

Trust and confidence in policing: A British perspective

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A play in five parts

PART I: Brief overview of the meaning of trust and confidence in policing

PART II: Emerging thinking: towards some conceptual clarity and theoretical coverage

PART III: Theoretical work on the trajectory of trust and confidence in Britain

PART IV: Empirical work on the some sources of trust and confidence

PART V: A shameless plug for a comparative piece of criminological research

PART I:

Brief overview on the meaning
of trust and confidence in the
British context

What is 'trust and confidence'?

- There is a good deal of confusion in British criminology and public policy
- 'Confidence in policing' is most often used as a shorthand for a set of connected but conceptually and empirically distinct notions:
 - Trust (and confidence)
 - Legitimacy
 - Consent, cooperation and compliance
- For example, David Smith (2007) uses trust and legitimacy interchangeably, although at one point intimates that they are different things

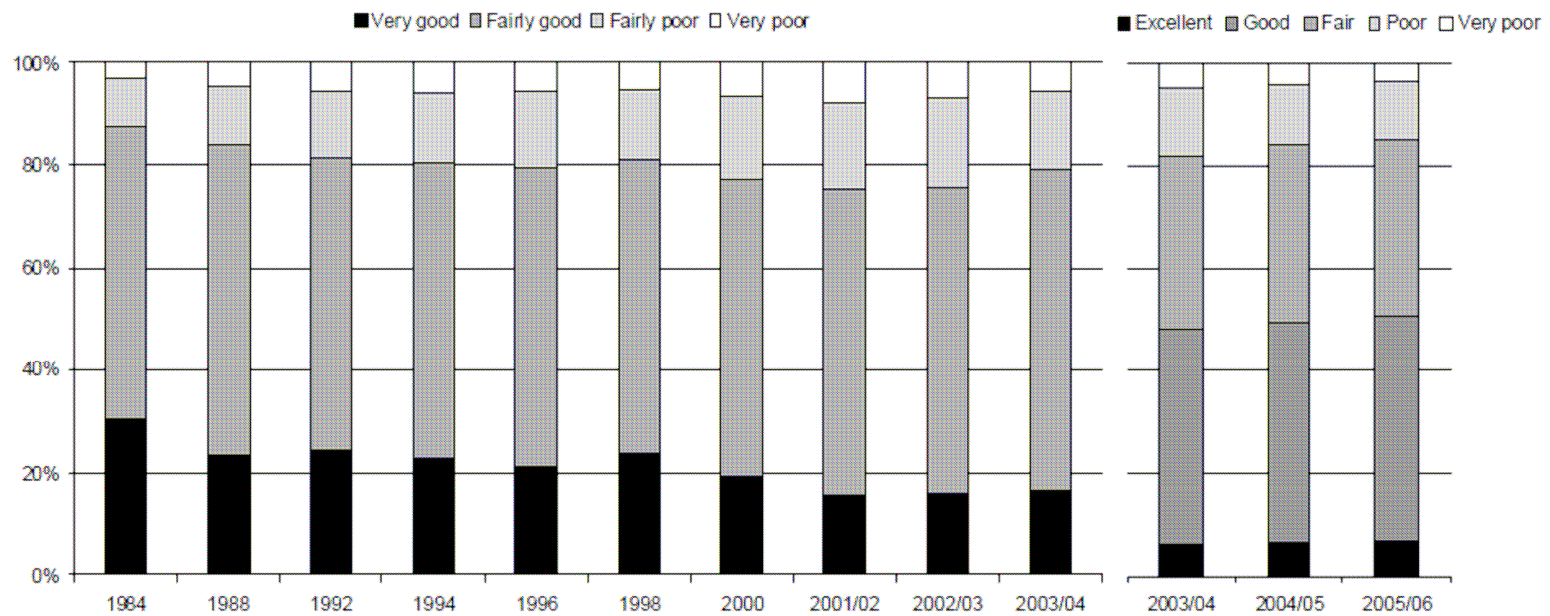
What is 'trust and confidence'?

- Why the reluctance to engage with broader theoretical work (in sociology, political science, social psychology, etc.) on the meaning of trust, legitimacy, cooperation and compliance?
- Perhaps because good empirical work forces you to sharpen your conceptual tools, and most of the influential UK criminology is not empirical
 - Gives people poetic licence for grand theory?
- Or perhaps it is a sociological thing: defining things 'does damage to the empirical or lived reality' (i.e. forces it into an ill-fitting straight-jacket)
 - A general resistance to measure things

What is 'trust and confidence'?

- How has trust and confidence been defined in empirical work?
- Most often using a single survey indicator:
 - 'How good a job do the local [or national] police do in this area?' Very good, fairly good, fairly poor, or very poor
- The British Crime Survey has generated valuable time-series data from the fielding of this item to successive samples over 20 and more years (1984 to now)

Ratings of the local police, 1984 to 2005/06
 England and Wales



Notes: Responses to question 'How good a job are the police in this area doing'. Response categories changed in 2003/04, which is shown on both old and new basis here to allow comparison.
 Data are produced from dataset which combines all sweeps of the BCS from 1984 to 2005/06 and may therefore differ slightly from those presented elsewhere.
 Data for 2001/02 include entire calendar year of 2001.
 Source: British Crime Survey 1984 to 2005/06

What is 'trust and confidence'?

- This single indicator seems to do a reasonably good job by 'wrapping up' public evaluations of different dimensions of trust and confidence:
 - effectiveness;
 - fairness; and,
 - value alignment (does the police represent and demand my values and those of my community?)

