Law and Human Behavior

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Objective: We conducted an exploratory study testing procedural justice theory with a novel population. We assessed the extent to which police procedural justice, effectiveness, legitimacy, and perceived risk of sanction predict compliance with the law among people experiencing homelessness. **Hypotheses:** We did not develop formal a priori hypotheses but examined five general research questions. First, are there positive associations between police procedural justice, police legitimacy, and compliance? Second, do procedural justice and legitimacy differentially predict compliance, depending on the particular type of offending? Third, are there positive associations between police effectiveness, perceived risk of sanction, and compliance? Fourth, does the perceived risk of sanction differentially predict compliance, depending on the particular type of offending? And fifth, are there positive associations between moral judgments about different offending behaviors and compliance? **Method:** Two hundred people (87% male, 49% aged 45–64, 37% White British) experiencing homelessness on the streets of an inner London borough completed a survey that included measures of procedural justice, police legitimacy, perceived risk of sanction, morality, and compliance with the law. **Results:** Procedural justice and police legitimacy were only weakly (and not significantly) associated with any of the three types of compliance (compliance with laws prohibiting low-level crimes, behaviors specific to the street population, and high-level crimes). Police effectiveness positively predicted compliance via perceived risk of sanction, but only for street-population-specific offenses that can be important for survival on the streets, such as begging and sleeping in certain localities. Morality was positively associated with all three types of compliance behaviors. Supplementary analyses suggested a small amount of instability in the results, however, possibly because of the relatively small sample size. **Conclusions:** The lack of relevant relational connections to legal authority may explain why procedural fairness and perceptions of police legitimacy were not particularly important predictors of compliance in this context. More research is needed into the types of marginalized communities for whom structural factors of alienation and lack of access to resources may serve to reduce normative group connections. Future work should test whether the need to survive on the streets leads people to discount some social and relational constraints to behavior, making people (almost by definition) more instrumental in relation to law and law enforcement.

Public Significance Statement
Relational concerns might not be related to compliance in the homeless street-population context as breaking the law is critical to survival on the street, and this may weaken identification with the group that the police represents. Deterrence-based policing strategies may discourage behaviors specific to the street population (e.g., begging on the streets and sleeping in restricted areas). However, deterrence-based policing strategies might not be associated with the wider criminal activity of this same group—activity in which some of the group's members were engaged.

People obey the law for a variety of reasons, but the two we focus on in this article are fair treatment at the hands of police officers (promoting perceptions of police as legitimate enforcers of the law; Tyler, 2006) and deterrent behavior from the police (stimulating 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 police-centric efforts should prioritize to reduce offending: consent-based, legitimacy-building policies that promote normative compliance with the law (relational perspective) or enforcement-led approaches that concentrate on the provision of a credible deterrent threat (instrumental perspective)?

In this exploratory study, we consider these relational and instrumental perspectives on compliance in a population whose noncompliance is common—namely, people living on the streets of London (Sturge et al., 2021). How might the police motivate compliance among this highly marginalized group? Procedural justice theory (Tyler, 1990, 2006) predicts that procedural justice and legitimacy are more important than instrumental factors, so long as individuals identify with the group that an authority represents (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 1997; Tyler & Lind, 1992). But how does this play out in a marginalized population who sometimes have to commit crimes to survive and who have generally high levels of alienation from society? Might the police be able to generate compliance by acting in a procedurally just and legitimate manner, by demonstrating the risk of sanction, or some combination of the two?

Answers to these questions are important for at least three reasons. The first relates to the notion of shared group identity that sits at the heart of procedural justice theory (Tyler, 1990, 2006). 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 realigned, and who may have very immediate and pressing reasons to offend? This group might, as a result, be less attuned to the relational and value-relevant aspects of procedural justice; consequently, procedural justice and/or legitimacy might have few associations with compliance among this group. Instrumental factors may be more important in such a context (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Lind, 1992).

Second, examining the relative weight of legitimacy versus deterrence-based predictors of compliance among this special population tests the generalizability of procedural justice theory to a vulnerable group that sometimes needs to commit crimes to survive. Numerous studies have identified associations between legitimacy judgments and 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

sampled the general population, youth, or students, with most of the rest focusing on prisoners (for exceptions, see Walters & Morgan, 2018; White et al., 2016). Arguably, none has focused on a nonprison-based population as marginal and socially excluded as the homeless. It may be that people experiencing homeless feel that they need, on occasion, to commit crimes to survive. This may, in turn, further weaken their identification with the group that the police represents.

Third, 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. They can be forced to commit offenses just to survive. Developing ways to police this population that are attuned to these issues is vital if police activity is not to exacerbate 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 provide a direct route into the criminal justice system, with all its attendant potential harms (McAra & McVie, 2007). Knowing whether the provision of a credible deterrent threat has any value in this context is central to developing appropriate police tactics and strategies.

For various reasons—perhaps most importantly, the focus on general-population samples in most research in this area—relational perspectives of compliance have dominated procedural justice theory research in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Researchers have rarely tested instrumental motivations among marginalized groups at the empirical level. Indeed, some have 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).

