

# **European perspective: East, West, and Switzerland compared**

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## **5. INTRODUCTION**

Trust in the police as either an institution or an organization, measured as global trust in the police, their procedural fairness and effectiveness, belong together. Moreover, interactions with police officers are important for establishing their trustworthiness. Finally, cultural aspects of social trust shape people's perceptions of the police and their evaluation of police encounters. In order to test the formulated hypotheses, correlations at the macro level are elaborated on in a first step. I will test whether a linearity of trust in the police exists across countries or if country patterns can be found.

Analyses that follow at the individual level first deal with the question of whether views of local police work affect people's overall trust in the institution police. As data from the European Social Survey do not allow us to answer this question, all analyses are based on data from the Swiss Crime Survey 2011. Hence, only Switzerland is focused on here. In the subsequent chapter, a short overview of the distribution of trust in the police across Europe is given. In addition, the correlation between trust in the police and trust in the wider government are analyzed. Afterwards, encounters are looked at more carefully, considering the impact of satisfaction with the encounter on trust in the police. Moreover, the impact of social trust between groups of people being stopped by the police and those without such an experience are analyzed. In a final regression analyses, all aspects found to be important so far, are taken into account.

## 6. MACRO LEVEL PATTERNS OF TRUST IN THE POLICE

### 6.1 Introduction

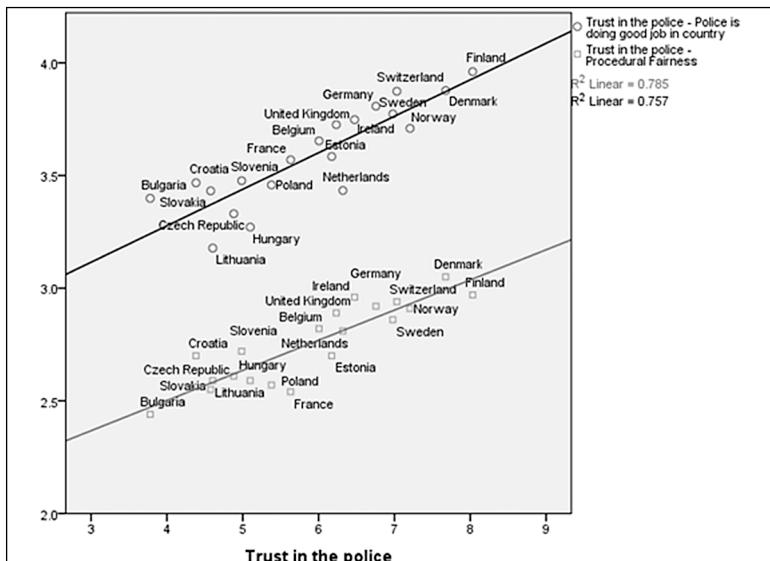
Before doing analyses at the micro level, I test whether there are correlations across countries at the macro level. First, the relationship between the different trust in the police items are elaborated upon. Second, the focus is directed to dependencies between the three trust items and political trust. Third, I test whether social trust and trust in the police are correlated across countries.

For better visibility, scatters shown are based on adjusted scales rather than on the original ones. Nevertheless, in order to understand the relationships in full context, original scales are mentioned.

### 6.2 Distribution of trust in the police

In a first step, I will look at the distribution of the different trust items – trust in the police, confidence in the work of the police, and trust in police's procedural fairness – at an aggregated level. Results show that Western European countries are marked by high levels of trust in the police, trust in police's procedural fairness and in their work, while Eastern European countries have lower levels of trust (Figure 4). Amongst countries with high levels of procedural fairness, Finland stands out. Within the countries marked by lower levels of confidence in police work, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Lithuania rank clearly lower than the other countries. While France shows a pattern of low levels of trust in the police, ranking therefore within the Eastern European country group, Estonia is on the top end of this group with moderate trust in the police. Furthermore, linear relationships are stronger for high-trust countries. Conversely, the variance is larger for countries located at the lower end of the trust-in-the-police scale, which are primarily from Eastern Europe. Differences became more obvious when separating Eastern and Western European countries (not shown here). The explanation force is stronger for the Western European cluster than for the Eastern European, as the proportion of variance predictable through trust in the police is larger here. However, as all three items are seen as interdependent, analyses could have been done the other way round.

Figure 4: Linear relationship between items of trust in the police across Europe



Note: Scales: Trust in the police 0-10, confidence in police work 1-5, procedural fairness 1-4

### 6.3 Governmental trust

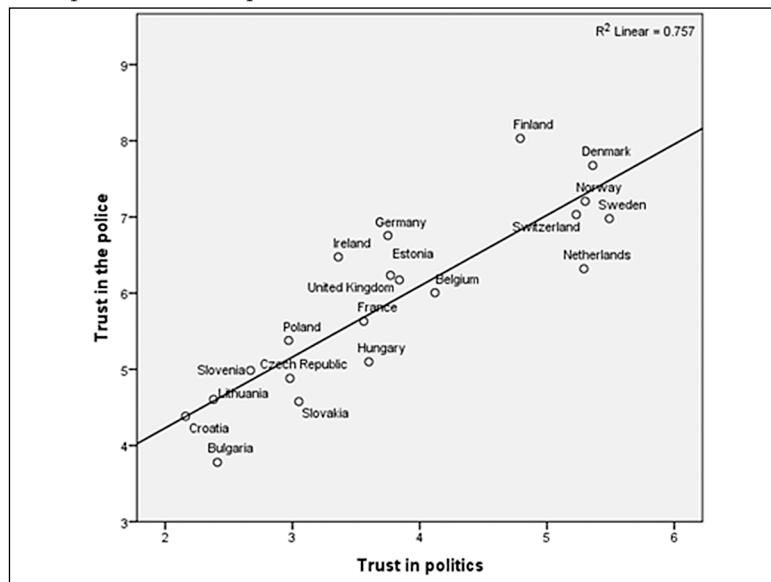
In research on governmental institutions, the police are one institution among many. As the trust in the police item that underlies the following analyses can clearly be classified in this context, it seems important to test whether interconnectedness exists between trust in the police and trust in other institutions, such as trust in courts, the government, political parties, or politicians (subsumed here in trust in politics). When comparing clusters of Eastern and Western Europe, trust in politics in particular may have an influence on people's perception of the police. Research has shown that in Eastern Europe governmental institutions are perceived as being more similar, while people in the West differentiate more between them (Mishler/Rose 1997; Mishler/Rose 2001; Rothstein/Stolle 2002).

First analyses at the aggregated level show that trust in the police clearly relates to trust in politics, across all countries included (Figure 5). Scandinavian countries, together with Switzerland and the Netherlands, are not only marked by a high trust in the police but people also place a great deal of trust in the political institutions of their countries. However, there

is a discrepancy in Finland, where the police are clearly trusted more than political institutions. Even though the linear relationship is also given for the other countries, all are marked by a higher trust in the police than in politics. A differentiation between the two clusters shows that the explanatory power is stronger for the Eastern European cluster, as the coefficients of determination ( $R^2$ ) are higher. While the linear relationship is given for all countries in Eastern Europe, in Western Europe countries cluster around two groups: In the first group, trust in politics is lower than four, while it is higher than five in the second group (not shown here).

Results give a first hint of the interconnectedness of institutional trust items. The police are perceived as part of the wider government. The more people trust in political institutions, the more they trust in their police and vice versa. Hence, it is important to include trust in politics in further analyses. Later, at the individual level, more detailed analyses are conducted in order to get more information about this topic.

*Figure 5: Linear relationship between trust in politics and trust in the police across Europe*

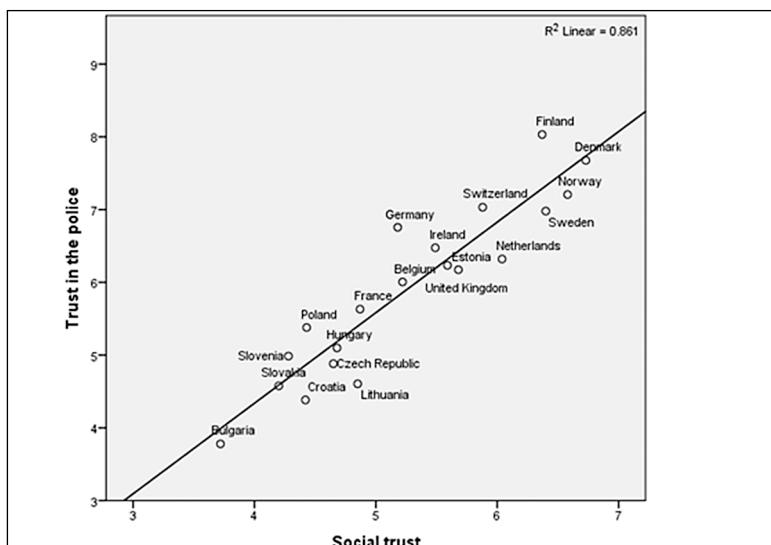


*Note: Scale for both items: 0-10*

## 6.4 Social trust

Before considering encounters at the individual level, I tested whether there is a direct impact of social trust on trust in the police at the aggregated level. Results show that social trust correlates statistically significantly with trust in the police. Countries marked by a high level of social trust show a higher trust in the police than low-trust countries and vice versa (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Linear relationship between social trust and trust in the police across Europe



Note: Scale for both items: 0-10

The model explains 87% of the variance of trust in the police. With the exception of Bulgaria, which ranks outside the group of Eastern European countries, and excepting France and Estonia, a distinction between East and West becomes visible. Countries marked by a high social trust are Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Ireland, as well as the four Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. On the other hand, the Eastern European countries of Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria make up the second group of low-trust countries. France, on the one hand, is not only marked by lower trust in the police as

compared to other Western European countries, but also by lower social trust. Estonia, on the other hand, groups within the Western European countries. Results for the split cluster reveal fewer differences than found for trust in politics in the preceding chapter (not shown here).

## 6.5 Summary

To summarize, results at the macro level show that political trust is correlated with trust in the police across countries. When doing analyses separately for the two clusters, two groups within the Western European cluster become visible: Scandinavian countries together with Switzerland are marked by a higher political trust, while the other countries are grouped around lower political trust levels. Furthermore, social trust also correlates significantly with trust in the police. In either relationship, two clusters became visible. While cluster one consists of Western European countries marked by high levels of trust in the police, high trust in politics, as well as high levels of political and social trust, Eastern European countries rank on the lower end, marked by lower trust levels. While all of the aforementioned scatterplots for social trust are based on a combined social trust item, in further analyses at the individual level, the single items of social trust are included.

# 7. TRUST IN THE POLICE AT THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

## 7.1 Introduction

So far, at the national level, linear relationships across Western and Eastern European countries were found for trust in the police with political and social trust. In a next step, correlations at the individual level are elaborated upon. I will start with analyses based on the Swiss Crime Survey 2011. This data includes questions about ratings of local police work, which could be combined with trust in the institution police. After that, a short description about the distribution of trust in the police across Europe is given. Next, factor analyses will test how trust in the police is related to other institutional trust items. In the last chapter, encounters initiated by the police are the central focus. After considering individual influences such as socio-demographics, I will test whether satisfaction with the treatment received by the police has an impact on trust in them. Finally, social trust is included in analyses as well.

## 7.2 Local ratings and overall trust in the police

The study by Brandl, Frank, Worden, and Bynum (1994) showed that citizens' global attitudes toward the police affect their assessment of specific contact with the police, and assessments of specific contact affect their global attitudes. It is this aspect that is taken-up in this chapter. As I argue that police encounters affect people's trust in the police, in the following, the direction of analyzes is from "micro to macro", rather than vice versa. Unfortunately, the question of whether attitudes toward local police work may influence trust in the police in general cannot be answered with data from the European Social Survey 2010. However, the Swiss Crime Survey 2011 explicitly asked about how well the police were fighting crime in the neighborhood. When comparing such a rating with confidence in the work of the police as a whole – based on ESS2010 data – particularly the negative ratings differ (Table 14). While overall police work is rated unfavorably by only 3.2%, a clear majority of people are dissatisfied with how the police are doing their job in the neighborhood (14.3%). Since only the ESS2010 question includes a neutral answer option, this difference may be caused by the lack of this option in the Crime Survey 2011. However, studies examining the influence of such neutral options rather point to a real difference. Sturgis, Roberts, and Smith (2014) show that mostly those people who do not know the answer choose the neither/nor option. In their study, responsiveness did not change greatly when "don't know" as an answer category was explicitly given (such as in the ESS2010).

Table 14: Local and national evaluation of police work in Switzerland

	Confidence in police work in...	
	neighborhood (CS2011)	country (ESS2010)
Very bad	2.4 (311)	0.7 (11)
Bad	11.9 (1,528)	2.5 (38)
Neither good nor bad		15.7 (235)
Good	71.3 (9,183)	70.7 (1,057)
Very good	14.5 (1,865)	10.4 (155)
Total	100.0 (12,887)	100.0 (1,496)

Note: Source: ESS2010 and CS2011 (full sample)

Percent, number of cases in brackets

When recalculating the percentages for overall confidence in the work of the police excluding the neutral answers, the difference becomes more obvious. While 85.8% rate police's work in the neighborhood as good, overall confidence reaches a total of 96.1%. It follows that people differentiate between police work in general and that in the neighborhood, which is rated as less good. This may be based on personal experiences. The question about how well the police are controlling crime in the neighborhood is probably easier to answer compared to control of the crime in the country as a whole.

