THE DISJUNCTURE BETWEEN CONFIDENCE AND COOPERATION:

Police Contact amongst Polish Migrants and Established Residents

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Abstract

Trust and confidence in such criminal justice institutions as the police is considered crucial for the successful functioning of society and to allow for greater voluntary compliance and cooperation with institutions of control. There is a plethora of existing research however that shows the often strained relationships between the police and particular ethnic minority groups in the UK, Europe and the US, with such groups exhibiting a great deal of mistrust and lack of cooperation. This article aims to add to this body of literature by presenting the findings of a case study that used quantitative and qualitative methods to explore new Polish migrants' and established local residents' trust and cooperation with the police following a period of mass migration in a small working class town in the North West of England. The key results show that, contrary to expectation, Polish migrants in fact hold greater trust in the police than do the more established local residents in the area. Notwithstanding this high confidence, Polish migrants remain reluctant to contact the police. Adding greater complexity to Tyler's (2006; Tyler and Fagan, 2008) 'normative' model of police contact, the article presents the nuances of police relations with majority and minority groups in this working class town.

Introduction

'It is remarkable that whereas the number of European studies on citizens' trust in the police is rapidly growing – especially in the UK – research scrutinizing the causes and consequences of minority (dis)trust remains scarce' (Van Craen and Skogan, 2014: 2).

There has been a great deal of research that has explored public perceptions of the police and the various factors that contribute towards trust, confidence, and cooperation in UK, US and European settings. Alongside this, a wealth of research has shown the strained relationships between the police and various ethnic minority and

immigrant groups. It seems however that these two research agendas have stood relatively independent of each other. As the quote from Van Craen and Skogan (2014: 2) above recognises, there has been very little research into the actual processes that encourage or otherwise hinder majority and minority groups' trust in, and cooperation with, the police, particularly in a European context. The current article aims to begin to fill this gap in existing research by providing one of the few in-depth empirical case studies of new Polish migrants' and established local residents' confidence and contact with the police following a wave of mass migration in Crewe, a small working class town in the North West of England.

Literature Review

Trust and confidence in institutions is important for the successful functioning of society. It is purported to lead both to effective governments and a thriving democracy (Putnam, 1993), as well as to greater voluntary compliance and cooperation with institutions of control (Tyler and Fagan, 2008). Therefore, in order for police-resident cooperation to exist, confidence in police ability to control crime in a fair and equal manner is deemed essential, as 'the loss of popular legitimacy for the criminal justice system produces disastrous consequences for the system's performance. If citizens do not trust the system, they will not use it' (Moore, 1997, cited Tyler, 2005: 323).

A pertinent leader in this field has been Tom Tyler. For Tyler (2006), the importance of trust is in its capacity as a precursor to successful cooperation and exchange, both between neighbours but more importantly for Tyler, with institutions of social control. Tyler and Fagan (2008) propose two models of cooperation with the police: the 'instrumental' model and the 'normative' model. The former represents a view that people act in their self-interest. Therefore, if the public view the police as effective in dealing with crime in the neighbourhood, they are more likely to work cooperatively with them to tackle local crime and disorder. This model has alliances with the broken windows policing perspective, whereby perceptions of disorder in the neighbourhood act as a signal to neighbourhood inhabitants that the neighbourhood is out of control, leading both fellow neighbours and public agents of control to lose interest in the area and cease working together to maintain order (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Such perceptions thwart engagement with the police.

Secondly, the legitimacy or 'normative' model, although has its historical foundations in sociological literature (Weber, 1968), is most famously advocated by Tyler (2005; 2006). This model argues that laws represent social and moral norms, and perceived 'legitimacy is a feeling of obligation to obey the law and to defer to the decisions made by legal authorities' (Tyler and Fagan, 2008: 235). Cooperation with the police, according to this model, is not based on self-interest. Instead, people cooperate because of an overriding belief in, and adherence to, the normative value of the law, irrespective of their personal experience or views of police effectiveness.

Tyler and Fagan (2008) found that although people are more cooperative with the police if they view their work as effective in reducing local crime and disorder problems (the instrumental model), the effect was very small and was generally only effective for reporting crimes such as burglary and car theft. Perceptions of 'procedural justice', defined as the perceived fairness of decision-making and interpersonal treatment, were more important in encouraging confidence in institutions than were perceptions of police effectiveness (Tyler and Fagan, 2008). The causal process, according to Tyler, flows as follows: perceptions of procedural justice encourage confidence that institutions are a legitimate authority, which in turn encourages cooperation. This therefore advocates a normative model of police-community relations, over an instrumental one.

A crucial criticism of the Tyler model is its questionable applicability to other social settings or to diverse social groups. Tankebe (2009) argues for example that perceptions of police effectiveness are more important for resident cooperation with the police and with each other in the different social climate of Ghana. Tankebe (2009: 1280) therefore suggests that cooperation is not necessarily determined by a normative function of legitimacy.

