



An Roinn Dlí agus Cirt
agus Comhionannais
Department of Justice
and Equality

Research and Data Analytics Unit



An tSeirbhís Chúirteanna
Courts Service



An Evidence Review of Confidence in Criminal Justice Systems

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Foreword

I am delighted to share the second in a series of research reports commissioned to support our strategic direction over the coming year. As I have stated previously, this work builds on the Department's commitment, outlined in the 2018-2020 Data and Research Strategy, to support the development of more evidence-informed policy making.

An extensive Programme of Transformation has occurred in our Department throughout 2019. This will improve our capability in the policy space, including the development of evidenced based policy. Indeed, as part of this process we have commissioned several key projects this year. Our first report focused on the important area of victims' interactions with the criminal justice system. This second report focuses on the area of confidence in the criminal justice system.

As this research review states, it is clear that confidence in the criminal justice system is a complex and multidimensional concept. Prof. Hamilton and Dr. Black have provided us with an essential learning for our approach to improving confidence in the criminal justice system. They have highlighted two sets of issues for us: firstly issues around the administration of the justice system itself and secondly the need to focus on the fairness of the system.

Every individual deserves to be treated justly and with impartiality. Meaningful contact and effective communication are key. It makes absolute sense that the provision of good quality information to system users increases confidence. People need to see and hear from the system at all stages of their engagement in the processes of justice. If a system user experience is one of having been treated with fairness, dignity and respect, this is a crucial marker as to the impact that contact with the system has on public trust.

I commend the authors of this report for both the breadth and depth of material covered in their undertaking this work. There is much work for us to do to develop metrics of confidence and trust in our criminal justice system and I am certain that many of the methodologies referred to in this report will provide significant assistance to our efforts.

Like our first report, while informing improved evidence-based policy decision making, this work should also be used as a catalyst for further research in the area.

Aidan O'Driscoll
Secretary General
Department of Justice and Equality



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1 Executive Summary

This report presents the findings from a quasi-systematic review, or Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA), of the international literature in relation to public confidence in the criminal justice system, with a view to assisting with policy formation in the Department of Justice and Equality. The research sought to address a range of questions relating to: how public confidence in criminal justice systems is measured across nation states; what are the main drivers of public confidence in this regard; and, what interventions have been deployed to improve public confidence in criminal justice.

In order to provide a comprehensive picture of the available evidence in this area, a range of online databases and government websites were searched using a comprehensive list of research terms. Following de-duplication and re-categorisation, 168 unique journal articles and 17 government reports relating to public confidence in the criminal justice system were read. These papers and reports were analysed thematically to form the basis of the report. Key findings are set out below. Due to the tight timescale for the review, it is possible that some relevant evidence has not been referenced within the report, although it is assumed that all of the key studies have been included.

Measurement

It is clear from the literature that confidence/trust in the criminal justice system is a complex concept and that there is no common metric or question wording used to measure confidence levels across jurisdictions.

It is also clear that confidence/trust in justice is a multidimensional concept. The literature suggests that it is important to differentiate between two dimensions of confidence – fairness and effectiveness – when dealing with the performance of the justice system. Some surveys distinguish further between *procedural* and *distributive* fairness in measuring confidence in criminal justice institutions. Surveys measuring confidence in police have also sought to gauge levels of police engagement or responsiveness to the wants and needs of the community.

Given the high variability in levels of confidence among the various criminal justice agencies, the different dimensions of public confidence (fairness and effectiveness) should be assessed across the constituent parts of the system (police, courts, prisons, probation).

Research suggests that it is important to differentiate between confidence in criminal justice institutions at a local and national level and between the different agencies that make up the criminal justice system. Given the interconnectedness of attitudes towards the justice system and other public bodies, it is also helpful to measure levels of confidence in the criminal justice system comparatively (i.e. against other public bodies).

Given the complexity of the concept, it is important not to treat the findings of public opinion surveys in this area uncritically, particularly single-item indicators seeking to assess confidence in terms of 'how good a job' a particular agency is doing. In large-scale national and international surveys, such as the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) and the European Social Survey (ESS), confidence/trust is measured by means of a survey administered by a market research company through face-to-face computer assisted personal interviewing (CAPI).

Drivers

The evidence suggests that confidence in the justice system declined substantially in most Western countries between 1980 and 2000, but has increased in the period since then. In terms of the relative position of Ireland, the proportion of the population with confidence in the justice system is lower than in most Scandinavian countries but higher than in many other jurisdictions. On several measures, the confidence balance would appear to be positive with more people in Ireland saying that they have confidence in the system than those who say they do not. With regard to trust in the police, moreover, Irish confidence levels appear somewhat higher than in other European countries, a finding which is consistent with relatively high, and indeed enduring, levels of satisfaction in the Garda Public Attitudes Surveys. Surveys in Western jurisdictions consistently show that the police attract the highest levels of public confidence, and the prison and probation services the lowest. This can likely be explained by reference to their relative visibility and the public's familiarity and affinity with their mandates.

The review identified seven individual and neighbourhood factors that have been shown to influence confidence in the criminal justice system to varying degrees. These are listed below, grouped according to both the strength of the evidence and the size of the effects on confidence:

- Strong:
 - Contact with police/courts: A consistent finding in the literature is the effect of contact with the criminal justice system on confidence levels, with many studies showing that those who have contact with the police or courts are less likely to be confident than those with no contact. Despite a suggestion that negatively evaluated contacts with the police tend to have a much larger effect than positively evaluated contacts, there is solid evidence that treating people with dignity, respect and a sense of inclusion in line with the principles of procedural justice can mediate the effects of police contact and lead to increased satisfaction.
 - Perceptions of neighbourhood/anti-social behaviour: The evidence shows a clear relationship between perceptions of local neighbourhood anti-social

behaviour and cohesion and confidence levels in local police and the criminal justice system.

- Visibility of police: Evidence consistently shows that visibility and good communication by police in the local area are important in achieving increases in confidence, independent of other potential drivers.
- Medium
 - Knowledge about the criminal justice system: The evidence that the provision of good quality information to system users may increase confidence levels appears relatively strong, although effects may be modest.
 - Victimization: The evidence suggests that the link between victimisation and confidence is not entirely straightforward. While survey data have consistently found victims of crime tend to be less satisfied with the criminal justice system than non-victims, this is likely to be mediated by other factors such as contact with the system.
 - Media use: The media provide information on criminal justice in the absence of personal experience but media effects are difficult to prove. The research on this issue is mixed.
- Weak
 - Sentencing attitudes/punitiveness: Overall, the evidence for this driver of attitudes to the justice system is weak, with further research required on the nature, strength and causal direction of the relationship.

Interventions

The evidence suggests that there are three types of activity that have been shown to improve confidence/trust in the justice system. These are:

- Improving encounters between the justice system and the public from a procedural justice perspective: This factor has been shown to impact trust in the police, but also trust in the wider criminal justice system. Procedural justice principles can be applied to any type of police intervention and typically comprise four essential components: inclusivity in the proceedings (or citizen voice); neutrality in decision making; demonstrated dignity and respect throughout the interaction; and a sense that the authority has trustworthy motives.
- Improving community policing: The evidence suggests that those strategies most likely to enhance public confidence are those relating to increasing engagement between the police and the community. This may be further broken down into three main sub-categories, namely, improvements in police visibility/engagement; improvements in communications between the police and the public; and improvements in (physical) neighbourhood conditions.

- Restorative justice: Evaluations of restorative justice programmes in the UK and Canada suggest that face-to-face meetings mediated by police officers improved perceptions of the criminal justice system, including the police. There is a need for further research in this area, however.

In respect of all of three types of initiative, the evidence presented should be considered in light of: the need for an approach tailored to the needs of different communities and different constituencies within communities; the need for high-quality implementation; and the need for long-term commitment to interventions seeking to improve confidence.

2 Introduction

Confidence in criminal justice systems is essential to their effective functioning since confidence affects the way in which individuals engage with the system (Hough, 2004). Confidence allows for cooperation and compliance and facilitates greater effectiveness in the operation of the various agencies and actors which make up the criminal justice system. Confidence in the criminal justice system of a nation state is also indicative of broader attitudes to government, including conceptions of legitimacy and transparency (Hough and Roberts, 2017). A lack of confidence is therefore interpreted by some policy-makers and academics as a problematic democratic deficit (Gilling, 2010). The issue of public confidence has attracted much interest from governments in the period since the 1980s and, as Tonry (2007) has remarked, it has now become a 'fully fledged policy domain'. Despite the increasing prominence of this field of research elsewhere, public confidence in the criminal justice system remains an understudied phenomenon in Ireland, about which little is known. This report presents the findings from a quasi-systematic review, or Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA), of the international literature in this area, with a view to informing future research and assisting with policy formation in the Department of Justice and Equality.

In line with Department of Justice and Equality requirements, the project was undertaken with particular reference to three key issues in relation to confidence in criminal justice systems:

- Measurement;
- Drivers; and
- Interventions.

In order to examine these key issues, the following aims shaped the project design.

Aims:

- To determine the primary ways in which public confidence in criminal justice systems is measured across nation states;
- To identify the key drivers that impact on confidence in criminal justice systems across nation states;
- To identify what policies and initiatives have been deployed in order to improve confidence in criminal justice systems across nation states; and
- To analyse and synthesise the relevant research and draw conclusions therefrom.

2.1 A Note on Terminology

The concept of ‘confidence’ in the criminal justice system can appear nebulous. As observed by Fleming and McLaughlin (2012: 262): “Public confidence” and “public trust” are complicated and demanding concepts to get to grips with, not least because they are connected to a potpourri of other psychosocial concepts, namely, opinions, perceptions, sentiments, expectations, judgement, satisfaction and legitimacy’. As the quotation indicates, public ‘confidence’ is often used interchangeability with ‘trust’ (MORI, 2003; Hough, Jackson and Bradford, 2013),¹ owing to the difficulty of differentiating between these two concepts. This approach is also adopted here.

In interpreting the term, the aim was to ensure the optimum balance between sensitivity and specificity. Thus, while the phrase ‘public confidence (or public trust)’ was interpreted to include the key concept of legitimacy (which is often used interchangeably with the concept of public confidence, see Bühlmann and Kunz, 2011; Murphy and Cherney, 2011) studies concerning the public’s cooperation and compliance behaviour were excluded as venturing too far from the core concept of ‘public confidence’. This study also excluded literature on more tangential topics, such as crime, fear of crime, feelings of safety, and so on, except where these are identified as possible drivers of public confidence in the criminal justice system.

2.2 Methodology

A systematic review is a specific methodology for conducting a literature review that ensures greater transparency, robustness, and comprehensiveness. By conducting a thorough search of the literature for relevant papers and then employing defined criteria to assess the actual quality of the research, this type of review can offer a reliable overview of the literature on a given question (Dempster, 2003). This methodology was initiated in the field of healthcare (e.g. Cochrane Collaboration approach) and has recently been adopted more widely for questions with a social dimension, including issues pertaining to crime and justice (and indeed in relation to police legitimacy, see Mazerolle et al, 2013a). As noted, the present project produces the findings from a quasi-systematic review. Quasi-systematic reviews are often carried out where time and resource constraints are not sufficient for a full systematic review

¹ Throughout this report, the order of the in-text citations reflects their relevance rather than being arranged alphabetically or chronologically.

with a view to providing an overview of key findings and conclusions from the reliable evidence available (Davies, 2003). Using this methodology, we can outline the approach used to search for appropriate studies, to select eligible publications, and to assess the quality of these studies.

The limitations of this methodology are in the nature of the data. The review will draw on previously published studies and is therefore subject to ‘publication bias’ in that significant or ‘favourable’ results are more likely to be published than non-significant or ‘unfavourable’ results (Dempster, 2003). Empirical research (e.g. with policy-makers and researchers in the relevant countries) could supplement this exercise, but is beyond the scope of the current project. Other limitations may arise where the studies reviewed make use of different quantitative measures of confidence which are not comparable. It is also important to consider that findings from international studies may not necessarily be applicable to Ireland, particularly given the interconnectedness of trust in justice with trust in other public institutions. Despite these potential limitations, a quasi-systematic review is a powerful research methodology that answers questions on the basis of good evidence and offers an impartial, comprehensive and up-to-date summary of the work carried out in a given area.

A Review Protocol was created at an initial stage in the project to guide the review. The Review Protocol outlined in detail the approach to be taken by the researchers in order to meet the research requirements elaborated in the Department of Justice and Equality tender document and research proposal. The document contained the parameters for the review (including selection of appropriate electronic databases and citation indexes, the selection of key words as search terms and eligibility and validity criteria). The search terms and inclusion/exclusion criteria contained in the Review Protocol were piloted extensively to ensure both effectiveness and feasibility.

The Protocol also outlined the specific review questions which guided the research. These questions closely follow the Department of Justice and Equality requirements, reflecting the research needs of the Department:

1. How is public confidence in criminal justice systems measured across nation states (sub-questions: police, courts, prison, probation)?
 - a. What type of questions are asked?
 - b. What methods are used?
 - c. Which socio-economic subgroups are represented in a breakdown of findings?

2. What are the key drivers that impact on confidence in criminal justice systems (sub-questions: police, courts, prison, probation)?
 - a. What are the levels of confidence?
 - b. How have these varied over time by nation state?
 - c. How have these varied over time by socio-economic group?
3. What interventions have been used to improve confidence in criminal justice systems (sub-questions: police, courts, prison, probation)?
 - a. What were the aims of these interventions?
 - b. What socio-economic groups were targeted?
 - c. What type of intervention?
 - d. Which agencies were involved in delivery?
 - e. What were the outcomes of the intervention?
 - f. What were the issues with the intervention?
 - g. Has the intervention been continued/discontinued/adapted?

Endnote, the citation management software, was used to store, categorise and manage studies during the review. This software recorded the bibliographic details of each study considered by the review. Different folders and sub-folders were created in *Endnote* to manage results relating to the five sub-fields within the study (criminal justice, police, courts, prison, probation).

2.3 Literature Search Strategy

The search strategy determined the approach to locating the relevant literature with which to answer the review questions. The strategy for the project located all published research in the form of peer-reviewed journal articles or government-commissioned research reports, on the subject of public confidence/trust in the criminal justice system (and selected agencies), appearing in selected databases, in English, from 1990 to 2019. The literature search was conducted in two parts – first a general search was conducted, followed by a second search using specifically intervention-related search terms (see, for example, Rix et al, 2009). (See Textbox 2.1 below for exact search terms.) The searches returned a high volume of references relating to measurement of/drivers of public confidence (see similar search strategies used in Wilson, 2012).

As noted, search terms were extensively piloted early in the project to ensure effectiveness and feasibility. Following piloting, the original search terms ('criminal justice/police/courts/prison/probation' AND 'public confidence' OR 'public trust' OR 'public

satisfaction' OR 'public perception' OR 'public reassurance' OR 'public attitudes' OR 'public opinion') were refined to omit 'public attitudes' OR 'public opinion' from the search string. The decision to omit these terms was taken based on the very large number of additional search hits returned using these terms, very few of which were deemed to meet the inclusion criteria. For example, including these search terms would have significantly expanded the number of hits from 719 to 2,046 in the *Scopus* database alone. When the search results were examined more closely, in the context of hits returned for 'criminal justice', very few of these results would not have been captured by the abridged search omitting these terms.

The result of this change was that the following search string (see Textbox 2.1) was applied to the 'Title', 'Abstract', 'Keywords' fields of search locations so that documents were captured if the title, abstract or keywords contain one or more of the following search terms:

Textbox 2.1 General Search Terms (Search #1)

"criminal justice/police/courts/prison/probation" AND "public confidence" OR "public trust" OR "public satisfaction" OR "public reassurance" OR "public perception"

Given the different functionality of each of these databases slightly different search strategies were used for each one, but in each case the above search terms were used to search the title, abstract or keyword fields.

As per the Review Protocol, a second, narrower search was also undertaken using specifically intervention-related search terms, as shown in Textbox 2.2. As can be seen, the asterix (*) is used as a wildcard symbol to broaden the search by finding words that start with the same letters.

Textbox 2.2 Interventions Search Terms (Search #2)

Category	Search Terms
1	"Criminal Justice System" OR Police OR courts OR prison OR probation
2	Confidence* OR Trust OR Perception* OR Reassurance OR Satisfaction*
3	Trial* OR Evaluation* OR Research* OR Review* OR Project* OR Intervention* OR Initiative* OR Program* OR Measurement*

4	"Public Engagement*" OR "Consult*" OR "Communication" OR "Fairness" OR "Respect"
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The following databases were initially selected for study:

- Web of Science;
- Scopus;
- ProQuest;
- Oxford Journals Online;
- Cambridge University Press Online Journals;
- Sage Journals Online;
- JSTOR Arts and Sciences;
- Taylor & Francis Journals;
- Westlaw UK;
- BASE (Bielefeld Academic Search Engine).

All of these databases were searched for Search#1, with the exception of Cambridge University Press Online Journals, the search functionality of which did not facilitate searching to the degree of sophistication required. The focus was on Scopus, Web of Science, and ProQuest, which were selected as three of the largest abstract and citation databases in the broad social science field. For Search#2, the Intervention-specific search, only the three large databases of Scopus, Web of Science, and ProQuest were used as Search#1 had demonstrated the level of saturation achieved by using these three databases.

2.4 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Refinement also occurred over the period of the inclusion/exclusion criteria. The final inclusion and exclusion criteria used for the purpose of the review are set out in Textbox 2.3. Criterion 2 was applied strictly to avoid capturing studies examining levels of public confidence in a particular criminal justice policy such as, for example, the decriminalisation of cannabis. Also excluded were studies relating to policing by consent or compliance with the law/court orders more broadly.

Textbox 2.3: Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

1. Study focus must be the criminal justice system/police/courts/prison/probation;
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2. Study must examine public confidence (or public trust) in the criminal justice system/police/courts/prison/probation *in general* (rather than one specific aspect of it);
3. Study must be published in 1990 or later;
4. Study must be primary research, in that data have been collected during that study through interaction with study participants (systematic reviews were, however, included) or must conduct secondary analysis on primary data collected by national public confidence surveys;
5. Study must be published in English.

Studies will be excluded if they meet any of the following criteria:

1. Study does not report its methods or there is insufficient methodological detail for assessing quality;
2. Study is not published as a government-commissioned report or in a peer-reviewed journal.

All papers excluded under these criteria were recorded in an Excel spreadsheet and reviewed by both researchers. In line with best practice in systematic reviews, which suggests that eligibility assessment of articles is conducted independently by at least two reviewers (Dempster, 2003), all eligibility assessments made (inclusion lists) were also reviewed by both researchers, and decisions reached regarding inclusion, exclusion, or re-categorisation. In some instances, it was necessary to check the full paper in order to determine eligibility. It should be noted that there is considerable overlap between the saved results for the five sub-fields, particularly the criminal justice, police and courts sub-fields. Where a study was predominantly concerned with public confidence/trust in the police or courts, rather than the criminal justice system in general, it was saved to the relevant sub-folder (police/courts) as appropriate. Where it concerned both police and courts (not uncommon) the result was saved to both the police and courts sub-folder.

2.5 Search Results

A summary of the total number of search hits returned and the number of relevant results is provided in Table 2.1 below. These figures changed following the removal of duplicates and through a more refined process of further screening and categorisation (see further below).

The smaller legal and criminological publisher databases (Oxford Journal Online, Sage Journals Online, JSTOR Arts and Sciences, Taylor & Francis Journals, and Westlaw UK) were used for 'sweeper searches' to enhance researcher confidence that no key studies had been overlooked in searches of the three large databases.

Table 2.1: Initial Search Results from Key Databases

Database	Total Results	Relevant Results
Scopus	719	169
Web of Science	455	160
ProQuest	804	148
Total	1,978	477

As noted, search results were saved to folders in *Endnote*, with separate sub-folders created for each of the five sub-areas (criminal justice, police, courts, prison, and probation). As anticipated, journal papers concerning public confidence in police formed the bulk (73 per cent) of the research results selected for inclusion, followed by courts (18 per cent) and criminal justice (8 per cent). There were very few relevant search hits for prisons and probation. The number of included, relevant search results in the three large citation databases broken down by research area is provided in Table 2.2 below, with the numbers in parentheses indicating the total number of results returned by the searches.

Table 2.2 Summary of Relevant Results from Search#1 from Key Databases by Sub-field

Sub-field	Scopus	Web of Science	ProQuest	Total
Criminal justice	18 (135)	8 (69)	14 (199)	40 (403)
Police	120 (354)	124 (268)	103 (436)	347 (1,058)
Courts	29 (197)	27 (104)	28 (129)	84 (430)

Prison	1 (22)	0 (10)	1 (26)	2 (58)
Probation	1 (11)	1 (4)	2 (14)	4 (29)
Total	169 (719)	160 (455)	148 (804)	477 (1,978)

A search of BASE (Bielefeld) generated 91 hits, of which 10 were deemed relevant. These relevant search results were used to pinpoint key jurisdictions in which to conduct searches of relevant grey literature. Following this search, the websites of the Ministry for Justice, Scottish Executive, Australian Institute of Criminology, and New South Wales Sentencing Council were searched, together with a general Google search for government reports on public confidence in criminal justice in common law jurisdictions. A total number of 17 government commissioned reports on public/trust confidence in criminal justice were read. This process also involved a review of measurement of confidence/trust in a number of national surveys such as the British Crime Survey/Crime Survey of England and Wales, the European Social Survey, Eurobarometer and the World Values Survey.

Finally, hand searches were conducted of the publication histories of selected key researchers in the field, namely, Mike Hough, Ben Bradford, Jonathan Jackson and Julian V. Roberts to ensure that studies were not omitted. The bibliography of the chapter on 'Public Opinion, Crime and Criminal Justice' by Hough and Roberts (2017) in *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, was also hand searched as a key reference text in the area.

The final number of peer-reviewed studies reviewed was 168 (Table 2.3). This number was arrived at after the inclusion of relevant results from 'sweeper searches' and Search#2, the exclusion of a considerable number of duplicate studies, and a final process of re-categorisation and screening (as studies were re-read). These results include a small number of duplicated studies across multiple sub-fields, where a study was relevant to more than one category.

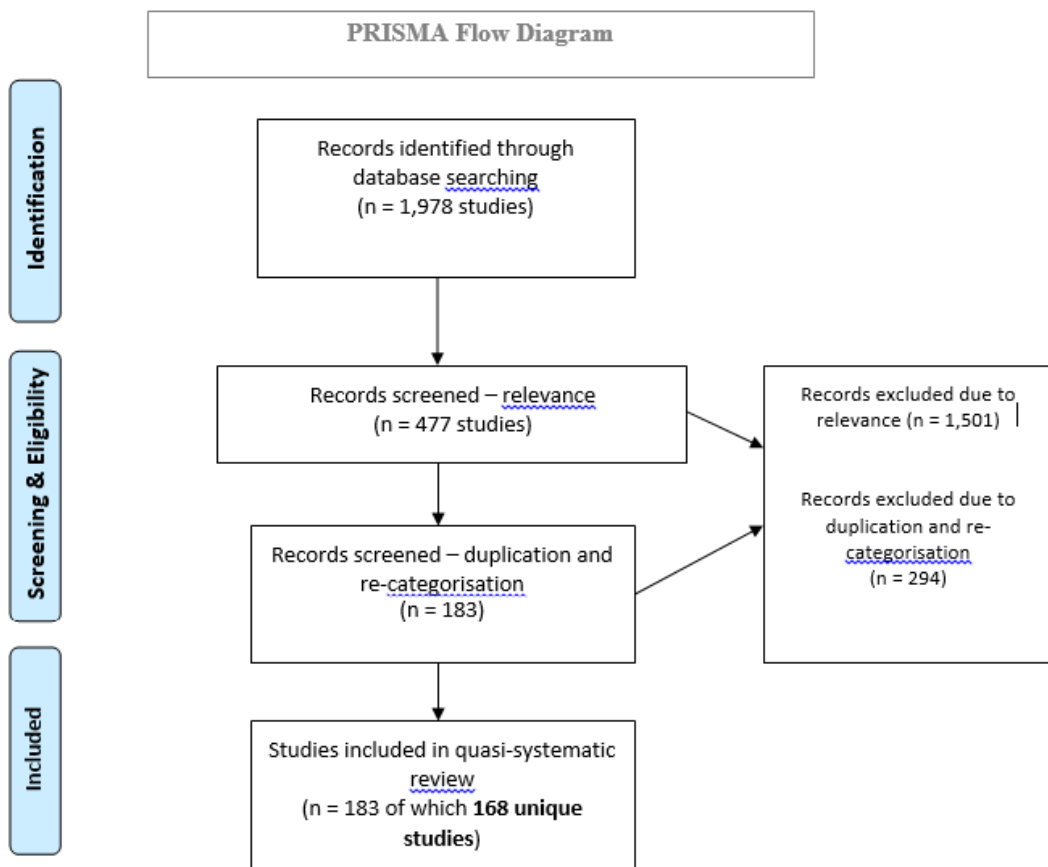
Table 2.3: Final Results by Sub-Field

Sub-field	Total
Criminal justice	11
Police	135

Courts	33
Prison	2
Probation	2
Total	183
Total Unique	168

The PRISMA Flow Diagram provided in Figure 2.1 below outlines the process of attrition throughout the screening process. It outlines the funnelling of studies, from initial total search results, to a final sample of 168 unique studies.

Figure 2.1: PRISMA diagram showing search results



2.6 Analytic Strategy

Dr. Black undertook data extraction on the peer-reviewed studies selected for review. Prof. Hamilton separately undertook data extraction for the grey literature (government reports). In line with best practice, the data extraction process was reviewed by both researchers, and regular discussions were scheduled to consider emerging trends or themes. Data extraction databases (in Excel) were used to store the necessary information from the selected studies, using the data extraction fields outlined in Textbox 2.4.

Textbox 2.4: Data Extraction Form Fields

General

- Author/s, Title, Journal, Volume, Pages
- Country of origin
- Publication year
- DOI
- Purpose
- N (sample size)

Measurement

- Methods (e.g. telephone survey)
- Recruitment
- Questions asked
- Sub-categories (e.g. gender, age, race)
- Frequency (e.g. annual, one-off)
- Quality

Drivers

- Identified drivers
- Trend
- Variation over time

Interventions

- Aims
- Target population
- Type of intervention
- Delivery (e.g. one agency, multi-agency)
- Cost-benefit analysis/evaluation (yes/no)
- Outcome overview
- Issues

- Post-intervention

2.6.1 Quality Assessment

Quality assessment was undertaken simultaneously with data extraction. Quality assessment was undertaken by Dr. Black and independently reviewed by Prof. Hamilton. Drawing on HM Treasury's (2012) framework for research evaluation, quality was assessed by reference to four criteria, asking whether the research is:

- (i) contributory in advancing wider knowledge or understanding about policy, practice, theory or a particular substantive field;
- (ii) defensible in design by providing a research strategy that can address the evaluative questions posed;
- (iii) rigorous in conduct through the systematic and transparent collection, analysis and interpretation of data; and
- (iv) credible in claim through offering well-founded and plausible arguments about the significance of the evidence generated.

Having regard to the above criteria a low (3), medium (2), or high (1) score was allocated to each study (Rix et al, 2009). Studies with a low score (n=12) were read (and therefore form part of the 168 unique studies identified above) but were discounted from analysis.

2.6.2 Data Synthesis and Analysis

Study findings were synthesised thematically using methods developed in previous reviews (Caracelli and Cooksy, 2013). The researchers (a) read and re-read study findings; (b) applied codes to capture the content of data; and (c) grouped and organised codes into higher order themes. These themes were used to answer the review questions and to produce findings.

2.7 Overview of the Report

Following on from this introductory chapter, Chapter 3 focuses on the question of how confidence in criminal justice systems is best conceptualised and operationalised. The chapter draws on both government-commissioned reports and peer-reviewed studies published in journals to provide a comprehensive picture of how public confidence is measured in national surveys and in the academic literature.

Chapter 4 explores the drivers of confidence in criminal justice. The chapter first reviews the high-level trends and patterns in public confidence/trust in the criminal justice system and its constituent parts, both in Ireland and internationally in recent decades. It then turns to place these patterns in context by reviewing the evidence around what drives confidence in justice. In addition to examining how confidence varies by demographic variables such as gender, age, and ethnicity/race, the chapter will examine the impact of contact with the system, perceptions of crime and anti-social behaviour, police visibility, knowledge of the system, media use, experience of victimisation and attitudes to sentencing.

Chapter 5 builds on this analysis by examining the evidence on ways to improve public confidence in the justice system. Chapter 6 concludes the report by drawing out the most salient findings and key learnings for policy and practice.

3 Measurement of Public Confidence in Criminal Justice

3.1 Introduction

The section below presents the results of the literature review on this first issue of measurement of public confidence or trust in the criminal justice system. This is a preliminary, but crucial step in the discussion of public confidence given that, as will be seen, issues of measurement are far from straightforward and may condition the responses received in a multiplicity of ways. The section falls in two parts: the first presents an overview of the considerable body of government or state-commissioned research reports on the topic that has accumulated in recent years. The second part presents the results of the review of the international research literature concerning the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the concept of public confidence or trust. While researchers very often draw on primary data contained in government surveys in their analyses of levels and drivers of public confidence, as will be shown they may also be involved in crafting the survey instrument and working with the government to roll-out new components of the survey.

3.2 National Surveys of Public Confidence/Trust

Unfortunately, there is no common metric or question wording used to measure confidence levels across jurisdictions and, as will become apparent, its operational definition has to a certain degree evolved with the state of academic knowledge in this area. Broadly speaking, questions tend to fall into two categories: those measuring respondents' level of confidence/trust in the criminal justice system as a whole or specific sectors (police, courts, prisons, etc.) and those asking members of the public to provide performance ratings. An example of the latter type of question is contained in the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) which asks respondents in countries and cities across the world (including Ireland) periodically since 1989 whether or not they believe the police are 'doing a good job'. As Roberts (2007) observes, however, it is also possible to measure confidence levels comparatively, i.e. across public institutions (e.g. educational or healthcare system), an approach that has the advantage of providing important context against which to interpret confidence ratings in justice.

