

Policing alienated minorities in divided cities

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Abstract

Minority groups frequently challenge the legitimacy of legal authorities, particularly the police. Without trust and legitimacy, the police encounter constant conflict and cannot function effectively. While past research has examined minorities' perceptions of the police, national minorities provide an interesting and under-investigated test case because of their inherent identity conflict with the state. The current research examines three factors to explain minority–majority disparities in views of the police: (i) *police effectiveness and fairness*; (ii) *intergroup discrimination* (termed relative deprivation in policing); and (iii) *identification with the state*. Findings from a survey of Jewish and Arab residents of nationally mixed neighborhoods in Israel ($n = 394$) suggest that while all of these factors account for minority–majority discrepancies in views of the police, perceptions of police fairness are particularly important. Furthermore, feelings of discrimination and low levels of identification with the state are less important than evaluations of fairness in explaining minorities' negative perceptions of the police.

Keywords: identification, legitimacy, minorities, policing, procedural justice.

1. Introduction

As most Western democratic societies diversify, their legal and law enforcement authorities seem to encounter greater difficulty securing public trust and legitimacy. This is particularly true of minority populations that consistently display lower levels of satisfaction with, trust, and belief in the legitimacy of the police (Albrecht 1997; Chakraborti & Garland 2003; Weitzer & Tuch 2004; Tyler 2005; Hasisi & Weitzer 2007; Ben-Porat & Yuval 2012). More than any other demographic feature (including gender, age, education, and income), belonging to a minority group is “the best predictor of evaluations of police” (Thomas & Hyman 1977, p. 77). Negative views of the police, and particularly the failure to gain public trust and legitimacy, result in a host of adverse social and political consequences. Without public trust and legitimacy, the police are unable to operate effectively and encounter conflict and confrontation in their interactions with the public (Tyler 2006, 2011; Gau & Brunson 2010; Tyler *et al.* 2015).

Historically, existing models of policing have been developed “with ‘the people’ or ‘the majority’ in mind” (Van Craen 2013, p. 1042). However, in recent years, the challenges the police face in dealing with minority populations have become the focus of empirical research (see Tyler & Sunshine 2003; Meares 2008; Murphy &

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Cherney 2011a; Rowe 2004; Cashmore & McLaughlin 2013; Murphy 2013; Sargeant *et al.* 2014; Zhao *et al.* 2015; Spencer *et al.* 2016). This research has typically focused on ethnic minorities and – to a lesser extent – religious or national minorities. The distinctions between ethnic and religious or national minorities could be of importance because religious minorities (such as Muslim immigrants in Australia, Europe, and the United States [US]) and, even more so, national minorities (such as Arab citizens in Israel) typically feel more alienated from the state than ethnic minorities, and (relatedly or unrelatedly) harbor particularly negative perceptions of the police (Hasisi & Weitzer 2007; Joppke 2009; Huq *et al.* 2011; Murphy & Cherney 2011a; Madon *et al.* 2016; Fisk & Cherney 2017).

Religious minorities, especially Muslims, have been negatively implicated by changes in authorities' responses to threats of domestic terrorism that have put them under greater surveillance and suspicion by police authorities, resulting in rising distrust and diminished willingness to cooperate with the police (Cherney & Murphy 2013, 2016; Madon *et al.* 2017). National minorities, even more than religious (often immigrant) minorities, are also affected by specific discriminating policies that prevent their integration within broader society (Koopmans 2010; Birch 2012). For national minorities, the structure and character of the state is perceived as unjust. Police and policing may therefore be part of a larger problem of national minorities' low identification with the state itself. Consequently, the extent to which relationships between national minorities and the police depend upon features of policing and the extent to which they are simply a manifestation of structural tensions between minorities and the state requires examination.

The current research addresses this question by comparing perceptions of the police among Jewish (a national majority group) and Arab citizens (a national alienated minority group) who reside in nationally mixed neighborhoods in Israel. We examine three types of factors that may explain disparities in how these groups perceive and experience the police. Drawing on previous research (see Tyler 2003, Tyler 2006; Jackson *et al.* 2014), we look at the role of features of policing in terms of both fairness (i.e. how the police treat citizens and make decisions about them) and effectiveness (how effectively the police do their job). The constructs of fairness and effectiveness, which have been extensively explored in existing research, are supplemented with two additional constructs that may more comprehensively capture minorities' (particularly alienated national minorities') views of police: perception of police discrimination (which we term relative deprivation in policing) and identification with the superordinate state. Minorities report much higher police discrimination, particularly when they feel marginalized by other aspects of civic society (Livengood & Stodolska 2004; Saban 2003; Hasisi & Weitzer 2007; Awad 2010). Research shows that this sense of discrimination can uniquely contribute to minorities' negative relationship with the police (Sunshine & Tyler 2003; Weitzer & Tuch 2005). In the current study, we model our assessments of discrimination on Relative Deprivation Theory (see Runciman 1966; Gurr 1970). We suggest that minority groups not only focus on police performance or conduct in absolute terms, but also on whether their needs and concerns receive less attention from the police compared to the majority population.

In addition, we examine the role of the preexisting structural factor of identification with the state. State-led nationalism and ideology often structurally exclude minority groups, who in turn develop an identity of distance from the superordinate state (Marx 2002). As law enforcement is the most visible, immediate, and accessible manifestation of the state, it is possible that minorities that are largely distrustful of government and alienated from the state writ large also tend to have troubled relationships with law enforcement (Skogan & Frydl 2004). The idea that attitudes toward the police are a manifestation of communities' higher-order feelings about the state places boundaries on the impact of police performance or conduct *per se*. In its extreme version, this perspective suggests that no matter how effectively the police function or how fairly the police treat citizens, minority communities who are alienated from the state cannot harbor positive feelings about the police simply because the police function as a prominent proxy of the state. The question of whether distrust of the police is the result of factors related to the police (police fairness and/or effectiveness) or factors beyond the police (state legitimacy) is a key question in the context of policing minorities. We can conceptualize police legitimacy as either nested in state legitimacy and thus constrained by it, or as a construct that, independent of state legitimacy, mirrors the concrete relationship between the police and citizens. Analyzing the role of both structural and conduct-specific roots to police legitimacy allows us to gauge the extent to which the police are a passive recipient of the structural relationship between the state and its citizens and the extent to which they are an active party, capable of transforming this relationship.

The current project simultaneously explores the role of police-specific factors (i.e. police fairness and effectiveness; relative deprivation in policing) and structural factors (identification with the state and with one's subgroup), as well as the more nuanced question of which of these factors is particularly important in explaining majority–minority disparities in evaluations of the police. We address these questions by assessing perceptions of the police among alienated minority and dominant majority groups of Jews and Arabs in Israel residing in the same neighborhoods. This context can serve as a particularly interesting test case to examine national minorities' perceptions of the police. The State of Israel presents an extreme example of a national divide because the state itself is defined vis-à-vis its national (Jewish) identity and its Arab citizens are seen not only as a non-Jewish minority but also as “the enemy within” (Gur-Ze'ev 2000). This context renders the question of whether it is at all possible for police to cultivate trust and legitimacy among alienated Arab minorities, and what the best avenues for the police to pursue this goal are.

1.1. Existing models of policing: The role of fairness and effectiveness

Past research has put forth two, often complementary, models to explain public perceptions of police and law enforcement institutions: normative and instrumental. According to the normative model, attitudes toward police – particularly those concerning police legitimacy – are anchored in considerations of procedural fairness (Tyler & Lind 1992; Tyler 2004, 2006a). Namely, when police officers treat citizens with respect, maintain the rule of the law, and allow citizens to participate in decisions concerning them, they foster the view that law enforcement officials are trustworthy and legitimate. This type of legitimacy is normative because it does not rest on expected reward or punishment but on the internalized obligation to maintain the rule of law.

In the second instrumental model, attitudes toward police are a product of citizen's practical concerns of safety and evaluations of police performance (i.e. how effectively the police do their job). From this perspective, people follow laws or cooperate with the police because it is worthwhile for them to do so or because non-compliance is costly. According to the instrumental model, police strategies need to establish deterrence (to disincentivize criminal deviance) and to demonstrate effectiveness (to exhibit competence) if they are to secure public trust and satisfaction (Piquero *et al.* 2011).