What is 'trust and confidence'?

- In this respect, 'trust and confidence' is kind of a job rating, but ...
 - it is prior expectations about what the police can and should be doing (achieving their goals of reducing crime and promoting justice, and performing their roles appropriately);
 - and it is the current evaluation of whether the police are actually achieving their goals and are performing their roles appropriately

What is 'trust and confidence'?

- The British Crime Survey recently started to measure confidence in policing using the following questions:
- How much would you agree or disagree that...
 - A. They (the police in this area) can be relied on to be there when you need them.
 - B. They (the police in this area) would treat you with respect if you had contact with them for any reason.
 - C. The police in this area treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are.
 - D. They (the police in this area) can be relied on to deal with minor crimes.
 - E. They (the police in this area) understand the issues that affect this community.
 - F. They (the police in this area) are dealing with the things that matter to people in this community.
 - G. Taking everything into account I have confidence in the police in this area.

Answers on five point scales: strongly agree; tend to agree; neither agree or disagree; tend to disagree; strongly disagree

Factor analysis of measures of public confidence in police engagement and procedural justice

	<u>Factor loading</u>
They can be relied on to be there when you need them	.683
They would treat you with respect if you had contact with them for any reason	.616
They treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are	.620
They can be relied on to deal with minor crimes	.707
They understand the issues that affect this community	.741
They are dealing with the things that matter to people in this community	.816
Taking everything into account I have a lot of confidence in the police in this area	.858

Source: 2005/2006 BCS (non-victim form, including ethnic booster sample). $n = 50,624$.

$\chi^2 11810$ df 14, $p < .0005$. 52.6% of the shared variance explained by the one-factor solution.

- This analysis suggests that these items measure one underlying construct, which we might term:
 - 'public trust and confidence in procedural fairness and value alignment'
- In other words, public assessments and expectations regarding:
 - whether the police understand the needs of the local community, and defend and represent norms and values; and,
 - treat people with respect and fairness

Factor analysis of measures of public confidence in police effectiveness and community engagement/procedural justice (oblimer rotation $r = .129$)

	Loading on first factor	Loading on second factor
They can be relied on to be there when you need them	.716	
They would treat you with respect if you had contact with them for any reason	.676	
The police in this area treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are	.706	
They can be relied on to deal with minor crimes	.711	
They understand the issues that affect this community	.779	
They are dealing with the things that matter to people in this community	.792	
Taking everything into account I have a lot of confidence in the police in this area	.776	
The police in this area listen to the concerns of local people	.794	
The police in this area are helpful	.816	
The police in this area are friendly and approachable	.765	
The police in this area are easy to contact	.729	
Prevents terrorism		.578
Responds to emergencies promptly		.702
Provide a visible patrolling presence		.608
Tackle gun crime		.706
Support victims and witnesses		.638
Tackle drug dealing and drug use		.753
Tackle dangerous driving		.705
Deal with teenagers hanging around		.747
Deal with people being drunk or rowdy		.754

Source: 2007/2008 London Metropolitan Police Public Attitudes Survey. $n = 26,240$.

χ^2 29090 df 151, $p < .0005$. 32.6% of the shared variance explained by the first factor and 20.4% explained by the second factor.

Key Performance Indicators

- Home Secretary announced recently that there is just one target for the police: To raise confidence
- A press release from the Home Office (March 2008):
 - Police should answer to the public, not government, the Home Secretary announced today.
 - Police forces will only be required to meet one national target - increasing public confidence by 15% by 2012.
 - Home Office figures published today show that confidence levels currently vary across the country, with the latest national average at 46%. The new target will be 60%.
 - Home Secretary Jacqui Smith said, 'I have a single-minded focus on building public confidence in policing and that means the police should be answering to the public, not the government. That is why I have scrapped all but one central target for the police - to raise public confidence.
 - 'I know that the police are ready to meet this challenge and that the changes we have made will help them to do so.'

Key Performance Indicators

- British Crime Survey now fields a single indicator:
- “It is the responsibility of the police and local council working in partnership to deal with anti-social behaviour and crime in your local area”
- *How much do you agree that the police and local council are dealing with the anti-social behaviour and crime issues that matter in this area?*
- Why only one indicator when the trajectory was to use more finely grained tools? Probably transparency
- Focus clearly on value-alignment (do the police understand the needs of my community and are they actively seeking to deal with the issues that matter?) and effectiveness, rather than fairness
- However, evidence that trust in fairness and trust in value alignment are highly correlated ...
- A good single indicator?

PART II:

Some thoughts on the meaning
of trust and confidence

What is trust and confidence?

- Trust reduces the complexity of the world by 'bracketing out' many possible events and allowing us to navigate a complex and uncertain world
- Trust frees us up to act as if it is certain that such events are not going to occur (Luhmann 1979), as if certain institutions/functions/processes in society will continue to perform
- Trust becomes necessary in situations of uncertainty and risk, particularly uncertainty regarding the motives, intentions and future actions of others on who we depend.

What is trust and confidence?

- Barber (1983) finds trust in the expectations that actors have of each other within a relationship – a position useful when considering the meaning of public trust in the police
- Based on the general assumption that the world will continue more-or-less as it is, these expectations range from the general – that the behaviour of the other will serve to maintain and replicate the assumed natural and moral social order – to the specific:
 - that the other will be technically competent in the roles assigned to them within social relationships and systems,
 - and that they will also carry out their fiduciary obligations (that is in certain situations place the interests of others above their own)

What is trust and confidence?

