Theoretical considerations and state of research

1. Reflections on research on trust in the police

1.1 Introduction

The field of police research is wide, thematically as well as with regard to methodological designs. Institutional approaches are primarily based on large opinion polls. The same is true for attitudinal studies dealing with procedural fairness, for example. However, several studies are conducted locally, examining people's attitudes toward their city's police. Research questions inform design. While large surveys that compare countries are mostly settled on an abstract level, dealing with overall levels of trust and attitudes toward the police, in local studies, a broad set of questions allows for a deeper elaboration of people's opinion of the police. A distinction between such levels and concepts is often missed. Therefore, the following will present an overview of institutional and organizational trust approaches, after a short introduction to the development of police and trust research. After illustrating the research gap, an attempt is made to synthesize the approaches.

1.2 Developments

1.2.1 Police research

For early classical sociologists, the police were largely an instrument used by the sovereign power to govern. The first sociological studies of police work arose in the 1960s, when social and political changes affected most Western European countries. People took social and political conflicts to the streets. Concerns about rising crime and disorder became a public

issue. In light of an increase in the public's questioning of authorities in general, the police became increasingly visible, controversial, and politicized in response to these tensions and pressures. During this time, studies began to be conducted, primarily by universities and motivated by critical and theoretical concerns about police behavior and the police as an institution. Research overwhelmingly originated in the U.S. and the UK. Nowadays, the majority of police studies relevant to the sociology of police, as well as to the field of criminology, still originate from English-speaking countries, with the U.S. in the lead. The dominance of academics in police research lasted until the mid-1980s. Afterwards, official police research done by governmental bodies like the Home Office in the UK, as well as think tanks and independent research organizations grew extensively. Theory-oriented academic research underwent a transformation, from an institutional understanding of the police to policing as a socially structured, dynamic, and multi-faceted process[1] (Albrecht/Nogala 2001). This was accompanied by a shift in focus from social control approaches toward problem-oriented ones, leading to new research topics, such as attitudes toward the police, seen as an essential element for building and obtaining public safety. Collaboration between researchers within the police as well as with police-oriented researchers from other research institutions became common (Reiner 2000).

1.2.2 Trust research

For several years, categories of trust remained marginal in social science research. In 1988, Diego Gambetta stated:

"[...] in the social sciences the importance of trust is often acknowledged but seldom examined, and scholars tend to mention it in passing, to allude to it as a fundamental ingredient or lubricant, an unavoidable dimension of social interaction, only to move on to deal with less intractable matters." (Gambetta 1988: X)

1 | While police refers to an institution, policing is targeted at police function, i.e. the organized form of maintaining security through surveillance and the threat of sanction (Pakes 2010: 42). In many societies, policing was only recently associated with the activities of the institution police; instead it was used to signify social regulation in the broadest sense, seen in its etymological relationship to the governance of the city or the state (Rowe 2008: 3–4).

While in the 1960s and 1970s exploratory studies with empirical settings generated many conceptual problems of trust; from about 1980 to the second half of the 1990s there was a strong conceptual output, followed by many books and special issues applying and testing theoretically derived concepts (Möllering 2006: 128). Its reappearance as a central topic in the 1990s may also be seen as a reflection of political, social, and economic realities. The process of globalization and the collapse of communism were periods of uncertainty and therefore seen as sources of declining trust (Cook 2001). Industrial nations were forced to redefine and articulate new collective values and aspirations. Moreover, there was a need to search for new alternatives, as existing bases for social cooperation, solidarity, and consensus had eroded. Consequently, in social sciences, questions of how social trust is established and what kinds of social trust enhance economic and governmental performance increasingly became the central set of theoretical issues (Misztal 1996: 3-4). Especially in sociology, a growing interest in the domain of "soft" cultural variables has led to a new wave of interest in trust at the turn of the millennium, encouraged by characteristics of modern societies, highlighting the problem of trust (Sztompka 1999: 1-2)[2]. In such modern societies, money, authority, and knowledge play an important role in maintaining social order. While money determines market participants, political authority provides a legal system and the enforcement of the law, a framework that regulates the action of citizens. Finally, knowledge, based on observations and research on social and non-social realities, as well as its distribution through organizations, education, and the mass media, creates an awareness of current and future problems of actors, and about strategies to solve them. However, synthesis of these three media is not sufficient to explain social order patterns, as they are not able to explain informal modes of social coordination based on moral and cultural resources. Trust bridges this gap and provides such modes (Offe 1999).

2 | According to Sztompka (1999: 1–2), a paradigmatic shift has taken place in sociology. In earlier years, the focus was on psychological meanings of "hard", e.g. instrumental or positivistic images of action, found in behaviorism, the game, or rational choice theory. Later on, cultural sociology centered on a "soft" or humanistic, meaningful image of action, such as symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, hermeneutics, or cultural studies.

While early work on trust focused on the individual level of trust, the focus later shifted toward trust in institutions or institutional actors, such as professionals and other agents. Moreover, the focus was expanded to individual trust in government, leading to the claim that the stability of governments depends on citizens' trust in them. Some work also sees trust as the basis of grand social theory, as the discussion of effects of trust on the atmosphere of cooperativeness in the larger society has shown (Hardin 2006: 39-40). Such research was centered on the search for explanations for a declining trust, as found in studies for the United States (cf. Putnam 1995)[3].

1.3 Institutional versus organizational approaches

1.3.1 Trust in the institution police

Research on trust in institutions is rooted in multiple disciplines, such as political science, public administrations, and economics. It is primarily concerned with global or diffuse citizen attitudes such as "satisfaction with" or "confidence in" governmental agencies or institutions. As a global attitude does not imply having been in contact with the police, many of these studies are based on public opinion polls and are therefore distinct from research on service quality and justice (Maguire/Johnson 2010). Within political science, studies on trust in institutions have a long tradition, largely in analyzing trust in the government and its representatives. Often, any forms of institutional trust measured by opinion polls are combined, and no distinction is made between trust in institutions on the representational side of the political system (the parliament or political parties) and trust in institutions on the implementation side, such as the courts and the police (Rothstein/Stolle 2008)[4]. However, as citizens in modern democracies are more dependent on institutions of implementation, such a distinction is important.

3 | Hardin (2006) argues that we live in an age of distrust in the sense that we have more interaction with people whom we do not trust than with those whom we do trust (compared to earlier ages). However, we primarily have such interactions because we generally have far more interactions of all kinds.

4 | According to the authors, this is especially true for studies looking at the influence of social capital on institutional trust.

Within criminology, trust in institutions, but also the role of procedural justice, treated here as part of the organizational approach, are relatively new topics. They found their way onto the agenda due to the spread of a neo-institutional account in economics, political science, and sociology at the end of the 1980s. Compared to "old-institutionalism", focused primarily on rational-choice models, "new-institutionalism" tends to emphasize the role of norms, trust, and reciprocity in economic transactions, as well as the role of non-market institutions (Hall/Tayler 1996; Karstedt 2010). Such a resurgence of institutional thinking outside the economy was also a consequence of transformation within modern society as well as the impact of institutional changes on issues of social life, as previously mentioned.

While institutional approaches deal with a rather general form of trust, studies within the policing field focus more on concrete attitudes, such as satisfaction with treatment received by the police, as shown in the next chapter.

1.3.2 Attitudes toward the organization police

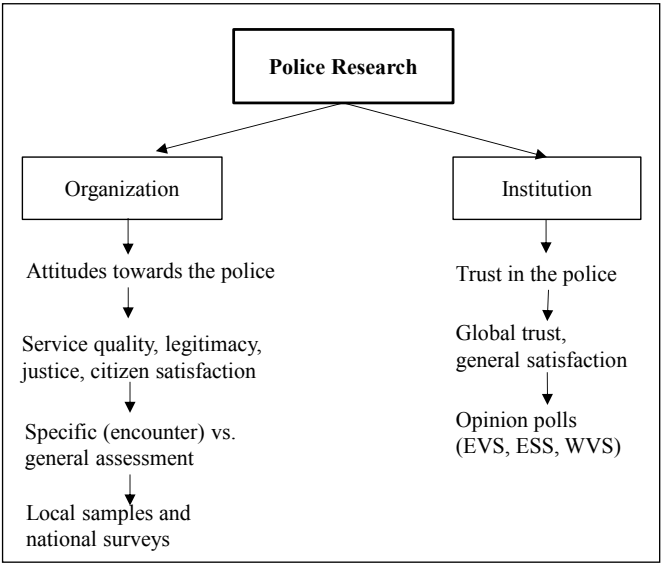
The field of research addressing attitudes toward the police covers several traditions of theory and research, such as research on service quality, legitimacy, justice, and citizens satisfaction. Research in the field of service quality – only marginal within policing studies – in large part stems from the private sector, testing standardized instruments for measuring the quality of services (Maguire/Johnson 2010). Legitimacy is the "judgment that legal authorities are competent and honest (support or personal legitimacy) and that their professional role entitles them to make decisions which ought to be deferred to and obeyed (institutional legitimacy)" (Tyler 1998: 272-273). One of the defining characteristics of legitimacy is the notion of voluntary compliance. If the majority of people voluntarily chose not to comply voluntarily with the law or legal authorities, formal social control institutions would become overwhelmed (Maguire/Johnson 2010).

Research on procedural justice, based on the assumption that people focus more on procedures and are less interested in the outcomes of their experience, is closely linked to research on legitimacy. People will react more positively to an experience if they perceive a treatment by a judge or a police officer to be fair, regardless of the outcome. Receiving a fine perceived as being too high, for example, does not affect dissatisfaction with the police as strongly as a perceived discrimination in the treatment by an

officer. The behavior of an officer is perceived as proper when he listens to people's arguments and considers them, when he is neutral and gives good reasons for his decision. Theories of distributive justice must to be distinguished from such a procedural justice approach. They argue that people would like fair outcomes and that the level of punishment should reflect their feelings about what they deserve (Tyler 1990: 6).

Political sciences and economics dominate the research on institutional trust. They primarily look at governmental ratings without focusing on the police separately. Attitudinal research within the policing field is based on specific assessment and includes research on service quality, justice, and legitimacy. An overview of the different approaches is given in Figure 1. Of course, police research as a whole covers many more fields of research, particularly within the police organization, touching upon topics such as the profession itself (cf. Pichonnaz 2014).

Figure 1: Overview of police research in the field of trust



1.4 Filling the research gap: the attempt at a combination

The aim of this book is to link global measurements of trust in the police with questions about people's attitudes and experiences. Studies analyzing the interaction between global and specific attitudes toward the police are rare. Moreover, their analyses are often restricted to local police forces. Hence, the use of the notion "global attitude" is often unclear and misleading, pointing to a general attitude toward local police forces rather than to one at the national level, for example. Still, three studies are worth mentioning, as they give a first insight into the topic. Brandl et al. (1994) found that both global and specific attitudes toward the police produce similar levels of support for them. Reisig and Chandek (2001) showed that police behavior correlates with global satisfaction with the police, while they found no significant correlation for specific satisfaction and police behavior. Finally, Schuck and Rosenbaum (2005) chose to differentiate between global and neighborhood attitudes. As all of these studies have individual results with different interpretations, a closer look is warranted in order to acquire enough information to draw conclusions for the present study.

