Discussion

13. Reflection on hypotheses

The aim of this book was to elaborate on what constitutes people's trust in the police. The theoretical understanding that the police can either be seen as an institution, embedded into further governmental institutions, or as an organization, where particularly police officers, as representatives, play an important role when it comes to trust was highlighted. Results show that people in Europe generally trust in the police, more so in Western Europe than in Eastern European countries. The highest trust levels, with more than 70% of the population trusting in their police, can be reported for the four Scandinavian countries of Finland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, together with Switzerland. Contrary to that, in Eastern Europe, less than half trust the police.

Procedural justice theories highlight the importance of adequate behavior in citizen-police encounters. Disrespectful and unfair treatment and decisions correlate strongly to a negative opinion of the police and the courts. Results also confirm a cross-country correlation between global trust in the police and general opinions of their procedural fairness. Studies based on procedural justice approaches relativize the importance of instrumental concerns, such as fighting crime effectively. While such convictions hold for a long time, it is undisputed that the behavior of the police is more important than said instrumental concerns. Contrary to these rather popular beliefs, results here show that confidence in police work is equally important to people's overall trust in them, if not more so. Moreover, such an opinion of how well the police are doing their job explains a large portion of people's satisfaction with the treatment received in a concrete encounter.

Analyses at the macro level have shown that there is a linear relationship across countries between confidence in the work of the police, and

in their procedural fairness, and global trust in the police. The higher the confidence in the work of the police and in their procedural fairness the higher a country's global trust in their police force, and vice versa. When comparing countries, no clear pattern was found for Mediterranean countries. Furthermore, more variance was found amongst non-Western European countries. While Western European countries are marked by high levels of trust and confidence in the police, Eastern European countries are situated at the lower end of the scale overall. Based on these results, two clusters were formed for Western and Eastern European countries, excluding Mediterranean countries. Furthermore, in order to prevent biases, countries situated at the extremes were excluded, i.e. Ukraine and Russia. Finally, Estonia and France cluster differently than the other countries. While Estonia aligns with Western European countries, France's low level of trust in the police clusters it within Eastern European countries. Nevertheless, France was counted to the West and Estonia to the East. The final Western European cluster consisted of Denmark, France, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Ireland. The Eastern European cluster consisted of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Croatia, Estonia, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, and Lithuania. These two clusters formed the basis for further analyses.

Confidence in police's procedural fairness and in their work can be seen as constituting elements of trust in the police and vice versa. Therefore, when doing analyses on trust in the police, an index based on these three aspects might be adequate. Nevertheless, this book differentiates between attitudinal and institutional aspects. The police are understood as part of the wider government on the one hand, and as an organizational body, on the other hand. Institutional research has shown that trust in the police is embedded in trust in a functioning government. Therefore, it was first tested whether or not such an influence exists. Results show first that trust in the police is closely linked to trust in legal institutions, while perceptions of political systems are different. This result is reflected in the fact that the police are rated far better than political institutions, at least in Switzerland, where only about every third person trusts the parliament and less than 40% trust the government. Results from principal component analyses show that trust in political institutions can be separated from trust in legal institutions (the courts and the police), which confirms results from Rothstein and Stolle (2008), and shows that it is important to

differentiate between institutions on the representational side and those on the implementation side. Contrary to expectations, this is true for both West and East clusters. One reason for these rather similar results may be the clustering. In the Eastern European cluster, I have primarily included the transformation countries of Central Europe, while the two extreme cases, Russia and the Ukraine, were omitted. Analyses based on the full Eastern European cluster show stronger discrepancies between the East and the West.

I assumed that the police are differentiated from political institutions in Western European countries, and perceived similarly in Eastern European countries. Nevertheless, an influence on trust in the police was expected:

Hypothesis 1.1 The police are perceived separately from political institutions in Western European countries, while they are perceived as similar in Eastern European countries.

Hypothesis 1.2 The higher the trust in political and legal institutions, the higher the trust in the police.

Results show that, in both the West and the East, trust in institutions issuing order – the legal system and the police – can be separated from trust in political institutions. People seem to differentiate between these institutions, even though the differences were only marginal. Despite the expectation, this is also true for the East. Therefore, Hypothesis 1.1 must be rejected. Results based on the inclusion of Russia and the Ukraine show a far more similar perception of government institutions, measured as trust in them. This shows that the included transformation countries are on their way to connecting with the West, at least with regard to people's understanding of government institutions.

The second hypothesis can be confirmed, as linear multiple regression analyses have shown a positive impact of trust in the legal system and trust in politics on trust in the police.

In a subsequent step, the impact of social trust was analyzed. It was argued that social trust has a positive impact on people's trust in the police. I derived the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3 The higher a society's social trust, the higher its trust in the police, its confidence in the work of the police and in their procedural fairness.

Social trust is indeed higher in the West than in the East. Moreover, there is a linear relationship with trust in the police across all countries. In addition, a linear relationship was found between social trust and procedural fairness, while the correlation was weaker between social trust and confidence in the overall work of the police. Here, the variance was broader, particularly within Eastern European countries, and with the Netherlands as an outlier within Western Europe. The hypothesis can be confirmed.

After these initial analyses of explanatory items, the focus was on the interaction between the police, the public, and victims of crime. However, in the preceding chapter, it was tested whether attitudes about local police work affect overall trust in the police. Due to limitations in the ESS2010 data, these could only be done for Switzerland, based on data from the Swiss Crime Survey 2011. Results show that ratings of police work in the area indeed affect overall trust in the police, which confirms Hypothesis 6:

Hypothesis 6 The higher the rating of local police work in Switzerland, the higher the people's overall trust and confidence in them.

