LSE Research Online

Ben Bradford, Elizabeth A. Stanko and Jonathan Jackson

Using research to inform policy: the role of public attitude surveys in understanding public confidence and police contact

Article (Submitted version)
(Pre-refereed)

For more research by LSE authors go to LSE Research Online

http://eprints.lse.ac.uk

Public encounters with the police:
Using public opinion surveys to help understand and improve contact and confidence

Ben Bradford*
Elizabeth A Stanko**
Jonathan Jackson***

* Methodology Institute, London School of Economics. Email: b.bradford@lse.ac.uk
** Head, Strategic Research and Analysis Unit, London Metropolitan Police Service
*** Methodology Institute and Mannheim Centre for Criminology, London School of Economics

Abstract

Public confidence, as measured by surveys such as the British Crime Survey (BCS), has become a key indicator of police performance. Personal contacts with the police are likely to be of key importance in influencing many people's opinions about the police. It is therefore unfortunate that confidence is lower among people who have had recent contact with officers. This article first summarises evidence in this area from the BCS and surveys run by the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS). Falls in public confidence over the last 20 years are shown to have been mirrored by growing dissatisfaction with personal contact, but evidence is also outlined which suggests that well-handled contacts can have a positive impact. Discussion then moves on to consider how the MPS is using survey data to improve police handling of interactions with the public. Communication between officers and public – of information, of fairness and respect, and of police presence – appears to be of key importance.

Introduction
Over the past decade, public confidence in policing – measured in the Assessments of Policing and Community Safety (APACS) framework by 'how good a job do people think the police do in their local area' – has become a key element of police performance. It is Government concern about the decline in public confidence over the past two decades (Reiner, 2000; Roberts & Hough, 2005) that has placed this indicator at the heart of the police performance framework from 2003. Yet, despite falling crime rates and some improvement in public confidence in policing over the past few years, there is not been a step-change in the way people say they experience the 'services' of local policing.

Evidence suggests that personal contact and police visibility are of central importance in the formation of public confidence and police legitimacy (Fitzgerald *et al.,* 2002; Skogan 2006; Tyler, 2006; Bradford, Jackson and Stanko in press). The 05/06 British Crime Survey (BCS) found that around 39 per cent of adults across England and Wales had some form of personal contact[1] with the police (Jansson n.d.). BCS and other data suggest that public encounters with the police often seem to lead to a decline in public confidence, and with the exception of train services, the apparent negative impact of direct contact is different to people's experiences with other public services. People are more likely to express satisfaction with the National Health Service (NHS), for example, if they are current or recent users of NHS services (Ipsos MORI, 2007). But those who have had *no* recent contact with the police are more likely to feel they are doing a good job than those who have not (e.g. Allen *et al.*, 2006; Bradford, Jackson and Stanko in press; Fitzgerald *et al.* 2002; Cabinet Office 2003).

Public confidence is currently being addressed through a wide range of improvement programmes across UK policing, linked to Citizen Focussed Policing (Cabinet Office 2003 – a notable example is the ACPO Quality of Service Commitment). Developments in neighbourhood policing seek to increase the frequency and quality of police-public encounters, and aspire to improve public confidence and feelings of security (Innes 2007). This paper outlines the latest London School of Economics/Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) research on contact and confidence, and documents how the Met is using research evidence to inform policy and practice. In the first section we outline the extent, nature and consequences of public contact with the police. We draw on data from over 20 years of the BCS to outline some key trends in contact and confidence and we summarise findings from recent MPS studies exploring the impact of contact on confidence. We consider the importance of personal contacts in the formation of public opinions about the police; and we show that there are ways to improve people's experiences of contact. In the second section we discuss how the issues raised by the research are being used by the MPS to inform such improvements, paying particular attention to the importance of communicating information to the public.

Contact with the police and public confidence in policing: Lessons from the British Crime Survey
UK academic and political interest in the extent, nature and consequences of personal contacts with the police was ignited in the early 1980s with the publication of *Police and People in London* (Smith & Gray, 1985), reports of the Islington Crime Survey (e.g. Jones *et al.*, 1986) and Home Office research including the first report of the British Crime Survey (Hough & Mayhew, 1983). The first of these studies – now considered a classic piece of criminology – attempted not only to map out who had contact with the police, but also to show how the public felt about these encounters and what impact these encounters had on public confidence in the police (Smith & Gray, 1985). Much of this work was conducted in the aftermath of the Brixton, St Paul's and other riots of the early 1980s, so discussion of the findings was often rooted in debates about confrontations between police and Black Caribbean and other marginalised youth.