In the context of policing, research finds support for both the instrumental and the normative models, suggesting that people evaluate the police drawing on both issues of fairness and effectiveness (Tyler 2003a; Hasisi & Weisburd 2011; Jonathan-Zamir & Weisburd 2013). However, the normative model (more so than the instrumental one) appears to be better suited to explain trust in and the legitimacy of the police (Tyler & Lind 1992; Sunshine & Tyler 2003; Tyler 2006). Procedurally fair policing maintains an enduring positive relationship between communities and the police, unlike the more ephemeral impact of instrumental concerns. Research shows that procedural justice serves as a basis for the internalization of the legitimate role of law enforcement authorities and the rule of the law. This is because procedural justice cements people's social identity connections to the groups to which they belong, as well as to their authorities and institutions (Tyler & Lind 1992; Tyler & Blader, 2003).

1.2. Policing minorities

Alienated minority groups present an increasing challenge to contemporary policing as modern societies become more diverse, and states, for different reasons, struggle to integrate minorities. Nation states often demarcate and exclude immigrants or indigenous minorities residing within them, who in turn refuse to identify with the state. Formal citizenship, therefore, does not necessarily overlap with equal status, on the one hand, and feelings of national belonging, on the other (Brubaker 1995). Discrimination, real and perceived, and alienation from the state (manifested in low levels of identification) provide significant challenges and could conceivably influence police ability to cultivate trust and legitimacy in these groups, regardless of reforms attempted.

While models about policing were originally developed in regard to majority groups or the population at large, some research has sought to examine their application to non-dominant minority groups. This question is important as minority groups are not only the most vulnerable to crime and disorder but are also the communities in which the police struggle to gain the trust and legitimacy essential to mitigate crime and disorder. Some research conducted on ethnic minorities has shown that, if anything, ethnic minorities put a higher premium on

procedural justice, presumably because of its implication to their social identity and status (see Chakraborti & Garland 2003; Sunshine & Tyler 2003; Meares 2008; O'Conner 2008; Henry 2009; Murphy 2013; Bradford 2014). One example of such research is a study conducted by Sunshine and Tyler (2003) who compared whether and, if so, how procedural justice, distributive justice, and police effectiveness differentially impact the perceptions of minority and majority communities (i.e. white, black, and Hispanic residents of New York City) regarding police legitimacy. The findings of this research suggested that procedural justice was an important precursor of legitimacy judgments among all ethnic groups, but stronger among blacks and Hispanics. Police effectiveness, on the other hand, was not involved in judgments about police legitimacy among these groups.

Ethnic minorities suffer from discrimination but still see themselves as an integral part of the broader society. Here we focus on national minorities that maintain a conflicting relationship with the state and that can never be fully integrated in the society as a result of structural barriers. While research exploring the relationship between national minorities and the police is limited, more research has explored religious (mainly Muslim) minorities. This research points to the possible role of both identification and discrimination in shaping evaluations of the police. For example, research conducted on American Muslims and their views of police in the context of efforts to fight terrorism showed that Muslims' identification with the state was linked to perceptions of police legitimacy at approximately the same magnitude as procedural fairness (see Tyler *et al.* 2010). Similarly, a study conducted on Muslims citizens in Australia showed that identification with the superordinate state was positively linked to willingness to cooperate with the police to prevent terrorism (Madon *et al.* 2016). Another study more specifically explored how the interplay between subgroup and superordinate identification shape perceptions of the police (Murphy *et al.* 2015). The results of this study documented several important implications of identity and identification of willingness to cooperate with the police: First, identification with the superordinate state was positively linked to cooperation. Second, subgroup (ethnic) identification was negatively linked – even if not strongly – to cooperation. Finally, ethnic minority members who sought to maintain separation between their ethnic and superordinate identity (i.e. separatists) were less willing to cooperate with the police.

Many of the studies regarding ethnic or religious minorities show that while identity plays a unique role in minorities' perceptions of the police, it does not necessitate the importance of relational concerns of procedural fairness (see Huq *et al.* 2011; Murphy & Cherney 2011b; Murphy *et al.* 2015). It is important to note, however, that in the studies conducted thus far, minorities' sense of identification with the state was highly positive. For example, Muslim citizens in the US have been shown to harbor positive US identity (i.e. their mean level identification was 3.41 on a four-point scale, see Tyler *et al.* 2010). This is also for true Australian citizens of African or Middle-Eastern origin (i.e. they scored 4.04 on a five-point scale, see Murphy *et al.* 2015). This suggests that despite obvious challenges, these minority groups still very much see themselves as a part of the superordinate society. However, this is not the case with the Arab national minority in Israel. While being formal citizens, Arabs are excluded from the national collective because Israel is defined as a Jewish–Zionist state. Most of the Arabs in Israel reject their Israeli affiliation and instead identify with the Palestinian people (Ichilov 2005; Lowrance 2006). Therefore, the Arab minority in Israel presents an extreme test case of a minority group that is very alienated from the superordinate society. This situation renders the question of whether existing models of policing (particularly the procedural justice model that is predicated on social identity) are applicable in this context, or whether alienated minorities' perceptions of the police are doomed to be negative as a result of their conflicting relationship with the state.

Doubts regarding the applicability of the relational model of policing to minorities who maintain conflicting identification with the superordinate state are supported by research showing that these groups can favor instrumental concerns in policing. For example, Murphy and Cherney (2011a) found that procedural justice was counterproductive for members of minority groups who question the mere legitimacy of the law. Similarly, research showed that procedural justice mattered less than police performance to Indian and Vietnamese minority groups in Australia (Sargeant *et al.* 2014). These patterns were explained by the key role of in-group identity in the procedural justice effect. If people value fair procedures because it serves as a signal regarding their status within their group, it is conceivable that minorities who do not view themselves as part of the group will place less value on procedural justice information. This paper examines police perceptions among Israeli Arabs who maintain both a low level of identification with the state and a high level of disengagement with the police. It is similarly

plausible that they will also place higher emphasis on police performance, or would be unaffected by police conduct or performance and will evaluate the police only vis-à-vis their identification with the state.

Minorities' perceptions of the police have been explained in previous studies not only by identification, but also by an acute sense of discrimination (Marx 2002; Livengood & Stodolska 2004; Hasisi & Weitzer 2007; Awad 2010). For example, in their work on different racial groups, Sunshine and Tyler (2003) examined the role of perceived discrimination in the allocation of police resources (which they termed "distributive fairness"). They found that judgments about distributive (un)fairness were linked to perceptions of police legitimacy among black residents of New York City. The approach conceptualizing discrimination as a part of distributive injustice was also taken in other studies concerning minorities and led to similar results (see Murphy & Cherney 2011b, 2012; Fisk & Cherney 2017). It is important to note, however, that the construct of distributive justice taps into a general rather than a specific sense of discrimination. That is, in a typical assessment of distributive justice, participants are asked whether the police give people from different social groups differential treatment. This sense of discrimination is not identical to specific, self-relevant experiences of discrimination (i.e. the perceptions of differential police treatment to one's own group and the feelings such perceptions invoke).

In the current research, we examine minorities' sense of discrimination drawing on relative deprivation theory (Runciman 1966; Gurr 1970; Walker & Pettigrew 1984). The theory argues that people assess their position in society in relative rather than absolute terms by comparing themselves to relevant others. Importantly, intergroup comparisons have been shown to be particularly powerful in invoking a feeling of collective deprivation. When members of some groups see themselves as systematically disadvantaged in relation to other groups they experience a sense of deprivation, which in turn can lead to social disengagement, social deviance, and social unrest (Runciman 1966; Walker & Pettigrew 1984; Walker & Smith 2002; Jost & Mentovich 2009) – outcomes that are remarkably similar to those associated with diminished trust and legitimacy (see Tyler 2006).

In the context of policing minorities, research and experience indicate that both elements of fairness and effectiveness are either violated or perceived to be violated, but often in a relative manner. Namely, minorities feel that they are treated more unfairly and less effectively compared to their majority peers. For example, minorities frequently believe that they are subjected to "over-policing" and (often accurately) see themselves as disproportionately targeted in "negative" police activities, such as stops, searches, and arrests, which leads to a sense of unfairness (Weitzer & Tuch 1999; Walker *et al.* 2000; Mauer & King 2007). "Racial profiling," perhaps the most common practice of over-policing, refers to the use of generalizations based on race, ethnicity, religion, or national origin as the basis for suspicion in directing law enforcement actions. Consistent with the normative model, research shows that racial profiling practices, or other violations of procedural fairness standards in police conduct, breed mistrust, harm legitimacy, and ultimately damage minorities' motivation to cooperate with the police (Tyler & Wakslak 2004).