The section below sets out the main state-sponsored approaches to the measurement of public confidence/trust in criminal justice in a variety of western jurisdictions, beginning with domestic surveys measuring confidence in An Garda Síochána. A summary at the end of the chapter will endeavour to draw together the key learnings that may be derived from this international survey.

3.2.1 Garda Public Attitudes Survey (GPAS)

While there is currently no survey in Ireland measuring public attitudes to the criminal justice system in general, a quarterly survey of attitudes on a range of issues relating to policing is conducted by Amarach Research on behalf of An Garda Síochána. This survey was first run by the Garda Research Unit on an annual basis between 2002 and 2008, and was relaunched in 2015 after a break of some years. The 2018 survey is the fourth sweep since its relaunch and is based on 6,000 in-home face-to-face interviews with adults aged 18 years and over (1,500 per quarter).

In relation to the questions asked by the survey, the GPAS traditionally measures levels of satisfaction rather than confidence. Respondents are therefore asked how satisfied they are with the service provided to local communities by An Garda Síochána, with responses measured on a four-point scale: very satisfied; quite satisfied; quite dissatisfied; or dissatisfied. Since the survey was re-launched, however, it has included a question on levels of trust in An Garda Síochána. Respondents are asked to assign a number between 1 and 10 to quantify their level of trust in the police. The highest trust level was assigned number 10 while the lowest trust level was number 1. These were then recoded to 'High trust' (8, 9 or 10), 'Mid trust' (5, 6 or 7) and 'Low trust' (1, 2, 3 or 4). Two further questions of relevance to the issue of public confidence/trust were carried in the 2017 and subsequent surveys under the banner of 'equality of treatment by An Garda Síochána'. These questions asked respondents 'would members of An Garda Síochána treat individuals with respect' and 'whether police treat everyone fairly, regardless of who they are'. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement on a four-point scale: strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree. Finally, in 2018, four new questions were added to the survey, again relating to issues around equality of Garda service. Thus, respondents were asked about their level of agreement (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree) with the statement that (i) the Gardaí in this area can be relied on to be there when you need them; (ii) community relations with the Gardaí are poor; (iii) Gardaí listen to the concerns of local people; and (iv) Gardaí are not dealing with things that matter to the community. Of particular relevance to the current research, the 2017 survey (Garda Síochána, 2018) notes the intention to include two questions assessing overall

confidence in the criminal justice system and satisfaction with Gardaí locally in 2018, however, it would appear that this information is not yet publicly available. The findings of the surveys are presented under the three main headings of ‘satisfaction with An Garda Síochána’, ‘trust in An Garda Síochána’ and ‘equality of treatment by An Garda Síochána’. In each chapter, satisfaction/trust levels are presented by area and by demographic and socio-economic groupings (gender, age, social class, nationality). Additionally, the reports explore the impact on satisfaction/trust levels of factors such as: contact with the police, fear of crime, perceptions of crime and experience of victimisation.

3.2.2 British Crime Survey/Crime Survey for England and Wales

The British Crime Survey (BCS), now known as the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW), has been conducted annually since 2001. While the main purpose of the CSEW is to measure the extent and nature of criminal victimisation the CSEW has always carried questions related to trust and confidence, and has done so in increasing depth since 1996. In 2007/08, the headline measure for measuring confidence changed from a single question (focusing on bringing offenders to justice, i.e., a measure of effectiveness) to two new items that distinguished between perceptions of the system’s effectiveness and its fairness. This followed research by MORI (2003) which indicated that fairness and effectiveness are two priorities for the public in terms of the performance of the criminal justice system.² Further research by Smith (2007) also provided an argument for using what it termed an ‘inverted funnelling sequence’ to allow people to give more considered responses to the general question about the criminal justice system. Respondents are now therefore asked seven specific questions about their confidence in the fairness and effectiveness of each of the individual agencies that comprise the criminal justice system, to prompt awareness and knowledge of the agencies before asking about confidence in the criminal justice system as a whole. The questions on public confidence currently included in the BCS are contained in Textbox 3.1:

² In 2003, MORI asked members of the public to rate the importance of a number of criminal justice functions. The objective rated as ‘absolutely essential’ by the highest percentage of respondents, (73 per cent), was ‘treating all people fairly’. Crime prevention functions were regarded by almost as many respondents as essential: ‘dealing effectively with violent crime’ was seen as essential by over two thirds of respondents (MORI, 2003).

Textbox 3.1: Measures of confidence in the criminal justice system in the CSEW

EFFECTIVENESS

The next few questions are about the effectiveness of the Criminal Justice System. This includes the police, the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), the courts, prisons, and the probation service. I'm going to ask you how you think each of these organisations is performing across the country as a whole. You don't need to have had contact with any of them to answer the questions. I'm just interested in your general opinion.

- How confident are you that the police are effective in catching criminals?
- How confident are you that the Crown Prosecution Service is effective at prosecuting people accused of committing a crime?
- How confident are you that the courts are effective at dealing with cases promptly?
- How confident are you that the courts are effective at giving punishments which fit the crime?
- How confident are you that prisons are effective at punishing offenders who have been convicted of a crime?
- How confident are you that prisons are effective at rehabilitating offenders who have been convicted of a crime?
- How confident are you that the probation service is effective at preventing criminals from re-offending?
- **How confident are you that the CJS as a whole is effective?**

FAIRNESS

Thinking about the Criminal Justice System as a whole, please choose an answer from the card to say how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

- The CJS gives witnesses and victims the support they need.
- The CJS treats those who have been accused of a crime as innocent until proven guilty.
- The CJS takes into account the views of victims and witnesses.
- When handing out sentences the CJS takes into account the circumstances surrounding a crime.
- The CJS is too soft on those accused of committing a crime.
- The CJS achieves the correct balance between the rights of the offender and the rights of the victim.
- The CJS discriminates against particular groups or individuals.
- **How confident are you that the CJS as a whole is fair?**

For effectiveness, responses are measured on a four-point scale: very confident; fairly confident; not very confident; and not at all confident. Public confidence is defined as the proportion who said that they were 'very' or 'fairly' confident. For fairness, responses are measured on a four-point scale: strongly agree; tend to agree; tend to disagree; and disagree. Public confidence is defined as the proportion who say that they 'strongly' and 'tend to' agree. The exception to this is the general question 'How confident are you that the CJS as a whole is fair?' for which public confidence is defined as the proportion who say that they are 'very' or 'fairly' confident (Smith, 2010).

In addition to measures of confidence in the criminal justice system, the CSEW also contains measures on specific aspects of police performance, including items that are related to effectiveness (e.g. 'can be relied upon to deal with minor crimes') and others related to fairness and respect (e.g. 'police would treat you with respect'). A breakdown of these measures are contained in Textbox 3.2, to which responses are measured on a five-point Likert scale: strongly agree; tend to agree; neither agree nor disagree; tend to disagree; and disagree. Finally, since the early 1980s, the survey has included the question: 'Taking everything into account, how good a job are the police in this area doing?' From 1984 to 2003/04 respondents were given four possible responses to this question – very good; fairly good; fairly poor; very poor. From 2003/04, the question was changed to offer five responses – excellent; good; fair; poor; very poor (Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts, 2013).

Textbox 3.2: Measures of confidence in the local police, CSEW 2018

Please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about the police in your local area.

- They (the police in this area) can be relied on to be there when you need them
- They (the police in this area) would treat you with respect if you had contact with them for any reason
- The (police in this area) treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are
- They (the police in this area) understand the issues that affect this community
- They (the police in this area) are dealing with the things that matter to people in this community
- The (police in this area) can be trusted
- Taking everything into account I have confidence in the police in this area

The confidence questions were asked of all CSEW respondents up to and including March 2011. Since April 2011, however, they have been asked of only half of the respondents which in the 2013/14 sweep comprised 17,500 adults (Jansson, 2015). The survey is managed by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and is undertaken by a market research company who conduct face-to-face interviews with a stratified random probability sample of adults aged 16 and over living in households in England and Wales.

The sampling frame for the CSEW is the Postcode Address File (PAF) which is widely accepted as the best general population sampling frame in England and Wales. It lists all postal delivery points in England and Wales (almost all households have one delivery point or letterbox). Interviews are carried out with a randomly selected member of each household in the respondent's home, using computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI), where interviewers record responses to the questionnaire on tablets.

In reporting findings, CSEW results are presented according to socio-demographic variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, country of birth, area, professional status, qualifications and employment status. In addition, results have been correlated with newspaper readership, level of contact with the police; experience of victimisation; experience of crime and the criminal justice system; perceptions of crime/disorder; and measures of 'routine activities'³³; with a view to identifying factors that are associated with trust/confidence in criminal justice (see Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts, 2013: 46, Table 5.1 for an example).

3.2.3 Scottish Crime and Justice Survey

Like the CSEW, the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) is primarily a victimisation survey capturing information on adults' experiences of violent crime and property crime, although it also enables views to be elicited on a range of justice related issues, including public perceptions of the police and justice system. Since its inception in 2008/09 the frequency of the SCJS has varied a little but in 2016/17, it reverted to being conducted on an annual basis. The latest survey (7th sweep, 2017/18) contains 12 measures of confidence/trust in the criminal justice system, as outlined in Textbox 3.3 below. As can be seen, four of the current measures were first asked in 2008/09 and the rest have only been asked in their current form since 2012/13, with one further amendment in 2017/18.

³³ For example, information about frequency of socialising in pubs.

Textbox 3.3: Measures of confidence in the criminal justice system in the SCJS

How confident are you that the Scottish Criminal Justice System as whole:

- Allows all those accused of crimes to get a fair trial regardless of who they are (since 2012/13)
- Makes sure everyone has access to the justice system if they need it (since 2008/09)
- Makes fair, impartial decisions based on the evidence available (since 2012/13)
- Treats those accused of crime as innocent until proven guilty (since 2012/13)
- Allows all victims of crime to seek justice regardless of who they are (since 2012/13)
- Is effective in bringing people who commit crimes to justice (since 2008/09)
- Makes sure the system isn't different depending on where you live in Scotland (since 2008/09)
- Adequately takes into account the circumstances surrounding a crime when it hands out sentences (since 2012/13)
- Provides witnesses with the services and support they need (since 2012/13)
- Provides victims of crime with the services and support they need (since 2012/13)
- Deals with cases promptly and efficiently (since 2008/09)
- Gives sentences which fit the crime (only since 2017/18) (before that 'punishments' fit the crime- since 2012/13)

Responses are measured on a four-point scale: very confident; fairly confident; not very confident; and not at all confident. Public confidence is defined as the proportion who said that they were 'very' or 'fairly' confident. While the SCJS, unlike the BCS, does not differentiate according to sector (e.g. police, courts, prisons), it does contain six questions on confidence (effectiveness) in relation to the police as shown in Textbox 3.4.

Textbox 3.4: Measures of confidence in local police in the SCJS

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the police in your local area?

- They can be relied on to be there when you need them.
- They would treat you with respect if you had contact with them for any reason.
- The police in this area treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are.
- They are not dealing with the things that matter to people in this community
- The police in this area listen to the concerns of local people.
- Community relations with the police in this local area are poor.
- Overall, people have a lot of confidence in the police in this area.

As for the questions on the criminal justice system as a whole, responses are measured on a four-point scale: very confident; fairly confident; not very confident; and not at all confident. In this section of the survey, respondents are also asked to rate on a five-point scale ranging from 'poor' to 'excellent' how good a job they think the police in their local area are doing. Finally, seven questions are asked in the survey about 'attitudes to policing', including on aspects relating to respect, fairness and level of community engagement.

The 2017/18 survey is based on around 5,500 face-to-face interviews with adults (aged 16 or over) living in private households in Scotland. The survey is carried out by trained interviewers from Ipsos MORI (market research company) and ScotCen on behalf of the Scottish Government. The sample is designed to be representative of all private residential households across Scotland. A systematic random selection of private residential addresses across Scotland is produced from the Royal Mail Postcode Address File (PAF) and allocated in batches to interviewers. Interviewers call at each address and then select one adult (aged 16 or over) at random from the household members for interview. It is completed face-to-face in the homes of respondents, with sections on more sensitive topics completed by the respondent themselves using the interviewer's laptop or tablet as part of the main interview. As a survey, results are always estimates, not precise figures, and the majority of the analysis in the report focuses on best estimates.

In the most recent survey, there is limited discussion of drivers of public confidence save for some reference to demographic factors (Scottish Government, 2019). The report found that for most of the confidence measures, younger adults (those aged 16-24) were more likely to be confident than those aged 60 and over; whilst across about half of the measures, those

living in the 15 per cent most deprived areas of Scotland were less likely to be confident, compared to those living elsewhere (ibid).

3.2.4 Australian Public Confidence Surveys

Unlike the BCS and SJCS research into public confidence in criminal justice in Australia has been more *ad hoc*. Two surveys that have included measures of public confidence will be discussed here, namely, the Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA) and a number of surveys of public confidence in the NSW criminal justice system designed by the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research and funded by the NSW Sentencing Council.

3.2.4.1 Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA)

AuSSA is a biennial mail-out survey that has, since 2003, collected data on Australians' social attitudes and behaviours, including a range of crime and justice items. In the first wave of this survey, which was conducted in 2003, respondents were separately asked how much confidence they had in the 'courts and legal system' and in 'the police in my state' (Indermaur and Roberts, 2005). In 2007 the Australian Institute of Criminology commissioned more specific measures on confidence in police, courts and prisons and these questions are reproduced in Textbox 3.5. Responses to the questions were measured on a four-point scale: a great deal of confidence; quite a lot of confidence; not very much confidence; and none at all. In addition, survey respondents were asked their level of agreement with the statement 'There is a lot of corruption in the police force in my state or territory'.

Textbox 3.5: Measures of confidence in the criminal justice system in the AuSSA (2007)

How much confidence do you have the criminal courts?

- to have regard for defendants' rights?
- to have regard for victims' rights?
- to deal with matters quickly?
- to deal with matters fairly?

How much confidence do you have in the police?

- to solve crime?
- to prevent crime?
- to respond quickly to crime?
- to act fairly when dealing with people?

How much confidence do you have in the prisons?

- to rehabilitate prisoners?
- to act as a form of punishment?
- to deter future offending?
- to teach practical skills to prisoners?

The survey was completed by 8,133 adults from all Australian states and territories. Prior to 2012, AuSSA was managed by the Australian Demographic and Social Research Institute (now the School of Demography) at the Australian National University. AuSSA is now carried out by Academic Surveys Australia, which is the survey arm of the Australian Consortium for Social and Political Research Incorporated (ACSPRI) (a consortium of universities and government research agencies, established in 1976 to support and promote social science). The sampling frame for the survey was the Australian electoral roll with a random number of 20,000 individuals on the roll selected for the sample. In week one, each selected individual was sent a letter advising of the survey, followed in week two by the survey package. A postcard serving as a reminder/thank you was sent in week three, a reminder package sent to non-respondents in week four and a second reminder/thank you card sent out in week six. While the sample provided a close representation of the Australian population, a sampling weight was created by the survey administrators to correct for differences in education level between survey respondents and the general population aged between 20 and 64 years.

AuSSA 2007 included demographic and behavioural categories (Personal Background and Your Partner) that surveyed: sex, year born, income, education, employment, union membership, languages spoken, birthplace, household composition and religion. In the subsequent report (Roberts and Indermaur, 2009) various statistical tests were carried out to show relationships between age, sex, contact with police/courts, punitiveness (desire for stiffer sentences) and confidence levels in the police, courts and prisons (ibid), the findings of which are discussed in the next chapter.

3.2.4.2 New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (BOCSAR) Surveys

The NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (BOCSAR) conducted a baseline survey in 2007 measuring a set of headline indicators of confidence in the New South Wales criminal justice system. Subsequent sweeps of the survey took place in 2012 and 2014.

In the 2007 survey, six questions were taken or adapted almost verbatim from the BCS (as it then was), with some questions (e.g., speed and efficiency) being asked separately so as to

avoid confusion (Jones et al, 2008). These questions are reproduced in Textbox 3.6 below. After each question, the interviewer read aloud four response options: 'very confident', 'fairly confident', 'not very confident', and 'not at all confident' (in reverse order for half the interviews). In the 2012 sweep of the survey, the sixth question measuring confidence in the ability of the justice system to deal with matters efficiently was dropped because it was considered unrealistic for members of the public to know how efficient the system is in dealing with caseloads. A new section was also added asking about confidence in the courts and police separately. Thus, confidence questions 1-5 as listed in Textbox 3.3 were put to respondents but in relation to police and the courts separately. These additional questions were asked at the end of the survey so as not to contaminate responses that were asked consistently across previous survey sweeps. For the most part, the questionnaire used in the 2014 survey mirrored that used in the earlier two waves, although some additional questions were added relating to media usage and victimisation. As can be seen in the textbox, for all survey waves respondents were asked an additional question to gauge confidence in the appropriateness of penalties: 'In general, would you say that sentences handed down by the courts are too tough, about right, or too lenient?'. Respondents were probed according to their response, with: 'Is that a little too tough/lenient, or much too tough/lenient?' Answers to this question were recorded as either: 'much too tough', 'a little too tough', 'about right', 'a little too lenient', or 'much too lenient'.

Textbox 3.6: Measures of confidence in the criminal justice system in the NSW BOCSAR Survey 2007

How confident are you that the criminal justice system:

1. is effective in bringing people who commit crimes to justice?
2. meets the needs of victims of crime?
3. respects the rights of people accused of committing a crime?
4. treats people accused of committing a crime fairly?
5. deals with cases promptly?
6. deals with cases efficiently?

7. In general, would you say that sentences handed down by the courts are too tough, about right, or too lenient?

In each wave of the survey a quota sample of approximately 2,000 NSW residents was interviewed via Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) technology. Sample quotas were set on the basis of age, sex and residential location so as to match, as closely as possible, the distribution of these characteristics in the New South Wales population. A market research company administered a structured questionnaire over a period of approximately three weeks. The sample of telephone numbers was selected from the electronic White Pages and numbers were dialled using random digit dialling. Population weights for age, gender and residential location are applied to each year's survey data to adjust for the small discrepancies between the distribution of the survey sample and the benchmark NSW population across these characteristics.

In each of the subsequent reports (Jones et al, 2008; Snowball and Jones, 2012; Halstead, 2015), the relationship between socio-demographic characteristics such as age, gender, income, levels of formal education and residential location and confidence in sentencing and the criminal justice system was explored. Confidence levels were also compared on the basis of knowledge, punitiveness levels, experience of victimisation and by media consumption behaviour.

3.2.5 Canadian Public Confidence Surveys

Until relatively recently, there was little published data on measures of public confidence in justice in Canada. A review of the published and unpublished data is provided by Roberts (2007) who notes the inclusion of a question on confidence in the justice system in the 2003 General Social Survey (GSS). Respondents were asked to express the degree of confidence that they had in the justice system. The response options for those surveyed were: 'a great deal', 'quite a lot', 'not very much' or 'none at all' (Statistics Canada 2003). A similar question was asked in the 2013 General Social Survey on Social Identity (Cotter, 2015). Of note, both sweeps of the GSS asked respondents to express the degree of confidence they reposed in a number of institutions such as the health, education and welfare systems. In 2013, roughly six in ten Canadians expressed a great deal or some confidence in the school system (61 per cent), banks (59 per cent), and the justice system and courts (57 per cent) (ibid).

Since 2016 the National Justice Survey has been conducted annually to explore Canadians' perceptions of the justice system and how it can be improved. While a question was included in the 2016 survey on degree of confidence in the adult and youth criminal law, the issue of confidence has to date been most thoroughly explored in the 2017 sweep of the survey. A specific focus of the 2017 survey was on views and perceptions of the criminal justice system

in order to inform the ongoing criminal justice system review being undertaken by the Minister of Justice. The questions asked on confidence in the criminal justice system are listed in Textbox 3.7. An abbreviated version of these questions (How confident are you that the Canadian criminal justice system is fair/accessible to all people?) was asked in the 2018 survey.

Textbox 3.7: Measures of confidence in the criminal justice system in the Canadian National Justice Survey 2017

Access to the criminal justice system means having equal access to the information and assistance that is needed to help prevent legal issues and help resolve such issues efficiently, affordably, and fairly.

How confident are you that the Canadian criminal justice system is accessible to all people:

- (i) Who are accused and/or found guilty of a criminal offence?
- (ii) Who are victims of a criminal offence?

Fairness means being treated according to the rule of law, without discrimination, while also having a person's individual characteristics considered throughout the process (e.g., considering past behaviours, history of victimisation, mental health and substance abuse issues, etc.).

How confident are you that the Canadian criminal justice system is fair to all people:

- (i) Who are accused and/or found guilty of a criminal offence?
- (ii) Who are victims of a criminal offence?

Overall, how much confidence do you have in the Canadian criminal justice system?

Can you describe what aspects of the criminal justice system make you less confident? Please specify.

The 2017 survey was composed of three components: two national online surveys, and a series of focus groups and telephone interviews, carried out by Ekos Research Associates. The items on confidence in the justice system were included in the second online survey and focus groups/interviews. The second online survey included 2,207 Canadians randomly sampled from Ekos's in-house panel (*Probit*). According to the Methodological Appendix attached to the report: '*Probit* offers complete coverage of the Canadian population (i.e., Internet, phone, cell phone), random recruitment (i.e., all respondents to the panel are recruited by telephone using random digit dialling (RDD) and are confirmed by live interviewers – respondents do not opt themselves into our panel), and equal probability sampling (which means that results are generalisable to the broader population)' (Ekos Research, 2018: 56). The survey was designed to be self-administered online and was considered the most appropriate method because it allowed respondents a better opportunity to consider the questions and full response options visually. The third component included a series of 12 in-person focus groups and 20 telephone interviews that were conducted to explore selected issues in greater depth. The telephone interviews were used to reach residents of more rural and remote communities. According to the report, the sample of 2,027 carries with it a margin of error of up to ± 2.2 per cent at a 95 per cent confidence interval for the sample overall.

Results for the 2017 survey were not broken down by socio-demographic characteristics. Results for the 2016 survey were, however, presented according to region, gender, age and education (see Ekos Research Associates, 2017: 22, Table 2.3) and associations between gender, region and involvement in the system were also noted in the 2018 report (Ekos Research Associates, 2019: 19).

3.2.6 New Zealand Attitudes to Crime and Punishment Surveys

Aside from service quality scores of the police and courts as part of the 'Kiwis Count' Surveys conducted by the State Services Commission, the issue of public confidence in the justice system in New Zealand has not been the subject of detailed examination. The issue of public confidence in the various criminal justice agencies was examined, however, as part of the first comprehensive national survey of the views of New Zealanders about crime and the criminal justice system's response to crime (Paulin et al, 2003). In respect of seven different groups (police, criminal lawyers, judges, juries, probation officers, prison service, victims' groups), respondents were asked 'In general, do you think (GROUP) are doing an excellent job, a good job, a fair job, a poor job or a very poor job?'. This question was arrived at by modifying the question asked in earlier versions of the British Crime Survey, where respondents were asked

to rate how good a job the police, prison service, magistrates, crown prosecution service, probation service, judges and juvenile courts were doing.

The survey was carried out by a market research company, AC Nielsen, who conducted face-to-face interviews with one adult per household. The main sample comprising 1,006 adults was drawn from 1,500 households in 14 locations throughout New Zealand. The locations were defined in terms of region and area type and were designed to ensure a fully representative cross-section of the New Zealand population aged 18 years and over. The main sample was supplemented with 'booster' samples of 250 Māori and 250 Pacific Peoples adults aged 18 years and over. Associations between levels of public confidence and socio-demographic variables such as age, gender, ethnicity, education, income, employment status, experience of victimisation and involvement with the police and the criminal justice system were noted in the subsequent report (Paulin et al, 2003).

3.2.7 Justice Barometer Survey, Belgium

This survey was developed against the background of a series of controversies within the Belgian criminal justice system including the Dutroux scandal in the late 1990s (Parmentier et al, 2004). As part of a three year research project carried out by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven and the Université de Liège and funded by the Belgian Federal Science Policy Office, a questionnaire was developed on public attitudes towards the justice system which was to become the Justice Barometer survey (Parmentier and Vervaeke, 2011). The survey has been carried out on three occasions to date, namely, 2002, 2007 and 2010. The questions of most relevance to the issue of public confidence in the criminal justice system are listed in Textbox 3.8. It will be noted that alongside a general question on confidence in the justice system, and questions rating the performance of various criminal justice agencies, the survey includes a comparative question about confidence in a range of public institutions.

Textbox 3.8 Measures of Confidence in the Criminal Justice System in the Belgian Justice Barometer Survey

Broadly speaking, do you have confidence in the justice system? (yes, somewhat yes, somewhat no, no)'.
I am going to read you a list of Belgian institutions
[education/police/parliament/justice/press/religious institutions]. Speaking generally, can you

tell me if you have confidence in each of them or not? (yes, somewhat yes, somewhat no, no)'.

'I am going to present you with some statements about lawyers: *Lawyers have enough knowledge of their files*' '*Lawyers treat their clients equally*'. Can you tell me for each statement if you agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree?

'I am going to present you with some statements about judges: *Judges treat all citizens equally*' '*Judges have enough knowledge of their files*'. Can you tell me for each statement if you agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree?

After the police have investigated a crime, a decision has to be made about prosecution before a court. This decision is taken by the prosecutor. I am going to present you with some statements about prosecutors: *Prosecutors treat all citizens equally*' '*Prosecutors have enough knowledge of their files to make a good decision*'. Can you tell me for each statement if you agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree?

The questionnaire is administered by means of computer-aided telephone interviews (CATI) conducted by a private research company. Sample sizes were similar for each sweep of the survey, ranging from 3,200 in 2002, to 3,210 in 2007 and 3,237 in 2010. To improve the representativeness of the sample, the data set was weighed to correspond more closely to the characteristics of age, sex and language of the population. Socio-demographic variables that were found to be related to confidence levels included: age, region, educational qualifications, income, political preference, ideology, family composition, marital status, province of residence, employment status and media consumption behaviour. On the other hand, variables such as gender, being in a job connected with the justice system, preference for particular radio stations, watching or listening to the news, watching TV series on the justice system, and following legal series or programmes about criminal investigations were less often associated with confidence levels (Parmentier and Vervaeke, 2011).

3.2.8 Public Confidence Surveys in the United States

The United States offers a fragmented patchwork of research on confidence in criminal justice with a multiplicity of local, state and nationwide initiatives in this area. Unlike the UK, data on public confidence in the criminal justice system is not collected as part of the National Crime

Victimisation Survey (NCVS) administered by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. While both the NCVS and Police-Public Contact Survey (administered as a supplement to the NCVS) seek to gauge perceptions of police from those who have had contact with various police agencies, these do not contain questions directly on trust or confidence. Perhaps the best nationwide source of data in relation to public confidence in the police is the Police-Community Interaction Survey (PCIS), a sophisticated 'satisfaction survey' implemented in 2013/14 in 58 cities across the US, with a view to evaluating citizens' recent interactions with the police. The survey represents a collaborative effort between local police departments, sheriffs' offices, the National Police Research Platform (a collaborative research initiative led by university researchers and supported by the National Institute of Justice), and the National Institute of Justice. It covers a wide range of content, including procedural justice concepts (e.g. respectfulness, neutrality, value of the individual's input, and trust), effectiveness and overall satisfaction, among other variables. The sample is drawn from community members who had reported a crime incident, reported a traffic accident or were stopped for traffic violations in the two weeks preceding the study. Individuals receive a letter from the chief or sheriff emphasising the independence of the study and asking them to complete the survey via phone or online. Some of the major academic studies into confidence in the police discussed in Section 3.3 below draw on data contained in the Police-Community Interaction Survey.

Turning to public confidence in the state courts, information on this has traditionally been collected by the National Centre for State Courts (NCSC). NCSC defined 'public trust and confidence' as one of five 'performance areas' for State trial courts and, in its view, 'the public's compliance with the law is dependent to some degree upon its respect for the courts'. The same organisation organised a survey in 1999 on how the public views state courts. Since 2014, NCSC has contracted a market research company to conduct a public opinion survey of 1,000 registered voters. While not concerned specifically with criminal courts, questions on the survey seek to measure a number of attributes (fairness, value for money, engagement with the community), as well as overall levels of confidence in the court system (NCSC, 2018). The survey was carried out by telephone.

The major compilation of public attitudes about criminal justice is the Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics funded by the Bureau of Justice Statistics. The most recent Sourcebook (2012) contains information on public confidence in the police, US Supreme Court, the US Government (ability to protect citizens from terrorist attack) and the criminal justice system in general. For each institution, respondents are asked: 'I am going to read you a list of institutions in American society. Please tell me how much confidence you, yourself, have in each one--a great deal, quite a lot, some, or very little?' A separate question is also included

on the honesty and ethical standards of police, lawyers and judges and this is scored relative to those in other occupations. A question on the fairness of the criminal justice system to accused persons was fielded on a seemingly one-off basis in 2003. Most of this data is presented in the Sourcebook by sex, race, age, education, income level, residential area, region and political affiliation. Unfortunately, the Sourcebook does not provide any information on public confidence in prosecutors, prisons, probation or parole officers, or public defenders, prompting Sherman (2001: 33) to observe that '[p]erhaps one reason trust and confidence in criminal justice are so low is that no one in the system has obtained separate measures for nearly half of its component agencies?'

3.3 Measuring Public Confidence/Trust in Academic Literature

Academic researchers have often drawn on government surveys for measurements of confidence in criminal justice rather than designing their own measures. For example, the annual BCS/CSEW facilitates research to a great extent in that jurisdiction (Hough, 2003; Jackson et al, 2009; Jackson and Bradford, 2009; Van de Walle, 2009; Kautt and Tankebe, 2011; Bradford, 2011a and 2011b; Kautt, 2011; Sindall et al, 2012; Myhill and Bradford, 2012; Sindall and Sturgis, 2013; Bradford and Myhill, 2015; Mastrocinque and McDowall, 2016). Data on public confidence/trust from international surveys such as the World Values Survey and European Social Survey have also been used by researchers. For example, Morris (2015) drew on data from 70,959 respondents in Wave 5 of the World Values Survey (2005-07), to explore high-level national findings for confidence where respondents rated levels of confidence in police and courts alongside a number of other organisations. On the other hand, researchers are often involved in crafting the survey instrument, working with the government to roll-out new components of the survey, and in analysing the data from different perspectives. A good example of this is the 'Trust in Justice' module of the European Social Survey (ESS), a biennial survey that has been carried out in up to 34 countries since 2001. These and other surveys where academic researchers have been involved in the development of indicators of trust/confidence in criminal justice institutions are discussed below.