- On trust and confidence, there are two possible approaches to developing basic conceptual definitions
- The first treats trust and confidence as separate 'things', following Luhman's (1988) distinction between them trust and confidence
- He underlined the *active* nature of trust, based on a relationship of trust one may undertake actions based on an understanding that any risks inherent in those actions are ameliorated by the predictable behaviour of the trusted other
 - You don't trust that the sun will come up tomorrow morning, but you have confidence
- Here, trust might capture the *interpersonal* relationship between citizens and individual police officers

What is trust and confidence?

- By contrast, confidence might be more of a set of attitudes towards the police *as an institution*
- According to this perspective, trust is something *you do* (it relates to personal actions and expectations at the interpersonal level) while confidence is something *you have* (it is a kind of 'job-rating' of the police as a social institution).

What is trust and confidence?

- The second approach relegates confidence to the bench, focusing instead on interpersonal and institutional trust
- Institutional trust comprises relatively stable attitudes toward the police as an institution
- Interpersonal trust is a more active process involving decisions to trust, or invest in, individuals at the point of encounter with individual police officers
- To trust in the police is to view the institution and individual police officers as effective (and efficient); as fair; and as representing the norms, values and moral standards of the individual, community and nation state more broadly

Trust

- Fairness and effectiveness are obviously core elements of trust in policing
- But value alignment may be key (indeed may sit above fairness and effectiveness)
- This is where the police or the courts are seen to understand and represent the needs of our community – having ‘our interests at heart’ (Jackson & Sunshine, 2007).
- Smith (2007) and Reiner (2000) talk about the connection between police and people via a single set of coherent and consistent norms and values (with the police having a unique function in using force if necessary to impose them)
- It may be that value alignment may encompass fairness and effectiveness, and speak to the all-important connection between public demands for social cohesion and moral consensus and the extent to which the police are seen to be actively defining and representing group values and community standards

Shared values

- Earle and Cvetkovitch (1995) claim that social trust is based on salient value similarity
- This is a 'groundless' trust, needing no justification. This account is based on the premise that individuals actually require rather a lot of information about actors and institutions in order to decide whether or not to grant trust
- So while the function of such trust may be a reduction of cognitive complexity, the basis on which it would be granted would itself require considerable cognitive effort
- Rather than deducing trustworthiness from direct evidence, people infer it from 'value-bearing narratives'
- These could be information shortcuts, available images, schema and the like. People, so the perspective goes, trust institutions that tell stories expressing salient values that are similar to their own.
- In the case of the police, these are stories about norms, values, social control and moral authority

PART III:

The trajectory of trust and
confidence in the police

Trajectory of trust and confidence

- The 1962 Royal Commission on the Police reported findings from a random sample survey assessing public views of the police and noted that:
 - “No less than 83 per cent of those interviewed professed great respect for the police, 16 per cent said they had mixed feelings, and only 1 per cent said they had little or no respect” (Royal Commission on the Police 1962: 103).

Historical explanation

- A decade later Belson (1975) reported findings from a survey of Londoners which found that 73 per cent of adults had 'a lot' of respect for the police, 25 per cent had 'some' respect and just 2 per cent had 'not much' respect
 - Similarly, 61 per cent said they were 'very satisfied' with the police, with a further 35 per cent 'fairly' satisfied
 - Only 4 per cent were dissatisfied in some way (ibid: 7)

Decline in trust and confidence

- According to Reiner (1992, 2000) the police have gone from the 'sacred' (a Golden image of a ordered and settled England where the police held iconic status) to the 'profane' (yet another public service)
- Where once the police occupied an iconic and identity-bearing status of British life, public confidence is now ' . . . tentative and brittle . . . to be renegotiated case by case' (Reiner, 2000: 162)
- Others have questioned the stridency of this analysis (Loader & Mulcahy, 2003), however, but the fact remains that public support for the police has decreased over the five or six decades
 - Why?

Decline in trust and confidence

- First, the past few decades have seen massive changes in society
- The 1970s and early 1980s saw soaring inflation, rising unemployment and increasing levels of industrial and social conflict
 - The police were often called upon in particular moments of discord: recall the miners' strikes for instance
 - Tense and troubled relations have also developed between the police and particular communities which are often structurally excluded.
- Consider also changing values and expectations – less deference to authority, for example
- Society has also become more diverse, producing a greater variety of expectations from different communities:
 - How, in an increasingly individualistic and pluralistic society, can the police hope to operate as an 'effective symbol of a unitary order' (Reiner, 1992: 779)?

