

Deliverable 2.3

TRUST MEASUREMENT FRAMEWORK

For BTL-COP

**Building Trust and Leadership to Challenge
Glocal Aporophobic Crime in a Police
Community of Practice**

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Executive Summary

This deliverable presents a comprehensive Trust Measurement Framework for examining and strengthening trust between police and communities in the United Kingdom, Spain and Croatia. Developed within the BTL-COP research and innovation action Horizon Europe project, the framework integrates academic evidence, practitioner expertise and cross-national reflections to support shared learning and robust evaluation of trust-building interventions. It is designed to be analytically rigorous, operationally feasible, and adaptable to diverse policing and community contexts.

The Framework contributes to the development of trust-based intelligence in policing as a Security capability, recognising the importance of relational continuity in community policing in the delivery of new 'whole of society' operational and analytical foresight-based detection of emerging risks. The identification of 'weak signals' in police communities of practice enables structured community-derived intelligence inputs through the long-term development and leadership of Trust in Neighbourhood Groups (TINGs). The measurement of social intelligence (trust, behavioural insight) alongside the development of high-trust vulnerability-linked technology (BondMate) informs BTL-COP's multi-layered intelligence ecosystem.

The Framework uniquely pilots new bidirectional trust measures to advance a more complete intelligence picture, enhancing police capabilities in the prevention of crime and improvement of reporting rates. It conceptualises trust as a dynamic, relational, and bidirectional process shaped by the behaviours, expectations and experiences of both police and community members, as well as broader sociopolitical and structural conditions. This wider framing enables the project to capture not only attitudes but also the social processes, power dynamics, and contextual factors that facilitate or impede trust.

To translate the conceptual model into measurable constructs, we

D2.3: Trust Measurement Framework

developed parallel survey instruments for police and community participants. These instruments combine core validated scales with optional context-specific items co-designed with practitioner partners. This structure ensures cross-national comparability while allowing for meaningful local and national nuance.

The Framework employs a mixed-methods, longitudinal design comprising:

- Pre- and post-intervention surveys with police officers and community members to assess changes following interventions and over time.
- Focus group/interview discussions in each country to explore mechanisms, contextual influences, and lived experiences underlying the survey findings.
- Multilevel and comparative analyses to examine individual, organisational and national differences, and to identify key drivers of trust across contexts.

Our BTL-COP Trust Measurement Framework embeds strong commitments to ethical integrity, transparency, and co-design. By combining conceptual breadth with practical utility, it enhances the project's capacity to generate actionable knowledge and contributes to Horizon Europe's objectives related to civil security for society, democratic resilience, and community safety. Overall, it contributes to the 'human and trust layer' within the European Union's foresight-driven security ecosystem. The Framework complements existing technological security priorities by providing trust-sensitive foresight indicators to enhance existing performance and technological metrics in policing.

1 Concepts, Theory and Existing Evidence

1.1 What is (versus isn't) trust and why is it important?

Trust, irrespective of context and academic discipline (e.g., sociology, psychology, economics), delivers critical multilevel benefits that have helped establish its foundational importance, including enhanced co-operation (Collard, 1989), reduced uncertainty and harmful conflict (Rousseau et al., 1998), and improved relational and institutional functioning (Miles & Snow, 1992; Robbins, 2016). For individuals, trust fosters psychological security and well-being; in relationships, it builds mutual reliance and longevity; within communities, it promotes collective action and social cohesion; and for societies, it underpins economic efficiency, governance stability, and civic participation (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Fukuyama, 1996; Putnam, 2000). However, prior research suggests that no universally accepted definition of trust exists (e.g., Castaldo et al., 2010; Vigoda-Gabot & Mizrahi, 2014).

While current definitions of trust vary across disciplines, several common/shared principles can be identified. For example, trust is generally understood to involve two interdependent parties – the trustor and the trustee (Castaldo et al., 2010; Castelfranchi & Falcone, 2010; Levi & Stoker, 2000; Li, 2007; Mayer et al., 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998). In this relationship, the trustor willingly accepts their individual vulnerability in situations of risk, based on positive expectations that the trustee will act or behave in a way that benefits or is important to the trustor, and at the same time, the trustee (e.g., Mayer et al., 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998). These positive expectations are often evaluated through concepts such as benevolence, competence, concern, integrity, and reliability (Jones & George, 1998; McKnight et al., 1998; Mishra & Spreitzer, 1998; Whitener et al., 1998). Overall, trust reflects a form of relational dependence, which involves some degree of reliance on others, despite an inability to monitor or control the outcomes obtained (Mayer et

al., 1995; Zaheer et al., 1998), which in untrustworthy contexts may unfortunately be negative (Jameson, 2024).

Due to the lack of a universally accepted definition, the term trust has often been used interchangeably with other related constructs in previous research, which has proven problematic (PytlikZillig & Kimbrough, 2015; Sitkin & Roth, 1993). For example, trust is often conflated with terms like credibility (i.e., someone's perceived honesty or expertise; Butler, 1991), confidence (i.e., belief in a system's reliability or skills; McAllister, 1995), satisfaction (i.e., evaluations of past experiences; Crosby et al., 1990), or perceived effectiveness (i.e., focusing on performance outcomes/ results; Bhattacharjee, 2001), all of which fail to acknowledge vulnerability to risk and/or expectations of future behaviour that define the core components of trust (Mayer et al., 1995). In general, prior research has also tended to focus on positive aspects and benefits of trusting behaviour, with relatively less attention paid to the potential destructive outcomes of misplaced or excessive trust (Chatterjee & Jameson, 2024; Gargiulo & Ertug, 2006; Jameson, 2024).

According to Rousseau et al. (1998), trust operates on a continuum, from building, through stability, to dissolution, and manifests at multiple levels (i.e., individual, relational, institutional). Nonetheless, most trust research focuses on trust stability in individuals (e.g., employees trusting managers; Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012). However, along with understanding trust as a “meso-level” concept sitting between individuals and groups (House et al., 1995), multilevel analysis is essential. Trust integrates several microlevel psychological and individual processes and group dynamics, with macrolevel institutional arrangements, whereby individual behaviour is shaped by wider systems (i.e., norms, institutions), while macro-level trust (e.g., inter-organisational) depends on interpersonal foundations between people (Rousseau et al., 1998).

General definitions of trust (outlined in Section 1.1) can present challenges in the policing context as trust in policing comprises both

interpersonal (e.g., if individual officers appear respectful and fair) and institutional elements (e.g., perceptions of legitimacy and accountability). As such, it is more common for trust in the police to be conceptualised as a form of institution-specific, or specialised trust, where an individual's trust fluctuates “based on their knowledge of and personal experience with a particular institution” (Tura et al., 2025, p.123). Therefore, when compared to other contexts, the term ‘trust’ when associated with policing is more likely to be inflated by the related constructs mentioned previously (i.e., confidence, effectiveness). Nonetheless, vulnerability has still been identified as a key component of trust in police contexts and has even been highlighted as a positive and useful framework that enables more effective policing through greater co-operative behaviours between services, and enhanced early prevention strategies (Yardimci et al., 2026). However, despite engaging in situations with a high degree of vulnerability daily, police officers may need to manage the frequency of these experiences, with specific considerations pertaining to operational safety and institutional integrity, which can shape a more conditional form of trust between the police and the public. Police awareness of the needs of vulnerable people has almost inevitably grown, particularly as police authorities have increasingly needed to pick up, for example, emergency tasks previously covered by social care services now diminished by funding cuts (Crawford, 2024).

It is further important to acknowledge that trust is easy to lose and difficult to (re)build in all contexts including the police. Slovic (1993) demonstrated the fragility of trust by showing that negative risk information reduced trust more than positive risk information increased it. Slovic termed this effect the ‘trust asymmetry principle’. The asymmetrical effects of negative and positive information on the public’s trust are widely known for many environmental and technological risks. The Casey Review (2022; 2023) and the Angiolini Inquiry (2025) identified high-profile cases of misconduct and illegal behaviour by United Kingdom police officers that

quickly eroded the public's trust. In response, the National Police Chiefs' Council (College of Policing, 2025a) has set out a five-year strategy for cultural change to help re-build public trust in the police.

A robust trust measurement framework is essential for maintaining and strengthening trust in policing. Trust is dynamic, and without systematic assessment, agencies risk overlooking early signs of erosion. A structured framework enables police to track community perceptions, identify gaps, and evaluate the impact of reforms. Such framework must include self-awareness as a core dimension: officers' understanding of how their behaviour, biases, and communication shape public trust. When police reflect on their own role in trust building, they become more accountable, empathetic, and responsive. Embedding self-awareness helps ensure trust is actively cultivated through everyday practice. Importantly, if police are to learn how to build trust, they need to be open to learning and critical reflection individually and via social learning/community engagement and feedback about their own capabilities. Such process can enhance an ongoing meta-cognitive awareness of trust-building capabilities that will ultimately create a more engaged police service and safer communities (College of Policing, 2025b).

1.2 Existing trust frameworks

There are several trust frameworks that are influential in different fields and contexts, and these are discussed in the following section.

1.2.1 Ability, Benevolence, and Integrity Model

Mayer et al.'s (1995) Integrative Model of Organizational Trust is usually referred to as the ABI (Ability, Benevolence, and Integrity) model but sometimes termed the MDS model, after the authors who developed it. The ABI model (Mayer et al., 1995) is relevant because it can explain how and why the public trust the police. It can be used to understand declining trust in the police and support trust-building strategies. The ABI model differentiates between trust, its outcomes, and antecedents (see Figure 1).

Mayer et al. (1995) conceptualised trust as a psychological state involving a 'willingness to be vulnerable'. They clarified that being vulnerable involves taking risk with another person, based on positive expectations, without being able to control or even monitor that other person. They proposed that trusting behaviour and outcome of trust are different in that the former is the act of actually taking a risk in a relationship with someone amidst risk factors outside of that relationship, while the latter is the willingness to take a risk. Both have been referred to as 'trust intentions' in the wider trust literature.

There is an extensive literature on the characteristics and actions that lead to some people being more trusted than others. Mayer et al. (1995) reviewed these and proposed three factors of perceived trustworthiness: ability, benevolence, and integrity. With respect to *ability*, they acknowledged that trust is context dependent (Zand, 1972) in that someone may be trusted in one situation but not in another depending on that individual's skills, competence, situation-specific expertise, and authority to be trusted. *Benevolence* was defined as the perception that the other person genuinely cares about your welfare apart from his/her own self-interests. Lastly, *integrity* was defined as the perception that the other person acts in accordance with a set of principles (e.g., code of conduct) that you find acceptable. This may also include perceptions of shared values, behavioural consistency/predictability and being open and honest/transparent. Empirical studies over the past thirty years have shown that these three factors, which are commonly referred to as 'trust beliefs' in the wider trust literature, explain a large proportion of the variation in perceived trustworthiness in various contexts.

The ABI model also includes the '*Trustor's propensity*' or predisposition to trust as an important antecedent to trust. This refers to an individual's general tendency to trust other people, independent of any specific relationship. It can be thought of as a 'trusting' personality trait that individuals develop in varying degrees based on their early trust-related

experiences that moderates the effects of the factors of perceived trustworthiness on trust.