Concerning the impact of encounters with the police, it was assumed that an experience with the police would have an influence on trust in them. The following hypotheses were formulated:

Hypothesis 5.1 The more favorably an encounter with the police is rated, the higher the trust in them, the confidence in their work and in their procedural fairness.

Hypothesis 5.2 The impact of unfavorable ratings on trust is stronger than the impact of favorable ones ("asymmetry" hypothesis).

Thus far, with regard to the relationship between the different trust in the police items, primary analyses showed no large differences between the West and the East. However, clear differences were found when testing

whether the impact of unfavorable ratings on trust is stronger than the impact of favorable ones (asymmetry hypothesis). In the Eastern European cluster, the negative impact of very dissatisfied people on trust in the police was slightly stronger than the positive effect of satisfied people. Contrary to this, in the West, the positive impact of satisfied people was obvious. Therefore, Hypothesis 5.1 was only partly confirmed. Considering the impact of the encounter on trust in the work and in procedural fairness, it was shown that there is a clear correlation between the level of satisfaction with the encounter and trust in the police. Those with favorable ratings of a police encounter evaluated the overall work of the police far better. Moreover, in cases in which they were satisfied, people attributed procedural fairness to the police far more. The contrary was true for people feeling dissatisfied with the police. While such correlations were found for both Eastern and Western Europe, the discrepancies are strikingly larger in the Eastern European cluster. Results clearly confirm Hypotheses 5.2. It was additionally tested whether socio-demographics also have an impact. Results show several differences between the contact and non-contact samples, as well as between Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and Switzerland. However, as these items were used as control variables only, they will not be discussed here.

Finally, trust in politics and social trust were used as explanatory forces in interactions with the police. It was expected that both would have a positive impact on trust in the police.

Hypotheses 2 Trust in governmental institutions affects the impact of trust in the police in cases of encounters between citizens and the police.

Hypothesis 4 People's trust in the police, people's confidence in the work of the police, and people's confidence in their procedural fairness after being stopped by them improves as social trust levels increase.

The positive role of social trust in police encounters is undeniable. People with higher social trust have higher trust in the police, whether or not they were stopped by them, whether they live in the East or the West. Nevertheless, results differ between Eastern and Western Europe when considering the two attitudinal items of procedural fairness and confidence in police work. In Western Europe, in cases of police encounters, people marked

by low levels of social trust have an especially low trust in the police. In Eastern Europe, it is the reverse. Suspicious people have a lower trust in the police in the non-contact sample. Hypothesis 4 was confirmed.

Final analyses also show that trust in politics acts as a moderator when analyzing the impact of encounters on trust in the police, which confirms Hypotheses 2 as well.

In interactions with the police, it is important to differentiate not only between self-willed contact and contacts initiated by the police, but also between victims of crime. Hence, in the fourth section "The Perception of Crime Victims", attention was given to this special group of crime victims. As the European Social Survey 2010 contains only one question on criminal victimization, most of the analyses were based on the Swiss Crime Survey 2011. Results reveal that criminal victimization reduces overall trust in the police independently of the type of offence. Particularly, low rates of trust in the police can be reported for victims of thefts and burglaries. Dissatisfaction with how the police have treated a case clearly affects how they are viewed, leading to much lower trust in them. Furthermore, the information policy was found to have an effect as well. Particularly, victims whose need for further information was not met trust the police less. Interesting to note is the outstanding trust level of victims of offences against the person who were satisfied with the treatment they received. While Hypotheses 5.4 and 5.5 were confirmed, Hypothesis 5.3 was only partly confirmed:

Hypothesis 5.3 Victims of crimes against the person have lower trust in the police compared to victims of crimes against property.

Hypothesis 5.4 Reporting to the police does not correlate with trust in the police.

Hypothesis 5.5 Victims satisfied with how the police treated their case evaluate them better than those who are dissatisfied.

14. Views of local police work and general trust in the police

Studies evaluating whether global opinions of the police are rooted in concrete beliefs about their work are sparse. The results found here support those that argue that global confidence in policing is rooted in specific

assessments (Reisig/Chandek 2001; Jackson/Bradford 2010). However, effects differ across the three levels of policing examined. The level of satisfaction with the treatment received in a police-initiated encounter affects global trust in the police, trust in their overall procedural fairness, and confidence in their effectiveness. Dissatisfied people clearly rate the police as being fair and respectful less often, as well as that they do a good job overall. While such a pattern is found for Western and Eastern Europe, the differences were much stronger within the Eastern European cluster. This may be based on different forms of encounters or more severe negative treatments in Eastern Europe. However, since no further details are available about the type of contact, results must be seen as giving only a first hint toward the relationship of concrete experiences and overall trust and confidence in the police across Europe. Beyond this limitation, confidence in police's effectiveness was elaborated upon according to a general question about how well the police are doing their job, rather than using concrete questions about their technical competences, as was done in the study by Jackson and Bradford (2010), for example. Nevertheless, the separation of confidence in police's effectiveness from confidence in their procedural fairness is more important than the measurement of effectiveness.