As the debate matured[2] questions about public confidence were embodied in England and Wales' first police performance assessment framework (PPAF). And the BCS became the primary tool used to capture data on public confidence in, and contact with, the police. BCS reports have shown that confidence in local policing (as measured by asking individuals how good or bad a job they think their local police are doing) fell between 1984 and 2001. Since then it has remained relatively steady – and has even increased slightly in recent years.[3]

Might this fall in public confidence over the 1980s and 1990s be partly attributed to an increase in the proportion of people having contact with police, given that personal contact with the police to be associated with lower levels of public confidence? Figure 1 suggests not. BCS data indicates a marked *decline* in public self-initiated contacts (police-initiated contacts have also declined, but to a much lower degree) over the past two decades – a pattern that mirrors the fall in victimisation (with lower levels of crime, perhaps there are fewer reasons to initiate contact with the police).

Yet it may be that levels of public *satisfaction* with contact have changed over time, and that this partly explains falling levels of confidence. Reductions in confidence may not be explained by a greater number of police-public encounters, but it might be that more and more of those encounters people do have with the police are found to be unsatisfactory in some way. US research conducted by Tom Tyler and colleagues has shown that public perceptions of the ways that people are treated by authorities like police officers can be important in influencing ideas both about the legitimacy of the authority and subsequent cooperation with it. If people feel they are treated fairly and decently by the police they are more likely to comply with officer's instructions (Tyler 1990; Tyler and Huo 2002). So it might be that falling confidence in policing in England and Wales over the past two decades can be partly explained by growing dissatisfaction with police handling of contacts among the public.

Figure 3 shows that dissatisfaction with self-initiated contacts has indeed increased significantly since the early 1990s, and that assessments of police-initiated contacts which are not street or car stops have also worsened. In contrast, people's dissatisfaction with being stopped by police whilst driving has not grown, suggesting that police attempts to manage such stops better may have had some impact on how people feel they are treated (Shiner 2006; Miller, Quinton and Bland 2000). It is also worth noting that levels of dissatisfaction appear to have stabilised in the last few years (mirroring the stabilisation of confidence over the same period, see Figure 1).

Why is contact with the police so important?
Despite the undoubted importance of media and other social representations in informing and even moulding opinions about the police (Mawby 2002; Leishman and Mason 2003) – and despite decreasing levels of both public confidence and police contact – it thus seems likely that personal experience will remain a key factor for many people (for US evidence on this see: Reisig and Parks 2000; Schuck and Rosenbaum 2005; Tyler and Fagan 2006; and Skogan, 2006). Moreover, vicarious experience – stories told by others about the police – may be equally, if not more, important (Miller *et al.* 2004; Rosenbaum *et al.* 2005), implying that the effects of personal experience may spread beyond those directly involved (cf. Sunshine & Tyler, 2003a).

As noted above the overall effect of contact on confidence appears to be negative; trust and confidence in the police is lower among those who have recent contact (Skogan 1990; Allen et al. 2006; Fitzgerald et al. 2002). Furthermore, the negative association between contact and confidence appears to arise mainly from contacts that are found to be unsatisfactory in some way by the members of public involved. Studies have also found that well-received contacts do not appear to have a commensurate positive effect. Some leading researchers go so far as to suggest that police can do little to enhance opinions by improving the quality of their interactions with the public (Skogan 2006; Smith 2007).

There are indeed many reasons to suggest that negative impacts from personal experience will be greater than positive, such that contact overall damages confidence. These largely centre on the peculiar, and peculiarly difficult, role of the police. At different times (occasionally even at the same time) the police represent to the public both a service and an agent of enforcement, which, crucially, is only rarely able to offer them concrete outcomes. On an instrumental or material level, for example, relatively few encounters with the police initiated by victims of crime are likely to result in a favourable outcome in terms of sanctions applied to the offender (arrest or a prosecution) or the return of stolen property. Those stopped by officers will, at the very least. be inconvenienced by police actions. It is often hard for the police to 'return' to the public what they have lost, either in terms of the crime experienced or the inconvenience or humiliation felt as a result of being a target of police suspicion.