3.3.1 European Social Survey

This module was designed by leading experts in the field, namely, Jonathan Jackson, Mike Hough, Stephen Farrall, Jan de Keijser and Kauko Aromaa. The researchers applied to have

this module included within the fifth round of the ESS. Working from a procedural justice perspective, informed by the work of Tyler (2006, 2010) in the US, a multidimensional concept of 'trust' in justice was developed which emphasises the need for justice institutions to pursue fair and respectful processes as the best way to ensure legitimacy and compliance with the law (Hough, Jackson and Bradford, 2013). Put another way, the theory argues that the quality of treatment meted out by criminal justice officials fosters police and court legitimacy that, in turn, fosters compliance with the law and cooperation with legal authorities.

Based on this perspective, the concept of 'trust in the police' was disaggregated into three sub-concepts as below:

- trust in their competence (e.g. in catching and deterring offenders and in responding quickly to emergencies);
- trust in their procedural fairness (wielding their power in a just manner); and,
- trust in their distributive fairness (treating all groups in society equally).

The sub-concepts were in turn broken down into two or three measurement items as listed in Textbox 3.9 below.

Textbox 3.9: Measures of confidence in the police in the European Social Survey (2010)
Items on trust in police effectiveness

'How successful do you think the police are at preventing crimes in [country] where violence is used or threatened?'

Choose your answer from this card where 0 is extremely unsuccessful and 10 is extremely successful.

'How successful do you think the police are at catching people who commit burglaries in [country]?'

Use the same card.

If an emergency were to occur near to where you live and the police were called, how quickly do you think they would arrive at the scene?'

Choose your answer from this card, where 0 is extremely slowly and 10 is extremely quickly.

Items on trust in police procedural fairness

Now some questions about when the police deal with crime like house burglary and physical assault. Based on what you have heard or your own experience how often would you say the police generally treat people in [country] with respect?

Not at all often, not very often, often, or, very often? (Don't know)

About how often would you say that the police make fair, impartial decisions in the cases they deal with?

Not at all often, not very often, often, or, very often? (Don't know)

And when dealing with people in [country], how often would you say the police generally explain their decisions and actions when asked to do so?

Not at all often, not very often, often, or, very often? (No one ever asks the police to explain their decisions and actions), (Don't know)

Items on trust in police distributive fairness

When victims report crimes, do you think the police treat rich people worse, poor people worse, or are rich and poor treated equally?

Rich people treated worse

Poor people treated worse

Rich and poor treated equally

(Don't know)

And when victims report crimes, do you think the police treat some people worse because of their race or ethnic group or is everyone treated equally?

People from a different race or ethnic group than most [country] people treated worse

People from the same race or ethnic group as most [country] people treated worse

Everyone treated equally regardless of their race or ethnic group

(Don't know)

In similar fashion, the primary concept of 'trust in the courts' was broken down into sub-concepts of trust in courts effectiveness, trust in their procedural fairness and trust in their distributive fairness and operationalised through the measurement items listed in Textbox 3.10 below

Textbox 3.10: Measures of Confidence in the Criminal Courts in the European Social Survey (2010)

Items on trust in criminal court effectiveness

Please tell me how often you think the courts make mistakes that let guilty people go free?

Use this card where 0 is never and 10 is always.

Items on trust in court procedural fairness

How often you think the courts make fair, impartial decisions based on the evidence made available to them?

Use this card where 0 is never and 10 is always

Items on trust in court distributive fairness

Suppose two people - one rich, one poor - each appear in court, charged with an identical crime they did not commit. Choose an answer from this card to show who you think would be more likely to be found guilty.

The rich person is more likely to be found guilty

The poor person is more likely to be found guilty

They both have the same chance of being found guilty

(Don't know)

Now suppose two people from different race or ethnic groups each appear in court, charged with an identical crime they did not commit. Choose an answer from this card to show who you think would be more likely to be found guilty.

The person from a different race or ethnic group than most [country] people is more likely to be found guilty

The person from the same race or ethnic group as most [country] people is more likely to be found guilty

They both have the same chance of being found guilty

(Don't know)

It should be noted that additional indicators designed to measure 'confidence in the prisons', 'confidence in the probation service' and 'confidence in the prosecution service' were originally intended for inclusion in the module but were subsequently dropped. Jackson et al (2011: 4)

explain this as follows: 'First, the question development process suggested that many people do not know very much about prisons, probation and the prosecution service. Second, some countries do not have probation and prosecution services. Third, there were significant pressures on space in the module.' In addition to the detailed questions on different aspects of 'trust' in police and courts, the authors of the module felt it was important to have a single indicator measure of overall confidence in the police and courts. This was included as follows: 'Taking into account all the things the [police/courts] are expected to do, would you say they are doing a good job or a bad job?'. Responses were noted on a five-point scale: Very good job, Good job, Neither good nor bad job, Bad job, and Very bad job.

The fifth round of the ESS – which includes 45 questions on Trust in Justice in total – was conducted at the end of 2010 in 28 European countries. Around 39,000 face-to-face interviews were conducted in people's homes across the relevant countries, with each country organising its own translation and fieldwork to standards specified by the ESS Core Scientific Team. Samples must be representative of all persons aged 15 and over (no upper age limit) resident within private households in each country, regardless of their nationality, citizenship or language. Individuals are selected by strict random probability methods at every stage using sampling frames of individuals, households and addresses. All countries must aim for a minimum 'effective achieved sample size' of 1,500 or 800 in countries with ESS populations of less than 2 million after discounting for design effects. Results to date have been presented by country and, as will be discussed further in the next chapter, are broadly supportive of procedural justice theory through the finding that fair and respectful treatment of the public by the police is a key element in building legitimacy and that trust in effectiveness plays a smaller part (Hough, Jackson and Bradford, 2013). Analysis of UK data taken from the survey are also supportive of the relationships between legitimacy, cooperation and compliance posited by procedural justice theory (Jackson et al, 2012).

3.3.2 London Metropolitan Police Public Attitudes Survey (PAS)

One of the authors involved in the development of the public trust module in the ESS (Jonathan Jackson) came together with three other policing scholars (Betsy Stanko, Ben Bradford and Katrin Hohl) to create an evidence-based approach to public 'trust and confidence' for the London Metropolitan Police (Stanko and Bradford, 2009; Stanko et al, 2012). The aim of the collaboration, which began in the early 2000s, was to move the concept of 'public confidence' in the police beyond crude 'tick-box' notions of satisfaction, drawing on key debates in academia on what drives public 'trust and confidence'. As the collaboration developed, trust and confidence was broken down into three different dimensions: (1) judgments of police

effectiveness and the ability to do ‘the job’ of dealing with crime and catching criminals, (2) judgments of police fairness when dealing with people, and (3) judgments of police responsiveness to the wants and needs of the community (Bradford and Jackson, 2010). Findings from research also suggested that confidence in the police may be intimately bound up with ideas about social cohesion, community effectiveness and local disorder (Jackson and Bradford, 2009). The MPS Management Board adopted this ‘confidence’ model in 2008 and set about adopting an approach to public confidence that was continuously monitored by its own barometer of public opinion, the London Metropolitan Police Public Attitudes Survey (PAS) (Stanko et al, 2012). As will be seen in Textbox 3.11 below, PAS contains both global measures for overall confidence as well as indicators seeking to capture the four constituent drivers mentioned above: public engagement, fair treatment, police effectiveness, and alleviating local anti-social behaviour. It is notable that many of these measures relating to effectiveness, fairness and engagement are included in a survey on public confidence in the police commissioned by the Northern Ireland Policing Board (NIPB) in 2014 (Millward Brown Ulster, 2014).

Textbox 3.11: Measures of confidence in the London Metropolitan Police Public Attitudes Survey 2016/17 (Quarter 3)

[GLOBAL MEASURE]

Taking everything into account, how good a job do you think the police IN THIS AREA are doing?

‘Excellent’, ‘Good’, ‘Fair’, ‘Poor’, ‘Very poor’

Taking everything into account, how good a job do you think the police IN LONDON AS A WHOLE are doing?

‘Excellent’, ‘Good’, ‘Fair’, ‘Poor’, ‘Very poor’

[FAIRNESS AND ENGAGEMENT]

To what extent do you agree with these statements about the police in this area?

They can be relied on to be there when you need them

They would treat you with respect if you had contact with them for any reason

The police in this area treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are

They can be relied on to deal with minor crimes

They understand the issues that affect this community

They are dealing with the things that matter to people in this community

The police in this area listen to the concerns of local people

The police in this area are helpful

The police in this area are friendly and approachable

The police in this area are easy to contact

Strongly agree; tend to agree; neither agree nor disagree; tend to disagree; and disagree

[EFFECTIVENESS]

And how well do you think the Metropolitan Police:

Prevent terrorism?

Respond to emergencies promptly?

Provide a visible patrolling presence?

Tackle gun crime?

Support victims and witnesses?

Police major events in London?

Tackle drug dealing and drug use?

Tackle dangerous driving?

Respond to hate crime?

Respond to violence against women and girls?

Please use a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 = Not at all well and 7 = Very well

[ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR]

For each of the following things I read out, can you tell me how much of a problem they are in your area. How much of a problem are:

Noisy neighbours or loud parties?

Teenagers hanging around on the streets?

Rubbish or litter lying around?

Vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage to property or vehicles?

People using or dealing drugs?

People being drunk or rowdy in public places?

Dangerous dogs?

The survey has been conducted with a representative sample of Londoners aged 16 or over since 1983. It is administered face-to-face by a private market research company and managed by the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) and the Metropolitan Police Service. The survey operates on a rolling basis and is designed to achieve 100 interviews

each quarter in the 32 London Boroughs (excluding the City of London) (12,800 surveys annually). The sampling frame for the survey is the Royal Mail Postal Address File. The interviewing is conducted through CAPI (Computer Aided Personal Interviewing) and averages around 24 minutes. Interviewers call to addresses at different times to ensure a more representative sample of respondents. In order to assess the representativeness of the achieved sample the profile of the survey data is compared with population estimates for a range of socio-demographic variables from Census data and weights applied as appropriate.

The demographic information recorded by the PAS is gender, age, employment status, home ownership/rental status, car ownership/use, education (by highest level of qualification), ethnicity, national identity, country of birth, first language, disability, religion, sexual orientation, routine activity information including (to match BCS/CSEW data). Respondents are also asked to indicate their general levels of happiness. Other sections in PAS record victimisation experiences, contact with police (involuntary and voluntary) and communication with the police.

3.3.2 Methodologies for Measuring Confidence in the Academic Literature

Like the large-scale government studies, most studies in peer-reviewed journals also adopt a survey methodology (incorporating a mix of telephone, face-to-face, online, and mail surveys according to context and requirements). Qualitative methods are less common, but are occasionally used within a mixed method approach. For instance, Hough (2003) in his exploration of the effects of modernisation on public attitudes to the police and courts, drew on both quantitative and qualitative methods, through the use of survey data, focus groups, area case studies, and interviews.

Researchers generally distinguish between 'global' measures of confidence and other, more nuanced, measurements which seek to examine levels of public confidence with regard to specific aspects of a particular organisation. A 'global' measure of confidence is captured by the use of a single survey question that represents an overall opinion of an agency or criminal justice actor (e.g. how good a job do you think the police are doing?). In contrast, more in-depth questioning which probes attitudes towards, for example, police effectiveness, may field a range of questions on discrete aspects of police performance and ask respondents to rate each. Global measures of confidence are now understood to be a composite of a range of different feelings and attitudes as discussed above in relation to the ESS and London Met PAS surveys. Occasionally the 'global' measure of confidence in studies was gleaned from multiple questions and the final figure was a composite of the scores to these. This was the

case for Salvatore et al. (2013), where confidence in the criminal justice system as a whole was understood as a composite measure of six individual items, namely, the criminal justice system as a whole, the United States Supreme Court, the state prison system, the local court system, the police, and the local jury system. Some research on policing has sought to incorporate both global measures and those measuring different dimensions of fairness, effectiveness and engagement. An example is Posick and Hartfield (2017) who drew on data from the National Police Research Platform's PCIS to measure public confidence in the police using eight items. Thus, global measures ('I trust my local police to make decisions that are good for everyone', 'I have confidence that local police can do their job well' and 'I would work with the police to identify a person who has committed a crime in my neighbourhood') were combined with more specific questions on aspects of performance ('How well do the police do in: fighting crime, dealing with problems that concern our neighbourhood, being visible on the streets, being available when you need them, treating people fairly regardless of who they are').

3.3.2.1 Recruitment Methods

Market research companies/commercial survey firms were occasionally used by researchers based in universities and this approach appeared to be more common in US research. These commercial enterprises offered expertise regarding sampling and recruitment of participants. For instance, Amazon Mechanical Turk (Kim et al, 2019), Knowledge Networks (Weitzer and Tuch, 2005; Braga et al, 2014; Tyler and Jackson, 2014), InfoUSA (Wozniak, 2014), and Survey Sampling International LLC (Wozniak, 2016), were all cited within the studies published in peer-reviewed journals. Other methods of recruitment and sampling included working in partnership with specific police departments. Occasionally, for example, when a study sought to explore satisfaction with the police or the impacts of contact with the police, recruitment was undertaken in cooperation with specific police departments to sample recent users. Maguire and Johnson (2010) worked with address data made available to them through the IT system of a police department in the US state of Virginia which identified persons who had experienced recent police contact. This yielded a small sample of 138 persons, who responded to the mailed-out survey. Similarly, Bouranta et al (2015) used a 'ballot box' system in their research on the police in Greece; this method involved installing a box for questionnaires at the police station, and returned 1,729 completed questionnaires.

For telephone surveys, random digit dialling was a very common way of making contact with potential participants (e.g. Peak et al, 1992; Kaukinen and Colavecchia, 1999; Moy et al, 1999; Benesh and Howell, 2001; Higgins et al, 2009a and 2009b; Gibling and Dillon, 2009; Jones and

Weatherburn, 2010). Postal surveys were also extensively used, and indeed, together with telephone surveys, form the main survey method for countries such as Australia with geographically dispersed populations (see, for example, Murphy, 2009; Hinds, 2009; Murphy and Cherney, 2011; Bradford et al, 2014; Sargeant et al, 2018). Typically, best practice in postal surveys included features such as hand-printed addresses, the provision of a postage-paid envelope by which completed surveys could be returned, and follow-up postcards sent as reminders. Another issue in effective recruitment is the 'status' of the person administering the survey, as it is important that s/he is perceived as independent by the respondents. Despite this, police officers have been involved in administering surveys in some studies. For example, in a study by Lowe and Innes (2012), police officers administered the survey examining the impact of a community engagement effort by Neighbourhood Policing Teams and received training on CAPI software for that purpose.

3.3.2.2 Ensuring Representativeness

Many of the methods used to administer surveys of public confidence raise issues around the representativeness of the sample. A number of US studies recruited undergraduate college students as participants in studies into confidence in the police (e.g. Lee and Gibbs, 2015; Lowrey-Kinberg, 2018; Johnson et al, 2018) and courts (e.g. Hamm et al, 2011; Ribeiro and Antrobus, 2017). While convenient, such a sample is not representative of wider society. Concerns about representativeness also arise in relation to telephone surveys that relied on landlines owing to the increasing dominance of mobile phones and caller identification, given the impact this may have on the representativeness of the younger age cohorts. In recognition of this, some studies employed a quota-based sampling framework (Snowball and Jones, 2012) and others amended their methods to both landline and mobile sampling to ensure greater representativeness (e.g. Wozniak, 2016; Gauthier and Graziano, 2018). A bias towards older respondents may also arise in relation to postal surveys, which rely on the motivation of the recipient to take steps to return the survey to the researchers. In some studies, letters were sent to potential participants with the option of taking the survey in a number of ways (Rosenbaum et al, 2017).

Turning now to BME and migrant confidence in criminal justice, studies such as that conducted by Kautt and Tankebe (2011), relying on BCS data, employed 'booster' sampling to ensure a sufficient number of ethnic minority participants. Likewise, Wu (2014) drew on data from the Seattle Neighbourhood and Crime Survey 2002/03 which included a 'booster' over-sampling of ethnic minority respondents. For studies that seek to capture the views of minority groups, sensitivity to language was also particularly important. For instance, US studies frequently

incorporated Spanish-language survey options. As an example, Lai and Zhao (2010) conducted a random sample telephone survey of 756 persons in Houston, Texas, in 2008. In recognition of the demographic profile of the area they ensured a Spanish survey option was available. Similarly, in Murphy et al's (2015) study on social identity as a driver for cooperation with the police in Australia, they drew on data from the Australian Community Capacity Study, a large-scale study of over 10,000 persons living in and around Brisbane and Melbourne, which also included a booster sample of persons from selected ethnic minority backgrounds (Indian, Vietnamese, and Arabic-speaking groups). For these 'booster' samples surveys were conducted by face-to-face interviewing, using pen-and-paper surveys, and in the respondent's preferred language. Likewise, in Belgium, Van Craen's (2012) work on minority communities ensured adequate language supports for persons of Turkish and Moroccan descent to give their views on the various criminal justice agencies. Van Craen and Skogan (2015a) also worked with Polish community groups, specifically drawing on data from the Polish Community Survey 2010 to investigate the views of recent European migrants to Belgium. Hard-to-reach groups can therefore be incorporated into study design through partnership with community groups, through adequate provision of language options, and through the use 'booster' sampling. While such innovations were adopted in a considerable number of studies, it is striking that none of the studies reviewed threw the net wider than this in an attempt to capture the views of hard-to-reach populations such as persons in institutions and homeless persons (see Jones and Weatherburn, 2010).

3.4 Summary

It will be clear from the above discussion that there is no agreed metric or indicator of public confidence in criminal justice and jurisdictions vary considerably in the way that they seek to measure it. A number of key learnings, however, suggest themselves based on the above review and on the significant body of international research literature that has now accumulated on the topic.

First, it is clear that confidence/trust in the criminal justice system is a complex and multidimensional concept. Following research into the process by which people form opinions on the criminal justice system (Smith, 2007), questions on public confidence in criminal justice in the BCS/CSEW have since 2007/08 been disaggregated into two different dimensions of 'fairness' and 'effectiveness' and this has been mirrored in other surveys (SCJS, ESS). As will be discussed further in Chapter 4, a consistent finding in the literature is that, while citizens in many countries are dissatisfied with the justice system's efficiency or effectiveness, confidence in the justice system's fairness remains generally high (Jones and Weatherburn,

2010; Jansson, 2015). As Van de Walle and Raine (2008: 14) have argued, 'This suggests that we need to deal with two sets of attitudes. On the one hand it is useful to speak about satisfaction when dealing with the administrative or managerial performance of the justice system. On the other to consider issues of trust or confidence when talking about value-related issues, such as fairness of the system seems appropriate.' In addition, many national (SCJS, Belgian Justice Barometer Survey, Canadian National Justice Survey) and international (ESS) surveys distinguish between *procedural* and *distributive* fairness in measuring confidence/trust in criminal justice institutions. Surveys measuring confidence in police such as the London Metropolitan Police PAS have also sought to gauge levels of police *engagement* or responsiveness to the wants and needs of the community (Bradford and Jackson, 2010).

Secondly, it is important to differentiate between confidence in criminal justice institutions at a local and national level. A MORI (2003) survey conducted in the UK found considerable variation in confidence levels between the local and the national level, with almost two thirds expressing confidence in the local response compared with 47 per cent at national level. Hough and Roberts (2017) suggest that this may be because at a national level knowledge about crime and the criminal justice response comes from the media and is therefore more indirect in nature.

Thirdly, when asking the public about their confidence in criminal justice it is helpful to distinguish between the different agencies that make up the criminal justice system as has been done in the BCS/CSEW and in a number of the Australian surveys. Failure to do this may mask different levels of confidence in its components. Smith's (2007) research reported that the criminal justice system is generally perceived by the public to consist of police and courts, with prisons and community correction (probation) agencies seldom included. Indeed, as will be discussed further in the next chapter, research by Roberts (2007), Indermaur and Roberts (2009) and others (e.g. Van de Walle and Raine, 2008) has suggested a clear 'evaporation effect' whereby public confidence declines from the police, to courts to prisons, suggesting the public views each component individually, rather than the criminal justice system as a whole.

Fourthly, it is helpful to think of levels of trust/confidence in the criminal justice system comparatively i.e. alongside confidence levels in other public institutions. This allows confidence ratings to be placed in context and considered in light of its mandate which, unlike other public bodies, is complex and focused on a reconciliation of the needs of a number of parties (victims, offenders and the wider community). This is also important given that general attitudes towards the justice system appear to relate closely to attitudes towards other

governmental institutions (Roberts, 2007; Van de Walle and Raine, 2008). Without this context, as Roberts (2007: 176) rightly points out, ultimately these measures 'reveal a lot about the public and nothing about the system'. This is the approach taken in the World Values Survey, United States Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics and Belgian Justice Barometer Survey.

Finally, in terms of measurement, the most common method of measuring public confidence is a survey. In large-scale national and international surveys this is usually administered by a market research company through face-to-face computer assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) where interviewers record responses to the questionnaire on tablets. While the frequency of such surveys varies, in England and Wales and Scotland it is carried out on annual basis as part of a national victimisation survey.

4 Public Confidence in Criminal Justice: Trends and Drivers

4.1 Introduction

The next section of the report will begin by examining high-level trends and patterns in public confidence/trust in the criminal justice system and its constituent parts, both in Ireland and internationally. Variation over time will be discussed both by nation state, by sector and by socio-demographic group, drawing on findings from the CSEW and other international surveys discussed in Chapter 3. The chapter will then move to place these patterns in context by examining the evidence around what drives such attitudes.

4.2 Trends in Public Confidence in the Criminal Justice System

This section of the report presents an overview of a number of existing international social surveys that have included measures on public confidence in the criminal justice system in an attempt to map broad trends in confidence in the justice system in Ireland and Western countries. As will be seen, confidence in the justice system has declined substantially in most Western countries between 1980 and 2000, although it has in some cases since risen.

4.2.1 The European Values Surveys

The European Values Study (EVS) is a European social survey, designed to measure value change in societies, and providing one of the most extensive sources of data on citizen attitudes towards a range of social and political issues. It started in 1981 and was repeated in 1990, 1999, and 2008. One specific question in the survey deals with confidence in the justice system. Van de Walle and Raine (2008) reviewed the data relating to this issue from 1981 to 1999/2000 and observe a general decline in confidence in the justice system in many countries during this period. For example, in Belgium (-23.4 percentage points), Finland (-17.9), France (-10.6), Italy (-10.9), the Netherlands (-16.2), Spain (-6.6), Sweden (-12.2), Hungary (-43.4) and England and Wales (-16.6). Ireland appears as no exception to this downward trend with confidence levels dropping from 57.5 in 1981 to 54.5 per cent in 1999/2000 (ibid: 59). It is important to note that this change is not specific to the justice system, given that levels of

confidence in other public institutions also fell, with some relating it to declining deference to authority (Inglehart, 1997).

In more recent years there is some evidence that confidence levels are increasing. Looking to the most recent available data from the European Values Survey (2008 sweep), we see that for most, though not all, of the countries cited by Van de Walle and Raine the percentages have increased since 2000: Belgium (34.4 to 50.3), Finland (65.9 to 73.4), France (45.8 to 55.6), Italy (31.5 to 36.4), the Netherlands (48.8 to 56.4), Spain (42.3 to 42.4), Sweden (61 to 68.8), Hungary (45.3 to 38.6) and England and Wales (49.1 to 51) (European Values Study/Gesis Archive, 2016). Ireland appears somewhat anomalous in this regard, with a slight fall from 54.5 to 50.4 per cent. Further evidence to suggest that confidence levels in criminal justice have increased in western jurisdictions in recent years can be found in several of the national surveys referenced in the previous chapter. For example, Jansson (2015) reviewed trends in the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) over the period 2007/08 to 2013/14 and found steady increases in overall measures of confidence in fairness (56 to 64 per cent) and effectiveness (37 to 48 per cent). Levels of confidence in system fairness have been consistently higher than levels in system effectiveness. These trends are also mirrored in the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) (where generally confidence in the criminal justice system was stronger across the range of measures in 2017/18 than it was in 2007/08)⁴ and in the Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research surveys in New South Wales (where confidence in 2104 was stronger than 2007) (Halstead, 2015). Similarly, Parmentier and Vervaeke (2011), reviewing data from the Justice Barometer in Belgium, found increasing confidence in justice, the police and the justice actors across the three survey sweeps from 2002 to 2010, with justice overtaking Parliament in 2010 to become the third-highest ranked institution in terms of confidence. A comparison of results from the Canadian GSS survey in 2003 and 2013 suggests stability in levels of confidence in the justice system and courts at 57 per cent, although levels of confidence in the police appear to have increased considerably over the period (68 per cent compared to 57 per cent in 2003). As will be seen below, an upward trend in confidence levels across Europe is also observable in the Eurobarometer and ESS surveys.

In terms of the relative position of Ireland, as can be seen from Table 4.1 below, which relies on data drawn from the 2000 sweep of the European/World Values Survey, the proportion of the population with confidence in the justice system is lower than in most Scandinavian

⁴ Four of the current measures were first asked in 2008/09 The rest have only been asked in their current form since 2012/13.

countries but higher than in many other jurisdictions. Broadly speaking, the data support a positive interpretation of Irish confidence in the administration of justice.

Table 4.1: Public Confidence in the Justice System, Selected Nations (2001)

	Great deal/Quite a lot of confidence	Not very much confidence/None at all
Denmark	79%	21%
Iceland	74%	26%
Austria	69%	31%
Finland	66%	34%
South Africa (2003)	64%	36%
Germany	62%	38%
Sweden	61%	39%
Luxembourg	59%	41%
Canada (2003)	57%	43%
<i>Ireland</i>	55%	45%
United Kingdom	49%	51%
Northern Ireland	48%	52%
Netherlands	48%	52%
Greece	47%	53%
Latvia	47%	53%
France	46%	54%
Belarus	46%	54%
Malta	45%	55%
Hungary	45%	55%
Slovenia	44%	56%
Poland	42%	58%
Portugal	40%	60%
Romania	40%	60%
Belgium	37%	63%
Slovakia	36%	64%
Russia	36%	64%
Australia	35%	65%

Spain	32%	68%
Ukraine	32%	68%
Italy	32%	68%
Estonia	32%	68%
Croatia	31%	69%
Bulgaria	28%	72%
United States (2002)	27%	73%
Czech Republic	23%	67%
Lithuania	19%	81%
<i>European Average</i>	<i>45%</i>	<i>55%</i>

Source: Adapted from Roberts (2007)

4.2.2 Eurobarometer

Another source of data on levels of public confidence in justice across Europe is the European Commission's Eurobarometer. This poll is repeated every six months (approximately 1,000 respondents per country) and allows for a quite detailed mapping of trends over the last decade. It includes a question on trust in the justice system and on the police: 'I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it. [Justice/the (nationality) legal system] OR [Police]'. As can be seen from Table 4.2 showing levels of confidence in justice and the police from 2009-2019, the broad trend for confidence in the justice/legal system is in an upward direction, increasing by 15 percentage points in the last decade. While the average for the EU 27/28 has also increased over the period (4 percentage points), the Irish increases are more significant. A similar, though less dramatic, upward trajectory can also be observed for confidence in the police, both in Ireland and Europe, although in Ireland a slight dip in confidence in the police can be observed for the years 2017 and 2018.

Table 4.2: Public confidence in Justice/Police in Ireland, Eurobarometer surveys 2009-2019

	Percentage confidence: Justice		Percentage confidence: Police	
	Ireland	EU Average	Ireland	EU Average
2009	49	48	-	-
2010	42	47	65	64
2011	-	-	-	-
2012	-	-	-	-
2013	-	-	-	-
2014	51	49	68	68
2015	58	52	70	69
2016	56	51	71	71
2017	60	55	67	75
2018	58	53	67	73
2019	64	52	72	72

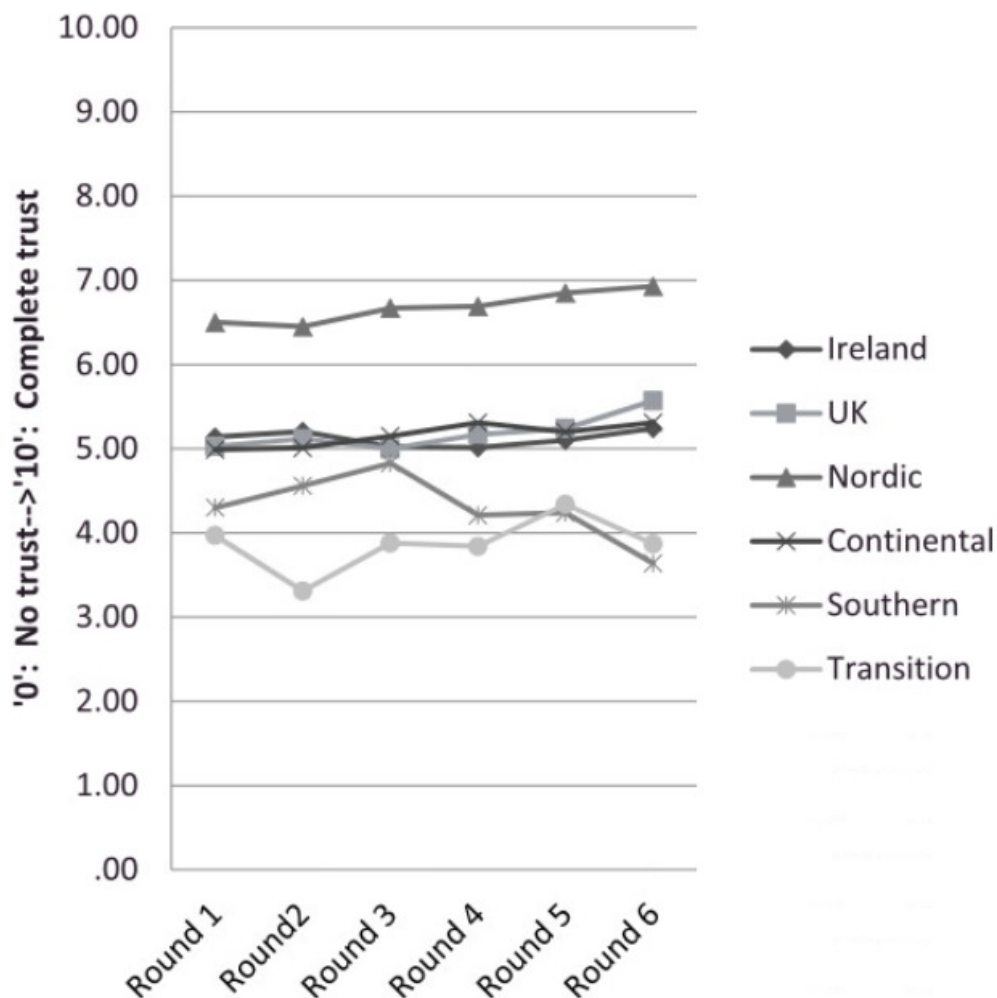
4.2.3 European Social Survey

The European Social Survey (ESS) is probably the most reliable guide to variations in trust in justice across Europe because, as noted in the previous chapter, it included a 45-question module on the topic in the 2010 sweep of the survey (fifth round). Aside from this dedicated module, all sweeps of the survey thus far have also carried a question on trust in the legal system and in the police. On this measure, Irish confidence levels appear around the EU average with scores of 43.9 and 45.2 in 2002 and 2004, ranking 12th place out of 24 in 2004 (Van de Walle and Raine, 2008). Indeed, analysis carried out on the data by Breen and Healy (2016) suggests that in all six rounds of the survey from 2002 to 2012 the trendlines for Ireland, the UK and the Continental countries (defined as Belgium France, Switzerland, the Netherlands) are tightly bound together (see Figure 4.1 below).⁵ Increases over this ten year period have been highest in the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden), with

⁵ For consistency, Breen and Healy limited analysis to those 12 countries that have provided data in all six rounds of the survey to date.