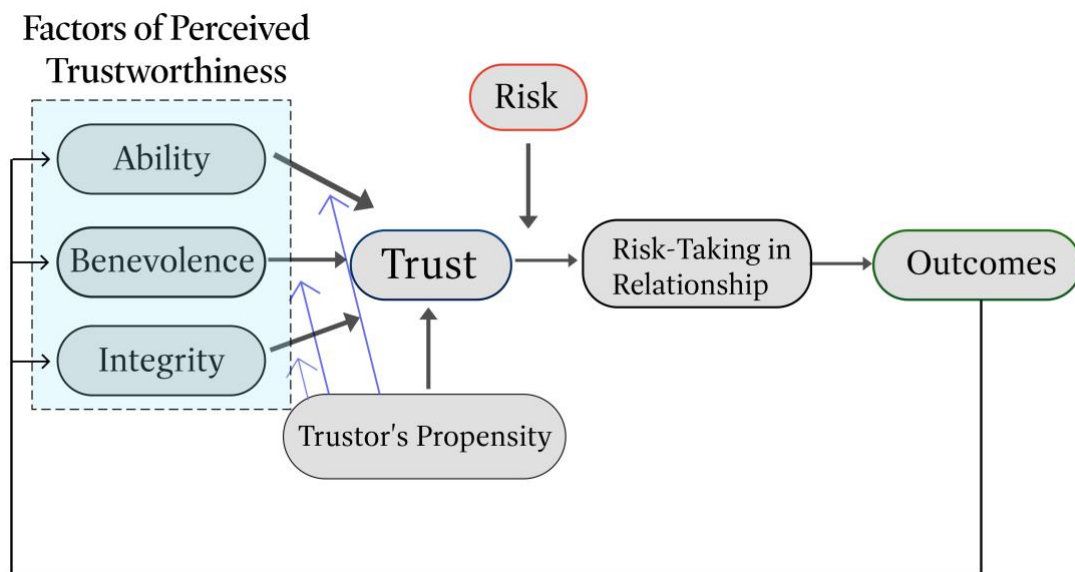


Figure 1: Mayer and Mayer (2024); Mayer et al., (1995): Proposed Model of Trust (the ABI or MBS model)

Wise et al. (2025) adapted the ABI model to measure police-public trust (see Figure 2), though it is interesting that their adapted diagram does not highlight outcomes or risk. In a policing context, the question of risk is particularly complex in view of the authoritative law enforcement role of police. Wise et al. (2025) highlight the need for more research in this area, differentiating between discretionary and general officer risk-taking.

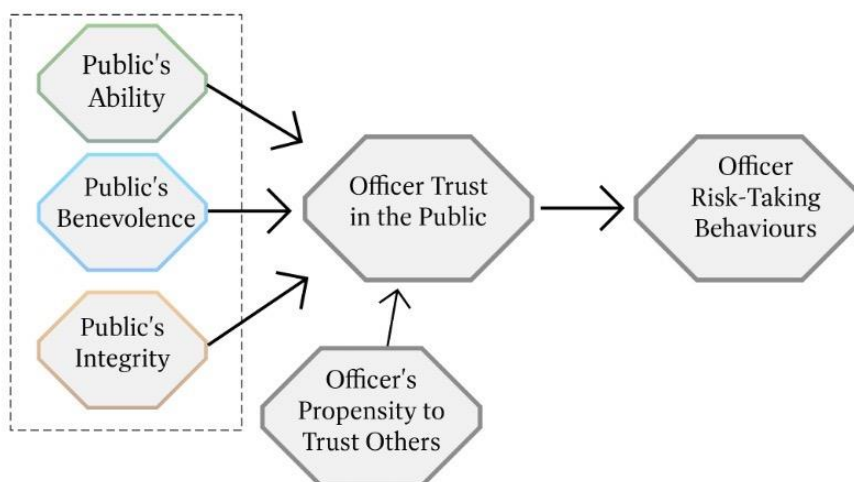


Figure 2: Wise et al. (2025): Adaptation of the ABI model to Police-Public Trust

1.2.2 Trust, Confidence and Cooperation Model

The Trust, Confidence and Cooperation (TCC) model (Earle & Siegrist, 2008) differentiates between trust and confidence with respect to the public's cooperation (in risk management contexts). Like Mayer et al. (1995), Earle and Siegrist (2008) defined trust in terms of a willingness to be vulnerable, but they based their conceptualisation of trust on a judgement of value similarity or similar intentions, which they termed 'social trust'. They included disposition to trust, which they termed 'general trust', as an antecedent to social trust. Earle and Siegrist defined confidence in terms of beliefs about performance expectations based on past performance.

They proposed that both social trust and confidence can lead to cooperation directly. They also proposed that social trust can affect judgements of confidence directly and through the effects of perceived performance. This model is relevant because it explains why trust in the police can collapse after a scandal or incident involving a breach of values or integrity, even though performance overall may be good and stable.

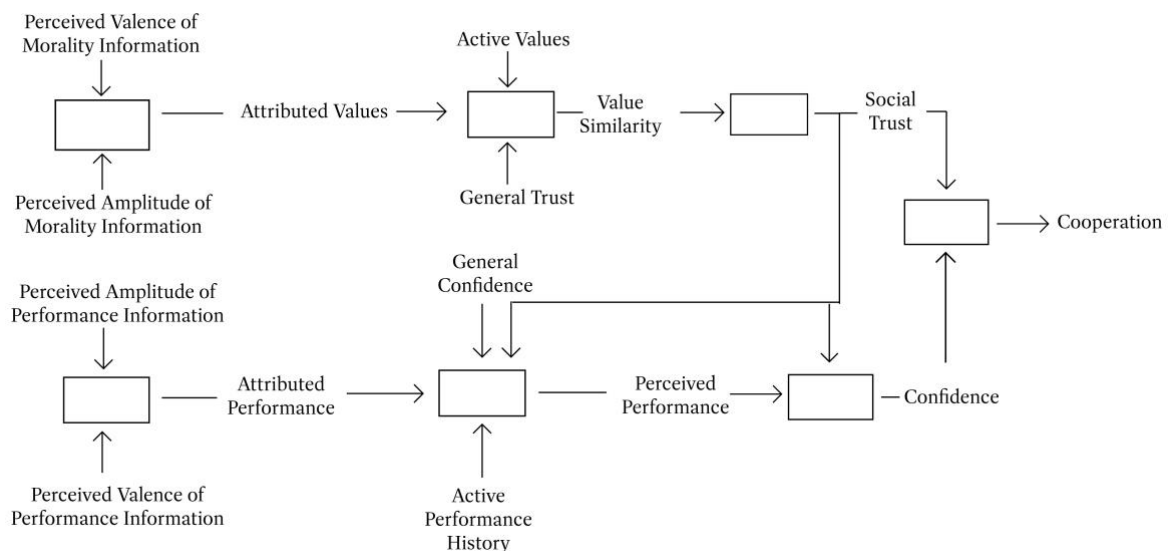


Figure 3: The Trust, Confidence and Cooperation model (Earle & Siegrist, 2008)

1.2.3 Bases, Domains and Targets Framework

The Bases, Domains and Targets (BDT) model (Rotenberg, 1994, 2010; Rotenberg et al., 2010) is often applied to understanding trust in the police

and legal authorities, proposing that trust is built on three fundamental bases. *Reliability* concerns the extent to which a person can be counted on to follow through on commitments, honour promises, and behave in a predictable, dependable manner. It captures the behavioural consistency that allows others to anticipate how someone will act over time. *Emotional trust* reflects confidence that another person will not inflict emotional harm. This includes being responsive to personal disclosures, safeguarding confidentiality, avoiding ridicule or criticism, and generally behaving in ways that protect the other's sense of dignity and emotional safety. *Honesty* refers to the expectation that a person will tell the truth, act with sincerity, and be guided by benign intentions rather than manipulation or exploitation. Together, these bases describe the (interpersonal) conditions under which individuals feel secure enough to be vulnerable.

Importantly, the BDT framework converges with the ABI model (see Section 1.2.1 above). Reliability maps closely onto ability or competence, as both involve confidence in another's capacity to perform as expected. Emotional trust aligns with benevolence, capturing the belief that the other person genuinely cares about one's welfare. Honesty parallels integrity, reflecting adherence to moral and ethical principles and truthfulness. This convergence across models underscores that these constructs (ability, benevolence, and integrity) are not arbitrary but represent core psychological dimensions that consistently emerge when scholars attempt to explain how trust develops and is maintained across relationships and contexts.

1.2.4 Community Engaged Research Measurement Model

The model for the measurement of Community Engaged (CEnR) and Community-Based Participatory (CBPR) Research by Boursaw et al. (2021) develops and validates a multi-dimensional set of scales for community-engaged research. This provides one of the first systematic tools to quantify relational processes and outcomes in partnerships, identifying and

confirming seven core constructs that are crucial to the trust-building processes BTL-COP identifies for community-police engagement. This includes measuring relationships, community engagement in action, partnership synergy, and transformation. These CBPR scales advance trust measurement by operationalising it not only as an individual belief but as a collective, interactional process embedded in partnership practices, enabling rigorous quantitative analysis of trust-building mechanisms in community - institution collaborations.

1.2.5 TING Community of Practice: Mixed Methods: Dialogic Participatory Model

The Community of Practice (CoP) approach in this Community Oriented Policing (COP) project (Jameson, 2010, 2024; Jameson et al., 2006; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1999) conceptualises trust as an emergent, dialogic, and socially constructed practice that occurs over a gradual timescale within the bounded safe space of a community dedicated to improving practice in a particular domain. The relational network involved in the police-community Trust in Neighbourhood Groups (TING) community of practice provides a form of problem-solving knowledge management, in which dialogic engagement leads to gradual co-construction, exploration, repair, and maintenance of trust through sustained cooperation.

In contrast to quantitatively measurable dyadic attribute-based models of trust that focus mainly or solely on a trustor/trustee relationship, even at macro-organisational levels, the analytical unit here needs to be measured through both quantitative and qualitative measures, as it is a pluralistic relational network, normally a group, community or communities, which may include many dyadic, complex multi-stakeholder and multi-level relationships. In addition to the key attributes present in other trust models (such as the ABI and BDT), the CoP developed for community policing in BTL-COP, the TING model, recognises the interactional dimensions of reciprocity, mutual recognition, shared meaning-making, and developing long-term meta-perceptions of trust-building. Trust, from this perspective,

is seen through the lens of social constructivism and social learning, being enacted through ongoing participation, voice, and co-production. It is therefore inherently dynamic and context dependent, its measurement being best achieved through qualitative means, interviews, observations and focus groups. This provides a counterpoint to the quantitative analysis of ABI and BDT measurement frameworks, aligning best with ITG and CBPR trust measurement.

1.2.6 *Trust Repair*

Gillespie and Dietz (2009) conceptualised trust repair (after an organisation-level failure) as a series of processes to regulate distrust and demonstrate trustworthiness. As shown in Figure 4, their model emphasises identifying the nature of the trust violation (i.e. a failure of competence, integrity, or benevolence), before implementing credible structural and cultural reforms, and engaging in transparent, accountable communication with affected stakeholders. This model is relevant because trust violations by the police usually involve failures of integrity or benevolence and are experienced by the public as a failure of ‘the police’ as an organisation or institution, as opposed to being due to the isolated actions of one officer. The model’s focus on sustained behavioural evidence highlights that trust repair is a long-term process and not simply a public relations exercise.

Kim et al. (2013) demonstrated that trust repair depends on both the type of violation (integrity vs. competence) and the target of repair (individual vs. group). They found that integrity-based violations destroyed trust far more than competency failures, and that while competency failures can be addressed through improved performance, a denial instead of an apology may be more optimal after an integrity-based violation. They also found that repairing trust in groups is more difficult than in individuals, irrespective of the type of trust violation.

