activity.

This latter distinction is relevant to the present case because, in the regulatory context of street population activities in the UK, the probability of being caught and punished for violating (some) laws is high (Crisis, 2018). The increasingly punitive approach to the policing of homelessness in the UK (Cooper, 2016) has entailed multi-agency initiatives targeting people experiencing homelessness gaining precedence in recent years (Sanders & Albanese, 2017). At the most practical level, many offences committed by people experiencing homelessness are highly visible, occurring in public places and often directly engaging with passersby (e.g. begging, consumption of illegal drugs). People living

on the street are also subject to high levels of police surveillance. For example, officers in London and elsewhere undertake high-visibility patrols in homeless ‘hot spots’ targeting their resources and activities to those places where homeless crime is most concentrated (Crisis, 2018). Focusing policing activity in hot spots aims to prevent homeless criminal behaviors in these specific areas as well as have a wider effect on the behavior of those subject to them. Such policing efforts are part of a somewhat problematic attempt to get people experiencing homelessness ‘off the streets’ via policing. It is therefore likely that people experiencing homelessness are detected and/or sanctioned for offences relatively frequently, and/or see others being detected/sanctioned frequently. Considering that risk perceptions can be influenced by personal experience (Anwar & Loughran, 2011; Paternoster & Piquero, 1995), these experiences may influence individuals’ behaviors—in a sense, people living on the streets are more or less continuously the target of focused police attention.

By contrast, there are good reasons for suspecting that procedural justice and legitimacy will be less important predictors of compliance among this group—perhaps the most obvious one being their socio-structural location. A recent ethnographic study into the policing of the street population in an inner London borough conducted by the lead author ([authors anonymized], XXXXa) found that, while fairness was clearly important to people experiencing homelessness in their interactions with the police in an abstract sense (in that it was pleasant to be treated with respect by everyone in general), it was instrumental outcomes that mattered most during their interactions with officers. Procedural fairness was less important because there were overarching instrumental outcomes at stake, which affected their very survival potential, and these took precedence. In many cases people experiencing homelessness are offending to survive (Batty & Reeve, 2011; MOJ, 2010), so the claim, central to procedural justice theory (when it is assumed that the people being studied – e.g. the general population – identify with the group the police represent), that legitimacy encourages behavior in line with that mandated by authorities, as obedience becomes a value in itself, may be simply irrelevant in this context.

Moreover, procedural justice theory predicts that instrumental factors will be more important among people who do not care about being, or do not feel they are, a member of the group the police represent (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Lind, 1992); it is people who identify with the group the authority represents who will be more concerned about their treatment by officers as group authorities (Tyler, 1997). Building on this, we assume that members of the street population in our current sample are less attuned to the relational and value-relevant aspects of police activity, so we predict that the well-established procedural justice–legitimacy–compliance pathway will not work in the same way for this highly marginalized group as it would, for example, for the general population. Of course, even if that is the case, it continues to be important that police officers treat people experiencing homelessness with respect and dignity. They should do so because it is the right thing to do, and not simply because it might help to reduce crime (c.f. Nagin & Telep, 2020).

Other motivations for compliance

Legitimacy and deterrence are, of course, not the only factors shaping compliance with the law, even if these are the primary ‘levers’ in the hands of the police. A host of other factors are likely to be involved, including peer effects and social learning, self-control, habit, and normative pressures (Bottoms, 2013). In this paper, we concentrate on one particularly important factor that is thought to mediate some of the others—moral judgements about the behavior(s) concerned. Put simply, most people comply with most laws, most of the time, because they tend to think the behaviors proscribed by law are wrong (Antonaccio & Tittle 2008; Messner 2012; Wikström, 2012). Such moral judgements are shaped by their upbringings, social contexts, group memberships and personalities (Svensson et al. 2016). In addition, the law has the power to define things as non-normative and/or wrong, particularly in relation to less serious behaviors, such that it becomes immoral or at least socially unacceptable to do things that are against the law (McAdams, 2017).

Importantly, and perhaps particularly in the current context, it seems likely that the way people think about criminal behavior will vary significantly according to the nature of the behavior concerned. This, coupled with the practical reason that members of the street population sometimes feel that they *must* offend, means that it does not make sense to think about crime as ‘one thing’ that, for example, a person can be deterred from undertaking in some general sense (Nagin, 2013), or about which they form some overall moral judgement. Different kinds of criminal behavior may be differentially shaped by police activity, people’s reactions to that behavior, and their moral judgements about it (Bouffard et

al. 2018). For example, given that street population ‘nuisance’ behavior is continuously the target of focused police attention, they are likely to have a relatively good sense of their chances of being caught if they engage in such behavior, something they may lack in respect of other types of offending. Relatedly, police legitimacy might motivate disengagement from some type of offending, e.g. mundane or low level offences that people tend not to see as morally wrong, but not others, e.g. higher level offences that are more closely associated with widely held moral values and norms. In other words, legitimacy may be more predictive of compliance with laws that cover morally grey areas, such as the use of soft drugs, than laws that cover behaviors very widely accepted as wrong, such as burglary or assault (c.f. Tyler, 1990). Indeed, existing work has found that procedural justice concerns are less strongly emphasized when moral mandates are in play (Skitka & Houston, 2001).

Research questions

The discussion above can be distilled into four essential questions with regard to marginalized populations, which in turn motivate the analyses presented below. First, what are the links between compliance, procedural justice and legitimacy? Second, does procedural justice play a different role depending on the particular type of offending? Third, what are the links between compliance, effectiveness and perceived risk of sanction? Fourth, does the perceived risk of sanction play a different role depending on the particular type of offending?