Secondly, contrary to Sunshine and Tyler's (2003) assumption that the normative model is more important than the instrumental model for *all* ethnic groups, Sargeant et al (2013) showed how different ethnic groups in fact have different priorities and expectations of the police. They found that their Vietnamese sample in Australia placed greater emphasis on police effectiveness than police treatment as compared to their

Indian migrant sample. In partial support of Tankebe (2009), they suggest that this can be explained due to Vietnamese migrants' experiences of insecurity after fleeing a war-torn country. For such groups who experience high crime and conflict, personal safety and security is therefore of upmost concern compared to fair treatment. This can help explain why police effectiveness was more important for this particular migrant group than procedural justice. Murphy and Cherney (2012) add to this discussion by suggesting that the perceived legitimacy of the laws in which the police are tasked to enforce should also be measured amongst ethnic minority groups whose cultural values and laws may be different in their country of residence. They therefore suggest that 'procedural justice may be less effective for ethnic minority group members who have no desire to interact with authorities who are guided by and enforce laws they believe are illegitimate. Other studies have also thrown doubt on the power of procedural justice in shaping cooperation and legitimacy' (Murphy and Cherney, 2012: 184).

What these collection of studies therefore show is that the picture is likely to be more complex in various social settings and for different social and ethnic groups, and the importance of procedural justice in encouraging trust and cooperation with the police *over and above* more instrumental assessments cannot be universally applied. Whatever the processes involved though, confidence and the subsequent ability of residents to cooperate with the police is claimed to culminate in the particular benefits of producing orderly and viable neighbourhoods. Of course, different groups within neighbourhoods have differential experiences with the police and hence different likelihoods of cooperation. For example, a large body of research has demonstrated immigrant or ethnic minority groups' strained relationships with the police, and has shown that confidence in the police, deemed as the seedbed for actual cooperation (Tyler, 2006), is low amongst minority groups and in particular amongst black residents in both the UK and the US (Jefferson and Walker, 1993; Sampson and Bartusch, 1998; Tyler, 2005). Therefore, questions of confidence in the police amongst minority groups are linked with discrimination and the perceived unfair treatment of minorities. Minority and majority groups may experience different strategies of policing, which may affect their perceptions and subsequent cooperation (Tyler and Fagan, 2008). Sharp and Atherton (2007) for example found a great deal of mistrust in the police amongst black and other ethnic minority groups. In their study of young people, they report serious

mistreatment of such young ethnic minority groups by the police and show how this not only results in a lack of trust but also a lack of cooperation with the police.

The current article aims to add to this discussion of diverse groups' trust in, and cooperation with, the police by exploring new Polish migrants' and established local residents' attitudes and experiences of the police in a small town in the North West of England. Previous papers drawn from this sample have focused on the relationships between Polish migrants and established residents at the 'horizontal' level (Hope, 1995) of social life (see Griffiths, 2014b). This paper instead explores the more 'vertical' level of social relationships and considers diverse groups' attitudes towards, and experiences of working with, the local police in managing crime and conflict in their neighbourhoods. The following section outlines the methodological approach adopted in order to do this.

Methods

The research setting and methodological approach for this study, along with its limitations, has been discussed at length in a number of other publications, and so for reasons of parsimony, a repetition of this is not provided here (for more detailed and comprehensive discussions of the methodological approach and limitations see Griffiths, 2014a; 2014b). A brief overview of the methods adopted and the key measures used in subsequent analyses will instead be outlined.

The research took place in Crewe, which is a small working class town located in the North West of England. The area was selected to investigate minority and majority groups' confidence in, and cooperation with, the police due to a recent and unprecedented influx of Polish migrant workers and their families into the area.[1] The wider study aimed to provide one of the few empirical explorations of both the more established local residents' perceptions and experiences of social order, as well as the new incoming Polish migrants'. In order to do this, a bilingual survey was designed and administered to both local residents (the 'local group') and new Polish migrants (the 'migrant group') via a random walk sampling design (Farrall et al, 1997). The procedure

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[1] The exact number of Polish migrants who moved to the area is not known due to the limitations of official data, with anecdotal reports suggesting anywhere between 3,000 and 9,000 Polish migrants settling in the town (see Griffiths, 2014b for a more detailed discussion of this).

for carrying out a 'random walk' involved obtaining a directory of all street names located in the area. Each of the streets were then numbered, random numbers were generated to derive which street was to be the start street and which household the start household. This procedure was followed at the start of each day during the sampling period. Once a start household was selected, the research team could begin the random walk. This involved walking along the streets, following detailed and specific instructions, (see *Appendix A*), and selecting every 5th household to partake in the survey. Due to some difficulties accessing a relatively hidden and transient migrant population however, additional non-random strategies were adopted. Following Heckathorn's (1997: 175) recommendations, a targeted sampling approach was therefore used to recruit migrants from areas deemed important through 'ethnographic mapping' (see Griffiths, 2014a for a more detailed discussion of the sampling strategies and its consequential limitations).