Based on data from two panel waves, Brandl et al. (1994) measured citizens' global attitudes toward the police in a large Midwestern city in the U.S. One question was about people's general satisfaction with the police in their neighborhood. They also considered specific attitudes when asking about the satisfaction level after contact with the police, differing between four forms: requesting information, requesting assistance, stopped and questioned, and following victimization. The comparison of global and specific attitudes shows that most of the differences are neither large nor statistically significant. Global and specific attitudes toward the police seem to relate in an asymmetrically reciprocal way: citizens' global attitudes toward the police affect their assessment of specific contact with the police, and assessments of specific contact affect their global attitudes, but the former effect was found to be stronger than the latter. Brandl and his colleagues argue that even if effects of specific attitudes on global attitudes are found, they may have been overestimated in previous research, as this research did not control for the confounding effects of prior global attitudes. This conclusion may be accurate; however, the expressiveness of the results is limited because – as the authors themselves admit – the majority of the respondents stem from neighborhoods dominated by African

Americans and people with moderate incomes; people known to have low favorable global attitudes toward the police.

Reisig and Chandek (2001) used two samples of citizens with recently voluntary (breaking and entering complainant) or involuntary (traffic citation) contact with the police, in a medium-sized Midwestern city[5]. Analyzing citizen satisfaction, they asked how satisfied people were with the way the police department handled their most recent citation or complaint. For global satisfaction, they asked for a general satisfaction level with the city's police department. Results revealed that components of disconfirmation – measured according to information from expectation and service-received scales – are directly associated with how satisfied respondents are with the way the police handled their most recent contact, either citation or complaint. However, when comparing the global and specific attitudes, results showed that disconfirmation performs poorly with regard to predicting global satisfaction, in cases of both voluntary and involuntary contact. What does count, is police behavior, which significantly correlated to both overall satisfaction with the police and specific rating.

Finally, the third U.S. study that deals with global and specific attitudes toward the police used data from the Minority Trust and Confidence in the Police Project (MTC), a multi-method study consisting of 479 interviews done by phone in Chicago in 2002, designed to explore minority confidence in the police (Schuck/Rosenbaum 2005). In contrast to the studies by Brandl et al. (1994) and Reisig and Chandek (2001), the general attitude toward the police was measured with four general statements about the police, addressing its behavior (being rude and verbally and physically abusive toward people) and whether the police stopped people for no good reasons. For neighborhood-specific attitudes, they asked respondents several specified questions about their neighborhood police. Schuck and Rosenbaum (2005) found that the model separating general attitudes from neighborhood-specific attitudes – relational to the items measuring perceptions of police behavior and treatment – was more relevant. Furthermore, none of the general attitude indicators had a significant load on the neighborhood dimension and none of the neighborhood-specific indicators had a significant load on the general attitude dimension. Re-

5 | Like in the American study of Brandl et al. (1994) above, no further distinctions about the city are made, contrary to most of the studies from Europe. I assume that this is due to data protection rights, which might be stricter in the U.S.

sults came out differently after the authors added variables pertaining to contact with the police. The final model shows that there was a strong positive association between global and neighborhood-specific attitudes about police demeanor and treatment. Both attitudinal measures presented concrete options linking attitude to police behavior. This is in contrast to the other two studies, which used only one question about a general level of satisfaction or trust.

Comparisons between the three studies are limited. Brandl et al. (1994) and Reisig and Chandek (2001) relate the global and specific attitudes toward the police to the same local police force, either neighborhood or city police. In the study by Schuck and Rosenbaum (2005), the distinction was between neighborhood police and the police in general. As they give no further information about what exactly is meant by "the police in general", these questions may relate to local police as well, as global satisfaction relates to questions about behavior mostly observable in the citizens' environment. However, when considering media coverage of negative police behavior, wider connotations with state or national police forces may also be possible.

1.5 Cross-national research

Linking organizational approaches to institutional ones is important and not yet well established in police research. Another missing link is multi-country research. One exception is the study by Grönlund and Setälä (2012), considering the aspect of corruption. Since every country has specific police organizations and specific laws framing their actions, it is understandable that comparative research is limited; even though, at an abstract level, comparative research is important and contributes largely to understanding fundamental concepts and approaches. Moreover, it has been a core element of sociological research since the beginning of sociology as a discipline (Arts/Halman 2004). The importance can be highlighted by the words of Melvin Kohn (1987):

"I argue that cross-national research is valuable, even indispensable, for establishing the generality of findings and the validity of interpretations derived from single-nation studies. In no other way can we be certain that what we believe to be social-structural regularities are not merely particularities, the product of some limited set of historical or cultural or political circumstances. I also argue that

cross-national research is equally valuable, perhaps even more valuable, for forcing us to revise our interpretations to take account of cross-national differences and inconsistencies that could never be uncovered in single-nation research." (Kohn 1987: 713)

Kohn grouped cross-national research – studies that are "explicitly comparative, [...] that utilize systematically comparable data from two or more nations" (Kohn 1987: 714) – into four types: studies in which the nation or the country is either the object, the context, the unit of analyses, or transnational in character. In the first type, the primary interest lies in the particular countries included. Moreover, comparisons of institutions may be possible. Such research is contrasted in the second type, where the country builds the context of analyses. Here, the generality of findings and interpretations is tested. When the country is the unit of analyses, relationships among characteristics of nations are established. Countries are classified along certain dimensions. The focus is on the relationship between social institutions and processes with variations in national characteristics. As institutions and processes are studied intra-nationally, there is no need to treat each nation as a homogenous entity. Finally, transnational research treats nations as components of larger international systems.

This book is located within two of the aforementioned fields. In the first, the aim is to test the generality of trust in the police, as well as of attitudes about their procedural fairness and effectiveness. Eastern and Western European countries therefore build the context of analyses. In the second, in a country survey, Switzerland is the object of analyses. Besides proving general results found at the European level, certain additional aspects are taken into account.

1.6 Summary

Trust in and attitudes toward the police cover a rather wide field of research, from institutional approaches down to very specific local surveys. Research has shown that there is a positive association between global and neighborhood-specific attitudes about police demeanor and treatment. People make connections between trust in the police and concrete actions or behavior of their representatives. Therefore, trust in the police as a general attitude is linked to specific assessments. Studies linking concrete experiences with officers to a wider trust in the police institution are rare,

using different concepts of global trust. With regard to specific patterns of police organizations, they are often based on local samples. The aim of this book is to contribute to filling this research gap twofold by linking police encounters with global trust in and attitudes toward them cross-nationally.

2. Determinants of trust in the police

2.1 Introduction

When analyzing trust, the "crucial variable is trustworthiness of those who are to be trusted or relied upon" (Hardin 2006: 59). Based on this argument, when analyzing trust in the police, their trustworthiness needs to be explored. Literature suggests a trustworthy actor as someone who is able, willing, and consistent in not exploiting the trustee's vulnerability (Möllering 2006: 46) while distrust is the belief that other's interests conflict strongly with one's own. People distrust if there is a lack of knowledge, due to the absence of experiences, for example (Hardin 2002).

From a sociological or political science perspective, the police are linked to many other systems and institutions, seen as a part of the wider social system and an instrument of executive governance (Albrecht/Nogala 2001). Trust in and attitudes toward the police can be understood as the distinction between organizational and institutional trust, as already discussed in Chapter 1: Reflections on research on trust in the police. While attitudes toward the organization police are bound to concrete ideas about the work of the police, such as the correct behavior of their representatives or their effectiveness, the institution police can be seen in the light of other governmental institutions.

Another perspective suggests that trust in institutions is always linked to its representatives, whether someone has good or bad experiences with them. The public ascribes specific knowledge to them as experts. They trust them if there is a reason to believe that it will be in the representatives interest to be trustworthy (Hardin 2002). With regard to the police, this means that people have or do not have a general belief that the police, and their officers as their representatives, understand the interests of the public and consider their interests when acting. Dissatisfaction with how a police officer has behaved in an encounter, treated someone unfairly in a

traffic control scenario, for example, may therefore lead to disappointment and/or lower trust in the police as a whole.

This chapter describes different theoretical concepts of trust in the police that highlight the analyses undertaken later on. Moreover, an overview of existing research is given.

2.2 Trust in the police as a government institution

Viewed through institutional approaches, the police are one institution within a larger governmental body, which may be one reason why research seldom differentiates between it and legal and political institutions.[6] Results from studies that consider such a differentiation point to three characteristics. First, in Western democracies, trust in legal institutions is clearly distinct from other institutional trust. Rothstein and Stolle (2002), using data from the third wave of the World Value Survey (1995-1997), found that institutions could be assigned to three factors of institutional trust: Political Institutions, Power-Checking Institutions, and Order Institutions. While the first one includes confidence in the Parliament, Government, and Political Parties, the second one combines confidence in the Press, TV, and the Civil Service. The third and final factor describes confidence in the Police, the Army, and Legal Institutions. Results from a German study confirm such a distinction between trust in legal and political institutions in modern societies. Based on ALLBUS data – a biennially survey about attitudes, behavior, and social structure in Germany – Reuband (2012) shows that trust in the police loaded together with the courts and justice on a single factor in 2011. The other two factors summarize the federal government, the Bundestag, and political parties, and the trade unions and employers' associations. Thereafter, he additionally undertook factor analyses on the same data for the year 2008, as earlier studies had not found such a clear distinction between the three institutional forms. Results show that the distinction between the police and the courts on one hand, as well as other state institutions, on the other hand, had not

6 | Institutions play an important role not only in research within political science and sociology; criminology has also always adopted institutional perspectives within its different sectors. Moreover, criminology has its roots in the study of institutions and their impact on "law making", "law breaking", and "reactions to law breaking" (Karstedt 2010: 337).

yet been fully carried out in 2008. Furthermore, in analyses of the years between 1984 and 1995, institutions were perceived as one-dimensional. The author supposes that the population only learned over many years to perceive institutions with specific functions within the field of law and order as independent institutions, not subject to the dictates of the political system. In light of Germany's history with the police state in the GDR and its collapse in 1989, the reason seems obvious.