The present study

Homelessness is a complex issue that presents particular difficulties for the homeless themselves as well as for the general public and for the authorities that police them (Pyper et al. 2019). The street population, by the very nature of living on the streets, often engage in ‘nuisance’ activities such as begging, street drinking and anti-social behavior; and addictions and offending behavior can be both an underlying cause of homelessness as well as a symptom of trying to survive on the streets. We examine how relational (procedural justice and police legitimacy) and instrumental (police effectiveness and risk of sanction) concerns predicted the street population’s decisions to comply with the law. We look at three different types of offending: mundane/low-level offences (e.g. shop lifting), a range of offences specific to the street population (e.g. begging), and higher-level offences (e.g. robbery).

Method

Access to the field

The survey was part of a broader ethnographic project that looked at interactions between police and homeless people in London through shadowing policing patrols and embedding observation within the homeless community (c.f. [authors anonymized], XXXXa). Access, rapport and trust to research participants was gained during that project (May – October 2019) prior to survey distribution (February and March 2020). This was fundamental to securing the convenience sample of the present work, which is an extremely difficult population to survey.

Participants

People experiencing homelessness (N = 200) were recruited on the streets of an inner London borough solely on the basis of their willingness to participate. Eighty-seven percent of participants were male, 49% were aged between 45-64 (48% 25-44, 3% 18-24, 1% 65+), 37% were white British (33% white other, 14% black or black British, 8% mixed background, 6% other ethnic group, 3% Asian or Asian British). Fifty-seven percent were born in the UK, and 54% had lived in the UK all their life (34% 5-10 years, 12% 2-5 years, 1% 1-2 years). Our sample were roughly representative of people rough sleeping in England (86% male, 54% aged 36-55, 60% white, 64% UK nationals; MOJ, 2019). We are confident that most, if not all, participants actually lived on the streets at the time of data collection because (a) they were recruited at soup kitchens that specifically targeted people living on the streets, (b) most participants carried around evidence that they were rough sleeping (e.g. sleeping bags and blankets), and (c) all participants self-reported that they were rough sleeping in their survey responses - 52% had been rough sleeping for 6 months-1 year, 22% 1-2 years, 15% 1-3 months, 11% 3-6 months, 1% less than a month and 1% more than 2 years.

Our participants self-reported relatively high levels of offending, across all three groups of (non) compliance types (see Table 1). It is important to note that, although engagement in high-level

criminal activities was lower than engagement in low-level and street population specific activities (where only in relation to vandalism and shop lifting did a majority report *not* offending), approximately 40% of our sample self-reported engagement in at least one of the higher-level criminal activities such as burglary and robbery. This is a large percentage given the seriousness of some of the behaviors concerned. It is also important reiterating that the street population have extensive experience of policing: their estimate of policing outcomes (e.g. risk of sanction) might be argued to be more accurate than most members of the public, at least in relation to some crime types.

Procedure

The first author collected the data between February and March 2020 at various soup kitchens—outdoor places where food was served to people experiencing homelessness—spread across this inner London borough. We set out to achieve 200 participants, the typical recommended sample size for structural equation modeling (SEM) analyzing models of average complexity (Kline, 2011). We are confident that our study is sufficiently powered because two more recent simulation studies recommended even smaller sample sizes for SEM models of similar complexity to those we report in this paper (Sideridis et al. 2014; Wolf et al. 2013). Moreover, we conducted three ad-hoc power analyses (using G*Power), one for each of the three crime models, given α (.05), sample size (200), and effect size (minor crime model: .28, street population crime model: .35, serious crime model: .24 - using the effect of procedural justice on compliance in each of the three models respectively) to determine whether our sample size was suitably powered. Results confirmed that our sample size was suitably powered for all three crime models (minor crime model: 99% power, street population crime model: 99% power, serious crime model: 97% power).

A single questionnaire booklet that included items assessing perceptions of the police in London, compliance behaviors, risk of getting caught and punished by the police for engaging in these behaviors, and morality associated with these behaviors was distributed to people experiencing homelessness on the street. The first author was present throughout the entire process, and provided help or support as required. Given the rate at which illegal activity was disclosed we do not believe this had any biasing effects, and it meant that language advice could be offered as and when necessary. The questionnaire booklet was made up of 3 sections: Section 1 used adapted versions of published and validated measures to assess attitudes towards the police. Section 2 used published and validated measures that assess compliance behaviors. Section 3 asked participants to report demographic information, and their homeless/ migrant status.

Informed consent was obtained from all participants (verbal consent protocols were followed where participants had poor literacy skills, and the lead author assisted with completing the questionnaire if this was necessary). The questionnaire booklet took approximately 10 minutes to complete, and participants received £5 compensation for their time. The research was approved by the ethical review board at UCL (15985/001). All study materials have been uploaded to a secure OSF site.

Measures

All items were answered on a 1-5 (strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree) scale unless otherwise indicated. See the Appendix for full item wordings. Anonymized OSF link for the study materials: https://osf.io/vbnhg/?view_only=95509ad0bb5b40d1af81952d803939ba

Police procedural justice was measured using three items (e.g. The police treat people with respect; three items from Jackson & Bradford, 2019 procedural justice scale).

Perceived police legitimacy was assessed using two distinct, albeit overlapping, constructs: duty to obey and normative alignment (Trinkner, Jackson & Tyler 2018 police legitimacy scale). Duty to obey was measured using three items (e.g. I feel a moral obligation to obey the police), and normative alignment was measured using three items (e.g. I support the way the police usually act).

We included two measures of police effectiveness. General *police effectiveness* was measured using three items (e.g. The police are effective at providing a visible patrolling presence; 3 items from Jackson, Bradford & Stanko, 2012 police effectiveness scale) relating to an overall sense that police are effective in their duties. *Police effectiveness specific to street population behaviors* was measured using

three other items (e.g. The police are good at moving people on and stopping them from begging) designed by us.