A clearer picture can be drawn with regard to the analyses of Switzerland. Specific views about the quality of police work, their presence in the public – whether or not it is sufficient – opinions of their help and assistance in the community, as well as response time to a crime correlate strongly with a more general, overall level of trust in the police. Moreover, results again confirm that opinions about police's effectiveness are also important. Particularly those people who see a strong decrease in the quality of police work, as well as those reporting that the police are not there at all for the people in order to assist and to help them, do not trust in the police. The discrepancy is quite large: While more than two-thirds of these people do not trust in police, the level of trust reaches nearly ninety percent amongst those giving the most positive ratings concerning changes in police work and their help and assistance. Unfortunately, no analyses were possible elaborating on the impact of such concrete assessments on global views of police's fairness and effectiveness, because such questions were not part of the Swiss Crime Survey 2011 but only of the European Social Survey 2010.

Additionally, opinions of police work in the neighborhood correlate with global trust in the police. People with high confidence in police work

in the neighborhood clearly report higher overall trust in the police. Conversely, dissatisfied people rate the work of the police in the neighborhood as unfavorable and trust the police less. In addition to the question about confidence in local police, a similar question about how people perceive the work of the police in the country allowed for a comparison of the two frequencies. Results show that, in Switzerland, local police work is evaluated more critically, while confidence in police's effectiveness at the country level is slightly greater[1].

Nothing can be said about the robustness of such trust and attitudinal values. Misbehavior within the police organization may lead to a decline in people's trust. In Switzerland, the police were accused of several failures over the last years. The police commander of Lucerne was blamed for promoting an officer accused of domestic violence. In the end, he had to resign (Amrein 2013). Furthermore, several officers of the Zurich city police were arrested due to illegal credit card deals in the red-light district and accused of abuse of authority (Gyr/Schmid 2013). The media is an important player not only in the distribution of such information, but also in keeping the scandals alive. At the time, when news coverage of the red-light case in Zurich was heavy, the free daily newspaper *20 Minuten* launched an online survey about people's trust in the police. They concluded that Swiss people's trust in the police is destroyed (Bernet 2013). However, such results are biased. Due to the selectiveness of respondents, they lack validity and representativeness[2]. Even if such negative events surrounding the police may affect certain people's feelings about the police, it is of limited duration. Moreover, people already distrusting the police may feel validated. On the contrary, the overall trust in the institution police is not largely affected, as results of the steady increase in trust in the police in Switzerland over the years demonstrate.

1 | When dealing with statements about police work in general and police work in the neighborhood in particular, it must be taken into account that Switzerland is a direct democracy with autonomous cantons that maintain their own police forces responsible for internal security and policing (Schmoll 1990: 95; Eisner/Killias 2004). Hence, statements may differ when considering people's residency.

2 | On the website where results are displayed, no further information is given about the composition of respondents, such as the distribution of males and females or age groups, respectively.

15. Building and destroying trustworthiness

15.1 Officers as institutional representatives

Several theoretical approaches from either institutional research or the policing field point to the important role of representatives. People expect a certain demeanor from police officers. Not only should they successfully fight crime, pursue burglars and other offenders, they are expected to behave adequately and treat people friendly and fairly. With regard to the police and politicians, attitudes about the best approach to fight crime and to ensure security started to change in the 1980s: from social control perspectives toward approaches emphasizing to the importance of procedural fairness. Furthermore, institutional approaches have shown that representatives are the link between citizens and the system. As police officers are perceived as experts, a specific knowledge is ascribed to them. Hence, when people experience an encounter with a police officer, their perception of the whole police institution is affected, either positively or negatively. Results confirm that such encounters not only affect opinions of police's procedural fairness and confidence in their work, but also people's overall trust in the institution. In Eastern Europe, dissatisfaction with the police clearly leads to lower levels of trust in them. The more negatively the interaction with the police is evaluated by people, the lower their level of trust. On the other hand, in Western Europe, no negative impact was found. What's more, the more satisfied people are, the higher their trust in the police. Swiss people reporting a very high level of satisfaction with the police have a more than 20% higher mean trust in the police. Final analyses reveal that a large part of this high impact is explained by a general trust in the work of the police and trust in their procedural fairness, as well as trust in the legal system and politics. This leads to the conclusion that, even though encounters have an impact on people's perception of the police, this influence is limited. Strong positive attitudes about how well the police are doing their job in the country, about how respectfully they treat people, and how fair their decisions are, are robust parameters of people's trust in the police. Unfortunately, data does not allow for analysis of the contact itself, whether police officers indeed treated people correctly and fairly, or – in the eyes of the affected people – whether they were rude and impolite, making incorrect decisions. Still, the mediating role of trust in the work of the police and in their procedural fairness holds true in

both countries. Based on this fact, it can be concluded that encounters, either positive or negative, either in Western democratic countries or in post-Soviet countries in Eastern Europe, only influence abstract trust in the police to a limited degree.