While in Germany such a clear distinction only arose within the last few years, studies cannot confirm such a clear pattern for Central and Eastern European countries (Mishler/Rose 1997). One example is the study by Mishler and Rose (2001) based on pooled survey data from the fifth wave of the New Democracies Barometer (NDB) of 1998[7]. The single-factor model already explained more than 40% of variance. After extracting a second factor, the first one measures trust in state institutions, such as the parliament, prime minister and/or president, courts, police, parties, and the military. The second and much weaker factor reflects trust in civil institutions: the press and electronic media, and private enterprise. According to the authors, this uniformity in institutional trust resulted from people's lack of familiarity and experience with them, as not only states themselves, but also most national institutions have only emerged since the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1989.

Studies comparing national trust levels in Western Europe support these results, revealing that trust levels are different between legal and political institutions, either within or between countries (cf. Hudson 2006: 53). Hence, in institutional research that deals with democratic countries of the West, a distinction between trust in the police and trust in legal institutions, and especially a separation from trust in political institutions, is necessary and important. In order to account for institutional perspectives and their research results, I will analyze the relationship of institutional trust in Eastern and Western Europe, before the focus is turned to the role of encounters with the police.

While trust in the police can be seen as part of other governmental institutions, confidence in the work of the police is linked to the organiza-

7 | The size of the total sample (11,499) covers seven Central and East European countries (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovenia). Aside from that, two successor states of the former Soviet Union, Belarus and Ukraine, were included as well.

tion police and their members. In the next chapter, theoretical approaches of attitudes toward the police are described more closely.

2.3 Confidence in the work of the police: effectiveness and fairness

In sociological literature, trust is seen either as a psychological attribute or as a feature of social relationships and social systems, explained by behavior based on actions and orientations at the individual level (Misztal 1996: 14). However, there is no consensus among social scientists about the object of trust. For some authors, trust can relate to human beings only, while things, social and natural processes cannot relate to trust as they cannot deceive or betray us (Liebsch 2010). There is also a discussion on whether only people can be trusted or if trust can also be directed toward institutions such as schools and states (Khodyakov 2007). Opponents, such as Offe (1999), argue that institutions provide incentives and options to actors. According to him, the durability and validity of their constraints can be viewed with confidence. Trust, on the other hand, can only be extended to actors and the ways in which they perform and enact their roles within institutions. In this sense, I argue that the problem lies more within the term itself than with the concept as a whole. Ullmann-Margalit (2004) makes a similar argument. She believes that the future course of institutional actions has to do with reliance and confidence, and not with trust. She says that speaking of trust in an institution means the degree of confidence in its competence and performance, confidence that the institution will continue to pursue its claimed goals, regardless of the constitution of the personnel. Hence, trusting in an institution describes the belief in the impersonality of its performance and that its goals are compatible with our interests. This differentiates it from trusting an individual, which involves the expectation of a personal attitude toward us. She concludes that talking of trust on an institutional level is a misnomer (Ullmann-Margalit 2004: 77). However, questions in opinion polls do not distinguish between the two terms "trust" and "confidence". While the European Social Survey (ESS) asks about trust in an institution, the World Value Survey (WVS) uses the notion of confidence. In the following, in line with the European Social Survey (ESS), trust in the police is understood as a global and diffuse trust in the institution police. I will distinguish it from confidence in the police. Here, opinions about the police's procedural fairness and their

effectiveness are subsumed. In accordance with Ullmann-Margalit, effectiveness is described as the notion of confidence, as it relates to police performance. This is also in line with studies on confidence in the police that are based on a specific question about how well the police are doing their job, rather than including a global trust measure (cf. Jackson et al. 2009).

Differentiation between opinions about police's effectiveness and procedural fairness is important. On the one hand, trust in the police means believing in their ability to protect and to serve. If citizens consider the police effective in tackling crime and disturbances, they will trust them. Becoming a victim of a crime can change one's opinion of the police's ability to protect and serve, leading to a deterioration of belief in their effectiveness. On the other hand, fair treatment by the police enhances satisfaction with the criminal justice system (Jackson et al. 2011b).

The behavior of an officer is indicative of his trustworthiness. The concept of procedural justice derived from social psychology elaborates on such behaviors in encounters between the public and officials, showing how important the perceptions of people in contact with the legal system are, influencing their attitudes toward them.

2.3.1 Theories of procedural justice

Studies of justice deal with motivations rather than focusing on police's effectiveness in fighting crime. For several years, research on distributive justice dominated the field, based on theories of social control and instrumental issues, dealing with fairness-oriented responses to outcomes. Social control perspectives argued that the use of threat or the application of sanctions are the best options to pressure people into following laws and accepting decisions by authority figures, such as police officers. The police were therefore seen as sufficiently empowered to secure public compliance with decisions, also with unsatisfactory or restrictive ones. The motivation for people to comply was simply based on the risk of being punished when not following the rules. In addition, as people were seen to react to the costs and benefits associated with accepting a decision, they were expected to comply, as the costs otherwise would be too high. It can be said that the strategy depended on creating potential additional costs for the person that outweigh any potential gains associated with not accepting police or court decisions (Tyler/Huo 2002: 7-10).

In early studies on personal experiences with the police, it was assumed that citizen satisfaction was determined largely by instrumental

concerns such as the favorability of outcomes. The focus was primarily on economic aspects, such as how the police handle situations of criminal victimization, such as after a burglary. Alternatively, the impact of violated expectations toward outcomes was also taken into account (Tyler 1990: 71-73). However, such deterrence approaches of social control were marked by inherent serious weaknesses. The threat of sanctions in cases of non-compliance with the law required overall surveillance and control. Due to the variety of offences, the detection of illegal behavior and rule breaking has become more difficult. Illegal activities are difficult to discover, as they are not visible, such as drug dealing. Moreover, they often happen outside the public space. Applying sanctions becomes expensive and is even impossible in certain circumstances, while a voluntary compliance of rules and deference to legal authorities and their decision is less costly and easier to establish. This can more easily base on police's ability to gain consent and cooperation (Tyler/Huo 2002: 11-14). Broad acceptance of process-based approaches was therefore only a matter of time. In contrast to deterrence approaches, psychological models emphasize people's concerns with fairness when dealing with legal and political authorities. Like normative theories, such models view people as concerned with their ethical judgments about what is right or wrong (Tyler 1990: 71-73). Moreover, whether or not people feel in control of the situation, of the process or the decision made by a police officer, is central. People's judgment of the fairness of a procedure depends heavily on such feelings of control (Lind/Tyler 1988: 119). Research on procedural justice – also called procedural fairness – originally focused on dispute resolution in law. In the field of social psychology, Thibault and Walker first used the term "procedural justice" in 1975. They referred to social psychological consequences of procedural variation, with particular emphasis on procedural effects on fairness judgments (ibid: 6-7). Process-based models encourage voluntary deference to legal authorities with the goal of facilitating cooperation and consent. Moreover, decisions should be accepted voluntarily, based on the fair behavior and good faith of police officers and court representatives. The advantages of such process-based policing are twofold. First, it increases people's willingness to cooperate with and consent to the decisions of police officers and judges. Second, it lessens the likelihood of open defiance of these authorities or secret non-compliance with their decisions, and simultaneously decreases the likelihood of hostility toward legal authorities by lowering the risk that individuals will act aggressively

(Tyler/Huo 2002: 2). Two perspectives can be differentiated between within the procedural fairness approach: an instrumental perspective and a normative one. On the one hand, the instrumental perspective suggests that assessments of procedural fairness are based on outcomes. People believe that a procedure is fair when they have control over decisions. The normative perspective, on the other hand, argues that there are aspects of people's experiences other than outcome; the focus is more on the procedures itself. Here, a feeling of lack of control leads to a perception of procedures as unfair (Tyler 1990: 7). Procedures are viewed as fair when people have the opportunity to explain their situation or tell their side of a story in a conflict, when they perceive the authorities as neutral, when they are treated with dignity and politeness, and when their rights as citizens are respected (Tyler 1990; Tyler/Jackson/Bradford 2013). Judgments about how hard authorities try to be fair are seen as a key overall factor in assessing procedural justice. Placing attributive motives on authorities suggests that personal qualities of authority are crucial. Furthermore, it contributes to the explanation of why people are similarly satisfied with informal forums, such as mediation, as with formal trials. In either case, by making positive inferences about the intentions of the third party, people will feel treated fairly (Tyler 1990: 151). In summary, three types of judgments influence people's reactions to their experiences with a police officer. The first one differentiates between issues of outcomes and issues of procedures; the second is the level of fairness or whether procedures are based on fairness at all; the final one addresses judgments involving issues of justice versus judgments that do not take justice into consideration. Other than that, various attitudes affected by the experience should be taken into account as well, such as personal satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the experience, its outcome, or the procedures used. Related to this are emotions regarding the authorities one is dealing with, whether someone feels anger, for example (ibid: 74-75).

Recent research confirms that people evaluate their experiences in procedural terms. Reisig and Chandek (2001) found that the perception of how one is treated in a traffic encounter or a breaking and entering complaint has the strongest influence on citizen satisfaction with the way police handle the encounter. In their study of residents in Oakland and Los Angeles, Tyler and Huo (2002) show that process issues have an impact on trust in courts and the police. They included two types of contact: making calls for assistance and stops for questioning or engaging in a law-break-

ing activity. Trust in police motives were measured according to an index of five items concerning the opinions of the character of the police and the benevolence of their motives. Procedural justice and trust in police motives in encounters are found to have an impact on general opinions on legitimacy of the legal authority, on trust in others in the community, and on people's identification with society. The primary factor that shaped broader opinions was the assessment of processes people experienced. While the values measuring the outcome – fairness and favorability – are rather weak, those of quality – quality of decision-making and quality of treatment – strongly correlate with trust in the police (Tyler/Huo 2002: 132-134). In an earlier study by Tyler (1990), which took place in Chicago, 70% of citizen who initiated contact with the police themselves reported that the way the police treated them was very important. Responses were less favorable when people were asked to infer how hard police had tried to be fair with them. Moreover, he found that procedural justice is more important in cases of police stops than in cases where citizens call the police for help (Tyler 1990: 83).

In encounters with the police, the quality of treatment received is more important than the objective outcome (Hough et al. 2010). Sunshine and Tyler (2003) confirm this. They found that procedural fairness measured by items such as "[the police] treat everyone in your neighborhood with dignity and respect" (Sunshine/Tyler 2003: 542) was the primary driver of perceptions of police legitimacy. Distributive fairness and estimates of risk had no effect; neither did any demographic characteristic of the residents. Already, Tyler (1990) showed that procedural concerns consistently take precedence over distributive concerns. The only exception he found was satisfaction with the results of encounters, such as receiving a fine. Here, outcome issues were more important than issues of procedure. The evaluation of performance was influenced more strongly by procedural fairness than by the favorability or fairness of the outcome.

Theories of procedural justice emphasize the importance of encounters with the police in building trustworthiness. Treatment received by a police officer, whether it was perceived as fair or not, is crucial to people's judgment. The next chapter focuses on the interaction between the police and citizens in general by elaborating the role of institutional representatives. Moreover, rational choice approaches of individual trust and their role in trust in the police are presented.