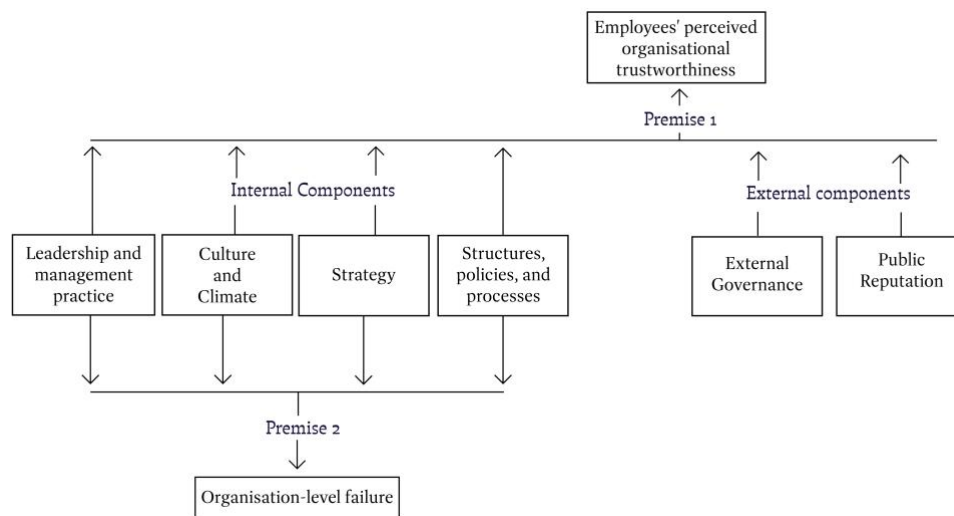


Figure 4: Organisational Trustworthiness (Gillespie & Dietz, 2009)

1.2.7 Summary and Implications for a Trust Measurement Framework

Trust can be conceptualised as a multi-level construct integrating different traditions within the trust frameworks outlined above. In terms of the potential for reliable quantitative measures, the Mayer et al. (1995; 2024) ABI model frames trust as a risk-based judgement grounded in perceptions of ability, benevolence, and integrity, translating into behavioural reliance on unpredictable outcomes.

Rotenberg's BDT framework extends this by specifying distinct belief bases, including reliability, emotional trust, and honesty, enhancing the potential for measurement precision. As a counterpoint to this, the intergroup trust model (see Section 1.3.4 below), CBPR and dialogic/CoP perspectives shift the focus to relational processes at the group level, where trust is co-produced through ongoing interaction, participation, and shared meaning that is measurable quantitatively, but also requires richer levels of qualitative interactional data analysis involving, for example, interviews, observations and focus groups.

Together, these conceptual frameworks capture trust as both

individual evaluation and collective group social practice. This supports a multi-level conceptualisation of trust: as (a) a risk-based evaluative judgement (ABI), (b) a structured set of trust beliefs (BDT), and (c) a collectively produced social practice (IGT/CBPR/dialogic/CoP). This integrative framing enables a more comprehensive account of trust that captures both individual-level perceptions and community-level intergroup processes, particularly in complex relational settings in which longer-term conflict resolution approaches may be required, such as police–community engagement.

To summarise, the ABI and BDT trust models are useful to provide potential variables for robust quantitative analysis when considering the different specific dimensions of what makes people appear trustworthy and they provide the types of concepts that should be included in this project's measures of trust. These models highlight the importance of incorporating trust beliefs (and predispositions) in a trust measurement framework. However, these models are limited in accounting for the existing relationships, and perceived relationships, between groups of individuals. Trust is a dynamic construct shaped by experience and these models do not allow for how these pre-existing relationships and expectations shape trust perceptions and trustworthiness, for example between groups holding different power and status or history of conflict. These models are also limited in their account for the bi-directionality of trust; that is, how groups feel about one another and how this reciprocated feeling impacts the perceived trust back. The bi-directionality and the importance of group belonging are central to the TING model approach championed within BTL-COP. These concepts are explored further below.

1.3 Trust in Intergroup Contexts

Trust operates not only between individuals but also between social groups. Intergroup trust is shaped by social identities, collective histories, and structural conditions, which makes it more fragile, more complex, and

harder to repair than interpersonal trust (Insko et al., 2005; Kappmeier, 2016). Whereas interpersonal trust develops through direct interaction, familiarity, and individual cues such as reliability, warmth, or competence (Wei et al., 2025), intergroup trust is rooted in social identity processes. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) posits that individuals derive part of their self-concept from their group memberships, leading them to evaluate others based on group categories rather than personal characteristics. As a result, expectations about outgroups - members of groups with identities distinct from one's own - are often shaped by stereotypes, collective narratives, and perceived intergroup norms rather than direct experience (Frey & Tropp, 2006). Intergroup trust, therefore, is not simply interpersonal trust 'scaled up'; it is shaped by categorisation processes and identity-based expectations. In the BTL-COP project, the intergroup context comprises of the police on one end, and the community on the other. The intergroup dynamics of this context are critical when attempting to address issues around trust development, sustainability, and repair.

Group-level dynamics play a critical role in shaping people's views and feelings toward members of other groups, including trust. For example, the positive effects of interpersonal contact do not automatically generalise to the outgroup as a whole. Although decades of empirical findings demonstrate that intergroup contact reduces prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Vezzali & Stathi, 2017, 2021), we also know that individuals may treat a positive outgroup member as an exception rather than evidence that the group is trustworthy, a process known as subtyping (Richards & Hewstone, 2001). Field experiments by Vezzali et al. (2023) show that attitude generalisation requires specific conditions, such as perceiving the outgroup member as typical of their group. Without these conditions, interpersonal trust may remain isolated and fail to contribute to broader intergroup trust.

Negative intergroup experiences can have particularly powerful effects. A single negative or traumatic incident is often recalled more easily and vividly and can damage trust between entire groups (e.g., Berntsen, 2001;

Kensinger & Corkin, 2003). Consistent with this, negative intergroup contact increases prejudice, negative attitudes, and hostility more strongly than positive contact reduce them (Barlow et al., 2012; Paolini et al., 2024). This dynamic is intensified by the outgroup homogeneity bias, the tendency to see outgroup members as more similar to one another than ingroup members, which increases the likelihood that negative behaviour by one outgroup member is generalised to the entire group (Agadullina & Lovakov, 2018). Considering that (a) positive intergroup contact enhances attitudes toward the outgroup via reducing intergroup anxiety and increasing empathy and knowledge about the outgroup (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) and (b) negative intergroup contact increases prejudice and undermines efforts to improve intergroup relations (Schäfer et al., 2021) we argue that these constructs must be incorporated in the trust measurement framework.

Intergroup trust is also socially transmitted. Group norms, stereotypes, media narratives, and political discourse can amplify or erode trust toward outgroups (Composto et al., 2025; Lee, 2022; Paluck, 2009). As a result, intergroup trust is more vulnerable to societal-level forces than interpersonal trust. Measuring group-level variables that may affect trust is critical in developing a thorough and dynamic trust framework.

1.3.1 The Role of Power and Status in Intergroup Trust

Power and status asymmetries fundamentally shape how groups perceive one another (Fiske et al., 2016; Saguy et al., 2012; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), creating vulnerabilities that influence trust. Low-power and low-status groups often show greater distrust toward high-power groups because they face higher potential costs if trust is violated (Lount & Pettit, 2012; Mooijman, 2023), including in policing contexts (e.g., Panditharatne et al., 2021). Their distrust is frequently rooted in histories of exploitation, discrimination, or marginalisation (Glasser et al., 2021; Ross et al., 2001; Smith, 2010). Empirical evidence shows that disadvantaged groups require more evidence of goodwill and fairness before extending trust to high-status groups (e.g.,

Mikolajczak-Degrauwe et al., 2023), and that minority groups' trust in majority institutions depends heavily on procedural fairness and historical accountability (Dierckx et al., 2024).

In contrast, high-power groups often underestimate the distrust felt by lower-status groups and assume that trust is mutual or that their intentions are transparent (Anderson et al., 2012; Brion & Anderson, 2013; Brion et al., 2015). This asymmetry leads to misaligned expectations (Pratto & Stewart, 2020): low-status groups seek accountability, fairness, and status enhancement, whereas high-status groups may prioritise efficiency or adopt attitudes perceived as paternalistic (Brion et al., 2015; Halabi et al., 2021; Kelman, 2005; see also Wildschut & Insko, 2007). These dynamics illustrate that trust is deeply embedded in structural inequalities. Effective trust-building must therefore address power and status asymmetries rather than focusing solely on interpersonal relationships. Thus, a rigorous trust framework needs to acknowledge the importance of power and status differences that come with belonging to certain social groups.

These dynamics are particularly relevant when considering differing community groups that will be involved in the BTL-COP project. For example, people living in socio-economically disadvantaged areas are often marginalised, risk social exclusion and are thus considered to have low-power and status (Cattell, 2001), whereas police tend to hold high power and status within communities. In addition to these socio-economic differences, young people often face negative stereotypes from adults (for example, being viewed as more likely to participate in antisocial, more immoral and less prosocial behaviours), attracting even lower social status and power within their communities (Bartoš et al., 2024; Devlin, 2006). Further, these negative perceptions, when internalized by youth themselves, may act as self-fulfilling prophecies and shape youth's expectations and standards for themselves, which in turn guide their affect, cognition, and behaviour (Buchanan & Hughes, 2009). Such internalised stigma can reduce feelings of belonging, undermine perceived legitimacy of authority, and erode trust

in institutions.

Given that BTL-COP workshops intend to build trust between police and young people, as well as other community members, it is important to acknowledge that stereotype-based expectations are influential and pre-existing identity dynamics can guide the development and sustainability of trust. Measuring ingroup and outgroup identification, perceived status differences, and stereotype endorsement will be crucial for understanding baseline trust levels and for evaluating whether the workshops effectively shift intergroup perceptions. Doing so will allow the project to capture not only changes in attitudes but also the deeper identity processes that underpin trust formation in police-community relations.

1.3.2 Intergroup Meta-perceptions

Intergroup meta-perceptions - group members' beliefs about how another group sees them - are often systematically biased. Recent evidence shows that groups tend to assume outgroups evaluate them more negatively than they actually do, a pattern observed across multiple conflict settings (Guvensoy et al., 2025; Lees & Cikara, 2020). These inaccurate meta-attitudes predict more negative outgroup evaluations (Guvensoy et al., 2025). Misperceptions about how an outgroup views one's own group can heighten defensiveness, reduce cooperation, and reinforce social distance and conflict (Kteily et al., 2016). Encouragingly, interventions targeting meta-perceptions can meaningfully improve intergroup relations (Landry et al., 2023), while positive intergroup contact increases accuracy and improves evaluations (Guvensoy et al., 2025). Research on contact meta-perceptions further shows that believing the outgroup wants positive interaction enhances attitudes and intentions for intergroup contact (Matera et al., 2024; Stathi et al., 2020), making trust more likely to develop.