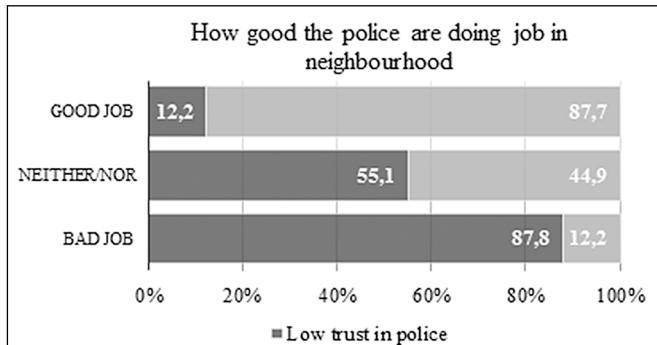
A good rating of the overall police work clearly goes hand in hand with an overall trust in the institution police (Figure 7). Close to 90% of those rating the work of the police in Switzerland very positively trust in the police, while about the same number (87.8%) who give bad ratings show distrust. Similar results exist for the evaluation of police work in the neighborhood (Figure 8). Trust in the police is clearly higher amongst people who rate police work favorably. Results confirm that attitudes about local police work significantly correlate with an overall trust in the police. Consequently, Hypothesis 6, arguing that the better the rating of local police work in Switzerland the higher people's overall trust and confidence in them, is confirmed.

The last wave of the Crime Survey in 2011 allows for going beyond the question of how good the police are doing their job in the neighborhood, as detailed questions about residents' perception of police work are included. Such information might be helpful in understanding people's trust in the police. Thus, I will not omit results, but rather describe them shortly (a more detailed description can be found in Staubli 2014). Even if the majority of the Swiss population is satisfied with the presence of the police in the public, more than 40% report that it is insufficient. Especially elderly people and Swiss citizens wish for a higher police presence, compared to younger people and non-Swiss citizens. Contrary to this, assistance by the police receives very good ratings overall. About three-quarters of the population report that the police assist, help, and listen to them if they have a problem. Less than four percent are of the opinion that the police are not taking care of people.

Again, males and Swiss citizens are more critical than females and non-Swiss citizens. People are also satisfied with the time the police take to arrive on a crime scene: 43.4% report that the police are usually on site quickly, while 35.2% think that it depends on the situation. Questions about changes in police presence and their work during the last three years preceding the survey (2008 until 2010) reveal that approximately every other person has

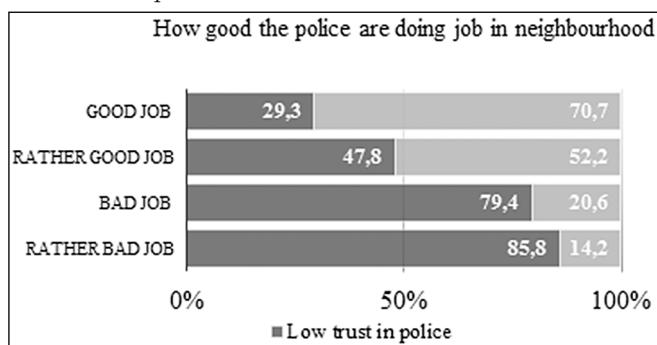
not perceived any changes or improvements. Around 17% even perceive a decrease in the presence of the police and in the quality of their work.

Figure 7: Confidence in national police work in Switzerland (ESS2010) and trust in the police



Note: Percent; total numbers: bad job n = 49, neither/nor n = 234, good job n = 1,209 Significance level: p < 0.001

Figure 8: Impact of confidence in local police work (CS2011) on trust in the police



Note: Percent, total numbers: good job n = 1,865, rather good job n = 9,183, bad job n = 1,528, rather bad job n = 311; Significance level: p < 0.001

Again, the number of non-responses is high, with about 35% not answering the question. As it was intended as an evaluation of police's visibility, based on the perceived number of police forces and officers, people who did not see, meet, or even recognize them, either as foot patrol or motorized, will understandably have problems answering this question. As for the other at-

titudinal questions, females as well as residents that do not possess Swiss citizenship are more positive toward the police<sup>1</sup>.

All attitudinal variables mentioned correlate statistically significantly to trust in the police (Table 15). The better the rating of the police presence and the better the opinions regarding time until arrival after an emergency call, the better the overall trust in the police. Results reveal the largest discrepancy in attitudes toward the work of the police, especially their effectiveness. Less than every third person who perceives that police work has worsened considerably trust the police. Contrary to this, close to 90% of people who report a large improvement in the work of the police, trust them. A difference also exists for time until arrival, with unsatisfied people showing 24% lower trust in the police compared to satisfied people. Negative views about the presence of the police also lead to lower trust levels, but the differences are smaller compared to attitudes toward the work of the police.

Attitudinal questions about the work of the police relate closely to an overall trust in the institution police, as seen in this chapter. People dissatisfied with the presence of the police in the public and the quality of their work have lower trust compared to those who are satisfied. Such a correlation is even found for perceived changes in police presence and the quality of their work. Moreover, statistically significant correlations exist for response time, help, and assistance by the police, confirming Hypothesis 6. Additionally, these results prove that evaluations of local police work correlate with overall attitudes toward them, confirming results in Brandl et al. (1994). Overall, Swiss citizens, men, and elderly people are less satisfied with police work, which is consistent with results found in other studies (Percy 1980; Brandl/Horvath 1991; Cao/Frank/Cullen 1996; Clerici/Killias 1999; Schafer/Huebner/Bynum 2003; Wu/Sun 2009).

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**1** | In this context, it is interesting to note that lawyers and representatives of the police claim that the number of police officers in Switzerland is too low (Mohler 2013). However, newer statistics show an increase in that number (Imbach/Widmer/Tischhauser 2013).

*Table 15: Correlations between attitudes toward local police work and trust in the police*

	Trust in the police	
	Yes	No
<i>Help and assistance in the community: the police are ...</i>		
...very much there for the people	88.5 (2,154)	11.5 (281)
...rather there for the people	80.8 (4,893)	19.2 (1,162)
...not there for the people	53.2 (1,324)	46.8 (1,167)
...not at all there for the people	30.0 (112)	70.0 (261)
<i>Time upon arrival</i>		
The police are normally on site quickly	81.9 (2,781)	18.1 (613)
It takes too long for the police to appear	56.9 (949)	43.1 (720)
It depends on the event	69.6 (1,916)	30.3 (838)
<i>Presence of police in public</i>		
Sufficient	78.4 (6,420)	21.6 (1,773)
Insufficient	67.7 (4,143)	32.3 (1,978)
<i>Change in police presence</i>		
Increased	77.5 (3,476)	22.5 (1,011)
Remained the same	75.4 (4,724)	24.6 (1,542)
Decreased	63.3 (1,463)	36.7 (848)
<i>Change in quality of police work</i>		
Improved much	88.8 (437)	11.2 (55)
Improved slightly	83.9 (2,012)	16.1 (386)
Remained the same	74.3 (4,333)	25.7 (1,498)
Worsened slightly	59.2 (865)	40.8 (597)
Worsened much	30.5 (112)	69.5 (255)

*Note: Source: CS2011 (full sample); Percent, number of cases in brackets;*

*Correlations for all items statistically significant ( $p < 0.001$ )*

### 7.3 Distribution across Eastern and Western Europe

There is a wide range in trust in the police amongst the selected Western and Eastern European countries, as already seen in the scatterplots in the chapters above. Results reveal the highest trust levels for the four Scandinavian countries (Finland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden), together with Switzerland, all having a trust in the police higher than 7 on the eleven-point scale. Former post-soviet countries, such as Bulgaria and Croatia, range on the lower end of the scale. The overall mean trust in the police of 5.9 groups the countries not only into Eastern and Western European cat-

egories, but also in countries marked by a high or low trust in the police, i.e. with a position on the trust scale smaller or greater than six.

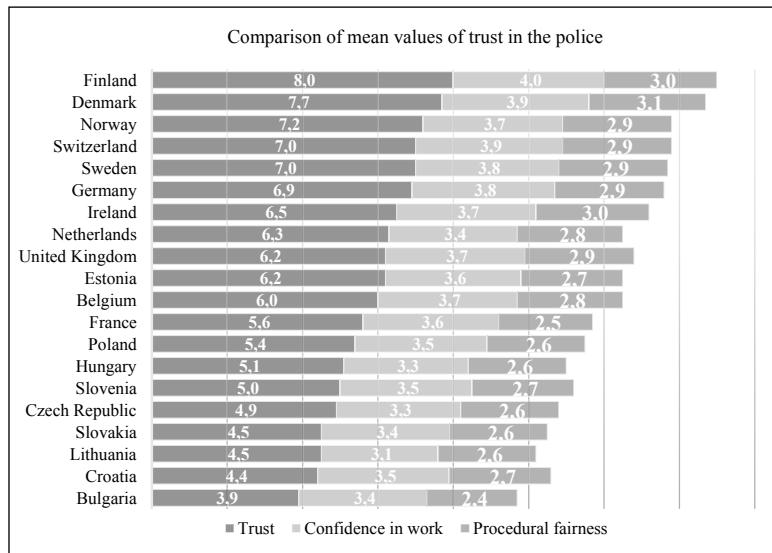
The distribution of procedural fairness across countries is similar: All Western European countries have a mean level of 3 or higher, meaning the police often treat people in the country with respect, make fair decisions, and explain these decisions. Again, the division in countries marked by high and low trust in police's procedural fairness passes the separation between Western and Eastern Europe. However, due to the four-point scale, the variance is rather small here; also, a rating of 2 (= not very often) is not too bad. As all countries, except Bulgaria, have a mean value of procedural fairness larger than 2.5, it can be concluded that the police are viewed as being fair in Eastern Europe as well, even though it is less often than in the West.

The mean level of confidence in the work of police, based on the question of how well the police are performing their job in the country, is midfield. All countries range between 3 "neither good nor bad job" and 4 "good job", with the exception of Finland, Switzerland, and Denmark, where the police are clearly viewed as doing a good job. Even though the differences between the countries are again small, it must be noted that the four Scandinavian countries are not grouped together. Finland and Denmark are on the top end, but Sweden and Norway rank below Switzerland and Germany. Again, all Eastern European countries rank below the overall mean level of 3.6. Contrary to the above results, the Netherlands are also listed within this group, with a mean confidence level of 3.4.

When combining all three variables in one figure, the slightly different ranges of trust, confidence, and procedural fairness between countries become more visible (Figure 9). Rates of confidence in the work of police in particular differ from trust in the police: High trust in the police does not necessarily mean that the evaluation of the work of the police is very good, and vice versa. Within Western Europe, Norway's and the Netherlands's confidence in the work of the police is lower compared to their rank of trust in the police. Amongst Eastern European countries, the same is true for Hungary, while Croatia and Bulgaria have a higher confidence level compared to their trust in the police ranking. Estonia ranks higher than Belgium and France due to its higher level of trust in the police. Contrary to these variations, countries rank similarly according to trust in the police and people's opinion of police's procedural fairness. Nevertheless, for all trust and attitudinal items, Western European countries rank at the

top of the scale, while those for Eastern Europe are at the bottom, with the exception of Estonia. Hence, for the analyses that follow, the selected countries are combined in two clusters, one for Eastern and one for Western European countries.

Figure 9: Mean levels of trust in the police items



Note: Scales: Trust in the police 0-10, confidence in police work 1-5, procedural fairness 1-4

Already at the country level, a linear relationship between the different items of trust in the police was found. Results confirm significant correlations for the individual level as well. The correlation is highest for confidence in the work of the police and trust in them ( $r_s = .451$  in the West and  $r_s = .482$  in the East), while it is smaller for procedural fairness and trust in the police, which is more evident in Western Europe (West:  $r_s = .383$ , East:  $r_s = .417$ ). In literature, procedural fairness and police effectiveness are considered elements comprising trust in them. Therefore, the overall trust-in-the-police variable is only seldom used as the dependent variable in analyses. Rather, an index combining concepts of overall trust, procedural fairness, and effectiveness is used (cf. Jackson et al. 2012). However, as I differentiate between trust in the institution police and trust in the organization police, the three items of trust are treated as dependent variables in the following analyses. However, due to scaling, only the general

trust in the police item is used as the dependent variable in multiple regression analyses.

Whether the police are perceived as part of the wider government here, or if people's perception of trust in the police differs from trust in political institution, is analyzed in the next chapter.

#### **7.4 The police as an arm of the government**

The institutional perspective sees trust in the police as only one form of a wider governmental trust. It argues that the police are linked to other institutions and their performance rather than to the performance of their representatives. Hence, analyses often include a combined index of institutional items. Nevertheless, studies have shown that there is indeed a difference in the perception of political institutions and institutions issuing order (Rothstein/Stolle 2002; Reuband 2012). Before continuing with analyses at the individual level, taking into account the influence of police encounters on trust in the police, I will analyze whether such a differentiation of people's trust in governmental institutions is found and whether there is a difference between Western and Eastern Europe. A measurement equivalence test by Schaap and Scheepers (2014) already confirmed that trust in the police is comparable within most of the ESS2010 countries. Amongst the countries used here, only Finland and Bulgaria did not meet the criteria. This may be coupled with the fact that these countries are settled at the highest and lowest end in Europe concerning trust in the police levels.