2.4 The role of encounters

The basic component in social interactions is expectation. Barber (1983: 9) distinguishes between three types: those of persistence and fulfilment of a natural and moral social order; role performance of those involved in social relationships as well as within the social system; and finally, the expectation that partners in interactions will carry out their fiduciary obligations and responsibilities. I will not be able to elaborate on the expectations of people interacting with the police, simply because the data that is used contains no such information. Nevertheless, role performance can be elaborated upon, which will partially be done in this chapter. Lastly, moral social order is considered in Chapter 2.5, which discusses the impact of social trust.

How can institutions in modern societies and democracies contribute to their trustworthiness? According to Giddens (1990), their trustworthiness is built on positive experiences with institution representatives. Experts representing the system encounter citizens at "access points" (Giddens 1990: 83), building the meeting ground of commitments, referring to a connection between citizens and representatives of the systems. Such encounters can be "facework" or "faceless commitments" (ibid: 79). While the first one refers to a face-to-face relationship between actors, "faceless commitments" indicate a relationship between an actor and various social groups, organizations, and institutions.

On the one hand, encounters are points of vulnerability. On the other hand, they enable building or maintaining trust. Facework commitments tend to be heavily dependent upon the demeanor of system representatives or operators, in the sense of an expected and adequate behavior. A doctor is expected to show his expertise, for example, or public transportation personnel are expected to be polite. Even when encounters between individuals or groups are not necessary intended to build trust, people are still involved at access points, through the differentiation between expert and expertise. Furthermore, mechanisms of trust in abstract systems – particularly trust in expert systems – are closely connected to the nature of modern institutions. In modern systems with a universe of events created by expert knowledge, reliance of a layperson generates a sense of security. It is a matter of a benefit-risk calculation. Institutionalization happens when social relations are "disembedded" from local contexts of interaction and are restructured across indefinite spans of time and space. Such dis-

embedding mechanisms depend upon trust (ibid: 79). Therefore, a re-appropriation of disembedded social relations, of social relations at the access points, enables the constitution of trust in abstract systems (ibid: 88). As can be seen, encounters with police officers are important to people's trust-building process. Procedural justice theories emphasize the importance of correct treatment. When people feel treated wrongly or unfairly, their trust in the institution police as a whole is destroyed. However, to take a step backward, the interaction between a police officer and a citizen is an interaction between two people, determined by an individual trust. Rational choice perspectives define such trust between individuals as strategic. One famous representative is Russell Hardin (1992, 2002, 2004, and 2006). He distinguishes between three dimensions of trust: how individuals choose to trust, to whom they direct trust, and in which incidents they exercise trust. In other words, trust is a three-part relation: A trusts B to do, or with respect to, X. Trust is accordingly seen as an expectation and strategic calculation. Strategic trust is one of three concept of what would count as the right intentions toward the truster. The other two concepts are based on the moral commitment and the character of the trustee.[8] The three concepts are seen as cognitive because all depend on assessments of the trustworthiness of the potentially trusted person. If trust is cognitive, we do not choose to trust. Rather, once we have a relevant knowledge of the moral commitments, the psychological or character disposition, or the encapsulation of the truster's interest, that knowledge constitutes our degree of trust or distrust. To say we trust someone means that we know or think we know relevant things about this person, especially about their motivations toward us. Therefore, one can mistakenly trust or distrust someone, merely because one has erroneous information about him or her. As a rule, we trust only those with whom we have an extensive rapport, sufficient to judge them trustworthy, and even then, we only trust them over a certain range of actions (Hardin 2006: 17-19).

Hardin (2002) argues that it is wrong to speak of trust in government and its institutions, as the knowledge demanded by the concept of trust is unavailable to ordinary citizens. In order to base the arguments of trust in government on the analogy of trust in individuals, trustworthiness of gov-

8 | In the following, analogous to Hardin (2006), "truster" refers to someone who trusts someone else, while "trustee" refers to the confider, the person somebody trusts.

ernment agents and the knowledge of citizens about such trustworthiness must be considered. The central problem of the translation of individual-to-individual relationships to individual-to-group or individual-to-institution relationships is that trust in government or other institutions is based on reasons – derived from knowledge – to believe that their agents are trustworthy. However, such conditions of interactions and of knowledge are unable to be met. Still, the encapsulated interest approach can be transferred to institutional trust. Moreover, if individual trustworthiness correlates strongly with interests in individual-to-individual relations, it seems likely that it must also do so in intra-organizational relations, as they may be perceived as individual-to-individual relations in certain situations. If this is the case, the question of whether role holders in organizations are trustworthy correlates with the question of whether it is in their interest to do what they are expected or trusted to do. This interest can be seen in how their roles are designed, as individual role holders may be interchangeable. However, this may be difficult in modern institutions, as no one possesses sufficient knowledge about the large number of individual role holders. Moreover, only a few people understand agency structures and the roles within them. The solution is a form of trust called "quasi trust": Both individuals and institutions can be deemed trustworthy without people knowing and trusting them, if this is based on expectations derived from current and past actions. There is no need to understand the design of an institution in order to trust it, or to know how their structures produce correct actions by its agents. Moreover, it does not require knowledge of the agents in an ongoing relationship that could give us the bases for trust in them. Trust is generated based on the facts of the behavior, or the result of the behavior (Hardin 2002). Even if Hardin links his quasi trust to representatives' behavior, the argumentation is rather vague. He states:

> "To be confident of it [the institution], we need only inductively generalize from what we think to be the facts of its behavior or even only from the apparent results of its behavior, as we inductively generalize that the winter will be cold." (Hardin 2002: 159)

Applied to trust in the police, this means that police officers, as representatives or agents, play a crucial role in building police's trustworthiness. The decision whether or not to trust an officer and the police as an organ-

ization is simply based on the behavior of an officer. No knowledge about the laws behind a certain action and no understanding of police structures are needed in order to trust them. Hardin's concept clearly contrasts institutional approaches that link legal institutions with other governmental ones. When no knowledge about the institution and its rules is needed in order to judge the police, it is not important how well they are developed, whether the police are part of a larger governmental system, as in post-communist countries, or more or less ruled by individual laws emancipating them partly from political decisions, as in Western Democracies. What does count toward building or destroying trust in the police is the behavior of police officers, as well as the outcomes of such behaviors. The argumentation of this rather universal approach reminds us of the procedural justice theories outlined in Chapter 2.3.1: Theories of procedural justice, the core element of which is based on processes, looking at the role of fairness in procedures.

While Hardin primarily focuses on trust as a strategic calculation, Tyler and Huo (2002: 58-64) explore the other two concepts, creating a form of "motive-based trust", i.e. trust in a person's motives or character. It refers to internal, unobservable characteristics that are inferred from someone's actions. Tyler and Huo (2002) view this as an answer to the limited nature of instrumental judgments, such as those of strategic trust, where no attention is paid to intentions behind the actions, to a person's unobservable motivations and character. The authors argue that people want to understand such characteristics and motives of others, as they are seen to be influential to the future behavior of others. Therefore, inferences for other people's future actions can be made from an understanding of their behavior. However, as such motives and intentions are not observable, only the actions of others can be rated. Moreover, actions also do not communicate motivations directly. Another person's trustworthiness is rather seen as a combination of an observed behavior in a given situation, statements explaining the behavior, and general social knowledge. Still, there is always a certain amount of uncertainty about the motives and intentions underlying the actions of those one depends on. Motive-based trust is therefore linked to a state of perceived vulnerability or risk. When considering police stops, for example, those being controlled know hardly anything about the intentions behind the action. The police may be looking for a perpetrator of a crime recently committed or just be performing an ordinary control.

Tyler and Huo (2002) see a difference to Hardin's (2002) concept of encapsulated interest in the disruption of a relationship. According to Hardin, this will lead to a disinterest on the part of the others to act in ways that meet our needs. In contrast, the concept of motive-based trust is seen as being more ethical or moral in nature, and therefore more robust. Converted to authorities, they are viewed as acting trustworthily in situations in which a person does not know whether they have acted in his or her interest[9]. Actions of authorities in concrete situations are therefore seen as linked to concerns other than instrumental ones, such as personal morality, professional integrity, and feelings of ethical responsibility (Tyler/Huo 2002: 220).

Even if the argument made by Tyler and Huo (2002: 66-67) goes in a similar direction when applied to authorities, they still focus on knowledge, linking their motive-based trust to a certain expertise of officers needed in order to carry out their roles. Furthermore, they argue that police officers may have earned their authority because they developed personal relationships with people who came to know them through personal experience. This argumentation is linked to the goal of strengthening community-policing approaches and developing personal connections between police officers and the members of a community.

So far, theories of procedural fairness and of strategic trust highlight the importance of police encounters in shaping people's overall perception of the police. Unfortunately, the data that is used in the subsequent analyses does not allow for consideration of all of the aforementioned subtleties, such as police officers' motives. Nevertheless, the theoretical information given is important for understanding the role of police encounters. Next, the focus is turned on research. In the following, an overview of research results on police encounters is presented, taking into consideration aspects that later enter into analyses. The focus lies on the perception of the interaction, such as how satisfied an individual was with how police treated his or her case. I will describe why it is important to differentiate between contact where the public or victims have approached the police and encounters initiated by the police, e.g. in traffic controls.

9 | Though there are situations where someone knows that an authority is acting against a person's interests, Tyler and Huo (2002) argue that this knowledge is useless, as the involved citizen does not have the power to defend his or her interests.

2.4.1 Research overview

A literature overview shows that studies from the United Kingdom and the United States dominate the field of police research. Moreover, within U.S. publications, many stem from Chicago (Tyler 1990; Rosenbaum et al. 2005; Skogan 2005; Skogan 2006). According to Schuck and Rosenbaum (2005), reasons may be found in the racial, ethnic, and socio-economic diversity of Chicago, as well as its recognized history of community policing innovation. Moreover, many efforts are underway to reform police departments, testing innovative reform and projects. However, in the meantime, research based on procedural justice approaches in particular has spread around the world. Studies exist for Ghana (Tankebe 2009; Boateng 2013), China (Wu/Sun 2009), or Australia (Murphy/Cherney 2011), just to name a few.

On average, individuals who had no contact with the police rated them more favorably than those who had contact (Homant/Kennedy/Fleming 1984; Reisig/Parks 2000). In their study conducted in three cities in Florida, Reisig and Parks (2000) show that those individuals who perceive a citizen-initiated police contact – such as a call for service or a traffic stop – as positive are more satisfied with the police than persons who had no contact with the police. Three items measured satisfaction with the police, covering the quality of police service in the neighborhood and whether or not they provided services that neighborhood residents wanted, as well as by a rating of the job the police were doing in terms of working with people in the neighborhood to solve local problems. Rosenbaum and his colleagues (2005) found no changes in attitudes due to having been in contact with the police for both police- and citizen-initiated scenarios.