The final sample consisted of 172 local residents and 78 Polish migrants and Griffiths (2014b) shows how the migrant group in the current sample did generally reflect the wider Polish migrant population in key characteristics and were slightly younger, better educated, more likely to be in paid work, to have lived in the neighbourhood for a much shorter amount of time, and to rent their property, as compared to the local group. The survey approach was supplemented with further qualitative data collection strategies including interviews with the local police, and focus groups. Two focus groups were conducted, one with a group of local residents and one with a group of Polish migrants living in Crewe. The initial recruitment strategy for each group took place during the survey fieldwork, whereby respondents were given the opportunity to express an interest in taking part in a focus group discussion at the end of the questionnaire and were asked to provide their contact details. This in the end was an inadequate recruitment strategy and alternative methods were needed for each group. For the Polish migrants, contacts already gained by the researcher from piloting the questionnaire and during the survey procedure were asked if they knew of anyone, their friends or family, who would be interested in taking part. A project information and confidentiality sheet was passed on to these 'intermediaries', who would provide this to the potential participants. The migrant focus group consisted of five men and four women, who were typically under the age of 40 years, and had lived in Crewe

between five months and four years. One member of the group was older and had lived in Crewe for 20 years. For the local focus group, participants were recruited via the survey and a local Neighbourhood Action Meeting (NAM). The final number of local residents who attended the focus group was five,[2] including two women and three men. The participants of the local focus group were typically older than their migrant counterparts, and all had lived in Crewe for over 20 years. The qualitative accounts from the focus groups and police interviews are also provided below to add further clarity to the quantitative findings.

Survey Measures

In the subsequent section, a range of descriptive analyses will be presented to help understand locals' and migrants' confidence in, and contact with, the local police using the following measures.

Confidence in the Police

To measure confidence in the police, respondents were asked the extent to which they agreed or disagreed that 'the police can be relied on to be there when I need them' and 'the police would treat me with respect if I had contact with them for any reason'.[3] Respondents were also asked 'how much do you trust the local police to prevent and control crime in this neighbourhood?'[4] These items all loaded highly onto one component in a factor analysis (see *Appendix B* for factor analysis results) and were considered to measure confidence in the police. Nevertheless, the responses to these individual items will be presented separately for each of the local and migrant groups in the sample.

Police Fair Treatment

Local and migrant respondents were also asked the extent to which they agreed or disagreed that 'the police target British people in this neighbourhood' and 'the police target Polish people in this neighbourhood'.[5] Based on the factor analysis results, these two items loaded highly onto a separate component and were considered to measure

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[2] This involved four participants who volunteered through the survey and one who was recruited from the NAM.
[3] The recoded responses to these items range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
[4] The recoded response criteria ranges from 1 (not at all) - 5 (a lot).
[5] Respondents could answer on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree).

the perceived fair treatment of both groups by the police (see *Appendix A* for factor analysis results).

Contact with the Police

Respondents were asked a number of questions about their contact with the police. Firstly, locals and migrants were asked, 'how often have you called the police in the last 6 months? This could have been either for an emergency or non-emergency'. Respondents could answer 'never', 'once', 'twice', or 'three times or more'. This item was recoded into a dichotomous variable, whereby those who answered 'never' received a score of 0 (never called), and those who answered 'once', 'twice', or 'three times or more' received a score of 1 (called).

Those who *had* called the police in the last 6 months were subsequently asked their reasons for initiating contact. This was a multiple response item whereby respondents could tick as many of the following options as they wished: 'noise/nuisance', 'victim of crime', 'witness of crime', 'suspicious person', 'information', 'car/burglar alarm', 'other'.

Respondents who had been a victim of crime were also asked if they reported the incident to the police and could answer either 'yes' or 'no'. For those who *did not* report the incident to the police, they were asked why. Again this was a multiple response item with respondents being able to tick any of the following: 'I dealt with the matter myself', 'inconvenience/too much trouble', 'not confident the police would be able to do anything', 'language difficulties', 'other'.

Findings
Migrants' and Locals' Confidence in the Police

By conducting a series of crosstabulations, the two groups are firstly compared on their levels of confidence in the local police and their perceptions of police fair treatment. The results show that new Polish migrants in Crewe have significantly *higher* confidence in the local police than do their established local counterparts. Here, the main difference between the groups is for the item asking whether the police can be relied upon to be there when needed ($p < .001$). Nearly half of the local group (43.6%) either disagree or strongly disagree that the police can be relied upon, compared to just 14.1% of the

migrant group. Next, when asked how much they trust the police to prevent and control crime in the neighbourhood, 19.8% of the local group compared to 5.1% of the migrant group state that they have no trust at all in the local police ($p < .05$). For the item asking whether respondents believe the police would treat them with respect if they had contact with them for any reason, a significant difference is also evident between the groups ($p < .001$). Approximately two thirds of the migrant group (65.4%) and three quarters of the local group (77.9%) in fact hold very positive attitudes that the police would treat them with respect if they had contact with them by agreeing or strongly agreeing with this statement. Although a significant difference is found between groups on this latter item, both groups display rather high levels of agreement with this statement. It can be suggested that the latter item enquiring about police treating respondents with respect more closely represents perceptions of 'procedural justice' (Tyler and Fagan, 2008), whereas the former two items asking about confidence in the police to prevent and control local crime and whether the police can be relied upon to be there when needed more closely reflect 'instrumental' perceptions of police efficacy (Tyler and Fagan, 2008). These findings initially suggest that local residents have less confidence in police efficacy - i.e. locals are more likely to believe the police cannot be relied upon to control crime than new migrants do, but groups hold slightly more convergent views regarding police treatment.