A first look at the results reveals that, in Western Europe, trust in the police may at least be combined with trust in the legal system, but is different from trust in political institutions, supporting the results found by Reuband (2012) and Rothstein and Stolle (2002) (Table 16). The situation in Switzerland seems to be similar to those in the Western European cluster. Certain institutions are viewed as more similar than others, such as the legal system and trust in the police. Conversely, trust in the police and trust in political parties and politicians correlate only weakly. It can be deduced that trust in the police may be combined in an index, at least with trust in the legal system.

*Table 16: Correlation coefficients for institutional trust items*

		Trust in...			
		Country's parliament	Politicians	Political parties	Legal system
Trust in the police	Western Europe	.412***	.395**	.370***	.632***
	Eastern Europe	.477***	.447***	.422***	.642***
	Switzerland	.406***	.427***	.330***	.614***

*Note: Source: ESS2010*

A principal component analysis of trust in political institutions – trust in the EU and in the UNO were not considered – reveals one strong factor for all governmental institutions, saying that, in Western European countries, the police is not perceived distinctively from other governmental institutions concerning institutional trust (Table 17). The same is true of the Eastern European cluster and for Switzerland, where people evaluate governmental institutions holistically. Despite this fact, the coefficients of the single factor show that the factor loading is the lowest for trust in the police (Western Europe: .677, Eastern Europe: .700, Switzerland: .675). Furthermore, scatter-plots reveal that a second factor would be adequate (not shown here). When considering a second factor, trust in political institutions (in the parliament, the politicians, and in political parties) splits from trust in institutions issuing order (the police and the legal system)<sup>2</sup>. Trust in the police in particular loads highly on the second factor of institutions issuing order (Western Europe: .913, Eastern Europe: .915, Switzerland: .895) (Table 18).

*Table 17: Factor loading of institutional trust items (single factor)*

Trust in	Single factor		
	Governmental institution		
Country's parliament	Western Europe	0,849	0,875
Politicians	Western Europe	0,888	0,893
Political parties	Western Europe	0,864	0,868
Legal system	Western Europe	0,789	0,821
Trust in the police	Western Europe	0,677	0,700
Eigenvalue		3,336	3,481
Total variance (%)		66,71	69,628
			62,828

*Note: Source: ESS2010*

**2** | The second factor can be taken into account despite its eigenvalue < 1, as its loading of .875 is close to 1. Furthermore, at 17%, it contributes largely to the explanation of the variance.

Table 18: Factor loading of institutional trust items  
(two-factor orthogonal rotation)

Trust in	Two-factor orthogonal rotation					
	Political institution			Order institution		
	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Switzerland	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Switzerland
Country's parliament	0,802	0,774	0,747	0,338	0,426	0,394
Politicians	0,907	0,913	0,876	0,261	0,271	0,273
Political parties	0,910	0,916	0,908	0,215	0,225	0,144
Legal system	0,400	0,446	0,348	0,794	0,774	0,816
Trust in the police	0,176	0,189	0,164	0,913	0,915	0,895
Eigenvalue	3,336	3,481	3,141	0,843	0,768	0,875
Total variance (%)	66,71	69,628	62,828	16,851	15,354	17,492

Note: Source: ESS2010

A comparison of mean values of trust in governmental institutions reveals that institutions issuing order in particular achieve high trust levels in Switzerland with the police being trusted the most (70.3%), followed by the legal system (62.8%). Political institutions, on the other hand, are evaluated less favorably. In particular, trust in political parties is low in Switzerland (48.1%), followed by trust in politicians (50.1%), and the parliament (58%). These numbers are lower compared to those found in the study *Sicherheit 2010*<sup>3</sup> (72% for the police and 69% for the courts, Szvircsev Tresch/Wenger 2010).

The above analyses reveal that, in Western Europe, trust in political and legal institutions may be considered the same, but a differentiation is not wrong. In Eastern Europe, they are more clearly perceived as similar, but still, results do not differ greatly from those in the West. Therefore, Hypothesis 1.1, that political and legal institutions are perceived differently in the West while no distinction is made in the East, must be rejected. The minimal difference between the two clusters may partly be explained by the exclusion of Ukraine and Russia, marked by very low levels of trust in the police. Analyses based on the sample before the exclusion of these two reveal an even clearer combination of these institutions in the East. It

**3** | Trust in the institution police is part of the annually published series *Sicherheit* (Safety) by the Center of Security Studies at ETH Zurich and the Military Academy at ETH Zurich. Trust is linked to questions about Swiss people's feelings of security. Amongst Swiss institutions, the police are trusted the most, followed by the courts, and the Swiss Federal Council. The lowest level of trust is found for political parties and the media. Newest numbers can be found in Szvircsev Tresch and Wenger (2016: 88).

can be concluded that Middle Eastern European countries went through a transformation following the fall of the iron curtain, becoming more democratic, which leads people to perceive the institutions differently from each other. However, for further clarification, more research with regard to the conditions of the single countries would be needed. Additionally, trust in the police and trust in the legal system can clearly be combined in the West. This would be pointless, as in the following analyses, the impact of encounters with the police on trust in them are analyzed. Hence, only the single item of trust in the police is used. However, the influence of trust in the legal system and trust in politics is taken into account in final multiple regression analyses.

Nothing can be said about the influence of police encounters so far. Several theoretical approaches emphasize their importance for building institutional trustworthiness (Giddens 1990; Hardin 2002; Tyler/Huo 2002). The next chapter elaborates on whether experiences with the police also affect overall trust in the police or whether they primarily influence trust in the police as an organization.

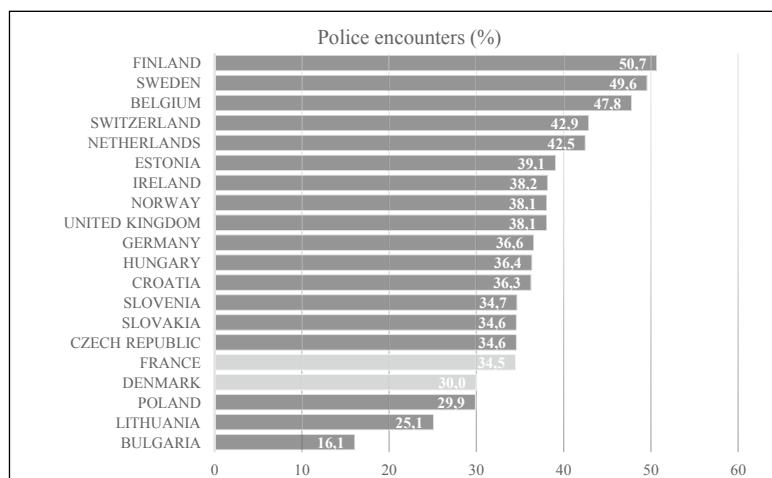
## 7.5 Police-initiated contact

There are large differences between the countries concerning the amount of contact citizens had with the police (Figure 10). While in Finland approximately every other person affirms “having been approached, stopped, or contacted by the police during the last two years” preceding the survey, in Bulgaria and Lithuania it was less than every fourth person. Finland ranges on the top end together with Sweden (49.6%) and Belgium (47.8%). Switzerland (42.9%) and the Netherlands (42.5%) are still above the 40% mark. Amongst the Scandinavian countries, Denmark can be considered an outlier, with only 30% police encounters. It differs in particular from Finland and Sweden, where about every second interviewee has been in contact with the police. Norway lies somewhere in between, with 38.1% encounter.

It might be argued that the total number of police officers in a country influences the number of encounters. A comparison with the statistics in the European Sourcebook reveals that this is probably not the case. Low numbers of officers contrast the high number of encounters in Finland and Sweden. Both countries have less than 200 officers per 100,000 citizens, while the number in Belgium is 300-399. The low number of encounters in Poland stands opposite the rate of 200-299 officers per

100,000 population (Aebi/Killias 2010: 36). Since these numbers are from 2007 only, nothing can be said about the current state. Moreover, only certain countries are included in this corrected statistic of the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics and civilian officers were excluded. A look at the annual rates between 2003 and 2006 shows that Denmark has around 180 officers per 100,000 population, which is more than Finland (around 155) but less than Sweden (around 190). The low number of encounters in Denmark, however, clearly contrasts with the number of officers. Of course, such comparisons must be drawn cautiously, as a rough overall number says nothing about the distribution of the officers across departments. Nevertheless, the number of officers per country is a topic that is brought up regularly, as a shortage of police officers is linked to low police presence. Moreover, additional services affect the private life of officers and are paired with dissatisfaction (Mohler 2013). Such stressors eventually lead to distinct behavior in the sense of inappropriate performance in interactions with citizens (Manzoni 2003).

*Figure 10: Percentage of self-reported police-initiated contact*



Many actions and interactions may happen during a police stop, influencing citizens' opinion of the police. Unfortunately, data does not provide further information on the circumstances of encounters but allows for a closer look at the satisfaction level of stopped people. Before, control items such as socio-demographics will be considered.

### 7.5.1 Individual influences

Research has widely confirmed that socio-demographics, such as age, have an impact on how the police are viewed. Moreover, Skogan (2005) and others (Bradford/Jackson/Stanko 2009; Jackson et al. 2012) showed that such characteristics are also related to police contact, as males and younger people have a higher chance of being stopped by the police. Furthermore, a large body of research deals with minority issues (Furstenberg/Wellford 1973; Correia/Reisig/Lovrich 1996; Reisig/Correia 1997; Tuch/Weitzer 1997; Brown/Benedict 2002; Schafer/Huebner/Bynum 2003; Rosenbaum et al. 2005; Schuck/Rosenbaum 2005; Weitzer/Tuch 2005; Jackson et al. 2012).

Additionally, several studies report the negative impact of victimization on attitudes toward and trust in the police (Poister/McDavid 1978; König 1980; Percy 1980; Killias 1989; Schwarzenegger 1992; Cao/Frank/Cullen 1996; Kusow/Wilson/Martin 1997; Oskarsson 2010; Bradford 2011). Closely linked to a criminal victimization are fear of crime (Cao/Frank/Cullen 1996; Weitzer/Tuch 2005; Jackson et al. 2009) as well as avoidance behavior (Hindelang/Gottfredson/Garofalo 1978). Before controlling for socio-demographic and other individual characteristics in further linear regression analyses, their direct influence on trust in the police is analyzed. Moreover, I test how the influence changes between samples of people with and without police contact. Results for Eastern and Western Europe reveal clear differences in trust in the police between the contact and non-contact sample for gender, age, ethnic minority, and socially meeting with friends (Table 19).

Firstly, it can be seen that the higher trust in the police by Western females is caused by police encounters, while females with no police contact do not show a higher trust in the police. Furthermore, in Western Europe, young people between 14 and 25 years have a lower trust in the police than those over 60 in cases where they experienced a police stop ( $B = -.483$ ). Without such an experience, young age does not matter. In the East, the impact is only statistically significant in the non-contact group. Moreover, the same pattern is found for 26- to 39-year-olds. It can be concluded that, in Eastern Europe, factors other than the age came into play in cases of police contact. A further discrepancy in Western Europe can be seen with citizenship and ethnic minority. While possession of citizenship leads to a more critical view of the police in all samples, the statistically significant negative impact that belonging to an ethnic minority has on trust in the police becomes insignificant in cases of police encounters ( $B = -.159$ ).

Table 19: Influence of socio-demographic variables on trust in the police in Eastern and Western Europe (linear multivariate regressions)

	Western Europe			Eastern Europe		
	Full sample	No contact	Contact	Full sample	No contact	Contact
(Constant)	6,641	6,951	5,868	4,474	4,733	3,532
Female	.153***	-0,007	.308***	.152*	0,119	0,123
Age groups (ref: > 59 years)						
14-25 years	-.268***	0,023	-.483***	-.547***	-.506***	-0,335
26-39 years	-0,080	-0,085	0,010	-.376***	-.473***	0,034
40-59 years	-.163***	-.103*	-.157*	-.0149	-.0193	0,214
Years of education	-0,042	-.092*	0,096	0,063	0,077	0,147
Citizen of country	-.390***	-.439***	-.280*	-.0212	-.0391	0,143
Ethnic minority	-.228**	-.268**	-0,159	0,073	0,331	-0,468
Income (ref: low)	.282***	.203***	.426***	.342***	.418***	0,168
Religiousness (ref: low)	.383***	.363***	.415***	.377***	.402***	0,305*
Political orientation (ref: moderate)						
Left	-.195***	-.147**	-.246***	.206*	0,142	0,333
Right	.190***	.264***	0,076	.298***	0,260	.373*
Life satisfaction (ref: low)	.836***	.790***	.892***	.781***	.765***	.777***
Criminal victimization	-.341***	-.194**	-.322***	-.459***	-.379*	-.447**
Fear of crime	-.163***	-.129*	-.181*	-.500***	-.421***	-.590***
Going out (ref: once or several times a month)						
Less than once a month	-.255***	-.367***	0,019	0,030	0,074	-0,140
Once or several times a week	0,022	0,026	0,058	0,031	-0,029	0,164
Every day	-0,052	0,018	-0,045	0,167	.409*	-0,171
Agglomeration type (ref: core city)						
Agglomeration	-0,066	-0,019	-0,137	0,108	0,005	0,28
Town, small city	-0,064	-0,050	-0,068	0,152	0,159	0,121
Rural	-0,082	-0,043	-0,131	0,298	.255*	.344*
adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0,120	0,115	0,136	0,099	0,112	0,078
N	18,441	11,190	7,229	5,022	3,385	1,630

Note: Source: ESS2010: B-coefficient of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police  
Including country dummies (not shown); excluded from the system: Germany and Poland,  
Countries weighted by design and population

<sup>1</sup> Years of education: 1 = 0-6 years, 2 = 7-12 years, 3 = 13-23 years, 4 < 23 years

In the East, no significant impact was found for either citizenship or ethnic minority. Furthermore, religiousness leads to a better view of the police in the West, independently of a police encounter. Contrary to this, in Eastern Europe, the positive impact of religiousness becomes insignificant in the contact sample. Once more, it can be assumed that encounters may be more problematic in the East than in the West, causing the pos-

itive effects of socio-demographics to disappear. However, the different influence of political orientation on trust in the police in the West speaks against this argument. A settling on the left side of the political spectrum leads to lower trust in the police in all samples, with the strongest impact in the contact group. The positive influence of a right attitude on trust in the police disappears in the contact group. It can be followed that the effect of improper police behavior is stronger, bringing to fall the positive opinion of the police held by conservative people.