2.4.1.1 Differences between police- and citizen-initiated contact

Most of the literature differentiates between citizen-initiated and police-initiated contact. Police contact initiated by citizens may concern reporting suspicious or anti-social behavior, seeking help after criminal victimization, or being involved in an accident. Police-initiated encounters may occur in traffic controls, identity checks on the street, or a violation of the law. Thus, when analyzing people's experience with police encounters and its influence on trust in them, it is important to distinguish between different kinds of contact. Moreover, depending on the type of contact, population expectations may differ. While a crime victim expects help and assistance from the police, someone stopped for a traffic control is

annoyed at the time lost. Alternatively, in cases of violations of the law, the offender hopes that the police will treat him correctly. Since citizens ask for help and assistance when they contact the police, adequate care leads to a higher level of thankfulness (Tewksbury/West 2001). On the other hand, treatment perceived as unfair will lead to disappointment.

Studies looking at encounters between the public and the police are more numerous, often using specific questions about the type of contact as well as satisfaction with the police. Due to the frequent restriction to certain areas or cities, and with consideration for resident's relationship with local police forces, such studies only seldom use abstract measurements for investigating an overall trust in the police.

The impact of experiences on attitudes toward the police is more relevant in citizen-initiated contact than in police-initiated contact. In his Chicago study, Tyler (1990) showed that respondents generally felt less fairly treated when stopped by the police than when they called the police for help. In another study conducted in Chicago in 2001, Rosenbaum et al. (2005) found that respondents involved in negative citizen-initiated encounters developed negative attitudes toward the police, while negative police-initiated experiences were not associated with changes in respondents' attitudes. Vicarious experiences are also a factor. People adopted someone else's experiences by learning negatively or positively from them. The authors measured attitudes toward the police with an index of police performance in terms of being responsive to community concerns, preventing crime, and being polite to residents. The item measuring contact covered any form of contact, without any specification.

Another study based on the 2005/2006 Metropolitan Police Public Attitudes Survey data in London supports the finding that satisfaction rates after police-initiated contact are greater than after citizen-initiated ones. Of those stopped, searched, or arrested by the police, about 59% were satisfied with the way the police conducted themselves. The dissatisfaction rate was only 16%. The validity of this result is weakened though by the fact that nearly a quarter of the interviewees chose the answer "don't know". The reasons for this unwillingness to give a clear answer remain vague. A negative attitude or dissatisfaction with the police based on repressed negative experiences is possible. Those who experienced other types of police-initiated contact reached a very high satisfaction rate of 72% (Bradford/Jackson/Stanko 2009).

Studies that focus on contact initiated by the police include either "light" forms, such as traffic controls, or ask for any kind of contact without any specification. Reasons may be found in the fact that most of the police stops concern traffic offences, as shown in the study by Tyler (1990). Because most of the stopped citizens received at least a traffic ticket, nearly one in two were dissatisfied with the outcome. Nevertheless, nearly three-quarters of these unsatisfied people evaluated the outcome as fair and reported they deserved the ticket they received. In another study, Skogan (2005) considered two questions about police stops: having been in a car or on a motorcycle that the police stopped, and stopped and questioned by the police when out walking; a distinction not often found in studies. He proved the procedural justice thesis by showing that police fairness and politeness, as well their explanation of decisions, had an influence on the level of satisfaction. In another survey conducted in London in 2005/2006, Bradford, Jackson, and Stanko (2009) found several characteristics associated with increased chances of dissatisfaction with the police after being in contact with them. The largest influence found was whether the police took the matter seriously enough, followed by the police's response time. Overall, negative judgments were associated with negative assessments of ease of contact, wait time, whether the police took the matter seriously, and whether a follow-up took place.

Studies only seldom distinguish between local, state, or national police. One rare example is a paper by Reisig and Correia (1997), using three random samples from the same western state: one of state citizens in a geographically heterogeneous state, one of county residents, and finally one of people residing within the borders of a medium-sized city. They found no negative effect of receiving a traffic citation on the rating of police performance at the city and the county level. In contrast, at the state level, an unfavorable treatment in a traffic citation significantly lowered the likelihood of a positive evaluation of the police. For citizen-initiated contact, results were contrary: the impact of unfavorable evaluations from negative police contact experiences was lower the further away from one's immediate surrounding the policing happened. These results suggest that contextual variables are important predictors of police performance. Yet their effects differ across the three levels of policing examined.

2.4.1.2 Treatment of crime victims

A major reason people contact the police is when they are seeking help, either to report accidents, because of disturbances, problems, suspicious activities in their neighborhood, or to report violent crimes and crimes against property (Tyler 1990). Therefore, the majority of studies focus on citizen-initiated police contact based on experiences and attitudes of victims of crimes (Bradford/Jackson/Stanko 2009). In general, as in contact initiated by the police, satisfaction with the treatment received by the police is important. Studies indicate that victims who were satisfied with how the police handled their case rated them more favorably than those who were dissatisfied (Furstenberg/Wellford 1973; Smith/Hawkins 1973; Brandl/Horvath 1991). It remains unclear whether the level of satisfaction differs between crime types. While a Swiss study reported less positive attitudes from victims of crimes against the person (Killias 1989), newer studies for England do not find any differences (Bradford/Jackson/Stanko 2009; Bradford 2010). Moreover, an early U.S. study even found that satisfaction with what the police did was the highest for victims of the most serious types of crimes against the person and lower for victims of property crime (Poister/McDavid 1978). According to the authors, this deviation from other results may be caused by their use of many more follow-up investigations for crimes against the person. In these cases, victims may more often perceive the police as showing greater efforts.

Studies confirmed that the behavior of police officers is important not only in police-initiated contact, but also in cases where the public approached the police (Skogan 1989; Brandl/Horvath 1991; Tewksbury/West 2001; Killias/Haymoz/Lamon 2007; Bradford/Jackson/Stanko 2009; Bradford 2010). In their study, Brandl and Horvath (1991), for example, investigated personal crimes and serious and minor property crimes. Results reveal a strong and dependable correlation between the degree of perceived professionalism and victims' satisfaction across all crime types. The more professional an officer was evaluated – measured according to an index of four items about officer's behavior – the greater the likelihood of victims' satisfaction. In addition, response time is also important for all groups of offences. However, the positive impact on satisfaction with the police was the strongest for personal crimes. Investigative efforts, on the other hand, were only influential in cases of property crimes. Moreover, information policy played a marginal role. Only informing victims of the actual state of investigation in cases of serious property crimes cor-

related with their level of satisfaction with the police. Furthermore, the study confirms another aspect of the procedural justice theory: Police's willingness to give advice and to notify victims of progress in their case has a large effect on victims' satisfaction with the police. Other studies confirmed this as well (Skogan 1989; Sunshine/Tyler 2003; Bradford/Jackson/Stanko 2009). As early as the 1980s, Skogan (1989) showed that if officers to whom victims were talking were rated as helpful, fair, polite, and informative, victims were generally more likely to perceive the police as similar to them and rate their job performance high.

In Switzerland, victims accuse the police of improper behavior less often (Schwarzenegger/Loewe-Baur 2014). Hence, sources of victims' dissatisfaction with the police may be based on other factors. Findings from Swiss Crime Surveys in 2000 and 2005 show that less than every tenth victim of a robbery complains about impolite treatment. Disinterest of the police in the case is responsible for the most dissatisfaction, followed by low efforts. Results are similar for victims of burglary. Insufficient effort by the police is an especially frequent complaint by victims of assaults and threats, while they are more satisfied with the interest shown by police officers (Killias/Haymoz/Lamon 2007).

2.4.1.3 Reporting crimes

The reporting of the crime is often at the beginning of victim-initiated police contact. A positive experience with the police when reporting an offence not only affects people's trust in the police but also results in a higher possibility of reporting again (Schwind 2010). Reporting as an indicator of trust in the police depends on the gravity of the crime and its consequences. Concerning crimes against property, the reporting rate is higher the greater the amount of loss. Concerning violent crimes, possible damage to reputation, after a sexual incident for example, prevents people from reporting. Hence, the level of reporting is highest for serious crimes against property and lowest for personal crimes (Killias/Kuhn/Aebi 2011). Analyses of Swiss Crime Survey data in 1989 confirm that victims that reported a crime to the police rated them more favorably than those who withdrew charges (Killias 1989). Subsequent further analyses confirm this (Killias/Berruex 1999). However, for both crimes against property and crimes against the person, other factors are more important. The chance that a burglary is reported to the police is seven times higher in cases of large financial losses, while a rural crime scene, a male victim,

and a positive image of the police contribute to a decreased chance of reporting a burglary. Offences against the person are reported to the police less often overall. Age and the seriousness of a crime were both found to have the largest impact on reporting: Victims 35 years and older and victims of serious crimes have an approximately fourfold chance of reporting a crime against the person compared to younger people and in cases of less serious events. Furthermore, a positive image of the police leads to a twofold chance of reporting. Reasons for reporting depend primarily on the seriousness of the crime. Since insurance companies only replace losses after a formal report, insurance coverage is the most important reason to report for burglary victims. For victims of violence, the seriousness of the crime determines likelihood to report. On the other hand, reasons for not reporting an incident to the police are low seriousness and no damage involved.

In general, a positive perception of the police and the legal system as a whole, increases citizens' willingness to report crimes (Killias/Berruex 1999; Kääriäinen/Sirén 2011).

2.4.1.4 Negative experiences weigh more

As seen in the preceding chapters, experiences with institutional representatives are important, as they contribute to their level of trustworthiness. Particularly the form of treatment, whether someone perceives it as fair or not, plays a crucial role in shaping people's attitudes toward the police. Whether someone is treated fairly and respectfully by a police officer during a traffic control, for example, can directly affect the rating of such a contact, whether someone is satisfied with how the police have dealt with the case or not. Confirmation is provided by the study by Frank, Smith, and Novak (2005), which used open questions in order to find out which attitudes determine satisfaction with the police. While asking people who had been in contact with the police in the last six month preceding the survey, they found improper police behavior and factors related to the outcome of an encounter were most telling in people's general statements about how satisfied they were with the police as a whole.

A negative experience not only leads to dissatisfaction, but may also destroy trust. Study results on the impact of experiences are divided. While some studies show positive effects of positive contact, others largely report negative effects of negative contact. Finally, there are studies where the outcome is negative, independently of the rating of the contact. Correia,

Reisig, and Lovrich (1996) found that contact with the police perceived as negative decreased the likelihood of positive perceptions of state police, regardless of the type of initiation (voluntary or involuntary). The variable measuring attitudes toward the police was directed toward state police, respectively to their performance on the job. The study by Schafer, Huebner, and Bynum (2003) also confirms a negative effect. Either through voluntary or involuntary interactions, citizens who were dissatisfied with the contact they had with the police showed less positive perceptions of traditional police services. Schafer, Huebner, and Bynum measured attitudes toward the police according to global satisfaction with police services (overall satisfaction with police service in neighborhood), satisfaction with traditional police operations (two items about the department's ability to provide traditional police services), and satisfaction with community police operations.