We measured three levels of *compliance*: compliance with mundane/low-level crimes, compliance behaviors specific to the street population, and compliance with high-level crimes. The behaviors covered here were selected in part from discussions with people living on the streets of the same London borough about how they viewed different types of offending; most notably, the types of offences they viewed as ‘necessary for survival’. Participants were asked to indicate on a 1-4 scale (often, sometimes, rarely, never) whether they had, in the past year, committed mundane/low-level offences (e.g. Taken something from a shop without paying for it; Trinkner, Jackson & Tyler 2018 legal compliance scale), offences specific to the street population (e.g. Begged on the street or elsewhere), or high-level offences (e.g. Stolen something with the use of force/ weapon or threat to use force/ weapon (robbery)).

The behaviors used to measure compliance were reflected in the measures of morality and risk of sanction. In line with Jackson and colleagues (2018; personal morality scale), *morality* was measured by asking participants to rate ‘how wrong’, on a 1-4 scale (not wrong at all, not too wrong, somewhat wrong, very wrong), they judged the behaviors to be (e.g. Taking something from a shop without paying for it). Also in line with Jackson and colleagues (2018; perceived risk of sanction scale), to measure perceived *risk of sanction* participants were asked to rate ‘how likely it is that you would be caught and punished’ on a 1-4 scale (not at all likely, not very likely, fairly likely, very likely) if they engaged in these same behaviors (e.g. Took something from a shop without paying for it).

Results

Analysis plan

We tested three separate models of compliance, with minor crime, street population specific crime, and serious crime as the respective ultimate outcome variables (on the right-hand side of the fitted structural equation models). In each of the three compliance models we included only the relevant morality and deterrence items (i.e. those items relating to mundane, street population, high level crime respectively). In order to validate our measures, for each model, we first tested the factorial structure of the latent variables by specifying a measurement model using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) in MPlus 8 (setting the indicators to be ordinal). The relationships between these were then investigated using structural equation modelling (SEM) to estimate regression paths between latent constructs in MPlus 8. For each compliance behavior we tested (a) the relationship between latent constructs police procedural justice, police legitimacy, compliance; and (b) the relationship between latent constructs police effectiveness, perceived risk of sanction, compliance. Although additional paths in the SEM model would be supported by existing literature, given our small sample size and particular aims of the study we opted for a simpler and more parsimonious model.¹ For example, literature has suggested that police effectiveness also predicts police legitimacy in situations where the sample does not identify with the group the police represent (Lee & Cho, 2020); and procedural justice has been argued to serve a binding function where it promotes the internalization of group norms (e.g. Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Blader, 2003).

Despite our sample size justification above, to increase our confidence in our SEM model’s results, and mitigate any concerns regarding statistical power given our sample size, we also (a) fitted the same models without specifying any indirect effects (results remained the same), (b) fitted ordinal regression models on each of the individual compliance items using SPSS (results remained the same in each case); and (c) conducted path analysis of the same models using manifest indicators (saved component scores from principle components analysis). Across all specifications, the results remained the same. Sensitivity analyses were also undertaken controlling for key socio-demographic subject characteristics. We ran the same model whereby all latent variables in the model were also regressed on gender, age, ethnicity, and country of birth. The results remained the same. We report the simple model (without controls) given the relatively small sample size.

¹ We did however examine what happens when we add a path from police effectiveness to police legitimacy in all three models and found that police effectiveness predicts police legitimacy in the minor and serious crime models but not in the street population crime model. Results remain the same in all three models except that the effect of procedural justice on police legitimacy in the minor crime model becomes non-significant.

Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics and correlations of the key measures are presented in Table 2. As hypothesized, key variables were correlated with the three different crime types but the strength of the associations differed (e.g. procedural justice with minor crime ($r = .41$), street population crime ($r = .24$) and high level crime ($r = .54$)).

CFA measurement models

We tested three separate measurement models, one for each of the types of compliance, and all three models fitted the data well (where one typically looks for CFI $>.95$; TLI $>.95$; RMSEA $<.08$ – see Hu & Bentler, 1999). The minor crime model that included six covarying latent constructs of police procedural justice, police legitimacy, police general effectiveness, deterrence, morality, and minor crime produced adequate fit indices (Chi-Square = 413.46 df = 309, $p = <.001$; RMSEA = .06 [.04, .07]; CFI = .99; TLI = .99), with all standardized factor loadings $>.8$. Although differences were negligible comparing the approximate fit statistics between measurement models that combined normative alignment and duty to obey into one ‘legitimacy’ latent construct, and models that differentiated normative alignment and duty to obey as two separate constructs, we opted for the one latent construct of legitimacy for a simpler analytical model (in both cases, overall results remained the same).

The street population crime model that included six covarying latent constructs of police procedural justice, police legitimacy, police street population specific effectiveness, deterrence, morality, and street population crime produced adequate fit indices (Chi-Square = 436.33, df = 309, $p = <.001$; RMSEA = .06 [.05, .08]; CFI = .99; TLI = .98), with all standardized factor loadings $>.8$. The serious crime model that included six covarying latent constructs of police procedural justice, police legitimacy, police general effectiveness, deterrence, morality, and serious crime produced adequate fit indices (Chi-Square = 401.01, df = 284, $p = <.001$; RMSEA = .06 [.05, .08]; CFI = .99; TLI = .99), with all standardized factor loadings $>.8$ (after dropping the fifth deterrence item that proved to be problematic in this model (standardized factor loading $<.5$)). We use these three models as the basis for answering our questions using structural equation modelling (SEM). Note that we also tested a CFA model that included all three types of compliance, alongside the other constructs. This model provided an excellent fit to the data (Chi-Square = 1884.833, df = 1574, $p = <.001$; RMSEA = .04 [.04, .05]; CFI = .99; TLI = .98) with all standardized factor loadings $>.8$.