This is further supported when comparing groups on perceptions of police fair treatment. Here, 62.8% of the migrant group compared to 58.7% of the local group disagree or strongly disagree that the police target British people in the neighbourhood ($p < .05$). Likewise, 60.3% of the migrant group and 52.3% of the local group disagree or strongly disagree that the police target Polish people in the neighbourhood ($p < .05$). Although a small significant difference exists between the groups, again both groups display rather high levels of positive attitudes that the police treat both groups in the neighbourhood fairly. It can be suggested from these findings that although groups do not agree fully, they do display high levels of agreement that the police administer justice in a fair and equal manner. These findings therefore suggest that both established local residents and new Polish migrants hold positive attitudes that the local police in Crewe treat people *fairly*. Despite this, local residents have much less confidence in police *efficacy* as compared to new migrants.

This is further supported by the accounts provided by migrants and locals during the focus group discussions. The following account from a local resident is just one of many examples of feelings of disenchantment amongst the established local residents toward the police in Crewe:

> [i]t's like encouraging Neighbourhood Watch schemes to start up again, it's a cheap way of doing policing because you get the group of people like-minded to try and improve their neighbourhood […] it's like policing by remote control [Kath, Local Focus Group].

This resident is actively engaged in her neighbourhood through participation in Neighbourhood Watch but nevertheless expresses discontent with the local police due to a perceived inability to adequately and actively engage in crime control and for transferring policing responsibilities to neighbourhood inhabitants. Comments from local residents during the focus group therefore typically focused on dissatisfaction with police *efficacy*, that is, dissatisfaction with the ability of the police to effectively reduce neighbourhood crime and disorder. New Polish migrants' comments in the focus group, on the other hand, focus more on satisfaction with police *treatment*, as the following discussion during the focus group illustrates:

> **Pawel**: I have noticed that the behaviour of the police officers in Poland and in England could not be compared … I was involved in a car accident [in UK] and the way police treated me was brilliant.

> **Olga**: I think that police in England are more trustful.

> **Pawel**: When I was coming back from the outskirts of London apparently I was driving erratically as I was very tired, I decided to pull over onto the services … I hardly managed to pull over as the turning was very sharp. The next thing I saw was the police car approaching and the police officer opened my door and asked me if I was ok and how I was feeling. It's not like in Poland, where police would start telling me off for bad driving. The English police officer checked my pulse and told me to follow them to the services car park where I was told to get an

hour sleep in my car so that I could continue driving safely. After an hour I was woken up by one of the services employees, who was instructed by the police to wake me up as the police had to go somewhere else. There were many situations like that.

This discussion amongst Polish migrants demonstrates a much more favourable relationship between migrants and the police. These migrants believe the local police can be trusted and in particular that they treat members of the public in a polite and courteous way.

Using Murphy and Cherney's (2012) application of Braithwaite's social distancing framework could help explain why perceived police fairness and positive police treatment were so important for these Polish migrants in Crewe. Murphy and Cherney (2012) argue that it is not just about individual experiences with the police that are important for understanding immigrants' confidence, but also their perceived lack of 'social distance' with the overall culture and norms of the community itself. Such a lack of 'social distance' amongst Polish migrants in Crewe has been reported elsewhere, whereby Griffiths (2014b) showed how norm-convergence and 'civilised relationships' exist between Polish migrants and local residents in Crewe rather than conflict and animosity. Bradford (2012) similarly shows the particular importance of positive police treatment for ethnic minority groups that affiliated themselves with countries other than the UK. As Bradford (2012: 22) suggests, police "fairness promotes a sense of inclusion and value" which is particularly important for those who are negotiating their group membership and social identity (Murphy, 2013). This has been referred to as the 'group value model' and demonstrates the extent to which groups feel valued and respected by an authority (Cherney and Murphy, 2011: 229). This relates to the 'motivational posturing' of groups (Braithwaite, 2009 as cited in Cherney and Murphy, 2011) which highlights the different ways in which groups can position themselves towards an authority. For example, Cherney and Murphy (2011: 231) suggest that 'those who place greater social distance between themselves and authority are more likely to hold negative attitudes towards those authorities and their rules and are more likely to display non-compliant behaviour', and vice versa. So far, the results here

suggest that Polish migrants in Crewe position themselves favourably towards the authority of the local police demonstrating a lack of social distance.

There are of course a number of distinctive features of Polish migrants in Crewe as opposed to those of other migrant populations of which research has targeted which could help to explain such a lack of 'social distance'. For example, the 'invisibility' of these Polish migrants in terms of skin colour, religion and social values has been discussed elsewhere (see Griffiths, 2014b) and are likely to be a crucial factor in helping to explain the specific findings here. In addition to this is the unique historical context of police-community relations in a post-communist country such as Poland. It is often noted that those from post-communist countries can be characterised as having strong trust in small social groupings, such as close family, relatives and friends, but a great distrust in other social groups and in particular in institutions (Sztompka, 1999; Karstedt, 2003: 308). The stereotypical view of the police as a corrupt body in such societies is the oft-cited reason for such a lack of trust (Sztompka, 1999; Tankebe, 2010), whereby 'it is probably not the formal institution as such which people evaluate, but its historically established reputation in regard to fairness and efficiency' (Rothstein, 2000: 14).