Original conceptualizations of procedural justice theory (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 1997; Tyler & Lind, 1992) incorporated both relational and instrumental motivations for compliance, and more recent work has also discussed the interplay between relational and instrumental motivation within procedural justice theory (Jackson et al., 2021; Reisig et al., 2020; Trinkner, 2019). On this account, which type of motivation is most important depends on the 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 have little motivation to be a member of that group, procedural justice theory predicts that instrumental factors will drive their orientations toward that authority, judgments or perceptions of it, and compliance or cooperation behavior to a greater extent than relational factors (Tyler, 1997). Applied to the current context, it may be that the need to survive makes people discount relational constraints and bonds. 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 (cf. Lind & van den Bos, 2002). Conversely, the quality of interpersonal treatment and

decision-making might be important as it communicates inter- rather than intragroup standing (cf. Heuer & Stroessner, 2011).

In the present study, we investigated whether the tenets of procedural justice theory apply to one particular community that often features in these kinds of debates: people experiencing homelessness. We begin by outlining how authorities police homeless people in London, then provide a review of the literature and findings on police-centered predictors of compliance. We conclude 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. Currently, there are significant debates within and around policing centered 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, 2017), seeing the potential for its cynical use to provide a smoke screen for the raw and discriminatory power of police. The argument is that "false consciousness" could plausibly occur when authorities use the appearance of a fair procedure as a way to co-opt people by distracting them from objectively unfair outcomes they receive (MacCoun, 2005). More relevant, perhaps, to the current article 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, our findings suggest that police may be unable to address even proximate questions about the high level of offending within this group (Kyprianides et al., 2020).

Policing the Homeless

Society marginalizes people experiencing homelessness in many ways: They experience not only personal and economic hardship but also stigma and structural discrimination because of their uncertain 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*; Fitzpatrick et al., 2011). Much research in the United Kingdom 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 (Fitzpatrick et al., 2011).

Increasingly, a punitive approach has defined the policing of homelessness in the United Kingdom (Cooper, 2016; also the United States, Robinson, 2019). "Rough sleeping"—that is, sleeping in buildings or other places not designed for habitation—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 United Kingdom, making it illegal to sleep rough or beg, and they 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; instead, they reveal a pattern of simultaneous disciplinary *and* less punitive approaches that promote joint police–social service interventions in London and other cities around the world (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 antisocial 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 toward less-risky lifestyles. Indeed, there exists a large body of work detailing how homelessness has been criminalized and managed via systems that vicariously control, support, observe, and/or punish (Feldman, 2004; Quirouette, 2018).

What Can Police Do to Motivate Compliance: Procedural Fairness or Deterrence?

Procedural justice theory has significantly contributed to our understanding of why people comply with the law. The theory speaks of 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. When police adopt and enact these pillars of procedural justice, people are more likely to perceive the police as legitimate (i.e., to view the police as a morally appropriate authority that is entitled to be obeyed; Jackson, 2018; Tyler, 1990). In turn, observational research consistently shows that public perceptions of police legitimacy predict behavioral intentions to comply with the law, over and above beliefs about the risk of sanctions, such as fines or arrest (Murphy et al., 2016). This appears to be the case for the general public in many different countries, such as the United States (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), the United Kingdom (Jackson et al., 2012), Australia (Mazerolle et al., 2013), and Slovenia (Reisig et al., 2014); for both general criminal behaviors (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003) and specific offenses, such as breaking traffic laws (Bradford et al., 2015); and for offender populations including domestic violence perpetrators (Paternoster et al., 1997), violent offenders (Papachristos et al., 2012), and adolescent offenders (Gau & Brunson, 2010; Piquero et al., 2005).

Procedural justice and legitimacy are usually positioned as factors predicting compliance with the law, in contrast to a deterrence-based or instrumental perspective, in which individuals are rational actors motivated to comply out of the fear of the consequences should they be detected breaking the law (Allingham & Sandmo, 1972; Gibbs, 1968; Tittle, 1969). If the benefits of breaking the law outweigh the costs, then the rational choice will be noncompliance; 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: (a) the risk of detection of noncompliance, (b) the effectiveness of authorities in dealing with noncompliance (particularly the speed with which sanctions are delivered), and (c) the severity of sanction associated with noncompliance (Becker, 1968). If risk of detection, authority effectiveness, and sanction severity are high, then noncompliance is the risky choice, and compliance is rational. According to the instrumental perspective, would-be offenders will abstain from offending if they perceive the possibility of getting caught and punished by the authorities to be high (Williams & Hawkins, 1986).

Some research has observed a link among police effectiveness, risk of sanction, and compliance (Andreoni et al., 1998; Nagin, 2013). Overall, however, the evidence for general deterrence is weak at best (Pratt et al., 2006). By contrast, focused deterrence strategies, such as those targeting gang and other 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). Though it seems that 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 police activity.

This latter distinction is relevant to the present study as, in the regulatory context of street-population activities in the United Kingdom, the probability of being caught and punished for violating laws is high (Morris, 2019). The increasingly punitive approach to policing homelessness in the United Kingdom in recent years has entailed multi-agency initiatives targeting people experiencing homelessness (Cooper, 2016; Sanders & Albanese, 2017). At the most practical level, many offenses committed by people experiencing homelessness are highly visible, occurring in public places and often directly engaging passersby (e.g., begging, consumption of illegal drugs). People living on the streets 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 (Morris, 2019). Focusing policing activity in hot spots aims to prevent homeless criminal behaviors in these specific areas, as well as to have a wider effect on the behavior in those areas by nonhomeless as well as homeless people. Such efforts are part of an attempt to get people experiencing homelessness "off the streets" via policing. It is therefore likely that people experiencing homelessness are detected and sanctioned for offenses relatively frequently, and also see others being detected and 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 sociostructural location. A recent ethnographic study of the policing of the street population in an inner London borough found that, although fairness in interactions with the police was clearly important to people experiencing homelessness in an abstract sense (i.e., it was pleasant to be treated with respect by everyone in general), instrumental outcomes mattered the most during their interactions with officers (Kyprianides et al., 2020). Procedural fairness was less important as there were overarching instrumental outcomes at stake that affected the street population's very survival potential, and these took precedence. In many cases, people experiencing homelessness are offending to survive (Batty & Reeve, 2011; Williams et al., 2012). Thus, a central claim based on procedural justice theory—that legitimacy encourages behavior in line with that mandated by authorities, as obedience becomes a value in itself—may not apply in this context.