Decline in trust and confidence

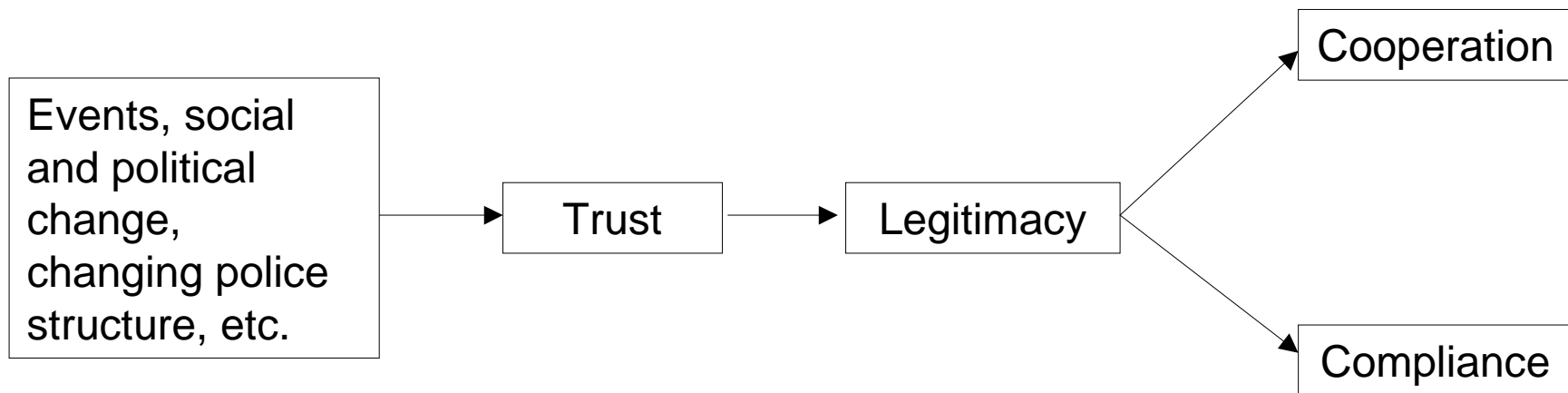
- Second, the police service itself has changed
- From a parochial and local set of police forces to a complex bureaucratic organisation, the public may see the police as less visible and accessible than they once were (Hough, 2003)
- Equally, a series of scandals have shaped public attitudes towards the fairness and integrity of the police:
 - well-publicised cases of corruption and abuse of rights over the years have surely damaged their reputation (Reiner, 2000; Loader & Mulcahy, 2003).

Decline in trust and confidence

- Third, crime has increased since the Second World War (only decreasing from the mid 1990s onwards)
 - The public hold the police partly to account for this, with crime moving from a problem that afflicted the poor to become a daily consideration for many (Garland, 2001b)
- As Garland (p. 153) puts it: ‘ . . . rising crime rates ceased to be a statistical abstraction and took on a vivid personal meaning in popular consciousness and individual psychology.’
 - Increasing direct and indirect experience, the mass media raising the salience of crime and ‘institutionalising’ public concern, and the growing visibility of signs of crime
 - --- in the form of physical incivilities, such as vandalism, and social incivilities, such as groups of intimidating youths hanging around in the street

A caveat

- The most influential analyses tend to elide notions of trust and legitimacy
- However, some sense can be made



Events, trust and legitimacy

- Smith (2007) and Reiner (2000): the connection between police and people via a single set of coherent and consistent norms and values (with the police having a unique function in using force if necessary to impose them)
- Perhaps we can start to make sense of the various factors thought to erode public trust and from there, erode legitimacy:
 - Crime and disorder: people lose faith in the effectiveness of the police, but they also look to the police as a moral authority and an emblem of a settled order, and they hold them accountable: they start to believe that the police do not represent group value (no longer visible, accessible, source of local moral authority)
 - Scandals: people lose faith in the fairness and integrity of the police, plus they start to look less an untouchable national symbol and more an imperfect public service

PART IV:

Some data on the trajectory and
source of trust and confidence

Which groups have lower trust in the police?

- According to a simultaneous analysis of 14 sweeps of the British Crime Survey, the following groups are less satisfied with their local police:
 - Victims of crime
 - Males
 - Younger people
 - Whites
 - Lower income bracket
 - Inner-city residents
- Note: people who are concerned about neighbourhood disorder and social cohesion are also dissatisfied with their local police

Sources of trust

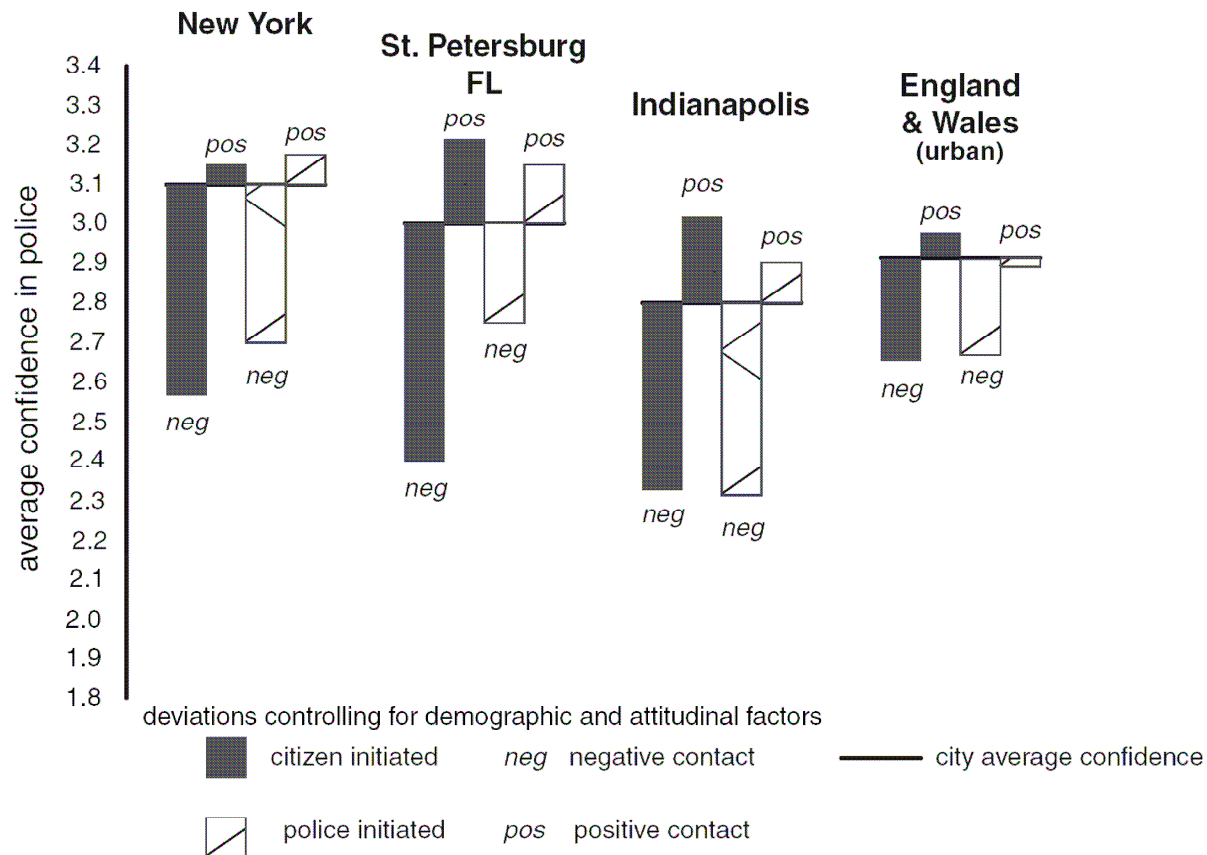
- Many different issues to study
- Two have received particular attention from British-based criminologists:
 - Public encounters with the police
 - Public concerns about neighbourhood breakdown and stability