Finally, only in Western Europe does leisure behavior influence trust in the police. Particularly people meeting with friends or colleagues less than once a month have a negative opinion of the police, in cases where they were not in contact with them ( $B = -.367$ ). However, this negative influence disappears in the contact sample ( $B = .019$ ). It may be possible that such marginalized people were contacted by the police in order to help them, therefore contributing to a more positive image.

While in Western Europe, females who experienced an encounter with the police show higher trust rates, no difference among sexes was found for Switzerland (Table 20)<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, the police stop males significantly more often than females (Staubli 2014). Furthermore, other socio-demographics such as age, minority, political orientation, etc. only play marginal roles. In cases of police contact, only religiousness and life-satisfaction were found to have positive impacts on trust in the police. Compared to the Western European sample, life-satisfaction stands out, as its impact on trust in the police is rather strong in Switzerland.

The Swiss police stop young males more frequently than females. Young males may demonstrate conduct that is more often suspicious as well as a higher involvement in criminal activities, in combination with a certain lifestyle. Results further show that the more often someone meets with friends, the higher his or her chance of being stopped by the police. Those meeting with friends every day have a 25.9% higher chance of being stopped by the police than those meeting up less than once a month. More than half of those who reported going out every day had been stopped by the police, while that number was only about one quarter for those living more isolated and going out less than once a month (results not displayed).

**4** | While in cross-tabulation females were found to have a higher trust in the Swiss police than males (Staubli 2014), this correlation ceases here in linear multivariate regressions.

This result may shed light on the significant correlation found between income and police stops, with high-income people being stopped more often than low-income people (48.5% vs. 38.7%).

*Table 20: Influence of socio-demographic variables on trust in the police in Switzerland (linear multivariate regressions)*

	Full sample	No contact	Contact
(Constant)	6,485	7,456	4,427
Female	0,147	0,164	0,006
Age groups (ref: >59 years)			
14–25 years	-0,510	-.669*	-0,051
26–39 years	-0,295	-0,252	-0,040
40–59 years	-0,404	-.440*	-0,084
Years of education	0,052	-0,023	0,195
Citizen of country	-0,808	-.886***	-0,599
Ethnic minority	0,044	0,040	0,042
Income (ref: low)	0,138	0,030	0,296
Religiousness (ref: low)	0,274	0,076	.587**
Political orientation (ref: moderate)			
Left	-0,140	-0,100	-0,096
Right	0,305	0,322	0,372
Life satisfaction (ref: low)	1,412***	1,075	2,037***
Criminal victimization	-0,380	-0,408	-0,271
Fear of crime	-0,214	-0,240	8,37E-05
Going out (ref: once or several times a month)			
Less than once a month	0,025	-0,341	0,001
Once or several times a week	-0,114	-0,181	-0,349
Every day	-0,113	0,067	0,222
Agglomeration type (ref: core city)			
Agglomeration	-0,129	-0,303	0,222
Town, small city	-0,151	-0,457	0,360
Country village	-0,175	-0,042	-0,274
Countryside	0,116	-0,189	0,531
adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0,059	0,066	0,046
N	1,222	517	702

*Note: Source: ESS2010: B-coefficient of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police*

<sup>1</sup> Years of education: 1 = 0–6 years, 2 = 7–12 years, 3 = 13–23 years, 4 < 23 years

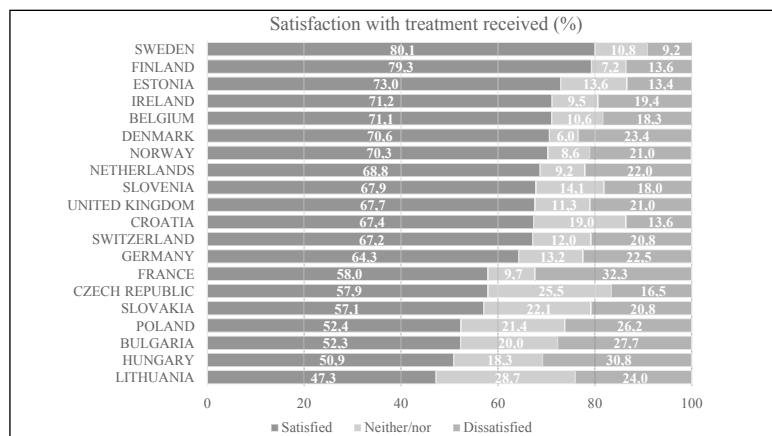
Next, I will analyze how satisfied people were with police encounters and whether or not such satisfaction has an impact on trust in the police.

### 7.5.2 Satisfaction with treatment received

Trust in the police is higher in Western than in Eastern Europe, as shown above. When looking at the levels of satisfaction with the treatment received in a police encounter, no such clear conclusion can be drawn.

Amongst the Scandinavian countries, Finland and Sweden show the highest levels of satisfaction with about 80% of the contacted people reporting satisfaction with how they were treated by the police (Figure 11). Nevertheless, in Denmark and Norway people were ten percent less satisfied. The lowest level of satisfaction within Western European countries is found amongst French people (58%), followed by Germans (64.3%). Contrary to this lower ranking of Germany, Croatians (67.4%) as well as people from Slovenia (67.9%) have the highest satisfaction levels within Eastern European countries. Their numbers are similar to those of Switzerland (67.2%) and the United Kingdom (67.7%).

Figure 11: Percentage of satisfaction received by the police in an encounter



Concerning dissatisfaction, the people of France have the highest level of dissatisfaction overall, with about every third reporting being dissatisfied with how the police have treated them in an encounter. Amongst Western European countries, Denmark shows the largest proportion of dissatisfaction, with about every fourth of those stopped by the police being dissatisfied. Other countries with large groups of unsatisfied people are Hungary (30.8%), Bulgaria (27.7%), and Poland (26.2%). The proportion of neutral respondents, having been neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, seems to be much larger in Eastern European countries.

There is ongoing discussion in the research community about whether only negative experiences with the police have a negative influence

on trust in them or if a positive interaction will result in a better image and therefore in a higher trust as well (Skogan 2006; Bradford/Jackson/ Stanko 2009). While primarily studies conducted in Anglo-Saxon countries (Reisig/Chandek 2001; Skogan 2006; Bradford 2011) show that a negative impact of unfavorable ratings of police encounters on trust in them weighs more than positive ones, such results cannot be confirmed here. Thus far, analyses prove the asymmetry hypothesis for the Eastern European cluster only, as shown in Table 21. Dummy variables for each item of satisfaction with police contact were included in regression analyses, with neither satisfied nor dissatisfied as the reference category. The negative impact of dissatisfaction is strong in the East ( $B = -1.660$ ). Satisfaction with treatment received also leads to a higher trust in the police, but the impact is slightly lower ( $B = 1.594$ ). Amongst Western European countries, a favorable evaluation of police contact leads to a distinctly better opinion of the police ( $B = 1.560$ ), while the negative impact of dissatisfaction is much smaller ( $B = -.444$ ). Coefficients are even stronger for Switzerland, with no significant impact of negative ratings. It follows that Hypothesis 5.1 can only partly be confirmed.

The relationship found between satisfaction with the treatment received and trust in the police is surprising. Contrary to the expectation based on the asymmetry hypothesis, unfavorable ratings only count more than positive ones in the Eastern European cluster, where trust in the police is much lower anyway compared to Western European countries. Reasons may lie within the research design. As most of the studies within the field of attitudinal research are based on local or at least national samples, data used here stems from a large opinion poll. Furthermore, the question about police-initiated contact was rather general in nature, not specifying any form of contact. Conversely, local studies often operate on questions about concrete forms of contact, such as traffic stops. Hence, failure to differentiate between specific forms of police stops may blur results. People stopped by the police during a regular traffic control may react differently to officers than those approached because they had breached a law, e.g. driven too fast. While a traffic control may be annoying because it is time consuming, receiving a ticket can be perceived as unfair. Nevertheless, studies have shown that police stops most often concern traffic offences (Tyler 1990).

*Table 21: Impact of satisfaction with encounter on trust in the police  
(linear multivariate regression)*

		B	Std. error	Beta	t
<b>Western Europe</b>	(Constant)	6,035	0,079		76,694
	Very satisfied	1,560***	0,086	0,281	18,201
	Satisfied	0,864***	0,080	0,176	10,752
	Dissatisfied	-.566***	0,098	-0,077	-5,752
	Very dissatisfied	-.444***	0,102	-0,057	-4,376
	R <sup>2</sup>	0,163			
<b>Eastern Europe</b>	N	8,676			
	(Constant)	4,841	0,125		38,593
	Very satisfied	1,594***	0,201	0,182	7,926
	Satisfied	.913***	0,136	0,175	6,714
	Dissatisfied	-.742***	0,180	-0,098	-4,114
	Very dissatisfied	-.1660***	0,197	-0,195	-8,426
<b>Switzerland</b>	R <sup>2</sup>	0,149			
	N	2,150			
	(Constant)	5,709	0,241		23,711
	Very satisfied	2,026***	0,294	0,390	6,898
	Satisfied	1,262***	0,274	0,277	4,609
	Dissatisfied	-0,015	0,363	-0,002	-0,042
	Very dissatisfied	0,624	0,349	0,087	1,791
	R <sup>2</sup>	0,103			
	N	1,502			

*Note: Source: ESS2010, sample of people stopped by the police*

*Coefficients of OLS-regressions, dependent variable: trust in the police*

*Reference category: being neither satisfied nor dissatisfied*

*Western and Eastern European samples: country dummies included, not shown here*

*Significance levels: \* 0.01 < p < 0.05, \*\* 0.001 < p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001*

The next analyses will look at the impact of satisfaction on ratings of police work and their procedural fairness. The strong impacts seen above are expected to appear here as well, as the above results have further shown a rather close relationship between people's trust in the police and opinions of police's work and their procedural justice. When visualizing the correlations according to values of cross-tabulations, it became obvious that, in fact, satisfied people rate police's work and their procedural fairness better, while the police are seen less positive amongst the unsatisfied individuals (Figure 12, Figure 13)<sup>5</sup>. This is the case in both parts of Europe. However, the impact of satisfaction on confidence in the police is stronger in the East than in the West. Even weaker impacts can be reported for Switzerland.

**5** | In order to have enough cases to draw on, different forms of negative and positive answers were combined. For all correlations: p < 0.001.

Within the Western European cluster, results confirm the stronger positive impact of satisfaction already found for the institutional trust in the police. There is a large discrepancy in the evaluation of police work between satisfied and dissatisfied people. In Western Europe, 78.5% of satisfied people rate police work as very good, while only 48.7% of unsatisfied ones follow suit. Conversely, of those satisfied people, only 3.4% rate police work as negative, while 20.4% gave this rating in cases of dissatisfaction. Differences are even more pronounced in the East: On the one hand, satisfied people rate police work as positive 44.5% more often than dissatisfied people (63.4% vs. 18.9%). Dissatisfied people, on the other hand, clearly rate police work negatively (41.7%). Despite their dissatisfaction, 18.9% of respondents gave the police a good evaluation. As further results show, unfair decisions and disrespectful treatment by the police are reasons for dissatisfaction with them. Only about one-fourth of unsatisfied people in Eastern Europe attribute the police with procedural fairness, while more than 70% of those satisfied with the treatment received attribute them with the same. In the West, ratings of police work and trust in their procedural fairness are similar. Close to 90% of people satisfied with the treatment received in an encounter attribute the police with procedural fairness, while only about 62% of those being dissatisfied follow suit.