Procedural justice theory also 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 represents (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 anticipated that members of the street population in our sample would be less attuned to the relational and value-relevant aspects of police activity, so we predicted that the well-established pathway from procedural justice to legitimacy to compliance would not work in the same way for this highly marginalized group as it would for the general population. Of course, even if that were the case, it continues to be important that police officers treat people experiencing homelessness with respect and dignity. They should do so as it is the humane thing to do, and not simply as it might help to reduce crime (cf. Nagin & Telep, 2020).

Additional Motivations for Compliance

Legitimacy and deterrence are 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, social learning, self-control, habit, and normative pressures (Bottoms, 2019). We focus on one particularly important factor that is thought to mediate others: moral judgments about the behaviors concerned. Put simply, most people comply with most laws most of the time as they tend to think the behaviors proscribed by law are wrong (Antonaccio & Tittle, 2008; Jordan & Messner, 2012; Wikström et al., 2012). Such moral judgments are shaped by their upbringings, social contexts, group memberships, and personalities (Svensson et al., 2010). In addition, the law has the power to define things as nonnormative 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).

In the current context, the way people think about criminal behavior may 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 to survive, means that it does not make sense to think about crime as a singular act that a person can be deterred from undertaking in some general sense (Nagin, 2013) or about which they form some overall moral judgment. Different kinds of criminal behavior may be differentially shaped by police activity, people's reactions to that behavior, and their moral judgments about it (Bouffard et al., 2018). For example, given that street-population "nuisance" behavior is continuously the target of focused police attention, individuals experiencing homelessness are likely to have a relatively good sense of their chances of being caught if they engage in such behavior, a perspective they may lack for other types of offending. Relatedly, police legitimacy might motivate disengagement from some types of offending, such as low-level offenses that people tend not to see as morally wrong, but not others, such as higher-level offenses 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 moral gray areas, such as the use of "soft" nonaddictive drugs, than laws that cover behaviors very widely regarded as wrong, such as burglary or assault (cf. Tyler, 1990). Indeed, existing work has found that procedural justice concerns are less strongly emphasized when moral mandates are in play (Skitka & Houston, 2001).

Overview of Research Questions and Present Study

We distilled the previous discussion into five essential questions relevant to street populations. First, what are the links between police procedural justice, police legitimacy, and compliance? Second, does police procedural justice play a different role depending on the particular type of offending? Third, what are the links between police effectiveness, perceived risk of sanction, and compliance? Fourth, does the perceived risk of sanction play a different role depending on the particular type of offending? Fifth, what are the links between moral judgments about the behaviors concerned and compliance with those behaviors?

In the present study, we sought to answer these questions by examining 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 studied three types of offending: low-level offenses (e.g., shoplifting), a range of offenses specific to the street population (e.g., begging), and higher-level offenses (e.g., robbery).

Method

Participants

This study was part of a broader ethnographic project that examined interactions between police and homeless people in London by shadowing policing patrols and observing the homeless community (Kyprianides et al., 2020). The first author established access, rapport, and trust with research participants during that project (May–October 2019), before the survey's distribution (February and March, 2020). This allowed the first author to recruit people experiencing homelessness on the streets of an inner London borough ($N = 200$) solely on the basis of their willingness to participate. We based our desired sample size on recommendations for using structural equation modeling (SEM) to analyze models of average complexity (Kline, 2011) and more recent simulation studies using SEM models of similar complexity to those we report in this article (Sideridis et al., 2014; Wolf et al., 2013).

Eighty-seven percent of the participants were men, 49% were aged 45–64 (48% 25–44, 3% 18–24, 1% ≥65), 37% were White British (33% White and other ethnicity, 14% Black or Black British, 3% Asian or Asian British, 8% mixed background, 6% other race and/or ethnic group). Fifty-seven percent had been born in the United Kingdom, and 54% had lived in the United Kingdom all their life (34% for 5–10 years, 12% for 2–5 years, and 1% for 1–2 years). The sample was roughly representative of people rough sleeping in England (86% male, 54% aged 36–55, 60% White, 64% UK nationals; Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, 2019). We are confident that most, if not all, participants actually lived on the streets at the time of data collection as they were recruited at soup kitchens that specifically targeted people living on the streets, most carried evidence that they were rough sleeping (e.g., sleeping bags and blankets), and all reported that they were rough sleeping—52% had been rough sleeping for 6 months to 1 year, 22% for 1–2 years, 15% for 1–3 months, 11% for 3–6 months, 1% for less than a month, and 1% for more than 2 years.