Testing our research questions: structural equation modelling

We tested our research questions by specifying three structural models (one for each compliance ‘type’), which investigated direct and indirect pathways from (a) police procedural justice to legitimacy to compliance, and (b) police effectiveness to deterrence to compliance (see Figure 1). Indirect effects were estimated using the INDIRECT command within MPlus, which estimates indirect effects with delta method standard errors (Muthen, 2011). The models included police procedural justice and police effectiveness as exogenous predictor variables, legitimacy and deterrence as the mediating variables, and compliance as the outcome variable. Morality was controlled for by including it as a covariate in the model (i.e. including it as an additional exogenous predictor of compliance and allowing it to covary with the constructs that are not compliance). Note that in the minor crime, street population crime and serious crime models, minor crime, street population crime, and serious crime were entered as the ‘crime’ latent construct respectively; and police effectiveness was entered as the ‘police effectiveness’ latent construct for the minor and serious crime models, whilst street population police effectiveness was entered as the ‘police effectiveness’ latent construct for the street population crime model.

We present standardized regression coefficients for all paths in Table 3 below. The minor crime model (Chi-Square = 486.969, df = 314, $p = <.001$; RMSEA = .07 [.06, .09]; CFI = .98; TLI = .98) explained 67% of the variance in minor crime ($R^2 = .67$), 63% of the variance in police legitimacy ($R^2 = .63$), and 15% of the variance in minor crime deterrence ($R^2 = .15$). The street population crime model (Chi-Square = 438.361, df = 314, $p = <.001$; RMSEA = .06 [.05, .08]; CFI = .99; TLI = .99) explained 47% of the variance in street population crime ($R^2 = .47$), 62% of the variance in police legitimacy ($R^2 = .62$), and 15% of the variance in street population crime deterrence ($R^2 = .15$). The serious crime model (Chi-Square = 367.499, df = 289, $p = <.001$; RMSEA = .05 [.03, .07]; CFI = .99; TLI = .99)

explained 76% of the variance in serious crime ($R^2 = .76$), 63% of the variance in police legitimacy ($R^2 = .63$), and 12% of the variance in serious crime deterrence ($R^2 = .12$).

We first turn to whether the police are seen to act in procedurally fair ways and are therefore seen as legitimate, and whether procedural justice and/ or legitimacy are associated with offending across the three different models. Although police procedural justice positively predicted perceptions of police legitimacy in all cases, police procedural justice and perceptions of police legitimacy were not associated with any of the compliance behaviors. In other words, these non-statistically significant effects suggest that perceptions of police procedural justice and police legitimacy did not play a role when it came to mundane crimes (e.g. shop lifting or illegal waste disposal), behaviors specific to the street population (e.g. begging or rough sleeping), nor more serious criminal law (e.g. burglary or robbery).

Second, do the police motivate compliance by generating a sense that they are effective and provide a credible risk of sanction, and, if so, does the effect of risk of sanction vary in relation to the three different types of offending? Police effectiveness positively predicted risk of sanction in all three models, with a very similar effect size for the 'general' and 'street-population specific' measures of effectiveness. General police effectiveness and perceived risk of sanction for engaging in minor and serious crime (i.e. deterrence) did not predict minor crime nor serious crime respectively. Perceived risk of sanction for engaging in street population specific crime *did* however predict street population specific crime. Moreover, the direct effect of street population specific police effectiveness on street population specific crime was not significant: the association between street population specific police effectiveness and crime was completely mediated by perceived risk of sanction. In other words, self-reported compliance with behaviors specific to those living on the streets (e.g. drinking on the street or buying/ using drugs such as spice or heroin) was higher when respondents perceived a relatively high risk of sanction which, in turn, seems to have been premised in a belief that the police were effective in policing people like them.

Finally, morality was strongly associated with all three types of compliance. In other words, compliance with the law was more likely when members of the street population felt a moral or ethical obligation or commitment: the more wrong behaviors were perceived to be, the greater the compliance.

Discussion

Implications for theory and practice

The present study aimed to test whether homeless people's decision to comply with the law was predicted more strongly by instrumental concerns about being caught and punished for non-compliance (a result of perceived police effectiveness) than relational concerns about fair treatment and police legitimacy. We found that it did, although only in a specific case. We also tested whether these processes vary in relation to three different types of compliance behaviors (minor, street population specific and serious crime). We found that they did. Procedural fairness and perceptions of police legitimacy did not seem to be important in explaining variation in *any* of the three types of compliance behaviors. However, perceptions of police effectiveness were associated with street population-specific compliance behaviors via perceived risk of sanction for those behaviors. Importantly, we also found that morality predicted all three types of compliance behaviors, such that compliance with the law was reported when members of the street population felt a moral or ethical obligation or commitment: the more wrong behaviors were perceived to be, the greater the self-reported compliance with those behaviors.

It seems, then, that when it comes to offending by the street population only deterrence-based theories of compliance have any purchase, and even then only in relation to particular aspects of the law. In this particular context, but also perhaps more widely, it is important to think about different types of offending when we talk about compliance, and to recognize that compliance behaviors may be differentially shaped by police behavior (and some not at all). People in different circumstances might have different interests in relation to different laws. Our findings suggest that compliance with behaviors specific to those living on the street is higher when members of the street population perceive a risk of sanction in relation to those specific offences. By contrast, we did not find an association between sanction risk and our other two measures of offending – here, our results are much closer to the many other extant studies that have shown little or no association between perceived sanction risk and self-reported offending.