Public contact with the police

- Skogan (2006) showed a marked asymmetry in the impact of contact on public confidence (measured via an index of perceived police effectiveness and community engagement):
 - positively assessed encounters failed to result in improvements in confidence;
 - while negatively assessed encounters has a strong negative effect on confidence

Asymmetry

- Data from surveys of 8 cities, here's 4:



Method

- London Metropolitan Police Public Attitudes Survey: representative sample of 11,525 Londoners
- Three indices of confidence in policing:
 - (a) effectiveness of the policing in dealing with crime,
 - (b) fairness or integrity of the police, and
 - (c) the extent to which the police engage with the local community.
- Ordinal latent trait models using full information maximum likelihood estimation: a one-factor model for each component of confidence; calculate factor scores to create a single index

Findings

		Police effectiveness		
		B	95% C.I.	
Contact with police in last year	(ref:			
no contact)				
Self-initiated and satisfied		0.055 **	0.008	0.103
Self-initiated and dissatisfied		0.348 ***	0.263	0.434
Police-initiated and satisfied		0.156 ***	0.080	0.231
Police-initiated and dissatisfied		0.389 ***	0.205	0.574
Perceptions of police visibility				
(high score = less visible)		0.271 ***	0.254	0.288
How well informed feels				
(high score = less well informed)		0.094 ***	0.077	0.111

High scores on confidence = low confidence

Control variables: gender, age, ethnicity, car access, limiting disability, employment status, social class, victim status, ward deprivation, worry about crime & concerns about disorder, cohesion and collective efficacy

Findings

		Police fairness		
		B	95% C.I.	
Contact with police in last year	(ref:			
no contact)		-0.073 ***	-0.124	-0.022
Self-initiated and satisfied		0.436 ***	0.344	0.528
Self-initiated and dissatisfied		-0.044	-0.125	0.037
Police-initiated and satisfied		0.544 ***	0.344	0.743
Police-initiated and dissatisfied				
Perceptions of police visibility				
(high score = less visible)		0.131 ***	0.112	0.149
How well informed feels				
(high score = less well informed)		-0.032 ***	-0.051	-0.014

High scores on confidence = low confidence

Control variables: gender, age, ethnicity, car access, limiting disability, employment status, social class, victim status, ward deprivation, worry about crime & concerns about disorder, cohesion and collective efficacy

Findings

		Police community engagement		
		B	95% C.I.	
Contact with police in last year	(ref:			
no contact)		-0.052 **	-0.101	-0.002
Self-initiated and satisfied		0.533 ***	0.443	0.622
Self-initiated and dissatisfied		0.013	-0.065	0.092
Police-initiated and satisfied		0.324 ***	0.131	0.517
Police-initiated and dissatisfied				
Perceptions of police visibility		0.226 ***	0.208	0.244
(high score = less visible)				
How well informed feels		0.069 ***	0.051	0.087
(high score = less well informed)				

High scores on confidence = low confidence

Control variables: gender, age, ethnicity, car access, limiting disability, employment status, social class, victim status, ward deprivation, worry about crime & concerns about disorder, cohesion and collective efficacy

Summary

- In line with the asymmetry argument, negatively-received contact was associated with more negative attitudes towards specific aspects of police behaviour: effectiveness, fairness and level of community engagement
 - As Skogan (2006) argues, this is hardly surprising given the difficulties facing the police in much of the work they do
- Yet we did identify a positive association between positively received contact on specific and separate attitudes towards both police fairness and level of engagement with the community.

Summary

- We also found that perceptions about the visibility of the police and how informed people feel were linked to judgements about effectiveness, fairness and community engagement
- Shows the importance of more ephemeral forms of 'contact'
 - It may be easier for police to improve visibility and communication than contact experiences.