A specific form of meta-perception relevant to trust is meta-dehumanization, the belief that the outgroup sees one's own group as less than fully human. Some group members may believe that an outgroup

views them as animals, objects, uncivilised, or lacking uniquely human traits such as rationality, morality, or self-control. Meta-dehumanization leads to dehumanization and fuels cycles of hostility and prejudice (Kteily et al., 2016; Pavetich & Stathi, 2021a). Conversely, meta-humanization, the belief that one's group is seen as fully human, reduces dehumanization and improves intergroup attitudes and contact intentions (Borinca, Stathi, & Gkinopoulos, 2025; Pavetich & Stathi, 2021b; Stathi, Pavetich, & Borinca, 2026). When people believe the outgroup sees their group as human, they tend to reciprocate by humanizing the outgroup, feeling less threatened, and showing greater willingness to interact. This matters for building trust because (a) trust requires perceiving the other as having human intentions, emotions, and moral capacities; (b) sustainable trust depends on low levels of perceived intergroup threat; and (c) intergroup contact is one of the strongest pathways to sustainable trust. Thus, reducing (meta-)dehumanization may be fundamental to supporting the development of intergroup trust. Based on the above, our trust framework will explore the role of meta-perceptions in driving intergroup trust.

1.3.3 *Intergroup Trust in Policing Contexts*

Intergroup trust research may offer clear, critical insights for policing, where interactions are shaped not only by individual officers and citizens but by the identities and histories of the groups they represent. Because people often evaluate outgroups through stereotypes and collective narratives rather than personal experience, trust in police is influenced by broader societal narratives about law enforcement, not just single encounters. Positive interactions with individual officers may not generalise if communities view those officers as 'exceptions', especially when past negative experiences or collective memories remain salient. In contrast, a single negative incident, particularly one involving force or perceived unfairness, can generalise rapidly due to outgroup homogeneity bias, damaging trust in the institution as a whole. This may be amplified through the prevalence of social media, which amplify negative encounters between

police and minority community members by making them highly visible, easily and rapidly shareable, and emotionally charged. Such ‘viral’ moments often become the dominant public narrative, overshadowing positive interactions or reform efforts.

Further, communities with histories of marginalisation and collective trauma (for example, due to historic and systemic injustice and oppression, racism and cultural marginalisation) may approach police with heightened vigilance because the costs of misplaced trust feel higher. These groups would require stronger evidence of fairness, accountability, and respect before trust can form, while police may underestimate this distrust or assume their intentions are self-evident. This misalignment can undermine cooperation and legitimacy. Meta-perceptions may also matter: if communities or police officers believe the ‘other’ side see them negatively, or even dehumanise them, defensiveness, hostility and avoidance can increase. Conversely, signals of respect, shared humanity, and willingness to engage in positive dialogue and contact can reduce threat, encourage positive interactions, and support the slow building of intergroup trust.

1.3.4 An Intergroup Model of Trust

The Intergroup Trust (IGT) Model (see Figure 5) is a five-dimensional representation of multi-group trust from the psychological literature (Kappmeier et al., 2021). It proposes that trust is a multidimensional construct and provides a framework to define, conceptualise, and operationalise trust. There are four aspects to this model worth noting. Firstly, four of the dimensions are grouped into two components: (a) the perceived trustworthiness of the outgroup (comprising of competence and integrity) and (b) the perceived relationship between one’s ingroup and the outgroup (comprising of compassion and compatibility). Secondly, within this model dimensions are conceptualised as continuums rather than binaries. Thirdly, dimensions are interdependent, with space to influence one another. Fourthly, incorporating the concept of security as a component of trust, as this is particularly relevant within the context of

intergroup conflict and reconciliation (Kappmeier, 2016; Kappmeier et al., 2019).

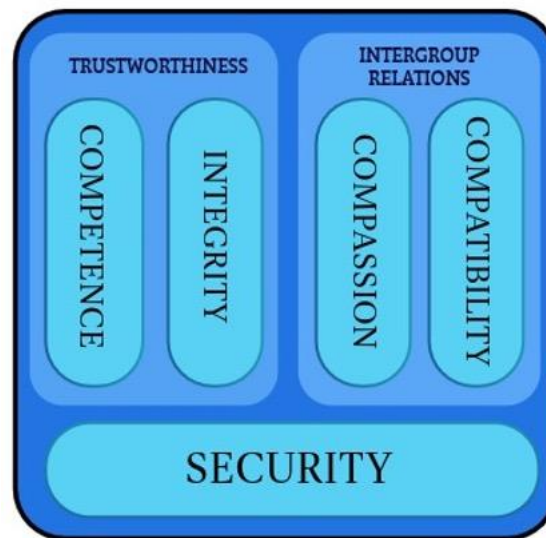


Figure 5: The intergroup trust model (IGT) (Kappmeier, Guenoun & Fahey, 2021)

To summarise the differences between the models provided, the ABI, IBD, and IGT models represent complementary approaches to the conceptualisation of trust. The ABI model offers a theoretically rigorous, multi-dimensional account that integrates perceived ability, benevolence, integrity, linked with propensity to trust, to risk-based willingness to be vulnerable, leading to unpredictable behavioural outcomes. The IBD model refines this framework by foregrounding integrity and dependability, thereby aligning more closely with institutional trust and reliability expectations in applied settings such as policing. The IGT model provides a multi-group level synthesis, integrating competence, integrity, compassion, compatibility, and security into an overarching trust judgement. This is particularly amenable to extension through dialogic and Community of Practice bi-directional approaches that conceptualise trust as a relational, collectively constructed process through social meaning making. The concepts of integrity, compassion and compatibility align naturally with reciprocity and mutual recognition, while the intergroup relational structure allows the incorporation of participatory processes in co-

designing the shared goals of a long-term community of practice trust-building approach.

2 Trust in Policing Contexts

2.1 Community Trust in Police: Foundations and Core Mechanisms

"Trust in the police, that is, the belief that police officers are accountable, upright, and genuinely concerned about the safety of the community they serve and belong to, is a core element of policing" (Panizzolo et al., 2024, p.1).

A trustworthy police force is seen by the public to be effective, fair, and to demonstrate shared values, interests, and a strong commitment to the local community (Jackson & Bradford, 2010; Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2012). Jackson and Bradford (2010) highlight three dimensions of public trust in the police, which correspond with the ABI and CBPR models: effectiveness (to do the job well: similar to ability); fairness (to treat people with respect: similar to integrity); and community engagement (to share values and listen to concerns of local people: similar to CBPR measures). They argue that trust extends beyond narrow perceptions that the police are effective in their roles, to include a sense that they understand the needs of communities, keep them informed, allow them a voice, and treat them with respect.

This broader understanding of trust is closely connected to procedural justice. Procedurally just encounters communicate that the police and the public are 'on the same side' fostering a sense of motive-based trust and shared group membership (Jackson & Bradford, 2010). This often matters "as much, if not more, than 'hard results' in terms of trust building" (Goldsmith, 2005, p.459). Furthermore, trust is a powerful predictor of perceived legitimacy in which the public regard the police as having earned an entitlement to hold authority. This normative compliance is seen as more sustainable and economically viable than instrumental compliance, which is driven by self-interest or fear of sanction (Hough et al., 2012; Lee, 2022).

Tyler's process-based model of regulation (Tyler, 1990) provides a key explanation of why trust and perceptions of fairness matter for police. The model argues that individuals are more likely to view police authority as legitimate when they experience interactions as procedurally just, therefore when they are treated with respect, given a voice, and perceive decision-making as neutral and trustworthy. This sense of legitimacy is important because it shapes people's willingness to comply with the law and cooperate with police authority. Rather than compliance being driven primarily by deterrence or fear of punishment, Tyler suggests it is largely voluntary and rooted in moral alignment with the institution. When legitimacy is high, individuals are more likely to follow police instructions, obey the law, report crimes, and share information with officers. Conversely, perceptions of unfairness or disrespect can weaken legitimacy and reduce cooperation. Empirical research supports this framework, showing consistent links between procedural justice, perceived legitimacy, and both compliance and cooperation with the police (Jackson et al., 2012; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 1990; Tyler, 2004; Tyler, 2006).

The central role of procedural justice has been further reinforced by meta-analytic evidence and randomised field experiments. These studies demonstrate that fairness, neutrality, respect, and voice constitute the most robust factor in the construction of legitimacy and voluntary cooperation (Jackson & Bradford, 2010; Mazerolle et al., 2013), with Tyler's procedural model demonstrating that fair treatment generates legitimacy perceptions that activate a moral obligation to cooperate regardless of the instrumental outcome of the encounter (Tyler & Jackson, 2014). This is corroborated empirically by Nix et al. (2015), who found that procedural justice exerted a considerably stronger effect on trust than demographic characteristics, prior police interactions, or neighbourhood conditions, and that this primacy held even after accounting for collective efficacy, supporting the argument that procedural justice can mitigate distrustful orientations in socially disadvantaged or disorganised community settings (Wolfe et al.,

2016).

While procedural justice is a particularly important determinant of trust, community trust in the police is ultimately a complex multi-determined social phenomenon that develops through the interaction of institutional, social, and psychological factors operating at macro, meso, and micro levels simultaneously (Mayer et al., 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998). This multi-level perspective helps explain why trust can vary sharply between neighborhoods, social groups, and individuals even within the same national system (Brunkert et al., 2023).

At the macro level, trust is shaped by broad historical, institutional, and socioeconomic structures, including the integration of social groups into political and economic citizenship and the robustness of rule-of-law and accountability frameworks (Gau et al., 2012; Hanway & Hambly, 2023; Martin & Bradford, 2019). In post-authoritarian or institutionally fragile contexts, systemic legitimacy deficits tend to persist regardless of individual experiences (Tyler & Jackson, 2014), and comparative European research confirms that national patterns of institutional trust and perceptions of corruption are strongly associated with average levels of trust in the police in countries such as the United Kingdom and Spain. Major events (such as riots, terrorist attacks, or high-profile misconduct cases) can further raise or erode trust, depending on how authorities respond (Panizzolo et al., 2024; Roché & Varaine, 2025).

At the meso level, organisational and community dynamics play a central mediating role. Police culture, management models, accountability transparency, and neighbourhood characteristics (such as social cohesion, collective efficacy, and perceived disorder) all shape the relationship between citizens and the police (Gau et al., 2012; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998), and the legitimization of police action depends not only on public acceptance but also on ‘authorisation’ by political elites, oversight bodies, and the media (Martin & Bradford, 2019). Evidence from England and Wales indicates that neighbourhood deprivation, local crime rates, and the quality of police-

community engagement are associated with variation in public confidence across areas (Hanway & Hambly, 2023), a pattern echoed in Spain, where trust in the police exceeds confidence in most other institutions but remains unevenly distributed across regions and social groups, and is consistently higher where policing is visible, problem-oriented, and community-connected rather than primarily coercive or crisis-driven (OECD, 2024).

At the micro level, individual experiences and psychological processes are central. Direct encounters with officers, perceptions of fair or discriminatory treatment, and variables such as prior victimisation or generalised institutional distrust shape attitudes in both immediate and enduring ways (Jackson et al., 2012; Tyler & Huo, 2002), with personal and vicarious experiences, expectations about future treatment, and broader orientations toward political institutions all feeding into individual trust judgements. Survey data from Spain illustrate that trust can increase following visible episodes of effective protection, but such gains are often short-lived and sensitive to subsequent experiences, such that two individuals living in the same neighbourhood may exhibit markedly different levels of trust depending on their direct experiences, social networks, and prior institutional attitudes (Panizzolo et al., 2024; Roché & Varaine, 2025).