*Figure 12: Impact of satisfaction with treatment received by the police on confidence in their work*

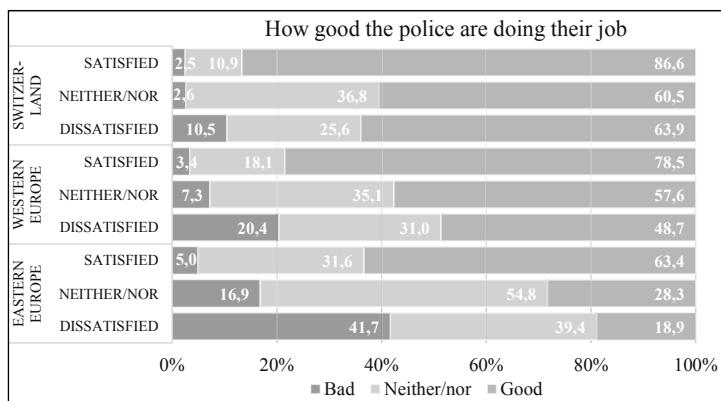
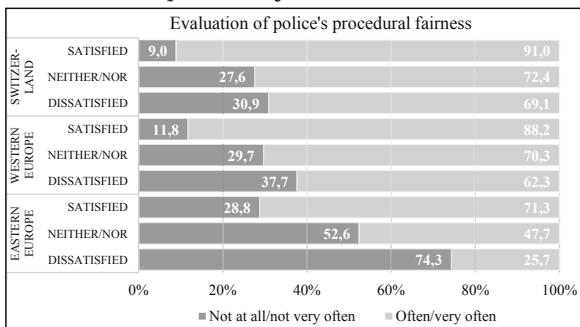


Figure 13: Impact of satisfaction with treatment received by the police on trust in their procedural fairness



Results for Switzerland differ only marginally from those in Western Europe when it comes to the impact of satisfaction on trust in police's procedural fairness. Contrary to this, ratings are more positive for the evaluation of police work. While 86.6% of those with positive opinions report that the police are doing a good or very good job, the rate is more than 20% lower amongst those who are dissatisfied with how the police treated them (63.9%). Even if this discrepancy is large, we should keep in mind that people rate the work of the police positively overall, with only a very low number of people giving negative feedback (27). Moreover, the difference is smaller compared to those in the Western European sample (29.8%).

Results confirm the assumption that an experience with the police has an influence on trust in them. Favorable ratings of police contact lead to better ratings of police work and of their general procedural fairness. It follows that Hypothesis 5.2 is confirmed. However, as the questions about procedural fairness were asked independently of the interaction with the police, the direction of causation remains unclear. Positive views of police's general fairness may also lead to better evaluations of police contact. Furthermore, results confirm the asymmetry hypothesis for the Eastern European cluster only. Therefore, Hypothesis 5.1 is partly rejected.

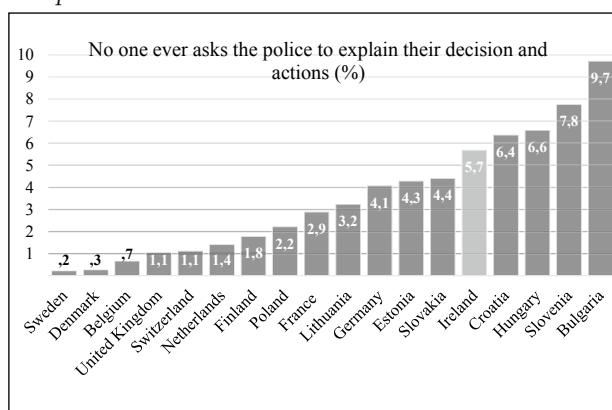
The questionnaire only allows general statements rather than saying something about the type of the contact, whether the police stopped people on the street, verified their identities, stopped them during a traffic control, or based on unlawful behavior. Furthermore, there is the possibility that they contacted people in order to talk about a former incident, such as criminal victimization, meaning that they were already in contact

with these people before. More information on victims' trust in the police is given in the section "The perception of crime victims".

The possibility of a cultural influence, consisting of an imbalance of power between an officer and the population in a country, is given by a fifth possible answer for the third item of procedural fairness. People were able to answer the question on whether the police in the country generally explain their decisions or not with "no one ever ask the police to explain their decisions" (treated as missing in the item of procedural fairness). While only small numbers of interviewees in Western European countries answered that it is uncommon to ask the police to explain their decisions, the number is much higher in Eastern Europe (Figure 14).

The question was not fielded in Norway and the Czech Republic. In most of the Western European countries, less than 2.5% of the people reported that it was uncommon to ask a police officer for an explanation. However, Germany (4.1%) and Ireland (5.7%) also show higher levels of respect toward the police compared to the other Western European countries. Another cultural factor that may shape the perception of the police is the openness of people toward their fellow man, as shown in the next chapter.

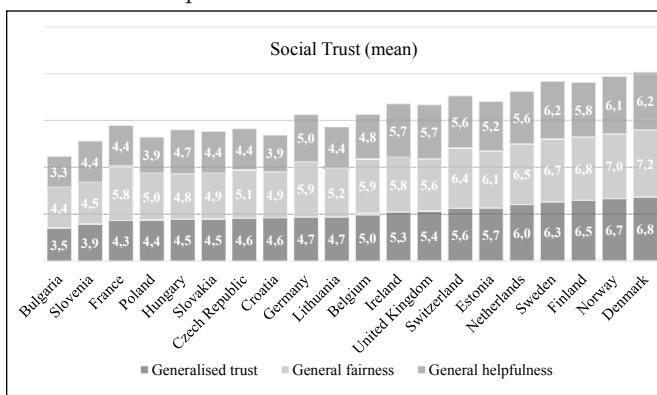
*Figure 14: Percentages of people answering that the police are not asked to explain their decisions*



### 7.5.3 The impact of social trust

The distribution of the three items measuring social trust differs between and within countries, as shown in Figure 15. Residents of Eastern European countries are much more cautious concerning other people compared to those of Western Europe. Less than every third Bulgarian generally trusts other, unfamiliar people, while this number is seven out of ten in Denmark. The only exception is France with the third smallest mean value of generalized trust (4.3), while the level of trust in others' fairness is much higher (5.8). Within the three social trust items, respondents rate the fairness of their fellow man the highest overall, followed by their trustworthiness, and finally helpfulness at the lower end. Exceptions are Slovenia, Hungary, Ireland, and the United Kingdom, where the difference between trust in others' fairness and in their helpfulness is rather small.

Figure 15: Mean values of three indicators for social trust in Eastern and Western European countries



Furthermore, while high trust countries Scandinavia and the Netherlands have the same view of other people's trustworthiness, fairness, and helpfulness, the items scatter more diversely amongst the rest of the countries. The discrepancies are the largest for Belgium and Germany: Belgians rate their fellow citizen as rather fair (58.7%), but only more than about every third think they are helpful (35%), with the level of trustworthiness between the two (43.2%). In addition, Germans differ similarly between levels of trust, helpfulness, and others' fairness (35.3%, 36%, and 54.9%). These differences between and within countries highlight that, in em-

pirical analyses, social trust items should be used separately rather than combined as an index.

Correlation coefficients for the explanatory variables of institutional trust and social trust are displayed in Table 22. Coefficients are similar in the Western and Eastern European clusters. It can be seen that confidence in police work does correlate negatively with all forms of social trust, in contrast to trust in the police and in procedural justice. Furthermore, Switzerland does not follow the pattern of Western Europe. Trust in other people's helpfulness and fairness correlates statistically significantly positively with confidence in police work, which is not the case in Western and Eastern Europe.

*Table 22: Correlation coefficients of social trust and trust in the police*

Police encounter	Trust in police		Confidence in police work		Procedural fairness	
	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes
Generalized trust	Western Europe	.235***	.256***	-.089***	-.096***	.091***
	Eastern Europe	.211***	.267***	-.112***	-.127***	.129***
	Switzerland	.170***	.154***	.071*	0.065	.037***
General fairness	Western Europe	.236***	.262***	-.092***	-.121***	.079***
	Eastern Europe	.228***	.238***	-.116***	-.134***	.130***
	Switzerland	.195***	.193***	.173***	.117**	.127***
General helpfulness	Western Europe			-.122***	-.132***	
	Eastern Europe	.218***	.257***			.095***
	Switzerland	.192***	.227***	-.110***	-.123***	.135***

*Note: Source: ESS2010*

*Pearson's (trust in the police) and Spearman's (confidence in police work, procedural fairness) correlation coefficients*

*Significance levels: \* 0.01 < p < 0.05, \*\* 0.001 < p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001*

The more people evaluate their fellow men as trustworthy, fair, and helpful, the higher their trust in the police, in both Western and Eastern European countries, as well as in Switzerland (Table 23)<sup>6</sup>. These linear regression analyses confirm results found in analyses at the macro level, which showed a significant linear relationship between social trust and trust in the police. While the positive impact of generalized trust and general helpfulness on trust in the police is higher in the West, positive views of other people's fairness count slightly more in the East.

**6** | Correlation coefficients can be found in Appendix A.

However, when taking the experience of a police stop into account, splitting the sample into two groups – people with and people without police contact – results differ. While amongst Western European countries the positive impact of general fairness and general helpfulness on trust in the police rose amongst the contact sample, it declined for those not having been in contact with the police. Conversely, the positive impact of generalized trust on trust in the police declined in the contact sample, while it remained more or less the same amongst people not stopped by the police. Overall, the differences are only marginal. The East shows the contrary pattern, with a larger positive impact of general fairness amongst the group of people not having been in contact with the police. This may be due to different circumstances and experiences during police stops. It is conceivable that it is not the stops alone that are experienced as rather unfair and harsh, derived from larger percentages of dissatisfaction with how the police have treated people, as seen in the preceding chapter. Moreover, the direct intervention or rather non-intervention of bystanders may lead to larger negative evaluations of others' trustworthiness and helpfulness. Overall, compared to the West, numbers reveal larger differences between the two groups of people with and without police contact. Finally, the amount of variance of trust in the police explained by social trust is slightly larger for the contact sample in Western Europe, while, on the contrary, the impact is slightly stronger for the group of people not in contact with the police.

*Table 23: Impact of social trust on trust in the police  
(linear multivariate regressions)*

	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Switzerland	Western Europe		Eastern Europe		Switzerland	
				Police encounter		Police encounter		Police encounter	
				no	yes	no	yes	no	yes
(Constant)	4,792	3,877	5,088	4,007	4,432	4,149	3,284	5,376	4,735
Generalized trust	.132***	.113***	.076**	.141***	.118***	.089***	.168***	.094**	0,066
General fairness	.120***	.125***	.115***	.095***	.158***	.132***	.106***	.092*	.144**
General helpfulness	.149***	.098***	.140***	.141***	.151***	.084***	.127***	.124***	.147***
R <sup>2</sup>	0,145	0,106	0,07	0,144	0,149	0,114	0,106	0,066	0,076
N	22,574	6,756	1,496	13,895	8,643	4,604	2,131	851	641

*Note: Source: ESS2010; B-coefficients of OLS-regression, dependent variable: trust in the police*

*Including country dummies for Western and Eastern Europe (not shown here)*

*Significance levels: \* 0.01 < p < 0.05, \*\* 0.001 < p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001*

Results for Switzerland are similar to those for Western Europe when it comes to the impact of trust in general fairness and general helpfulness on trust in the police. However, it differs from Western Europe in the sense that the impact of generalized trust is weaker and loses its statistical significance in the encounter sample.

Next, confidence in the police is considered. Is the impact of social trust on the evaluation of police work similar? Results reveal that, in both Eastern and Western European countries, high general trust leads to higher general confidence in police work, compared to lower trust, independently of being in contact with the police (Figure 16, Figure 17<sup>7</sup>). When comparing the two groups of people with and without police contact in Western Europe, the ratings are worse amongst those stopped by the police. Moreover, the largest difference between the contact and the non-contact groups exists for people with low social trust. Here, positive ratings are 14.5% lower compared to those not trusting their fellow citizen and not having experienced a police stop (51.8% vs. 66.3%). Contrary to this, differences are much smaller in the sample of people with high social trust (75.1% vs. 80.1%). This discrepancy becomes even clearer when looking at unfavorable evaluations. People in contact with the police give a bad evaluation of the police only very slightly more often compared to those not stopped by the police (3.7% vs. 4.7%). However, suspicious people with a police encounter evaluate police work 8.6% more negatively (9.6% vs. 18.2%). Results for Eastern Europe also differ in the sense that, within the high trust group, those being stopped by the police demonstrate clearly less favorable evaluations of police work (51.4% vs. 64% good work). However, as in the West, suspicious people with very low social trust also give a bad evaluation of the police much more often if they had contact with them (14.3% vs. 25.5%).

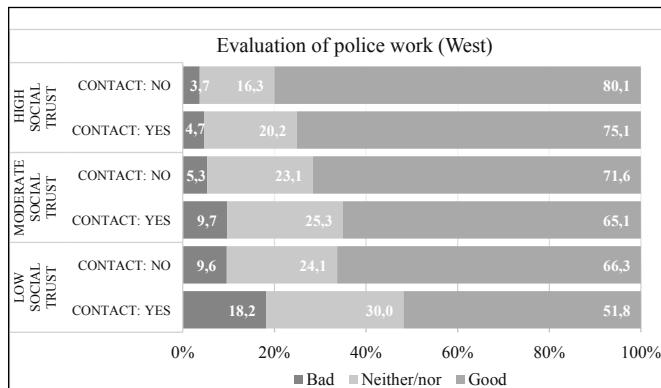
When comparing the groups with high social trust to those with low social trust, it is evident that the work of the police in Western Europe is evaluated as good 28.3% less often in cases where people were stopped by them, while the difference for the non-contact group is less than half that (-13.8%). Contrary to this, in Eastern Europe, no such difference exists for good evaluations of police work. However, suspicious people being stopped by the police clearly give a bad evaluation of the work of the police more often than those with high trust and police contact (13.5%), while

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<sup>7</sup> | As differences between the three items of social trust are only marginal, results from the combined social trust items are displayed.

the difference for those with no police contact is clearly smaller (7.7%). The same pattern is found for Western Europe. It can be deduced that, in an encounter, suspiciousness toward unknown others is transferred onto institutional representatives, such as police officers and their work.