Why little uplift of positively-received contact?

- Pre-existing ideas shape how experiences are interpreted; the social, cultural and emotional 'baggage' brought to an encounter with the police may have a determining role in how both process *and* outcome are interpreted
- In their dealings with the police, people may either dismiss good experiences as exceptions to the norm, or treat good service as a given and react only to bad
 - Positive encounters may not lead to improved overall assessments because they are either expected (by those with previously positive views about the police) or viewed as one-off freak occurrences (among those with previously negative views)
 - In contrast, unsatisfactory contacts could challenge previously positive views and reinforce previously negative ones

Why little uplift of positively-received contact?

- Most encounters with the police involve unsettling and unpleasant events
- Might this colour the whole experience?

Why little uplift of positively-received contact?

- You become more realistic?
 - You realise the mundane nature of policing, and your expectations become more down-to-earth
- Even if the police act professionally and with courtesy, this ‘disenchantment’ colours the experience?

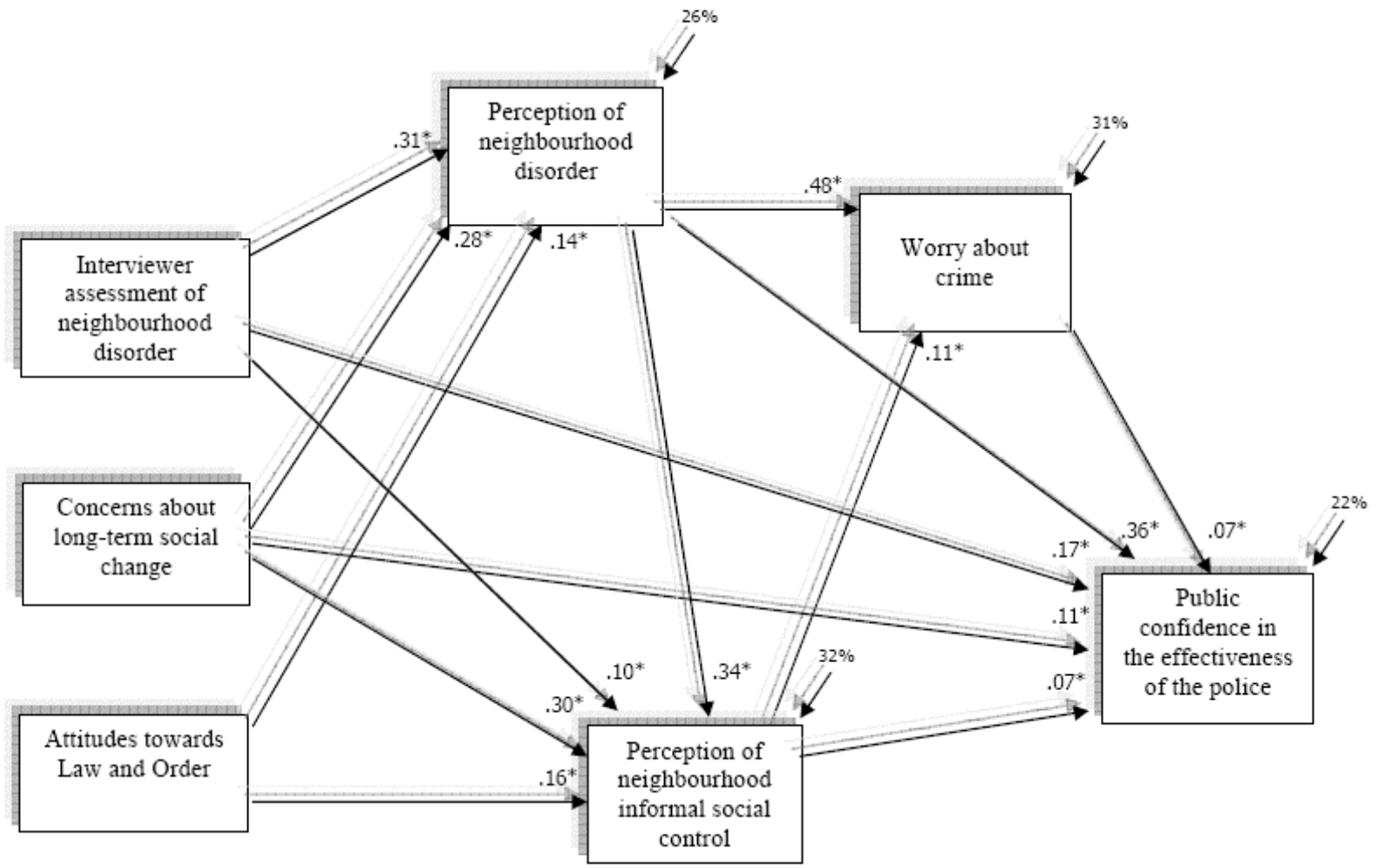
Public concerns about crime and neighbourhood breakdown

- Do people think about their local police in ways to do with:
 - the risk of victimisation (instrumental concerns about personal safety)?
 - judgements about social cohesion and moral consensus (expressive concerns about neighbourhood stability, cohesion and loss of collective authority)?