Following relative deprivation theory (see Runciman 1966; Gurr 1970), we suggest that minority groups not only focus on police performance or conduct in absolute terms, but also on whether their needs and concerns receive less attention from the police compared to the majority population. Because most people do not typically have accurate information as to the existence or scope of discrimination, a sense of deprivation is likely to emerge as a result of people's subjective perceptions that their group is being discriminated against (see Tyler & Wakslak 2004). This conceptualization of deprivation is different to how discrimination is typically assessed in existing research. Discrimination, when assessed, is viewed as a part of distributive injustice seeking to tap into people's beliefs that certain groups (not necessarily their own group) do not receive their fair share of police resources (see Sunshine & Tyler 2003). Incorporating insights from relative deprivation theory, we examine the role of people's perception that their own group is being discriminated against, as well as their affective response to such discrimination (Walker & Pettigrew 1984). This is important as research suggests that affective elements of deprivation can be of greater psychological importance (Walker & Smith 2001).

1.3. The Israeli context of national divide

The Israeli context provides a useful test case to examine the challenges pertaining to policing alienated national and religious minorities. The Arab or Palestinian citizens of Israel (80 percent Muslims and 20 percent Christians) are both a national and religious minority of 18 percent in a state that is predominantly Jewish. The Arab

population is linguistically, culturally, and religiously different from the majority Jewish population. Although officially citizens, Arabs are not full members of the imagined community for which the Jewish state was established (Smootha 1990, 2002). The gap between Israel's citizenship that includes the Arab minority and the national identity that excludes them has important implications for the integration of Arab citizens, different from ethnic minorities that can, even in theory, become a part of the superordinate state. Scholars describe Israel as a national democracy where the state privileges the Jewish majority (Smootha 1997; Kook 2017). Arab citizens are discriminated against, marginalized, and face residential, educational, and occupational segregation (Lewin-Epstein & Semyonov 1993). Arab citizens define themselves as a distinct indigenous national group with their own national, cultural, religious, and linguistic characteristics, rejecting the Jewish definition of the state and demanding not only individual achievements but also collective indigenous rights (Jamal 2011; Ghanem & Mustafa 2011; Rouhana 2014; Jabareen 2015).

The Jewish–Arab relations in Israel echo the intergroup dynamics described in Blumer's (1958) classic group position theory. This theory postulates that dominant group members perceive subordinate outgroup members as a threat to their position, resulting in prejudice and intergroup hostility. According to this perspective, the relationship between dominant and subordinate groups follows a strict divide that "specifie[s] where each racial group ought to be within the prevailing racial order" (Esposito & Murphy 1996, p. 400). Importantly, the divide between dominant and subordinate groups is maintained even in the face of economic or social advancement such that intergroup division does not lose its significance even as industrialized societies progress. While Blumer's theory was originally conceived to explain racial prejudice in the context of ethnic (mainly black) minorities, it is more than fitting to the Israeli context. In Israel, the dominant position of Jews is the founding element of the state, anchored by both law and culture. The economic and educational improvement that the Arab population has witnessed in the last decades does not diminish the foundational importance of the national divide. As intergroup relations in Israel are powerfully determined by national identities and by the relative status attached to each national group, it is conceivable that both collective identity and the relative status of one's group would also explain the national divide in perceptions of a state organ such as the police.

The Israeli setting and its Jewish–Arab divide can serve as an optimal setting to examine the more global challenges in policing alienated minorities. First, the conflicting intergroup realities that take place in Israel are an example of the challenges faced by many police forces across the globe as countries and cities become more religiously and nationally diverse and conflict between different social groups increases. Second, this context is also an appropriate setting to examine the weight of our proposed construct of relative deprivation in policing, because Arabs in Israel report chronic and systematic discrimination by the police and the state and gauge their position and status vis-à-vis the dominant Jewish majority (Hasisi & Weitzer 2007; Ben Porat 2013). Third, the Israeli setting is also appropriate to examine the role of identification with the state as Arab citizens of Israel display much lower levels of identification with the state compared to their Jewish peers, and provide an example of a national minority that finds it difficult, if not impossible, to identify with the state (Smootha 1990, 2002).

The Israel police force is under one central command, divided into seven geographical districts and 71 local or regional police stations. The number of Israeli police personnel in 2016 was approximately 30 000. Eighty eight percent of the force is made up of Jews, and among the 12 percent of non-Jews, 7 percent are Druze, 1.4 are Arab–Christian, and 1.7 percent Arab–Muslim. Growing social tensions, especially those that have erupted in violence, have raised questions as to the police's ability to provide adequate services for citizens. These include demands for greater tolerance and respect for human rights, but also for effectiveness in tackling crime and providing security. It has been suggested that the police force needs to adapt to the new reality by redefining concepts like public order, public safety, and personal security, and to be more responsive and sensitive to the needs and demands of different minorities (Shadmi 2001). New strategies of performance management, following Compstat first used by the New York Police Department, that were adopted in 2005 (The *Menahel*: the manager system) and in 2012 (*Hamifne*: the turning point) used measurements and data analysis to improve the effectiveness of police work. These included comparing performance and outputs of various police stations and efforts to improve the level of service to citizens (Ben-Porat & Yuval forthcoming). Such police reforms have focused on improving police effectiveness and crime prevention capacity, but also sought to tap (sometimes not very successfully) into citizens' specific needs from policing.

Surprisingly, very little research has been conducted on policing in Israel as a test case of national divide. Past research conducted in Israel has mainly documented the highly problematic relationship between the police and the Arab national minority (see Rattner 1994; Hasisi & Weitzer 2007). This research showed that members of the Arab minority in Israel show very low levels of identification with the state of Israel and, relatedly or unrelatedly, also harbor negative perceptions about the police. A study conducted by Hasisi and Weitzer (2007), for example, showed that relative to Jewish citizens, Arab citizens viewed the police more negatively, and this negative gap held even after adjusting for other factors, such as education, gender, ideology, or fear of crime. Other research explored the implications of police involvement in counter-terrorism efforts in Israel (which started long before such efforts took place in other countries post 9/11). This research demonstrated that involvement in counter-terrorism missions improved perceptions about the police among Jewish citizens but damaged them among Arab citizens, further exemplifying the challenges presented by the national divide in Israeli policing (see Hasisi & Weisburd 2011).

1.4. The current research

In the current study, we examine whether (and to what extent) existing models of policing – developed and tested in societies wherein minorities face less structural barriers and discrimination – would be applicable in the Israeli context of national divide. The existing project focuses on Jewish and Arab residents of nationally mixed neighborhoods in Jaffa. In Israel, 95 percent of Jews and Arabs live in segregated residences and do not meet on a daily basis. However, Jaffa is one of a few cities where Arabs and Jews reside together (Monterescu & Rabinowitz 2007). Jaffa, located south of Tel-Aviv and part of its municipality, is one of the poorest quarters of the city. On the eve of the war in 1948, there were about 70,000 Arab residents in Jaffa; the vast majority fled or was deported. The 4,000 residents that remained after the war were placed under military control. The city was eventually united with Tel-Aviv, and Jewish immigrants, many of them from Bulgaria, were settled in Jaffa. For many years the city remained neglected; Jews who could afford to migrated to adjacent towns. In the 1980s, a process of gentrification encouraged by the municipality began, bringing together the Arab–Palestinian community, poor Jewish communities, and new upper-class residents attracted to the city's location by the sea and its old Arabic houses. These demographic changes, among other things, pushed the Arab population, who previously resided in the western part (now a prime real estate location), toward the city center, creating mixed neighborhoods. Issues of law and order have long dominated the governance of Jaffa, and the relationship between the Arab community and the police force has been contentious (Leibovitz 2007). While there are no specific data on policing in Jaffa, the police in Israel have been accused of differential policing along national lines. For example, since October 2010, 25 of the 28 citizens killed by the police were Israeli Arabs (Mossawa 2017).

We chose Jaffa as the context in which we aim to test our hypotheses for several reasons. First, because of the urban and nationally mixed nature of the neighborhoods, Arabs in Jaffa (unlike their more rural counterparts) are exposed to everyday encounters with the Israeli police. Second, because of their proximity to the Jewish majority, the Arab residents of Jaffa are also more prone to engage in intergroup comparison (which are readily available in mixed neighborhood settings). Finally, despite the nationally mixed nature of the neighborhood, the Arab residents of Jaffa display high levels of identification with their Arab and Palestinian identity and much lower levels of identification with the Israeli state.