Figure 16: Social trust, police contact, and confidence in police work in Western Europe

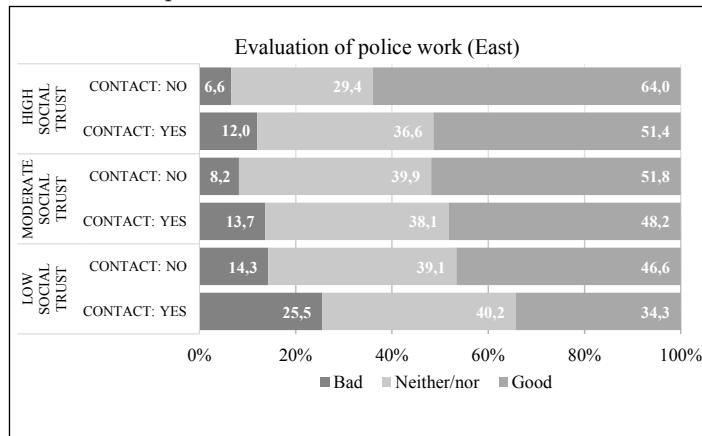


Note: Percent, total numbers of social trust: low = 2,166, moderate = 12,640, high = 7,721  
 Significance level: for all  $p < 0.001$

In Switzerland, people with high trust toward the fairness of their fellow man rate the work of the police more positively compared to suspicious people (Figure 18)<sup>8</sup>. Rates are higher compared to the ratings of the whole population (81.3%). The work of the police is rated more favorably overall amongst people not stopped by the police than amongst those who had contact. The difference between suspicious and positive people is slightly larger in the non-contact group. Moreover, the difference in negative ratings between the two groups is smaller for suspicious people (5.4% vs. 5.0%, -0.4%) than for those with high trust in others' fairness (3.9% vs. 1.2%, -2.7%).

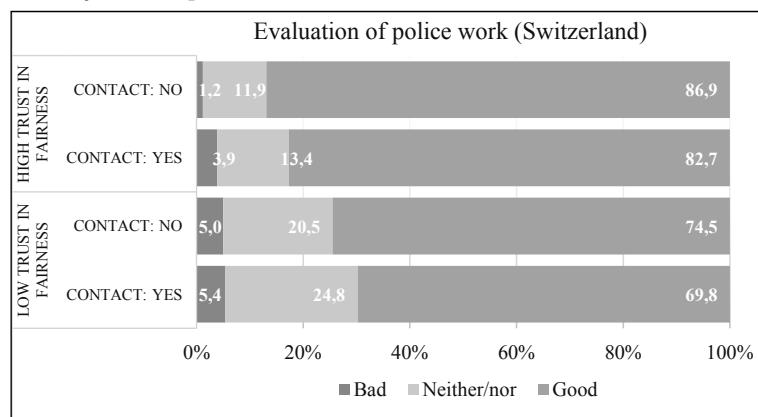
**8** | While correlations between social trust and trust in the police were found for Switzerland, the impact on the evaluation of the work of the police is less clear; differences between the contact and no contact groups are rather small. In addition, due to the small number of negative ratings, the impact for general trust is significant only in cases of no contact ( $p < 0.05$ ). Therefore, only the figure for fairness is displayed. Moreover, due to a smaller sample, social trust items were only dichotomized instead of trichotomized.

Figure 17: Social trust, police contact, and confidence in police work in Eastern Europe



Note: Percent, total numbers of social trust: low = 1,659, moderate = 3,773, high = 1,313  
 Significance level: for all  $p < 0.001$

Figure 18: Social trust (trust in fairness), police contact, and confidence in police work in Switzerland



Note: Percent, total numbers: high trust  $n = 480$ , low trust  $n = 1,011$   
 Significance levels: high general trust non-significant, low general trust  $p < 0.05$

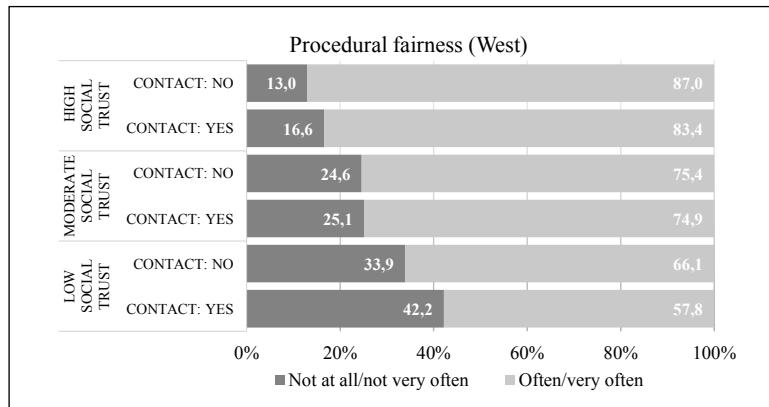
Finally, the influence of social trust on procedural fairness is analyzed. In Western European countries, as shown in Figure 19, the number of people not crediting the police with being respectful and making fair decisions

becomes larger the lower the social trust is and it is larger overall amongst those people with experience with the police. When looking at differences between people having been in contact with the police and those not stopped, it became obvious that the difference is largest for pessimistic people, where the negative evaluation becomes worse for those stopped by the police, with 8.3% fewer positive ratings of police's procedural fairness (57.8% vs. 66.1%). Contrary to this, the evaluation of police's procedural fairness does not differ between the contact/non-contact groups of people with a moderate social trust in others. Finally, it is only small for those with high social trust (-3.6%).

Again, results are contrary in Eastern European countries (Figure 20). First, the figures reveal that people assign general procedural fairness to the police less often overall than in the West, where about 83% of people rate the police as implementing procedural fairness. Secondly, the difference in the evaluation of police's procedural fairness between the groups of people the police stopped and those not being contacted is larger for those trusting their fellow man. Such people, with high social trust and experience with the police, rate the police 9.6% less as treating people respectfully, making fair decisions, and explaining their decisions compared to those that were not contacted (72.3% vs. 62.7%). On the other hand, the difference in evaluation is lower between the groups of pessimistic people not trusting their fellow man (-7.2%).

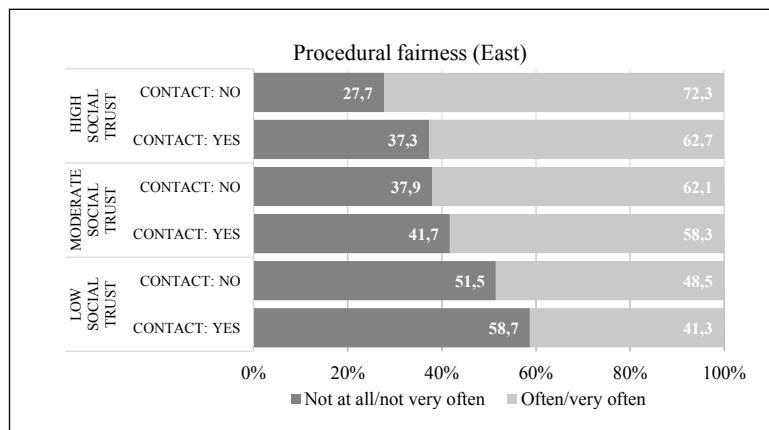
Of the Swiss population, more than 80% believe that the police use procedural fairness, while less than 20% do not attribute fairness and respectfulness to the police. When looking at the results achieved for social trust and procedural fairness, it can be seen that suspicious people in particular attribute fair procedures to the police less often in cases where they experienced a police stop (Figure 21).

Figure 19: Social trust, police contact, and trust in police's procedural fairness in Western Europe



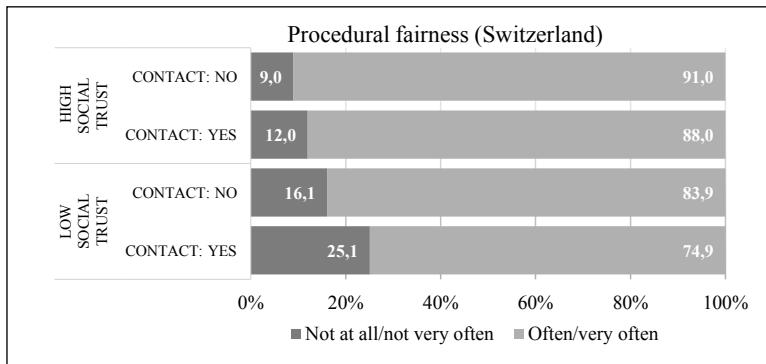
Note: Percent, total numbers of social trust: low = 1,898, moderate = 10,975, high = 6,696  
 Significance level: low and high social trust:  $p < 0.001$ , moderate: non-significant

Figure 20: Social trust, police contact, and trust in police's procedural fairness in Eastern Europe



Note: Percent, total numbers of social trust: low = 1,238, moderate = 2,948, high = 1,039  
 Significance level: low and high social trust:  $p < 0.01$ , moderate:  $p < 0.05$

Figure 21: Social trust, police contact, and trust in police's procedural fairness in Switzerland



Note: Percent, total numbers of social trust: low = 473, high = 1,024

Significance level: low social trust:  $p < 0.05$ , high social trust: non-significant

Thus far, it can be summarized that social trust measured by positive opinions of other people's trust, their fairness and helpfulness correlate with trust in the police, independently of a contact experience with the police. In both Western and Eastern Europe, as well as in the case of Switzerland, unfavorable evaluations of police work are especially strong among suspicious people being stopped by the police. Results reconfirm those of other studies (Kaase 1999; Newton/Norris 1999; Rothstein/Stolle 2008; Kääriäinen/Sirén 2011; Grönlund/Setälä 2012).

Social trust has a positive impact on trust in institutions like the police. Results confirm Hypothesis 4. However, results differ for trust in police's procedural fairness. In Western Europe and in Switzerland, the difference between the contact and the non-contact group is especially strong for people with low social trust. In Eastern Europe, the contrary is true. It is hard to explain these differences without further information on the circumstances of the police encounter and on people with different levels of social trust. It may, for example, be possible that very suspicious people in the West are part of subcultures encountering the police in more conflictive situations, such as demonstrations or illegal behaviors. Furthermore, several studies show that social trust is influenced by individual characteristics such as education, age, and income. Those with a higher level of education generally exhibit greater trust toward their fellow citizens. In addition, higher education leads to more trust in imme-

diate social surroundings and to more trust targeted at people in general (Uslaner 2002; Rothstein/Stolle 2008; Freitag/Traunmüller 2009). With regard to age, several studies show that older people have a higher trust in their fellow citizens (Uslaner 2002; Rothstein/Stolle 2008). Freitag and Traunmüller (2009) found that older people trust foreigners as well as familiar people more. When it comes to cross-country effects, many studies have shown that income inequality is among the most robust determinants of trust. Anything that reduces the social distance between citizens of a country could be expected to lead to more individual trust (Bjørnskov 2007).

Cross-tabulations show statistically significant differences in social trust for age, education, ethnic minority, income, life satisfaction, criminal victimization, fear of crime, and going out for both Western and Eastern European clusters. Gender only differs in Western Europe, with females having a higher social trust than males. People with high social trust are marked by high religiousness, high income, and high life satisfaction overall. Furthermore, they are more often settled on the right side of the political scale, are well educated, meet frequently with friends, are a victim of a crime slightly less often, have a low fear of crime, and are less often a member of an ethnic minority (results not shown here). Individual characteristics also play a role in trust in the police. Therefore, the following chapter will examine whether these moderate results exist.

## **7.6 Encounters and the influence of individual and contextual factors**

With all the information of the previous chapters in mind, I calculated linear regression models measuring the impact of satisfaction with the treatment received on overall trust in the police. I controlled for variables found to have an influence on the likelihood of being stopped by the police, as well as general socio-demographic variables shown to be directly related to trust in the police. Results for the Western European cluster found so far confirm the impact of satisfaction on trust in the police, with the positive impact being larger than the negative one (Table 24). Even though social trust and socio-demographic variables moderate, especially the high impact of very satisfied people, it still holds the strongest position in the final Model 5,

leading to an 11% higher trust in the police<sup>9</sup>. Negative evaluations, on the other hand, are less strong.

Furthermore, results confirm the overall positive impact of social trust on trust in the police. Looking at the influence of social trust on the perception of police encounters, it can be seen – when comparing Models 1 and 2 – that social trust explains part of the level of satisfaction with police contact. In particular, it moderates the very satisfied score, which is. 157 points lower in Model 2, as well as those of dissatisfaction (minus. 161). The reduction for satisfied (minus. 041) and very dissatisfied (minus. 102) is smaller.

A strong impact can be seen for governmental trust, very largely influencing trust in the police (Model 3). In particular, it contributes to the influence of very satisfied people. Control variables in Model 4 reduce the values of satisfaction slightly. As numbers in the final model, after the inclusion of country dummies, do not change strongly, the found results are robust across countries. The final model explains 47% of the variance of trust in the police, which is very good<sup>10</sup>.