We found no association between the legitimacy of the police and respondents' self-reported offending behavior. This finding stands in some contrast to many other procedural justice theory studies of self-reported offending, which generally do identify such a link (Walters & Bolger 2019). There are at least two, mutually compatible, explanations for this. First, returning to the initial theoretical motivation for this study, legitimacy as it is construed in procedural justice theory is primarily an intragroup phenomenon. Group authorities such as police can, by behaving in ways that generate legitimacy, motivate compliance with group norms and rules through processes of identification, moral engagement, and internalization. It may be that people experiencing homelessness are so estranged from the police and the group they represent that these processes simply break down – they do not think of themselves as being group members, or that police represent a social category they belong to (or can aspire to belong to). This is consistent with the work by Lind & Tyler (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Lind, 1992; Tyler, 1997) and recently discussed in Trinkner (2019), Reisig et al. (2020) and Jackson et al. (2021). On this account, people are less attuned to process and more interested in outcomes when they do not identify with the superordinate group that an authority represents.

Second, it may be that engagement in illegal activity for the sake of survival – where legitimacy effects are ruled out by necessity – has an accretive effect on those involved that weakens and even breaks any more general effect of legitimacy on behavior. That is, because some members of the street population are forced to discount social and relational constraints on behavior because they need to commit some offences to survive, over time they learn to discount the behavior of authorities in a more general sense as well. Such a process would seem to be reflected in the hopelessness and alienation people experiencing homelessness often feel (c.f. Fitzpatrick et al. 2011). Although not all people experiencing homelessness offend (see e.g. McCarthy, 2013), most of the time some criminal behavior is almost inevitable ([authors anonymized], XXXXa; Batty & Reeve, 2011; MOJ, 2010).

Our findings also relate to the ongoing debate in the literature about the “invariance thesis” (Wolfe et al. 2016). A number of recent studies found that the positive associations between procedural justice, legitimacy and compliance do not vary very much across subgroups of the population (Wolfe et al. 2016; but also Brown & Reisig, 2019; and Walters & Bolger, 2019). In the current study, our models showed a *negative* association between procedural justice and compliance with each of the three types of crimes considered, and while this was not statistically significant, it is worth speculating as to whether that is the result of the sample size used. Future research assess this possibility as it could point at a potential counterproductive effect of procedural justice.

It therefore appears that when it comes to compliance with the law among this particular group instrumental factors (police effectiveness and risk of sanction) matter more to the street population than relational factors (to do with procedural justice and legitimacy). As procedural justice theory would predict, when it cannot be assumed that the people being studied identify with the group the police represent, some of the ‘standard’ pathways envisaged by the theory (e.g. between legitimacy and compliance) may start to break down. Moreover, the absence of such pathways may be not only be due to weaker identification with salient super-ordinate categories but also because engaging in criminal behaviors is critical to survival on the street. Research by the lead author has demonstrated that the social psychology for the general public and the street population is the same in regard to motivations to *cooperate* with the police ([authors anonymized], XXXXb). However, and critically, cooperating (or not) with the police is much less likely than complying with certain aspects of the law to stop the street population from doing what they need to do to live.

This does not of course mean that the police can or should treat this group unfairly. It is clear from decades of work on procedural justice that fairness is normative in-and-of itself; it just so happens to motivate cooperation and compliance (precisely when, how and to what extent being an empirical question). Like many others, we would argue that it continues to be important for police officers to treat people experiencing homelessness with respect and dignity. They should do so because it is the right thing to do, not simply because it might help reduce crime. They should also do so because homeless people's engagement with the police and the criminal justice system extends beyond a focus on compliance with the law (to willingness to report victimization for example; Bell, 2019); and police officers must afford homeless victims support when accessing police services.

Our findings also point to the importance of morality in predicting law-abiding behavior. This was not confined to street population specific crime, but included minor and serious crime too. In other words, some of our participants agreed that certain offences were wrong and told us they refrained from

committing those offences. Perhaps unsurprisingly, even in a situation as extreme as that being experienced by our respondents there appears to be a moral and ideological dimension to compliance that has little to do with police activity and enforcement of the law, at least in any direct sense. What we have not assessed is how people came to form these moral values in the first place. It would be a fruitful area for future research to think about the way that institutions and other social processes shape the moral values held by people like those who responded to our survey. For example, if we take morality to be a reflection of one's identification with particular ideological positions and beliefs (c.f. Stets, 2010), then it might be these moral stances that affect the way the street population make judgements about which laws they are going to comply with and which they are not. How they come to form – or perhaps more pertinently sustain – such beliefs in the context of extreme marginalisation in which they find themselves would seem an important question to ask.

Nevertheless, understanding what policing methods work for which types of criminal behaviors amongst the street population has important implications for regulatory theory and practice. The fact that in this context instrumental concerns predominate over relational concerns (in some cases at least) has important implications for an understudied aspect of procedural justice theory. We would argue that the relationships between police and citizens central to the theory cannot be understood in a decontextualized way because structural context matters: the street population cannot comply with certain aspects of the law because if they did they would struggle to survive. As outlined in original conceptualisations of procedural justice theory (see (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Lind, 1992; Tyler, 1997), in order to understand the motivating power of procedural justice, we therefore need to contextualise it, and take proper account of the social groups, behaviors, norms and laws under consideration. A core claim of theory is that by motivating legitimacy and strengthening group bonds, procedural justice motivates a form of compliance with the law that is 'value neutral' – when one grants legitimacy to group authorities one does not attend to the content of particular laws because one has internalised the idea that it is morally correct *in and of itself* to obey the laws they enact and enforce (Tyler, 2006). Although procedural justice theory does recognize that context matters and makes predictions based on contextual factors of when procedural justice will be especially pertinent, there is little empirical work that exists to support those predictions. The results presented above suggest that this claim assumes people have a particular place in society and relationship with the police – as important group representatives – that is shared by many but not all of those with whom the latter interact. However, our respondents tended to say they refrained from offending if they judged the behavior concerned to be wrong – but they did not seem to allow police the power to make this judgement for them. The link between the police activity and moral behavior seems to have been broken by, we speculate, the marginalisation and exclusion of homelessness.