Furthermore, it is frequently suggested that the police are representatives, even embodiments, of law and order, the nation-state or the dominant social group, and that such aspects of the police image are vital in people's experiences of personal contact (Jackson & Sunshine, 2007; Loader 2006; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003b; Tyler 1990; Waddington 1999). Such ideas imply that people's interpretations of police-public encounters may involve issues far beyond the control of the individual officers present because people feel the impact of police actions in the context of their relationships to much broader social structures or situations. For example, if the police are seen

by those from socially marginalised or excluded groups as representatives of a repressive state, then contact with officers may be experienced in a negative way whatever they do.

A glimmer of hope? Lessons from the London Metropolitan Police Service's Public Attitude Survey
There is much, then, to suggest that during face-to-face interactions it will be more difficult for police to improve opinions than to damage them. However with the inclusion of an indicator in the national performance framework that measures public confidence this is precisely what is now expected from British policing. In practical terms, the question now becomes: how can we best advise on a practical way forward? In this light it is perhaps reassuring that there is some emerging evidence in the MPS and in the USA that contacts judged to be *satisfactory* by the public can have some small positive impact on opinions of the police (from the UK, see Bradford, Jackson and Stanko in press; Bradford 2008; from the US see Schuck and Rosenbaum 2005; Tyler and Fagan 2006). Recent analysis of the Metropolitan Police's Public Attitude Survey has shown that well-received contact is associated with small but significant increase in opinions about police fairness and, in some cases, level of engagement with the community (Bradford, Jackson and Stanko in press). These elements – fairness and positive engagement with the community – are key drivers of public confidence. Moreover, further MPS research shows that positive effects from well-handled encounters among recent crime victims appear to be greater than those occurring among others who come into contact with the police, although there is some question over the longevity of these (Bradford 2008).

The association between contact and confidence may then not be inevitably negative, as Skogan (2006) has argued. If officers manage the public well, an increase in confidence may result. The procedural justice model developed by Tyler and colleagues (Lind and Tyler 1988; Tyler 1990; Tyler and Huo 2002), powerfully suggests one way in which such improvements might come about: it is treatment perceived to be fair and equitable that is most likely to result in improved trust and confidence. Judgements among the public about policing appear to place less emphasis on concrete outcomes, such as the return of property or being stopped in public after a minor traffic infringement, and more emphasis on the quality of that personal encounter. This suggests that public opinions can be enhanced by those aspects of encounters over which officers have most control – the ways in which they treat people and communicate their decisions.

Perceptions about more diffuse contacts and behaviours have also been found to be important. Fitzgerald *et al.* (2002) suggested that a visible and accessible police force was a key priority for Londoners not because they thought this would solve crime problems *per se* but because more 'bobbies on the beat' would help secure the trust and co-operation of local people (ibid: 48). Recent MPS analysis has supported this, linking perceptions of increased police visibility in the local area to more favourable views about police effectiveness, fairness and community engagement. Feeling more informed about police activities (for example by leaflet drops) was also associated with higher confidence in local policing (Bradford, Jackson and Stanko in press).

In sum, while some studies have found evidence to suggest that positive outcomes in terms of trust and confidence can emerge from personal contacts, others find such effects are small or non-existent. The balance of the evidence seems to be that, on the one hand, unsatisfactory contacts with the police, whether initiated by the public or by officers, can have very significant negative impacts on people's confidence in policing. On the other hand, the effects of satisfactory contacts, while not of the same magnitude, are not entirely a zero as some have suggested. What almost all researchers agree on, however, is that personal contact can influence people's ideas about the police, sometimes in a very major way, underlining the importance of well-handled police-public interactions for public confidence in the police. What we have learned since the early 1980s is that it matters how police treat people, especially those who come to them for help and assistance. Simply, contact counts, even if the most we can hope for is the prevention of damage to trust and confidence among the public as a result of personal experience.

Using the learning from surveys: some ideas from the Metropolitan Police
Translating survey findings about public confidence into practical concepts for action is challenging. There has been a significant push from central government for improvement in public confidence in policing using survey findings over the past five or so years.[4] While the police service across the UK has responded with the inevitable creation of various units, directorates and streams of work for citizen focussed policing, at the highest level it is the consistency of the conversation and the message about putting people at the heart of policing that has created a fulcrum for a shift in behaviour. Public surveys – of victim satisfaction, of public confidence – have put people's concerns at the heart of how policing itself is judged in England and Wales.