Concerning the impact of socio-demographic factors, the overall picture matches other research results. Statistically significant impacts are found for gender, with women having a higher trust in the police than men. Furthermore, the youngest age group has lower trust in the police compared to the over-60-year-olds. A negative impact on the image of the police is furthermore found for education and a settling on the left side of the political scale. Contrary to this, high religiosity and satisfaction with life as a whole lead to a slightly better opinion of the police. While criminal victimization leads to a more negative opinion of the police, people who feel unsafe when walking alone in a local area after dark trust the police more.

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**9** | Even though this result clearly shows higher trust in the police for people very satisfied with treatment received by the police, it is targeted towards the mean level of trust in the police. Hence, no statements can be made about the position on the trust in the police scale. One possibility to achieve results that are more precise is the use of quantile regression (cf. Hohl 2009). Since I am not experienced in the method, I will not apply it here.

**10** | Of course, this can be partly due to the high number of items included in the regression analyses. For a critical discussion on the interpretation of  $R^2$ , cf. Baltes-Götz 2016.

*Table 24: Impact of police encounters, social trust, governmental trust, and control variables on trust in the police in Western Europe (linear multivariate regressions)*

	Trust in the police in Western Europe			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
(Constant)	6.543***	4.298***	2.758***	3.478***
1. Police-initiated contact	-.893***	-.820***	-.688***	-.598***
2. Satisfaction with contact (ref: neutral) <sup>1</sup>				
Very satisfied	1.602***	1.445***	1.136***	1.098***
Satisfied	.815***	.774***	.615***	.606***
Dissatisfied	-.734***	-.573***	-.402***	-.341***
Very dissatisfied	-.419***	-.317**	-.231**	-.198***
3. Social trust (0-10)		.411***	.106***	.094***
4. Governmental trust (0-10)				
Trust in politics			.033***	.044***
Trust in the legal system			.503***	.483***
5. Control variables				
Female (ref: male)				.136***
Age groups (ref: >59 years)				
14–25 years				-.345***
26–39 years				0,011
40–59 years				-.084**
Years of education				-.189***
Citizen of country (ref: no)				0,115
Ethnic minority (ref: no)				-.435***
High income (ref: low)				0,045
Religiousness (ref: low)				.075**
Political orientation: (ref: moderate)				-.262***
Left				
Right				-.012
Life satisfaction (ref: low)				.188***
Criminal victimization (ref: no)				-.134***
Fear of crime (ref: no)				.160***
Going out (once/several times a month)				
Up to once a month				0,020
Once/several times a week				0,011
Every day				0,011
Agglomeration type (ref: core city)				
Agglomeration				-.048
Town, small city				-.056
Rural				0,058
adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0,053	0,147	0,438	0,474
N	17,818	17,818	17,818	17,818

*Note: Source: ESS2010: full sample; B-coefficients of OLS regression*

*Dependent variable: trust in the police*

*Model 4: including country dummies (not shown here)*

*Significance levels: \* 0.05 < p > 0.01, \*\* 0.01 < p > 0.001, \*\*\* p > 0.000*

<sup>1</sup> *Question was only directed towards people stopped by the police*

So far, analyses confirmed the asymmetry hypothesis for the Eastern Europe cluster only, showing that the negative impact of an unfavorable

evaluation on trust in the police is stronger than the positive impact of a favorable one. This result rests stable in the final analyses (Table 25). Let us start again with the role of social trust. As in the West, it contributes to a positive opinion of the police, leading to higher trust in them. Furthermore, it moderates the value of the very dissatisfied people in particular. It leads to a reduction of .163 in the value between Model 1 and Model 2, while the positive impact of those being very satisfied remains nearly at the same high level. Model 3 shows the strong impact of governmental trust, especially trust in the legal system. Together with trust in politics, it strongly reduces the value of very dissatisfied people (minus. 600). At the same time, the impact of social trust on trust in the police becomes weak ( $B = .085$ ). The explanation force of this model is already strong, at  $R^2 = .443$ . The inclusion of socio-demographics in Model 4 only slightly reduces the values found so far. Contrary to the West, far fewer variables reach statistical significance. As in the Western European cluster, young age leads to lower trust in the police. Moreover, criminal victimization but also fear of crime contributes negatively to the image of the police. Finally, people who meet socially with friends, colleagues, and family members on a daily basis have a higher trust in the police. Again, dummy variables for Model 5 do not lead to large changes in numbers, which prove the robustness of the results across countries. The final model explains 46% of the variance of trust in the police, which is slightly less than in the Western European cluster.

In a last step, results for Switzerland are compared with those of the Western and Eastern European cluster. As already seen in the chapter 7.5.2: Satisfaction with treatment received, dissatisfaction with the treatment received by the police does not have a negative impact on trust in the police in Switzerland, while it does in Western and Eastern Europe. This non-significant effect rests after controlling for social trust and several control variables (Table 26). In addition, the positive impact of very satisfied people is still the highest amongst the groups examined ( $B = 1.296$ ). As in the analyses for Western and Eastern Europe, the positive impact of social trust on trust in the police diminishes after including institutional trust items but rests statistically significant. While the effects of trust in politics on trust in the police are very low in Western and Eastern Europe, they are close to zero in the case of Switzerland, which means they have no influence. Contrary to that, trust in the legal system seems to be important. Furthermore, in line with results for Western European countries,

age does matter: The younger people are the less they trust in the police compared to those older than 59 years. In addition, with an increase in education the level of trust declines. Furthermore, the more satisfied people are with life, the higher their trust in the police.

No impact was found for gender, which contradicts the result for Western Europe and other studies in the field (Percy 1980; Brandl/Horvath 1991; Cao/Frank/Cullen 1996; Schafer/Huebner/Bynum 2003; Wu/Sun 2009). There must be other explanations for the fact that men were more often stopped by the police than women (Skogan 2005; Bradford/Jackson/Stanko 2009; Jackson/Bradford/Stanko/Hohl 2012), which also occurs in Switzerland (Staubli 2014). In addition, religiousness does not seem to matter, which contradicts results from Schwarzenegger (1992).

A different result can also be reported for citizens of the country. While there is no impact in Western and Eastern Europe, in Switzerland, those possessing the Swiss citizenship have a lower trust in the police compared to those who are not citizens, even though they are less often stopped by the police (Staubli 2014). This result confirms earlier analyses, which showed that people born in Switzerland rate the police more negatively than immigrants, especially compared to those living in Switzerland for only a couple of years and coming from Mediterranean countries (Clerici/Killias 1999). Clerici and Killias (1999) show that – contrary to findings in other countries – foreigners rate the police even higher than Swiss citizens, which may partly be explained by the fact that immigrants have negative views of and experiences with the police in their countries of origin, especially refugees from unstable countries at war or affected by other conflicts. Therefore, when they compare the behavior of Swiss police officers with those in their countries of origin, it is understandable that the Swiss Police are rated far better.

Contrary to Western Europe, no significant effect was found for people belonging to the left side of the political spectrum. However, those on the right side have a higher trust in the police, which confirms the results found by Cao, Stack, and Sun (1998). Moreover, those going out less than once a month seem to trust the police less in Switzerland, which cannot be reported for the Western and Eastern European clusters.

Finally, regions in Switzerland were also controlled for. Results show that people from Zurich have a lower trust in the police compared to those from central Switzerland. This is in line with results found by Kääriäinen (2007) who showed that rurally people have a higher trust in the police compared to those living in urban areas. Nevertheless, no in-

fluences were found for any of the samples for the general agglomeration type items.

*Table 25: Impact of police encounters, social trust, governmental trust, and control variables on trust in the police in Eastern Europe (linear multivariate regressions)*

	Trust in the police in Eastern Europe			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
(Constant)	5.090***	3.541***	2.109***	2.385***
1. Police-initiated contact	-.393**	-.381**	-.433***	-.313**
2. Satisfaction with contact (ref: neutral) <sup>1</sup>				
Very satisfied	1.431***	1.389***	1.270***	1.196***
Satisfied	.737***	.656***	.714***	.635***
Dissatisfied	-.711**	-.671**	-.461**	-.412*
Very dissatisfied	-1.569***	-1.406***	-.806***	-.789***
3. Social trust (0-10)		.343***	.085***	.083***
4. Governmental trust (0-10)			.050***	.048***
Trust in politics			.536***	.526***
Trust in the legal system				
5. Control variables				
Female (ref: male)				0,006
Age groups (ref: > 59 years)				
14-25 years				-.556***
26-39 years				-.254**
40-59 years				-.070
Years of education				0,013
Citizen of country (ref: no)				-.035
Ethnic minority (ref: no)				-.095
High income (ref: low)				0,076
Religiousness (ref: low)				0,088
Political orientation: (ref: moderate)				
Left				0,013
Right				-.041
Life satisfaction (ref: low)				0,104
Criminal victimization (ref: no)				-.339***
Fear of crime (ref: no)				-.155*
Going out (once/several times a month)				
Up to once a month				0,021
Once/several times a week				-.001
Every day				.228*
Agglomeration type (ref: core city)				
Agglomeration				0,164
Town, small city				.139*
Rural				.140*
adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0,038	0,108	0,443	0,46
N	4,736	4,736	4,736	4,736

*Note: Source: ESS2010: full sample; B-coefficients of OLS regression*

*Dependent variable: trust in the police*

*Model 4: including country dummies (not shown here)*

*Significance levels: \* 0.05 < p > 0.01, \*\* 0.01 < p > 0.001, \*\*\* p > 0.000*

<sup>1</sup> *Question was only directed towards people stopped by the police*

The final model explains 43% of the variance of trust in the police in Switzerland. Standardized values of Model 4 reveal the largest explanation force for “trust in the legal system” ( $\beta = .568$ ), followed by “very satisfied” ( $\beta = .204$ ) (results not shown here). This confirms that opinions of the institution police are closely linked to opinions of justice as a whole. Moreover, very positive experiences with police officers strengthen opinions of the institution police as a whole.

Results in the preceding chapters have proved that social trust contributes not only to the explanation of trust in the police but also influences the level of satisfaction with treatment received in a police encounter. Different impacts on trust in the police were found for people with low, moderate, and high social trust. Based on these facts, I calculated the regression analyses for these subsamples of people with low, moderate, and high social trust individually. In addition, governmental trust was found to be related to trust in the police. Nevertheless, the overall distribution is similar to trust in the police, with people with low trust in the police having low governmental trust as well. Due to this very low variance, regression analyses for subsamples are inadequate.

Calculating the analyses with the trichotomous samples shows that the positive impact of satisfaction primarily evolves in people with low general trust in their fellow man (Table 27). Satisfied, low-trust people show an approximately 1.7 to 1.9 times higher trust in the police over all models compared to people reporting being neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with the way the police treated them. Such a positive impact can also be found for people with moderate social trust, but with weaker in numbers. There is also a smaller positive effect amongst high-trusting people. However, the positive number equals that of dissatisfaction. Thus, it can be concluded that the opinion of the police held by people who generally trust their fellow men is not largely affected by the level of satisfaction with treatment received in an encounter. Contrary to this, suspicious people who perceive a treatment as adequate are thankful and trust the police more. Of course, it may also be possible that the type of encounter differs between these two groups of people. As previously mentioned, very suspicious people may belong to subcultures that are contacted by the police in other circumstances than high-trusting people. However, in order to prove such an assumption, further information about the circumstances of encounters would be needed.

As in the full sample above, the strength of trust in governmental institutions is confirmed here in Model 2, leading to an  $R^2$  of .37 to .39. These models already explain about 38% of the variance of trust in the police. It moderates the high impact of satisfaction on trust in the police in particular. The influence of socio-demographic and other individual features, such as going out, contribute only marginally to these results, as shown in Model 3. Interestingly, these factors not only reduce the positive impact of satisfaction on trust in the police amongst high-trusting people ( $B = .381$ ) but also lead to an increase in the negative impact of dissatisfaction ( $B = -.430$ ). The negative impact of dissatisfaction becomes stronger than the positive impact of satisfaction, confirming the asymmetry hypothesis, at least for those people with high social trust. Effects do not change drastically when controlling for country effects in Model 4, with the exception of the positive impact of satisfaction amongst those with low social trust, which becomes even stronger ( $B = 1.816$ ). However, it can be stated that the results found here are more or less stable across countries.

Contrary to the West, dissatisfaction with the police was found to negatively influence trust in the police in Eastern European countries. The impact was about the same as the positive one of satisfaction. However, the strong negative effect was largely reduced after the inclusion of governmental trust. Can the positive impact of satisfaction also be explained by different levels of social trust? There is indeed a difference between people with a low, moderate, and high social trust (Table 28). However, contrary to Western Europe, the positive impact of satisfaction on trust in the police is especially high amongst the high-social-trust group, while the negative impact of dissatisfaction is found amongst the low-social-trust group. Even though this difference is reduced by the inclusion of further items, it still exists in the final Model 4 ( $B = .923$ ) and can therefore be seen as robust across countries. According to the variance explained, the largest value ( $R^2 = .439$ ) can be reached using the sample of people with low social trust, while in the West it was those with the highest social trust. For Switzerland, due to the smaller sample, no such analyses have been conducted.