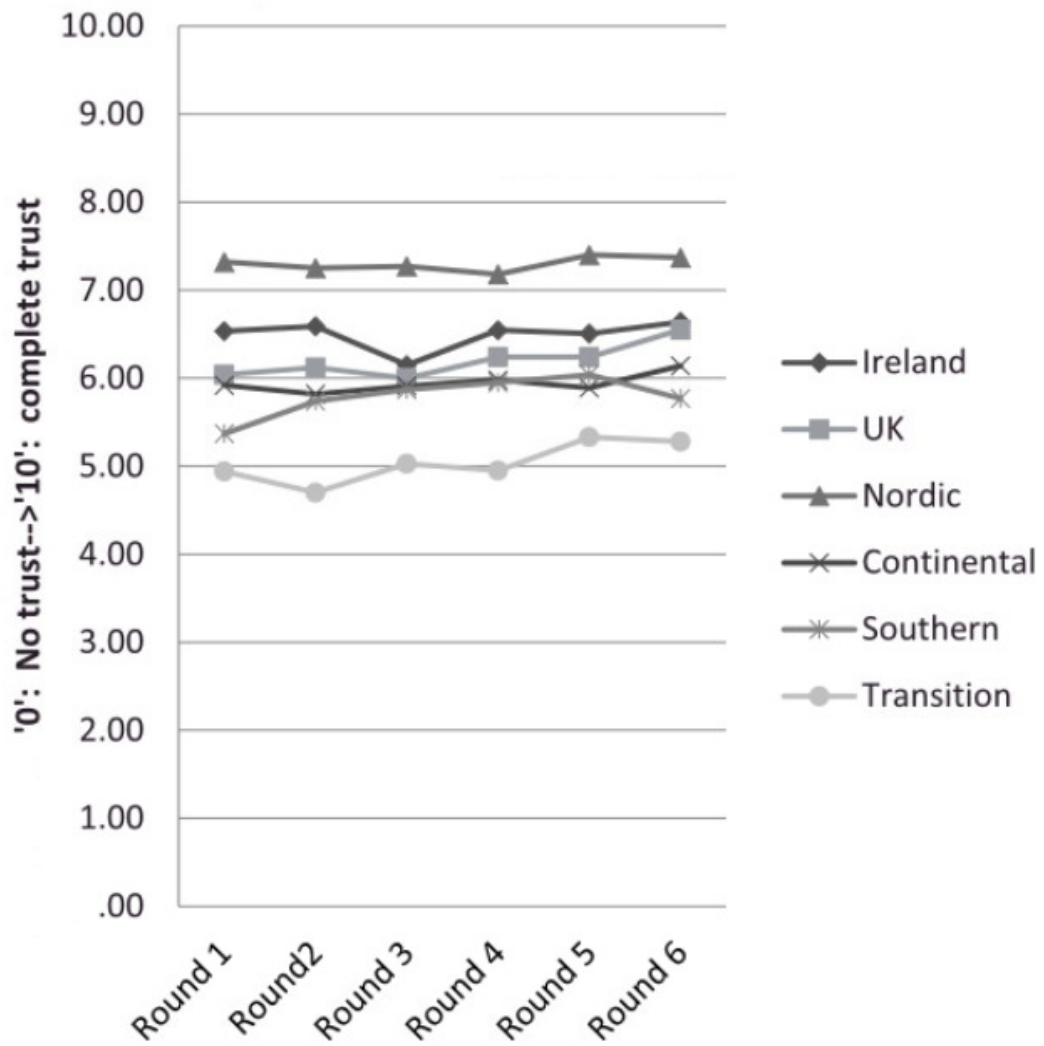
more modest increases registered in Ireland, the UK and Continental jurisdictions. In contrast, confidence levels in Southern (Spain and Portugal) and Transition countries (Hungary and Poland) have fallen. With regard to trust in the police, however, Irish confidence levels appear somewhat higher than in other European countries, a finding which is consistent with relatively high, and indeed enduring, levels of satisfaction in the Garda Public Attitudes Surveys (Mulcahy, 2016). Figure 4.2, reproduced from Breen and Healy (2016: 102), suggests that Irish respondents are second only to Nordic respondents in terms of the level of trust expressed in their police.

Figure 4.1 Trust in the Legal System by ESS Round- Europe (reproduced from Breen and Healy, 2016: 101)*



*The authors are grateful to Prof. Breen and Dr. Healy for granting permission for reuse of this material.

Figure 4.2 Trust in the Police by ESS Round- Europe (reproduced from Breen and Healy, 2016:103) *



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Turning now to the ESS module on trust in justice, it will be recalled that the authors of the module disaggregated the overarching concept of trust in justice institutions into: trust in police/court effectiveness; trust in police/court procedural fairness; and trust in police/court distributive fairness (Jackson et al, 2011). In presenting the results, they also grouped countries into different categories, namely, neo-liberal, conservative corporatist; social democratic corporatist, southern European, post-communist and Israel. Results differed across the three dimensions of trust, with relatively little variation in relation to perceptions of police effectiveness and significant variation on measures of fairness across different groups of countries (Hough, Jackson and Bradford, 2013). Thus, across the 26 countries, there was little variation among respondents concerning the police's ability to respond to a violent crime or burglary, with Hough, Jackson and Bradford (2013: 150) noting, 'despite stereotypes of Scandinavian or northern European efficiency and southern or eastern European tardiness, it seems that citizens have broadly equivalent beliefs and expectations about the ability of the police to turn up promptly when needed'. In contrast, opinions on procedural justice, as measured by a question on how often the police treated people with respect, varied more widely. Trust in fairness was highest in Scandinavian countries, followed by Ireland, the UK and conservative corporatist states (Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, France, Switzerland). Levels declined in southern European and post-communist countries, however, to reach strikingly low levels of trust in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, and Israel. While trust in distributive justice appears less closely correlated with country type, in general, perceptions of this type of fairness were worse in the southern European and post-communist states and more favourable in the Nordic, conservative corporatist and neo-liberal countries (UK, Ireland). Overall, the authors conclude that: 'the Nordic countries are most trusting of their police and believe that their institutions are legitimate holders of power and authority; while Eastern and sometimes Southern European countries tend to be less trusting' (Jackson et al, 2011: 8). As in the Breen and Healy (2016) study, Ireland appears to have responded quite similarly to the Nordic countries for many of these indicators. More broadly, the strong relationship observed in the survey between trust in fairness and dimensions of perceived legitimacy lends support to Tyler's procedural justice theory discussed in Section 3.3.

4.2.4 Confidence in Police

While comparative levels of confidence/trust in the police have already been discussed as part of broader trends in trust in justice, it is also worth considering this issue separately, not least in light of the international evidence showing that in all countries where confidence in various aspects of the criminal justice system have been studied the police tend to attract much higher levels of confidence than other parts of the justice system (Hough and Roberts, 2004;

Indermaur and Roberts, 2009). This ‘universal hierarchy of confidence’ (Roberts, 2007: 171) is reflected in Table 4.3 below, taken from the most recent CSEW, showing the high variability in the levels of confidence among the various elements of the system. This may in part reflect increased public familiarity with the police as well as the mandate of the different criminal justice agencies; of all the agencies, the police are most strongly associated with crime control and the arrest of offenders (Hough and Roberts, 2004; Roberts, 2007). It is also worth noting variability in public confidence across the various functions performed by the police. For example, Wilson (2012) noted that among SCJS respondents the highest proportion of confidence was in police dealing with incidents as they occur (65 per cent in 2010/11), and the lowest proportion of confidence was in police preventing crime (50 per cent in 2010/11). Similarly, Indermaur and Roberts (2009) found that the majority of respondents have quite a lot/a great deal of confidence in the police to solve crime (74 per cent), to act fairly (74 per cent) and to respond quickly to crime (54 per cent) but fewer than half (48 per cent) had *quite a lot/a great deal* of confidence in the police to prevent crime.

Table 4.3: Public Confidence in the Branches of the Criminal Justice System (CJS), CSEW (2018)

The CJS as a whole is effective	53
The police are effective at catching criminals	69
The Crown Prosecution Service is effective at prosecuting people accused of committing a crime	62
The Courts are effective at dealing with cases promptly	52
The Courts are effective at giving punishments which fit the crime	40
Prisons are effective at punishing offenders who have been convicted of a crime	36
Prisons are effective at rehabilitating offenders who have been convicted of a crime	24
The probation service is effective at preventing criminals from re-offending	31
The CJS as a whole is fair	69

In England and Wales, BCS/CSEW data show a pattern of decline in confidence in police from 1984 to 2000, consistent with trends in relation to the criminal justice system more broadly (Hough, 2003; Jansson, 2008; Bradford, Stanko, and Jackson, 2009; Bradford, 2011a). Reiner

(2000) uses the marked decline between 1984 and 2000 in those rating their local police as 'very good' as support for the idea that the 'haemorrhage' in support for the police that started in the 1960s continued right up to the turn of the century. In the decade that followed there were small but significant increases in confidence levels with the proportion of adults giving the police a positive rating (good or excellent) increasing from 47 per cent in 2003/04 to 59 per cent in 2010/11 (Office of National Statistics, 2015).⁶ Since then overall public confidence with the police, as measured by the CSEW, has remained largely unchanged, with 62 per cent of people in 2017/18 rating the police as good or excellent. Bradford (2011a), drawing on data from 11 sweeps of BCS from 1984 to 2005/06, sought to analyse socio-demographic variations within these broader trends. He found that a drop in strong support for the police was greater for older persons, and less pronounced (even absent) for young people. A similar 'levelling down' in views was evident in relation to gender. In 1984, women were slightly more likely than men to indicate strong support, but by 2003/04 there was no significant difference between the genders. The ethnic pattern is complex but in general, as with age and gender, the biggest decline in support was for the group who had traditionally had more confidence in the police (in this case, white people). Overall, 'variation in rates of contact by gender, age and ethnicity declined, leading to a gradual homogenisation of experience across these categories' (Bradford, 2011a: 192).

4.2.5 Confidence in the Courts

As observed in Table 4.3 above, ratings of the courts tend to be lower than ratings of the police and this is a finding that holds internationally. The New South Wales BOSCAR study is particularly interesting in this regard as the 2012 sweep of the study specifically sought to compare confidence levels in the police with the courts, and to that end put the same series of questions to respondents in relation to the police and the courts. Respondents had considerably higher levels of confidence in the police than the courts in terms of bringing people to justice (81 per cent vs. 55 per cent), meeting the needs of victims (71 per cent vs. 50 per cent) and dealing with cases promptly (64 per cent vs. 34 per cent). On the other hand, respondents had slightly higher levels of confidence in the ability of the courts to respect the rights of the accused (78 per cent for police vs. 86 per cent for courts) and to treat them fairly (79 per cent vs. 85 per cent) (Snowball and Jones, 2012). This corresponds to findings of other studies showing people to be generally positive about the fairness of the court system while

⁶ These figures may not be directly comparable. See ONS (2015: 7): 'Changes to the order of the questions in the Performance of the Criminal Justice System module in the 2011/12 CSEW had the unforeseen effect of changing the way in which people perceived and responded to some questions. Essentially, because of the changes, it is likely that some questions were answered more positively. This resulted in direct comparability with previous years' data being lost.'

at the same time remaining very critical of the efficiency of courts and of their ability to meet the needs of victims (Roberts, 2005; Gannon, 2005).

This reflects the variance in the levels of confidence held by the public across different court functions, with courts often seen as being too concerned with the rights of accused persons and offenders. In their review of the state of public confidence in justice around the world, Hough and Roberts (2004) observe a number of perceived shortcomings that often emerge from international surveys about the criminal process such as: a lack of accountability of the court system; inefficient processing of cases; judicial isolation (judges out of touch with what 'ordinary people' think); a biased treatment of offenders by courts; and poor treatment of victims, who are seen to be excluded from the criminal process. As with the police, it is useful to consider these criticisms from the perspective of citizens' knowledge of the process. Members of the public are less familiar with, and also have less sympathy with the subtleties of the criminal process, including the 'psychologically ambiguous process of sentencing' (Indermaur and Roberts, 2009: 5). In this regard, it is interesting to note that the 2007 AuSSA survey found that those who had contact with the courts over the previous 12 months had higher levels of confidence in the courts and were less likely to be in favour of tougher sentencing (*ibid*). Relying on BCS data, Smith (2010) similarly found that many respondents' knowledge about sentencing practices was poor and that many respondents underestimated sentencing practice. Further, and as will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.3 below, a consistent finding of the research is that when people are asked what sentence they would impose in hypothetical cases, responses tend to match the severity of real courts (Hutton, 2005; Wilson, 2012).

In terms of change over time, in a UK context this can be gauged from responses to the BCS/CSEW question: 'Are the courts too harsh, too lenient or about right?'. This question was first included in the survey in 1996, when 79 per cent of the sample said that they believed sentencing was too lenient (Hough and Roberts, 1998), and there has been little change in the figure in the ensuing decades (Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts, 2013: 22). While on the surface this suggests frustration with the lenience of the courts, the terrain of public attitudes to sentencing is highly complex and should be considered against the significant body of evidence in the literature suggesting that when questions are more specific, interactive and contain more information, responses tend to be less punitive (Hutton, 2005; Kury et al, 2009; Indermaur, 2009; St Amand and Zamble, 2001). As Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts (2013: 22) observe, 'when responding [to the CSEW question on leniency] (i) most people may think of the worst crimes and offenders; [and] (ii) a survey does not allow people

sufficient time to consider the “evidence” on the question – they may respond with media stories of sentencing which tend to be unrepresentative.’ In Australia, falls in public confidence levels in the criminal courts have been observed in line with those for the police (Bean, 2005), but the picture is more mixed in recent years. Halstead (2015) observes that the percentage of respondents to the BOCSAR survey who considered sentences to be ‘much too lenient’ dropped considerably between 2007 and 2012 (from 39 to 31 per cent), but increased in 2014 (to 36 per cent). There is limited information available on the how these changes vary by socio-demographic category. Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts (2013: 23), however, examined responses to the BCS/CSEW question on perceptions on sentencing over a nine year time span between 2002 and 2011 and found that there was little demographic variation in the percentage of respondents who perceived the courts to be too harsh, too lenient or about right.

4.2.6 Confidence in Prisons

As illustrated by the discussion in Chapter 3, not all public opinion surveys ask respondents about the different components of the system, including prisons. Two exceptions to this are the BCS/CSEW and the AuSSA survey (2007), both of which ask the public about their confidence in the prisons performing a number of roles (punishment, rehabilitation, etc.). The results show a consistent lack of confidence across a variety of functions. The most recent BCS, for example, reveals only 36 per cent of those surveyed had confidence in the prison system to punish offenders, with an even lower proportion having confidence in their ability to rehabilitate (24 per cent). As can be seen in Table 4.3 there is a 33 per cent differential between confidence in the police and confidence in prisons (to perform punishment). Similarly, a majority of AuSSA respondents had very little or no confidence in the prison system in terms of rehabilitating prisoners (88 per cent), in deterring future offending (85 per cent), in teaching prisoners skills (68 per cent) or as a form of punishment (59 per cent) (Indermaur and Roberts, 2009). The higher levels of confidence in prison as a form of punishment finds an echo in previous research. Several studies have found people to be more supportive of prison’s ability to incapacitate, protect and punish than in its ability to rehabilitate (Hutton 2005; Hough and Roberts 2004; Roberts and Hough, 2005).

The low confidence ratings attracted by the prison system may be attributed to a number of factors. First, its low visibility within the system. Research conducted by Smith (2007) found that members of the public generally identify the police and the courts with the criminal justice system, with prisons and community corrections agencies seldom identified. Secondly, and relatedly, people have less direct knowledge of prisons than other parts of the system, with

UK estimates that four out of five have had no direct contact with prisons (Hough and Roberts, 1998). A more recent survey conducted for the Scottish Parliament found that almost 90 per cent of the sample acknowledged knowing 'not very much' or 'nothing at all' about Scotland's prisons (Justice 1 Committee, 2002). The result of this lack of direct knowledge is that many people obtain their information about prisons from the media, leading to incorrect perceptions of prison life and its severity (Anderson, Ingram and Hutton, 2002; Roberts and Hough 2005). The final consideration concerns the mandate of the prison, which is largely focused on the offender. As Indermaur and Roberts (2009: 5) write, in a statement that could equally be applied to the Probation Service, '[by] this stage the offender has become the focus of concern. The focus is now on what works, what doesn't, their needs and what can be done to assist them, ensure effective resettlement in the community and ensure that they don't reoffend. The industry acting on behalf of the offender shares some of the opprobrium attached to these popular social enemies'.

Given the infrequency with which public views are surveyed on the topic it is difficult to form a clear picture of change over time. However, in a UK context, Roberts and Hough (2005) note some evidence of a decline in the proportion of respondents rating the prison system as doing a good or excellent job between 1996 and 2003 (38 per cent to 25 per cent). This figure remained fairly constant between 2003 and 2007/08 (Smith, 2010). While the questions measuring confidence in prisons changed in 2007/08, we can observe a small increase in the percentage of respondents expressing confidence in the prison's ability to punish and rehabilitate between 2010/11 and the survey's most recent administration in 2017/18 (increases of 8 and 3 per cent respectively) (Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts, 2013; BCS, 2019).

4.2.7 Confidence in the Probation Service

Inhabiting the lower reaches of the public confidence spectrum with the prison system is the probation service. In the 2017/18 BCS 31 per cent of adults said they were confident in the abilities of the probation service in preventing offenders from reoffending, an increase of 7 per cent on the 2010/11 figure (Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts, 2013). As with prisons, this relatively low rating may be explained by the public's lack of familiarity with the work done by the service and a level of ambiguity regarding their mandate (Roberts, 2007; Allen and Hough, 2007; Indermaur and Roberts, 2009). Indeed, research shows that the public have been found to know very little about the range of community sentences (Anderson et al, 2002; Roberts 2002, Roberts and Stalans, 2004). In previous studies, when respondents to the CSEW were asked to identify sentences available to judges other than imprisonment, only

probation was identified by more than one third of the sample (Hough and Roberts, 1998; Home Office, 2001). However, as noted above in relation to courts, we should be wary of the idea that the public is strongly opposed to non-custodial sentencing. For example, when asked by researchers for the National Probation Service (2002) to rank the crime reduction potential of various parts of the criminal justice system on a scale of 1 to 10, respondents rated probation no worse than the prison system.

4.2.8 Summary

A number of key findings emerge from the above discussion.

First, confidence in the justice system declined substantially in most Western countries between 1980 and 2000, although there is evidence that it has increased in the period since then. An upward trend in public confidence levels in the criminal justice system across Europe is observable in the EVS, Eurobarometer and ESS surveys. While the evidence for Ireland is mixed, there is some support for the view that confidence levels have registered a modest increase in recent years.

Secondly, in terms of the relative position of Ireland, the proportion of the population with confidence in the justice system is lower than in most Scandinavian countries, but higher than in many other jurisdictions. On several measures, the confidence balance would appear to be positive with more people saying that they have confidence in the system than those who say they do not. With regard to trust in the police, moreover, Irish confidence levels appear somewhat higher than in other European countries.

Thirdly, in all jurisdictions, levels of confidence in system fairness have been consistently higher than levels in system effectiveness. Levels of confidence also vary quite considerably across the different constituents of the criminal justice system ('universal hierarchy of confidence'). Surveys in Western jurisdictions consistently show that the police attract the highest levels of public confidence, and the prison and probation services the lowest. This can likely be explained by reference to their relative visibility and the public's familiarity and affinity with their mandates.

Fourthly, consistent with trends in relation to the broader criminal justice system, BCS/CSEW data show a pattern of decline in confidence in police from 1984 to 2000 and a rise in the ensuing period. This may have been due to a decline in support among groups who had

traditionally had the highest levels of confidence in the police, namely, men, older people and white people. While answers to these questions in English and Australian surveys show consistently low levels of confidence in sentencing, the evidence clearly demonstrates that attitudes to sentencing are complex and cannot be captured in general questions about the leniency of the courts.

Finally, it is important not to view confidence measures uncritically. As noted in the previous chapter attitudes towards the justice system should be understood in light of its more complex mandate, and relative to attitudes towards other governmental institutions. It is also important to distinguish between measures that seek to measure general, or diffuse, support for the police or courts when asked for an overall evaluation and those seeking to rate specific aspects of the police and courts' performance.

4.3 Drivers of Public Confidence in the Criminal Justice System

The section below discusses seven of the key drivers of attitudes to the criminal justice system that have been shown in the international research literature to impact levels of public confidence. Prior to discussing these drivers in detail, the evidence relating to demographic factors associated with higher levels of public confidence is briefly reviewed. These are treated separately owing to the difficulty in disentangling demographics from other factors. The chapter concludes with a discussion of macro level factors concerning the wider social and political context, which appear to be associated with higher levels of public confidence, but which largely lie outside the realm of crime and the justice system.

4.3.1 Demographics

Previous analyses of survey data have consistently demonstrated how levels of confidence in the criminal justice system vary depending on personal and household characteristics (Smith, 2010; Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts, 2013). Discussion of demographic factors are therefore included below for the sake of completeness, while noting that many studies have found these factors not to be *independently* predictive of confidence/trust in the criminal justice system. Thus, when account is taken of other experiential and perceptual factors, such as contact with the police, it would appear these characteristics explain relatively little variation in the levels of confidence overall.

4.3.1.1 Gender

Several studies have found women to have higher levels of confidence in the criminal justice system than men.⁷ Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts's (2013) analysis of CSEW data found gender to be a highly consistent predictor of trust and confidence, with women tending to have more confidence in the police and the criminal justice system than men (although it accounted for quite a small proportion of the variation between respondents). Similarly, Smith (2010) and Indermaur and Roberts (2009) found females to be slightly more confident in police although no significant gender effects were observed for courts or prisons. Other studies which found a gender effect for confidence in the police include Sindall and Sturgis (2013) working with CSEW data, and Cao (2011) drawing on the 2004 General Social Survey of Canada. In Australia, Sargeant et al (2016) found that women generally had better perceptions of the procedural justice of police, and felt greater obligation to obey. On the other hand, Bradford (2011a) found that differences between the genders had evolved over time: higher levels of strong support for the police among women had largely disappeared in the period spanning 1984 and 2003/04. US literature is also more equivocal about gender effects. Two reviews of the US literature examining public confidence in the police and courts respectively, concluded that there is no consensus about the effects of gender on attitudes (Brown and Benedict 2002; Moorhead et al, 2008). The mixed nature of the research in this area has led Wilson (2012: 19) to conclude from her review of the research literature: 'On balance, then, it is hard to determine whether an overall gender effect exists in public attitudes to the justice system, police, or courts.'

4.3.1.2 Age

In a review of the literature on socio-demographic correlates of confidence in the police and criminal justice system Brown and Reed-Benedict (2002) summarised the results of over 100 (mostly American) studies and found only two socio-demographic variables that are consistently associated with confidence in the police: age and race. In relation to age, the preponderance of the literature suggested that satisfaction with the police increased with age. For example, in their research in Houston et al (2011) found that older persons were more likely to express greater support for the police and similarly, Wells (2007) drawing on data from the Nebraska Police Department Quality Service Audit, found that older citizens

⁷ It is interesting to consider whether this gender effect extends to all institutions, rather than solely the justice system. For example, reviewing the results from the General Social Survey in Canada in 2013, Cotter (2015:3) writes 'Women and older Canadians generally had the highest levels of confidence in government and institutions, with a few notable exceptions.'

expressed higher ratings of support for police. In Skogan's (2006) work on the effects of police contact, he found that being older was associated with greater satisfaction in the police, while younger persons expressed less satisfaction. Skogan noted, however, that this effect was in part mediated by the greater likelihood of younger persons having direct contact with the police. Tyler and Jackson (2014) in a nationally representative US sample which replicated the ESS 'Trust in Justice' module, found that age accounted for 5 per cent of variance in perceptions of legitimacy, with older persons perceiving more legitimacy for both the police and the courts. Schafer, Huebner and Bynum (2003) too found that older persons were more likely to report satisfaction with the police. However, they noted that the significance of this diminished when other factors were added to the analysis, demonstrating the difficulty of separating out demographic factors.

In this regard, it may be hypothesised that older people retain a higher level of trust in authority figures than young people, although research by Bradford (2011a) suggests that this is declining over time. Indeed, more recent BCS/CSEW data is suggestive of an inverse relationship between age and trust in police, with confidence levels higher among young adults aged 16-24 than older people (Smith, 2010; Jansson, 2015). In Jones et al's (2008) Australian study this trend was also evident, with older respondents less confident in each aspect of the justice system with the exception of confidence in the fair treatment of alleged offenders. Once again, despite extensive research, the evidence on this aspect remains rather equivocal. Considering the effect of age on confidence, Wilson (2012: 20) speculated 'that that the influence of age might depend on the part of the justice system asked about and/or the framing of the question'.

4.3.1.3 Race/Ethnicity

Further differences between the US and UK literature are evident in relation to ethnicity. There is a large body of evidence in North America showing that ethnic minorities are much less positive about the justice system than those from white backgrounds (Brown and Reed Benedict, 2002; McCluskey et al, 2008). While this was historically the position in the UK, more recent reports drawing on BCS/CSEW data show that young adults and those from Black Minority Ethnic (BME) backgrounds were more likely to have confidence in the criminal justice system (Smith, 2010; Jansson, 2015). Kautt and Tankebe (2011), examining multiple sweeps of the BCS, uncovered the complexity of the construct of confidence for different ethnic groups. The analysis showed significant direct effects of being either Asian or Black in assessments of the criminal justice system with ethnic minority respondents expressing greater confidence

in the criminal justice system than White respondents. Many of the differences observed were most pronounced in relation to direct experience with criminal justice. For instance, they found that while being arrested led to less confidence for White respondents it had no effect for Asian or Black respondents. In contrast, being the accused in a criminal case, decreased confidence among BME participants, but had no effect for White participants. The authors hypothesised that as arrest is a more common occurrence for BME persons, it did not motivate the same resentment that it did for White persons. Kautt and Tankebe also noted the broad differential in experience and attitudes between different ethnic groups, which requires more sophisticated survey instruments to disaggregate the nuance, for example between Indian and Pakistani, or African and Caribbean respondents. This complexity is illustrated by the work of Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts (2013), who noted that those with Mixed Black and White and Black Caribbean ethnicities still expressed, on average, lower levels of confidence in the fairness of the system, and represented an exception to the general trend from England and Wales that BME persons were more likely to express confidence in justice. Evidence in relation to the courts is also conflicted on this issue (Wilson, 2012).

4.3.1.4 Class

Several studies have suggested a link between confidence in the criminal justice system and class, as measured by level of education, income or residential address. For example, in the recent Canadian National Justice Survey (2017) education seemed to be the strongest determinant of confidence. Those with elementary/high school education typically reported lower confidence in both adult and youth criminal law, while those with a university education typically reported much higher confidence (see also Cotter (2015)). In similar vein, research conducted by BOCSAR in New South Wales found that confidence tends to be higher for wealthier households and amongst those who have attained higher levels of formal education (Halstead, 2015). This has been a consistent finding throughout the Australian public attitude studies (Jones et al, 2008; Snowball and Jones, 2012). In Scotland, the SCJS (2019) has routinely found that those living in the 15 per cent most deprived areas in Scotland were significantly more negative about their local police across several indicators than those living in the rest of Scotland. As discussed below, however, this may be because class is here acting as a proxy for contact experience with the police.

The very mixed nature of the evidence in the literature regarding age, gender, race and class could be regarded as somewhat counterintuitive given that they all might have been expected to be potentially important predictor of attitudes toward the police. This is less surprising, however, when we consider that 'socio-demographic factors in and of themselves are unlikely

to “cause” changes in attitudes and opinions’ (Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts, 2013: 84). Rather, these characteristics predispose people to different experiences, such as higher contact with police, that *are* linked in some causal way with attitudes. Thus, some of the differences between groups, observed above, cease to be of statistical significance once other experiential and perception factors are included in the analysis (Wilson, 2012).