The foregoing discussion amongst Polish migrants during the focus group demonstrates that assessments of the police in migrants' new place of residence are compared and contrasted to their view of the police in their 'home' country. This could provide an additional explanation as to why the migrant group express significantly more confidence in their local police in Crewe than do the local group, i.e. that perceptions of the police in Crewe are made using the police in their 'home' country as a benchmark. This could relate to Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' which 'informs agents on how to orient their actions to relate to the familiar, and to adapt to new, situations' (Townley, 2014: 46). In other words, past histories of police corruption could be entrenched in the minds of Polish migrants helping to shape perceptions and interactions with the police in their new social setting. This highlights the importance of understanding migrants' 'bifocal lens' and how experiences in the 'home' country are used as a 'point of reference' for experiences in the new country of residence (Menjivar and Bejarano, 2004: 129). When the migrant respondents were asked how much they generally trust

the police in Britain and how much they trust the police in Poland, 60% of the migrant group state that they have trust in the British police compared to fewer than 30% who have trust in the Polish police. The history of police corruption under communist rule stubbornly remains in the minds of Polish migrants in Crewe, thereby providing an explanation for the divergence in trust:

Polish people don't trust the Polish police because they are corrupt and take bribes off people, but the British police can be trusted as they don't do this [Szymon, Migrant Focus Group].

During a publicised visit to Crewe by two senior police officers from Poland, the distinction between forms of policing in the two countries was further evidenced by one senior officer in Crewe's local newspaper:

'[t]here is a very open relationship [in Crewe], which seems very good. In Poland many people still regard crime as an issue between criminals and the police. They are reluctant to be involved. The police as an organisation has the public trust [in Crewe], but we do not have the same local relationship with people on the street that we see here. That is all rooted in history. Things have changed a lot, but it takes time' [Pawel Wojtunik, Senior Officer from Polish Police Force. Source: Crewe and Nantwich Guardian, 2007].

The historical context of police-community relations in Poland and the stark contrast of this to the way policing strategies are highly targeted towards public involvement in Crewe resurfaced throughout discussions of institutional confidence. As noted, therefore, a potential explanation for migrants' greater confidence in the police in Crewe as compared to locals may be due to a 'habitus' model whereby previous experiences of police corruption are entrenched in the minds of migrants helping them to make sense of their new social world; that is, using the behaviours and attitudes of the police in Poland as a benchmark for comparison of those in Crewe.

The Invocation of Authorities

We now move beyond confidence to consider actual cooperation and contact with the police. Firstly, when respondents were asked how often they have called the police in the last six months, approximately 30% of the local group stated that they had called the police, compared to only 10% of the migrant group. Although the majority of both groups do not typically have contact with the police in this way, local residents are significantly more likely to invoke the authorities than are new migrants when needed ($p < .001$).

Table I shows the percentage of responses for both groups when asked what their reasons were for initiating contact with the police. As seen, the most common reason for migrants' contact with the police is to report neighbourhood disorder problems, i.e. due to noise or nuisance in the neighbourhood, receiving a third of all responses.

[Table I About Here]

A local police sergeant agrees:

> *On the reporting side [Polish migrants in Crewe] tend to report antisocial*
> *behaviour and damage to vehicles or property, what we might categorise as kind*
> *of lower level crime, what they don't tend to report are the assaults because a lot*
> *of it's perpetrated within their own community. We have a problem with*
> *extortion with new people moving in and a Polish organised crime group in the*
> *area, basically blackmailing and extorting money from those, basically a*
> *protection racket, and there's that fear factor there that they won't report that*
> *level of crime to us but they do tend to report the minor stuff* [Crewe Police
> Sergeant 2].

According to the local police, Polish migrants typically report lower level social disorder problems in the neighbourhood, but are reluctant to otherwise contact the police due to fear of reprisals from within their own group. Migrants' experiences of victimisation have been shown to typically occur at the hands of other Polish migrants in Crewe, which provides one explanation for such lack of reporting (see Griffiths, *Forthcoming*).

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The most common reason amongst the local group for contacting the police is again to report noise or nuisance in the neighbourhood (see table I). Both groups are therefore most likely to invoke the local police to deal with minor social disturbance in the neighbourhood. The second highest percentage of responses for both groups' reasons for contacting the police is to report being a victim of crime. No significant differences are found between the two groups in their reasons for police contact. Both groups in the neighbourhood thus typically use the police in a similar way: predominantly in times of 'need' to deal with minor social disturbances and if a victim of crime.

A limitation to some of the foregoing analyses is that very small subsamples of the groups actually use the police in their crime control activities. Although a limitation to the conclusions that can be drawn, it does demonstrate that locals and migrants in Crewe typically do not have contact with the police in their everyday lives, as a local police inspector recognises:

> *the vast majority [...] have little or no contact with the police, they don't need contact with the police, the police really is just there should they require it* [Crewe Police Inspector].

Of those who have been a victim of crime, respondents were asked whether or not they reported the incident to the police. There was a significant difference between the two groups ($p < .01$). As seen in figure I, the majority of the local group stated that they *did* report the incident to the police. In contrast, nearly three quarters of the migrant group stated that they *did not* report the incident to the police. This shows that although local residents and new migrants use the police for similar purposes at times of 'need' to deal with crime and disorder in the neighbourhood, it is the local group who use them to a greater extent.

[Figure I About Here]

Next, when crime victims were asked why they chose *not* to report the crime incident to the police, table II shows the most common reason for the local group was due to a lack

of confidence that the police would be able to do anything, whereas the most common reason for the migrant group was due to language difficulties.