15.2 Police – versus victim-initiated contact

When analyzing interactions between citizens and the police, results show that satisfaction with the treatment received does shape trust in them. This becomes even clearer in cases where vulnerable or uncertain people ask the police for help. Crime victims contacting the police in order to get help are vulnerable, especially those having experienced violence or sexual assault, but the same is true for victims of burglary who have lost their feeling of security within their home. On the other hand, crime victims are aware of their needs and have a clear picture of what the police should do. In cases of thefts of personal belongings, a bicycle or a car, they hope to get their valuables back. In cases of violent crime, there is the additional hope of finding and punishing the offender. Due to high expectations toward the police, the disappointment on the side of the victim can be huge; consider a failure to return stolen possessions of high value to the victim. In cases of physical injury, the police may be seen as not doing enough to find the offender or not taking the case serious enough (Kilpatrick et al. 1987). Present outcomes for Switzerland confirm such results, showing that dissatisfaction with the treatment of a case is linked to lower levels of trust in the police, independent of the type of offence, for both victims of crimes against property and crimes against the person. On the positive side, victims that were satisfied with the police treatment partly reach above-average trust levels, which is especially true for victims of robbery. Furthermore, results clearly highlight the importance of information policy. Hence, certain sensitivity on the side of the police officer dealing with a case is essential, while a disinterest or mistreatment might destroy victims' trust in the police for years. Moreover, information policy is also important in contact initiated by the police. Every fourth person stopped by the police in Switzerland reports that the police do not explain their decisions.

15.3 A good reputation contrasts increasing attacks toward the police

For several years, the primary task of the police was fighting crime effectively. In a culture dominated by social control approaches in order to enforce law, their power was broad. As a governmental authority, they had to be respected; criticism by the public was rare. The image of such an authoritarian ruler was damaged in Western Europe in the 1980s, with a growing dissatisfaction with the politics of government and local authorities. Political unrest and protests affected countries in Western Europe. The image of the police changed, particularly amongst the younger generation. As the longer arm of the government, and due to their actions against protesters, they were made a bogeyman, fighting alongside a conservative society suppressing individual freedoms. In the meantime, in democratic countries of the West, roles changed in several ways. Some years ago, the police were a strong authority with the power to make decisions that were not open to discussion. Nowadays, as cultures become much more egalitarian, people have somehow lost respect in institutional representatives. The work not only of police officers but also of emergency services is getting more difficult, as they are hindered and attacked by people they are trying to control or help as well as by bystanders. While there is no countrywide survey about attacks on the police in Switzerland, several analyses in local contexts indicate large increases. A higher sensitivity toward the topic on behalf of police officers may have led to higher reporting rates, as claimed by the author of a study from 2010 (Kühnis 2010). Criticism of the human rights organization *augenauf* goes in a similar direction. They argue that attacks did not increase but only the rate of reporting increased (cf. http://www.augenauf.ch/bs/archiv/poldiv/stgb285p.htm). Such an influence is indeed possible, as the Association of Swiss Police Officers (VSPB) launched an awareness campaign in 2009 (Verband Schweizerischer Polizeibeamter VSPB 2011).

Arguments of dramatic increases are often based on national numbers for offence of "violence and threat against public authorities and officials" (art. 285 of the Swiss Criminal Code) included in the criminal statistic. Since police officers are only one type of public official, statements should be taken with care. Nevertheless, a further look at the data provides an important hit regarding the problem. The age distribution of such offenders registered by the police show that about every third case falls in the age

group of 18- to 25-year-olds. Moreover, the age span of 18 to 34 years covers more than 63% of the cases[3]. Hence, young people in particular commit attacks, probably rooted in disrespect. Furthermore, lighter forms of attacks, such as insults, may be the primary cause of the possible increase in attacks toward police officers. As a newer study from Germany has shown, registered case numbers of insults in Saxony increased greatly between 2005 and 2014. Contrary to that, aggravated assault and battery peaked in 2011, with a marked decrease since then (Liebl 2016). The author speaks of a *"Beleidigungsproblem"* [insult/verbal abuse problem] toward the police. Nevertheless, results for Switzerland show that, overall, Swiss people trust the police and have positive attitudes toward them.

Can this prevailing high trust and confidence in the police be interpreted as the public viewing the Swiss police as legitimate? Since the core element of this book was trust, and as legitimacy was not included in analyses, no firm statements can be made here. Nevertheless, newer analyses of the ESS2010 data focusing on legitimacy, confirm that the population views the Swiss police as a legitimate force (Staubli 2016). Furthermore, a look at the results from Hough, Jackson, and Bradford (2013) provides interesting information on possible correlations between trust in procedural fairness and legitimacy – understood as people's moral alignment and felt obligation to obey – in Switzerland. Moral alignment was measured according to the question of whether the police generally have the same sense of right and wrong as the public. The feeling of obligation to obey, on the other hand, was based on the question of the extent to which it is people's duty to do what the police tell them, even if they do not understand or agree with the reasons. As numbers for both are high, it can be concluded that the overall legitimacy of the police is also high in Switzerland, analogous to trust in them. Moreover, moral alignment is significantly related to procedural fairness. The correlation for Switzerland achieves the third highest value of all included European countries. This means that people trust in police's procedural fairness if they perceive them as sharing the same culture or moral values. Conversely, the effect of procedural fairness and obligation to obey was rather small: In this, Switzerland takes the lowest rank across Europe (Hough/Jackson/Bradford 2013). This suggests that the impact of procedural fairness on perceived legitimacy is limited in

3 | Results are based on personal analyses of data from the Federal Office of Statistics (BFS).

Switzerland. The police are not respected as a higher authority one has to obey, even if they are seen as treating people respectfully and fairly. Such a tendency was already shown by the question of whether people ask the police to explain their decisions. Only 1.1% of the Swiss respondents reported that no one ever asks the police for explanation, meaning that it is normal to ask the police why and how they have come to their decision (see Figure 14 Chapter 7.5.2: Satisfaction with treatment received).