From one perspective this would seem to support the combination of disciplinary and more or less punitive approaches that currently characterize the policing of homelessness in the UK. Laws making it illegal to sleep rough or beg and are now coupled with zero-tolerance enforcement strategies that target street-level activities—most of them associated with homelessness (Cooper, 2016). This is combined with the activity of multi-agency teams—made up of police, outreach services, local homelessness organizations, local councils and others - that patrol the streets on a regular basis to make themselves visible. These teams attempt to tackle issues such as begging, rough sleeping, criminal activities and anti-social behavior (Sanders & Albanese, 2017) by seeking to halt and reverse the alienation of the homelessness (by for example placing people into accommodation). Overall, the focus is on surveillance – on exerting various forms of power to shape the behavior of the homeless in more socially desirable directions. An interesting avenue for future research would be to examine whether procedural justice might prove to be effective had other outcomes related to multi-agency working be considered; or, conversely and as scholarship in the legal socialization realm (e.g., Tyler & Trinkner, 2018) argues, whether procedural *in*justice drives further alienation and withdrawal from society, social institutions, and important groups (e.g., family, peers).

Yet, we know that despite the 'positive' association between sanction risk and street population offending most respondents were still offending in other ways—for this group of 'regular customers' neither policing approach, deterrence or procedural justice, really seems to have worked. Police activity was only rather loosely connected to their compliance behavior. Our data suggest that the street population are never, in a technical sense, going to 'self-regulate' in the way envisaged by procedural justice theory. Their structural location, determined by poverty and exclusion, might actually be the key

driver of (non)compliance, with morality and deterrence affecting the *limits* of non-compliance, the latter in relation only to a set specific crimes (c.f. Weitzer 2010). Since criminality is synonymous with survival, what form of policing could actually ‘work’ in this context? Socio-legal scholars have highlighted that homeless people are criminalized for status crimes (Johnsen et al. 2018), for the status of sleeping on the streets and engaging in activities directly associated with being homeless. Given this entanglement and supremely challenging predicament, it is difficult to imagine a form of policing or multiple agency coordination that could ‘work’ to reduce offending *in situ* that did not also involve some violation of human rights. Our findings therefore tap into the ongoing ‘de-policing’ debate: it appears that ways to address the problematic offending and other behaviors of this group must be found primarily outside of policing. But given the level of anti-homeless strategies intensified over the years by a plethora of non-policing agencies (Sanders & Albanese, 2017), it is not obvious if non-policing methods can generate more compliance, either.

Strengths and limitations

Finally, although our study had several strengths, like all research it was also subject to several limitations that bear on the strength of conclusions that can be drawn on the basis of the present data. First, we provided cross-sectional data and therefore we cannot claim causality. Second, we relied on a non-random sample. Further investigation is therefore required to substantiate our findings—ideally in the form of experimental research that goes beyond the correlational design of the present study. Longitudinal research would also prove useful in order to control for methodological effects like social desirability bias, or other time-constant confounders (c.f. Hamaker & Muthén, 2020; Pina-Sánchez & Brunton-Smith, 2020). Third, people experiencing homelessness are not a homogenous group with common motivations and challenges (Victor, 1997) and discretion in enforcement can differ between law enforcers (Bronitt & Stenning, 2011); so different ‘cohorts’ might have differing experiences with police.

Conclusion

In this paper we have shown that deterrence-based policing strategies may promote street population compliance with what might be termed *vagrancy laws* (e.g. begging on the streets and sleeping rough in restricted areas). It seems that police can generate a subjective risk of sanction by making people experiencing homelessness think that they are effective in policing crimes specific to this group. Our findings also suggest that homeless peoples’ moral codes are important to compliance behavior. These results suggest that to understand the relationship between fairness, policing and compliance we need to take account of the structural context and the place of the actors and actions that constitute crime. Scholars need to pay attention to the context when examining police-citizen interactions because that context will provide important information about the nature of that relationship and the underlying motivational forces (i.e., instrumental versus relational) that will be more/less important. Relational concerns might not motivate compliance in this context because (a) breaking the law is critical to survival on the street, or (b) the population studied does not identify with or care much about being considered a member of the group the police represents (c.f. Reisig et al. in press). However, we also find that deterrence-based policing strategies have little purchase on the ‘wider’ criminal activity of this same group – activity in which, recall, many of them were engaged. Neither procedural justice *nor* police effectiveness had any association with minor or more serious crimes not associated directly with life on the streets. Overall, albeit a speculation that goes beyond the data presented in this paper, it appears that for this group of ‘regular customers’ of police neither approach to policing really ‘works’, and consequently the only real answer to their behavior might be a non-policing one. More work is needed in this space as procedural justice theory is only just beginning to be applied to people as socially and structurally marginal as those who contributed to this study. Doing so will help to provide a better balance to the literature.

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Table 1. Percentage of participants who indicated that they often or sometimes or rarely or never engage in low-level, street population-specific, and high-level criminal activities.