Participants reported relatively high levels of offending across all three types of compliance: compliance with low-level crimes, compliance with behaviors specific to the street population, and compliance with high-level crimes (see Table 1). Although

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

Criminal activity	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	M	SD
Engagement in low-level criminal activities (%)						
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
Shoplifting	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 (%)						
Alcohol on street[a]	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[b]/heroin	32.0	15.0	11.5	41.5	2.63	1.31
Antisocial behavior	26.5	13.0	18.5	42.0	2.76	1.25
Engagement in high-level criminal activities (%)						
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 person	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

[a] Drinking alcohol on the street is generally permissible in the UK, although it is often prohibited by local statutes in many areas where the street population congregate. [b] Spice 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, as it is 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.

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 shoplifting 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 or robbery. This is a large percentage, given the seriousness of the behaviors concerned. It is also worth reiterating that the street population has extensive experience of policing: Their estimate of policing outcomes (e.g., risk of sanction) might arguably be more accurate than that of the most members of the public, at least in relation to certain types of crime.

Outcome and Predictor Variables

Participants read and completed a questionnaire that included items assessing perceptions of the police in London, compliance behaviors, morality associated with those behaviors, and risk of getting caught and punished by the police for engaging in those behaviors. All items used a Likert scale from 1, *strongly disagree*, to 5, *strongly agree*, unless otherwise indicated. See the appendix for full item wordings and the following link for the complete study materials: https://osf.io/vbnhg/?view_only=95509ad0bb5b40d1af81952d803939ba.

We measured police procedural justice using three items (e.g., "The police treat people with respect"; Jackson & Bradford, 2019). We measured perceived police legitimacy using two distinct, albeit overlapping, constructs: duty to obey (three items; e.g., "I feel a moral obligation to obey the police") and normative alignment

(3 items; e.g., "I support the way the police usually act"; Trinkner et al., 2018).

We included two measures of police effectiveness. We measured general police effectiveness using three items (e.g., "The police are effective at providing a visible patrolling presence"; Jackson et al., 2012) and police effectiveness specific to street-population behaviors using three additional items (e.g., "The police are good at moving people on and stopping them from begging") that we designed.

We measured three levels of compliance: compliance with low-level crimes, compliance with behaviors specific to the street population, and compliance with high-level crimes. We selected these behaviors based on 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 offenses they viewed as necessary for survival. We asked participants to indicate on a 4-point scale (1 = *often*, 2 = *sometimes*, 3 = *rarely*, 4 = *never*) whether and how often they had, in the past year, committed low-level offenses (e.g., "taken something from a shop without paying for it"; Trinkner et al., 2018), offenses specific to the street population (e.g., begged on the street or elsewhere), or high-level offenses (e.g., robbery).

Participants rated the morality and perceived risk of sanction (using items developed by Jackson et al., 2013) for each of the compliance behaviors. We measured morality by asking participants to rate "how wrong" they judged the compliance behaviors to be on a 4-point scale (1 = *not wrong at all*, 2 = *not too wrong*, 3 = *somewhat wrong*, 4 = *very wrong*). We measured perceived risk of sanction by asking participants to rate "how likely it is that you would be caught and punished" for those same behaviors on another 4-point scale (1 = *not at all likely*, 2 = *not very likely*, 3 = *fairly likely*, 4 = *very likely*).

Procedure

The ethical review board at University College London (15985/001) approved the research. The first author collected data between February and March 2020 at outdoor places where food was served to people experiencing homelessness across the inner London borough. Participants provided informed consent (for participants with low literacy skills, verbal consent protocols were followed, and the lead author assisted with the completion of the questionnaire). The questionnaire booklet took approximately 10 min to complete. Participants received £5 (roughly 7 U.S. dollars) as compensation for their time. The first author was present throughout the entire process and provided help as required. Given the rate at which participants disclosed illegal activity, we do not believe this had any biasing effects, and it meant that clarification could be offered when necessary.

Results

Analysis Plan

We tested three separate models of compliance using compliance with low-level crimes, compliance with behaviors specific to the street population, and compliance with high-level crimes as the respective outcome variables. In each of the three compliance models, we included only the relevant morality and perceived-risk-of-sanction

items (i.e., those items relating to compliance with low-level, street-population-specific behaviors, and high-level crimes, respectively). To validate our measures, 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) for each model. Next, we investigated the relations between these variables using SEM to estimate regression paths between latent constructs in Mplus 8. For each type of compliance behavior, we tested (a) the relationship between latent constructs of police procedural justice, police legitimacy, and compliance and (b) the relationship between latent constructs of police effectiveness, perceived risk of sanction, and compliance. Although the existing literature would support additional paths in the SEM model, given our small sample size and the particular aims of the study, we opted for a simpler and more parsimonious model. For example, studies have suggested that police effectiveness also predicts police legitimacy in situations where the sample does not identify with the group the police represents (Lee & Cho, 2020). Researchers have argued that procedural justice serves a binding function where it promotes the internalization of group norms (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Blader, 2003).

To address possible concerns regarding statistical power given our sample size, we also (a) fitted the same models without specifying any indirect effects, (b) fitted ordinal regression models on each of the individual compliance items using SPSS, and (c) conducted a Bayesian analysis that included a sensitivity analysis. Across all specifications, the key pattern of results remained the same, aside from a certain low-level instability regarding the role of legitimacy in predicting street-specific compliance and high-level compliance (see Supplemental Materials for analyses). We also conducted sensitivity analyses controlling for key socio-demographic subject characteristics. We ran the same model with all latent variables regressed on gender, age, ethnicity, and country of birth. The results remained the same, albeit here the low-level instability related to legitimacy predicting high-level compliance (see Supplemental Materials for analyses). We report the simple model without controls given our relatively small sample size.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics and correlations of the key measures appear in Table 2. Key variables were correlated with the three compliance types, but the strength of the associations differed (e.g., procedural justice with compliance with low-level crimes: $r = .41$; compliance with behaviors specific to the street population: $r = .24$; and compliance with high-level crimes: $r = .54$).