The impact of positive and negative experiences on trust and attitudes toward the police differs in weight: Negative effects are weighted more heavily than positive ones. This asymmetry hypothesis was tested and proven by Skogan (2006), among others. Skogan found in a neighborhood study in Chicago that, among self-initiated contact, the linear regression coefficient associated with a negative experience was more than twenty times that of a positive experience, in the opposite direction. Contrary to this, for being stopped by the police, the coefficient for a bad experience was only four times that of having a positive experience. Negative experiences therefore lead to more serious negative outcomes concerning trust in the police in cases of contact initiated by individuals. Altogether, having a negative experience is four to fourteen times more influential than having a positive experience, for either police- or citizen-initiated contact. However, it should be considered that confidence in the police here refers to the neighborhood police only.

As correctly supposed by Skogan (2006), other studies, such as those by Reisig and Parks (2000), show similar results. The negative effects of negatively rated stops were much higher (about six times) than those of the positive effects of positively rated stops. The same applies for the values of dissatisfaction and satisfaction related to calling the police. The discrepancy is lower, however (the values for dissatisfaction are about twice as high than those for satisfaction). Bradford (2011) partly confirms the asymmetry hypothesis. Using pooled data from all waves of the British Crime Survey (BCS) between 1984 and 2005/06, he finds a strong asym-

metry in the effect of different levels of citizen satisfaction on attitudes toward the police in 1992, but a growing positive effect over the years. According to him, this must still be viewed in the light of an overall decline in the number of interactions.

Negative impacts of unfavorable experiences with the police on attitudes toward them holds true for Eastern European countries as well. However, several studies deal with countries marked by very low levels of trust in the police, such as Russia or the Ukraine (Beck/Chistyakova 2002). In Russia, for example, the already very negative image of the militsiya is further damaged by their impolite behavior (Zernova 2012).

Another factor responsible but not taken into account very often in studies is the attitude of citizens toward the police before coming into contact with them. Existing studies show that previous attitudes influence the evaluation of interactions with the police (Rosenbaum et al. 2005; Bradford 2010; Gau 2010; Myhill/Bradford 2012). In their 2001 Chicago study, Rosenbaum et al. (2005) showed that negative attitudes in the first wave were associated with negative citizen-initiated police contact. In addition, they were associated, in turn, with negative attitudes toward the police in wave two. Such a correlation could not be proven for police-initiated contact. Furthermore, Gau (2010) confirms the inter-temporal stability of attitudes toward the police. However, she also shows that the perceived quality of contact remained strong after controlling for attitudinal stability. In a newer panel study, Myhill and Bradford (2012) also compare the impact of police- and citizen-initiated contact. The use of two waves of panel data allows them to test for previous opinions preceding police-initiated contact. People who rated the police poorly in wave 1 were less likely to be satisfied and more likely to be dissatisfied with the police encounter. However, the difference was only statistically significant in the case of highly dissatisfied answers. Satisfaction with the contact was not influenced by the prior opinion of the respondents, as over half of those with an original negative statement were satisfied with the police contact later on. A comparison with those respondents who rated the police as fair in wave 1 shows that those with low levels of confidence were more likely to judge police contact negatively later on, while those with high levels of confidence were not more likely to judge them positively. Testing the asymmetry thesis in linear regression models, the authors further show that experiencing a police-initiated contact is entirely asymmetrical: Satisfactory interactions had no positive association with confidence, while un-

satisfactory interactions had a significant negative statistical effect. This was not entirely the case in contact initiated by victims. Even if the effect was also asymmetrical with unsatisfactory contact, having a large negative effect on opinions of the police, the overall effect was smaller for satisfied victims. The authors follow that this positive impact – even when it is weaker than the negative effect – should not be ignored and that positive experiences are also important. For Switzerland, some local studies confirm the positive impact of positive police encounters on attitudes toward them (Roux 1991: 25; Biberstein 2010), but do not give information about possible negative impacts.

Overall, studies suggest a strong influence of bad experiences on negative ratings of the police and a low effect of positive experiences, primarily for victim-initiated police contact. However, it seems that police and citizen encounters often overlap. In the study by Skogan (2006), for example, more than one in two people stopped by the police contacted them about some matter over the course of a year.

2.4.1.5 Individual influences: socio-demographic and other factors

Socio-demographic characteristics, such as age, gender, income, or belonging to an ethnic minority, have an effect on people's attitudes toward the police. Individual characteristics are important because they directly relate to the frequency of police stops or whether people call them for assistance. Moreover, such characteristics are reasons for different or harsh treatments given to people in encounters with the police.

Gender and age

The influence of age and gender on being stopped by the police is not widely addressed in research, as the focus is more on the impact on trust in the police. In most of the studies, females are found to have a higher trust in the police than males (Percy 1980; Brandl/Horvath 1991; Cao/Frank/Cullen 1996; Schafer/Huebner/Bynum 2003; Wu/Sun 2009). Studies rarely find that women have a deeper trust in the police than men; more often the reverse is true (cf. Correia/Reisig/Lovrich 1996). The expected greater positive attitude toward the police by women is partly explained by the fact that the police stop men more often than they stop women. This is because men have different leisure activities and are more often involved in criminal activities. Skogan (2005) proves that the distribution and frequency of stops by the police are strongly related to demographic

and social factors of stopped people. Close to 30% of males but only 12% of females indicated that the police stopped them over the course of a year. Bradford, Jackson, and Stanko (2009) in their 2005/2006 London survey of 2005/2006 confirm this result. Finally, also Jackson and colleagues show that the police stop men more often than they stop women (Jackson et al. 2012).

A similar picture can be seen for youth: Young people are more likely to get into trouble of all kinds with the police, including stops and arrests. Moreover, they are more likely to become victims of violent crimes. Reisig and Correia (1997) further propose that age differences in opinions of the police reflect the value attached to freedom and autonomy of younger people, versus safety and security of elderly people. Skogan (2005) shows that there is a lot of variation within younger people concerning police stops. While the police stopped approximately only every fifth 34-year-old, the number increases with declining age of respondents. Bradford, Jackson, and Stanko (2009) found the highest percentage of police-initiated contact for 15- to 24-year-olds and the lowest for groups of 55- to 64-year-olds and those older than 65 years. Jackson and colleagues also reveal that the younger Londoners are, the more frequently the police stopped them (Jackson et al. 2012). It comes as no surprise then that several studies found young people to have less favorable opinions of the police (Percy 1980; Brandl et al. 1994; Cao/Frank/Cullen 1996; Correia/Reisig/Lovrich 1996; Reisig/Correia 1997; Cao/Stack/Sun 1998; Schafer/Huebner/Bynum 2003; Wu/Sun 2009; Gau 2010).

Bradford (2011) raises an interesting point in his study about the development of citizen contact and confidence in the police in Great Britain between 1984 and 2005/06. He shows that, over the years, differences between gender and trust in the police, on the one hand, and between age groups and trust in the police, on the other hand, diminished sharply. The gap between age cohorts shrank until 2003/04, where very little variation in the proportion of very good ratings of local police work remains. This was predominantly caused by a reduction in trust amongst the oldest age group rating the police very positively in earlier years. A similar pattern is reported for Germany. Reuband (2012) found diminishing effects of age between 1984 and 2011. In addition to the results found by Bradford, the effect even changed in the other direction. While in 1984 trust in the police grew with age, citizens' trust in the police diminished in 2011 the older people were. A fundamental change in the relationship of citizens to the

institutions may be one reason for this astonishing trend. This argument is supported by the fact that such a trend was reported for other German institutions as well.

Belonging to a minority

A large body of research deals with possible correlations between the police and minority groups. Several studies for United Kingdom and the United States confirmed that African Americans and other minorities have a more negative perception of the police than Caucasians (Furstenberg/Wellford 1973; Correia/Reisig/Lovrich 1996; Reisig/Correia 1997; Tuch/Weitzer 1997; Tyler 2001; Brown/Benedict 2002; Schafer/Huebner/Bynum 2003; Rosenbaum et al. 2005; Schuck/Rosenbaum 2005; Weitzer/Tuch 2005; Jackson et al. 2012). African Americans are more skeptical in their opinions of the police and report negative contact and even mistreatment by the police more frequently (Skogan 2006). In the study by Skogan (2005) in 2001, the police had stopped African Americans and English-speaking Latinos about ten percent more often than Caucasians during the past year. In another study conducted in Chicago, Rosenbaum and colleagues show no statistically significant racial and ethnical differences among the first sample, but more reported negative attitudes by African Americans and Hispanics in a sample of the second point of measurement (Rosenbaum et al. 2005). Moreover, vicarious experience had an influence as well. The authors asked the respondents whether they had heard about someone having a good experience or bad experience with the Chicago police in the past year. Compared to Caucasian residents, both African Americans and Hispanics reported fewer positive and more negative vicarious experiences with the police (ibid).

Results of the study by Weitzer and Tuch (2005) reveal a much lower level of satisfaction with city police amongst African Americans and Hispanics than amongst Caucasians. A similar pattern exists for satisfaction with the police in respondents' neighborhoods. The discrepancy in satisfaction between African Americans and Caucasians remained after controlling for demographic variables such as age. In addition, neighborhood safety and crime rates diminished the influence of race as well.

For United Kingdom, results from the study by Jackson and colleagues show that belonging to any of the included ethnic minority groups is associated with a higher chance of getting stopped or searched by the police compared to being a Caucasian (Jackson et al. 2012).

Other socio-demographics

There are further socio-demographics found to have an influence on trust in the police not directly related to police stops. Such factors include education (Frank/Smith/Novak 2005; Kääriäinen 2007), income (Poister/McDavid 1978; Cao/Frank/Cullen 1996), political orientation (Cao/Stack/Sun 1998), religiosity (Schwarzenegger 1992), marital status (Poister/McDavid 1978; Cao/Stack/Sun 1998; Skogan 2005), and place of residence. Skogan (2005), for example, showed that education, marital status, and income correlate with the frequency of police stops. For Switzerland, Schwarzenegger (1992: 248) found a more positive attitude toward the police in Zurich amongst Catholics and members of other churches than amongst Protestants. People declaring themselves as nondenominational showed the most negative attitude. Kääriäinen (2007) reports that people living rurally have a lower level of trust in the police compared to those living in big cities.