In the section that follows the evidence is discussed relating to seven potential drivers that have been linked in the research literature to confidence in the justice system or police. For each we identify the strength of the relationship, including whether it is direct or indirect (mediated by other variables), beginning with those factors that have demonstrated the strongest effects.

4.3.2 Contact with the Criminal Justice System

One finding that emerges very strongly from the literature is the effect of experience of the criminal justice system on confidence levels, with many studies showing that those who have contact with the police or courts are less likely to be confident than those with no contact (Bradford, Jackson and Stanko, 2009; Bradford, Stanko and Jackson, 2009; Skogan 2006, 2012; Brown and Reed-Benedict 2002; Tyler and Jackson, 2014; Sun and Wu, 2006; Parmentier and Vervaeke, 2011). Obviously, a wide variety of experiences can be incorporated within this broad category of contact or experience with the justice system, ranging from working in the system to being a defendant or victim of crime. This complexity is reflected in the studies that explore this driver of confidence with Van de Walle (2009) finding considerable variation in evaluations of the system across different court user groups. In line with this, efforts are made in the discussion below to distinguish between different types of contact (contact with the police, whether police-or citizen-initiated, contact with the courts, etc.). Victimization is discussed later in the chapter as a separate category or driver of confidence.

4.3.2.1 Contact with Police

Contact with the police has consistently been found within the literature to have largely negative effects on confidence levels in both the police and the criminal justice system more broadly (Fitzgerald et al, 2002; Skogan, 2006; Li et al, 2016; Bradford, Jackson and Stanko, 2009; Bradford, Stanko and Jackson, 2009; Van Damme, 2017; Salvatore, et al., 2013; White et al, 2018; Bradford and Jackson, 2018; Roché and Roux, 2017). Thus, it would seem that encounters with the most public-facing element of the criminal justice system, the police, inform ideas about other elements of the system and about its fairness as a whole (Hough,

Bradford, Jackson and Roberts, 2013). One important finding here is the differential impact of negative and positive experiences of policing on confidence levels, with negatively evaluated contacts tending to have a much larger effect than positively evaluated contacts. This is referred to in the research literature as *asymmetry*.

Skogan's (2006) work in this field was one of the early studies to suggest that there was an asymmetrical relationship to police contact. Drawing on data from 3,005 respondents in Chicago, Skogan found that the impact of police encounters was strongly asymmetrical so that the impact of having a bad experience with police was four to fourteen times as great as that of having a positive experience, and the coefficients associated with having a good experience (including being treated fairly and politely and receiving a service that was prompt and helpful) were not statistically significant. In seemingly bad news for police reformers, Skogan found that 'the police may get essentially no credit for doing a good job, while a bad experience deeply influences people's views of their performance and even legitimacy' (2006: 100). This asymmetry appeared to hold true for both police- and citizen-initiated contacts, which is important in light of the fact that most police contacts are citizen-initiated. This finding has, however, been challenged by more recent research suggesting that, at least in some circumstances and contexts, police contacts can have a positive effect on confidence/trust (Bradford, Jackson, and Stanko, 2009; Jackson et al, 2012; Myhill and Bradford, 2012; Tyler and Fagan, 2008; Van Damme, 2017). Bradford, Jackson and Stanko (2009), for example, drawing on a large sample of 11,525 respondents to the Metropolitan Police Service's PAS, found that, while any contact with police at all (whether positively or negatively perceived by the citizen) had a negative effect on perceptions of police effectiveness, positively received contacts *could* improve perceptions of police fairness and community engagement. Similarly, other research has drawn an important distinction between public initiated and citizen-initiated contact in this regard, with citizen-initiated contacts leading to more confidence than police-initiated contact (Myhill and Bradford, 2008; Myhill and Bradford 2012; Bradford, Jackson and Stanko, 2009).

The finding that service-style encounters, such as those initiated by crime victims or by people seeking help or advice, may hold potential for enhancing, as well as damaging, public trust chimes with the substantial research literature on procedural justice theory referenced in Chapter 2. Originally based on the pioneering work of Tyler (2002, 2006; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003) in the US, this argues that how officials treat individuals – for example whether police officers exercise their authority in fair and respectful ways – is central in communicating the trustworthiness of the criminal justice system to the public. Trust in the effectiveness of the

police and the justice system therefore plays a smaller role than trust in fairness, with *processes* being as important as *outcomes*. The ultimate outcome of these processes is legitimacy. Hough et al (2010) note that legitimacy, with regard to justice institutions, refers to how the *policed* feel about the *police* and to what extent the policed feel the police are entitled to exert their authority. In Textbox 4.1 below, Hough et al's (2010) model of the relationships that underlie procedural justice theory is outlined.

Textbox 4.1: Hough et al (2010: 204) – Relationships in Procedural Justice Model in Justice Institutions

- the treatment people receive at the hands of the police and justice officials
- the resultant trust that people have in institutions of justice
- the legitimacy people confer, as a consequence of this trust, on institutions of justice
- the authority that these institutions can then command when they are regarded as legitimate
- people's consequent preparedness to obey the police, comply with the law, and cooperate with justice

This raises the question – what constitutes procedurally just and fair contact with the institutions of the criminal justice system? Bradford (2011b: 347) has outlined the components of what fair treatment involves, noting that ‘the “building blocks” of procedural justice are (i) Voice (ii) Neutrality and (iii) Respect’. When these components are present, Bradford notes that the public are more likely to accept the decisions made by those in authority, are more likely to be satisfied with the decision, and will afford the decision-maker greater authority. This sense of fairness, or motive-based trust (that your interests and the interests of your community motivate and inform institutional response) is crucial to public attitudes towards justice.

Examining these aspects in more detail, Bradford (2011b) argues that ‘Voice’ relates to a feeling that members of the public have some control over the processes by which they interact with the authorities, that they have a voice, are taken seriously, and are heard by the police. Demonstrating the importance of voice in interactions with the police, Merry et al (2012) found that those who believed they could influence policing decisions in their local area had higher levels of confidence in the police. Bradford, Jackson and Stanko (2009) found that of greatest importance for evaluations of police contact was the question of whether police took the matter seriously. Even the view that police did not take the matter ‘entirely’ seriously was linked to

the greater likelihood of dissatisfaction with police contact. Overall, breaking the process of police contact down, they found that the four items associated with satisfaction with contact were: taking the matter seriously, ease of contact, the waiting time, and follow-up. The notion of 'Neutrality' identified by Bradford (2011b) refers to the lack of bias in treatment and process, highlighting the importance of transparency and of following correct procedures (e.g. Benesh and Howell, 2001). The final dimension of 'Respect' relates to the fair and equitable nature of treatment by police or courts and is supported by studies such as that of Benesh and Howell (2001) which found that court users rated the importance of courtesy very highly in their experiences.

Overall, Myhill and Bradford (2012) found that, for those who came into contact with the police, what mattered most was: good interpersonal treatment; a tailored (individualised) response; and a police service that provided reassurance and showed an interest in what people had to say. They concluded that '[m]ost currently available evidence suggests that what the public wants, arguably above all, is a police service that treats people with fairness, dignity and respect' (ibid: 419). Similarly, in her review of the literature in this area, Wilson (2012: 25-26) identified four elements of fairness that have been found to have a positive impact on trust in the justice system: having your say; neutrality; respectful treatment; and motive-based trust (when police were felt to have the interests of members of the public at heart). Empathy may also be another important element of a procedurally just approach to policing. Attempting to answer the question of what exactly might make a police contact 'good', Rosenbaum et al (2017), working with data from the Police-Community Interaction Survey in the US, found that perceived police empathy in recent police contact was a predictor of perceptions of procedural justice. In this survey instrument, empathy was measured by questions relating to whether police 'comforted and reassured' the respondent, and whether the officer believed, listened to, and seemed to be concerned for the respondent's feelings. Similarly Posick and Hatfield (2017) concluded that where officers had shown examples of H.E.A.R.T (standing for Hear, Empathise, Apologise, Respond, and Thank) in their dealings with the public there was a significant increase in the perceived fairness and confidence that the police were doing a good job. While the implications for police practice are discussed in the next chapter, suffice to say for the moment, the research suggests that treating people with dignity, respect, empathy and a sense of inclusion can mediate the effects of police contact and lead to increased satisfaction.

Another important qualification to the asymmetrical effect advanced by Skogan (2006, 2012) and others is that it would appear to have different effects depending on whether confidence

levels in the police or the wider criminal justice system are examined. Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts, (2013) found that in relation to trust in the criminal justice system as a whole this relationship was entirely asymmetrical (with negative contacts appearing to damage trust, but positive contacts having no effect) whereas in relation to trust in the police it was more symmetrical (positive contacts were associated with somewhat higher levels of trust). Finally, studies have observed that police contact will also be experienced differentially across different social groups, such as ethnic minorities (Murphy and Cherney 2011; Cherney and Murphy 2011; Bradford and Jackson, 2018) and those holding negative pre-existing views (Myhill and Bradford, 2012; Sargeant et al, 2018).

4.3.2.2 Contact with the Courts

Studies of 'public' contact with the courts are much less common than those concerned with contact with the police. As Hough (2013) note, the very limited contact that people have with criminal justice agencies outside of the police means that their experiences are hard to pick up in a general population survey. One important US study (Sun and Wu, 2006), however, found that those with recent court contact were more likely to have negative attitudes in their assessment of fair procedures and outcomes of the courts and were also more likely to have negative attitudes towards the concern and respect shown to them by courts. They went on to find, however, that this association differs by type of contact, and specifically the stake someone has in the process. For example, litigants were more likely than non-litigants to give more negative ratings of the courts' levels of concern and respect (as measured by concern for people's rights; treating people with dignity and respect; and treating people politely) and fair procedures and outcomes (as measured by fair procedures in handling cases; and fair outcomes). Benesh and Howell (2001) also stressed the importance of the role that someone assumed in a recent court experience in their evaluations of that contact and that institution. They point to the complexities of 'experience' with regard to confidence in the courts, noting that the *type* of court experience matters, and that the effect of different types of experience is polarising. Those with more stake in the outcome of a case, and less control over it (defendants), express least confidence in courts, while those with little stake but much more control (such as jurors), express most confidence in the courts. For both users (of whatever type) and non-users, however, procedural justice concerns also loomed large as an important factor. The perceptions of timeliness, courtesy and equal treatment all appeared to affect public confidence in the courts. In addition to these procedural justice factors, the eventual outcome also matters for court users.

The importance of good outcomes as well as procedures is something that should not be overlooked in the literature, particularly for victims of crime. For example, Laxminarayan

(2015) found that for victims of crime, the imposition of a prison sentence on the perpetrator had the strongest relationship with the process impact of trust in criminal justice. However, given that not all victims of crime will see their case progress to this conclusion, fair treatment again becomes salient.

4.3.2.3 Vicarious Contact

Before leaving the discussion on contact it is worth giving brief consideration to the issue of indirect or secondary contact with the system or the manner in which vicarious experience gained through conversations with friends or relatives, or through the stories that circulate in social groups, may impact trust and confidence (Jackson et al, 2012; Miller and D'Souza, 2016; Rosenbaum et al, 2005). Charlton et al's (2011) study on perceptions of local policing in the UK found that word-of-mouth and media stories were the most influential in shaping participants' perceptions of the police. US research also suggests that witnessing or having knowledge of police misconduct may have a significant negative impact on attitudes to the police, though not as strongly as direct personal contact (Miller and Davis, 2008; Brown and Reed-Benedict, 2002). This effect is particularly strong where it involves family members (Wu and Sun, 2009).

4.3.3 Perceptions of Neighbourhood and Anti-social Behaviour (ASB)

Alongside research on (mis)perceptions of crime, there is a rich seam of research supporting an association between perceptions of local neighbourhood and disorder and confidence in criminal justice. Linking to the notion of 'signal crimes' or disorder (Innes 2004a, 2004b), these studies have shown strong associations between perceptions of disorder and social cohesion and attitudes towards the police (Jackson and Sunshine, 2007; Jackson and Bradford, 2009; Myhill and Bradford, 2012). On this view, the police are seen as 'symbols of moral authority' (Jackson et al, 2009: 6) whose authority suffers when people feel that the criminal justice system is not dealing with the consequences of crime such as disorder and declining cohesion.

The evidence shows a clear relationship between perceptions of the local neighbourhood and confidence levels and thus expressive factors over instrumental factors such as crime rates and perceptions of risk (Jackson and Sunshine, 2007; Jackson and Bradford, 2009; Jackson et al, 2009). A good illustration of this is a recent panel experiment conducted by Bradford and Myhill (2015) which drew on CSEW data to examine the effects of perceived neighbourhood disorder, perceived neighbourhood collective efficacy and perceived likelihood of victimisation. These drivers combined a mixture of expressive (disorder and collective efficacy) and instrumental (perceived risk of victimisation) factors. Respondents' views on low-level disorder

and anti-social behaviour were gauged with CSEW questions such as '[h]ow much of a problem in this area is vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage? Collective efficacy was explored by asking respondents how likely they thought it was that people in their area would intervene if a fight occurred, or if children were spraying graffiti, etc. They found that trust in the police and the wider criminal justice system was implicated in public concerns about local order and cohesion or collective efficacy. Changes in perceptions of disorder and collective efficacy were consistently associated with changes in confidence in local police and the wider justice system. By contrast, changes in the perceived risk of victimisation and recent victimisation had no consistent association with changes in confidence. Associations between perceptions of disorder (for example) and trust in the courts or the wider criminal justice system are more uncertain, and have been identified in some studies (Bradford, 2011a) but not in others (Sprott and Doob, 2009).

4.3.4 Police Visibility

Visible police presence has been heavily politicised in recent years as the benchmark of good policing owing to demand for more visible and accessible police or what Bradford (2009b: 42) describes as 'the seemingly insatiable desire among the public for more "bobbies on the beat"'. Its significance, however, does appear to be borne out by the research evidence with studies consistently finding that good communication and increased visibility were important in increases in confidence, independent of other potential drivers such as contact with the police and concerns about anti-social behaviour (Bradford et al, 2008; Bradford, Jackson and Stanko, 2009; Lowe and Innes, 2012). In the 2013/14 CSEW, for example, adults who reported high visibility of the police gave the local police a positive rating 71 per cent of the time, compared with 61 per cent of adults who reported medium visibility of the police and 53 per cent of adults who reported low visibility of the police (ONS, 2015). In an ONS (2015) report on public perceptions of crime and the police, visibility is defined by what Povey (2001) refers to as 'comfort factors', namely, 'approaches that provide reassurance to the public about police presence, such as Neighbourhood Watch schemes, patrolling police, and obvious presence of CCTV' (ibid: 15)

While increased visibility is often achieved by increasing the numbers of officers, this is not the only means of enhancing visibility, and visibility itself is also positively associated with increased levels of confidence, independent of the overall strength of the organisation (Sindall and Sturgis, 2013). Merry et al (2012), for example, found that as frequency of sightings of local police personnel decreased so did the level of confidence, but also that police can enhance confidence through non-criminal policing. Results suggested that a sense of

engaged policing was important to respondents (including feeling informed) and that this could be improved by actively engaging with the community in a fair, transparent and honest way. Similarly, positive links have been found between neighbourhood policing teams in England and Wales and police performance (Flatley et al, 2010) and between informal contact with police officers and confidence levels in police (Hough and Roberts, 2004). More recent analysis of CSEW data (Jansson, 2015) also draws attention to the importance of subjective measures of feeling informed and having influence on crime and anti-social behaviour issues in the local area, and their links with confidence in the criminal justice system. In line with previous research, the report found links between visibility of the police and confidence but also found that questions asking respondents how informed they felt about crime/anti-social behaviour in their area, and whether they felt able to influence decisions about local policing were particularly related to confidence in the wider criminal justice system. As Wilson (2012: 36) observes, 'this [research] suggests that the issue is not visibility, but the availability and accessibility of police officers and the messages this sends about their level of engagement in the community.' These issues around how to achieve good quality community engagement and effective community policing will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Despite the seeming consensus in the literature on this point, visibility is not universally related to positive assessments of the police. The differential effects of enhanced police visibility were highlighted by Miller and D'Souza (2016) who found that there are distinct constituencies for policing within communities and each will respond positively to different police approaches. What may be perceived by some as a sign of security, can be perceived by others as a symbol of suspicion or harassment (e.g. stop and search). This aspect was also highlighted by Wu's (2014) research in the US, which found police visibility to be associated with both positive and negative outcomes. While visibility was associated with greater satisfaction with police problem-solving, it was also the case that respondents who more often saw a police car driving by their residence were more likely to perceive police harassment and racial profiling (see also Kääriäinen, 2008). Finally, the effects of visibility have also been examined when it comes to probation. While tentative, D'Souza's (2009) evaluation of a case study of highly visible unpaid community payback, found that baseline levels of knowledge about the probation initiative were high, and that it was associated with greater measures of confidence. Overall, it appears that visibility is generally a strong driver for confidence in the police, and that people generally find a police presence in their neighbourhood to be a reassurance, rather than a cause for alarm. However, the literature is not straightforward on the question of the differential effect that visibility has on groups within the community.

4.3.5 Knowledge about Crime and the Criminal Justice System

It is well established in the literature that public knowledge of crime and the justice system, particularly sentencing practice, is low, raising questions over a potential link between knowledge and attitudes (Hough, 2003; Roberts and Hough, 2005; Allen et al, 2006; Wozniak, 2014). Several studies have explored this so-called 'perception gap' (Singer and Cooper, 2009) and the extent to which the provision of good quality information can improve confidence levels (Chapman et al, 2002; Salisbury, 2004; Singer and Cooper, 2009; Jones and Weatherburn, 2010; Quinton, 2011; Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts, 2013). In a study conducted by the UK Home Office, Chapman et al (2002) tested levels of knowledge and confidence in aspects of the criminal justice system before and after presenting participants with some key facts about crime and justice. Participants who had been exposed to this information registered significant improvements in some measures of confidence, including confidence that the criminal justice system brings people to justice, which endured over time. Similarly, Singer and Cooper (2009) adopted an experimental design to test the effects of knowledge on public attitudes. The researchers distributed an information booklet to an experimental group, and surveyed the experimental and a control group to assess if information provision had any impact on confidence. In addition to improvements in general attitudes to sentences, those who received the booklet recorded higher levels of positive change in their responses to the general 'confidence in criminal justice system' measure. In their work in New South Wales, Jones and Weatherburn (2010) explored the effect of knowledge on perceptions of the criminal justice system and concluded that knowledge seemed to exert a strong, independent effect on confidence in the justice system. While subsequent Australian studies have been more equivocal on this aspect (Snowball and Jones, 2012), this finding was replicated in Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts's (2013) study which used multivariate modelling to identify the key predictors of the measures of confidence in the police and criminal justice system. They found knowledge about the system (as represented by estimates of the proportion of convicted rapists sent to prison) was a consistent predictor of confidence.

The provision of information may be particularly relevant to courts given that studies consistently show that people tend to underestimate the proportion of those found guilty of particular crimes who are given prison sentences (Hough, 2003; Roberts and Hough, 2005; Allen et al, 2006). In their international review, Hough and Roberts (2004) found that limited public knowledge of criminal justice across developed countries creates unrealistic expectations and this undermines confidence in criminal justice agencies. They also make the point that, as discussed above, the public is consistently more critical of the courts than the

police, probably reflecting lower levels of knowledge about sentencing. Drawing on a large online survey, Roberts et al (2012) sought to test whether provision of information impacted perceptions of the lay magistracy and Sentencing Council in England and Wales. Experimental manipulations were used which provided greater or lesser amounts of information on the courts and sentencing. The study found that providing information about sentencing reduced public punitiveness as well as improving confidence in sentencing and in the consistency of sentencing across the country (as noted by authors the effect was modest, perhaps reflecting the brevity of the information given). These findings echo research carried out by the American Bar Association (1999) which found that confidence in the justice system increased when respondents had more knowledge about it or had experience with it.

Overall, we can conclude, in line with Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts's survey of the literature (2013: 83), that 'most studies find a small but significant uplift in opinions subsequent to the provision of good quality information, although in some this effect is modest (see Quinton, 2011)'. While the same authors go on to highlight concerns with the external validity of many of these studies – since the experimental or other intervention is often unlikely to be replicable on a population level basis – the evidence for a link between information provision and confidence levels appears relatively strong.

4.3.6 Media Use

It is tempting to relate the aforementioned 'perception gap' among the public about the criminal justice system to the effects of media reporting. After all, for most people it is the media, and not personal experience, that is the primary source of information on the criminal justice system (Mawby, 2002; Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts, 2013). Indeed, the striking differences in confidence levels in the official response to crime at a local and national level suggest that news media coverage of the 'national' response to crime plays an important role in affecting public opinion (Hough and Roberts, 2004).

Research into media representation of crime and its impact on public confidence, however, suggests a much more complex picture and the extent to which use of different media feeds into trust judgments is uncertain. As will be seen below, media effects on public opinion are, in general, very difficult to prove, not least because of the self-selection involved in media consumption. Summaries of the evidence relating to police and courts (as the main agencies associated in the public mind with the criminal justice system) are provided below.

4.3.6.1 Police

Studies focusing directly on the influence of the media on attitudes to the police have returned mixed results. A study by Boda et al (2011) in Italy, Bulgaria and Lithuania found no substantial evidence of a direct strong link and this was the case also in Finland, where a study examining the effects of media coverage of a police misconduct scandal in Finland reported an increase, rather than decrease, in trust in the police (see also Kääriäinen et al, 2016). Similarly, Jackson et al (2012) found little change in public confidence in the police in London despite significant variation in the intensity of positive and negative reporting of the police over a 12-month period (Jackson et al, 2012). On the other hand, several studies have suggested associations between media consumption and perceptions of police misconduct and fairness, but not perceived police effectiveness or responsiveness (Miller and Davis, 2008; Dirikx et al, 2013). Others have found links between the respondents' worldview and the *type* of media consumed. Gauthier and Graziano's (2018) research in US, for example, found that respondents who cited local TV as their main source of news had more trust in the police than those using the internet as their primary source of information. Similarly, Dirikx and Van den Bulck (2014) found that those who watched the public channel where police were generally depicted more positively had higher levels of trust while watching crime shows on commercial channels where police were portrayed more negatively was associated with less trust.

Research has also shown that media effects are heavily mediated by experience and also that people choose how to interpret what the media says (see Carrabine, 2008). For example, Callanan and Rosenberger (2011) examined the influence of crime-related media consumption on individuals' opinions of the police using a telephone sample of 4,245 respondents in California. The study found that, while viewing television news programmes and crime-based reality programmes significantly increased confidence in the police, victims of crime and those with an arrest experience were not affected by crime-related media consumption. Likewise, Roberts and Stalans (1997) found that while respondents make judgments about news reports based on their prior attitudes: those who were exposed to information inconsistent with their attitudes tended to discount the information by concluding the media were biased. Gauthier and Graziano's (2018) study also found that respondents who were more aware of negative media coverage of the police were more likely to have less trust in the police, but only if they think the news coverage is fair.

4.3.6.2 Courts

Moy et al (1999) examined the impact of various media on confidence in a range of US institutions, including the criminal court system and found that only newspapers had any significant influence on confidence in the criminal courts (newspaper readers had higher levels

of confidence). The only media variable of significance for confidence in the police was the use of non-traditional media sources, such as television tabloid shows or entertainment talk shows, which was associated with less confidence in the police. Wenzel et al (2003) hypothesised that attitudes to local courts would be driven by four factors, one of which was the role of the mass media. Using data drawn from a survey undertaken in collaboration with the National Center for State Courts in the US (see Chapter 2 above), they analysed the findings of a telephone survey of 1,826 respondents which asked respondents about media sources of information on courts (such as television news, radio news, newspapers, and reality TV shows like *Judge Judy*). Despite predictions that explicitly sensationalist media sources would have a worse impact on confidence the study found no media effects present. None of the indicators of media consumption were significant.

Overall, it seems that negative stories about an institution such as the police or the courts does not lead inevitably to lower public confidence in that institution. It seems clear that people choose what media sources to consume; contest messages that do not match their existing attitudes; and that demographics, dispositions and contact with the system will mediate the effects of any media exposure for the individual. It is also important to remember that media use is a driver that encompasses a range of variables, such as those related to types of preferred media source, frequency and intensity of consumption, and the framing of events by the media.⁸

4.3.7 Experience of Crime Victimization

It seems obvious that being a victim of crime, whether the incident is reported to the police or not, should influence people's perceptions of the police and criminal justice system. The picture painted by the evidence, however, is much more complex, and it is likely that any relationship between victimhood and confidence is strongly mediated by other factors. Thus, BCS/CSEW and international survey data have consistently found victims of crime tended to be less satisfied with the criminal justice system than non-victims. In his analysis of the 2007/08 BCS data, Smith (2010) found that those who had experienced crime as a victim or witness in the last 12 months were less likely to be confident compared with people who had not been a victim or witness for all seven aspects of confidence in the criminal justice system.

⁸ It would seem clear that contemporary studies require a more detailed understanding of types of media in a variegated mediascape, particularly social media which has become increasingly important in recent years. The extent to which changing media consumption habits might exacerbate a tendency for people to consume news that reinforces pre-existing views on crime and the justice system would be an interesting area for further research.

This finding is echoed in the SCJS (2019) which has consistently detected lower confidence in the criminal justice system amongst victims of crime compared to non-victims.⁹ Similarly, research conducted by BOCSAR in New South Wales found that residents who had recently been exposed to violence, violent threats or property crime¹⁰ tended to be less confident in the criminal justice system (Halstead, 2015). While the report cautions against inferring causality from the correlation between exposure to crime and confidence levels, the findings are consistent with other evidence which suggests that such experiences diminish an individual's confidence in the system (Chaplin et al, 2011) and with the police (Barboza, 2012; Vogel, 2011; Lai and Zhao, 2010; Giblin and Dillon, 2009; Van Craen and Skogan, 2015b). More recently, Sindall, Sturgis and Jennings (2012) have demonstrated a link between falling rates of victimisation, declining perceptions of the extent of the crime problem and an increase in public confidence in the police. These findings stand in contrast to recent work by Mastrocinque and McDowall (2016) which found that recent victimisation does not influence justice system confidence (see also Roché and Roux (2017) with regard to police) and more complex analyses of the correlates of confidence in the police which generally find that victimisation, despite being strongly associated with trust and confidence, has considerably less predictive effect than other variables (such as personal contact and perceptions of community cohesion/disorder) (Myhill and Beak, 2008; Jackson et al, 2012; Jackson and Bradford, 2009). For instance, Sindall, McCarthy and Brunton-Smith (2017) noted that prior victimisation was important for young people's confidence in police, but that this could be overcome by strong parental confidence in the police. Again, the role of procedural justice has been noted as important for victims of crime, with the way victims are treated by police having a greater impact on satisfaction levels than criminal justice outcomes (Myhill and Bradford, 2012; see also Wolfe et al (2016) who argue that it assumes an even greater role for this group).

4.3.7.1 Contact with Victim Support Services

One interesting aspect of the relationship between experience of victimisation and confidence that has been recently explored by researchers is the effect of contact with victim services. Bradford (2011b) analysed BCS data from 2007/08 and 2008/09 to examine the influence of

⁹ Interestingly, this rule did not hold for the 2017/18 SCJS where only one measure showed a statistically significant difference between these groups – 56 per cent of victims were confident that the system is effective in bringing people who commit crimes to justice, compared to 63 per cent of non-victims.

¹⁰ Difference by offence type has been observed in a number of studies, and it seems to be the case that victims of certain types of crime may be more likely to have unsatisfactory police contact. Some studies have noted this trend for victims of racially motivated crime (e.g. Merry et al, 2012; outlined in Barrett, Fletcher and Patel, 2014).

contact with the UK organisation Victim Support on confidence. He found that contact with Victim Support was associated with greater 'case satisfaction' and higher trust in both the fairness and the effectiveness of the criminal justice system, with 90 per cent of persons who had contact with Victim Support reporting satisfaction. Crucially, the perception that the system was effective was entirely mediated by the view of the system as procedurally fair, suggesting that persons may rate the system as effective because they think it is fair. While Laxminarayan (2015), in contrast, found that contact with victim support had a negative relationship with trust he also found that victim impact statements were positively associated with the process impact on trust in the legal system.

4.3.8 Sentencing Attitudes and Preferences (Punitiveness)

This driver needs to be treated with particular caution given that there is a risk of circular causality here or, put simply, confusing public confidence (the effect or thing that needs to be explained) with punitiveness (the construct used to explain the effect). Thus, as already discussed, one of the measures of public confidence in courts often included in country surveys is: 'would you say the sentences handed down by the courts are too severe, about right or not severe enough?', an item which could also be treated as a measure of punitiveness. Assuming these two constructs may be sufficiently distinguished, there is some evidence that punitive attitudes towards sentencing may drive negative perceptions of judges and other criminal justice agencies. In a study commissioned by the Ministry of Justice in the UK (Smith, 2007), respondents were asked about factors or measures that they thought would have a positive impact on their level of confidence in the criminal justice system. 'Tougher sentencing', 'offenders serving the full sentence', and 'consistency in sentencing' were identified as the main factors after 'more police on the streets', suggesting that the public themselves see sentencing as an important element in increasing confidence. While, as noted above, such questions suffer from severe limitations in terms of eliciting the public's (more textured) views on criminal justice, this finding is replicated in research conducted by the American Bar Association (1999) and Allen et al (2006) which found that views on sentence severity were strongly associated with confidence or for a lack of confidence in the justice system (for more discussion of the US literature, see Hough and Roberts, 2004). Conversely, Hough, Jackson and Bradford (2013), drawing on UK data from Round 5 of the European Social Survey found that a belief that the courts are too lenient was associated with a *greater* willingness to cooperate with legal authorities rather than a *lesser* willingness to cooperate.