In line with our hypotheses, we started by first gauging differences between Jewish and Arab residents of Jaffa in a host of attitudes about police. We then proceeded to build a model accounting for the factors underpinning intergroup disparities in levels of satisfaction with the police, trust in the police, and perceptions of police legitimacy. Drawing on existing models of policing, we examined the role (in terms of strength of associations) of police fairness and effectiveness in explaining intergroup disparities in perceptions of the police. In line with our hypotheses, we also examined the role of relative deprivation in policing in both affective and cognitive terms. Additionally, we examined the role of identification by assessing participants' identification with the state as well as with their ethnic subgroup. We decided to include identification with both the superordinate state and the subgroup because in the case of non-assimilated minorities these two constructs can often demonstrate polarizing patterns (Hornsey & Hogg 2000; Huo 2003; Gonzales & Brown 2006).

2. Methods

We located two neighborhoods at the center of Jaffa where a mixed population of Jews and Arabs live. According to 2014 Tel Aviv–Jaffa municipality statistics, “Tzahalon and Shikuney Hisakhon” neighborhoods are comprised of 30 percent Jews and 70 percent Arabs. In “Mikhlelet Yaffo and Dakar,” 55 percent are Jews and 45 percent are Arabs. Both neighborhoods measured low in socio-economic status (3–3.6 out of 10 in the 2008 census). We collected two subsamples from our designated neighborhoods: one of Jewish and one of Arab residents. In order to be eligible to participate in the study participants had to be aged older than 18 and have resident status (i.e. to have lived in the designated neighborhood for more than two years). Both subsamples were collected over a period of a few months during 2015. The subsamples were collected at the same time by trained interviewers whose nationality matched that of the designated participants (Jewish interviewers for Jewish respondents and Arab interviewers for Arab respondents). The interviewers underwent the same training regardless of nationality and, apart from their nationality, interviewers’ demographics (i.e. gender age and education) were approximately equal.

To recruit participants, interviewers started by locating eligible interviewees in public spaces in Jaffa (community centers, shopping areas) and then made door-to-door visits – approximately 50 percent of our sample was collected using such methods. The rest of the sample (approximately 50 percent) was collected using a snowball sampling technique, such that existing respondents recommended other eligible participants. Because the recruitment of Arab respondents from public spaces was more challenging (because of their hesitation to participate in a survey about the police in a public space), there were slight discrepancies in recruitment from public spaces: slightly more respondents (≈ 55 percent) were recruited for the Jewish sample in public spaces, while slightly more respondents (≈ 55 percent) for the Arab sample were recruited using the snowballing technique. At least one interviewer in each ethnic group was a local resident of Jaffa to enable knowledge of the neighborhoods and its notable public spaces. As a result of this sampling technique, participants were not drawn at random; interviewers were instructed to collect interviewees from diverse demographic backgrounds (on variables such as gender, age, and income). To ensure demographic diversity within each subsample, as well as equivalency between subsamples, a research coordinator tallied the demographic features of respondents while data had been collected and directed interviewers as to which respondents they should target.

2.1. Participants

We recruited a total sample of 390 participants: 193 Jewish and 197 Arab residents. The age of participants ranged from 18 to 80 (mean age 35.56, standard deviation [SD] = 12.72; Arab sample mean age 32.62, SD = 11.67; Jewish sample mean age 38.56, SD = 13.06); 198 of the participants were male (111 in the Arab subsample, 87 in the Jewish subsample); and participants had lived on average 14.59 (SD = 13.12) years in the neighborhood (Arab sample mean = 21.35, SD = 12.01; Jewish sample mean = 9.22, SD = 13.06). The differences between our samples and general Israeli demographics are presented in Table 1. Both the Jewish and the Arab samples over-sampled young people relative to the population. The Arab sample had more men while the Jewish sample had more women. To a certain extent, these differences reflect the demographic realities in public areas in Jaffa: the Arab population in Jaffa is younger, more patriarchal, and indigenous (many people were born in the

Table 1 Demographics of our sample compared to general Israeli demographics

Age	Arab men		Arab women		Jewish men		Jewish women	
	Population	Sample	Population	Sample	Population	Sample	Population	Sample
20–29	15.5816435	25.9	15.0480256	18.38	10.5010295	14.54	10.2493709	19.64
	11.9530416	11.5	11.846318	13.2	10.295127	15.81	10.4095173	15.14
40–49	10.1387407	10.5	10.0320171	9.9	8.48776024	4.45	8.7394189	7.6
50 <	12.2732124	5.7	13.1270011	5.02	19.0345459	7.59	22.2832304	15.2

Based on population of adults 20 years and older; data is taken from the Israeli Statistic Bureau, 2017.

neighborhood or have resided there since before the gentrification era), and thus reflect realistic differences between the populations.

2.2. Materials

The original materials were developed in Hebrew and were then translated to Arabic and back translated to Hebrew. This procedure allowed us to identify items that were not properly translated. The materials were finalized after revising problematic items and ensuring language equivalence between the Hebrew and the Arabic versions of the questionnaire. The final questionnaire included respondents' perception of the police as well as the state. The items in each construct were drawn from previous research on procedural justice, police effectiveness, and legitimacy (see Tyler *et al.* 2015), as well as identification (see Tyler *et al.* 2010) and relative deprivation adapted to the context of policing (see Petta & Walker 1992).

2.3. Independent variables

2.3.1. Ethnicity

As a first step, the interviewer assessed participants' ethnicity as Jewish or Arab. Arab respondents were interviewed in Arabic by Arab interviewers, and Jewish respondents were interviewed in Hebrew by Jewish interviewers.

2.4. Mediators

Participants were questioned as to their perceptions, which were rated from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely).

2.4.1. Police fairness

The score was derived as the average of three items: "To what extent do you think that the police treat people fairly?"; "To what extent do you think that the police are corrupt?" (reverse coded); and "To what extent do you think that the police treat people according to the law?" The Cronbach's alpha was 0.78.

2.4.2. Police effectiveness

The score for police effectiveness was derived as an average of two items: "To what extent do you think that the police do their job effectively?" and "To what extent do you think the police are successful in preventing crime and disorder?" The Cronbach's alpha was 0.76.

2.5. Relative deprivation in policing

We examined respondents' sense of relative deprivation in policing – the notion that regardless of "absolute" levels of assessment of the police, police can also be perceived in relative terms. We assessed both cognitive and affective aspects of a feeling of relative deprivation (see Walker & Pettigrew 1984; Petta & Walker 1992; Walker & Smith 2002). Responses were rated from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely).

2.5.1. Affective relative deprivation

Affective relative deprivation was comprised of two items: "To what extent do you resent the police for the way they treat Arabs (Jews) compared to Jews (Arabs)?" and "To what extent are you upset about how the police treat Arabs (Jews) compared to Jews (Arabs)?" The Cronbach's alpha was 0.77.

2.5.2. Cognitive relative deprivation

Cognitive relative deprivation was also comprised of two items: "To what extent do you think the police are more interested in fighting crime in Arab (Jewish) compared to Jewish (Arab) neighborhoods?" and "To what extent do the police treat Jewish (Arab) citizens more fairly compared to Arab (Jewish) citizens?" The Cronbach's alpha was 0.93.

2.6. Identification

The answers were rated from 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree).

2.6.1. Identification with the state

Identification with the state was assessed using three items: "I am proud to be an Israeli," "Israel stands up for values that are important for me," and "I feel Israeli." The Cronbach's alpha was 0.83.

2.6.2. Subgroup identification

Subgroup identification was assessed using two items: “I see myself as a part of the Jewish/Arab community in Israel,” and “Being Jewish/Arab is an important part of how I see myself.” The Cronbach’s alpha was 0.85.

2.7. Outcome variables

The answers were rated from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely).

2.7.1. Satisfaction with the police

The score for satisfaction with the police was based on a single item: “To what extent are you satisfied with the police?”

2.7.2. Trust in the police

Trust was assessed using a single item: “To what extent do you think the police can be trusted?”

It is important to note that using a one-item measure of both trust and satisfaction is not ideal. However, similar single-item measures have previously been used in research to produce meaningful findings (see Murphy *et al.* 2012).