Reasons for a possible increase in attacks on police officers may be found in their behavior itself. Heavy workloads due to additional services lead to disappointment and dissatisfaction (Mohler 2013) and to inappropriate behavior in interactions with citizens (Manzoni 2003). Moreover, studies reveal a large discrepancy between the high level of public trust in the police and police's self-evaluation. Kääriäinen and Sirén (2012) show that generalized trust in France, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom is significantly lower amongst police officers than amongst the rest of the population. Officers in Switzerland seem to be suspicious, not trusting in people they do not know. While it can be seen as part of their job not to trust anyone, negative experiences may also affect police officers' general trust in others.

With the development of modern democracies and societies, people's expectations of governmental institutions rose, while their respect declined. Alongside, an increase in tasks, a blurring of responsibilities replaced their core function of social control. The function and roles of the police became wide; multiple players, such as railway police and many other private forces, have evolved[4]. Additionally, broad media coverage and the spread of new media and smartphones that allowing recording of interactions (Meyer 2010) lead to permanent surveillance and guaranteed reporting of misbehavior, not tolerated at all by the public. In this sense, the media is an important controlling body.

4 | Reiner (2010) criticizes the often formulated assumption that policing changed from a rather narrow function of social control towards a plurality of tasks. According to him, policing has always covered a variety of tasks. The primary change rather happened from a sole responsibility of the police for crime, order, and security toward a "pluralized marketplace", as well as a shift in styles, program, and practices.

16. Cultural aspects

Beyond the aspect of ethnic minorities, cultural factors only play a marginal role within studies on trust in the police. Since the key area is on the side of the police, their behavior, and its influence on people's assessment, social realities surrounding encounters are often omitted. What was elaborated on is the concept of social identities, seen as crucial for compliance with the police (Bradford 2014). A feeling of belonging to the same group as the officers, as either the same nation or community, enables establishment of social bonds. The establishment of such social bonds between officers and the public enables the building of a moral connection as the basis for trust in the police (Jackson/Bradford 2010). Such identities are constructs more or less easy to define and attachable to individuals involved in encounters. Other soft variables are more blurred. Social trust is more difficult to define, which is why its use is more disputed (cf. Chapter 4.1: European Social Survey 2010 [ESS2010]). Moreover, it has only started to find its way into broader research on trust in justice. In existing studies, social trust is primarily treated as part of social capital when elaborating on trust in governments. Several studies have proven that social trust and trust in governmental institutions go hand in hand (Kaase 1999; Newton/Norris 1999; Rothstein/Stolle 2008; Grönlund/Setälä 2012). Western democracies are marked by good evaluations of government and high social trust, while transition countries' trust is lower for political institution as well as toward unknown others. In most of the studies, the police are treated as one institution among many. Often a combined variable is constructed out of several institutions. It is no wonder that no study analyzes the police separately.

Based on Hardin's (2002) concept of encapsulated interest, encounters between police officers and a citizen or a crime victim can be seen as interactions between two people, based on concrete expectations. Social trust, on the other hand, understood here as the combination of trust in unknown others, in their helpfulness and fairness, is not bound to expectations. Due to its moral form, it is a dictate to treat others well. Learned early in life and based on optimism, it is a rather stable concept, largely resistant to the difficulties of daily life (Uslaner 2002). I concluded that optimistic people might transfer their positive view of others onto institutional representatives. Police officers may therefore be generally approached as positive and trustworthy in the way other people are. This is especially true for modern societies, marked by high complexity, where trust has be-

come a necessary strategy for dealing with other people and institutions, often inaccessible to ordinary people (Sztompka 1999). Therefore, social trust was expected to be a moderator in citizen-police interactions in the West. Results confirm this approach by showing that clear differences exist between Western and Eastern Europe. In the West, the discrepancy between people with low or high social trust was stronger amongst the sample of people stopped by the police. Suspicious people gave far less positive ratings to the police in cases in which they encountered them. In the East, evaluations of people with low trust were more negative amongst those not stopped by the police. In transformation countries, where institutions are not met with the high trust found in the West, expectations toward the police might be generally lower. Hence, social trust does not act as a very strong mediator. It may also be possible that the chance of being stopped by the police is smaller for such people, based on a different behavior, such as not going out often.

Another open point is the link of social trust to social groups and identities. Linking the two approaches of morally founded (Uslaner 2002) and motive-based trust (Tyler/Huo 2002), it can be argued that people with high social trust toward others are more willing to see positive motives in the police and therefore can more easily establish a moral connection with them. However, this may only be true for people with a weak social identity, not defining themselves as belonging to one specific group. On the other hand, people with low social trust may have higher particularized trust with members who share the same group identity, as high trust in the in-group coincides with low trust in the out-group (Delhey/Newton/Welzel 2011). A study by Freitag (2003) neglects this argumentation, at least for Switzerland. He shows that social trust relates to individual attributes rather than to group attachment, such as active membership in associations, as often claimed. It correlates with personal resources, general attitudes, psychological determinants, and social background.

Social trust and trust in the police correlate positively across all European countries. Furthermore, trustful people show higher confidence in the work of the police and in their procedural fairness. Results for Switzerland follow those of Western Europe. The lowest levels of trust in the police, only 60%, are found for suspicious people with low general trust in the helpfulness of their fellow man and who experienced a police encounter. However, more research is needed in order to shed light on such correlations, especially with regard to what shapes social trust.