*Table 26: Impact of police encounters, social trust, governmental trust, and control variables on trust in the police in Switzerland (linear multivariate regression)*

	Trust in the police in Switzerland			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
(Constant)	7.234***	5.348***	3.161***	4.198***
<i>1. Police-initiated contact</i>	-1.234***	-1.116***	-.981***	-.861***
<i>2. Satisfaction with contact (ref: neutral)<sup>1</sup></i>				
Very satisfied	1.743***	1.586***	1.464***	1.296***
Satisfied	1.000**	.860***	.754***	.695***
Dissatisfied	-0.471	-0.466	-0.141	-0.113
Very dissatisfied	0.392	0.249	.679*	0.655
<i>3. Social trust (0–10)</i>		.317***	.136***	.107**
<i>4. Governmental trust (0–10)</i>				
Trust in politics			0,000	0,000
Trust in the legal system			.507***	.519***
<i>5. Control variables</i>				
Female (ref: male)				0,043
Age groups (ref: > 59 years)				
14–25 years				-.586**
26–39 years				-.440***
40–59 years				-.421***
Years of education				-.211*
Citizen of country (ref: no)				-.468**
Ethnic minority (ref: no)				-.089
High income (ref: low)				-.011
Religiousness (ref: low)				0,043
Political orientation (ref: moderate)				
Left				.0,179
Right				.273**
Life satisfaction (ref: low)				.368*
Criminal victimization (ref: no)				-.0,047
Fear of crime (ref: no)				0,062
Going out (ref: once or several times a month)				
Up to once a month				-.569*
Once/several times a week				0,116
Every day				-.0,026
Agglomeration type (ref: core city)				
Agglomeration				.0,194
Town, small city				.0,079
Rural				-.0,016
Region (ref: Central part)				
Region around Lake Geneva				-.333
Midlands				-.0,228
Northwest				0,172
Zurich				-.368*
Eastern part				-.0,112
Southern part				0,003
adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0,053	0,117	0,398	0,430
N	1,194	1,194	1,194	1,194

*Note: Source: ESS2010, full sample (n = 1,194), Durbin-Watson = 2.059; Coefficients of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police*

<sup>1</sup> Question was only directed towards people stopped by the police; Due to heteroscedasticity, Model 4 was re-calculated with adjusted standard errors; 'very dissatisfied' became non-significant, and 'social trust' reached only a  $p < 0.01$  instead of  $p < 0.001$ ; Significance levels: \*  $0.01 < p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $0.001 < p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

The impact of encounters with the police differs according to the level of social trust people have. Moreover, the impact of satisfaction with how the police have treated the case on trust in the police is different for the sub-samples. It is expected that the groups of people belonging to the low- or high-social-trust sample differ between Western and Eastern Europe. The strong positive impact of satisfaction on trust in the police amongst people with very low social trust in the West may point to a marginalized group. In order to make well-founded statements, however, further analyses of these different social trust groups would be needed. Yet, this would go beyond the topic of this book.

## 7.7 Summary

Results confirm that non-voluntary police stops have a strong influence on trust in the police. Positive experiences in particular lead to higher trust. However, their influence becomes smaller when considering other institutional and attitudinal items. An overall trust in the police is closely linked to opinions of their work and their procedural fairness. Particularly, opinions of how well the police are doing their job are strong indicators of an overall trust in them. Moreover, trust in the police relates to trust in other institutional items, particularly to trust in the legal system.

## 8. SUMMARY

While instrumental approaches link attitudes toward the police with opinions of their effectiveness, theories of procedural justice focus on correct and fair behavior. Results from analyses at the macro level confirm that both confidence in police work and trust in police's procedural fairness correlate significantly with an overall trust in the police. This is true across countries, even though the variance is larger amongst Eastern European and Mediterranean countries. What's more, results also suggest that there are correlations between social trust and trust in the police across countries. Significant results are also found for confidence in the work of police and procedural justice. However, the correlation with people's opinion of police work in particular is weaker, with larger variations between countries.

*Table 27 (Part 1): Impact of police encounters, governmental trust, and control variables on trust in the police in Western Europe, in samples of people with low, moderate, and high social trust (linear multivariate regressions)*

Social trust	Model 1			Model 2	
	Low	Moderate	High	Low	Moderate
(Constant)	5.199***	6.305***	7.252***	2.671***	3.254***
Police-initiated contact	-1.913***	-.905***	-.436***	-1.548***	-.690***
<i>1. Satisfaction with contact (ref: neutral)<sup>1</sup></i>					
Satisfied	1.960***	1.189***	.556***	1.703***	.872***
Dissatisfied	0,258	-.532***	-.565***	0,382	-.377***
<i>2. Governmental trust</i>					
Trust in politics				.091***	.021***
Trust in the legal system				.457***	.534***
<i>3. Control variables</i>					
Female					
Age groups (ref: > 59 years)					
14–25 years					
26–39 years					
40–59 years					
Years of education					
Citizen of country					
Ethnic minority					
High income (ref: low)					
High religiosity (ref: low)					
Political orientation (ref: moderate)					
Left					
Right					
Life satisfaction (ref: low)					
Criminal victimization					
Fear of crime					
Going out (once/several times a month)					
Up to once a month					
Once/several times a week					
Every day					
Place of residence (ref: big city)					
Suburb					
Town, small city					
Rural					
adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0,054	0,050	0,021	0,374	0,384
N	1,687	9,873	6,261	1,687	9,873

*Note: Source: ESS2010: samples of low, moderate, and high social trust; B-coefficients of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police*

<sup>1</sup> Question was only directed towards people stopped by the police; Significance levels: \* 0.05 < p > 0.01, \*\* 0.01 < p > 0.001, \*\*\* p > 0.00

Model 4 with country dummies (not shown), excluded by the system: low trust: France, moderate and high trust: Germany

*Table 27 (Part 2): Impact of police encounters, governmental trust, and control variables on trust in the police in Western Europe, in samples of people with low, moderate, and high social trust (linear multivariate regressions)*

Trust in the police in Western Europe							
		Model 3		Model 4			
High	Low	Moderate	High	Low	Moderate	High	
3.603***	1.396**	3.531***	4.066***	1.061**	4.022***	4.454***	
-.428***	-.1459***	-.551***	-.265**	-.1565***	-.611***	-.281**	
.468***	1.725***	.804***	.381***	1.816***	.856***	.386***	
-.392***	0.457	-.370***	-.430***	0.576	-.309**	-.429***	
.041***	.079***	.021***	.039***	.087***	.032***	.052***	
.473***	.486***	.538***	.480***	.473***	.514***	.444***	
.448***	.108***	0.053	.416***	.147***	0.072		
-.0235	-.448***	-.173*	-.187	-.465***	-.200**		
-.0175	-.021	-.047	-.046	0.005	-.002		
-.377***	-.110*	-.052	-.265*	-.096*	-.042		
0.061	-.189***	-.140***	-.054	-.230***	-.153***		
.899***	0.088	-.248*	1.143***	0.145	-.225*		
-.1034***	-.473***	-.0117	-.829***	-.476***	-.077		
-.0104	.107**	0.001	-.044	.094*	-.01		
-.0049	.195***	.115*	-.068	.134***	0.07		
-.0179	-.308**	-.252***	-.150	-.290***	-.213***		
.398**	-.153***	-.069	.521***	-.099*	0.006		
.242*	.212***	.212*	.193	.169***	.202**		
-.293*	-.191***	-.223***	-.152	-.104*	-.177***		
0.149	.159***	.185**	0.119	.144**	.203***		
0.284	0.018	.248*	0.261	-.049	.261**		
.307*	-.018	-.114*	.359**	0.013	-.060		
.498**	-.016	-.290***	0.573	0.065	-.171**		
-.033	-.035	-.027	-.186	-.079	0.000		
-.146	-.009	.132*	-.272	-.111*	0.097		
-.016	0.053	.156**	-.108	0.003	.170**		
0.389	0.410	0.403	0.407	0.429	0.424	0.435	
6.261	1.687	9.873	6.261	1.687	9.873	6.261	

*Note: Source: ESS2010: samples of low, moderate, and high social trust; B-coefficients of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police*

*1 Question was only directed towards people stopped by the police; Significance levels: \* 0.05 < p > 0.01, \*\* 0.01 < p > 0.001, \*\*\* p > 0.00*

*Model 4 with country dummies (not shown), excluded by the system: low trust: France, moderate and high trust: Germany*

*Table 28 (Part 1): Impact of police encounters, governmental trust, and control variables on trust in the police in Eastern Europe, in samples of people with low, moderate, and high social trust (linear multivariate regressions)*

Social trust	Model 1			Model 2	
	Low	Moderate	High	Low	Moderate
(Constant)	4,154***	5,199***	5,913***	2,003***	2,614***
Police-initiated contact	-.393	-.375*	-.467	-.298	-.495***
1. Satisfaction with contact (ref: neutral) <sup>1</sup>					
Satisfied	.781*	.616**	1,338***	.628*	.792***
Dissatisfied	-1,279**	-.831***	-.874	-.791**	-.555**
2. Governmental trust					
Trust in politics				.044**	.052***
Trust in the legal system				.617***	.518***
3. Control variables					
Female					
Age groups (ref: > 59 years)					
14–25 years					
26–39 years					
40–59 years					
Years of education					
Citizen of country					
Ethnic minority					
High income (ref: low)					
High religiosity (ref: low)					
Political orientation (ref: moderate)					
Left					
Right					
Life satisfaction (ref: low)					
Criminal victimization					
Fear of crime					
Going out (once/several times a month)					
Up to once a month					
Once/several times a week					
Every day					
Place of residence (ref: big city)					
Suburb					
Town, small city					
Rural					0,383
adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0,041	0,022	0,044	0,423	2,652
N	1,130	2,652	956	1,130	

Note: Source: ESS2010: samples of low, moderate and high social trust; B-coefficients of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police

<sup>1</sup> Question was only directed towards people stopped by the police; Significance levels: \* 0.05 < p > 0.01, \*\* 0.01 < p > 0.001, \*\*\* p > 0.00

Model 4 with country dummies (not shown), excluded by the system: low trust: France, moderate and high trust: Germany

*Table 28 (Part 2): Impact of police encounters, governmental trust, and control variables on trust in the police in Eastern Europe, in samples of people with low, moderate, and high social trust (linear multivariate regressions)*

Trust in the police in Eastern Europe							
Model 3				Model 4			
High	Low	Moderate	High	Low	Moderate	High	
2.819*** -0,394	1.017*** -0,312	3.077*** -.336*	2.938*** -0,187	1.244*** -0,280	3.333*** -.363**	2.868*** -0,183	
1.044*** -0,439	0,586 -.749*	.683*** -.494**	.933** -0,476	.592* -.795**	.718*** -.482**	.923** -0,452	
.055*** .494***	.041* .619***	.047*** .511***	.047*** .502***	.049** .612***	.050*** .504***	.044*** .498***	
	-0,141	-0,016	0,110	-0,105	0,003	0,118	
	-.517* -0,327	-.530* -0,205	-0,352 -0,176	-.633** -.366*	-.620*** -.246**	-0,371 -0,189	
	0,084 .288*	-.214* -.085	0,208 -.003	0,039 .275*	-.248* -.098	0,205 -0,007	
	0,506 -0,305	-.250 -.377*	-0,424 0,425	0,633 -0,129	-.206 -.255	-0,266 0,434	
	-0,017 0,093	0,054 .243**	-0,020 0,181	0,027 -0,051	0,119 0,132	0,014 0,196	
	-0,174 -0,176	0,071 -.019	0,038 0,020	-0,172 -.151	0,069 -.018	0,058 0,027	
	-0,026 -0,272	.231** -.257*	0,207 -.644**	-.084 -0,223	.165* -.278*	.190 -.704***	
	-0,106 -0,017	-.343*** .005***	0,061 .041***	-0,052 0,046	-.283** 0,032	0,089 0,050	
	0,181 0,289	-.125 0,100	-.062*** .015***	0,190 0,371	-.071 0,223	-.026 0,097	
	0,227 -0,025	-0,127 .195*	.473*** .069***	0,283 0,000	-0,012 .210*	0,461 0,039	
	0,212 0,421	0,157 0,428	.037*** 0,400	0,178 0,429	0,175 0,439	0,025 0,410	0,025 0,427
	956	1,130	2,652	956	1,130	2,652	956

*Note: Source: ESS2010: samples of low, moderate and high social trust; B-coefficients of OLS regression, dependent variable: trust in the police*

<sup>1</sup> Question was only directed towards people stopped by the police; Significance levels: \*  $0.05 < p > 0.01$ , \*\*  $0.01 < p > 0.001$ , \*\*\*  $p > 0.00$

Model 4 with country dummies (not shown), excluded by the system: low trust: France, moderate and high trust: Germany

Concerning institutional influences, trust in the police correlates positively, particularly with trust in legal institutions, but is also influenced by opinions of political institutions, in both Western and Eastern Europe.

Encounters shape people's perceptions of the police. People satisfied with treatment received in a police stop have higher trust in the police, in their procedural fairness, as well as higher confidence in their work. The asymmetry hypothesis stating that the negative impact of an unfavorable rating of a contact on trust in the police is stronger than the positive impact of a favorable evaluation is only confirmed for Eastern Europe. Contrary to expectations, in Western Europe, the positive impact is much stronger, while the negative impact has only very limited weight.

However, this perception differs when considering social trust. Overall, suspicious people who do not trust their fellow man have a more negative opinion of the police compared to persons with high social trust. Additionally, in the West, suspicious people who experienced a police encounter have lower trust in the police than such people who were not stopped by the police. In the East, such a difference in trust in the police amongst people with low social trust is the reverse. The group of suspicious people who did not experience a police encounter has a more negative image of the police than those stopped by the police.