Public concerns about crime and neighbourhood breakdown

- Instrumental model:
 - public concern about policing and justice is rooted in judgments about the severity of the crime problem, anxieties about falling victim and the sense of ineffectiveness of the Criminal Justice System
- Symbolic model:
 - rooted in the moral consequence of rule-breaking behaviour, this predicts that rule-breaking is an affront to shared values and norms, and people wish to punish in part because punishment reasserts community commitment to those values
 - We can extend this idea to capture the notion that 'crime' and 'policing' have come to signify weak community bonds and the loss of formal and informal social controls and sources of moral authority

Standardized regression weights are provided. The measurement portion of the model is absent for visual ease.
 Fixed effects were estimated to hold constant area when estimating all structural paths.
 A high score on each latent variable equals high crime, significant concerns, frequent worries, and low confidence.



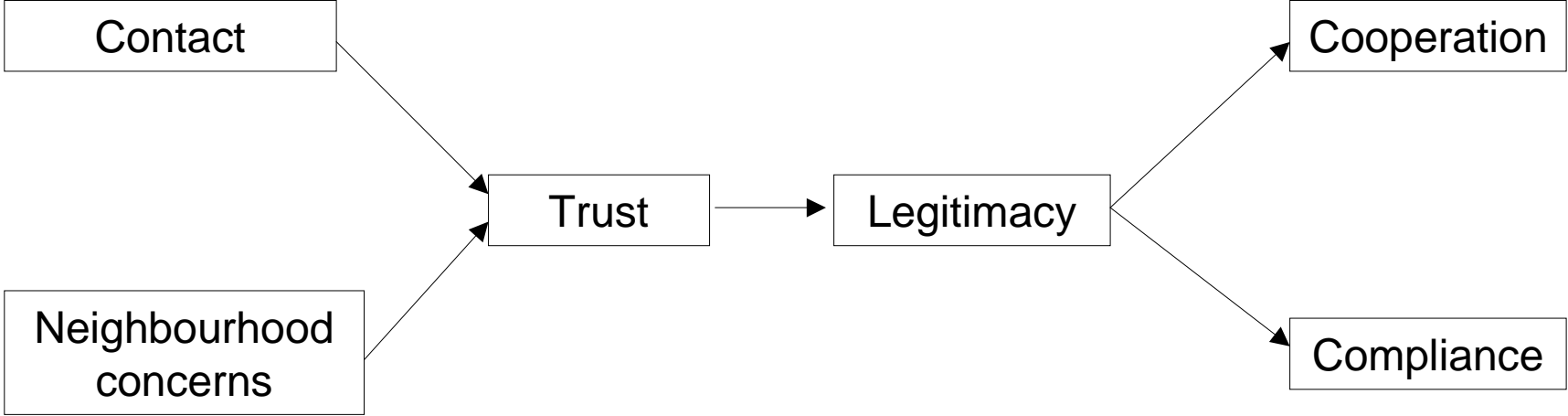
Standardized coefficients
 Chi-square=2282 (427 df); $p < .001$
 RMSEA=.039; CFI=.939
 * significant, $p < .05$

Public concerns about crime and neighbourhood breakdown

- Evidence suggests that across England and Wales, the police are not primarily seen as providers of a narrow sense of personal security, held responsible for crime and safety
 - They are also more as symbolic 'guardians' of social stability and order, held responsible for community values and informal social controls.
- Moreover public trust in the police may express broader social anxieties about long-term social change

Public concerns about crime and neighbourhood breakdown

- There is a suggestion of a deep association between police and community
 - Perhaps the police (in England and Wales) are indeed seen by the public to be prototypical group representatives, an available receptacle for feelings of dislocation, decline, and the breakdown in trust and shared values
- This is trust (value alignment): the extent to which the police are seen to be upholding community values



PART IV:

A shameless plug for a European
project (and hopefully an
Australian study too)

JUSTIS: Scientific indicators for indicators of confidence in justice: Tools for policy assessment

- Funded under the European Commission 7th Framework Programme
 - Activity 8.6 Socio-economic and scientific indicators
 - Area 8.6.2 Developing better indicators for policy
 - SSH-2007-6.2.1 Improved ways of measuring both the potential for and impact of policies

JUSTIS: personnel

- Coordinator: King's College London - UK
- Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique - F
- Center for the Study of Democracy - BG
- European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control - FIN
- Institute for Political Sciences - HU
- London School of Economics - UK
- Center for Crime Prevention - LT
- University of Parma - I
- University of Sheffield - UK