2.7.3. Police legitimacy

Policy legitimacy was assessed using the following items: “You should support the decisions made by police officers even when you disagree with them;” “You should do what the police tell you even if you do not understand or agree with the reasons;” “You should follow the instructions of police officers even if you are not happy with the way they treat you;” “The police generally have the same sense of right and wrong that you do;” and “The police stand up for values that are important to you.” The Cronbach’s alpha was 0.87.

The abovementioned constructs were assessed as part of a questionnaire in a face-to-face interview. The questionnaire always presented the questions in the same order, but we reversed the causal path in the presentations of the constructs to interviewees. Namely, we started by asking about satisfaction, trust, and legitimacy, and followed by asking about identification, fairness, effectiveness, and relative deprivation.

Using these constructs, we explored several issues. First we sought to examine discrepancies in perceptions between Arabs and Jews in all of the abovementioned constructs. While the differences in how minority and non-minority communities experience the police are pervasive in many societies, the context of mixed cities serves as a unique setting to explore this issue. In mixed cities (or in our case mixed neighborhoods), minority and non-minority communities share the same public services and are policed by the same force. Exploring policing in this context allows us to better dissect which aspects of (the same) policing are differentially experienced by the minority and majority, as well as to identify the reasons for these differences.

Second, we constructed and examined a path model accounting for ethnic discrepancies in perceptions about the police. More specifically, we aimed to account for intergroup discrepancies regarding satisfaction with the police, trust in the police, and perceptions of police legitimacy. In line with our hypotheses, the model identifies three types of factors, each comprised of two subfactors: (i) per existing models of policing we examined perceptions about police performance in terms of both fairness and effectiveness; (ii) we focused on factors tapping into a sense of discrimination that we term relative deprivation in policing; and (iii) we explored the roles of both state and subgroup identification.

Finally, we used this model to examine which of the abovementioned mediating factors more strongly account for the discrepancies in minority–majority perceptions regarding the police. In light of the possible structural boundaries resulting from the national Arab minority’s sense of identification, we are specifically interested in comparing the relative weight of identity concerns to that of police effectiveness and fairness, as well as relative deprivation.

3. Results

As a first step, we compared the perceptions of Jewish and Arab residents on all of the variables assessed. The results of these comparisons are presented in Table 2. We found that the two national groups of Jaffa residents harbor very different views about the police. In all of the relevant constructs pertaining to the police, Arab

residents expressed more negative views compared to their Jewish neighbors. Jewish residents perceived the police as fairer, more effective, less discriminatory (in terms of both cognitive and affective aspects of deprivation), more trustworthy, and more legitimate, and expressed greater satisfaction with the police compared to Arab residents.

With respect to the structural variables of identification within the superordinate and subordinate groups, the discrepancies between Arabs and Jews also followed the expected patterns. Namely, Arab respondents displayed very low levels of identification with the state of Israel relative to their Jewish peers. At the same time, Arab respondents showed higher levels of subgroup identification compared to their Jewish peers. It is important to note, however, that the effect of subgroup identification was significantly weaker than that of superordinate identification, suggesting that Arabs disidentify with the state of Israel more strongly than they identify with their in-group. The two aspects that we speculated would be particularly pronounced among alienated minorities – namely, low identification with the superordinate state and experiences of discrimination – were indeed the domains wherein intergroup discrepancies were the strongest in terms of effect size.

Thus far we have documented differences between Arab and Jewish residents of mixed neighborhoods in Jaffa. Next, we examine the role of the factors that we expected to account for these discrepancies. Specifically, we focused on three outcome variables that are frequently considered in the literature with respect to policing: satisfaction with the police, trust in the police, and police legitimacy. The full model we tested is presented in Figures 1–3; the inter-correlation between all examined variables is presented in Table 3.

3.1.1. Satisfaction with the police

To examine our model, we used SPSS macros for a mediation analysis combined with bootstrapping developed by Preacher and Hayes (2008; Hayes 2013). Using 1,000 bootstrap samples, we entered nationality (i.e. Arab or Jewish respondents) as the predictor, the six constructs described above as the mediators, and satisfaction with

Table 2 Comparison between Arab and Jewish respondents regarding perception of the police

Construct	M Arabs (SD)	M Jews (SD)	t(df)	P	Cohen's d	CI(d)
Fairness	2.00 (0.80)	2.92 (0.88)	9.05 (386)	< 0.001	1.1	1.01–1.18
Effectiveness	2.01 (0.71)	2.80 (0.77)	10.61 (386)	< 0.001	1.07	0.85–1.28
RD (cognition)	4.74 (0.52)	1.73 (0.78)	13.5 (384)	< 0.001	4.53	4.14–4.89
RD (affect)	4.44 (0.80)	3.06 (1.17)	44.5 (385)	< 0.001	1.37	0.15–1.59
ID (subgroup)	5.45 (1.78)	5.01 (2.00)	2.29 (384)	= 0.02	0.23	0.03–0.43
ID (state)	1.53 (1.07)	4.86 (1.65)	23.62 (384)	< 0.001	2.41	2.27–2.55
Police satisfaction	1.66 (0.83)	2.52 (0.93)	9.70 (386)	< 0.001	0.97	0.76–0.92
Trust in the police	1.77 (0.7)	2.63 (0.86)	10.08 (385)	<0.001	1.1	0.88–1.31
Police legitimacy	2.65 (1.28)	4.02 (1.40)	10.94 (385)	<0.001	1.02	0.81–1.23

CI, confidence interval; ID, identification; RD, relative deprivation; SD, standard deviation.

Table 3 Correlations among variables

	ID (state)	Fair	Effect.	RD (cog)	RD (Affect)	Satis	Trust	Legit	Ethn
ID (sub)	0.17**	−0.05	−0.04	0.23**	−0.02	−0.02	0.03	0.01	−0.12*
ID (state)		0.58**	0.57**	−0.67**	−0.64**	0.49**	0.54**	0.54**	0.77**
Fair			0.69**	−44**	−0.55**	0.67**	0.7**	0.75**	0.48**
Effect.				−0.45**	−0.49**	0.66**	0.65**	0.59**	0.48**
RD (cog)					0.48*	−0.34**	−0.41**	−0.36**	−0.92**
RD (affect)						−0.47**	−0.45**	−0.52**	−0.57**
Satis							0.60**	0.54**	0.36**
Trust								0.54**	0.48**
Legit									−0.46**

* $P < 0.001$. For ethnicity: 0 = Arabs, 1 = Jews. Fair, police procedural fairness; Effect, police effectiveness; Ethn, ethnicity; Legit, police legitimacy; ID, identification; RD, relative deprivation; Satis, police satisfaction.

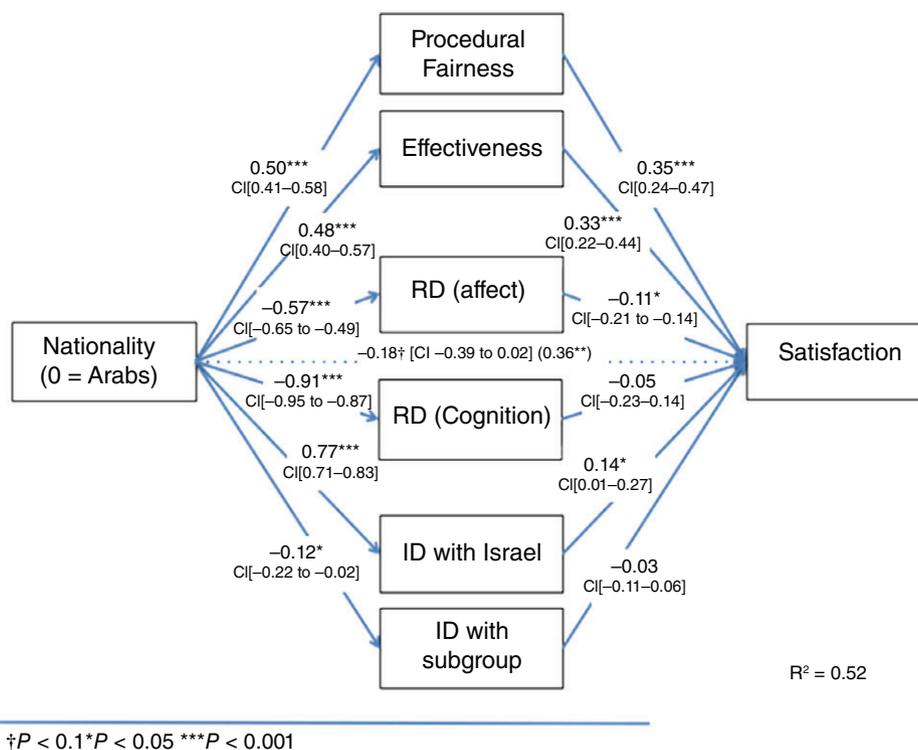


Figure 1 Factors underlying national discrepancies in satisfaction with the police. All coefficients are standardized; 95% confidence intervals (CI) are presented in []; the direct effect before the mediators were entered into the model is presented in (). ID, identification; RD, relative deprivation.

the police as the outcome measure (see Fig. 1 for illustration of the model). The mediation model explored the unique role of each of the mediators controlling for other mediators in the model (see Preacher & Hayes 2008). Furthermore, this analysis produces confidence intervals for each effect, which allows direct comparison of the relative strength of each factor. The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 1. The indirect effects (as well as their confidence intervals) are presented in Table 4. It is important to note that we initially ran the model with the inclusion of demographic variables (i.e. age, gender, income, and levels of religiosity). None of the demographic variables was proven significant (all $P > 0.29$), and thus were excluded from the final model.