17. Trends in opinions

The biannually conducted European Social Survey allows tracking of the development of people's trust over the years. Results show highest ratings for the year 2012 for all included European Countries (Table 37). In Western European countries, in particular, trust levels are stable at a high level, such as in Finland, or have even increased over time, such as in Switzerland, the United Kingdom, or the Netherlands. However, Eastern European countries also seem to be catching up, as seen in steadily increasing trust rates for Lithuania, Slovenia, or the Czech Republic. A clear loss of trust in the police during the last years can only be reported for Slovakia.

Table 37: Trust in the police in Europe over time

	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
Finland	8,0	8,0	8,0	8,0	8,0	8,1	7,9
Denmark	7,9	7,9	7,8	7,6	7,7	8,0	7,7
Norway	7,0	7,1	7,2	7,0	7,2	7,2	7,4
Switzerland	6,8	6,9	6,9	6,9	7,0	7,2	7,2
Sweden	6,8	6,5	6,5	6,6	7,0	6,7	6,9
Germany	6,7	6,5	6,6	6,8	6,9	6,9	6,7
Netherlands	5,8	6,0	6,2	6,3	6,3	6,4	6,4
Ireland	6,5	6,6	6,1	6,5	6,5	6,6	6,3
United Kingdom	6,0	6,1	6,0	6,2	6,2	6,5	6,3
France	5,9	5,7	5,7	5,8	5,6	5,9	6,1
Estonia		5,7	5,5	6,1	6,2	5,9	6,1
Belgium	5,6	5,8	5,9	6,0	6,0	6,1	6,0
Czech Republic	5,0	4,2		4,8	4,9	5,1	5,7
Lithuania					4,5	5,5	5,5
Slovenia	4,9	4,7	5,0	5,0	5,0	5,4	5,5
Poland	4,9	4,6	5,0	5,1	5,4	5,3	5,1
Hungary	4,9	5,2	5,1	4,3	5,1	5,3	
Slovakia		4,4	4,7	4,9	4,6	4,1	
Croatia				4,4	4,4		
Bulgaria			3,9	3,3	3,9	3,6	

Note: Source: European Social Survey
Mean values of scale 0-10, no data available where no number is displayed (no survey was conducted in these years in the respected country)

When using different data sources, percentages of trust differ, as shown for Switzerland in Table 38. When comparing trust rates of the ESS with those of the *Sicherheit* study, it can be seen that values in the latter are always slightly higher each year, while the values for 2010 are similar to those of the Crime Survey (CS) 2011. The previously formulated idea about the use of different scales as a possible explanation for differences (Staubli 2014) no longer holds, as both – the ESS and the *Sicherheit* study – use the common

institutional trust item, asking for trust in different institutions, with either an eleven (ESS[5]) or ten point scale *(Sicherheit*[6]*)*. Contrary to that, the Crime Survey 2011 only asked about which institutions someone trusts, and not how strong this trust is on a scale[7]. In 2015, the question was shortened, asking only for trust in the police (Biberstein et al. 2016). The very high trust rate of 87.9% for 2015 may be explained by this reduction on institutional trust items. When listing the police amongst other governmental institutions, trust in the police may be connoted differently, as linked to political insitutions and other institutions issuing order, as results in this book have shown. Finally, in the World Value Survey (WVS) and the European Values Study (EVS) a four point Likert scale item allowed for the use of dichotomized items. A further distinction is the wording; both ask for "confidence in" rather than "trust in" the police[8]. However, an interchange of these notions is possible, at least for the survey in Switzerland, simply because no differentiation between trust and confidence exists in the German language, as seen in the translated questionnaires of the ESS, EVS, and WVS, speaking of *Vertrauen*[9]. Moreover, as Switzerland has only participated in the EVS and WVS three times so far, such differences can be ignored.

The explicit question about trust in the police was only part of the Swiss Crime Survey in 2011 and 2015. Hence, it does not allow for a comparison with earlier years. However, in most of the Surveys, the question

5 | ESS: Using this card, please tell me on a score of 0–10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust an institution at all and 10 means you have complete trust (European Social Survey 2010b: 5).

6 | I am going to name a number of public organizations in Switzerland. For each one, could you tell me to what extent you trust them (*Ich nenne Ihnen jetzt ein paar Einrichtungen vom öffentlichen Leben in der Schweiz und ich möchte wissen, inwiefern diese Ihr Vertrauen geniessen* [Svirzev Tresch/Wenger 2016]).

7 | Which state institutions do you trust? Answers yes/no *(Welchen staatlichen Institutionen vertrauen Sie?)*.

8 | WVS: I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence, or none at all? (World Value Survey 2011: 8); EVS: Please look at this card and tell me, for each item listed, how much confidence you have in them, is it a great deal, quite a lot, not very much, or none at all? (European Values Study 2010: 15).

9 | In French *confiance*, in Italian *fiducia*.

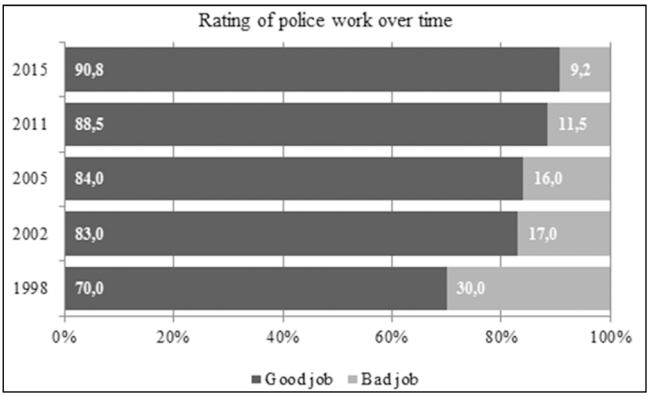
about resident's satisfaction with the control of crime in their neighborhood is included. When comparing the rates, it becomes obvious that the satisfaction level increased continuously since the 1990s, with the lowest rate of only 70% in 1998, and more than 90% positive ratings in 2015 (Figure 22).