Aims of JUSTIS

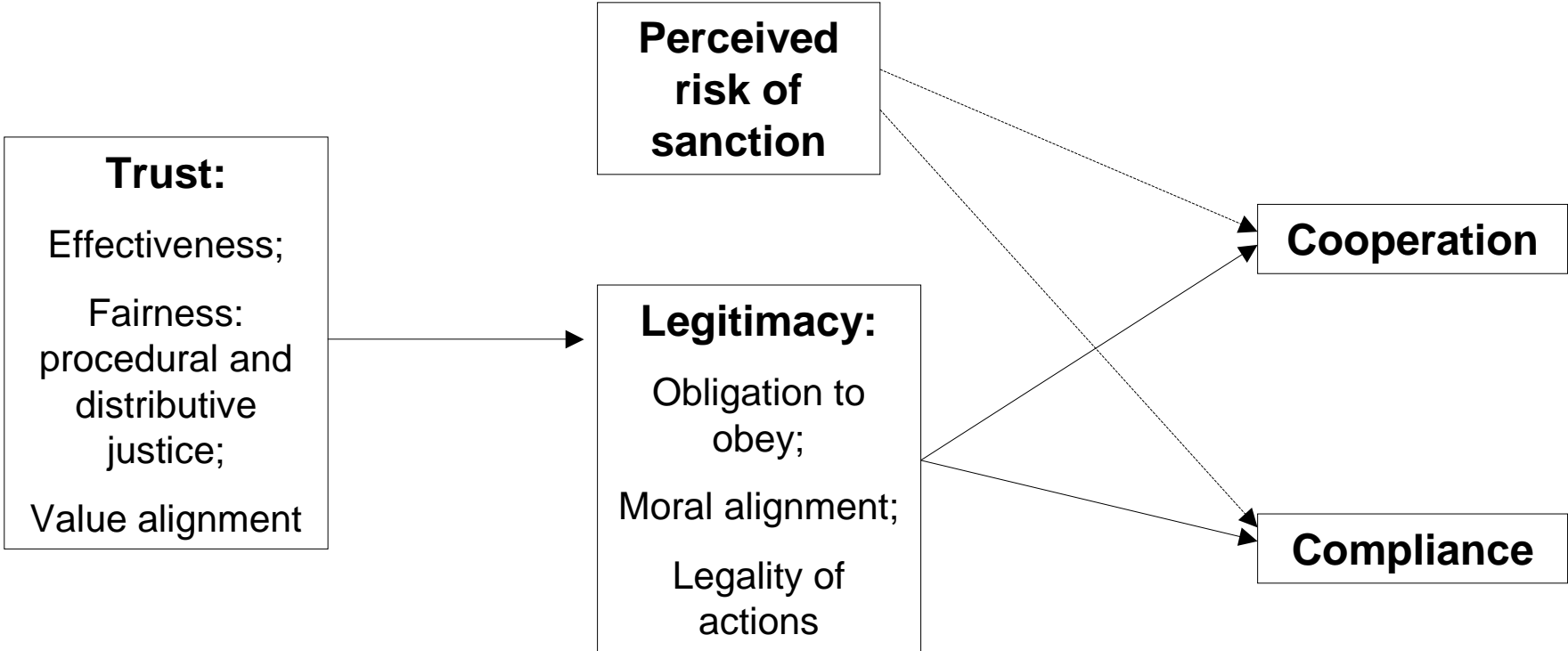
- Social indicators allow provide information for the development and assessment of criminal justice policy across Europe
- Social indicators provide valid measurements of different dimensions of human well-being
 - To counterbalance levels of crime it is important to measure levels of confidence in criminal justice and insecurities about crime
- Social indicators force policy attention on issues of trust and legitimacy, developing policies to improve their own performance and to instil a greater sense of trust and legitimacy from the public
- Without evidence, Governments will be unable to measure social well-being and devise and measure policy

Aims of JUSTIS

- Three goals of JUSTIS:
 - measure levels of trust, confidence, legitimacy, compliance and insecurity; and
 - understand the dynamics that underpin (a) trust/confidence, (b) legitimacy and support, (c) compliance with the law, and (d) public insecurities about crime
 - push a political argument that stresses the advantages of normative compliance rather than crime-control policies that focus on deterrence and sanction

Aims of JUSTIS

- Starting point is Tyler's US work on procedural justice
- Repressive 'social control' or 'deterrence' strategies (Nagin, 1998; Kahan, 1999) are obviously unavoidable for some sorts of offender
- Yet coercing compliance with the law is a less efficient route to social order than securing normative compliance
- Normative compliance, which stems from internal motivations, does not depend upon the ability of legal authorities to effectively deploy incentives and sanctions
- Being able to gain voluntary acquiescence from most people most of the time (due to their sense of obligation) not only increases effectiveness and decreases cost; it also frees up authorities to focus their attention on those whose behaviour seems to be responsive only to threats of punishment
- Deferring voluntarily to police decisions and rules, people grant the police the power and authority that are necessary for social regulation (Tyler & Huo, 2002).



JUSTIS: methods

- Set of indicators working at three levels:
 - **Primary indicators (level 1)** are a small number of lead indicators which cover the most important elements of confidence and insecurity;
 - **Secondary indicators (level 2)** support the primary indicators and go into more detail on the various dimensions of the issue; and,
 - **Level 3** indicators involve **country-based data** to highlight local specificities and help interpret level 1 and level 2 indicators.

JUSTIS: methods

- To collect level 1 and level 2 indicators, we will use round 5 of the European Social Survey
 - Countries in round 4: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, UK, and Ukraine
- To collect level 3 indicators, we will assemble a data of national-level indicators, including perhaps media coverage

Challenges for JUSTIS

- But do the concepts and underlying psychological mechanisms travel well across Europe?
 - Different countries have different trajectories, with different histories of governance, corruption and normative cultures
- We hope to be sensitive to the balance of comparability across Europe (psychological and contextual uniformity) and the need for local specificity (different criminal justice systems, different meanings of concepts)

Challenges for JUSTIS

- Balance (a) processes which remain constant across social groups and (b) situated action, such as trust as a dynamic and negotiated process
 - the locally-specific and the psychologically-uniform
- Develop indicators that are alive to local reality and local history, but comparable across the European Union
 - defining legitimacy as both obedience and value alignment may help here
- Cover all agents of criminal justice
- Include fear of crime and broader social concerns, attitudes towards punishment, contact with the CJS, and mass media reports

Australia to join the JUSTIS project?

- Murray Lee, Gail Mason (Sydney Institute of Criminology) and I are working on a Criminology Research Council grant
- To collect survey data and national-level indices
- I would welcome any thoughts on surveys to piggy-back onto

Apologies for the length!

Any questions?