2.1.1 Key Drivers and Evidence

Procedural justice theory proposes that when police are fair, respectful, and transparent, they gain trust, legitimacy and cooperation (Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Conversely, when encounters feel unfair, intrusive, or discriminatory, trust can be seriously damaged. Tyler and Mentovich (2023) identify two central axes on which citizens assess procedural fairness: the fairness of decision-making procedures (including voice, consistency, and absence of bias) and the quality of interpersonal treatment (including respect for dignity, attentiveness, and provision of explanations), which together form the evaluative framework through which citizens determine whether police can be trusted to act in the community's interest (Bradford et al., 2014)

The practical importance of trust is reflected in its relationship with public cooperation. Police effectiveness depends heavily on information and support provided voluntarily by members of the public, including reporting offences, acting as witnesses, and sharing local intelligence (Jackson et al., 2012; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). The literature distinguishes between formal compliance, such as following police instructions, and voluntary cooperation, which involves a more active willingness to assist policing efforts. This distinction is particularly important because much police work relies on information that officers cannot generate independently.

Investigative policing provides a clear example of this relationship. Success often depends on information supplied by community members regarding suspects, locations, or patterns of behaviour that are not directly observable to officers (Innes & Roberts, 2008). Research demonstrates that willingness to act as a witness or provide statements is strongly influenced by perceptions of police legitimacy and trustworthiness (Roberts, 2010). When individuals believe that police act fairly, respectfully, and in the interests of the community, they are more willing to accept the personal costs associated with cooperation, including inconvenience, time commitments, and potential risks of retaliation (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 1990). Conversely, low-trust environments are associated with reluctance to come forward as witnesses, particularly in cases involving serious violence or organised crime.

A similar dynamic applies to the sharing of local intelligence. Information regarding suspicious activity, known offenders, or emerging neighbourhood risks is more likely to be shared when individuals perceive the police as legitimate and trustworthy. Studies grounded in procedural justice theory suggest that cooperation is enhanced when people believe that information will be handled fairly and used appropriately (Jackson et al., 2012; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). Intelligence-sharing is therefore not merely transactional but fundamentally relational, depending on ongoing

perceptions of fairness, effectiveness, and reciprocity.

This relationship between trust and information flow is central to Innes's work on signal crimes and community intelligence. Innes (2006) argues that trust enables effective policing because it facilitates the development of community intelligence networks. Citizens who trust the police are more likely to report suspicious activity, share local knowledge, and communicate concerns that may never appear in official crime records, thereby enhancing police capacity to identify and respond to emerging threats (Innes, 2006). Signal crime theory further suggests that incidents matter not only because of their direct consequences but because they communicate broader messages about social order, safety, and police effectiveness (Innes, 2004; Innes, 2006). When police responses are perceived as weak, unfair, or ineffective, trust and community engagement may decline. Conversely, visible responsiveness and legitimacy can strengthen cooperation and information-sharing (Innes, 2006; Innes & Roberts, 2008).

A substantial body of evidence demonstrates that specific policing practices can either strengthen or undermine these trust relationships. Stop and search represents one of the clearest examples of a policing tactic associated with reduced trust and legitimacy. A recent review concluded that stop and search is generally associated with negative impacts on trust, particularly when encounters are perceived as unjustified, disproportionate, or targeted towards particular social groups (Agnew-Pauley et al., 2025). Black and other minority ethnic individuals are significantly more likely to experience stop and search than White individuals, even after controlling for other factors, and such encounters are consistently associated with more negative attitudes toward the police (Agnew-Pauley et al., 2025; Youth Endowment Fund, 2025). Research further suggests that stop and search can generate feelings of marginalisation, exclusion, and trauma, thereby undermining police legitimacy within affected communities.

Strip searches are similarly controversial due to their highly intrusive nature. Such encounters can have profound and lasting emotional

consequences, particularly for children (Stone, 2022). Recent Home Office data indicate that Black children are 6.5 times more likely than White children, and Black adults 4.7 times more likely than White adults, to be strip searched by police in England and Wales, with even greater disproportionalities evident in some police forces (Runnymede Trust, 2024). These disparities are widely perceived as forms of racialised harm and contribute to reduced confidence and legitimacy within Black communities (Runnymede Trust, 2024).

The broader issue underlying these patterns is discrimination and bias, both perceived and experienced. Spencer et al. (2016) demonstrate that implicit biases can generate racially disparate outcomes in stop and search practices and the use of force. Importantly, they argue that discriminatory policing and racial stereotypes operate within a mutually reinforcing cycle whereby biased enforcement practices strengthen the very stereotypes that help produce them. The cumulative impact of such encounters, whether experienced directly or indirectly through community narratives, can generate a broader orientation of institutional distrust among minority and marginalised groups that individual procedurally just encounters may struggle to overcome. Evidence from both the United Kingdom and Spain supports this interpretation, showing that disproportionate exposure to intrusive police powers produces feelings of humiliation, exclusion, and institutional discrimination that undermine both trust and legitimacy.

Viewed through the lens of aporophobia (Cortina, 2017), these dynamics reflect and reproduce broader social inequalities in which poor and marginalised groups are treated as less deserving of respect and protection. Such practices directly violate the principles of procedural justice and contribute to a self-reinforcing cycle of mistrust and conflictual police-citizen encounters. From this perspective, restoring trust requires not only improvements in interpersonal treatment but also broader changes in policing practices, accountability mechanisms, and institutional structures.

Not all policing practices undermine trust. Foot patrol is generally

associated with more positive effects on perceptions of safety and legitimacy (Ariel et al., 2016; Kelling & Coles, 2017; Majmundar & Weisburd, 2018). Research on police visibility indicates that increased police presence is associated with higher legitimacy assessments, although these effects depend heavily on the quality of interactions between officers and the public. Positive encounters enhance legitimacy, whereas poor-quality interactions can have the opposite effect (Bolaji & Metcalfe, 2024). Reviews of the foot patrol literature similarly conclude that trust-building benefits emerge when officers engage in procedurally just ways, explaining their actions, listening to residents, and treating individuals with dignity and respect (Kelling & Coles, 2017).

Beyond everyday encounters, accountability and transparency are widely recognised as fundamental conditions for maintaining public trust. Recent experimental research found that a simple transparency statement at the beginning of police-community interactions reduced perceived threat and increased trust, suggesting that openness can improve both immediate reactions and longer-term confidence in policing (Dobson et al., 2025). Transparency reduces uncertainty and signals a willingness to be scrutinised. Consistent with this argument, Kochel and Skogan (2021) found that efforts to increase transparency and strengthen accountability mechanisms were associated with improvements in residents' trust and legitimacy judgments, particularly among Black residents. These findings suggest that trust is built not only through visible policing but also through confidence that officers are answerable for their actions.

The importance of accountability becomes particularly apparent following incidents of police misconduct. Although comparatively less studied, highly publicised incidents can have significant societal consequences because they shape collective perceptions of whether police institutions can regulate their own behaviour effectively (Weitzer, 2002). Research examining incidents involving perceived excessive police force consistently reports declines in public confidence and satisfaction following such events (Herbert et al., 2025; Jefferis et al., 1997; Kaminski & Jefferis, 1998;

Lasley, 1994; Sigelman et al., 1997; Tuch & Weitzer, 1997). These findings demonstrate that trust is influenced not only by direct personal experiences but also by media coverage and broader public narratives.

When misconduct is addressed openly and communities perceive that complaints and abuses are taken seriously, relationships are less likely to become adversarial (Goldsmith, 2005). Transparency regarding investigations, disciplinary processes, and organisational responses therefore plays a crucial role in preserving legitimacy and preventing further erosion of confidence.

Trust also varies systematically across social groups. Intersectional analyses indicate that age, ethnicity, social class, and geographic location interact in complex ways to produce distinctive trust profiles (Tura et al., 2025). Non-White ethnicity, lower social grade, younger age, and residence in London have each been associated with lower levels of trust, while combinations of these characteristics often produce effects greater than the sum of their individual influences. Evidence from 38 European countries similarly demonstrates that socio-demographic differences in trust are widespread, although their magnitude varies across national contexts (Zhorayev, 2020). These differences partly reflect unequal exposure to policing practices, such as the disproportionate use of stop and search among young men and minority groups, but they also reflect broader experiences of inequality and perceived institutional bias. Importantly, socio-demographic factors should be understood primarily as structural markers shaping exposure to policing and vulnerability in police-citizen encounters rather than as indicators of individual dispositions. Consequently, aggregate measures of trust that fail to account for variation across social groups risk obscuring the inequalities most consequential for police-community relations.

Neighbourhood context further shapes trust in important ways. Residents of more deprived areas consistently report lower levels of trust even after accounting for individual characteristics, a pattern that aligns with United Kingdom research on hotspot policing and community

confidence (Hanway & Hambly, 2023). Although high crime and disorder increase demand for policing, they also expose residents to more frequent and potentially coercive police contact, which can undermine trust if policing is perceived as ineffective or heavy-handed. Sampson et al. (1997) demonstrate that concentrated disadvantage, characterised by poverty, unemployment, segregation, and family instability, is strongly associated with lower collective efficacy. In neighbourhoods where collective efficacy is weak, legal cynicism and institutional distrust tend to be higher, as residents generalise scepticism from local conditions to formal authorities.

Recent work by Weisburd et al. (2024) extends these findings by showing that concentrated disadvantage at the street-segment level independently influences citizens' evaluations of police fairness and effectiveness. Changes in collective efficacy were also associated with changes in evaluations of police over time, highlighting that the relationship between neighbourhood conditions and trust is dynamic rather than fixed. Together, these findings demonstrate that trust cannot be understood without considering structural context and that efforts to improve trust in deprived communities must address the mutually reinforcing relationships between poverty, social disorganisation, and institutional distrust.

Finally, psychological factors such as prior victimisation, generalised institutional distrust, meta-dehumanisation, and perceived respect operate as cognitive and emotional filters through which individuals interpret police behaviour. Citizens who perceive the police as dehumanising or indifferent are more likely to internalise narratives of exclusion, weakening the moral obligation to cooperate and reducing trust in police authority (Jackson et al., 2012; Tyler & Huo, 2002).

2.2 Police Trust in Communities: Foundations and Core Mechanisms

Police trust in communities is an often-neglected feature of the police-community trust relationship, despite the two-way nature being recognised

as a mutually reinforcing process (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2012). When police do not trust the public, the public may be less likely to trust the police (Mourtgos et al., 2020). As Carr and Maxwell (2018, p.375) argue, “trust matters, and since trust is a reciprocal relationship, trust matters in both directions”. Understanding trust solely from the public's perspective therefore provides only a partial picture of police-community relations.

Police trust in the public has important implications for policing practice. Officers who trust community members are more likely to engage in procedurally just behaviours, including treating people with fairness and respect, listening to their concerns, and responding appropriately to community needs (Wise et al., 2025). These behaviours are particularly significant because procedurally just encounters are largely shaped by police actions and decisions rather than by members of the public (Westmarland, 2010). Effective policing needs public support and this ‘fruitful co-operation’ between police and citizens requires mutual trust (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2012, p.277).

However, historically such mutual trust has been difficult to achieve. Cynicism is an established part of police occupational culture, “a complex set of values and attitudes that define the normative social world of police” characterised by uncertainty, danger, suspicion, social isolation and group loyalty (Campeau, 2015, p.671; Reiner, 2010). These themes, often communicated through on-the-job socialisation, have been shown to exert considerable influence over the way officers think about and interact with the public (Loftus, 2010). According to Manning (2005, p.103) occupational culture works on assumptions that become the basis for police strategies and tactics; the first assumption being that “people cannot be trusted; they are dangerous”.

Indeed, Westmarland (2016) argues that the ‘blue code’ of inclusivity, silence and trust often does not extend beyond warranted officers, with ‘others’ posing a challenge to the status quo of control (Millie, 2018). The police continue to depict themselves as instant problem solvers, with an

unquestioned authority which is seen as sacrosanct, and the citizen subordinate to this (Herbert, 2006; Paoline, 2003; van Steden et al., 2011). Ensuring that policing 'remains police property' sets the police apart from the public and creates barriers to developing trust (Johnston, 2003, p.188; Waddington, 1999).