CFA Measurement Models

We tested three separate measurement models, one for each of the types of compliance, and all three models fit the data well (comparative fit index [CFI] > .95, Tucker–Lewis index [TLI] > .95, root mean square error of approximation [RMSEA] < .08; see Hu & Bentler, 1999).

The low-level compliance model that included six covarying latent constructs of police procedural justice, police legitimacy, police

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Between Key Variables

Variable	M	SD	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** <.001	—										
3. Gen effectiveness	2.84	1.03	**.91** <.001	**.73** <.001	—									
4. SP effectiveness	2.80	1.06	**.84** <.001	**.65** <.001	**.88** <.001	—								
5. Morality low-level	2.92	.95	**.34** <.001	**.42** <.001	**.39** <.001	**.40** <.001	—							
6. Morality SP	2.79	.95	**.29** .005	**.37** <.001	**.32** .001	**.33** .001	**.92** <.001	—						
7. Morality high-level	3.40	.90	**.34** <.001	**.40** <.001	**.47** <.001	**.39** <.001	**.89** <.001	**.91** <.001	—					
8. Risk low-level	2.29	.98	**.23** .030	**.26** .005	**.31** .002	**.26** .012	**.43** <.001	**.32** <.001	**.39** <.001	—				
9. Risk SP	2.39	.94	**.27** **.005**	**.29** **.003**	**.34** **.001**	**.28** **.006**	**.46** <.001	**.33** **.001**	**.33** .001	**.40** <.001	—			
10. Risk high-level	2.62	1.10	**.28** .003	**.25** .007	**.35** <.001	**.24** .012	**.24** .016	.16 .115	**.25** .023	**.84** <.001	**.90** <.001	—		
11. Low-level compliance	2.82	.98	**.41** <.001	**.43** <.001	**.48** <.001	**.41** <.001	**.77** <.001	**.67** <.001	**.76** <.001	**.36** <.001	**.36** <.001	**.26** .010	—	
12. SP compliance	2.51	1.14	**.24** .018	**.29** .006	**.31** .002	**.31** .002	**.54** <.001	**.58** <.001	**.62** <.001	**.33** .002	**.40** <.001	**.28** .005	**.88** <.001	—
13. High-level compliance	3.27	1.01	**.54** <.001	**.52** <.001	**.61** <.001	**.58** <.001	**.66** <.001	**.62** <.001	**.82** <.001	**.36** .001	**.38** .001	**.28** .017	**.86** <.001	**.76** <.001

Note. Bolded correlation values were statistically significant.

general effectiveness, perceived risk of sanction, morality, and compliance with low-level crimes produced adequate fit indices, with all standardized factor loadings exceeding .8, $\chi^2(309, N = 200) = 413.46$, $p \leq .001$; RMSEA = .06, 95% CI = [.04, .07]; CFI = .99; TLI = .99. Although differences were negligible comparing the approximate fit statistics between 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; see Supplemental Materials for analyses.)

The street-population compliance model, which included the six covarying latent constructs of police procedural justice, police legitimacy, police street-population-specific effectiveness, perceived risk of sanction, morality, and compliance with behaviors specific to the street population, produced adequate fit indices, with all standardized factor loadings exceeding .8, $\chi^2(309, N = XXX) = 436.33$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .06, 95% CI = [.05, .08]; CFI = .99; TLI = .98.

The high-level compliance model, which included the six covarying latent constructs of police procedural justice, police legitimacy, police general effectiveness, perceived risk of sanction, morality, and compliance with high-level crimes, produced adequate fit indices, with all standardized factor loadings exceeding .8 (after we dropped the fifth perceived-risk-of-sanction item, which proved to be problematic in this model, with a standardized factor loading less than .5), $\chi^2(284, N = 200) = 401.01$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .06, 95% CI [.05, .08]; CFI = .99; TLI = .99.

We use these three models as the basis for answering our questions using 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, with all standardized factor loadings exceeding .8, $\chi^2(1,574, N = 200) = 1884.83$, $p \leq .001$; RMSEA = .04, 95% CI [.04, .05]; CFI = .99; TLI = .98.

Answering Our Research Questions: Structural Equation Modeling

We sought to answer our research questions by specifying three structural models—one for each type of compliance—that investigated direct and indirect pathways from (a) police procedural justice to legitimacy to compliance and (b) police effectiveness to perceived risk of sanction to compliance (see Figure 1). We estimated indirect effects using the INDIRECT command in Mplus, which estimates indirect effects with delta-method standard errors (Muthén, 2011). The models included police procedural justice and police effectiveness as exogenous predictor variables, legitimacy and perceived risk of sanction as the mediating variables, and compliance as the outcome variable. We included morality 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 were not compliance). Note that in the low-level compliance, street-population compliance, and high-level compliance models, we entered the relevant type of compliance as the latent construct of compliance, respectively; we entered police effectiveness as the police-effectiveness latent construct for the low-level and high-level compliance models; and we entered street-population police effectiveness as the latent construct of police-effectiveness for the street-population compliance model.