[Table II About Here]

A contradiction is therefore seen amongst groups' perceptions of, and cooperation with, the police. Despite local residents expressing general low levels of confidence, and providing this as the main justification for not contacting the police when a victim of crime (as shown in table II), the local group generally have significantly more contact with the police than do the migrant group. This contradiction was further evidenced earlier, when the 'active residents' - i.e. those who were members of the local Neighbourhood Watch group - expressed their feelings of discontent with the local police. On the other hand, while Polish migrants in Crewe express high confidence in the local police, the evidence has demonstrated they have very little contact with the police.

Discussion

The aim of this article was to provide one of the few case studies that explores confidence in, and cooperation with, the police amongst both local established residents and new Polish migrants in a small working class town that experienced mass migration. The results showed firstly that despite claims that immigrant and minority groups are more often alienated from local institutions and are less likely to express positive evaluations of the police, Polish migrants in Crewe are in fact found to have greater confidence in the local police than are local residents. While this may seem to go against the plethora of established literature demonstrating police discrimination and a lack of trust amongst ethnic minority groups, it is in line with a recent and growing trend of literature on European immigrants (Hargreaves, 2015; Karstedt, 2010). For example, the current findings support those of Roder and Muhlau (2012: 372) who found that those who migrated from a country where its institutions were characterised by corruption showed higher levels of trust in the host country's public institutions. It is argued here therefore that Polish migrants express greater confidence in the police due to migrants' 'bifocal lens' (Menjivar and Bejarano, 2004: 129) and the comparison of the local police in Crewe to that of the perceived corrupt police in Poland. This suggests a 'habitus' model whereby past histories of police corruption could be entrenched in the

minds of Polish migrants helping to shape perceptions and interactions with the police in their new social setting. A further explanation for such positive attitudes, particularly regarding police treatment, was provided in the form of a lack of 'social distance' between Polish migrants and the local community in Crewe (Murphy and Cherney, 2012). This lack of social distance has been reported elsewhere in the form of 'civilised relationships' between Polish migrants and local residents in Crewe (see Griffiths, 2014b) and could therefore extend to perceptions of local institutions such as the police. Of course, both of these factors are likely to be a particular distinctive feature of Polish migrants, or European migrants more generally, and the 'invisibility' of these migrants as compared to other ethnic minority groups. This therefore demonstrates the importance of understanding a migrant group's unique demographic profile and historical background when exploring police trust and cooperation (see Griffiths, 2014b for a further discussion of this).

Confidence in the police is argued to provide the seedbed for actual cooperation with such formal institutions of social control (Tyler, 2006; Tyler and Fagan, 2008). However, the findings here suggest that confidence does not necessarily have a direct role to play in police-community cooperation. Although new migrants have confidence in the local police, they remain reluctant to contact them and they report crime incidents less as compared to the local group who have less confidence in the police. These findings are contradictory to the current literature, which suggests that confidence is a crucial ingredient for resident-police cooperation to be successful (Tyler, 2006; Tyler and Fagan, 2008). This leads us on to Tyler's normative model of police-resident cooperation. The normative model posits that perceptions of the police as a fair and legitimate authority encourage confidence and ultimately acts as a precursor to successful cooperation and exchange with such institutions of social control (Tyler and Fagan, 2008). The current research provides only partial support for Tyler's model, and instead adds greater complexity by showing how despite Polish migrants having high confidence in police efficacy *and* fair treatment, they do not typically have contact with the police. This seems mostly due to language difficulties and fear of reprisals from within their own group. Cherney and Murphy (2011: 231) have similarly shown the picture is likely to be more complex than previously painted, particularly when ethnic minority groups are involved whereby different processes may be at work. The authors

suggested that ethnic minority groups who questioned the legitimacy of the law were less likely to respond positively to a procedurally just encounter with the police, and were ultimately less likely to cooperate with the police. In situations where ethnic minorities questioned the legitimacy of the law therefore, procedural justice was found to be counterproductive and resulted in disengagement. The motivational posturing of Polish migrants in Crewe may help to explain the group's positive attitudes in that they view little social distance between themselves and the police. However, this does not help to explain why these migrants then go on to demonstrate little cooperation with the police. Cherney and Murphy argue that a key factor here could be groups' attitudes towards the legitimacy of the laws in which the local police are viewed to enforce. This was unfortunately not measured in the current study and so future research is needed here. Nevertheless, Cherney and Murphy (2011: 230) do recognise that ethnic minority groups may feel 'apprehensive about police contact as a result of past experience with police in their country of origin' thus adding further support for the 'habitus' model based on migrants' 'bifocal lens'.

On the other hand, local residents typically believe the police treat people fairly but have lower confidence in their efficacy. Yet they are more likely to contact the police. Such contact with the police amongst locals seems to be predominantly determined by 'need' (i.e. if a victim of crime or due to social disturbances), supporting Carr (2005) and Sampson et al (1997) that social control is a highly task-specific construct. This task-specific form of social control amongst local residents in Crewe supports a growing research agenda that posits residents can be 'critical but engaged' (Kumlin, 2004: 216). Carr et al (2007) similarly conclude for example that negative attitudes toward the police do not inevitably obstruct contact and cooperation. Although focused on youth narratives regarding the police, Carr et al's (2007) findings do resonate with those in Crewe that complex and often contradictory perceptions of, and relations with, the police are common. Although disenchanted with the police, the young people in Carr et al's (2007: 467) study were not completely alienated from the police and maintained that the police do, and should, play a crucial role in crime control. This resonates with local residents in Crewe who are discontent with the amount of involvement from the police in controlling local neighbourhood problems and demonstrate low levels of

confidence in police efficacy. Nevertheless, these residents still use the police for crime and disorder matters in their neighbourhood.