Surveys conducted in Australia have returned similarly mixed results on this issue. In their telephone survey of Australian adults (6,005 respondents) Roberts et al (2011) found a moderately negative association between confidence in sentencing and punitiveness (i.e. more punitive respondents tended to express less confidence in sentencing). On the other hand Snowball and Jones (2012) examined whether changes in knowledge and/or punitiveness underpinned increases in confidence in New South Wales in the period between 2007 and 2012 and found that the effect of adding the measures of knowledge and punitiveness to the models did not add much additional explanatory power to the models. Overall, it would seem that the evidence for this driver of attitudes to the justice system is weak, with further research required on the nature, strength and causal direction of the relationship (Wilson, 2012).

4.3.9 Macro level factors (wider political and social context)

As will be recalled from the discussion in Section 4.2 above, levels of trust in institutions tend to be generally higher in some countries than in others. Thus, in relation to policing, the social democratic Nordic states seem to achieve the highest levels of trust and legitimacy and the post-communist eastern European states suffered the lowest (Hough, Jackson and Bradford, 2013). This points to the significance of the particular history and culture of a country or society in mediating trust in the justice system. For example, a recent Canadian poll (Angus Reid Institute, 2016) found that Canadians tend to have more confidence in their police institutions than Americans have in their own – a finding that comes as little surprise given ongoing protests over police violence in the United States. In similar vein, Bradford et al (2018) found that trust in the police in Northern Ireland was higher in areas with more religious diversity owing to the greater trust in the police expressed by Catholics who lived in more diverse areas. Indeed, Ellison et al (2013), also focusing on Northern Ireland, found that in certain, very deprived urban areas of Northern Ireland, instrumental concerns about crime and illegal activity are a more influential predictor of attitudes to the police than expressive concerns with disorder and anti-social behaviour, challenging the degree to which the ‘received wisdom’ can usefully inform our understanding of confidence in justice in discrete micro-spaces.

At the level of international comparison and national context, the level of corruption in a country has been linked strongly to trust and confidence in criminal justice institutions, particularly to confidence in the police (Morris, 2015; Marien and Werner, 2019; Alalehto and Larsson, 2016; Jang et al, 2015; Piatkowska, 2015). Using data from the World Values Survey, Morris (2015) found that government corruption was the single most important factor influencing country-

level confidence in the police. Jang et al (2015), working with ESS data, likewise found that corruption was the strongest factor explaining confidence in the police at a country-wide comparison level. Similarly, there are also severe implications for levels of trust in countries with populations who hold expectations of fair treatment by criminal justice agencies, when this expectation is violated (Marien and Werner, 2019). All of this research demonstrates the importance of considering the historical, political and cultural context in which confidence in the criminal justice system exists, and the different way that justice issues are understood and processed across cultures.

This point links back to the discussion in Chapter 3 concerning the need to view the criminal justice system as only one of a range of state institutions in which citizens may repose their trust (Roberts, 2007; Indermaur and Roberts, 2009). Changes in levels of confidence are therefore not specific to the justice system and the reductions in confidence in the justice system since the early 1980s may be viewed against the backdrop of declining trust (and perhaps deference) in a number of institutions (Ivkovic, 2008). It may also be explained as a result of declining interpersonal trust. Using data from the ESS, Van de Walle and Raine (2008) found that interpersonal trust and life satisfaction are strongly related to trust in the legal system and this finding is replicated in Canadian surveys showing that Canadians who are generally more trusting of others are also more confident in institutions (school system, banks, parliament, media, justice, etc.) (Cotter, 2015). Thus, the more one is satisfied with one's own life, and the more one feels that other people can be trusted, the more trustful one is of the justice system. This echoes research by Lappi-Seppälä (2013) which shows that levels of interpersonal trust and trust in government are strongly correlated with levels of state punitiveness

4.4 Summary

This section of the review has discussed a number of individual and neighbourhood factors that have been shown to predict levels of trust in criminal justice. In drawing the chapter to a close we may identify three clusters of factors or drivers for which there is some evidence of a relationship with confidence in criminal justice, grouped according the strength of the evidence and effects on confidence:

- Strong:
 - Contact with police/courts: A consistent finding in the literature is the effect of contact with the criminal justice system on confidence levels, with many

studies showing that those who have contact with the police or courts are less likely to be confident than those with no contact. Despite a suggestion that negatively evaluated contacts with the police tend to have a much larger effect than positively evaluated contacts there is solid evidence that treating people with dignity, respect and a sense of inclusion can mediate the effects of police contact and lead to increased satisfaction.

- Perceptions of neighbourhood/ASB: The evidence shows a clear relationship between perceptions of local neighbourhood anti-social behaviour/cohesion and confidence levels in local police and the criminal justice system.
- Visibility of police: Evidence consistently shows that that visibility and good communication by police in the local area are important in increases in confidence, independent of other potential drivers.

- Moderate:
 - Knowledge about the criminal justice system: The evidence that the provision of good quality information to system users may increase confidence levels appears relatively strong, although effects may be modest.
 - Victimization: The evidence suggests that the link between victimisation and confidence is not entirely straightforward. While survey data have consistently found victims of crime tended to be less satisfied with the criminal justice system than non-victims, this is likely to be heavily mediated by other factors such as contact with the system.
 - Media use: The media provide information on criminal justice in the absence of personal experience but media effects are difficult to prove. The research on this issue is mixed.

- Weak:
 - Sentencing attitudes/punitiveness: Overall, the evidence for this driver of attitudes to the justice system is weak, with further research required on the nature, strength and causal direction of the relationship.

5 Initiatives to Improve Public Confidence in Criminal Justice

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4 the evidence base for seven key drivers impacting public confidence in the criminal justice system was discussed. This final section will examine the application of this evidence through an overview of the initiatives that appear promising in terms of improving public confidence in the police and courts, as the parts of the system with which the public are most familiar. The strategies most likely to improve public confidence appear to fall into three categories relating to: improving encounters between the justice system and the public from a procedural justice perspective; improving community policing; and restorative justice. The research to date has been overwhelmingly focused on the police, although, where relevant, initiatives aimed at improving confidence in the courts will be noted.

5.2 Improving Encounters between the Justice System and the Public (Procedural Justice)

It is clear from the previous chapter that there is a growing body of international research in support of procedural justice theories. While this work began in the United States (Tyler and Huo, 2002; Tyler, 2007, 2011), it now includes a number of international studies (Murphy, 2004, 2005; Hinds and Murphy 2007), most notably, the recent module on public confidence in the European Social Survey (2010) which provides strong empirical support for the theoretical model of procedural justice (Hough, Jackson and Bradford, 2013). As it relates to trust in justice, procedural justice theories hold that fair *processes* matter more than *outcomes* in terms of assessing the overall effectiveness of the police. It will be recalled from Chapter 3 that it typically comprises four essential components relating to: inclusivity in the proceedings (or citizen voice); neutrality in decision making; demonstrated dignity and respect throughout the interaction, and a sense that the authority has trustworthy motives (Tyler 2008; Tyler and Huo 2002; Tyler and Murphy 2011). The impact of procedurally just interactions with the police has been shown to have a particularly significant effect given the interconnectedness of trust in justice. As Hough, Jackson, Bradford and Roberts (2013: 57) have found, 'trust in the police shapes trust in criminal justice more broadly, people make inferences from the police (and particularly from their encounters with police officers) to the criminal process'.

Against this background, a number of experimental studies have recently been conducted seeking to test procedural justice theories. Indeed, the world's first randomised field trial of procedural justice policing took place between December 2009 and June 2010 in three police districts in Queensland, Australia as part of an initiative known as the Queensland Community Engagement Trial (Queensland CET). Random breath testing (RBT) operations were used as a police operation in which to introduce procedural justice. The intervention tested the impact of police engaging with citizens by operationalising key ingredients of procedural justice (neutrality, citizen participation, respect, and trustworthy motives) and by using a procedural justice protocol script (which was considerably longer than usual interaction length). In total, 60 RBT operations were carried out in Brisbane using roadblock operations, 30 control operations and 30 experimental operations. All drivers who were pulled over were given a survey to complete and return. The results found significant differences between experimental and control groups on all key outcome measures. In particular, trust and confidence in the police were higher in the experimental condition compared to the control condition and this was the case even after respondents' demographic background and general perceptions of the police were taken into account (Murphy et al, 2014; see also Mazerolle et al, 2013b). In another analysis of the Queensland experiment data, Murphy and Mazerolle (2018) examined the effects of the intervention on immigrants compared to non-immigrants and noted that the intervention had a more positive effect on immigrants, particularly those aged younger than 26. The uplift in confidence levels observed after the trial was therefore moderated by age and immigrant status (on age and trust in police see further Murphy (2005) and on trust in police and migrant communities, see Fountain et al (2007)).

While the studies relating to the Queensland CET are generally supportive of the principles of procedural justice, it is important to remember that RBTs are a very benign encounter and are not generalisable to a range of police-citizen encounters which may involve greater conflict or higher stakes (such as being arrested, reporting a crime, etc.). It is also of note that the RBT intervention showed no positive effects when replicated in Scotland, although this may be explained by the significant issues in implementation outlined in MacQueen and Bradford (2017) (e.g. issues with 'treatment fidelity', negative attitudes and behaviours of study officers). Overall, however, it may be said the research in this area shows promising outcomes for the effects of police-led interventions on confidence levels (see also, Lowrey et al, 2016, although it should be noted that this research was conducted with college students). In their systematic review of studies assessing the effects of police-led interventions on 'legitimacy outcomes' (defined as satisfaction, cooperation, compliance, confidence, and perceptions of legitimacy), Mazerolle et al (2013a) found this type of intervention resulted in a large, significant increase

in positive perceptions of police. The authors reviewed 28 studies and found that each of the outcome measurements (satisfaction, confidence, etc) independently recorded an overall significant positive effect size (indicating that the choice to combine them did not affect the overall result). The authors conclude that even if *one* of the components of procedural justice is included as part of a police intervention dialogue, citizen satisfaction levels may increase. In short, 'a little bit of being nice during police-citizen interactions goes a long way' (ibid: 265). A similarly confident conclusion is drawn by Donner et al (2015: 167) in their meta-review of procedural justice within policing: 'Overwhelmingly, the results ... suggest that citizens' views of procedural justice during interactions with the police positively affect their views of police legitimacy, satisfaction with police services, satisfaction with incident disposition, trust in the police, and confidence in the police.'

In terms of practical application, the focus on procedural justice can be enacted both through system processes (for example, in users' roles in justice processes) or through system cultures (for example, around how police officers are trained) (Wilson, 2012). In the conclusion to their review, Mazerolle et al (2013a: 264) argue that procedural justice principles can be applied to any type of police intervention: 'From traffic stops to field contacts, the authors suggest that if police apply the dialogue that adapts the principles of procedural justice during any of their encounters with citizens, they create opportunities to enhance perceptions of legitimacy.' As in the Queensland and Scottish trials, 'scripts' are frequently used to operationalise procedural justice principles, enabling officers to see the principles of procedural justice in a more applied way. The application of the tenets of procedural justice to other constituents of the system appears similarly ripe for exploration, with a recent US publication in this area highlighting multiple examples of procedural justice in practice by judges, lawyers, court managers and probation officials (La Gratta, 2017). The authors note their diversity, 'from changing courtroom dynamics to tweaking hiring and training strategies to improving the built environment', but also, oftentimes, their simplicity (ibid: 3). Training in enhanced interpersonal communication may be particularly important here. One example is a one-day training programme developed by the Center for Court Innovation, the Bureau of Justice Assistance, and the National Judicial College in four US courts, aimed at helping judges and other staff improve their courtroom communication skills. The project's evaluation revealed that the one-day training resulted in improved communication in almost all of the targeted areas, evidenced by pre- and post-training observations conducted by researchers (La Gratta and Bowen, 2014).

5.3 Improving Community Policing

The second, and most substantial, grouping of interventions that has been shown to improve public confidence relates to improvements in community policing. This is further broken down into three main sub-categories, namely, improvements in police visibility/engagement; improvements in communications between the police and the public; and improvements in (physical) neighbourhood conditions.

5.3.1 Improvements in Police Visibility/Engagement with the Community

This first grouping maps on to the literature discussed in the previous chapter relating to visibility, and beyond this, a sense of police engaging with and consulting the communities that they serve, to provide what has become known as ‘reassurance policing’ (Innes and Fielding, 2002; Millie and Herrington, 2005). A number of high-profile interventions have been trialled in the UK, US and Australia in this area, with some measure of success. One of these is the National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP), a pilot programme of intensive community policing implemented in 16 neighbourhoods in England between 2003/04 and 2004/05. The NRPP comprised three main strands: targeted policing activity and problem-solving to tackle crime and disorder that matters in neighbourhoods; community involvement in identifying policing priorities; and visible, locally known and accessible police presence in neighbourhoods. As part of an evaluation of the programme, six of the intervention sites were paired with matched control sites and residents in both sites interviewed by telephone panel survey (Tuffin et al, 2006). Overall, the researchers found a positive impact with a 15 percentage point increase in the proportion of people who felt the police were doing an excellent or a good job compared to a three percentage point increase in the controls. An interesting finding from a follow up study was that two of the delivery mechanisms – community engagement and problem-solving – are potentially more important than police visibility (foot patrol) in maintaining results in the longer term, as public confidence remained high even when police visibility fell (Quinton and Morris, 2008). While the results of an evaluation of a national programme of neighbourhood policing rolled out across the UK following the NRPP pilots are more disappointing, as Rix et al (2009) note this is likely due to difficulties with the quality of the implementation.

One of the longest running community policing programmes is the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) which began in 1993 and is ongoing. It comprises three elements: problem-solving, community involvement and city partnerships. The programme is based on concentrating police officers in small beat areas, with officers expected to spend most of their

time responding to calls and working with residents and community groups to solve problems in their localities. Indeed, the concept of beat policing is intended to ensure that police officers have a greater connection to that area and feel more responsibility towards it. A commitment to community involvement is reflected in 'beat meetings' which take place monthly in each locality as a forum for police-community interaction. Beat and district projects are assisted in their work by the CAPS Implementation Office, which is composed of civilian community outreach workers, some formerly employed by non-profit community organisations. These workers assist with sustaining participation in beat community meetings. An evaluation of the programme ten years after its inception (Skogan and Steiner, 2004), found levels of confidence in the police improved steadily between 1993 and 1999, before levelling off at a new high in the 2000s. These included increased perceptions of police responsiveness (13 percentage points over ten years); improved perceptions of police performance (by ten percentage points); improved perceptions of officer demeanour (by four percentage points). While increases in confidence were apparent across whites, African Americans and Latinos alike, unfortunately no change was observed in the 15-20 percentage point gap between the views of whites and those of other racial groups over the period.

The findings of the Chicago study are supported by positive evaluations of another innovative beat-style scheme in Queensland, Australia known as the Toowoomba Beat Patrol intervention (Criminal Justice Commission, 1995; Mazerolle et al, 2003). This was established in May 1993 by the Queensland Criminal Justice Commission (CJC) and the Queensland Police Service (QPS) with the aim of demonstrating how non-conventional policing strategies could become part of the duties of operational police officers. The pilot study comprised of two beats, each comprised of approximately 5,000 residents, in an area about one mile squared. Part of the intervention included police officers having part of their houses as a public office for local residents, and served as the 'mini' police station, a crucial point of contact. This embedding of police clearly demonstrates the aim that police and community would feel a sense of ownership. In addition, key points emphasised to the officers were: answer calls for service in their beat whenever possible; focus on problem solving in the beat area; provide follow-up on residents' calls; undertake regular foot patrol and investigate minor criminal incidents if practical. Following the success of the project in Toowoomba, the programme was rolled out across a further 28 areas in Queensland. In a subsequent evaluation of three of these areas, it was found that more beat-area respondents (94 per cent) were satisfied with the service they received from the police than respondents who had been attended to by general-duties officers (83 per cent). While the authors acknowledge that, to some extent, these positive findings are attributable to the personal qualities of the beat officers themselves,

they also attribute these to several project features — such as foot patrols, more time for beat officers to interact with the community, and beat officers' local knowledge.

In terms of the practical application of these initiatives, there is some debate in the literature over the relative importance of visibility and engagement with the community: while some authors argue visibility alone is sufficient to improve confidence, others emphasise the need for visibility combined with interaction with the community (cf. Mackenzie and Henry, 2009 and Jackson et al, 2009). Dalglish and Myhill's (2004) international review of policing interventions found that some of the most successful interventions for improving perceived police effectiveness incorporated mechanisms designed to improve community engagement as well as increasing officer visibility and this finding is echoed in Quinton and Morris's (2008) evaluation of the NRPP referenced above. Looking specifically at patrol as a strategy of engagement, it is important not to lose sight of the *quality* as well as the *quantity* of this form of engagement with the local community (Rix et al, 2009). In this regard, Hail et al's (2018) recent systematic review is interesting as it considers the impact of different approaches to patrol on perceptions of the police. This connects with the procedural justice literature discussed above in that knowing what police officers do on patrol and how they do it can speak directly to larger processes of enhancing public confidence in policing. In this regard the authors found that officers being visible on foot and bicycle patrols are perceived as more approachable, friendly and accountable than those in cars and, further, glean more in-depth knowledge regarding local crime on their 'beat' (Wunsch and Hohl, 2009; Simpson, 2017). The research evidence also found that the style of policing (enforcement vs. engagement) delivered by individual officers is an issue of some importance, with enforcement styles of policing potentially increasing mistrust and acting as a barrier to engagement (Wood et al, 2014). Finally, the review highlighted the importance of regular communication between the police and the community for building trust and confidence (Kochel and Weisburd, 2017). This leads us on to our next aspect of improved community policing which concerns communications.

5.3.2 Improvements in Communications

We have seen in the previous chapter that showing that effective presentation of local and national crime statistics by way of 'targeted communication activity' can have a positive effect on public confidence in the criminal justice system (Singer and Cooper, 2009). One example of best practice in this regard is the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) newsletter which since 2008 has been distributed to all households on each of London's 624 wards by MPS Safer Neighbourhood Teams. The newsletter was designed following two qualitative studies

involving focus groups to explore public interest, needs and preferences regarding information from and about the police (OPM, 2006) and a follow-up study in 2008. Textbox 4.1 below shows the five principles to emerge from the studies which are now regarded by the MPS as a good practice model.

Textbox 5.1: MPS Good Practice Model of Information Provision

1. Information should be instantly recognisable as being from the police. This is crucial in order to ensure interest and that the information provided will be read.
2. Information should pertain to the immediate local area. One of the strongest messages from the qualitative exploration of public information needs was that local information carried the most meaning and relevance.
3. Information should be provided about local crime and disorder issues. People want to learn about local problems, followed by information on police actions in response and, where possible, outcomes of these.
4. Information should make the police more accessible. People want to know about how to contact the police. This includes contact details of the local neighbourhood policing team, opening hours of local police stations and information on upcoming public meetings.
5. Communication needs to be inclusive. Style is important in this respect, and should be professional, yet 'approachable', avoid police jargon and technical terms and not presume too much prior knowledge on the part of the reader.

A test of this 'good practice' newsletter was carried out in collaboration with researchers from the London School of Economics (LSE) to examine its effects on confidence as well as perceptions of local crime and disorder. This was done by way of a quasi-randomised experiment on a population-representative sample in seven wards in London (Wunsch and Hohl, 2009; Hohl et al, 2010). Face-to-face interviews were carried out with a random sample of 2,836 respondents, representative of residents aged 16 and over, with four wards that did not receive a newsletter functioning as control sites. The percentage of respondents feeling the police was doing a good or excellent job increased by a statistically significant 8.4 per cent following the newsletter drop (from 76.7 per cent to 84.9 per cent). No statistically significant change was observed on the control wards. Of particular note, the newsletter appears to have had a buffering effect on perceptions of police effectiveness in dealing with crime when this was threatened by negative media coverage of the police and levels of knife crime. However, the newsletters did not have a significant effect on perceptions of police fairness. While the authors acknowledge that evaluation only focused on short term results (respondents were

interviewed within a few weeks of receiving the newsletter) and no follow-up study has taken place to assess where levels of public trust sit in the long term, it is noteworthy that this and similar studies (Quinton, 2011) have produced statistically significant results.

One key learning from the literature in this area concerns the method of delivering this information. Singer and Cooper's (2009) study (referenced above) tested three methods of delivery: 1) the direct marketing approach by posting in individualised envelopes, 2) limited interaction by handing the booklet to the recipient, and 3) more extensive interaction by delivering the booklet and explaining it to the recipient. A communications delivery company was hired to disseminate the booklet, and those tasked with this role were provided for separate scripts for the 'handing' and 'explaining' groups. A random sample of participants was recruited and divided into four groups (posting, handing, explaining, control/no booklet) and the intervention was assessed by telephone panel survey which mirrored BCS/CSEW questions on knowledge and confidence. While, as will be recalled from Chapter 3, overall outcomes were positive, those who received the booklet recorded a greater positive response to 'confidence in criminal justice' than the control group, the study also highlighted the importance of the delivery mechanism in such interventions. The differences between the posted group and control group were not statistically significant, but the differences between those to whom the booklet was handed/those to whom the contents were explained and the control group were statistically significant.

5.3.3 Improvements in (physical) Neighbourhood Conditions

Another promising type of activity that has long been recognised in the criminological literature is alleviating signs of crime and disorder. Following on from the strong associations between perceptions of disorder and social cohesion and attitudes towards the police already noted in the previous chapter, this type of intervention also connects with Wilson and Kelling's (1982) 'broken windows' thesis, which argued that disorder, if left untreated, will lead to higher crime rates. While the evidence supporting this theory is mixed, there is some support in the literature for the view that physical improvements to an area alleviating visual signs of crime and disorder such as removing graffiti, litter, or abandoned cars may improve confidence (Dalglish and Myhill, 2004; Rix et al, 2009). Notably, this is an intervention that will require a multi-agency response. Rix et al (2009: 17) suggest the following in terms of practice implementation:

- clear reporting and action procedures for local councils to facilitate quick responses to problems before they get out of control;

- joint working between local agencies can help report problems to the council that need solving; and
- publicising successful improvements to the local community to further increase public confidence.

5.4 Restorative Justice

One means of enhancing public confidence that has attracted growing interest in recent years is restorative justice. Restorative justice can be described as ‘a process whereby all the parties with a stake in a particular offence come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future’ (Marshall, 1996: 37). In contrast to traditional criminal justice processes, restorative justice stresses reconciliation between the offender, the victim, and the community to which both belong, with community participation forming an important part of the restorative justice paradigm. Restorative processes are therefore able to improve public confidence and satisfaction by both directly engaging the affected parties in the disposal and reaching out to other members of the community.

A study providing strong evidence of its effectiveness in this area was carried out by Professor Joanna Shapland (Shapland et al, 2007) based on three Home Office funded restorative justice schemes operating in London, Northumbria and Thames Valley from mid-2001 onwards. These three schemes were evaluated and participants were randomised to either a restorative justice conference or a control group (which received no intervention). As part of the evaluation views were obtained from offenders and victims before and after allocation to the conference/control group. The study found that 34 per cent of victims had become more positive about the criminal justice system with views about policing showing the most improvement. The same proportion of offenders, 34 per cent, also stated that they felt more positive about the system. While half of the participants said that their views had not changed, the differences between the views of conference and control group victims on satisfaction with the criminal justice system were statistically significant.

While there are few studies conducted under controlled conditions in this area, evaluations of the Nova Scotia Restorative Justice Program, one of the longest running in Canada, suggest increases in public confidence in line with the program objectives (Clairmont and Waters, 2015). In terms of impact *beyond* participants in the programme, however, there is little doubt that this can be difficult to achieve. As the evaluators go on to note, one of the key shortcomings of the programme was its ‘limited outreach out to various publics in order to impact positively and beyond the session participants, on the level of public confidence in the

justice system' (ibid: 22). Further evidence of positive impact on community confidence in this area is provided by Shewan (2010) who, in his evidence to an all-party parliamentary local government group in the UK, cites an evaluation of specific confidence survey questions in Norfolk showing that 94 per cent of victims who experienced restorative justice felt confident that the police and partners can deal with crime and anti-social behaviour. In Shewan's own constituency of Greater Manchester he notes indications from victim surveys that 38 per cent said their confidence in policing had improved as a result of the restorative justice experience.

The impact of restorative justice initiatives on public confidence/trust in justice appears to be an area that is ripe for further research, particularly in light of evidence suggesting widespread support for restorative justice. In a review of research in the area,¹¹ Roberts and Stalans (2004: 331) conclude that the public in different jurisdictions generally support sentencing initiatives that reflect restorative justice principles and argues that 'investing in restorative sentencing options is likely to promote, not diminish public confidence in the courts, provided these options are not applied to the most serious forms of criminal behaviour'. Noting the dearth of research on public opinion on restorative justice some years ago, Sherman and Strang (2007) argue that progress in evidence-based restorative justice is likely to depend on whether future testing of restorative justice is conducted on a neighbourhood-wide or community-wide basis.

5.5 Summary

The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that there are three types of activity that have been shown to improve confidence/trust in the justice system: improving encounters between the justice system and the public from a procedural justice perspective; improving community policing (police visibility/engagement; communications; neighbourhood conditions); and restorative justice.

In respect of all of these interventions, the evidence presented should be considered in light of the following three factors:

Context – While positive results have been noted for many of the international initiatives discussed above, it should not be assumed that the same intervention will transfer unproblematically to Ireland. Given the socially and culturally-situated nature of public confidence in the criminal justice system (discussed in Chapter 3), it is important that the contexts of different communities are taken into account when designing a strategy to enhance

¹¹ Roberts and Stalans reviewed all international research on public reaction to restorative sentencing published in English over the past 20 years (1982–2002).

public confidence, including the needs of different constituencies *within* communities (Bradford et al, 2018). The best practice for any community is one that fits their specific needs and conditions and thus the need for a reflexive relationship between the police and the public cannot be overstated.

Implementation – It is critical that a high-quality implementation is achieved if the intervention is to be successful. Potential obstacles identified by Rix et al (2009) in this regard include: consultation meetings not achieving full representation of the local community; highlighting crime and anti-social behaviour too much; and police cultural barriers relating to the incorporation of community policing into police work. In relation to the latter, there is evidence that without organisational buy-in and management support for community policing/foot patrols, officers may look towards roles that are ‘real’ police work (Hail, Aston and O’Neill, 2018). Partnership working may raise further implementation issues.

Sustainability – Given that successes achieved elsewhere have taken many years to realise, increasing and maintaining public confidence in the police should be seen as a long-term and ongoing process. Community-related interventions can depend heavily on the sustained involvement of the original key personnel and it is important that this work is supported. Sustainability also relates to resources and, as will be apparent, this varies across the range of initiatives above. While some interventions have resource implications, such as those involving increased foot patrol, others, such as those involving embedding principles of procedural justice into police practice, are less resource intensive. In relation to the latter Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts (2013: 7) note a risk that strategies to improve public confidence/trust become ‘little more than a public relations exercise, securing the right media messages, and ensuring that staff remain “on message” in their contact with the public’. For them, this would be a mistake, given that ‘improvements in trust have to be earned and not simply claimed’ (ibid).

6 Conclusions

This review has sought to comprehensively examine the international evidence relating to the measurement of public confidence, the factors driving it, and the means by which it may be improved. This section draws out the most salient findings according to these three areas of inquiry. Due to the tight timescale for the review, it is possible that some relevant evidence has not been referenced within the report, although it is assumed that all of the key studies have been included.

6.1 Key Findings

6.1.1 Measurement

Confidence in the criminal justice system is a complex and multidimensional concept. It is therefore important not to treat the findings of public opinion surveys in this area uncritically, particularly single-item indicators seeking to assess confidence in terms of ‘how good a job’ a particular agency is doing. Conclusions about levels of trust or confidence in criminal justice can therefore only be drawn having first made a distinction between confidence in the local or national response; the different dimensions of confidence (fairness, whether procedural or distributive or both, and effectiveness); and the particular branch of the criminal justice system that is being assessed (police, courts, etc.). Given the high variability in levels of confidence among the various criminal justice agencies, the different dimensions of public confidence (fairness and effectiveness) should be assessed across the constituent parts of the system (police, courts, prisons, probation). Internationally, surveys administered through face-to-face computer assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) are the most common method of assessing confidence in the justice system.

6.1.2 Drivers

In line with the above, declining levels of confidence in the criminal justice systems of western jurisdictions between 1980 and 2000 should not be viewed uncritically. These trends should be viewed in light of the falling levels of trust in other public institutions, as well as the mandate of the criminal justice system, which is much more complex and is charged with reconciling the interests of multiple parties. The effect of mandate on confidence levels is revealed in the high variability in confidence levels across the different components of the system. Surveys in Western jurisdictions consistently show that the police attract the highest levels of public

confidence, and the prison and probation services the lowest. This can likely be explained by reference to their relative visibility and the public's familiarity and affinity with their mandates. In terms of the relative position of Ireland, the proportion of the population with confidence in the justice system is lower than in most Scandinavian countries but higher than in many other jurisdictions. On several measures, the confidence balance would appear to be positive with more people saying that they have confidence in the system than those who say they do not. With regard to trust in the police, moreover, Irish confidence levels appear higher than in other European countries.

In relation to drivers or factors impacting levels of confidence on criminal justice it would appear that the most important drivers of public confidence in the system, particularly the police, are personal experience with the system, seeing or hearing from the police, and perceptions of anti-social behaviour and cohesion in the local neighbourhood. Within those experiences it would seem that evaluation of the system's procedural justice, namely, whether it treats people with fairness, dignity and respect, is crucial to the impact that contact with the system has on public trust. In addition, increasing the public's knowledge of the system has been shown to have some modest effect on confidence. Drivers in relation to which the evidence is more mixed concern the influence of the media, experience of victimisation and sentencing attitudes and perceptions. For these variables, it would seem that their influence on confidence levels is mediated by other factors such as pre-existing attitudes and contact with the system. Similarly, demographic factors such as sex, age, and ethnicity have been shown to be secondary to the influence of people's experience of the justice system. Unfortunately, none of these relationships have been tested in Ireland.

6.1.3 Interventions

Following on from the above, and the importance of the police for confidence levels in the criminal justice system overall, many of the initiatives aimed at improving trust or confidence tend to concentrate on the police. These include: (i) improving encounters between the justice system and the public to better embed procedural justice principles into police practice, (ii) better police engagement with the community and (iii) the incorporation of restorative justice practices into policing. Within a community policing approach, those strategies most likely to enhance public confidence are those focusing on improvements in police

visibility/engagement; improvements in communications between the police and the public; and improvements in (physical) neighbourhood conditions.