We present standardized regression coefficients for all paths in Table 3. The low-level compliance model explained 67% of the

Figure 1
Specified Direct and Indirect Paths of the Models
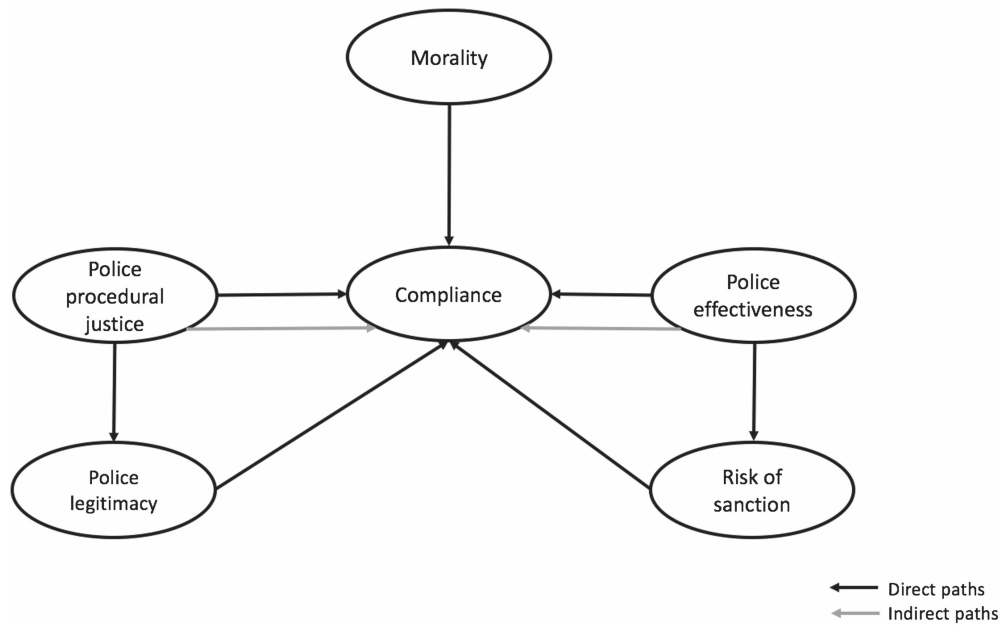
variance in compliance with low-level crimes ($R^2 = .67$), 63% of the variance in police legitimacy ($R^2 = .63$), and 15% of the variance in perceived risk of sanction for low-level crimes ($R^2 = .15$), $\chi^2(314, N = 200) = 486.969$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .07, 95% CI [.06, .09]; CFI = .98; TLI = .98. The street-population compliance model explained 47% of the variance in compliance with behaviors specific to the street population ($R^2 = .47$), 62% of the variance in police legitimacy ($R^2 = .62$), and 15% of the variance in the perceived risk of sanction for street-population-specific crimes ($R^2 = .15$), $\chi^2(314, N = 200) = 438.361$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .06, 95% CI [.05, .08]; CFI = .99; TLI = .99.

The high-level compliance model explained 76% of the variance in compliance with high-level crimes ($R^2 = .76$), 63% of the variance in police legitimacy ($R^2 = .63$), and 12% of the variance in perceived risk of sanction for high-level crimes ($R^2 = .12$), $\chi^2(289, N = 200) = 367.499$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .05, 95% CI [.03, .07]; CFI = .99; TLI = .99.

We first turn to whether the police were seen to act in procedurally fair ways and were therefore seen as legitimate and whether procedural justice and/or legitimacy were associated with offending across the three different models. Although police procedural justice was positively associated with perceptions of police legitimacy in all cases, police procedural justice and perceptions of police legitimacy were only weak (and not statistically significant) predictors of the compliance behaviors.

Second, were the police seen as generating a sense that they were effective and providing a credible risk of sanction, and if so, did the effect of risk of sanction vary in relation to the three different types of offending? Police effectiveness was a positive (and statistically significant) predictor of perceived risk of sanction in all three models, with very similar effect sizes. General police effectiveness and perceived risk of sanction for engaging in low-level and high-level crime (i.e., deterrence) were weak and insignificant predictors

of compliance with low-level and high-level crimes, respectively. However, perceived risk of sanction for engaging in street-population-specific crime was a positive (and statistically significant) predictor of compliance with behaviors specific to the street population. Moreover, the direct effect of street-population-specific police effectiveness on compliance with behaviors specific to the street population was weak and not statistically significant: The association between street-population-specific police effectiveness and compliance was almost entirely mediated by perceived risk of sanction. In other words, self-reported compliance with behaviors specific to people living on the streets (e.g., drinking on the street, buying or using drugs such as synthetic cannabinoids "spice" or heroin) was higher when respondents perceived a relatively high risk of sanction, which, in turn, was associated with the belief that the police were effective in policing people like them.

Finally, morality was a strong (and statistically significant) predictor of 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 they perceived behaviors to be, the greater their compliance.