As seen in Figure 1, both concerns of fairness and of effectiveness were significantly linked to satisfaction with the police. Specifically, Arab residents saw the police as less effective and less fair, and these perceptions were linked to their diminished satisfaction with the police. The association between effectiveness and satisfaction with the police was at the same magnitude as the association between procedural fairness and satisfaction. These patterns suggest that minority groups who report subpar police performance may also direct their concerns toward issues of effectiveness and not exclusively toward issues of fairness.

Furthermore, our analysis showed that the two additional factors incorporated into existing models of policing – namely, a sense of deprivation in policing and identification with the state – also accounted for group-based

Table 4 Indirect effects of nationality on satisfaction with the police via each of the moderators

Moderator	Effect	SE	95% CI
Fairness	0.13	0.033	0.07 0.20
Effectiveness	0.20	0.037	0.13 0.27
RD (cognition)	0.04	0.104	-0.15 0.25
RD (affect)	0.07	0.032	0.01 0.13
ID (subgroup)	0.003	0.006	-0.01 0.17
ID (state)	0.12	0.074	-0.1 0.28

discrepancies in satisfaction with the police. Arab residents of Jaffa were more likely to report deprivation in policing (in both affective and cognitive terms), lower levels of identification with the state of Israel, and higher levels of identification with their Arab identity. More specifically, we found that *feelings* of deprivation (and not cognitive assessments of it) were linked to lower levels of satisfaction with the police. Similarly, lower identification with the state of Israel (and not higher identification with the subgroup) was also linked to lower satisfaction with the police.

The analysis yielded two additional findings that are particularly worthy of attention: First, once all of the mediators were entered into the model, the negative gap in satisfaction with the police between Arabs and Jews disappeared. Second, the correlation between the structural variable of identification with the state and police satisfaction was *significantly weaker* than the correlation between satisfaction and constructs pertaining to policing per se of police fairness and effectiveness. That is, the path coefficients of police fairness and effectiveness in explaining satisfaction with the police were significantly stronger than the coefficients of both identification with the state and affective relative deprivation.

An examination of the indirect effect yields a similar conclusion. It shows that the total indirect effect of police effectiveness was stronger than the effect of procedural fairness (supporting the important role of effectiveness in the context of under-policed minorities). The total indirect effect of identification with the state was similar in magnitude to that of police fairness (but weaker than that of police effectiveness). However, unlike the total indirect effect of fairness and effectiveness, the indirect effect of state identification failed to reach significance (0 is included in confidence interval). The total indirect effect of feelings of deprivation was significantly weaker than the effect of police effectiveness but not of police fairness or identification, and it did reach significance.

3.1.2. *Trust in the police*

We used the same model to examine the factors underlying group-based discrepancies in trust in the police. The results of this model are presented in Figure 2 and the indirect effects are presented in Table 5. Again, we initially ran the model with the inclusion of demographic variables (i.e. age, gender, income, and levels of religiosity). These demographic variables were not proven significant (all $P > 0.28$) and were thus excluded from the final model. As seen in Figure 2, both police fairness and effectiveness were significantly linked to trust in the police, with the path coefficient of perceptions of police fairness being significantly stronger than that of police effectiveness. This suggests that perceptions that the police are ineffective and, even more so, that they are unfair, account for Arab residents' low levels of trust in the police. It is interesting to note that the strong correlations between procedural fairness and trust-building echoes similar findings from the procedural justice literature (Tyler & Wakslak 2004; Tyler 2006; Hinds & Murphy 2007).

Furthermore, both affective and cognitive assessments of relative deprivation in policing were not correlated with levels of trust among Arab residents of Jaffa, suggesting that a sense of discrimination alone does not contribute to Arabs' low levels of trust in the police (over and above the other constructs in the model). Finally, the structural variables of identification with both one's subgroup and the superordinate state also did not correlate with trust, suggesting that at least in the context of trust-building, preexisting lower levels of identification with the state do not place a structural impediment on the capacity of the police to develop and maintain trust among minority groups.

An examination of the indirect effects is also consistent with these conclusions. It shows that only the total indirect effects of procedural fairness and effectiveness were significant. Similar to the patterns of the path coefficients, the confidence intervals of the indirect effects show that the total indirect effect of police fairness was significantly stronger than that of police effectiveness.

3.1.3. *Police legitimacy*

We then used the model to examine the factors underlying intergroup discrepancies in perceptions of police legitimacy. Police legitimacy is a fundamental construct in the relationship between the police and the public. More than other outcome variables (such as police satisfaction), police legitimacy reflects the deep-seated internalization of the rule of the law and enables an enduring positive relationship between the police and the public. The path coefficients of our hypothesized model are presented in Figure 3. Again, demographic variables were excluded from the final model as they were proven insignificant (all $P > 0.13$). Indirect effects in the model are presented in Table 6.

As seen in Figure 3, several factors were proven as significant mediators of the link between national identity and perception of police legitimacy. First, police fairness was the most important factor to account for discrepancies in perceptions of police legitimacy. Police effectiveness was not a significant predictor of police legitimacy.

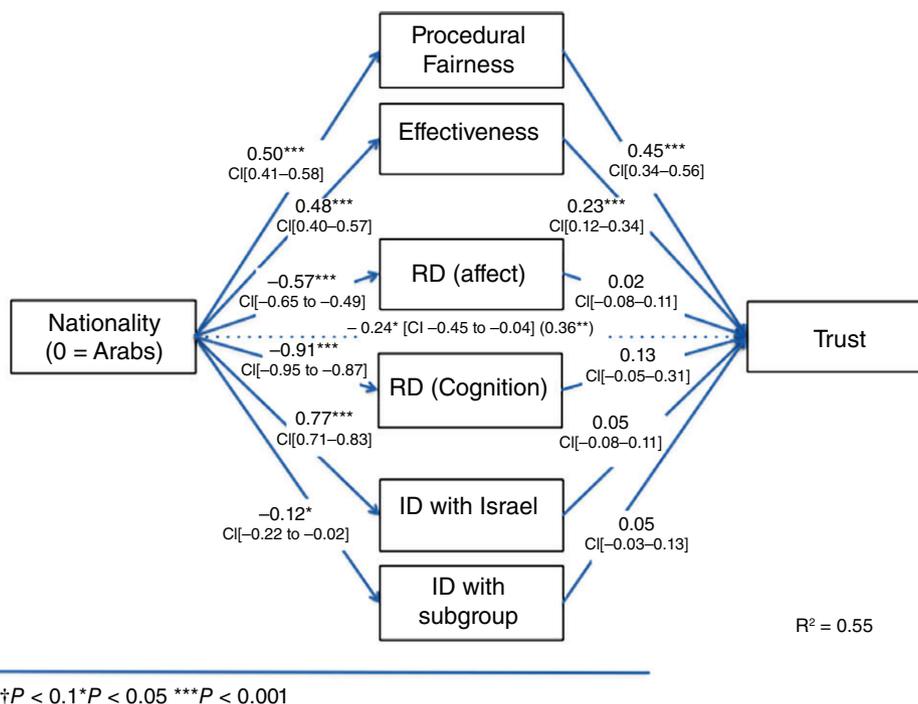


Figure 2 Factors underlying national discrepancies in trust in the police. All coefficients are standardized; 95% confidence intervals (CI) are presented in []; the direct effect before the mediators were entered into the model is presented in (). ID, identification; RD, relative deprivation.