The ABI model of trust sets out that a trustor's (in this context, a police officer) trust in a trustee (the public) is shaped by two primary factors: the trustor's propensity to trust more generally, and the trustor's perceptions of the trustee's trustworthiness (based on the trustee's ability, benevolence, and integrity) (Wise et al., 2025). If the police feel that the public lacks the ability to understand the dangerous and difficult nature of their role (and the actions they take in the face of this), and lacks benevolence towards them, this can generate feelings of separation from the community they serve, reinforcing a sense of 'them and us'. This makes them less likely to take risks or put themselves in situations where they feel vulnerable to the public, which can affect role performance and public safety (Mourtgos et al., 2020). Importantly, the ABI framework also highlights opportunities to strengthen police trust in communities. Wise et al. (2025) emphasise the importance of cultivating public procedural justice. Just as procedurally fair policing enhances public trust in officers, experiences of being treated fairly, respectfully, and courteously by members of the public are likely to strengthen officers' trust in the communities they serve. Police trust in the public is therefore shaped not only by organisational and cultural influences but also by everyday interactions with community members.

Empirical evidence supports the importance of these dynamics. Kääriäinen and Sirén (2012) study of European Social Survey (ESS) data found that police officers have somewhat less generalized trust in others than people in general; however, findings were statistically significant in France, Switzerland and the United Kingdom indicating that, in these countries, the police are more suspicious than the general population about other people. There were eight countries in which the police actually trusted

people more than other respondents from the same country did: five of these countries (Poland, Slovakia, Austria, Hungary and Slovenia) form a connected zone in Eastern Europe, and another two (Portugal and Spain) are neighbouring countries in Western Europe. The study found that there is a strong connection between the trust demonstrated by the police and the general level of trust in other people in the country, arguing that police culture and the experience of being in the police does not have a 'strongly trust-reducing impact'; however, there are exceptions to this that are observed in France, the UK and Switzerland where the trust of police officials in citizens is significantly lower than that of the general population.

Studies examining officers' perceptions of community cooperation reveal a further challenge. Nalla et al.'s (2018) study of police officer and residents' perceptions of each other in Slovenia highlighted a gap between residents' willingness to cooperate with police and police officers' perceptions about community members' willingness to cooperate with police (see also section on intergroup meta-perceptions). This indicated either that officers do not trust that residents are capable of helping police officers, or that they do not really believe that residents would want to cooperate with the police. Moon and Zagar (2007, p.493) reported similar findings in their study with Korean police officers, with the majority perceiving that citizens do not support the police which, the authors argue, suggests "that distrust and antagonism between the police and citizens is deep-rooted in the minds of the Korean police".

While occupational culture is important, organisational experiences also play a significant role in shaping officers' trust orientations. Research on organisational justice (the extent to which employees perceive fairness, respect, and equitable treatment within their workplace) consistently demonstrates its influence on attitudes and behaviour. Myhill and Bradford (2012) found support for Masterson's (2001) "trickle-down" model of justice whereby employees' perceptions of fairness positively affect their attitudes towards their organisation and 'customers' (the police 'customer' being the

public). Carr and Maxwell (2018) found that a sense of organisational justice amongst police officers significantly affects trust in the public, as well as organisational commitment and favourable attitudes to community policing. Similarly, Wise et al., (2025) reported that fair treatment by supervisors and within the organisation sets a tone that fosters officers' generalized trust in others, including the public. As Goldsmith (2005, p.462) highlighted, the police "must build internal as well as public trust; the latter will not flourish logically without the former".

These findings have important implications for contemporary policing. Effective co-production of policing requires the police to give up some of their power and hand over trust to the public (Westmarland, 2010). The success of community policing relies on active co-operation between communities and the police. Without mutual trust, respect and support, this cannot succeed (Moon and Zagar, 2007). Police officers with greater trust in the public engage in more risk-taking behaviour, which can enhance public safety (Mourtgos et al., 2020).

Ultimately, police trust in the public is not simply a desirable organisational characteristic but a fundamental component of policing by consent. Given the close relationship between police trust in communities and public trust in police (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2012), understanding both sides "offers a more complete, holistic understanding of the challenges and potential solutions to improving this vital relationship" (Wise et al., 2025, p. 31). Indeed, Goldsmith (2005, p.464) argues that, in the absence of trust, "the very idea of policing by consent will remain, at best, a phantasm".

2.2.1 *Key Drivers and Evidence*

Compared with the extensive body of research on public trust in the police, considerably less attention has been devoted to officers' trust in the communities they serve. Recent scholarship suggests that this represents a crucial "missing half" of the trust relationship in democratic policing (Wise et al., 2025). When officers harbour doubts about the goodwill, reliability, or

honesty of local residents, these perceptions influence how they interpret ambiguous situations, exercise discretion, and engage with communities on a day-to-day basis (Kutnjak Ivković et al., 2020). Emerging evidence from research on police legitimacy and organisational justice further suggests that officers' own experiences of support, fairness, and respect, both within their organisations and in their interactions with the public, are closely linked to their willingness to view communities as trustworthy partners rather than potential sources of threat (Hough & Tyler, 2021; Peacock et al., 2021).

Growing empirical evidence demonstrates that multidimensional theories of trust can be applied productively to police-community relationships. Officers' trust in the public has been shown to influence workplace behaviour, particularly their willingness to take constructive risks, experiment with innovative forms of engagement, and participate in collaborative problem-solving initiatives (Hough & Tyler, 2021). Because trust is inherently reciprocal, improving police-community relations requires moving beyond a one-sided focus on public confidence in the police and instead adopting approaches that address the trust concerns of both officers and citizens simultaneously (Madon et al., 2017). This shift—from a unilateral emphasis on public trust to a relational and two-sided understanding of trust—has been identified as essential for achieving sustainable improvements in police-community relations (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2020; Wise et al., 2025). By overlooking officers' trust in the public, earlier research and policy initiatives may have underestimated important drivers of persistent mistrust and conflict while neglecting potentially valuable avenues for reform and reconciliation (López-Riba, 2021).

Research suggests that officers' trust in communities is shaped by several interconnected factors. A first consideration is the perceived willingness of residents to cooperate. Studies examining cooperation, informal social control, and citizens' willingness to contact the police indicate that officers are more likely to view communities as trustworthy when residents report crime, share information, and support policing

initiatives. Conversely, expectations of hostility, silence, or retaliation can undermine trust and reinforce perceptions that communities are unwilling to work collaboratively with police (Pass et al., 2025).

A second factor concerns perceptions of risk and safety. In neighbourhoods perceived as dangerous, unstable, or characterised by histories of violence and conflict, officers are more likely to anticipate aggression, resistance, or non-compliance. These expectations can reduce their willingness to assume good faith on the part of residents and encourage more defensive or suspicion-based approaches to policing, which officers may view as necessary for protecting themselves and their colleagues (Foster et al., 2024; Nix et al., 2017).

A third influence derives from media and organisational narratives. Research on media portrayals of police-citizen encounters suggests that repeated coverage of serious incidents and representations of particular areas as 'problem communities' can reinforce stereotypes among both police and residents (Fernández-Planells et al., 2021). Such narratives may encourage officers to view certain communities as inherently hostile, risky, or resistant to police authority. These perceptions are further shaped by officers' direct experiences within neighbourhoods. Routine interactions, critical incidents, and the 'war stories' shared within police organisations can either reinforce negative assumptions or challenge them when officers repeatedly encounter cooperation, support, and positive engagement from community members.

These perceptions have important consequences for policing practice. Research consistently demonstrates that low levels of trust in communities are associated with a greater reliance on enforcement-oriented responses, including stops, searches, and arrests, and a reduced willingness to utilise alternatives such as informal warnings, referrals to support services, or collaborative problem-solving approaches (Ingram et al., 2018; Mazerolle et al., 2013; Terrill et al., 2003). Officers' communication styles and approaches to engagement also appear to vary according to their trust judgements. When officers trust residents, they are more likely to

adopt conversational, transparent, and partnership-oriented approaches consistent with community policing principles. In contrast, low-trust environments are more likely to produce brief, instrumental, and defensive interactions characterised by limited investment in relationship-building (Fenn & Bullock, 2021; Peacock et al., 2021).

Trust also influences how officers perceive and respond to potential threats. Experimental and observational research examining police use of force suggests that officers operating in low-trust environments are more likely to interpret ambiguous behaviour as threatening, thereby reducing the threshold for escalation (Foster et al., 2024; Terrill et al., 2003). By contrast, higher levels of trust and established rapport can support de-escalation, greater patience, and a stronger willingness to interpret residents' behaviour in a more charitable and less threatening manner.

The significance of these effects extends beyond individual encounters and directly influences broader policing outcomes. Effective policing depends not only on enforcement activities but also on the willingness of community members to cooperate with police. When residents trust officers, they are more likely to report crimes, share information, act as witnesses, and participate in local problem-solving initiatives (NASEM, 2022). However, the relationship is reciprocal. Officers who trust communities are more likely to invest in the kinds of collaborative and procedurally just interactions that encourage public cooperation in the first place. Trust on both sides therefore facilitates the flow of information, support, and engagement upon which effective policing depends. Understanding officers' trust in the public is consequently not simply a theoretical concern but a practical necessity for strengthening police legitimacy, enhancing cooperation, and improving long-term police-community relationships.

2.3 Cross-National Research

Cross-national research demonstrates that trust in the police is shaped not only by individual experiences but also by broader institutional traditions,

governance arrangements, and cultural contexts. Data from the European Social Survey (ESS) consistently reveal substantial variation across Europe, with trust generally higher in Northern and Western European countries than in many Southern and Eastern European contexts (Hough et al., 2013; Jackson et al., 2011). These differences reflect distinct historical trajectories of state formation, democratic development, and relationships between citizens and public authority.

Any attempt to compare levels of public trust in the police across national boundaries must first confront a fundamental methodological problem: whether the construct being measured carries the same meaning in different contexts. Schaap and Scheepers (2014), using multigroup structural equation modelling on ESS Round 5 data from 27 European countries, demonstrate that the critical scalar equivalence test (required to validly compare mean trust levels) fails for several nations, including Spain, where the intercept for police trust is higher than the measurement model predicts, and Israel, where it is lower. These findings indicate that historical experiences, institutional arrangements, and cultural expectations shape how respondents interpret survey questions about police trust (Schaap & Scheepers, 2014).

Such differences are particularly important in countries with authoritarian or communist legacies, where the police may evoke associations that differ fundamentally from those found in long-established democracies. As a result, straightforward cross-national comparisons can be misleading and the transfer of policy interventions between contexts may be inappropriate without careful consideration of historical and institutional differences (Schaap & Scheepers, 2014).

Once measurement validity is established, the evidence reveals a consistent structural difference between Eastern and Western Europe. Within the 20 countries where scalar equivalence holds, Schaap and Scheepers (2014) demonstrate that citizens in post-communist societies tend not to differentiate the police from the broader political apparatus,

corroborating Mishler and Rose's hypothesis (cited in Schaap & Scheepers, 2014) that such citizens perceive state institutions more holistically. In Western Europe, by contrast, a clear two-factor structure separates legal from political trust. This pattern reflects the historical reality that, under communist regimes, policing legitimacy derived from the party rather than from the public, producing what Mawby (2000) described as significant uniformity in the political function and militaristic structure of police across the communist bloc (cited in Bacak & Apel, 2021).