Finally, citizens' leisure activities are also taken into account. Routine-activity and lifestyle approaches focus on victimization risk (Hindelang/Gottfredson/Garofalo 1978; Cohen/Felson 1979). People spending more time outside their homes, e.g. going out more often at night, have a higher chance of becoming a victim of a crime. Such a pattern may be transferable to citizen-police interactions; citizens meeting with friends at an above-average frequency may have a higher chance of being stopped or approached by the police. Furthermore, in a multilevel study, Kääriäinen (2007) showed that people meeting with others once or several times a week have a higher trust in the police compared to those going out only once a month or less often.

Life satisfaction, criminal victimization, and fear of crime

In addition to individual characteristics, such as socio-demographic features, one should not forget to control for individual well-being. People's trust in the police may have deteriorated after they became the victim of a crime. Furthermore, fear of something can create a lack of trust. Hence, criminal victimization and fear of crime may lead to a reduced trust in police's ability to fight crimes. On the positive side, satisfaction with life leads to an optimistic view of the world, a perception that the future will be better than the past (Uslaner 2002: 81). Happy and optimistic people are therefore expected to have a higher trust in the police and rate police interactions more positively than frustrated and unhappy people.

The primary body of police studies focusing on criminal victimization and trust in the police are based on a procedural approach, looking at the victim-police interaction (see Chapter 2.4.1.2: Treatment of crime victims). In addition, several studies report negative impacts of victimization on attitudes toward and trust in the police (Poister/McDavid 1978; König 1980; Percy 1980; Killias 1989; Schwarzenegger 1992: 245; Cao/Frank/Cullen 1996; Kusow/Wilson/Martin 1997; Oskarsson 2010; Bradford 2011).

Fear of crime is expected to go hand in hand with lower trust in the police, linked to a lack of trust in their ability to fight crime (Cao/Frank/Cullen 1996; Weitzer/Tuch 2005; Jackson et al. 2009). Such perceptions are rooted in criminal victimization experiences, amongst others. The victimization perspective implies that a person who became a victim of a criminal act develops a deeper fear of the same crime than someone who did not experience such an incident (Boers 1991). The assumption was proven for crime that is closely related with feelings of security at night in residential areas, such as robbery and sexual offences. However, in multivariate studies, when controlling for socio-demographic variables, effects were only marginal (ibid). This weak or non-existent link often found in studies may be caused by the fact that fear of crime accompanies a less risky lifestyle and therefore indirectly less risk. Such a link is difficult to discover, due to the cross-sectional character of crime surveys (Killias/Kuhn/Aebi 2011). The fact that victims develop avoidance strategies supports the assumption that lifestyle and fear of crime are connected. Hindelang, Gottfredson, and Garofalo (1978) show that even though personal experiences with crime appeared to have an effect on perceptions of crime in one's immediate environment, such experiences did not eliminate the tendency to view crime as more of a problem non-locally than locally. Also, when looking at the impact on people's behavior, they found that victims report that they limited or changed their activities slightly more often. These differences became greater as the frames of references for the questions moved closer to the respondents personally. Further studies also show that repeated victimization has a positive impact on fear (Skogan 1987).

Satisfaction with life as a whole can be seen as a macro variable, linked to country-level characteristics, such as a functioning government, democracy, or social system. In contrast, numerous studies show that the individual situation determined by marital status, income, but also by negative experiences, such as a criminal victimization, plays a role (cf. Staubli/

Killias/Frey 2014). Three basic types of well-being can be differentiated between when treating life satisfaction as an individual trait. The short-term reaction to pleasant experiences is affective. Eudemonia, in contrast, captures the normative philosophical idea of a good life. Finally, life satisfaction is an intermediate notion. It goes beyond immediate and affective reactions and has a cognitive element, as individuals are asked to consider how they subjectively evaluate their life as a whole (ibid). It follows that life satisfaction can have a moderating effect on interactions with the police. Happy people have a more positive attitude in general and therefore generally evaluate other persons more favorably. Furthermore, people satisfied with their life were found to have a more positive attitude toward the police in Japan and America (Schwarzenegger 1992: 247; Cao/Stack/Sun 1998).

2.5 The impact of social trust

Institutional trust is closely linked to individual trust, which is an elementary part of social life. It navigates a society's behavior and leads to reduced social complexity (Luhmann 2000: 93). Moreover, individual trust influences people's opinion of the performance of governmental institutions (Misztal 1996: 245). In addition to this direct link between individual and institutional trust, the importance of experiences with the police on people's perception of them were outlined in the preceding chapters. In accordance with approaches of strategic trust, the relationship between police officers and people in contact with them was described. Such a strategic form of trust refers to "particularized trust", a trust toward people someone knows personally (such as family members, friends, neighbors, and co-workers). Differentiated from this is "generalized trust", a rather abstract attitude toward people in general, beyond immediate familiarity. It includes strangers, such as people randomly met in the street, fellow citizens, or foreigners (Freitag/Traunmüller 2009). General trust, as linked to a group rather than an individual behavior and embedded in the social relations that occur between people, is called social trust (Welch et al. 2005). Social trust is therefore situated between individual and institutional trust. In this book, contrary to such a broadening in the definition by Welch and colleagues, social trust is understood as an individual trait. It is measured as general trust in unknown others, in their fairness and helpfulness.

In the sense of encapsulated interests (Hardin 2002), people have clear opinions and expectations of trustees. As this concept is directed

toward trust in known individuals, Hardin admits difficulties in translating his rational concept toward individuals' trust in institutions (ibid). Other proponents point to the independence of trust from experiences. Even though Eric Uslaner (2002: 14, 17) does not deny that trust in fellow man can stem from interactions and therefore from experiences, he favors a "moral" trust, based on optimistic views of the world and a sense that we can make it better. Trust instincts are developed early in life with parents as teachers and are stable over time. As an opponent of strategic trust concepts, he argues that moralistic trust is not primarily based upon personal experiences, as it does not make sense to judge most people based on a few actions, particularly when they are of minor consequences. Moral trust can be seen as a dictate to treat others well, even in the absence of reciprocity. Values are not separated from experiences, but largely resistant to the difficulties of daily life. Trust must be learned, not earned.

Optimism, the base of generalized trust, has four components: a view that the future will be better than the past, the belief that we can control our environment to make it better, a sense of personal well-being, and a supportive community. People who are happy in their personal lives are more likely to have a positive attitude toward strangers, as their personal mood will translate into a more generalized sense of optimism (Uslaner 2002: 81). Uslaner (2002: 26) sees his distinctions as similar to Putnam's "bonding" and "bridging" of social capital: bonding with friends and people like us, but bridging with people who are different from ourselves. This implies that the central distinction between generalized and particularized trust can be found in how inclusive the moral community is.

Generalized trust as a two- or even one-part relationship must be a matter of relatively positive expectations of the trustworthiness, cooperativeness, or helpfulness of others. It gives a sense of running little risk when cooperating with others, so that we may more readily enter into relationships with them. The term "generalized trust" is just a claim that it makes sense to risk entering into exchanges even with those one cannot claim to trust in the encapsulated-interest sense, as no on-going relationship exists yet. It is not a claim that one trusts others but that one has optimistic expectations of being able to build relationships with certain others (Hardin 2002: 61-62). Several authors describe the importance of (generalized) trust. According to Simmel (1992: 393), trust can be seen as one of the most important synthetic strengths in a society. The necessity of trust is the reason for rules of correct behavior. If chaos and paralyzing fear are

the only alternatives to trust, people need to trust each other (Luhmann 2000: 1). Trust as a positive expectation regarding other people's actions and intentions is seen as the basis for reduced social complexity (ibid: 93) and the building of social capital (Putnam 1995), amongst others.

Above all, the truster has to be seen as embedded in systems and structures consisting of social relationships, rules, and resources that can have strong constraining and/or empowering influences on him (Möllering 2006: 50). People who share the same norms and values belong to the same living environment *(Lebenswelt)*. Living environment is defined as the area of reality seen as given, with every issue that is experienced as unquestioned and unproblematic. It is one part of a plurality of realities, taken for granted, and unquestionable. However, the consciousness of such realities is intentional and able to transfer from one reality to another. Through inter-subjective processes, an on-going correspondence about attitudes and the perception of the world between people of different realities is secured. Borders of other realities are marked via enclosed meanings and experiences (Berger/Luckmann 1974; Schütz/Luckmann 1979). When combining Uslaner's form of moral trust with such phenomenological approaches, I argue that the actions of people teaching their children a moral form of trust and the act of their children learning from them are embedded in a social world surrounding them.

Generalized trust becomes especially important with the development of modern societies, which are marked by a higher demand for cooperation in an interdependent world. Due to differentiations and segmentations of roles, the behavior of role holders has become less predictable, and role expectations more negotiable. Furthermore, due to a vast spectrum of potential choices, decisions have also become less predictable. Additionally, there is a growing anonymity and impersonality of those on whose actions personal existence and well-being depend, as well as a growing presence of strange and unfamiliar people in our environment due to migration, tourism, and travel. All these facts led to the development and necessity of trust as a form of social interaction. Moreover, trust has become a necessary strategy for dealing with institutions and organizations, also marked by a higher complexity, leading to inapproachability for ordinary people (Simmel 1992: Chapter V; Sztompka 1999: 11-14). Countries marked by a culture of optimism and openness toward others may also perceive their institutions more positively.

Gerben Bruinsma from the Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (NSCR) proved the importance of social

trust within trust in justice research in his plenary speech at the 13th Annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology (ESC) in 2013 in Budapest.[10] He argued that more comparative research is needed within the field. According to him, trust in justice relates to other forms of trust, such as trust in political systems or social trust in fellow man, which have been hardly researched within criminology so far. Contrary to this missing link of social trust and trust in justice within criminology, individual trust is mostly bound to social capital in social science research (Welch et al. 2005: 457). This book tries to contribute to this research in order to close this gap.

2.5.1 Research overview

While Hardin (2002) sees social trust as related to experiences with institutions, Uslaner (2002) perceives it as independent of interactions. That social trust and trust in the police are directly correlated – independently of an experience with the police – is widely confirmed (Brehm/Rahn 1997; Kaase 1999; Newton/Norris 1999; Rothstein/Stolle 2008; Kääriäinen/Sirén 2011; Grönlund/Setälä 2012). However, study results are mixed. While some results support the arguments that generalized trust is a predictor of political trust or trust in legal institutions (Kaase 1999; Newton/Norris 1999; Rothstein/Stolle 2008; Grönlund/Setälä 2012), others found the causation to be the reverse, with confidence in institutions influencing generalized trust (Brehm/Rahn 1997).

Results from Grönlund and Setälä (2012) reveal a clear connection between social trust and trust in the legal system. Countries marked by high social trust – measured as generalized trust – have a higher trust in the legal system than countries with low social trust. Their analyses are based on data from the second round of the European Social Survey of 2004, using 24 of the 26 countries included in the database. It is important to note that the results show a robust correlation between social trust and trust in the legal system across countries, in both Western and Eastern Europe. Rothstein and Stolle (2008) give further confirmation of a strong relationship between confidence in order-issuing institutions (the army, the police, and legal institutions) and generalized trust. Using the third wave of the 2000 World Value Survey, they view the impartiality of the

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institutions as the missing link. In highly corrupt countries, generalized trust is lower compared to countries with less corruption. In their multivariate model, they found that countries with high levels of generalized trust also have the most effective and impartial institutions and the longest running experience with democracy, as well as the most egalitarian socioeconomic outcomes.