Engagement in low-level criminal activities (%)						
	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Buy stolen good	19.0	24.0	16.5	40.5	2.79	1.17
Illegal waste disposal	18.5	18.5	23.0	40.0	2.85	1.14
Shop lifting	18.0	20.0	19.0	57.0	1.87	1.16
Vandalism	15.0	12.0	14.5	58.5	3.17	1.13
Cannabis	33.5	21.0	13.5	32.0	2.44	1.25
Engagement in street population-specific criminal activities (%)						
	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Alcohol on street*	37.5	19.0	15.5	28.0	2.34	1.24
Begging	38.0	11.5	13.0	37.5	2.50	1.33
Rough sleeping	39.0	17.5	14.5	29.0	2.34	1.26
Spice**/heroin	32.0	15.0	11.5	41.5	2.63	1.31
Anti-social behavior	26.5	13.0	18.5	42.0	2.76	1.25
Engagement in high-level criminal activities (%)						
	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Burglary	14.5	15.0	10.5	60.0	3.16	1.15
Robbery	9.5	14.5	10.0	66.0	3.33	1.04
Theft from person	12.5	16.0	7.0	64.5	3.24	1.12
Theft from vulnerable	11.6	10.1	11.1	67.3	3.34	1.06
Violence	11.0	14.0	12.5	62.5	3.27	1.07

* In general, drinking alcohol on the street is generally permissible in the UK, it is often prohibited by local statutes in many areas where the street population congregate.

** Spice – the so-called ‘zombie drug’ – is a laboratory-created cannabis substitute. We place it in the category of offences specific to the street population, whereas cannabis is in the category of mundane/low-level offences, because it is a lot stronger and cheaper than the latter, making it appealing to some of society’s most vulnerable groups, including the homeless. Culturally, the drug is closely associated with homelessness and other forms of extreme marginality.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics and correlations between key variables

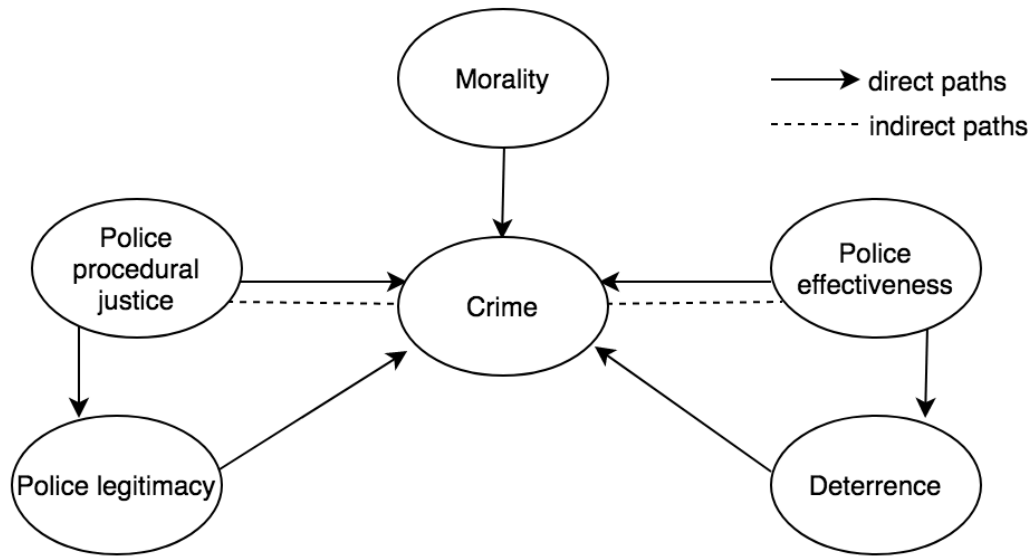
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Procedural justice	3.04	1.11												
2. Police legitimacy	2.94	1.02	.77**											
3. Gen effectiveness	2.84	1.03	.91**	.73**										
4. SP effectiveness	2.80	1.06	.84**	.65**	.88**									
5. Morality minor	2.92	.95	.34**	.26*	.39**	.40**								
6. Morality SP	2.79	.95	.29*	.37**	.32*	.33*	.92**							
7. Morality serious	3.40	.90	.34**	.40**	.47**	.39**	.89**	.91**						
8. Deterrence minor	2.29	.98	.23*	.26*	.31*	.26*	.43**	.32*	.39**					
9. Deterrence SP	2.39	.94	.27*	.29*	.34*	.28*	.47**	.33*	.40**	.91**				
10. Deterrence serious	2.62	1.10	.28*	.25*	.35**	.24*	.24*	.16	.25*	.84**	.90**			
11. Minor crime	2.82	.98	.41**	.43**	.48**	.41**	.77**	.67**	.76**	.36**	.36**	.26*		
12. SP crime	2.51	1.14	.24*	.29*	.31*	.31*	.54**	.58**	.62**	.33**	.40**	.28*	.88**	
13. Serious crime	3.27	1.01	.54**	.52**	.61**	.58**	.66**	.62**	.82**	.36*	.38**	.28*	.86**	.76**

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

Table 3. Standardised regression coefficients for direct and indirect paths in the SEM models

Minor crime model					
Direct paths			<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
Procedural justice to	Legitimacy		.80	.04	<.001
	Minor crime		-.28	.47	.55
Legitimacy to	Minor crime		.27	.17	.12
	Deterrence to	Minor crime	.20	.11	.08
Police effectiveness to	Deterrence		.39	.09	<.001
	Minor crime		.09	.41	.82
Morality to	Minor crime		.71	.09	<.001
Indirect paths					
PJ to minor crime via	Legitimacy		.22	.14	.12
Effectiveness to minor crime via	Deterrence		.08	.04	.08
Street population crime model					
Direct paths			<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
Procedural justice to	Legitimacy		.79	.04	<.001
	Street pop crime		-.35	.37	.34
Legitimacy to	Street pop crime		.26	.22	.23
	Deterrence to	Street pop crime	.32	.11	<.05
Police effectiveness to	Deterrence		.39	.09	<.001
	Street pop crime		.06	.28	.83
Morality to	Street pop crime		.57	.10	<.001
Indirect paths					
PJ to Street pop crime via	Legitimacy		.20	.17	.24
Effectiveness to Street pop crime via	Deterrence		.13	.05	.01
Serious crime model					
Direct paths			<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
Procedural justice to	Legitimacy		.79	.04	<.001
	Serious crime		-.24	.34	.23
Legitimacy to	Serious crime		.25	.14	.09
	Deterrence to	Serious crime	.07	.10	.50
Police effectiveness to	Deterrence		.35	.09	<.001
	Serious crime		.29	.24	.23
Morality to	Serious crime		.68	.08	<.001
Indirect paths					
PJ to Serious crime via	Legitimacy		.20	.12	.09
Effectiveness to Serious crime via	Deterrence		.02	.04	.51