Supporting Kumlin (2004) and Carr et al (2007), therefore, inhabitants of contemporary diverse neighbourhoods can be simultaneously 'disenchanted and engaged' or 'satisfied and disengaged'. This suggests more complex and nuanced processes exist in diverse and changing neighbourhoods than that previously proposed in a predominantly American context (Tyler and Fagan, 2008), and simply focusing on building confidence in the police, while undoubtedly reaps some benefits, is not enough to encourage police-community cooperation in diverse neighbourhoods. Of course, the nature of the current sample means that claims to generalisability cannot be made here, nor can any claims to the causal processes at play. Further research on this is therefore necessary. Nevertheless, these findings are in line with an ever growing body of literature that similarly demonstrates the complexities of minority and majority groups' trust in, and cooperation with, the police showing how various underlying mechanisms are at work for different groups.

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<div style="border:1px solid black; display:inline-block; padding:6px;">

The Start Household

</div>

From the list of all street names within the ward, a street name and house number will be randomly selected by me. I will tell you the start household before you start each day.

Note:

Do <u>Not</u> knock on this door, this is just the house from where we start, it is not included in the sample.

If this start point is not a private residential household, you should go to the household with the next _lower_ number. If the start number is 1, you should go to the household with the next _higher_ number.

<div style="border:1px solid black; display:inline-block; padding:6px;">

The Random Walk

</div>

From the start household, you should continue to sample every <u>5th</u> household on the same side of the street as the start household in <u>descending order of household number.</u>

For Example:

19	17	15	13	11

20	18	16	14	12	10	8

Start Household
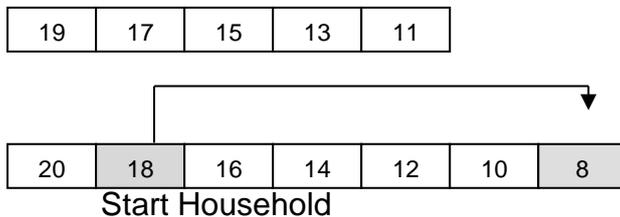
- If sampling in a descending direction is not possible, you should go in an ascending direction.

Always stay on the same side of the street, including if the street continues round a corner.

For Example:

19	17	15	13	11	9	7

| 20	18	16	14	12	10	5
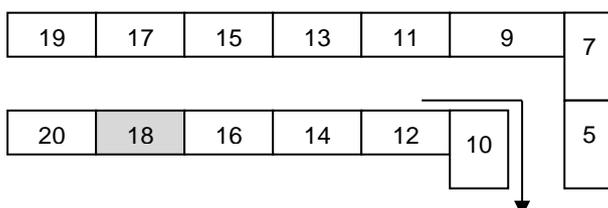
Always continue straight ahead if possible.

For Example:
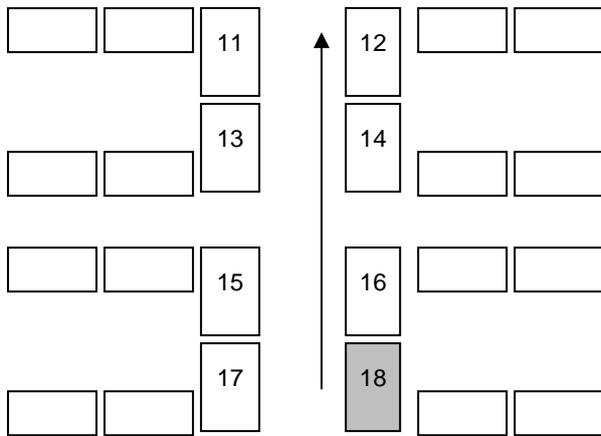
- If it is not possible to continue straight ahead, turn right.

For Example:
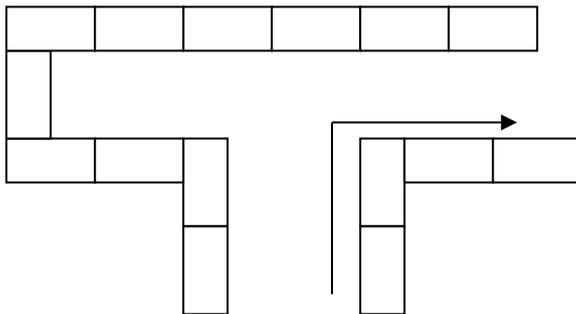
- If it is not possible to continue straight ahead or turn right, turn left.

For Example:
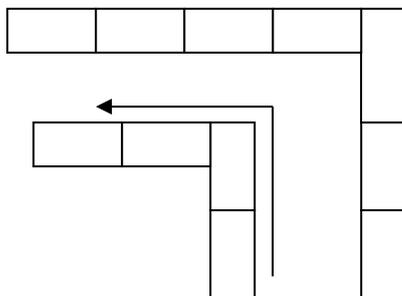
- If all of this is not possible due to entering a cul-de-sac, turn back and sample along the other side of the street.
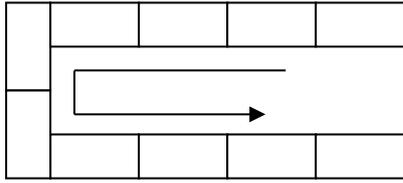
For Example:

- If it is not possible to continue straight ahead due to a park, industrial or retail area, again turn back and sample along the other side of the street.