Not many studies have analyzed the police separately from other institutions. One that has is Newton and Norris (1999). They analyzed pooled data from two waves of the World Value Survey (1980-1984 and 1990-1993). Results show that social trust relates positively but only weakly to confidence in the police at the individual level. A stronger but statistically non-significant correlation was found at the national level. The authors argue that a systemic effect may cause this difference between the individual and the aggregate level. The positive association between social trust and confidence in the police was found among all countries included in the analyses. In Norway, Sweden, and Canada, high social trust goes along with high public confidence in the police. While most Nordic countries belong to the group with high trust relationships, France, Belgium, and Italy showed the opposite tendency in the 1980s, with slightly better values in the 1990s. In these countries, suspicion of other citizens seems to go hand in hand with minimal confidence in the police.

Two theoretical approaches treat the impact of individual trust on trust in justice differently. While Hardin (2002) links it to experiences with institutional representatives, Uslaner's (2002) moral trust is rather stable and independent of interactions. Generalized trust allows people to move out of familiar relationships in which trust is based on knowledge accumulated from long-term experience with particular people. Their optimism is transferred onto institutions, leading to a higher trust in them. In both approaches, social trust and trust in governmental institutions are linked. Therefore, both approaches are considered in analyses.

2.6 Summary

When analyzing police encounters, a differentiation between contact initiated by the police and those by citizens is important. Most of the studies within the field of citizen-initiated contact concern crime victims reporting an offence to the police. The impact of negative experiences with the police leading to a lower level of satisfaction and trust in them is more

often claimed for such victim-initiated contact, while dissatisfaction with police stops seem to have lower impacts.

Within satisfaction levels, the relationship to attitudes toward the police is asymmetric in the sense that positive experiences are not weighted as heavily as negative ones. In addition, attitudes prior to an encounter also have an influence on the satisfaction level. People who already have negative attitudes toward the police before they have contact with them evaluate the contact more negatively.

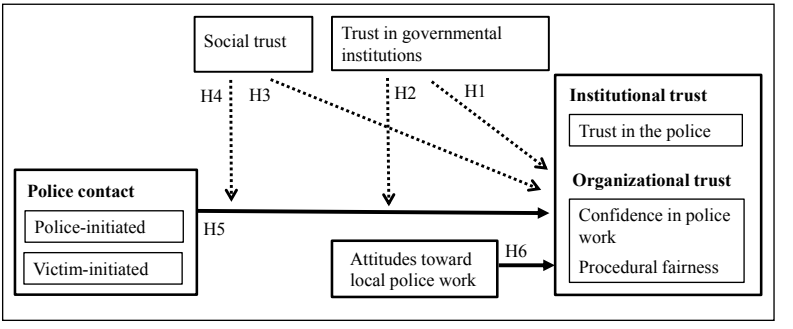
Several factors have an influence on the perception of encounters and trust in the police. While males, young people, and ethnic minorities have lower levels of trust in the police as compared to females, older people, and non-minorities, criminal victimization reduces peoples trust in the work of the police. People satisfied with their life, on the other hand, are associated with having a more positive general attitude, rating police more favorably.

Finally, cultural imprints determine perceptions. Societies with high levels of social trust are marked by higher institutional trust than is the case in low-trust countries. Theories of individual trust are based on others' trustworthiness. This is established by knowledge about the actor. Applied to institutions, representatives such as police officer are the focus. Here, knowledge is seen as less important. What counts more is the behavior of institutional agents. Trustworthiness of the police is therefore based on ratings about the behavior of police officers in encounters. People are satisfied when officers are perceived as fair, treating people respectfully and explaining their situation. Satisfaction with an encounter will translate into trust toward the police. Moreover, social realities shape the perception of such encounters. In cultures with high levels of social trust, an underlying openness may have a positive effect on the rating of the contact.

3. Model and hypotheses

The underlying model of this book consists of different parts (visualized in Figure 2). In a first step, at an aggregated level, I analyze whether trust in the police is correlated with trust in further governmental institutions (H1). Second, I measure the impact of social trust on trust and confidence in the police at the macro level (H3). Next, the focus changes to the individual level, where encounters with and trust in the police are analyzed (H5). While data from the European Social Survey allow testing for police-initiated contact only, data from the Swiss Crime Survey 2011 consists of victim-initiated contact as well. Therefore, in a single section, such encounters are elaborated upon separately. Also, on the individual level, the impact of governmental trust (H2) and social trust (H4) are considered. Finally, the impact of ratings of local police work on overall trust in them is considered (H6). Again, this context can only be tested according to data from the Swiss Crime Survey 2011.

Figure 2: Theoretical model of trust in the police



One focus of this book is to apply concepts of trust in the police across different countries. Nevertheless, most of the theories and approaches within the policing field stem from Anglo-Saxon countries. Furthermore, studies dealing with institutional trust at the macro level, comparing countries, often use data records from Western Democratic countries. Contrary to this, there are a few studies that focus on post-communist countries, expanding the development of institutional trust in Eastern Europe after the fall of the iron curtain (cf. Mishler/Rose 2001). Therefore, Eastern European countries are compared with Western. Furthermore, single analyses

for Switzerland shed light on the impact of social trust and police encounters on the perception of them in a Western European country marked by high levels of institutional trust (Switzerland ranks together with the Scandinavian countries at the top end of the trust-in-the-police scale).

Based on the institutional approach, the police are seen as a segment of the state, as an instrument of executive governance. However, compared to other political institutions, the police and the legal institutions have a special task, namely to detect and to punish people who do not obey the law. Criminal justice institutions are therefore more permanent in character than other political institutions such as parliament (Rothstein/Stolle 2002). Based on their different duties, political and criminal justice institutions are perceived unequally in Western Europe (Rothstein/Stolle 2002; Rothstein/Stolle 2008; Reuband 2012), while in Eastern Europe the police are instead perceived as part of the government (Mishler/Rose 2001). The correlation between trust in other governmental institutions and trust in the police is expected not only to exist at an aggregated level, but to persist at an individual level as well.

Assumption	Trust in the police correlates to trust in other governmental institutions.
Hypothesis 1.1	The police are perceived separately from political institutions in Western European countries, while they are perceived as similar in Eastern European countries.
Hypothesis 1.2	The higher the trust in political and legal institutions, the higher the trust in the police.
Hypotheses 2	Trust in governmental institutions affects the impact of trust in the police in cases of encounters between citizens and the police.

Studies on the relationship of social trust and trust in institutions are based on a moralistic approach, treating social trust as a rather stable cultural trait, unaffected by experiences with institutional representatives. Existing attitudes, such as negative stereotypes about the police, can affect assessment of police contact. Those people who have generally favorable opinions of the police are more likely to evaluate contact with them positively, while those with generally unfavorable opinions are more likely to give a negative evaluation (Brandl et al. 1994). When comparing countries, however, it is important to keep in mind not only the different laws

and policies that may affect police officers' daily work, but also the possible influences on the "other side", of individuals' interaction with the police. Social realities not only shape individuals' everyday life; they play an important role at an aggregated country level as well, where they can be seen as cultural elements. The culture of a country marked by equality and openness toward officials may be an underlying factor influencing people's perception and evaluation of police contact and trust in police in general. Studies analyzing the relationship between social trust and trust in the police primarily deal with trust in the police as an institution, considering a general trust question. However, as attitudinal studies show, procedural fairness is very important in people's evaluation of the police and their trust in them. Furthermore, instrumental approaches look at the role of effectiveness. Hence, the positive impact of social trust is also expected to relate to procedural fairness and confidence in police work.

Countries with high levels of social trust have the most effective and impartial institutions, the longest experience with democracy, as well as the most egalitarian socioeconomic outcomes (Rothstein/Stolle 2008). It follows that western democracies are marked by high levels of social trust, while the former post-communist countries of Eastern Europe have a low level of social trust.

Assumption	At the macro level, trust in the police is related to social trust.
Hypothesis 3	The higher a society's social trust, the higher its trust in the police, its confidence in the work of the police and in their procedural fairness.
Assumption	In cases of police-initiated contact, social trust has a further impact on trust in the police on the individual level.
Hypothesis 4	People's trust in the police, people's confidence in the work of the police, and people's confidence in their procedural fairness after being stopped by them improves as social trust levels increase.

The behavior of the representatives of an institution, especially in the Westernworld, is viewed as an indicator of their fair procedures, which results in trust (Jackson et al. 2011b). Research has shown that contact with the police in general, as well as the manner in which police handle a case after criminal victimization, has an impact on opinions of them

(Tewksbury/West 2001; Skogan 2005). Interaction with the police, as either police-initiated or citizen-initiated, is a key element for affecting trust in them. The way the police deal with people has far-reaching implications concerning their trustworthiness. If people feel treated unfairly, their trust in the police will decline. Again, social realities are expected to moderate the evaluation of police contact, and subsequently people's trust in the police. Based on current research outlined in Chapter 2.4, the following hypotheses are derived:

Assumption	An experience with the police has an influence on trust in them.
Hypothesis 5.1	The more favorably an encounter with the police is rated, the higher the trust in them, the confidence in their work and in their procedural fairness.
Hypothesis 5.2	The impact of unfavorable ratings on trust is stronger than the impact of favorable ones ("asymmetry" hypothesis).

Contact initiated by crime victims must be differentiated from general encounters between citizens and the police. In general, as in contact initiated by the police, satisfaction with the treatment received by the police is important. However, victims of crime are especially vulnerable and suspicious. Moreover, reporting a crime to the police should also be considered, as it is often the reason why victims get in touch with the police in first place. Moreover, research has shown that satisfaction with and trust in the police differs among offences. Thus, it follows:

Hypothesis 5.3	Victims of crimes against the person have lower trust in the police compared to victims of crimes against property.
Hypothesis 5.4	Reporting to the police does not correlate with trust in the police.
Hypothesis 5.5	Victims satisfied with how the police treated their case evaluate them better than those who are dissatisfied.

All of these hypotheses are tested according to two data sets. In the first, I undertake analyses according to data from the European Social Survey. Results for Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and Switzerland are dis-

played together in order to enable a direct comparison. In the second, I elaborate on victim-initiated police contact more closely, based on data from the Swiss Crime Survey. Additionally, data from the Swiss Crime Survey 2011 allows for a linking of global and specific trust in the police. Based on elaborations in Chapter 1.4 I argue:

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

The next section presents some brief information about the data used.