Table 5 Indirect effects of national identity on trust in the police via each of the moderators

Moderator	Effect	SE	95% CI
Fairness	0.22	0.037	0.15 0.29
Effectiveness	0.11	0.031	0.06 0.18
RD (cognition)	-0.12	0.105	-0.34 0.08
RD (affect)	-0.01	0.030	-0.07 0.05
ID (subgroup)	-0.006	0.007	-0.03 0.002
ID (state)	0.04	0.069	-0.09 0.17

These patterns echo other findings in the procedural fairness literature, suggesting that while effectiveness can be important in local judgments of the police (such as police satisfaction), an internalized, long term sense of legitimacy is predicated on perceptions of procedural fairness.

Moreover, relative deprivation in policing, and more precisely *feelings of deprivation*, were marginally linked to perceptions of police legitimacy (over and above the other factors in the model). This suggests that the feeling among Arab citizens that they are discriminated against in policing relative to their Jewish neighbors was associated with lower levels of perceived legitimacy. Finally, lower levels of identification with the state of Israel also significantly accounted for lower levels of police legitimacy among the Arab residents of Jaffa. This suggests that at least part of the perception regarding whether or not the police are legitimate is a manifestation of alienation from the superordinate state (and thus is not predicated on how the police act or are perceived to act). Once entered into the model, the mediators *fully explained* the discrepancies in perceptions of legitimacy between Jewish and Arab respondents. Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, the path coefficient of identification with the state was significantly weaker than the path coefficient of police fairness in accounting for national discrepancies in police legitimacy. This suggests that while identity does serve as a boundary to the possibility of the police to gain legitimacy in the eyes of alienated minorities, a greater part of the negative gap in perceptions of legitimacy is linked to perceptions of procedural (un)fairness. The patterns of the total indirect effects also strengthen

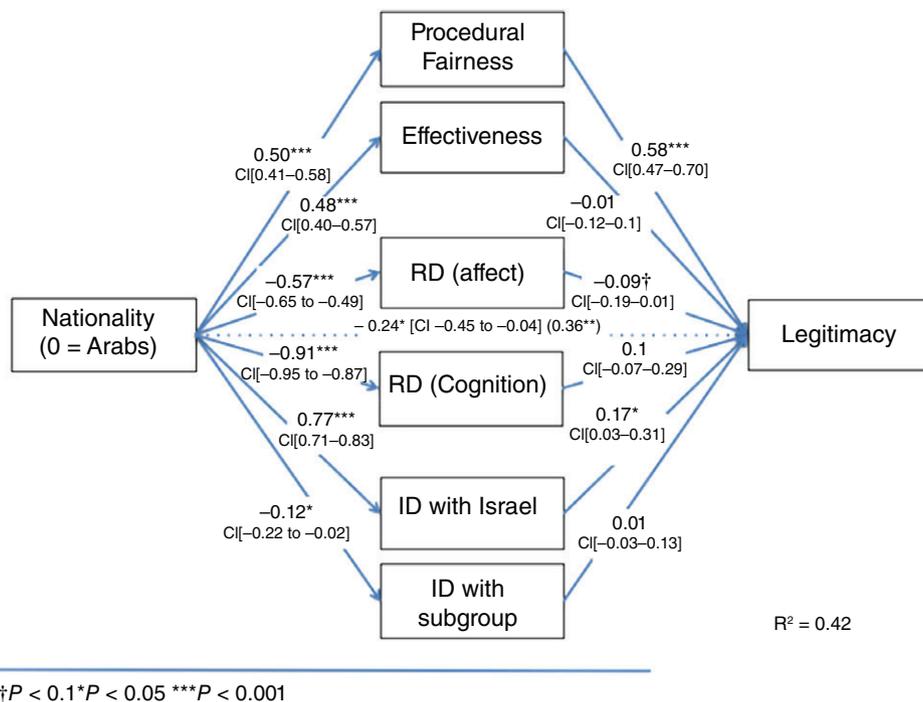


Figure 3 Factors underlying national discrepancies in police legitimacy. All coefficients are standardized; 95% confidence intervals (CI) are presented in []; the direct effect before the mediators were entered into the model is presented in (). ID, identification; RD, relative deprivation.

Table 6 Indirect effects of national identity on police legitimacy via each of the moderators

Moderator	Effect	SE	95% CI
Fairness	0.34	0.037	0.27–0.42
Effectiveness	-0.03	0.025	-0.07–0.24
RD (cognition)	-0.08	0.086	-0.25–0.08
RD (affect)	0.04	0.030	-0.01–0.1
ID (subgroup)	-0.001	0.005	-0.01–0.01
ID (state)	0.10	0.050	0.02–0.21

CI, confidence interval; ID, identification; RD, relative deprivation; SE, standard error.

this conclusion. Namely, while the total indirect effects of fairness and state identification were found to be significant, the indirect effect of procedural fairness is significantly stronger than that of state identification.

4. Discussion

Public trust and the legitimacy of the police are essential to the functioning of any political, state-centered order. Nevertheless, they are often also the most contested aspects of democracies that are, de jure or de facto, multicultural or multinational and where the integration of minority groups remains incomplete. The presence of alienated minorities often has direct bearing on policing and police effectiveness, as these minorities consistently display lower levels of satisfaction with, trust in, and legitimacy of the police than the majority population. Existing models that explain the relationship between the public and the police and provide guidelines for police reform do not typically consider the unique challenges involved in policing alienated minorities (such as national or religious minorities), whose a priori levels of identification with the state are low, and experiences (or perceptions) of police discrimination are high. The current research addresses this gap in existing scholarship by focusing on the Arab national minority in the Jewish state of Israel.

Surprisingly, policing of minorities in Israel has received very little scholarly attention. This issue is important not only as a new frontier for the study of policing, but also as the Arab minority in Israel presents an example

of many of the challenges pertaining to policing alienated national and religious minorities that increasingly occupy police forces across the globe. While ethnic minorities face barriers to full assimilation, they rarely encounter boundaries that are as explicit and as rigid as faced by Arab citizens in Israel (Bar-Tal 2001). Consequently, Arab citizens see themselves as a national minority within the Jewish state, subjected to systematic and chronic discrimination in both law and everyday practices. Such experiences of discrimination and alienation make the Arab citizens of Israel a unique test case for examining the dynamics underlying the policing of unassimilated minorities, and particularly for examining whether and to what extent the structural barriers of discrimination and identification with the state might influence the success of police efforts to gain trust and legitimacy among such minority populations.

To better capture alienated minorities' concerns with policing, we supplemented the existing models of policing (which focus mainly on issues of effectiveness and fairness) with two additional factors that may inform minorities' unique needs from policing: (i) experiences of discrimination in policing, which we refer to as relative deprivation in policing, and are comprised of both the belief that discrimination exists, and the negative affect invoked by such experiences of discrimination; and (ii) identification with the superordinate state, which represents the idea that the police function as a dominant proxy of the state, and thus serve as an avenue to express feelings of alienation from the state (regardless of their specific conduct). We focused on disparities in three attitudinal outcomes that are typically examined in research concerning the relationship between the police and the public: satisfaction with the police, trust in the police, and the legitimacy of the police.

Our conceptual additions to existing models of policing received empirical support: we found that both affective relative deprivation and low identification with the state explained disparities in national minority-majority perceptions of the police. Our assessment of deprivation in policing was different to how discrimination is examined in existing research in the sense that – in line with relative deprivation theory – we focused on self-relevant forms of discrimination that involve one's own group and contain both affective and cognitive elements. Our findings show that experiences of discrimination, and particularly the affective response to such discrimination, impact perceptions of the police. These findings diverge from the current literature on policing, which mainly discusses the relationship between the police and the public in terms of intra-group processes (Tyler & Blader 2003) and assesses perceptions of the police in absolute terms. Our findings show that minorities also judge police performance on an intergroup level and in relative terms. We also show that affective response to discrimination (rather than the cognitive assessment that discrimination indeed exists) shapes minorities' perceptions about the police. It is important to note, however, that unlike the classic findings of relative deprivation theory, which expect comparative judgments to be more powerful than absolute ones, in our study, relative deprivation in policing exerted a weaker impact than assessment of police fairness and effectiveness in absolute terms. The finding that procedural fairness concerns trump those of discrimination, however, fits well with past research showing that minority groups draw on information of procedural fairness to make inferences as to whether or not they were discriminated against in the first place (Tyler & Wakslak 2004).