The most important tool police have for influencing public views is how, in a broad sense, officers *communicate* with people. This idea is central to the procedural justice model and other ways of understanding what occurs during face to face and other encounters between public and police. By their actions and demeanour officers communicate not only that they are acting fairly and properly but that those who they are dealing with are worthy of respect, consideration and police attention in a positive sense. However it is important in policy terms to move beyond simply talking about dignity and respect to look at more concrete actions officers can undertake. Accordingly we concentrate in this final section on a material way in which police might improve their contacts (of whatever kind) with the public – the communication of information.

Take for example the way people feel about being stopped by the police. Another glance at Figure 3 above tells us that public dissatisfaction with contact arising from police stops is lower than dissatisfaction with public-initiated contacts. Could it be that a concerted effort in righting the manner in which people experience stop and search has resulted in police becoming better at explaining why a person has been stopped? The bureaucracy of 'stop and search'/'stop and account' is heavily criticized by the Flanagan Review (2008). The outcome of stop and search/account is measured in broad terms by the BCS, but the Review did not address a possible positive outcome of public/police contact around stop and search. As the Review notes, it takes on average 7 minutes per individual encounter to explain to the person stopped the reason why, and to complete the Stop and Account form which records such encounters for the purposes of public accountability. These forms record who is stopped, not how the public feels about being stopped. Flanagan states the process of accounting for such encounters overlooks the very issue of what is important to the public for how they are treated. As he says:

> Most important in the one to one interactions between the police and members of the public – [is] courtesy, respect and accountability. (Flanagan 2008:63)

But the BCS indicates that people are *more satisfied* with police initiated stops than they are with contacts they initiate themselves; these are usually, of course, calls for help and assistance. Perhaps the effort police now take to explain to people why they have been stopped is one element in this. We suggest the proactive provision of information about why people are being stopped makes a difference to the way they feel about how they are treated. Such care and attention to stop and search demonstrates to people that the police are not taking stops for granted. Officers are acting properly and in accordance with procedure, the very behaviour the procedural justice model suggests will be important in informing people's overall assessments of police/public encounters.

How then can we use the insight from surveys of the public to improve public confidence, particularly around public-initiated requests for help and assistance? Recent analysis of the MPS Public Attitude Survey shows that 'being taken seriously' is by far the most important factor for people's assessments of their encounters with the police. Bradford *et al.* (in press) also suggest that the different aspects of self-initiated contact (for example, the ease at which people could contact police, whether the matter was dealt with straight away or in a way that was convenient, whether officers took the matter seriously and followed it up) are additive. Those who experience a seamless 'good service' are more likely to say the police do an excellent job. So alongside the work to encourage police to adopt the basics of good customer care, there should be an end-to-end review of the practicalities for police officers to deliver a promise of a seamless process for public-initiated contacts.

The MPS Strategic Research Unit has developed a way of understanding the views of Londoners to help police managers understand the link between people's attitudes toward and use of the police (for help, assistance or engagement) (Mirrless-Black 2006). The following issues were found to be important in affecting the way people feel about policing in London: worry about crime and disorder; perceptions both of police community relations and of police behaviour; overall level of confidence; ratings of the importance of police activities (such as street patrols) and how well people feel police perform these activities; and how well informed people feel about local policing activity. Based on ideas about these issues four distinct groups of Londoners were identified:

- *The supporters* (making up just under a half of all respondents – 49%) are the most satisfied and confident about police and feel positive about improvement in policing. These respondents believe police will be fair and respectful, but have little direct experience to draw on. Within this cluster, few respondents have experiences as victims and few have had direct contact with police.

- *The contents* (making up another 13% of the respondents) are in the main satisfied with policing, but less effusive. They have low levels of victimisation and police contact, and tend not to express strong opinions on any matter.
- *The needy* (making up 16% of the respondents) expect policing to get worse and only a quarter say they are satisfied with policing. These respondents are much more vulnerable than other respondents, with high levels of victimisation, high levels of police contact, gangs and guns are more often mentioned as local problems, and have high levels of worry about crime and anti-social behaviour.
- *The demanding* (making up 22% of the respondents) are less likely to have been a victim of crime or to express worry about crime and anti-social behaviour than the Needy but have similar levels of police contact. Less than half of this cluster are satisfied with policing, but are more likely to feel informed about and know about neighbourhood policing.