Research further suggests that procedural justice may operate differently across historical contexts. Bacak and Apel (2021) show that positive police contact carries greater weight in post-communist contexts precisely because it defies expectations shaped by authoritarian histories, extending procedural justice theory by demonstrating that identical interactions produce different legitimacy gains depending on context. Absolute trust levels remain substantially lower in Eastern Europe, though with considerable internal variation: Croatia and Slovakia record the lowest scores, while Estonia and East Germany approach Western European levels (Kääriäinen, 2007; Schaap & Scheepers, 2014). Staubli (2017) identifies generalised social trust as a key cross-national predictor, suggesting that rebuilding police trust in post-communist societies requires broader civic reconstruction, not only police reform.

The limited evidence available on police officers' trust in communities reveals a similar pattern. Kääriäinen and Sirén (2012) found that police officers' generalised trust was, on average, slightly lower than that of the public. The largest differences emerged in countries such as the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and France, where officers were considerably more suspicious than members of the general population. In contrast, officers in Slovakia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Slovenia, Portugal, Spain, and Ireland reported higher levels of trust than the public. Importantly, police trust closely mirrored the broader trust climate within each country, suggesting that officers' perceptions are influenced not only by occupational

experiences but also by wider levels of social capital and generalised trust. These findings reinforce the argument that police-community trust should be understood as part of a broader social and institutional ecosystem rather than as a phenomenon generated exclusively through police-citizen encounters.

2.3.1 *Spain*

Spain presents a particularly complex case in which relatively high aggregate levels of trust coexist with significant concerns regarding legitimacy among specific communities. The country's policing landscape is institutionally fragmented, comprising the Guardia Civil, Policía Nacional, Mossos d'Esquadra, and Ertzaintza, each operating within different political and cultural contexts (García-Pablos de Molina, 2018). This decentralised structure generates heterogeneous patterns of trust influenced by perceptions of local proximity, effectiveness, and accountability.

Although Spain is classified as an established democracy within ESS analyses, the legacy of authoritarian policing under the Franco regime continues to shape contemporary police-community relations (Bacak & Apel, 2021). The persistence of this legacy is evident in broader patterns of civic trust. Analysing approximately 140,000 surveys conducted between 1989 and 2017, Balcells and Villamil (2026) found that cohorts socialised during the dictatorship exhibited persistently lower levels of civic engagement and social trust. These findings suggest that historical experiences continue to influence the foundations upon which police legitimacy is built.

Contemporary concerns further complicate this picture. Evidence of racial profiling in stop and search practices demonstrates that minority and racialised communities continue to experience policing differently from the wider population (Arenas-García & García-España, 2022). Such encounters have been shown to reduce both perceived legitimacy and willingness to cooperate with police. Concerns regarding accountability have also been raised. Reports by Iridia and Rights International Spain identify systemic

weaknesses in the investigation of police misconduct, while the United Nations Human Rights Committee has expressed concern regarding limitations within Spain's transparency framework, the continued operation of the 1977 Amnesty Law, the use of sanctions under the "Gag Law" (Organic Law 4/2015), and oversight of Pegasus surveillance activities (FIBGAR, 2025; Iridia et al., 2023). Similarly, Jiménez and Farías (2025) document surveillance and infiltration of political and social movements between 2011 and 2024, highlighting tensions between democratic governance and policing practices.

Despite these concerns, Spain recorded relatively high levels of trust in policing in the 2024 OECD Trust Survey, with 61% of respondents reporting high or moderately high trust in the police, making it the most trusted institution in the country and substantially outperforming political parties (OECD, 2024). This finding is consistent with Schaap and Scheepers' (2014) observation that trust in Spanish policing exceeds the level predicted by comparative measurement models. The Spanish case therefore highlights an important analytical paradox: aggregate measures of trust can obscure substantial legitimacy deficits among minority communities that experience policing in fundamentally different ways from the majority population.

2.3.2 *Croatia*

Croatia provides a contrasting example shaped by the legacies of post-communist transition, armed conflict, and institutional reconstruction. Skube (2020) characterises Croatia's development as a 'quadruple transition' involving simultaneous democratisation, marketisation, state-building, and nation-building following the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Unlike many Western European countries, Croatia entered this process without a longstanding tradition of democratic governance, creating significant challenges for police reform and institutional legitimacy.

Policing under communist rule was organised around party-derived legitimacy rather than public consent, a legacy that continues to influence

police-community relations (Bacak & Apel, 2021; Kutnjak Ivković, 2008). Structural challenges, including political clientelism, corruption, and uneven democratic development, have further complicated efforts to establish more collaborative relationships between police and citizens (Skube, 2020). Although significant reforms occurred during Croatia's accession to the European Union, Skube (2020) argues that progress slowed following accession, highlighting the difficulty of sustaining institutional change without strong domestic political commitment.

Nevertheless, Croatia also illustrates the potential for reform. Community policing initiatives formally began with the Police Act 2000 and were strengthened through the adoption of a national strategy in 2003 that introduced preventive officers and contact police officers while emphasising prevention, local engagement, and police-community partnerships (Vukadin et al., 2013). Numerous community-oriented projects followed, including "I Know, I Want, I Can," "Alcohol, No Thanks!", and the highly successful "Less Weapons, Less Violence" campaign conducted in partnership with the United Nations Development Programme.

Research examining police officers' trust in citizens provides particularly valuable insight. Dunaj et al. (2025) found that officers' trust in the public was a significant predictor of external procedural justice. Perceived value congruence between police and citizens, perceptions of public support for the law, and trust in citizens all significantly influenced how officers approached interactions with the public. Similarly, Karlović and Buchheit (2013) found that officers generally viewed citizens positively, particularly regarding the public's need for police assistance, although front-line officers were somewhat less likely than managers to emphasise the importance of citizen cooperation.

Public trust in Croatian policing has also remained relatively stable. Analyses conducted by Bovan and Baketa (2022) found consistently moderate-to-high levels of trust in the police between 1999 and 2020, with trust generally exceeded only by trust in the military. This pattern is frequently attributed to the police's role during Croatia's struggle for

independence and perceptions that policing institutions are less associated with corruption than political actors (Bovan, 2025). Surveys further indicate generally positive evaluations of police contact, substantial satisfaction with police assistance, and relatively low levels of public complaint regarding police powers such as stop and search (Karlović et al., 2024).

Croatia therefore illustrates both the enduring influence of historical legacies and the potential for institutional reform to strengthen police-community relationships. While structural obstacles remain significant, evidence suggests that sustained efforts to promote community policing and procedural justice can contribute to gradual improvements in trust and cooperation.

2.3.3 United Kingdom

The United Kingdom provides the most extensively researched case within Europe and has played a central role in the development of procedural justice theory and police legitimacy research. Despite this substantial evidence base, trust remains unevenly distributed across communities, with significant disparities linked to ethnicity, deprivation, and experiences of police contact.

Research suggests that organisational culture remains an important determinant of officers' trust in communities. Where policing organisations prioritise enforcement and response work over engagement and relationship-building, officers have fewer opportunities to develop the sustained positive contact that supports more trusting orientations towards residents (Fenn & Bullock, 2021). This can reinforce suspicion and distance between police and communities, particularly in areas characterised by deprivation or historically strained police-community relations.

One of the most significant examples of how officers' perceptions can change comes from the REF2021 impact case study led by Professor Jill Jameson in Lewisham, an area characterised by high deprivation and substantial ethnic diversity (Jameson et al., 2021). Through a long-term Community of Practice model that combined theatre, role-play, role

reversal, and distributed leadership approaches, the programme created opportunities for police officers and young people to engage in meaningful dialogue concerning stop and search, discrimination, and community safety. Officers were encouraged to step back from traditional authority roles and engage with the lived experiences of young people, particularly those from Black and minority ethnic backgrounds.

The programme produced measurable changes in attitudes and relationships. Officers reported shifts from viewing young people primarily as threats to public order towards recognising them as individuals deserving protection and support. Trust increased among participants, complaints relating to stop and search fell substantially, and confidence in policing improved (Jameson et al., 2021). Importantly, however, many of these gains diminished following changes in police leadership. This outcome highlights a recurring challenge within the trust literature: while procedural justice interventions can generate meaningful improvements, sustaining those gains requires institutional commitment and organisational embedding rather than reliance on individual champions.

2.3.4 Comparative Conclusions

Taken together, the Spanish, Croatian, and British cases highlight three broader conclusions. First, historical context fundamentally shapes the baseline from which police-community trust develops. Authoritarian legacies, communist systems, armed conflict, and democratic traditions each create distinct institutional environments that influence how police and citizens interpret authority, legitimacy, and cooperation. Consequently, identical reforms cannot be assumed to operate similarly across different contexts.

Second, aggregate measures of trust frequently obscure important inequalities. Spain's relatively high national trust levels coexist with evidence of racial profiling and concerns regarding accountability, while the United Kingdom's moderate overall trust masks substantial legitimacy deficits among some minority communities. Cross-national comparisons

based solely on aggregate survey scores therefore risk overlooking the experiences of groups most directly affected by police power.

Third, sustainability emerges as a central challenge. The evidence consistently demonstrates that trust can be improved through procedural justice, community engagement, and collaborative policing practices. However, the British case illustrates that gains may be fragile when they depend on particular individuals or short-term initiatives rather than embedded institutional structures. The challenge for policymakers is therefore not simply demonstrating that trust-building interventions work, but ensuring that organisations possess the capacity and commitment to sustain them over time (Bradford, 2026; Oliveira et al., 2021).

Finally, it is important to recognise that direct empirical evidence on officers' trust in communities remains scarce across all three countries. In Spain and Croatia especially, many conclusions must be inferred from patterns of police behaviour, organisational culture, accountability mechanisms, and public experiences rather than from studies that explicitly measure officers' trust orientations. This reflects the broader observation that police trust in communities remains the 'missing half' of the trust relationship (Wise et al., 2025). Developing more robust comparative measures of officers' trust in the public therefore represents an important priority for future research and a necessary step towards a more complete understanding of police-community trust.

3 Methods and Measurement

3.1 Existing Measures of Trust

Given that trust is defined in different ways across current research, it is not surprising that a plethora of trust measures exist (Kohn et al., 2021). There are, broadly, two types of trust measures: behavioural measures and attitudinal measures.

3.1.1 *Behavioural Measures*

Behavioural measures of trust are usually independent observations of a person's behaviour, and as such are relatively objective (Alsaid et al., 2023). They include assessments of mutual gaze or eye contact, disclosing personal or sensitive information, cooperation (e.g. sharing resources with another individual) and body language. Observable trust behaviours are commonly measured via experimental methods such as the trust game (also otherwise referred to as the investment game) in social sciences (Berg et al., 1995; Duncan et al., 2025). Within this game, two parties (i.e., the trustor/ investor and the trustee/ investee) receive an equal endowment (Berg et al., 1995). The trustor/investor then decides what proportion of the endowment they would like to send to the trustee/investee, which is then tripled by the experimenter, with the trustee/ investee receiving the multiplied investment (Berg et al., 1995). The final phase of the experiment then involves the investee/trustee deciding if (and how much) they would like to return to the trustor/ investor (Berg et al., 1995). The amount the trustor/ investor sends to the trustee/ investee reflects the degree to which the trustor trusts the trustee (Duncan et al., 2025). Whereas the trustee's trustworthiness is exhibited through their reciprocal decision to return a portion of the multiplied investment, with overall behaviours being determined as trustworthy/untrustworthy, fair/unfair, or low/high reciprocating (Duncan et al., 2025). As noted, behavioural measures of trust are typically examined in controlled experimental settings, which can limit the translatability to real-world contexts. In everyday life, people may still act in ways associated with trust even when genuine trust is not present, meaning behaviours exhibited in experiments might not always effectively reflect underlying trust levels (Chiou & Lee, 2021).