We also find support for the idea that perceptions of the police (particularly of police legitimacy) are rooted in preexisting views of the state. That is, some of the negative views of the police are channels for national minorities to express their alienation from the state. This adds to existing research on policing in two ways. First, research thus far has predominantly focused on ethnic or religious minorities that, while suffering from discrimination, are largely integrated (or can potentially be integrated) into society. The current study examines a minority population, the Arab citizens of the Jewish state of Israel, that has a particularly conflicting relationship with the state, and where the goal of achieving full social assimilation is unattainable because of the definition of the state as Jewish. Second, research thus far has examined identity implications on willingness to work with the police, mainly in the context of anti-terrorism efforts (Tyler *et al.* 2010; Murphy *et al.* 2015; Madon *et al.* 2016). Our findings show that identification with the state is linked to perceptions of police legitimacy in the context of everyday police work over and above concerns of fairness, effectiveness, or discrimination.

Importantly, our findings show that relational models of policing that highlight fair and respectful treatment are applicable to alienated national minorities, such as the Arab citizens of Israel. Similar to previous findings, we show that instrumental concerns of police effectiveness can be important in shaping more immediate judgments of the police (i.e. satisfaction with the police), but that procedural fairness concerns are particularly important in shaping the long-term commitment to legal authorities manifested in police legitimacy. While these findings echo the importance

of procedural justice documented in previous research, they do raise some questions as to the reasons for why this is the case. Procedural justice has been shown to be important because of its implication to group identity. That is, fair treatment signals to individuals that they are valued and respected by their group and its authorities, that their position is secure, and that it is worthwhile for them to belong to such a group (Tyler & Blader 2003). Our findings raise the question of whether identity concerns play such a central role in the importance of procedural justice among alienated minorities that neither want nor are able to fully belong to the superordinate group. Future research can address other possible mechanisms to which procedural justice is important, even with the lack of identity aspirations.

Our findings present several policy implications. First, we show that to improve perceptions among alienated minorities, the police need to improve both their performance and conduct. More specifically, improvement of police effectiveness seems to be more fruitful in improving short-term goals, such as satisfaction with the police, whereas improvement of police fairness seems to be particularly fruitful in cultivating long-term positive orientation toward the police, as it enhances commitment to legal authorities and the law more broadly. Second, the connection between low identification and negative perceptions of the police may seem discouraging from a policymaking perspective, as it suggests that there are some structural barriers to cultivating positive views of the police among non-assimilated minorities. However, the findings of this research show that identification is less significant than fairness and effectiveness concerns to trust and legitimacy building. Namely, regardless of minorities' attachment to the superordinate state, policy intervention that focuses on police fairness and effectiveness can overcome most of negative gap between minority and majority populations and enhance the perceived trustworthiness and legitimacy of the police.

Minorities perceive themselves as suffering from discrimination, particularly in their interactions with state authorities. This was indeed the case with Israeli Arabs who reported a high sense of relative deprivation in policing, indicating that they see themselves as treated less favorably by the police relative to their Jewish peers. Despite these reports of discrimination, they were found to be less consequential in explaining minorities' perceptions of the police. This is particularly important, as many police officers see the police as unfairly dealing with broader societal problems that the police did not create and cannot singlehandedly remedy. Indeed, discrimination of minorities such as the Arab citizens of Israel is rooted in broader social and ideological reasons than policing. It is also indeed unfeasible to expect the police to remedy minorities' sense of discrimination that is rooted in broader legal, social, and political arrangements. However, our findings show that even without tackling such high-order social problems as discrimination, the police can still improve their relationship with the minority population by changing the ways in which minorities are policed.

Finally, another policy implication pertains to the consequences of police success in cultivating legitimacy. Our findings show that there are mutual connections between minorities' attachment to the state (i.e. their sense of identification) and their views of the police. This finding suggests that, more than dominant groups, alienated minorities' perception of the police reflects their position within society. However, the opposite relationship is also possible. Namely, it is possible that the police play an important role as a bridge between minorities and the state, such that by enhancing legitimacy the police could also improve alienated citizens' sense of belonging to the superordinate state. This possibility is particularly promising in the context of national minorities whose identification with the state is often viewed as immutable, and speaks to an important yet underexamined consequence of policing in diverse society.

4.1. Limitations and future directions

The first limitation of the study is that while it attempts to draw causal paths between the mediating constructs and outcome variables, our findings are based on a survey design and thus do not permit causal inferences. This limitation calls into question the causal arrows drawn in our path models. In line with existing literature, we see perceptions of police fairness and effectiveness as shaping police legitimacy. However, because of the correlational design of the study, we cannot rule out the opposite relations. That is, it is possible that people who do not view the police force as legitimate also view it as less fair and less effective. Such an opposite route is indeed plausible in the case of the Arab citizens of Israel, whose negative view of the legitimacy of the police is a structural predisposition. This possibility is particularly valid in light of the lack of objective information about actual police

conduct. We cannot rule out the possibility that Arab and Jewish citizens perceive the same police treatment differently because of their prior experience.

Another aspect that is missing in the current research is a comparison between Jews and Arabs living in mixed neighborhoods to those who live in more segregated Jewish or Arab neighborhoods. As we note in the introduction, the majority of the Jews and Arabs in Israel live in exclusively Jewish or Arabs neighborhoods. Naturally, the situation in such neighborhoods is very different than in mixed neighborhoods. For example, a large portion of the Arab population lives in villages where the police have almost no presence. As policing itself is different in nationally mixed versus segregated areas, it is conceivable that perceptions of the police, and the factors underlying them, would be different. It is possible for example, that because of the poor police presence in segregated Arabic areas, perceptions of police effectiveness would gain more prominence. It is also possible that concerns of relative deprivation in policing are more pronounced in mixed areas where intergroup comparison is more readily produced. These speculations should be tested in future research that will also enrich our scholarly understanding of minorities' needs as a function of their broader social and geographical placement.

Other notable limitations of this research pertain to both the sample and the context. The sample we collected was not a representative sample of Israeli Jewish and Arab populations, nor a representative sample of Jaffa residents. Moreover, our sample was in part a snowball sample, which raises the concern that respondents were more homogeneous than the population at large. For these reasons the generalizability of the findings to the wider context of policing minorities in Jaffa or greater Israel is limited. Moreover, the unique national and political history of Israel calls into question the generalizability of these results to policing minorities elsewhere. These concerns can be fully addressed in future research that will need to use representative samples and to examine policing in the context of other national or religious minorities. Indeed, as the challenges in policing communities are becoming more pervasive worldwide, this research can serve as a first step in a timely and much needed larger empirical effort.

Notwithstanding these limitations, we believe that some aspects make the findings important and insightful to the scholarship on policing minorities in the Israeli context and beyond. First, we applied eligibility criteria to ensure we only interviewed long-term residents of Jaffa and those who belong to diverse backgrounds (demographic-wise). Second, the features that were the focus of the minority population in our sample (identification, discrimination, perceptions of the police) are very similar to the features found in other studies concerning the Arab minority in Israel (see Rattner 1994; Hasisi & Weitzer 2007; Ben-Porat & Yuval 2012). Third, our models pertain to the processes underlying Jewish and Arab disparities in views of the police. While the specific magnitude of the disparities may be indeed related to the specific sample collected, the underlying processes shaping perceptions of the police are related to basic motivational forces (the justice motives, social identification processes etc.) and thus may be more generalizable (see Ross & Miller 2002). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the demographics of our sample (gender, age, income, and religiosity) did not impact the application of our models, suggesting that the processes we document is less sensitive to specific demographic features.

As for the specific national and religious context of minorities in Israel, we agree that Israel is a unique and indeed an extreme example of a national divide. But the extremity of this divide, and the magnitude of Arab national minorities' levels of (dis)identification is exactly what makes these findings notable to other contexts. Arab citizens of Israel are an example of a non-assimilated minority. Accordingly, we found that among our sample of Arab residents of Jaffa, levels of identification with the state of Israel were only slightly higher than the minimum score possible (M 1.53 versus a minimum score of 1). But even in the context of such extremely low levels of identification, our findings suggest that national minorities are still able to view the police as legitimate to the extent that the police are effective and treat them fairly. In other words, if procedural justice is found to overshadow low levels of identification among national minorities in the extreme context of the Israeli national divide, it is likely to be equally or even more important in situations where national minorities do not display such low levels of identification.

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