Table 38: Trust in the police in Switzerland over time

Year	WVS[1]	EVS[1]	CS	ESS[2]	Sicherheit[2,3]
1995					6,9
1996	69,8				
1997					6,5
1998					6,5
1999					6,7
2000					6,8
2001					7,0
2002				6,8	7,1
2003					7,1
2004				6,9	7,2
2005					7,1
2006				6,9	7,2
2007	83,9				7,3
2008		81,9		6,9	7,2
2009					6,9
2010				7,0	7,2
2011			72,7		7,1
2012				7,2	7,6
2013					7,6
2014				7,2	7,5
2015			87,9		7,7
2016					7,9

Note: Percent and mean values; no data available where no number is displayed (no surveys conducted in these years in Switzerland)
1 Answers a great deal and quite a lot counted together
2 Mean values
3 Source: Szvircsev Tresch/Wenger (2010, 2016)

Figure 22: Satisfaction with control of neighborhood criminality over time in Switzerland



Note: Source: Swiss Crime Survey

A comparison of the 2010 rates for global trust and specific trust in the police – overall trust in the police and ratings of how well the police are doing their job in the neighborhood – shows that they are nearly identical (70.3% mean trust and 72.3% good job, $r_s = .258$, $p < 0.001$). Revisiting the discussion about how to measure trust in the police, two conclusions are possible. On the one hand, people may draw connections to local police forces in their neighborhood when they report their overall trust in the police. On the other hand, the two similar numbers in trust level may reflect two different levels of attitudes, but showing that people are rather satisfied with both, how the police are doing their job in their neighborhood as well as with the police as an organization or institution as a whole.

18. Limitations

In this study, several important results were found. However, interpretations are subject to several limitations. Firstly, a number of difficulties arise in cross-national research. One often-formulated problem is linked to data collection. Only process standardization can guarantee that data are comparable across countries. The European Social Survey uses a centralized structure resulting in a strong standardization in the fieldwork or sampling methods (European Social Survey ESS 2010c). Therefore, data sets are expected to be equivalent in each of the participating countries,

or at least to display very low discrepancies. However, even when data is collected by identical methods, questions may be understood differently across countries. I previously dealt with this problem when discussing the use of the social trust items (see Chapter 4.1: European Social Survey 2010 [ESS2010]). Even though some studies have shown that the difference in the understanding of these items is tolerable, some variation is expected not only between but also within countries, as no homogeneity exists within national boundaries either. This leads to another important point that needs to be considered when interpreting results: National boundaries are not identical to cultural boundaries (de Vaus 2008). The differences found between the Eastern and the Western European cluster must therefore be seen as national rather than based on cultural parameters.

Returning to the different understandings of variables between and within countries, variations are not only expected for the explanatory variable of social trust, but also for the dependent variables of trust in the police, in their procedural fairness, and in their effectiveness. Questions measuring procedural fairness ask for respectful treatment and fair decision. However, no further specification about the meaning is given in the questionnaire. Respectful treatment was linked to "what you have heard or based on your own experience..." which opens up a rather broad fundus of connotations. For the concept of police's effectiveness, I used the variable asking for how well the police are doing their job. This question is linked to expectations ("Taking into account all the things the police are expected to do..." [10]). Again, this is a fairly general formulation. No solution is available for this problem as of yet, as the theoretical base, as well as many studies dealing with the concept of procedural fairness, stem from the U.S. and UK. It would be important to test the understanding of procedural fairness in different countries, not only of the West but also in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean countries included in round five of the European Social Survey.

The European Social Survey offers a variety of variables and includes several countries all over Europe. Data are aimed at national analyses. Hence, the responsible body of the European Social Survey warns against combining countries in clusters (European Social Survey 2014). Nevertheless, in order to obtain an overview of the situation in Europe and in order

10 | For full wording of the questions, see Chapter 4.1: European Social Survey 2010 (ESS2010).

to test theoretical approaches, in a first step, I used two clusters of Eastern and Western European countries. Of course, a great deal of information gets lost when doing analyses at such an abstract level. These kinds of analyses do not allow for consideration of country-related specifications, such as organizational approaches within the police. Moreover, the style of the government as well as a bad economic situation in the country may lead to dissatisfaction with the government as a whole, as demonstrated by results showing that views about the government are linked to trust in the police. The inclusion of results for one country alone, Switzerland, at least allowed proof of results found for the Western European cluster. The aforementioned weakness of the cluster approach could therefore be at least partially mitigated. However, I did no in-depth country analyses in order to prove results for Eastern Europe, as of yet marked by low levels of trust in the police. Hence, more country studies are needed in order to elaborate on the situation in further countries in either Eastern or Western Europe.