Discussion

The present study investigated whether instrumental concerns about being caught and punished for noncompliance (a result of perceived police effectiveness) more strongly predicted homeless people's decision to comply with the law than relational concerns about fair treatment and police legitimacy. We found that they did, although only in one specific case: Police effectiveness positively predicted compliance via perceived risk of sanction, but only for the kind of offenses that can be important for survival on the streets, such as begging and sleeping in certain localities. We also examined

Table 3
Standardized Regression Coefficients for Direct and Indirect Paths in the SEM Models

Low-level compliance model				
Direct paths		*b*	*SE*	*p*
Procedural justice to	Legitimacy	**.80**	**.04**	**<.001**
	Low-level compliance	−.28	.47	.55
Legitimacy to	Low-level compliance	.27	.17	.12
Risk of sanction to	Low-level compliance	.20	.11	.08
Police effectiveness to	Risk of sanction	**.39**	**.09**	**<.001**
	Low-level compliance	.09	.41	.82
Morality to	Low-level compliance	**.71**	**.09**	**<.001**
Indirect paths				
PJ to low-level compliance via	Legitimacy	.22	.14	.12
Effectiveness to low-level compliance via	Risk of sanction	.08	.04	.08
Street-population compliance model				
Direct paths		*B*	*SE*	*p*
Procedural justice to	Legitimacy	**.79**	**.04**	**<.001**
	Street-pop compliance	−.35	.37	.34
Legitimacy to	Street-pop compliance	.26	.22	.23
Risk of sanction to	Street-pop compliance	**.32**	**.11**	**.002**
Police effectiveness to	Risk of sanction	**.39**	**.09**	**<.001**
	Street-pop compliance	.06	.28	.83
Morality to	Street-pop compliance	**.57**	**.10**	**<.001**
Indirect paths				
PJ to street-pop compliance via	Legitimacy	.20	.17	.24
Effectiveness to street-pop compliance via	Risk of sanction	**.13**	**.05**	**.01**
High-level compliance model				
Direct paths		*B*	*SE*	*p*
Procedural justice to	Legitimacy	**.79**	**.04**	**<.001**
	High-level compliance	−.24	.34	.23
Legitimacy to	High-level compliance	.25	.14	.09
Risk of sanction to	High-level compliance	.07	.10	.50
Police effectiveness to	Risk of sanction	**.35**	**.09**	**<.001**
	High-level compliance	.29	.24	.23
Morality to	High-level compliance	**.68**	**.08**	**<.001**
Indirect paths				
PJ to high-level compliance via	Legitimacy	.20	.12	.09
Effectiveness to high-level compliance via	Risk of sanction	.02	.04	.51

Note. Bolded b, *SE*, and *p* values were statistically significant.

whether these processes varied in relation to three types of compliance behaviors (related to low-level crimes, behaviors specific to the street population, and high-level crimes). We found that they did. Procedural fairness and perceptions of police legitimacy did not seem to be especially important in explaining a statistically significant amount of variation in any of the three types of compliance behaviors. However, perception of police effectiveness was a positive predictor of street-population-specific compliance behaviors via perceived risk of sanction for those behaviors. Importantly, we also found that morality strongly 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 participants perceived behaviors to be, the greater their self-reported compliance with laws prohibiting those behaviors.

When it comes to offending by the street population, only deterrence-based theories of compliance seem to have value, 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 related to police behavior (and some not at all). People in different circumstances might have different interests in relation to different laws. Our findings suggest that self-reported 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 offenses. By contrast, we did not observe an association between sanction risk and our other two measures of compliance—here, our results were much more similar to those of extant studies showing little or no association between perceived risk of sanction and self-reported compliance.

There was no statistically significant association between the perceived legitimacy of the police and respondents' self-reported compliance behavior (although supplementary analyses suggested a certain low-level instability in this finding, probably related to low statistical power; we return to this in the Strengths and Limitations

section). This stands in contrast to findings from many other procedural justice theory studies of self-reported compliance, which have generally identified such a link (Walters & Bolger, 2019). One potential explanation for this 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 can even break down the general association between perceived police legitimacy and compliance. That is, some members of the street population are forced to discount social and relational constraints on behavior as they need to commit some offenses 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 that people experiencing homelessness often feel (cf. Fitzpatrick et al., 2011). Although not all people experiencing homelessness offend (see McCarthy, 2013), often some degree of criminal behavior is inevitable (Batty & Reeve, 2011; Kyprianides et al., 2020; Williams et al., 2012).

Returning to the initial theoretical motivation for this study, legitimacy is primarily construed as an intragroup phenomenon in procedural justice theory. 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 already estranged from the police and the group they represent. The need to survive may then further weaken constraints and bonds, so that these processes simply break down, as people do not think of themselves as being group members or think that the police represent a social category they belong to. This explanation is consistent with the work by Lind and Tyler (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 1997; Tyler & Lind, 1992) and recently discussed by Trinkner (2019), Reisig et al. (2020), and Jackson et al. (2021). Based 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.

Like many others, we would argue that it continues to be imperative for police officers to treat people experiencing homelessness with respect and dignity. They should do so as it is the humane thing to do, not simply as it might help reduce crime. They should also do so as homeless people's engagement with the police and the criminal justice system extends beyond a focus on compliance with the law (e.g., to willingness to report victimization; Bell, 2019), and police officers must afford homeless victims support when accessing police services.

Our findings also highlight the importance of morality in predicting law-abiding behavior. This was not confined to compliance behaviors specific to the street population but included compliance with low-level and high-level crimes, too. In other words, some of our participants agreed that certain offenses were wrong and told us they refrained from committing those offenses. Perhaps unsurprisingly, even in a situation as extreme as the one our respondents were experiencing, 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 fruitful 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 (cf. Stets, 2010), then it

might be these moral stances that affect the way members of the street population make judgments 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 marginalization in which they find themselves would seem a vital question to ask.