Such analysis, combined with the lessons from those gleaned from the BCS and other analyses of contact and contact, enables the MPS to ground its discussion of improving the experiences of Londoners in empirical analysis. Police managers can draw on a menu of approaches to shoring up confidence. For those who are generally supportive of the police but have little need of them, good information about local policing problem solving should be sufficient to keep people 'in the know' and confident that police are doing what matters in the local area. As analysis of the MPS Public Attitude Survey continues to show, those who feel more informed about local police are more confident.[5] Identification of distinct groups of people also allows these groups to be located geographically and strategies adjusted accordingly: the 'needy' tend to live in 'hard pressed' ACORN areas, for example, while the 'demanding' tend to live in 'urban prosperous' ACORN areas.

While the police service is improving face-to-face contacts, especially in citizen initiated situations, it has the opportunity to improve the ways in which it communicates with people. On one level people want direct information from the police about local issues facing the community – we know this from the MPS surveys. The MPS is in the process of researching in more depth the best formats for local communication and will report on this in due course. On another, we suggest that being informed about the reasons behind police actions during one to one contacts is of some importance to those involved in them.

What is important here is to open up the dialogue on and about confidence in policing by improving channels of communication between police and public. We have strong evidence that contact matters. General communication with the public is another form of 'contact', which can contribute to the way people feel about their local police service. Furthermore, the act of providing information is not an impediment to the conduct of personal encounters between police and public but is integral to them. Communicating information, for example on why someone has been stopped or how an officer intends to proceed with an investigation, is an opportunity for police to let people know not only that they are following correct procedures and acting fairly and in accordance with the law, but also that they are treating those concerned as full citizens worthy of attention and/or respect. Such communication is one way in which trust and confidence in the police might be bolstered by personal contacts.

Endnotes
1. Serving the public (being accessible, responsive, and visible) and holding people accountable to law (applying the law fairly whilst treating suspects with dignity) are at times in tension. Contact between the police and public dramatises a tension at the heart of the police function. Operating at the frontline in the administration of justice, the police serve the public but also hold them to account before the law. Members of the public consequently come into contact with the police in two main ways. On the one hand a citizen might report a crime they have witnessed or experienced, or call for assistance in a huge range of circumstances, from unexpected childbirths to being locked out of one's car. On the other hand they might be stopped in the street, arrested on suspicion of committing a crime, or be disturbed in a number of other ways by police actions.
2. This maturation involved an understanding that public confidence is dependent on police relationships with all citizens.
3. The 'decline' in confidence is most commonly measured by the decline in the proportion of people thinking the police do a 'very good' job. If the much weaker 'fairly good' responses are included, as in Figure 1, the fall looks much less severe. See Reiner (2000) and Loader and Mulcahy (2003) for differing perspectives on the decline in trust and confidence in the police.
4. The stage was set by a number of departments and actors since 2002. The Cabinet Office/Home Office joint working on Citizen Focus (2002/3); the inclusion of performance indicators in the 2004 Police Performance

Assessment Framework; the ACPO adoption of the Quality of Service Commitment in 2006; and a clear message by Commissioner Ian Blair when he took the helm in the MPS in February 2005 that citizen focus was at the heart of the delivery of policing in London.
5. See also Ipsos MORI 2008:54.

References

Allen, J., Edmonds, S., Patterson, A., and Smith, D. (2006), *Policing and the criminal justice system – public confidence and perceptions: findings from the 2004/05 British Crime Survey.* Home Office: Online Report 07/06.

Bradford, B. (2008), 'The impact of procedural justice and diffuse support on the experience, interpretation and implications of reporting crimes to the police'.

Bradford, B., Jackson, J. and Stanko, E.A. (in press), 'Contact and Confidence: Revisiting the Impact of Public Encounters with the Police', *Policing and Society.*

Bradford, B., Jackson, J. and Kuha, J. (2008), 'Why Contact Matters: Evidence from Policing for London on Police Support for the Police'.

Cabinet Office (2003), *Citizen Focused Policing.* London: Cabinet Office.

FitzGerald, M., Hough, M., Joseph, I., and Qureshi, T. (2002), *Policing for London.* Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Flanagan, R. (2008), *The Review of Policing: Final Report.* London: Home Office.