6.2 Implications for Policy and Practice

A preliminary, but crucial, implication for practice concerns the importance of devising appropriate measurement tools so as to achieve a more *considered* measure of confidence from the public. Measures of confidence, particularly single-item measures, should not be viewed uncritically and should not be taken as performance indicators.

In relation to the drivers of public confidence, as is sometimes the case with criminological research, some of the research findings discussed above may be regarded as somewhat counterintuitive. Despite what may be assumed about the public's emphasis on the instrumental aspects of the justice system, such as the police's ability to bring offenders to justice, evidence suggests procedural justice to be more central to confidence levels in the police and the wider criminal justice system. Likewise, factors such as media usage, demographic factors and experience of victimisation may be expected to have been more influential than the evidence suggests, although firm conclusions cannot be reached without Irish research in this area.

One positive message for policy-makers and practitioners, arising from the strong empirical support that has been observed for policies based on the principles of procedural justice, is the significance of personal experience in shaping trust in the criminal justice system. Achieving a different quality of relationship in encounters with the public is not necessarily expensive, and can be effected through any public encounter with the police or courts. Securing change in this direction is not, however, without its challenges and cannot be attained without a high-quality implementation and commitment, beyond simply ensuring that staff remain 'on message' in their contact with the public.

Another key message concerns the importance for levels of trust in the justice system of the police's engagement in the community. The findings of this report are consistent with neighbourhood or community policing strategies that have been a feature of criminal justice policy in many jurisdictions for some years now. In implementing these policies, particularly those concerning visibility and the alleviation of signs of crime and disorder, it is important, while remaining responsive to public priorities, to bear in mind the principles of procedural justice. As Hough, Bradford, Jackson and Roberts (2013: 58) observe, 'principles of

procedural justice remind us that the police need not only to be responsive wherever possible, but to retain some degree of *distance* from communities, resolving conflicts by reference to criteria of legality rather than majority preference'. As with changes relating to procedural justice, effective community policing cannot be achieved without organisational culture change.

Given its strong emphasis on community participation, restorative justice appears to hold much promise in terms of its impact on public confidence. The impact of restorative justice initiatives on public confidence/trust in justice appears to be an area that is ripe for further research, particularly in light of positive evaluations in the UK and Canada, and evidence suggesting widespread support for sentencing initiatives that reflect restorative justice principles.

Finally, the fact that access to information also appears to have some predictive effect in relation to confidence levels adds impetus to existing initiatives aimed at increasing public familiarity with the workings of the criminal justice system. It is also supportive of a more proactive approach to public education and informed public debate on matters of crime and justice.

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Appendix

Table of Studies – Criminal Justice

Author	Publication Date	Criminal Justice Site	Location	Overview	Sample	QA
Mastrocinque, JM and McDowall, D, 'Does Recent Victimization Impact Confidence in the Criminal Justice System?', <i>Victims and Offenders</i> , 11(3), 482-499	2016	Criminal Justice	England and Wales	Explores whether recent victimisation influence confidence in criminal justice.	11,829 (of which victims 2,818)	1
Laxminarayan, M, 'Enhancing trust in the legal system through victims' rights mechanisms', <i>International Review of Victimology</i> , 21(3), 273	2015	Criminal Justice	The Netherlands	Examines association between victims' rights mechanisms and impact on victims' trust in criminal justice.	101	2
Bradford, B and Myhill, A, 'Triggers of change to public confidence in the police and criminal justice system: Findings from the Crime Survey for England and Wales panel experiment', <i>Criminology and Criminal Justice</i> , 15(1), 23-43	2015	Criminal Justice	England and Wales	Explores the impact of expressive and instrumental factors on trust in criminal justice.	879	1
Salvatore, C, Markowitz, M and Kelly, CE, 'Assessing Public Confidence in the Criminal Justice System', <i>International Social Science Review</i> , 88(1-2), 3-16	2013	Criminal Justice	United States	Investigates incivilities and contact with police as drivers of confidence in criminal justice.	1,543	1
Boda, Z and Szabó, G, 'The media and attitudes towards crime and the justice system: A qualitative approach', <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> , 8(4), 329-342	2011	Criminal Justice	Hungary	To what extent do young people rely on the media to evaluate criminal justice institutions?	27	2

Bradford, B, 'Voice, neutrality and respect: Use of victim support services, procedural fairness and confidence in the criminal justice system', <i>Criminology and Criminal Justice</i> , 11(4), 345-366	2011	Criminal Justice	England and Wales	Examines the role Victim Support might play in perceptions of criminal justice.	46,222 (of which victims of crime 13,610 and contact with VS 4,117)	1
Parmentier, S and Vervaeke, G, 'In criminal justice we trust? A decade of public opinion research in Belgium', <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> , 8(4), 286-302	2011	Criminal Justice	Belgium	Review of findings from three nationally representative Justice Barometer surveys.	N/A	1
Kautt, P and Tankebe, J, 'Confidence in the criminal justice system in England and Wales: A test of ethnic effects', <i>International Criminal Justice Review</i> , 21(2), 93-117	2011	Criminal Justice	England and Wales	Examines the factors associated with attitudes to criminal justice for different ethnic groups.	45,127	1
Jones, C and Weatherburn, D, 'Public confidence in the NSW criminal justice system: A survey of the NSW public', <i>Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology</i> , 43(3), 506-525	2010	Criminal Justice	Australia	Assesses the levels of public confidence in various aspects of the New South Wales criminal justice system, including the degree to which members of the public are mistaken about crime and criminal justice, and whether greater knowledge can impact confidence.	2,002	1
Van de Walle, S, 'Confidence In The Criminal Justice System: Does Experience Count?', <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> , 49(3), 384-398	2009	Criminal Justice	England and Wales	Explores the role of knowledge and experience in evaluations of the fairness, efficacy, efficiency, and	6,013	1

				effectiveness of criminal justice.		
Singer, L and Cooper, S, 'Improving Public Confidence in the Criminal Justice System: An Evaluation of a Communication Activity', Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, 48(5), 485-500	2009	Criminal Justice	England and Wales	Does closing the 'perception gap' through provision of information, influence attitudes and confidence in criminal justice?	2,846	1

Appendix

Table of Studies – Police

Author	Publication Date	Criminal Justice Site	Location	Overview	Sample	QA
Williams, D, Haworth, J, Blangiardo, M and Cheng, T, 'A Spatiotemporal Bayesian Hierarchical Approach to Investigating Patterns of Confidence in the Police at the Neighborhood Level', <i>Geographical Analysis</i> , 51(1), 90-110	2019	Police	England and Wales	Explores the feasibility of forecasting confidence in the police, drawing on previous data.	N/A	2
Saunders, J and Kilmer, B, 'Changing the Narrative: Police–Community Partnerships and Racial Reconciliation', <i>Justice Quarterly</i> , Online First	2019	Police	United States	Assesses community perceptions of the police before and after the implementation of an intervention aimed at eliminating drug markets through focused deterrence, police-community partnerships and procedural justice.	1628	1
Ra, KH and Kim, Y, 'Racialized perceptions of the police: Measuring the dimensions of juveniles' perceptions of the police', <i>Policing</i> , 42(2), 301-315	2019	Police	United States	Examines the differences in the dimensions in public perceptions of police by race/ethnicity.	5935	1
Marien, S and Werner, H, 'Fair treatment, fair play? The relationship between fair treatment perceptions, political trust and compliant and cooperative attitudes cross-nationally', <i>European Journal of Political Research</i> , 58(1), 72-95	2019	Police	United States	Examines the relationship between perceptions of fair treatment by police, trust in political institutions, and compliant/cooperative attitudes cross-nationally.	52,458	1

Kim, MH, Porumbescu, GA and Neshkova, MI, 'How Does Race Affect Perceptions of Police Trustworthiness?', <i>International Public Management Journal</i> , 22(2), 343-372	2019	Police	United States	Investigates how different levels of police performance affect perceptions of police trustworthiness and to what degree observed effects vary by race/ethnicity.	411	2
Dai, M, Hu, X and Time, V, 'Understanding public satisfaction with the police: Military background and interactions between higher education and prior contact with the police', <i>Policing</i> , 42(4), 571-584	2019	Police	United States	Explores the impact of various factors such as military background and education on satisfaction with the police.	762	2
Awan, I, Brookes, M, Powell, M and Stanwell, S, 'Understanding the public perception and satisfaction of a UK police constabulary', <i>Police Practice and Research</i> , 20(2), 172-184	2019	Police	England and Wales	Explores the public perceptions of a community in Britain towards a UK police constabulary, exploring levels of satisfaction between BME and non-BME communities.	112	2
Wu, Y and Cao, L, 'Race/ethnicity, discrimination, and confidence in order institutions', <i>Policing</i> , 41(6), 704-720	2018	Police	United States	Examines the role of race/ethnicity in differential levels of confidence in order institutions through the mediating mechanism of perception of discrimination.	976	1
White, C, Hogan, M, Shelley, T and Unnithan, NP, 'The influence of procedural justice on citizen satisfaction with state law enforcement', <i>Policing</i> , 41(6), 687-703	2018	Police	United States	Investigates whether individuals who perceive procedurally just treatment during their contact with a state patrol officer improve levels of satisfaction with state patrol.	846 (of which had contact with an officer 393)	2
Sargeant, E, Murphy, K and Madon, NS, 'Is dissatisfaction with police inevitable? Testing an integrated model of motivational postures and procedural justice in police-citizen contacts', <i>Police Practice and Research</i> , 19(2), 125-137	2018	Police	Australia	Do pre-existing defiant postures shape citizens' perceptions of procedural justice and satisfaction in police-citizen encounters?	1,190 (of which had police contact 440)	1

Riccucci, NM, Van Ryzin, GG and Jackson, K, 'Representative Bureaucracy, Race, and Policing: A Survey Experiment', <i>Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory</i> , 28(4), 506-518	2018	Police	United States	Does the representativeness of Black police officers influence how Black and White citizens judge police performance, trustworthiness and fairness in terms of civilian complaints of police misconduct?	840	2
Murphy, K and Mazerolle, L, 'Policing immigrants: Using a randomized control trial of procedural justice policing to promote trust and cooperation', <i>Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology</i> , 51(1), 3-22	2018	Police	Australia	Explores the effects of procedural justice policing on immigrant perceptions of police trust and cooperation.	2,762	1
Lowrey-Kinberg, BV, 'Procedural justice, overaccommodation, and police authority and professionalism: results from a randomized experiment', <i>Police Practice and Research</i> , 19(2), 111-124	2018	Police	United States	Examines the effects of three communication styles on perceptions of officer authority/professionalism and of the authority/professionalism of the police more generally.	193	3
Johnson, LM, Matthews, TL and Ayers, EK, 'Religious identity and perceptions of criminal justice effectiveness', <i>Religions</i> , 9(5), 157	2018	Police	United States	Do perceptions of police and court effectiveness vary according to religious identity?	342	3
Gauthier, JF and Graziano, LM, 'News media consumption and attitudes about police: in search of theoretical orientation and advancement', <i>Journal of Crime and Justice</i> , 41(5), 504-520	2018	Police	United States	Examines the role of media consumption in perceptions of the police.	1,197	1
Bradford, B, Topping, J, Martin, R and Jackson, J, 'Can diversity promote trust? Neighbourhood context and trust in the police in Northern Ireland', <i>Policing and Society</i> , 1-20, online first	2018	Police	Northern Ireland	Examines how the role of religious diversity of neighbourhoods impacts on trust in the police.	914	1

Bradford, B and Jackson, J, 'Police legitimacy among immigrants in Europe: Institutional frames and group position', <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> , 15(5), 567-588	2018	Police	European	Explores, at a macro-level, how perceptions of police legitimacy vary between immigrant and non-immigrant populations.	52,458 (of which 4,962 first-generation immigrants)	1
Zahnw, R, Mazerolle, L, Wickes, R and Corcoran, J, 'Living near violence: How proximity to violence shapes perceptions of police effectiveness and confidence in police', <i>Journal of Environmental Psychology</i> , 53, 138-144	2017	Police	Australia	Does living near violence impact perceptions of the police?	4,132	1
Van Damme, A, 'The impact of police contact on trust and police legitimacy in Belgium', <i>Policing and Society</i> , 27(2), 205-228	2017	Police	Belgium	Explores the different impacts of positive and negative police contact on confidence in the police.	762	1
Sindall, K, McCarthy, DJ and Brunton-Smith, I, 'Young people and the formation of attitudes towards the police', <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> , 14(3), 344-364	2017	Police	England and Wales	Examines how closely young people's views on the police correspond with those of their parents and explores whether direct experiences of policing and crime are influential.	1,657	1
Rosenbaum, DP, Maskaly, J, Lawrence, DS, Escamilla, JH, Encisco, G, Christoff, TE and Posick, C, 'The Police-Community Interaction Survey: measuring police performance in new ways', <i>Policing</i> , 40(1), 112-127	2017	Police	United States	Investigates the role of police-community interactions in shaping attitudes to trust and legitimacy.	16,659	1
Roché, S and Roux, G, 'The "silver bullet" to good policing: a mirage: An analysis of the effects of political ideology and ethnic identity on procedural justice', <i>Policing</i> , 40(3), 514-528	2017	Police	France	Which social and ideological factors impact on perceptions of police fairness?	1,498	1

Posick, C and Hatfield, H, 'Putting H.E.A.R.T. into policing: a 21st century model for effective and fair policing', <i>Policing</i> 40(1), 321-345	2017	Police	United States	Explores the possibility of enhancing police-community relations by introducing a policing model in an effort to increase perceptions of fairness and legitimacy.	6,118	1
Ho, AT-K and Cho, W, 'Government Communication Effectiveness and Satisfaction with Police Performance: A Large-Scale Survey Study', <i>Public Administration Review</i> , 77(2), 228-239	2017	Police	United States	Explores the effect of communication of police work on public attitudes to the police.	13,043	1
Hauser, W and Kleck, G, 'The Impact of Police Strength and Arrest Productivity on Fear of Crime and Subjective Assessments of the Police', <i>American Journal of Criminal Justice</i> , 42(1), 86-111	2017	Police	United States	Explores the effect of police strength and arrest productivity on fear of crime, perceived risk of victimization, and confidence in police.	2,505	1
Adorjan, M, Ricciardelli, R and Spencer, DC, 'Youth perceptions of police in rural Atlantic Canada', <i>Police Practice and Research</i> , 18(6), 556-569	2017	Police	Canada	Examines rural young people's perceptions of the police.	21	2
Wozniak, KH, 'Ontological Insecurity, Racial Tension, and Confidence in the Police in the Shadow of Urban Unrest', <i>Sociological Forum</i> , 31(4), 1063-1082	2016	Police	United States	Explores the role of feelings of insecurity on confidence in the police, in particular after a period of heightened disturbance against police.	1,501	1
Wolfe, SE, Nix, J, Kaminski, R and Rojek, J, 'Is the Effect of Procedural Justice on Police Legitimacy Invariant? Testing the Generality of Procedural Justice and Competing Antecedents of Legitimacy', <i>Journal of Quantitative Criminology</i> , 32(7), 253-282	2016	Police	United States	Examines whether the effect of procedural justice and other variables on police legitimacy.	1,681	1

Solakoglu, O, 'Trust in Police: A Comparative Study of Belgium and The Netherlands', <i>International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences</i> , 11(1), 45-56	2016	Police	Belgium/The Netherlands	Explores how perceptions of police effectiveness impact on public trust in police in two different countries, looking at whether different modes of law enforcement make a difference.	2,265	1
Sargeant, E, Antrobus, E, Murphy, K, Bennett, S and Mazerolle, L, 'Social identity and procedural justice in police encounters with the public: results from a randomised controlled trial', <i>Policing and Society</i> , 26(7), 789-803	2016	Police	Australia	Examines the role of social identity and its impact on perceptions of fair treatment and police legitimacy.	2,746	1
Perkins, M, 'Modelling public confidence of the police: how perceptions of the police differ between neighborhoods in a city', <i>Police Practice and Research</i> , 17(2), 113-125	2016	Police	England and Wales	Examines whether differences in public confidence in the police exist across disparate local communities with varying degrees of neighbourhood perceptions.	1,322	2
Miller, J and D'Souza, A, 'Indirect Effects of Police Searches on Community Attitudes to the Police: Resentment or Reassurance?', <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> , 56(3), 456-478	2016	Police	England and Wales	Explores the effect of section 60 searches ('stop and search' not requiring reasonable suspicion) on perceptions of police in specific areas in London.	107,675	1
Mastrocinque, JM and McDowall, D, 'Does Recent Victimization Impact Confidence in the Criminal Justice System?', <i>Victims and Offenders</i> , 11(3), 482-499	2016	Police	England and Wales	Explores whether recent victimisation influence confidence in criminal justice.	11,829 (of which victims 2,818)	1
Lowrey, BV, Maguire, ER and Bennett, RR, 'Testing the Effects of Procedural Justice and Overaccommodation in Traffic Stops: A Randomized Experiment', <i>Criminal Justice and Behavior</i> , 43(10), 1430-1449	2016	Police	United States	Examines the effects of different police officer styles of communication on trust in the police, using video clip case studies.	193	3

Li, YD, Ren, L and Luo, F, 'Is bad stronger than good? The impact of police-citizen encounters on public satisfaction with police', <i>Policing</i> , 39(1), 109-126	2016	Police	United States	Examines the effects of positive and negative perceptions of police-initiated contacts using negativity bias theory.	1,143	2
Khondaker, MI, Wu, Y and Lambert, EG, 'The views of Bangladeshi immigrants on the police in New York City', <i>Journal of Crime and Justice</i> , 39(4), 528-549	2016	Police	United States	Investigated the factors that affected Bangladeshi immigrants' perceptions of the police.	202	2
Kääriäinen, J, Isotalus, P and Thomassen, G, 'Does public criticism Erode trust in the police? The case of Jari Aarnio in the Finnish news media and its effects on the public's attitudes towards the police', <i>Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention</i> , 17(1), 70-85	2016	Police	Finland	Examines the role of media coverage of a policing scandal to assess whether this impacts on trust in the police.	3,010	2
Haberman, CP, Groff, ER, Ratcliffe, JH and Sorg, ET, 'Satisfaction with Police in Violent Crime Hot Spots: Using Community Surveys as a Guide for Selecting Hot Spots Policing Tactics', <i>Crime and Delinquency</i> , 62(4), 525-557	2016	Police	United States	Explores perceptions of police in violent crime hotspots and assesses what factors contribute to positive perceptions of police for residents in these areas.	630	1
De Angelis, J and Wolf, B, 'Perceived accountability and public attitudes toward local police', <i>Criminal Justice Studies</i> , 29(3), 232-252	2016	Police	United States	How do perceptions of police accountability influence public perceptions of the police and satisfaction in the police?	3,725	1
Dai, MY and Jiang, X, 'A comparative study of satisfaction with the police in the United States and Australia', <i>Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology</i> , 49(1), 30-52	2016	Police	Australia/United States	Investigates three major models of citizens' satisfaction with the police, the demographic model, the neighbourhood context model, and the prior contacts model.	1,650 (Aus) 613 (US)	2

Alalehto, T and Larsson, D, 'Measuring trust in the police by contextual and individual factors', <i>International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice</i> , 46, 31-42	2016	Police	European	Examines whether procedural justice and police competence affects trust in the police independent of the level of perception of corruption.	45,638	1
Van Craen, M and Skogan, WG, 'Trust in the Belgian police: The importance of responsiveness', <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> , 12(2), 129-150	2015	Police	Belgium	To what extent is trust in the police determined by being a victim of crime, perceptions of disorder, feelings of insecurity, perceptions of the way the police treat people and perceptions of police responsiveness.	952	1
Van Craen, M and Skogan, WG, 'Differences and similarities in the explanation of ethnic minority groups', <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> , 12(3), 300-323	2015	Police	Belgium	Explores which factors influence the trust in the police of Polish immigrants to Antwerp.	418	1
Sun, IY and Wu, Y, 'Arab Americans' Confidence in Police', <i>Crime and Delinquency</i> , 61(4), 483-508	2015	Police	United States	What are the effects of demographic characteristics, personal experience, social attitudes and values, and social trust, on confidence in local police for Arab Americans?	850	1
Rosenbaum, D, Lawrence, DS, Hartnett, SM, McDevitt, J and Posick, C, 'Measuring procedural justice and legitimacy at the local level: the police-community interaction survey', <i>Journal of Experimental Criminology</i> , 11(3), 335-366	2015	Police	United States	Evaluation of the Police-Citizen Interaction Survey	1,432	1
Piatkowska, SJ, 'Immigrants' confidence in police: do country-level characteristics matter?', <i>International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice</i> , 39(1), 1-30	2015	Police	International	Explores country-level factors that predict confidence in police, particularly looking at immigrants' confidence in police.	35,239	1

Nix, J, Wolfe, SE, Rojek, J and Kaminski, RJ, 'Trust in the Police: The Influence of Procedural Justice and Perceived Collective Efficacy', <i>Crime and Delinquency</i> , 61(4), 610-640	2015	Police	United States	Examines the sources of trust in the police, especially the role of individual perceptions of collective efficacy.	1,681	1
Murphy, K, Sargeant, E and Cherney, A, 'The importance of procedural justice and police performance in shaping intentions to cooperate with the police: Does social identity matter?', <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> , 12(6), 719-738	2015	Police	Australia	Investigates the factors that motivate people's intentions to cooperate with the police.	10,148	1
Morris, C, 'An international study on public confidence in police', <i>Police Practice and Research</i> , 16(5), 416-430	2015	Police	International	Investigates public confidence in police and identifies country-level factors that contribute to its variation cross-nationally.	70,959	1
MacQueen, S and Bradford, B, 'Enhancing public trust and police legitimacy during road traffic encounters: results from a randomised controlled trial in Scotland', <i>Journal of Experimental Criminology</i> , 11(3), 419-443	2015	Police	Scotland	Evaluates the impact of a procedural justice policing intervention in road policing in Scotland (ScotCET).	816	1
Lee, J and Gibbs, J, 'Race and attitudes toward police: The mediating effect of social distance', <i>Policing</i> , 38(2), 314-332	2015	Police	United States	Explores the effect of social distance on people's perceptions of the police.	532	3
Jang, H, Lee, J and Gibbs, JC, 'The influence of the national government on confidence in the police: A focus on corruption', <i>International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice</i> , 43(4), 553-568	2015	Police	International	Explores individual and national characteristics as predictive of confidence in the police.	58,637	1
Cheng, H, 'Factors influencing public satisfaction with the local police: a study in Saskatoon, Canada', <i>Policing</i> , 38(4), 690-704	2015	Police	Canada	Explores what factors influence levels of confidence.	400	2

Bradford, B, Sargeant, E, Murphy, K and Jackson, J, 'A Leap of Faith? Trust in the Police Among Immigrants in England and Wales', <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> , 57(2), 381-401	2015	Police	England and Wales	Examines the relationship between immigrant status and trust in the police.	28,296	1
Bradford, B and Myhill, A, 'Triggers of change to public confidence in the police and criminal justice system: Findings from the Crime Survey for England and Wales panel experiment', <i>Criminology and Criminal Justice</i> , 15(1), 23-43	2015	Police	England and Wales	Explores the impact of expressive and instrumental factors on trust in criminal justice.	879	1
Bouranta, N, Siskos, Y and Tsotsolas, N, 'Measuring police officer and citizen satisfaction: comparative analysis', <i>Policing</i> , 38(4), 705-721	2015	Police	Greece	Undertakes a comparative study of both citizen and police officer satisfaction.	1,729	2
Barton, H and Beynon, MJ, 'Do the citizens of Europe trust their police?', <i>International Journal of Emergency Services</i> , 4(1), 65-85	2015	Police	European	Investigates how public social indicators may influence the level of trust in a country's police force.	Not given (partial ESS dataset)	2
Antrobus, E, Bradford, B, Murphy, K and Sargeant, E, 'Community Norms, Procedural Justice, and the Public's Perceptions of Police Legitimacy', <i>Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice</i> , 31(2), 151-170	2015	Police	Australia	What is the impact of community norms on an individual's perceptions of police legitimacy?	2,762	1
Zhao, JS, Tsai, CF, Ren, L and Lai, YL, 'Public Satisfaction with Police Control of Disorder Crime: Does the Public Hold Police Accountable?', <i>Justice Quarterly</i> , 31(2), 394-420	2014	Police	United States	Explores the relationships between disorder crime incidents reported to the police, residents' perceptions of disorder, and citizen satisfaction with police performance on order maintenance.	1,215	1

Wu, Y, 'Race/ethnicity and perceptions of the police: A comparison of White, Black, Asian and Hispanic Americans', <i>Policing and Society</i> , 24(2), 135-157	2014	Police	United States	Explores the factors important for confidence in the police for Hispanic and Asian Americans, extending the dominant race/ethnicity paradigm.	4,904	1
Tyler, TR and Jackson, J, 'Popular legitimacy and the exercise of legal authority: Motivating compliance, cooperation, and engagement', <i>Psychology, Public Policy, and Law</i> , 20(1), 78-95	2014	Police	United States	Tests whether the legitimacy of law and legal authorities motivates each of the three outlined forms of connection between people and legal authorities: compliance, cooperation, and engagement.	1,603	1
Sprott, JB and Doob, AN, 'Confidence in the Police: Variation across Groups Classified as Visible Minorities', <i>Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice</i> , 56(3), 367-379	2014	Police	Canada	Examines the views of minority communities towards the police.	19,422	1
Murphy, K, Mazerolle, L and Bennett, S, 'Promoting trust in police: findings from a randomised experimental field trial of procedural justice policing', <i>Policing and Society</i> , 24(4), 405-424	2014	Police	Australia	Reports findings from the world's first randomised control trial of procedural justice police, the Queensland Community Engagement Trial.	2,762	1
Laxminarayan, M and Pemberton, A, 'The interaction of criminal procedure and outcome', <i>International Journal of Law and Psychiatry</i> , 37(6), 564-571	2014	Police	Australia/The Netherlands	Examines the interaction between the assessment of procedural quality (procedural justice, or voice, and interpersonal justice, or respectful treatment) and outcome favorability with victim's trust in justice.	112 (Aus) and 151 (Neth)	2
Dirikx, A and Van den Bulck, J, 'Media use and the Process-Based Model for Police Cooperation An Integrative Approach towards Explaining Adolescents' Intentions to Cooperate with the Police', <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> , 54(2), 344-365	2014	Police	Belgium	Examines how media use relates to adolescents' willingness to assist police.	1,968	2

Braga, AA, Winship, C, Tyler, TR, Fagan, J and Meares, TL, 'The Salience of Social Contextual Factors in Appraisals of Police Interactions with Citizens: A Randomized Factorial Experiment', <i>Journal of Quantitative Criminology</i> , 30(4), 599-627	2014	Police	United States	How does context shape perceptions of interactions with the police?	1,361	1
Bradford, B, Murphy, K and Jackson, J, 'Officers as Mirrors: Policing, Procedural Justice and the (Re)Production of Social Identity', <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> , 54(4), 527-550	2014	Police	Australia	Examines the empirical links between procedural justice, social identity and legitimacy of police.	1,023	1
Barrett, GA, Fletcher, SMG and Patel, TG, 'Black minority ethnic communities and levels of satisfaction with policing: Findings from a study in the north of England', <i>Criminology and Criminal Justice</i> , 14(2), 196-215	2014	Police	England and Wales	Explores the levels of satisfaction towards the police among BME communities.	45	2
Van Craen, M, 'Explaining Majority and Minority Trust in the Police', <i>Justice Quarterly</i> , 30(6), 1042-1067	2013	Police	Belgium	Examines how social capital theory, performance theory, and the procedural justice-based model can explain the trust of majority and minority group members in the police, looking particularly at persons of Turkish and Moroccan descent.	960	1
Tankebe, J, 'Viewing Things Differently: The Dimensions of Public Perceptions of Police Legitimacy', <i>Criminology</i> , 51(1), 103-135	2013	Police	England and Wales	Tests the hypothesis of multiple dimensions in police legitimacy (procedural fairness, distributive fairness, lawfulness, and effectiveness) and investigates the relative influence of legitimacy and feelings of obligation on citizens' willingness to co-operate with the police.	5,120	1

Sindall, K and Sturgis, P, 'Austerity policing: Is visibility more important than absolute numbers in determining public confidence in the police?', <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> , 10(2), 137-153	2013	Police	England and Wales	Assesses the relative importance of police numbers and police visibility in determining public confidence in the police.	93,682	1
Shelley, TO, Hogan, MJ, Unnithan, NP and Stretesky, PB, 'Public opinion and satisfaction with state law enforcement', <i>Policing</i> , 36(3), 526-542	2013	Police	United States	Explores the factors that influence public confidence in state police.	846	1
Salvatore, C, Markowitz, M and Kelly, CE, 'Assessing Public Confidence in the Criminal Justice System', <i>International Social Science Review</i> , 88(1-2), 3-16	2013	Police	United States	Investigates incivilities and contact with police as drivers of confidence in criminal justice.	1,543	1
Murphy, K, 'Policing at the margins: Fostering trust and cooperation among ethnic minority groups', <i>Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism</i> , 8(2), 185-199	2013	Police	Australia	Explores the possible role of procedural justice in promoting trust among immigrants, specifically Vietnamese, Indian and Arabic-speaking immigrants.	906	1
Mazerolle, L, Antrobus, E, Bennett, S and Tyler, TR, 'Shaping Citizen Perceptions of Police Legitimacy: A Randomized Field Trial of Procedural Justice', <i>Criminology</i> , 51(1), 33-63	2013	Police	Australia	Reports findings from the world's first randomised control trial of procedural justice police, the Queensland Community Engagement Trial.	2,746	1
Hough, M, Jackson, J and Bradford, B, 'The drivers of police legitimacy: Some European research', <i>Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism</i> , 8(2), 145-165	2013	Police	European	Reviews the empirical findings and conceptual work behind the ESS 'Trust in Justice' module.	52,041	1