For Example:
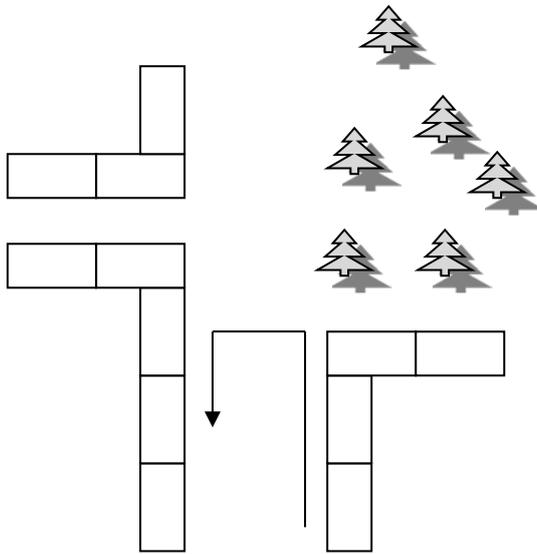
- If there is more than one household (i.e. if the property contains flats), you should;
In the first instance, sample the household on the right hand side from the entrance on the ground floor.
In the second instance, sample the household on the right hand side from the entrance on the second floor.
And so on.

If no one is in when you knock on the door, write the address down on the separate 'refusals and not at home' list and continue to the next 5th household
(we will return to this address at a different time).

If the person refuses to complete a questionnaire, write the address down on the separate 'refusals and not at home' list and continue to the next 5th household.

Every time you enter a new street, check it is on your street names list. If it is not, turn around and sample along the other side of the street you have just walked down.

Appendix B: Principle Components Factor Analysis (Perceptions of the Police Items)

	Component	
	1	**2**
How much do you trust the local police to prevent & control crime in this neighbourhood?	**.722**	-.450
The police can be relied on to be there when I need them	**.748**	-.436
The police would treat me with respect if I had contact with them for any reason	**.756**	-.192
The police target British people in this neighbourhood	.618	**.647**
The police target Polish people in this neighbourhood	.551	**.719**

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.(a) 2 components extracted.

Table I: Locals & Migrants: Reasons for Calling the Police

(% of Responses)

	Local Group _(%)_	_Migrant Group_ _(%)_	_Significance_
Noise/Nuisance	26.7	33.3	NS
Victim of Crime	22.7	22.2	NS
Witness of Crime	14.7	11.1	NS
Suspicious Person	12.0	5.6	NS
Information	9.3	5.6	NS
Car/Burglar Alarm	4.0	5.6	NS
Other	10.7	16.7	NS
N*	51	10	

* Based on those who called the police. NS Non significant, p > .05.

Figure I: Locals & Migrants: Crime Victims' Reports to the Police

(% of Responses)
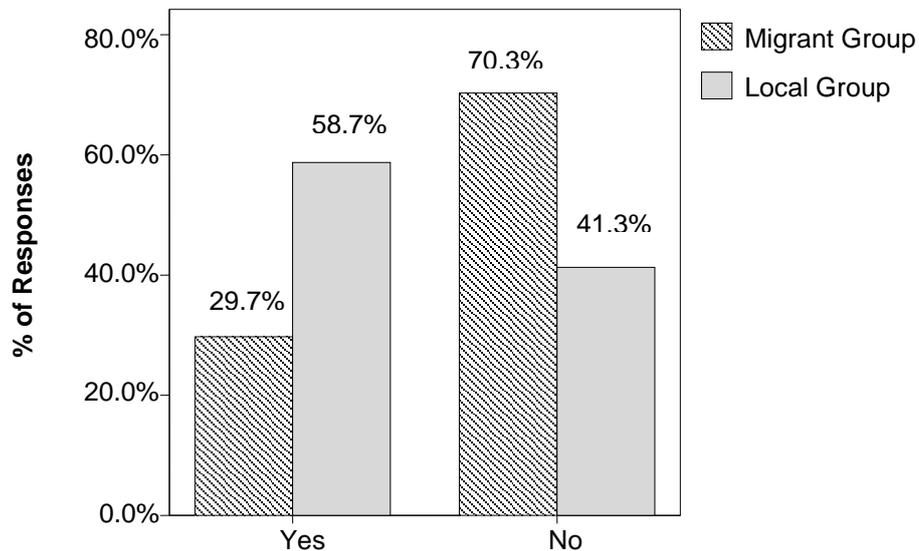
Did you report any of these incidents to the police?

Significant at p < .01

Table II: Locals & Migrants: Crime Victims' Reasons for Not Reporting to Police

(% of Responses)

Reasons	Migrant Group (%)	Local Group (%)	Significance
I dealt with the matter myself	18.2	32.1	NS
Inconvenience/too much trouble	18.2	10.7	NS
Not confident the police would be able to do anything	24.2	**46.4**	NS
Language Difficulties	**30.3**	~	~
Other	9.1	10.7	NS
N*	26	27	

* Based on those who were a victim of crime and did not call the police; NS Non-Significant, p > .05.