Nevertheless, understanding what policing methods work for which types of criminal behaviors among the street population has critical implications for regulatory theory and practice. In this context, instrumental concerns predominate over relational concerns (in some cases at least). We argue that the relationships between police and citizens central to the theory cannot be understood in a decontextualized way as structural context matters: The street population cannot comply with certain aspects of the law because if they did, they would struggle to survive. To understand the motivating power of procedural justice, we need to contextualize it and take proper account of the social groups, behaviors, norms, and laws under consideration (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, 1997; Tyler & Lind, 1992). A core claim of the theory is that by enhancing 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 as one has internalized 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 about when procedural justice will be especially pertinent on the basis of contextual factors, little empirical work has supported those predictions. Our results suggest that this claim assumes people have a particular place in society and relationship with the police—as important group representatives—that is, in reality, shared by many but not all of those with whom the police interact. 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 judgment for them. We speculate that the link between police activity and moral behavior seems to have been broken by the marginalization 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 United Kingdom. Laws making it illegal to sleep rough or beg 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 antisocial behavior (Sanders & Albanese, 2017) by seeking to halt and reverse the alienation of the homelessness (e.g., by placing people into accommodation). Overall, the focus is on surveillance and exerting various forms of power to shape the behavior of the homeless in more socially desirable directions.

That said, the association between risk perceptions and compliance with street-population-specific crime was weaker than that between morality and compliance with street-population-specific crime, and there was no significant association between risk perceptions and the other two compliance types (and noncompliance was

high in our sample). One might argue that neither police strategy—relational or instrumental—was particularly effective, which would seem to focus attention even more on approaches that attempt to change the circumstances of people experiencing homelessness rather than their behaviors per se. An interesting avenue for future research would be to examine whether procedural justice might prove to be effective were other outcomes related to multi-agency working to be considered, or, conversely and as scholars in the legal socialization realm (e.g., Tyler & Trinkner, 2018) have argued, whether procedural injustice drives further alienation and withdrawal from society, social institutions, and important groups such as family and peers.

Strengths and Limitations

Although our study had several strengths, it was also subject to several limitations that bear on the strength of conclusions that readers can draw from our findings. First, we cannot claim causality based on our cross-sectional design and cannot rule out potential third-variable problems or issues with directionality. Second, we relied on a nonrandom sample, which raises the possibility of bias due to self-selection effects. Further investigation is therefore required to validate our findings—ideally in the form of experimental research that goes beyond the correlational design of the present study. Longitudinal research would be useful to control for methodological effects such as social desirability bias or other time-constant confounds (cf. 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 among law enforcers (Bronitt & Stenning, 2011). Different cohorts might have different experiences with different police. Finally, the sample size was relatively small, and our supplementary analyses did indicate a small amount of instability. It is for further research using larger samples to try to replicate these findings.

Conclusion

We need to take into account the structural context of the actors and actions that constitute crime to understand the relations between fairness, policing, and compliance. Relational concerns might not be related to compliance in the homeless context, either because breaking the law is critical to survival on the street or because that population does not identify with or care much about being considered a member of the group the police represents (cf. Reisig et al., 2020). More work is needed in this area, given that researchers have only just begun to apply procedural justice theory to people as socially and structurally marginal as those who participated in this study. Continuing to do so will help to provide a better balance to the literature and enhance our understanding of these complex relationships.

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Appendix

Measures

Perceived Police Procedural Justice (α = .89)

1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = 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 (α = .93)

1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = 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 (α = .92)

1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = 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 = Often, 2 = Sometimes, 3 = Rarely, 4 = Never
How often during the past year have you … ?

Low-Level Compliance (α = .90)

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

(Appendix continues)

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}

Compliance With Behaviors Specific to the Street Population (α = .94)

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 antisocial behavior such as being violent, rowdy, or inconsiderate to others {Comp2e}

High-Level Compliance (α = .95)

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-defense (e.g., started a fight with someone) {Comp3e}

Morality

1 = not wrong at all, 2 = not too wrong, 3 = somewhat wrong, 4 = very wrong
How wrong do you think the following behaviors are ...?

Compliance With Low-Level Crimes (α = .92)

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}

Compliance With Behaviors Specific to the Street Population (α = .90)

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 antisocial behavior such as being violent, rowdy, or inconsiderate to others {Mor2e}

Compliance With High-Level Crimes (α = .97)

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-defense (e.g., started a fight with someone) {Mor3e}

Perceived Risk of Sanction

1 = not at all likely, 2 = not very likely, 3 = fairly likely, 4 = 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 ...?

Compliance With Low-Level Crimes (α = .93)

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}

Compliance With Behaviors Specific to the Street Population (α = .92)

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 antisocial behavior such as being violent, rowdy, or inconsiderate to others {Risk2e}

Compliance With High-Level Crimes (α = .97)

Stolen something, or attempted to steal something, from a house, or unauthorised premise (burglary) {Risk3a}
Stolen something with the use of force/weapon or threat to use force/weapon (robbery) {Risk3b}
Stolen something from a person (e.g., pickpocket) {Risk3c}
Stolen something from a *vulnerable* person (e.g., an old lady) {Risk3d}
Were physically violent against someone else *not* in self-defense (e.g., started a fight with someone) {Risk3e}