Another point to discuss is the inclusion of France. It is the Western European country with the lowest trust values toward the police, scattering within the Eastern European cluster. Why do French people trust their police so little? Ethnic discrimination by the police is an ongoing problem (Body-Gendrot 2010). As primarily immigrants are affected, especially those living in the banlieues, bad police practices alone cannot explain the overall low trust amongst the French public. In the light of a continuous shift to the right, as elections in 2014 have shown, the source may instead lie in an uncertainty and fear of crime in general. Dissatisfaction with the government as a whole may be transferred to the police. Results further support the cultural argument by showing that French people not only have a low trust in their police but also a very low level of social trust. While other people's fairness is not evaluated as poorly, general trust in unknown people is particularly low. Fukuyama (1995) already declared France a low-trust society; a country with a weak civil society coupled with a history of distrust in the state. While family ties are strong, it lacks intermediate groups between the family and the state. At the end of the discourse in Chapter 13, he admits that over the last decades a process of cultural homogenization has taken place, coupled with a change in a traditional weakness of associations. Even though social capital and thereby particularized trust may have become stronger in the meantime, results show that generalized trust is still low.

As already briefly mentioned and discussed above, a second point of limitation is that results are always only as good as the data used to obtain them. Furthermore, they largely depend on applied methodologies. At the center of the analyses was the overall trust in the police, together with confidence in their procedural fairness and effectiveness. For analyses, standard survey questions such as "Overall, how much do you trust in the police?" were used. The use of such items would never cover the full range of trust in the police. Combined indexes considering a variety of items may lead to results that are more refined. Jackson et al. (2012), for example, demonstrate a close relationship between several items measuring trust in shared interests (motive-based trust), procedural fairness, and effectiveness. On-hand results may have become more diverse if I would have analyzed the variables of overall trust in the police, in their procedural fairness and effectiveness more carefully in the beginning based on further items included in the data set. Additionally, in the analyses, I did not consider items of motive-based trust. A feeling of "we and they [the police] are on the same side" (Jackson et al. 2012: 67) may in large part shape levels of satisfaction with encounters, and possibly relate to social trust.

Another area where information is lacking is in the circumstances of encounters between the public and the police. The question in the European Social Survey 2010 generally asks whether people have been approached, stopped, or contacted by the police within the last two years preceding the survey. No information is given about the reasons for police contact, whether the police verified a person or whether an unlawful behavior, such as exceeding the speed limit lead to a complaint. Receiving a fine, for example, will lead to further contact with the police and the justice system in the month following the encounter. Moreover, critical events, such as riots, for example in Sweden in 2008 (cf. BBC 2008) or in London in 2011, might lead to more problematic encounters between citizens and the police[11]. Such experiences are expected to shape attitudes toward the police, in either a positive or a negative way. However, positive

11 | The riots in Sweden fall between 2008 and 2010 for which police encounter questions were asked. This is not the case for the London riots, which only happened during August 2011. That such riots will not only lead to a higher chance of critical interactions with the police but also affect public opinion of the police in general can be seen in the study by Hohl, Stanko, and Newburn (2012). They analyzed the effects of the London disruption on public opinion of the police.

attitudes toward the police may already be limited prior to (problematic) police contact. This is supported by results showing that, in Western Europe, people with low social trust in particular rate police encounters negatively. Nevertheless, it may well be possible that such people with low trust but also people with an overall negative attitude toward life as a whole enter unfavorably into encounters with the police, for example, behaving aggressively, which may influence the interaction as a whole, leading to dissatisfaction with police treatment[12]. Further in-depth analyses should particularly consider the circumstances of encounters, such as the place, the persons involved, and the behavior of the involved police officers, but also the behavior of the citizens. Additionally, multi-level analyses would allow testing for effects at the neighborhood and country level.

Finally, results showed a close connection between overall trust in the police, on the one hand, and confidence in their procedural fairness as well as with confidence in their work, on the other. However, implicit in the ratings of the police work and their procedural fairness is an image of the police based not only on experiences, but also influenced by media coverage or stories told by friends and families. Such reflections may have a particular impact on people's evaluation of police's procedural fairness – whether they treat people correctly, make fair decisions, and explain their decisions – in cases where people were not yet in contact with the police.

19. Conclusion and outlook

This book is about the perception of the police by the public, by individuals who have experienced a police stop, and by victims of a crime. A lot of research has been done within this field of trust and attitudinal studies. However, most of the studies understand the police as either an organizational or an institutional body. In addition, cross-country research is limited. My aim was therefore twofold. Firstly, I combined institutional with organizational approaches, verifying them empirically. Secondly, Eastern countries were compared to Western European countries. Moreover, re-

12 | This may again especially be the case in demonstrations or riots, as an outcome of demonstrations or triggered by another event. However, despite former negative attitudes toward the police, problematic policing itself can contribute to the occurrence of riots (Klein 2012).

sults were proved by looking at one high-trust country, Switzerland. Another open subject was the relationship between global trust in the police and concrete perceptions of the organization. Finally, I wanted to elaborate on the role of social trust. Treated as part of social capital, its relation to trust in government is widely confirmed. However, its role in trust in the police has been considered only marginally thus far.

Results show that trust in the police correlates with trust in further governmental institutions. From an organizational point of view, encounters between citizens and police officers affect individuals perceptions of the police, especially with regard to satisfaction with the treatment received. Results further show that social trust not only affects trust in the police, but also the evaluation of police encounters. Finally, it can be said that attitudes about local police work relate to overall trust in the police.

However, many open questions remain, as several questions could only be answered within a limited scope. In further police research, surveys should, for example, combine specific questions about police encounters and about social trust. Furthermore, other soft variables, such as value dimensions (Schwartz 1994) and other cultural factors, should be considered, shedding more light on how people's perception of the police is shaped.