Hough, M. and Mayhew, P. (1983), *The British crime survey: first report.* London, HMSO.

Innes, M. (2007), 'The reassurance function', *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practise,* 1/2: 132-141.

Ipsos MORI (2007), *London residents attitudes to local health services and patient choice. Research survey conducted for NHS London.*

Jackson, J., and Sunshine, J. (2007), 'Public confidence in policing: a neo-Durkheimian perspective', *British Journal of Criminology,* 47/2: 214-233.

Jackson, J., and Bradford, B. (2008), 'Crime, Policing and the Social Order: On the Expressive Nature of Public Confidence in Policing'.

Jansson, K. (no date), *British Crime Survey: measuring crime over 25 years.* London: Home Office.

Jones, J., MacLean, B., et al. (1986), *The Islington crime survey: crime, victimisation and policing in inner-city London.* Aldershot, Gower.

Leishman, F. and Mason, P. (2003), *Police and the media: facts, fictions and factions.* Cullompton, Willan Publishing.

Lind, A.E., & Tyler, T.R. (1988), *The Social Psychology of Procedural Justice.* New York: Plenum Press.

Loader, I. (2006), 'Policing, recognition and belonging', *The Annals of the American Academy* 605: 201-221.

Loader, I. and Mulcahy, A. (2003), *Policing and the condition of England.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mawby, R. C. (2002), *Policing images: policing, communication and legitimacy.* Cullompton, Willan Publishing.

Miller, J. Davies, RC. Henderson, NJ. Markovic, J. and Ortiz, CW. (2004), *Public opinion of the police: the influence of friends, family and new media.* New York: Vera Foundation.

Mirrlees-Black, C. (2006), 'Locating public demands for policing: a market segmentation approach', in *Key messages in the 2005/06 Public Attitudes Survey.* Strategic Research Unit, MPS.

Reisig, M.D., and Parks, R. B. (2000), 'Experience, quality of life and neighbourhood context: a hierarchical analysis of satisfaction with the police', *Justice Quarterly,* 17/3: 607-630.

Miller, J., Quinton, P. and Bland, N. (2000), *Police stops and searches: lessons from a programme of research.* Home Office.

Morgan, R. and Newburn, T. (1997), *The future of policing.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Roberts, J.V., and Hough, M. (2005), *Understanding public attitudes to criminal justice.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Rosenbaum, D.P., Schuck, A.M., Costello, S.K., Hawkins, D.F. and Ring M.K. (2005), 'Attitudes toward the police: the effects of direct and vicarious experience', *Police Quarterly,* 8/3: 343-365.

Schuck, A.M., and Rosenbaum, D.P. (2005), 'Global and neighbourhood attitudes toward the police: differentiation by race, ethnicity and type of contact', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology,* 21/4: 391-418.

Sharp, D., and Atherton, S. (2007), 'To serve and protect? The experiences of policing in the community of young people from Black and other ethnic minority groups', *British Journal of Criminology.* Advanced access: published June 07, 2007.

Shiner, M. (2006), *National Implementation of the Recording of Police Stops.* London: Home Office.

Skogan, W. (1990), *The police and public in England and Wales: A British Crime Survey Report.* Home Office Research Study 117.

Skogan, W.G. (2006), 'Asymmetry in the impact of encounters with the police', *Policing and Society,* 16/2: 99-126.

Smith, D.J. and Gray J. (1985), *Police and people in London: The PSI report.* Aldershot: Gower.

Smith, D.J. (2007), 'New challenges to police legitimacy', in A. Henry and D.J. Smith, eds., *Transformations of policing*, 273-306. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Tyler, T.R. (1990), *Why people obey the law*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tyler, T.R. and Fagan, J. (2006), 'Legitimacy and cooperation: why do people help the police fight crime in their communities?', *Public Law and Legal Theory Working Paper Group*, Columbia Law School. Paper Number 06-99.

Tyler, T.R. and Huo, Y.J. (2002), *Trust in the law: encouraging public cooperation with the police and courts*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Waddington, P.A.J. (1999), *Policing citizens: authority and rights*. London: University College Press.

Weitzer, R., and Tuch, S.A. (2004), 'Race and perceptions of police misconduct', *Social Problems,* 51: 305-325.