Figure 1. Specified direct and indirect paths of the models



Appendix: Measures

Perceived police procedural justice

1-5 scale (strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree)

The police make decisions based on facts {PJ1}

The police explain their decisions to the people they deal with {PJ2}

The police treat people with respect {PJ3}

Perceived police legitimacy

1-5 scale (strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree)

I feel a moral obligation to obey the police {OBEY1}

I feel a moral duty to support the decisions of police officers, even if I disagree with them {OBEY2}

I feel a moral duty to obey the instructions of police officers, even when I don't understand the reasons behind them {OBEY3}

I support the way the police usually act {NORM1}

The police usually act in ways that are consistent with my own ideas about what is right and wrong {NORM2}

The police stand up for values that are important for people like me {NORM3}

Perceived police effectiveness

1-5 scale (strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree)

The police are effective at tackling drug dealing and drug use {EFF1}

The police are effective at responding to emergencies promptly {EFF2}

The police are effective at providing a visible patrolling presence {EFF3}

The police are good at moving people on and stopping them from begging {SPEFF1}

The police are good at stopping people from drinking alcohol where they shouldn't be {SPEFF1}

The police are good at stopping people from taking drugs {SPEFF1}

Compliance

1-4 scale (often, sometimes, rarely, never)

How often during the past year have you...?

Mundane/low-level compliance

Bought something that you thought might have been stolen {Comp1a}

Illegally disposed of trash or litter ('fly tipping') {Comp1b}

Taken something from a shop without paying for it {Comp1c}

Vandalised public property {Comp1d}

Bought or used drugs such as cannabis {Comp1e}

Mid-range compliance behaviors specific to the street population

Drank alcohol on the street {Comp2a}

Begged on the street or elsewhere {Comp2b}

Rough slept in areas that you know it is not permitted {Comp2c}

Bought or used drugs such as spice or heroin {Comp2d}

Engaged in anti-social behavior such as being violent, rowdy or inconsiderate to others {Comp2e}

High-level compliance

Stolen something, or attempted to steal something, from a house or unauthorised premise (burglary) {Comp3a}

Stolen something with the use of force/ weapon or threat to use force/ weapon (robbery) {Comp3b}

Stolen something from a person (e.g. pickpocket) {Comp3c}

Stolen something from a *vulnerable* person (e.g. an old lady) {Comp3d}

Been physically violent against someone else *not* in self-defence (e.g. started a fight with someone) {Comp3e}

Morality

1-4 scale (not wrong at all, not too wrong, somewhat wrong, very wrong)

How wrong do you think the following behaviors are...?

Mundane/low-level compliance

Buying something that you think might have been stolen {Mor1a}

Illegally disposing of trash or litter ('fly tipping') {Mor1b}

Taking something from a shop without paying for it {Mor1c}

Vandalising public property {Mor1d}

Buying or using drugs such as cannabis {Mor1e}

Mid-range compliance behaviors specific to the street population

Drinking on the street {Mor2a}

Begging on the street or elsewhere {Mor2b}

Rough sleeping in areas that you know it is not permitted {Mor2c}

Buying or using drugs such as spice or heroin {Mor2d}

Engaging in anti-social behavior such as being violent, rowdy or inconsiderate to others {Mor2e}

High-level compliance

Stealing something, or attempting to steal something, from a house or unauthorised premise {Mor3a}

Stealing something with the use of force/ weapon or threat to use force/ weapon (robbery) {Mor3b}

Stealing something from a person (e.g. pickpocket) {Mor3c}

Stealing something from a vulnerable person (e.g. old lady) {Mor3d}

Being physically violent against someone else *not* in self-defence (e.g. started a fight with someone) {Mor3e}

Perceived risk of sanction

1-4 scale (not at all likely, not very likely, fairly likely, very likely)

How likely do you think it is that you would be caught and punished (by being fined and/ or arrested) if you did any of the following behaviors...?

Mundane/low-level compliance

Bought something that you thought might have been stolen {Risk1a}

Illegally disposed of trash or litter ('fly tipping') {Risk1b}

Taken something from a shop without paying for it {Risk1c}

Vandalised public property {Risk1d}

Bought or used drugs such as cannabis {Risk1e}

Mid-range compliance behaviors specific to the street population

Drank alcohol on the street {Risk2a}

Begged on the street or elsewhere {Risk2b}

Rough slept in areas that you know it is not permitted {Risk2c}

Bought or used drugs such as spice or heroin {Risk2d}

Engaged in anti-social behavior such as being violent, rowdy or inconsiderate to others {Risk2e}

High-level compliance

Stole something, or attempted to steal something, from a house or unauthorised premise (burglary) {Risk3a}

Stole something with the use of force/ weapon or threat to use force/ weapon (robbery) {Risk3b}

Stole something from a person (e.g. pickpocket) {Risk3c}

Stole something from a *vulnerable* person (e.g. an old lady) {Risk3d}

Were physically violent against someone else *not* in self-defence (e.g. started a fight with someone) {Risk3e}