Ellison, G, Pino, NW and Shirlow, P, 'Assessing the determinants of public confidence in the police: A case study of a post-conflict community in Northern Ireland', <i>Criminology and Criminal Justice</i> , 13(5), 552-576	2013	Police	Northern Ireland	Examines the generative processes that influence perceptions of the police in the context of an inner-city neighbourhood in Northern Ireland that has been affected by increases in crime and disorder in the aftermath of the peace process.	280	1
Dirikx, A, Gelders, D and Van den Bulck, J, 'Adolescent Perceptions of the Performance and Fairness of the Police: Examining the Impact of Television Exposure', <i>Mass Communication and Society</i> , 16(1), 109-132	2013	Police	Belgium	Investigates the relationship between adolescents' exposure to news, fictional police/crime shows, and reality police shows and their perceptions of the performance, distributive fairness, and procedural fairness of the police.	356	2
Barton, H and Valero-Silva, N, 'Policing in partnership: A case study in crime prevention', <i>International Journal of Public Sector Management</i> , 26(7), 543-553	2013	Police	England and Wales	Explores the impact on perceptions of police in areas where a social housing intervention has been implemented.	Approximately 1,500	3
Van Craen, M, 'Determinants of Ethnic Minority Confidence in the Police', <i>Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies</i> , 38(7), 1029-1047	2012	Police	Belgium	What determining factors account for minorities' level of confidence in the police?	456	1
Sindall, K, Sturgis, P and Jennings, W, 'Public confidence in the police: A time-series analysis', <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> , 52(4), 744-764	2012	Police	England and Wales	Investigates the patterns in successive waves of BCS data to undertake a longitudinal rather than cross-sectional analysis.	Not given (multi-year BCS)	1
Myhill, A and Bradford, B, 'Can police enhance public confidence by improving quality of service? Results from two surveys in England and Wales', <i>Policing and Society</i> , 22(4), 397-425	2012	Police	England and Wales	Explores the idea of asymmetry in police contact and the drivers of confidence for victims of crime.	6,585 and 1,460	1

Merry, S, Power, Nicola, McManus, M and Laurence, A, 'Drivers of public trust and confidence in police in the UK', <i>International Journal of Police Science & Management</i> , 14(2), 118	2012	Police	England and Wales	Takes an in-depth look at the drivers of public confidence in the police using three surveys of the same community.	4,499, 1,084, and 301	2
Mazerolle, L, Bennett, S, Antrobus, E and Eggins, E, 'Procedural justice, routine encounters and citizen perceptions of police: main findings from the Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET)', <i>Journal of Experimental Criminology</i> , 8(4), 343-367	2012	Police	Australia	Reports findings from the world's first randomised control trial of procedural justice police, the Queensland Community Engagement Trial.	2,762	1
Lowe, T and Innes, M, 'Can we speak in confidence? Community intelligence and neighbourhood policing v2.0', <i>Policing and Society</i> , 22(3), 295-316	2012	Police	England and Wales	Examines the impact of a community engagement methodology encouraging citizens to articulate their local security needs to Neighbourhood Policing teams (NPTs).	2,422	1
Hohl, K, Stanko, B and Newburn, T, 'The Effect of the 2011 London Disorder on Public Opinion of Police and Attitudes Towards Crime, Disorder, and Sentencing', <i>Policing</i> , 7(1), 12-20	2012	Police	England and Wales	Explores how the 2011 disorder affected Londoner's views of police.	3,077	1
Gau, JM, Corsaro, N, Stewart, EA and Brunson, RK, 'Examining macro-level impacts on procedural justice and police legitimacy', <i>Journal of Criminal Justice</i> , 40(4), 333-343	2012	Police	United States	Examines potential impact of neighborhood- and community-level factors on people's perceptions of procedural justice or police legitimacy.	531	1

Barboza, GE, 'Group consciousness, identity and perceptions of unfair police treatment among Mexican Americans', <i>Policing</i> , 35(3), 505-527	2012	Police	United States	Explores the relationship between perceptions of unfair police treatment towards Mexican Americans and attitudes towards the police, focusing on variance by socio-demographic characteristics, victim status, linguistic barriers, group consciousness and social context.	1,815	1
Vogel, BL, 'Perceptions of the Police: The Influence of Individual and Contextual Factors in a Racially Diverse Urban Sample', <i>Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice</i> , 9(4), 267-290	2011	Police	United States	Explores perceptions of the police across a sample of African American, Hispanic, Asian, and White respondents.	1,219	1
Murphy, K and Cherney, A, 'Fostering cooperation with the police: How do ethnic minorities in Australia respond to procedural justice-based policing?', <i>Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology</i> , 44(2), 235-257	2011	Police	Australia	Examines the role that procedural justice plays in fostering minority group perceptions of police legitimacy and their willingness to co-operate with police.	1,204	1
Kautt, P and Tankebe, J, 'Confidence in the criminal justice system in England and Wales: A test of ethnic effects', <i>International Criminal Justice Review</i> , 21(2), 93-117	2011	Police	England and Wales	Examines the factors associated with attitudes to criminal justice for different ethnic groups.	45,127	1
Kautt, P, 'Public Confidence in the British Police: Negotiating the Signals from Anglo-American Research', <i>International Criminal Justice Review</i> , 21(4), 353	2011	Police	England and Wales	Explores the generalizability of theories on Negotiated Order and Signal Crimes to BCS data.	71,186	1
Elliott, I, Thomas, SDM and Ogloff, JRP, 'Procedural Justice in Contacts with the Police: Testing a Relational Model of Authority in a Mixed Methods Study',	2011	Police	United States	Tested the role of procedural justice for persons who had contact with a police officer within the past 12 months.	110	2

Psychology Public Policy and Law, 17(4), 592-610						
Cao, L, 'Visible minorities and confidence in the police', Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 53(1), 1-26	2011	Police	Canada	Examines the impact of belonging to the category visible minorities on citizens' confidence in the police.	16,766	1
Callanan, VJ and Rosenberger, JS, 'Media and public perceptions of the police: Examining the impact of race and personal experience', Policing and Society, 21(2), 167-189	2011	Police	United States	Examines the influence of crime-related media consumption on individuals' opinions of the police.	4,245	1
Bradford, B, 'Convergence, not divergence? Trends and trajectories in public contact and confidence in the police', British Journal of Criminology, 51(1), 179-200	2011	Police	England and Wales	Pools data from 11 sweeps of the BCS to explore the long-term trends in confidence in the police.	Not given (multi-year BCS)	1
Boda, Z and Szabó, G, 'The media and attitudes towards crime and the justice system: A qualitative approach', European Journal of Criminology, 8(4), 329-342	2011	Police	Hungary	To what extent do young people rely on the media to evaluate criminal justice institutions?	27	2
Maguire, ER and Johnson, D, 'Measuring public perceptions of the police', Policing, 33(4), 703-730	2010	Police	United States	Test a six-dimensional conceptualization of perceived service quality of the police (attentiveness, reliability, responsiveness, competence, manners, fairness).	138	2
Lai, YL and Zhao, JS, 'The impact of race/ethnicity, neighborhood context, and police/citizen interaction on residents' attitudes toward the police',	2010	Police	United States	Investigates the variables derived from three models, the demographic, the neighborhood context, and the police/citizen	756	1

Journal of Criminal Justice, 38(4), 685-692				interaction models, in explaining public perceptions of the police.		
Jackson, J and Bradford, B, 'What is Trust and Confidence in the Police?', Policing, 4(3), 241-248	2010	Police	England and Wales	Explores the general concept of 'confidence' from survey data from London, drawing on the Met Police Safer Neighbourhoods Survey.	5,120	1
Hough, M, Jackson, J, Bradford, B, Myhill, A and Quinton, P, 'Procedural Justice, Trust, and Institutional Legitimacy', Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice, 4(3), 203-210	2010	Police	England and Wales	Examines key concepts in procedural justice theory and presents preliminary analysis of survey data from National Policing Improvement Agency.	Not given	2
Hohl, K, Bradford, B and Stanko, EA, 'Influencing Trust And Confidence In The London Metropolitan Police: Results from an Experiment Testing the Effect of Leaflet Drops on Public Opinion', British Journal of Criminology, 50(3), 491-513	2010	Police	England and Wales	Examines findings from a quasi-randomised experiment conducted on population representative samples in seven London wards that assessed the impact of a leaflet drop on public perceptions of policing.	2,836	1
Wünsch, D and Hohl, K, 'Evidencing a 'Good Practice Model' of Police Communication: The Impact of Local Policing Newsletters on Public Confidence', Policing, 3(4), 331-339	2009	Police	England and Wales	Examines the relationship between police-public communication and public confidence in policing.	2,830	1
Wu, Y, Sun, IY and Triplett, RA, 'Race, class or neighborhood context: Which matters more in measuring satisfaction with police?', Justice Quarterly, 26(1), 125-156	2009	Police	United States	Assess the relative effects of race and class, at both individual and neighborhood levels, on public satisfaction with police.	1,963	1

Rehman, U, 'The Hammersmith Initiative: An Example of How to Impact and Improve Public Confidence in Policing', Policing, 3(4), 310-317	2009	Police	England and Wales	Outlines a research evaluation, the Hammersmith Initiative, which delivered two Safer Neighbourhood programmes, testing for changes in perceptions of police.	2,090	1
Murphy, K, 'Public Satisfaction With Police: The Importance of Procedural Justice and Police Performance in Police-Citizen Encounters', Australian and New Zealand journal of criminology, 42(2), 159-178	2009	Police	Australia	Examines the relative importance of procedural justice on overall ratings of police satisfaction across two types of police-citizen encounters (citizen-initiated contacts and police-initiated contacts).	1,462	1
Jackson, J, Bradford, B, Hohl, K and Farrall, S, 'Does the Fear of Crime Erode Public Confidence in Policing?', Policing, 3(1), 100-111	2009	Police	England and Wales	Examines whether public confidence is based on fear of crime using 10 sweeps of BCS data and 6 quarters of Met Police PAS.	80,270 and 1,879	1
Jackson, J and Bradford, B, 'Crime, policing and social order: on the expressive nature of public confidence in policing', British Journal of Sociology, 60(3), 493-521	2009	Police	England and Wales	Explores the impact of expressive and instrumental factors on trust in the police.	Approximately 5,000 and 2,844	1
Hinds, L, 'Public Satisfaction with Police: The Influence of General Attitudes and Police- Citizen Encounters', International Journal of Police Science & Management, 11(1), 54-66	2009	Police	Australia	Explores the influence of people's experiences from contact with police (both citizen-initiated and police-initiated) on public satisfaction with police as well as role of quality of life perception, satisfaction with police at neighbourhood level, and legitimacy.	2,611	1
Giblin, MJ and Dillon, AD, 'Public perceptions in the last frontier: Alaska native satisfaction with the police',	2009	Police	United States	Explores ethnicity and other demographic data in perceptions of police.	781	1

Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice, 7(2), 107-120						
Bradford, B, Stanko, EA and Jackson, J, 'Using Research to Inform Policy: The Role of Public Attitude Surveys in Understanding Public Confidence and Police Contact', Policing, 3(2), 139-148	2009	Police	England and Wales	Reviews the evidence on contact and confidence from BCS data and Metropolitan Police Service PAS.	Not given	1
Bradford, B, Jackson, J and Stanko, EA, 'Contact and confidence: revisiting the impact of public encounters with the police', Policing and Society, 19(1), 20-46	2009	Police	England and Wales	Draws on Metropolitan Police Service data to explore the effects of contact on confidence.	11,525	1
Miller, J and Davis, RC, 'Unpacking Public Attitudes to the Police: Contrasting Perceptions of Misconduct with Traditional Measures of Satisfaction', International Journal of Police Science & Management, 10(1), 9-22	2008	Police	United States	Uses data from a survey of five New York City neighbourhoods to explore determinants of satisfaction with police including misconduct, effectiveness, responsiveness, contact, and media.	Approximately 600	2
Kääriäinen, J, 'Why Do the Finns Trust the Police?', Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention, 9(2), 141-159	2008	Police	Finland	Explores how certain factors related to the quality and effectiveness of police work possibly explain the strong trust the Finnish public place in the police.	1,012	2
Wells, W, 'Type of contact and evaluations of police officers: The effects of procedural justice across three types of police-citizen contacts', Journal of Criminal Justice, 35(6), 612-621	2007	Police	United States	Investigates the effects of citizens' perceptions of procedural justice on overall ratings of officer performance across three types of police-citizen encounters.	3,719	2

Kääriäinen, JT, 'Trust in the Police in 16 European Countries:A Multilevel Analysis', <i>European Journal of Criminology</i> , 4(4), 409-435	2007	Police	European	Uses multi-level analysis to explore the variations between different levels of trust in police across different European countries.	31,947	1
Jackson, J and Sunshine, J, 'Public Confidence In Policing: A Neo-Durkheimian Perspective', <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> , 47(2), 214-233	2007	Police	England and Wales	Examines the sociological and social-psychological processes that underpin trust and support for the police in a rural English location.	1,023	1
Hinds, L and Murphy, K, 'Public Satisfaction With Police: Using Procedural Justice to Improve Police Legitimacy', <i>The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology</i> , 40(1), 27-42	2007	Police	Australia	Examines the effect of procedural justice and perceptions of legitimacy on public attitudes towards police.	2,611	1
Skogan, WG, 'Asymmetry in the impact of encounters with police', <i>Policing and Society</i> , 16(2), 99-126	2006	Police	United States	Examines asymmetry in contact with police.	3,005	1
Weitzer, R and Tuch, SA, 'Determinants of Public Satisfaction with the Police', <i>Police Quarterly</i> , 8(3), 279-297	2005	Police	United States	Examines the determinants of citizen satisfaction with police particularly looking at minority group members.	1,792	1
Tyler, TR, 'Policing in Black and White: Ethnic Group Differences in Trust and Confidence in the Police', <i>Police Quarterly</i> , 8(3), 322-342	2005	Police	United States	Examines whether trust is related to public willingness to co-operate with police and the relationship between police policies and practices to trust in the police.	1,653	1
Lacks, RD and Gordon, JA, 'Adults and Adolescents: The Same or Different? Exploring Police Trust in an Inner-City, Adolescent Population', <i>Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society</i> , 18(3), 271-280	2005	Police	United States	Explores attitudes toward the police among inner-city adolescents.	69	2

Garcia, V and Cao, L, 'Race and satisfaction with the police in a small city', <i>Journal of Criminal Justice</i> , 33(2), 191-199	2005	Police	United States	Explores determinants of satisfaction with police, looking particularly at the role of race.	235	3
Cao, L and Stack, S, 'Confidence in the Police between America and Japan: Results from Two Waves of Surveys', <i>Policing</i> , 28(1), 139-151	2005	Police	Japan/United States	Examines the respective levels of confidence in police in Japan and the United States.	2,821	1
Cao, L, Gaffney, M Lovrich, N and Ren, L, 'Linking confidence in the police with the performance of the police: community policing can make a difference', <i>Journal of Criminal Justice</i> , 33(1), 55-66	2005	Police	United States	Examines the effects of community policing on confidence in the police.	838	2
Schafer, JA, Huebner, BM and Bynum, TS, 'Citizen Perceptions of Police Services: Race, Neighborhood Context, and Community Policing', <i>Police Quarterly</i> , 6(4), 440-468	2003	Police	United States	Examines factors predicting citizen perceptions of police services in a Midwestern community, incorporating variables reflecting respondents' demographic traits, experiences, and neighborhood contexts.	2,058	1
Hough, M, 'Modernization and public opinion: Some criminal justice paradoxes', <i>Contemporary Politics</i> , 9(2), 143-155	2003	Police	England and Wales	Examines public confidence in the police and in sentencers in context of modernisation agenda.	722 to 2,711	2
Tyler, TR, 'Public trust and confidence in legal authorities: What do majority and minority group members want from the law and legal institutions?', <i>Behavioral Sciences & the Law</i> , 19(2), 215-235	2001	Police	United States	Presents results from multiple surveys, using the procedural justice based model that links public trust and confidence to views about the manner in which legal authorities treat the public. Particularly focusing on members of minority groups.	1575, 346, 1,826, and 1,567	1

Stoutland, SE, 'The Multiple Dimensions of Trust in Resident/Police Relations in Boston', <i>Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency</i> , 38(3), 226-256	2001	Police	United States	Examines resident/police relations in poor urban communities to explore community members' distrust in police.	54 interviews and 9 focus groups	1
Murphy, DW and Worrall, JL, 'Residency requirements and public perceptions of the police in large municipalities', <i>Policing</i> , 22(3), 327-342	1999	Police	United States	Explores the relationship between police residency (that police live in area in which they work) requirements at the municipal level and citizen satisfaction with law enforcement.	1,005	3
Moy, P, Pfau, M and Kahlor, L, 'Media use and public confidence in democratic institutions', <i>Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media</i> , 43(2), 137-158	1999	Police	United States	Examines the impact of various media on confidence in democratic institutions.	318	2
Stack, SJ and Cao, L, 'Political conservatism and confidence in the police: A comparative analysis', <i>Journal of Crime and Justice</i> , 21(1), 71-76	1998	Police	United States	Explores the relationship between political conservatism and confidence in the police in the U.S. relative to the other industrialized societies, using data from 17 national samples.	16,309	1
Kusow, AM, Wilson, LC and Martin, DE, 'Determinants of citizen satisfaction with the police: The effects of residential location', <i>Policing</i> , 20(4), 655-664	1997	Police	United States	Examines whether race and residential location interact in their effects on citizen attitudes toward the police.	2,433	2
Correia, ME, Reisig, MD and Lovrich, NP, 'Public perceptions of state police: An analysis of individual-level and contextual variables', <i>Journal of Criminal Justice</i> , 24(1), 17-28	1996	Police	United States	Examines public attitudes towards state police in a US state	892	2
Peak, K, Bradshaw, RV and Glensor, RW, 'Improving citizen perceptions of the police: "Back to the basics" with a community policing strategy', <i>Journal of Criminal Justice</i> , 20(1), 25-40	1992	Police	United States	Outlines the positive influence of a community-policing strategy on citizen perceptions of the police in Reno, Nevada.	3,511	2

Appendix

Table of Studies – Courts

Author	Publication Date	Criminal Justice Site	Location	Overview	Sample	QA
Wu, Y and Cao, L, 'Race/ethnicity, discrimination, and confidence in order institutions', Policing, 41(6), 704-720	2018	Courts	United States	Examines the role of race/ethnicity in differential levels of confidence in order institutions through the mediating mechanism of perception of discrimination.	976	1
Johnson, LM, Matthews, TL and Ayers, EK, 'Religious identity and perceptions of criminal justice effectiveness', Religions, 9(5), 157	2018	Courts	United States	Do perceptions of police and court effectiveness vary according to religious identity?	342	3
Ribeiro, G and Antrobus, E, 'Investigating the Impact of Jury Sentencing Recommendations using Procedural Justice Theory', New Criminal Law Review, 20(4), 535-568	2017	Courts	Australia	Explores the impact of jury sentencing recommendations on public confidence in the courts by using two studies which measure giving the jury a 'voice', and manipulating whether judge and jury agree on sentence.	140	3
Hansen, MA, 'Trust in the System? Factors that Impact Citizens' View of Courts in the United Kingdom', Social Science Quarterly, 98(5), 1503-1517	2017	Courts	England and Wales	Tests the individual and parliamentary constituency factors that impact the level of trust that British citizens have in the courts.	Not given	2

Mastrocinque, JM and McDowall, D, 'Does Recent Victimization Impact Confidence in the Criminal Justice System?', <i>Victims and Offenders</i> , 11(3), 482-499	2016	Courts	England and Wales	Explores whether recent victimisation influence confidence in criminal justice.	11,829 (of which victims 2,818)	1
Stobbs, N, Mackenzie, G and Gelb, K, 'Sentencing and public confidence in Australia: The dynamics and foci of small group deliberations', <i>Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology</i> , 48(2), 219-237	2015	Courts	Australia	Uses small group methodology to explore participants' thoughts on specific criminal justice issues in order to gain insight into the underlying beliefs that influence people's opinions on sentencing.	39	3
Audette, AP and Weaver, CL, 'Faith in the Court: Religious Out-Groups and the Perceived Legitimacy of Judicial Decisions', <i>Law and Society Review</i> , 49(4), 999-1022	2015	Courts	United States	Examines the hypothesis that membership in a religious out-group will elicit stronger public perceptions of biased decision-making.	326	3
Tyler, TR and Jackson, J, 'Popular legitimacy and the exercise of legal authority: Motivating compliance, cooperation, and engagement', <i>Psychology, Public Policy, and Law</i> , 20(1), 78-95	2014	Courts	United States	Tests whether the legitimacy of law and legal authorities motivates each of the three outlined forms of connection between people and legal authorities: compliance, cooperation, and engagement.	1,603	1
Hamm, JA, PytlikZillig, LM, Herian, MN, Bornstein, BH, Tomkins, AJ and Hoffman, L, 'Deconstructing public	2013	Courts	United States	Preliminary investigation which sought to understand constructs related to confidence in state courts.	690	2

confidence in state courts', Journal of Trust Research, 3(1), 11-31						
Roberts, J, Hough, M, Jackson, J and Gerber, MM, 'Public opinion towards the lay magistracy and the sentencing council guidelines', British Journal of Criminology, 52(6), 1072-1091	2012	Courts	England and Wales	Examines whether providing more information leads to more positive perceptions of the courts and sentencing, specifically more information on the lay magistracy and the use of sentencing guidelines.	1,234	1
Mackenzie, G, Spiranovic, C, Warner, K, Stobbs, N, Gelb, K, Indermaur, D, Roberts, L, Broadhurst, R and Bouhours, T, 'Sentencing and public confidence: Results from a national Australian survey on public opinions towards sentencing', Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 45(1), 45-65	2012	Courts	Australia	Examines a large-scale telephone survey of public confidence in sentencing and the courts.	6,005	1
Hohl, K, Stanko, B and Newburn, T, 'The Effect of the 2011 London Disorder on Public Opinion of Police and Attitudes Towards Crime, Disorder, and Sentencing', Policing, 7(1), 12-20	2012	Courts	England and Wales	Explores how the 2011 disorder affected Londoner's views of police.	3,077	1

Roberts, LD, Spiranovic, C and Indermaur, D, 'A country not divided: a comparison of public punitiveness and confidence in sentencing across Australia', Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 44(3), 370-386	2011	Courts	Australia	Provides a comparison between Australian States and Territories in terms of two key measures of public attitude concerning sentencing: confidence in sentencing and punitiveness.	6,005	1
Hamm, JA, PytlikZillig, LM, Tomkins, AJ, Herian, MN, Bornstein, BH and Neeley, EM, 'Exploring Separable Components of Institutional Confidence', Behavioral Sciences & the Law, 29(1), 95-115	2011	Courts	United States	Examines four confidence-related constructs that have been used in studies of trust/confidence in the courts: dispositional trust, trust in institutions, obligation to obey the law, and cynicism.	360	2
Bühlmann, M and Kunz, R, 'Confidence in the Judiciary: Comparing the Independence and Legitimacy of Judicial Systems', West European Politics, 34(2), 317-345	2011	Courts	International	Examines the determinants of judicial confidence, exploring in particular the effect of judicial independence.	33,913 and 24,862	1
Jones, C and Weatherburn, D, 'Public confidence in the NSW criminal justice system: A survey of the NSW public', Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 43(3), 506-525	2010	Courts	Australia	Assesses the levels of public confidence in various aspects of the New South Wales criminal justice system, including the degree to which members of the public are mistaken about crime and criminal justice, and whether greater knowledge can impact confidence.	2,002	1

Van de Walle, S, 'Confidence In The Criminal Justice System: Does Experience Count?', British Journal of Criminology, 49(3), 384-398	2009	Courts	England and Wales	Explores the role of knowledge and experience in evaluations of the fairness, efficacy, efficiency, and effectiveness of criminal justice.	6,013	1
Higgins, GE, Wolfe, SE, Mahoney, M and Walters, NM, 'Sex and experience: Modeling the public's perceptions of justice, satisfaction, and attitude toward the courts', American Journal of Criminal Justice, 34(1-2), 116-130	2009	Courts	United States	Examines the influence that sex gender on the interconnection between justice, satisfaction with the courts, and attitudes toward the courts.	1,005	2
Higgins, GE, Wolfe, SE, Mahoney, M and Walters, NM, 'Race, ethnicity, and experience: Modeling the public's perceptions of justice, satisfaction, and attitude toward the courts', Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice, 7(4), 293-310	2009	Courts	United States	Examine the influence that race, ethnicity, and experience with the courts has on the interconnection between justice, satisfaction with the courts, and attitudes toward the courts.	1,005	2
Kelleher, CA and Wolak, J, 'Explaining Public Confidence in the Branches of State Government', Political Research Quarterly, 60(4), 707-721	2007	Courts	United States	Explores how political processes, the nature of representation, and economic and policy performance in the states translate into citizen confidence in state institutions.	1,826	2

Sun, IY and Wu, YN, 'Citizens' perceptions of the courts: The impact of race, gender, and recent experience', <i>Journal of Criminal Justice</i> , 34(5), 457-467	2006	Courts	United States	Examines the influences of race, gender, and recent court experience on citizens' perceptions of the courts in their communities.	982	1
Dougherty, GW, Lindquist, S and Bradbury, MD, 'Evaluating Performance in State Judicial Institutions: Trust and Confidence in the Georgia Judiciary', <i>State and Local Government Review</i> , 38(3), 176-190	2006	Courts	United States	Examines public satisfaction with the courts in a US state.	325	2
Benesh, SC, 'Understanding Public Confidence in American Courts', <i>The Journal of Politics</i> , 68(3), 697-707	2006	Courts	United States	Examines public confidence in the lower courts in the US.	1,800	1
Overby, LM, Brown, RD Bruce, JM, Smith CE and Winkle, JW, 'Race, political empowerment, and minority perceptions of judicial fairness', <i>Social Science Quarterly</i> , 86(2), 444-462	2005	Courts	United States	Examines the effects of the presence of Black judicial officials on public attitudes toward a state judicial system.	671	2
Overby, LM, Brown, RD Bruce, JM, Smith CE and Winkle, JW, 'Justice in black and white: Race, perceptions of fairness, and diffuse support for the	2004	Courts	United States	Explores racial differences in assessments of a state judicial system.	671	2

judicial system in a southern state', Justice System Journal, 25(2), 159-182						
Wenzel, JP, Bowler, S and Lanoue, DJ, 'The Sources Of Public Confidence In State Courts: Experience and Institutions', American Politics Research, 31(2), 191-211	2003	Courts	United States	Explores whether attitudes to local courts are based primarily on the actual experiences people have with these courts, the methods by which local judges are selected, the role of the mass media, and various demographic factors.	1,826	2
Hough, M, 'Modernization and public opinion: Some criminal justice paradoxes', Contemporary Politics, 9(2), 143-155	2003	Courts	England and Wales	Examines public confidence in the police and in sentencers in context of modernisation agenda.	722 to 2,711	2
Tyler, TR, 'Public trust and confidence in legal authorities: What do majority and minority group members want from the law and legal institutions?', Behavioral Sciences & the Law, 19(2), 215-235	2001	Courts	United States	Presents results from multiple surveys, using the procedural justice based model that links public trust and confidence to views about the manner in which legal authorities treat the public. Particularly focusing on members of minority groups.	1575, 346, 1,826, and 1,567	1
de le Garza, RO and DeSipio, L, 'A satisfied clientele seeking more diverse services: Latinos and the courts', Behavioral Sciences and the Law, 19(2), 237-248	2001	Courts	United States	Assesses the views of Latinos towards the courts in the US.	Not given	2

Benesh, SC and Howell, SE, 'Confidence in the courts: a comparison of users and non-users', Behavioral Sciences & the Law, 19(2), 199-214	2001	Courts	United States	Explores the factors related to confidence in state courts in Louisiana.	1,722	1
Moy, P, Pfau, M and Kahlor, L, 'Media use and public confidence in democratic institutions', Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 43(2), 137-158	1999	Courts	United States	Examines the impact of various media on confidence in democratic institutions.	318	2
Kaukinen, C and Colavecchia, S, 'Public perceptions of the courts: An examination of attitudes toward the treatment of victims and accused', Canadian Journal of Criminology, 41(3), 365-384	1999	Courts	Canada	Examines Canadians' attitudes towards two specific aspects of the criminal justice systems: its ability to help victims and its ability to protect the rights of accused individuals.	10,385	1
Fossati, TE and Meeker, JW, 'Evaluations of institutional legitimacy and court system fairness: a study of gender differences', Journal of Criminal Justice, 25(2), 141-154	1997	Courts	United States	Investigates whether the relationships between experience and evaluations of court system fairness and institutional legitimacy are different across gender.	931	2

Appendix

Table of Studies – Prison

Author	Publication Date	Criminal Justice Site	Location	Overview	Sample	QA
Wozniak, KH, 'American Public Opinion about Prisons', <i>Criminal Justice Review</i> , 39(3), 305-324	2014	Prison	United States	Measures public perceptions of life in prison and opinions about the appropriate severity of punishment in prison with data from an original public opinion survey administered to a national sample of the US population.	501	1
Mancini, C and Mears, DP, 'The Effect of Agency Scandal on Public Views Toward the Correctional System', <i>Criminal Justice Review</i> , 38(1), 5-28	2013	Prison	United States	Examines whether a prominent prison agency scandal exerted an appreciable effect on how the public viewed the agency's performance.	1308	1

Appendix

Table of Studies – Probation

Author	Publication Date	Criminal Justice Site	Location	Overview	Sample	QA
Sandu, A and Ignatescu, C, 'Retributivity and Public Perception on the Non-Custodial Sanctions', <i>Revista Romaneasca Pentru Educatie Multidimensionala</i> , 9(3), 103-128	2017	Probation	Romania	Highlights the public perception of non-custodial punishments, and their implementation through means of probation services.	1488	3
D'Souza, N, 'Seeing and believing: Visible unpaid work and its implications for public confidence', <i>Probation Journal</i> , 56(1), 68-71	2009	Probation	England and Wales	Does unpaid work through Community Payback offer scope to increase public confidence in probation?	120	2



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