Figure 1
Contact with the police and victimisation rate: 1988 to 2005/06
England and Wales
Percentages
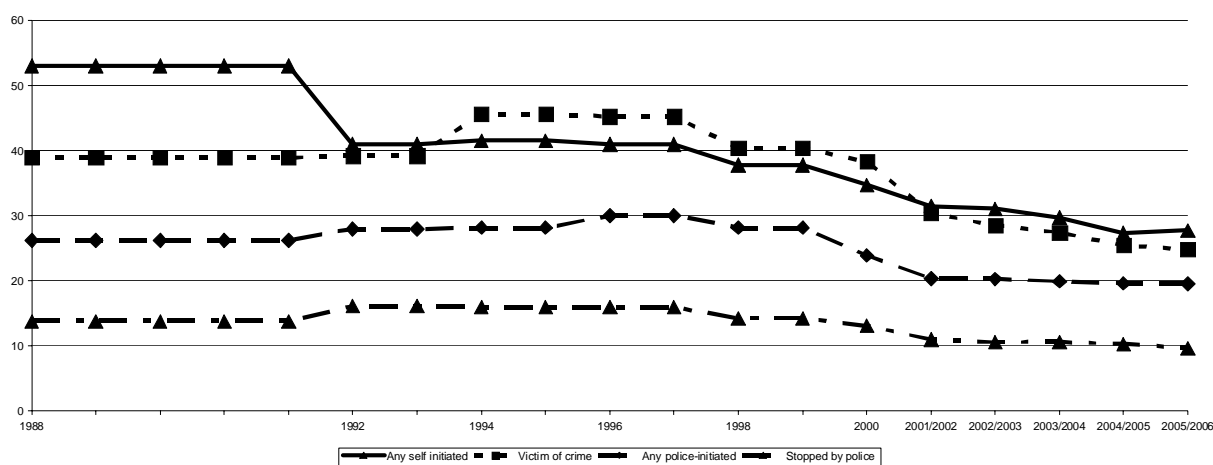
Notes: 2001/02 contains data from entire calender year of 2001. Figures are from dataset combining all sweeps of the BCS from 1984 to 2005/06 and may therefore differ slightly from those presented elsewhere.
Source: British Crime Survey 1988 to 2005/06

Figure 2

Dissatisfaction with police contact: those 'fairly' or 'very' dissatisfied by contact type
England and Wales
Percentages
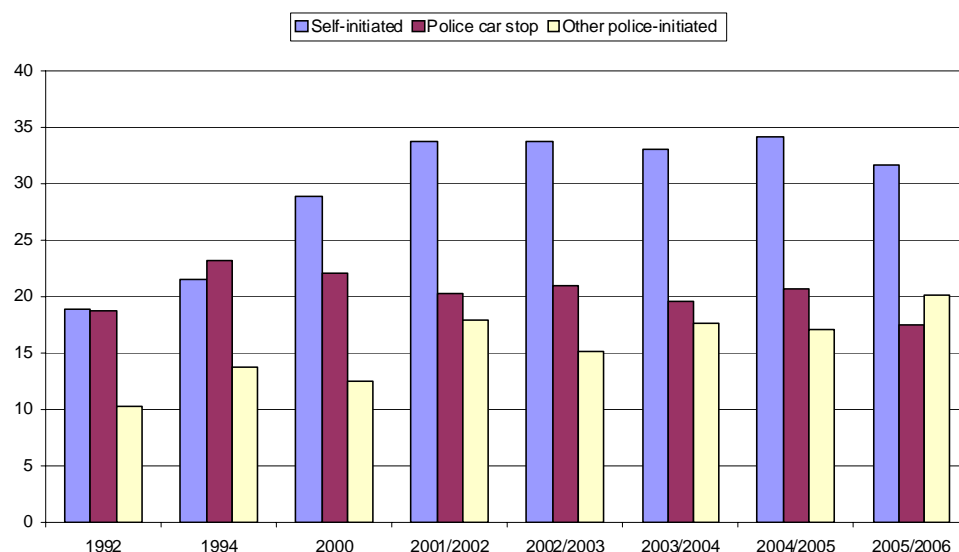
Notes: Police foot stops are excluded due to small sample size in most years.
2001/02 contains data from entire calender year of 2001.
Figures are from dataset combining all sweeps of the BCS from 1984 to 2005/06 and may therefore differ slightly from those presented elsewhere.
Source: British Crime Survey 1992 to 2005/06

9