3.1.2 *Attitudinal Measures*

Attitudinal measures provide a more direct measure of trust. They are usually self-report questionnaires that require participants to consider their attitude (a trust belief or trust intention) and state it on a response scale.

Implicit measures of trust (Burns et al., 2006; Burns & Conchie, 2016) which rely on automatically activated attitudes and are measured by reaction times have also been developed but have yet to be validated widely.

One of the earliest efforts to measure generalised trust was Rotter's (1967) Interpersonal Trust Scale (ITS). This 25-item scale was designed to capture an individual's level of trust across a range of domains, including interpersonal relationships (such as trust in friends, family, and teachers), institutional contexts (such as the United Nations), and broader expectations about society (Evans & Revelle, 2008; Rotter, 1967). Although the ITS was one of the first tools to measure generalised trust using a psychometric approach, it has been criticised for its broadness and lack of clear context (Robbins, 2023; Sturgis & Smith, 2010). For example, it relies on vague terms like 'people', 'institutions', or 'strangers', which can be interpreted differentially by individual respondents, and produce results that are not directly comparable. Nevertheless, Rotter's work played a key role in showing that trust can be measured as a psychological construct, and it has continued to shape later measures of both interpersonal and institutional trust (Rotter, 1967).

Almost two decades later, Rempel et al. (1985) proposed a three-factor model, which includes predictability, dependability, and faith, and captures interpersonal trust between intimate partners. This theoretical foundation also informed their Trust Scale, which has become widely used in research on romantic relationships (Camanto & Campbell, 2025), as well as in broader studies of dyadic co-operation. Overall, the inclusion of faith within their three-factor model, provided an emotional layer to the idea of trust, and showed that trust involves vulnerability as well as reason (Rempel et al., 1985).

Ashleigh et al. (2012) also developed a 'Predisposition to Trust' scale based on three factors: (1) Trusting others, (2) Others' reliability and integrity, and (3) Risk aversion. They showed their measure to be reliable and predictive of some wellbeing outcomes, but the items on the 'trusting

others' sub-scale are worded negatively/reverse-scored (e.g. *"Other people let you down"*). This makes it difficult for non-native English speakers to use the scale, or for the scale to be used in a cross-cultural context. Tan et al. (2025) developed a culturally invariant measure of propensity to trust, which demonstrated good psychometric properties.

One of the main conceptual advancements on trust came from the management literature in the form of Mayer et al.'s (1995) integrative model of organisational trust. Within this model, three antecedents were identified that can be used to identify an individual's trustworthiness; ability, benevolence, and integrity (Mayer et al., 1995). This model's flexibility has made it highly influential across several disciplines, particularly psychology and criminology, where trust in institutions plays a key role in shaping perceptions of legitimacy within policing and the wider justice system (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

At the societal level, Yamagishi and Yamagishi (1994) developed the General Trust Scale, which focuses on social expectations about strangers' honesty, trustworthiness, kindness, and propensity to trust, as well as the responding individual's capacity to trust. However, even though several disciplines have employed the aforementioned trust measurements in previous research, their applicability to certain research contexts, including policing, are limited. This has contributed to the development of trust measures that are designed around specific environments, an approach that tends to capture more nuance and improve the sensitivity of measurement instruments (Alsaid et al., 2023).

3.1.3 Limitations of Existing Measures

Trust is difficult to measure, especially between police and communities, and existing measures are not without limitations. As mentioned previously, the literature on trust between these two groups has been predominately focused on the public's level of trust regarding the police (Schaap, 2021, p.305), which has seen a significant increase in research

attention over the past decade. One potential reason for this could be that trust in the police has been challenged recently by the sheer number of high-profile incidents that have been associated with potential police misconduct (i.e., George Floyd, Sarah Everard, Bibaa Henry and Nicole Smallman; Bradford, 2024; Herbert et al., 2025). Given that more research attention has focused on trust in police, it is unsurprising that a significantly larger number of validated questionnaires exist to help measure trust in this unilateral direction, meaning less robust measurements of trust are currently available when investigating the police's trust in the public, despite being arguably just as important for effective policing.

Furthermore, previous research investigating both directions of trust between the police and public have identified that there is a lack of consistency regarding the conceptual definition used for trust. This has subsequently resulted in the inclusion and measurement of several distinct but related terms (i.e., satisfaction, confidence, effectiveness) when investigating trust in policing and communities. Therefore, the results produced from each study lack standardisation, which makes comparisons between studies, and the formation of reliable conclusions regarding police-community trust difficult, especially when different countries and subsequently languages are involved (Schaap, 2018). In addition, despite the fact that trust has been identified as a dynamic process that changes over time, existing measures fail to identify this fluctuation, which may be a short or longer-term reaction to the effect of particular events. This limitation could be overcome through the inclusion of questions with different time periods (i.e., in the last 12 months, 3 months, week, and today). Finally, when measuring trust within this context, the use of single-item measures is extremely common, which in the cases of large national and regional surveys is critical to enhance response rates. However, trust is a complex psychological construct, due to its multidimensionality and fluidity, and therefore is unlikely to be fully captured through such short measurement scales.

4 A Novel, Bi-directional Framework

4.1 Focus on a Bi-directional Perspective

Contemporary scholarship challenges the assumption that trust in policing is a one-directional construct, flowing solely from communities towards police institutions (e.g., Wise et al., 2025). Bi-directional models instead conceptualise trust as a reciprocal, relational process in which both police and communities act as trust-givers and trust-receivers, potentially open to achieving some degree of reconciliation across the boundaries between these groups. This perspective reframes trust not as a static attribute but as a dynamic, reciprocal process, continually reinforced or eroded through ongoing interaction. In this view, police trust in communities shapes the nature of police practices, such as discretionary decision-making, engagement strategies, and willingness to share information, which in turn affects community trust in the police. The relationship is therefore mutually organic, with each side's trust orientations influencing and being influenced by the other. Signori et al. (2023) found that the quality and longer-term sustainability of relational continuity in community policing are key factors in establishing familiarity and trust in community-police engagement.

This reciprocal dynamic can be understood as a feedback loop, where trust and distrust accumulate over time through patterned exchanges. From a social and organisational psychology standpoint, this aligns with broader theories of relational continuity, including social exchange theory, communities of practice, and intergroup contact theory. As noted earlier in this review, these frameworks emphasise that trust emerges through repeated, meaningful encounters, shared norms, and the gradual development of mutual expectations. In policing contexts, this means that trust is co-produced through the familiarity of longer-term, interpersonal everyday interactions (Signori et al., 2023, p.5), collaborative problem-solving, and the recognition of shared goals.

While procedural justice and legitimacy theories (e.g., Sunshine & Tyler,

2003; O'Brien & Tyler, 2019) have been foundational in explaining how fair and respectful police conduct fosters public trust, they largely conceptualise trust as a public response to police behaviour. These models have been invaluable but remain predominantly unidirectional. In contrast, dialogic and communities of practice approaches foreground the mutuality of trust, emphasising shared epistemic authority, reciprocal risk-taking, and long-term social and relational learning. Trust, in this framing, is not something police 'deliver' to communities, nor something communities simply 'grant' to police. It is co-constructed through sustained engagement, in which both parties negotiate meaning, expectations, and vulnerability.

A key gap in the existing literature is the limited integration of police trust in communities as an analytically significant construct. Most models focus on public/community trust in policing, overlooking how officers' perceptions of community trustworthiness shape their behaviour, emotional labour, and organisational decision-making. From a forensic and organisational psychology perspective, this omission is consequential: officers who distrust communities and/or are not encouraged to develop interactive trust-building processes may adopt more defensive, enforcement-oriented practices, inadvertently undermining community trust and reinforcing cycles of mutual suspicion.

Bi-directional models therefore offer a conceptual shift. They highlight that trust cannot be engineered through isolated interventions, public relations campaigns, or compliance-oriented strategies. Instead, trust emerges from sustained, situated social learning within contexts that demonstrate reliability, fairness, and shared commitment. By recognising the relational, co-produced nature of trust, these frameworks move beyond instrumental accounts of legitimacy and towards a deeper understanding of policing as an intergroup relationship consistently grounded in mutual vulnerability, dialogue, and long-term engagement. This productively aligns with and enhances the original 1829 philosophy of 'policing by consent' (Home Office, 2012).

4.2 Focus on (Inter-)Group Components

Based on the review and specifically the earlier section on intergroup trust, a comprehensive trust measurement framework must capture the group-level processes that shape how police and community members perceive, evaluate, and interact with one another. To understand trust flowing in both directions - community to police and police to community - the framework must assess several key variables highlighted in the literature.

We suggest that these should be:

1. *Social identification and group boundaries.* Intergroup trust is shaped by the strength of individuals' identification with their ingroups and the extent to which they categorise the police or community as outgroups. Because expectations about outgroups are often based on stereotypes, negative collective memories, and perceived norms rather than direct experience, measuring ingroup identification at various levels and with relevant ingroups (for example, race, gender, age, neighbourhood, and superordinate categories such as humans) and perceived typicality of outgroup members is essential for understanding baseline trust and the likelihood of generalising positive interactions.

2. *Power and status asymmetries.* Structural inequalities fundamentally shape trust. Low-power groups, such as socio-economically disadvantaged communities or young people, tend to show greater distrust because the costs of misplaced trust are higher. High-power groups, including police, often underestimate this distrust or assume their in-group's intentions are transparent, leading to misaligned expectations. Measuring perceived power, status, legitimacy, vulnerability, and fairness expectations on both sides is therefore critical.

3. *Stereotypes.* Stereotype-based expectations influence how groups interpret each other's behaviour. Negative stereotypes of youth or marginalised communities, or of the police, can reduce trust in these groups, while internalised stigma can undermine community trust in police

by shaping expectations of unfair treatment. Assessing stereotype endorsement will help capture these dynamics.

4. *Perceptions and meta-perceptions.* Intergroup trust depends not only on how groups see one another but also on how they believe they are seen. Inaccurate negative meta-perceptions, such as assuming the outgroup views one's group negatively, predict more negative attitudes and reduced willingness to cooperate. Meta-dehumanisation in particular further heightens defensiveness and intergroup threat, whereas meta-humanisation supports trust and openness. Measuring perceptions and meta-perceptions is therefore essential.

5. *Intergroup contact.* Past and existing intergroup interactions, when positive, are a central mechanism for improving attitudes. Measuring the quantity and quality of contact along with intended willingness for future contact is therefore crucial. Further, it is critical to understand the underlying processes that shape trust by influencing how groups anticipate and interpret interactions. Intergroup anxiety, for example, reduces willingness to engage and increases perceived threat, while empathy promotes understanding, reduces defensiveness, and supports trust. Measuring both constructs is essential for capturing emotional barriers and facilitators of trust. Together, these variables capture the identity-based, perceptual, emotional, and relational processes that underpin trust formation, maintenance, and erosion in police-community relations.

4.3 Trust in Policing Contexts: a Core Conceptual and Measurement Framework of Bi-directional Trust

Drawing on the preceding literature review, alongside insights gathered from interviews with police officers in our partner countries (Croatia, Spain, and the United Kingdom) and ongoing consultation with Second Wave practitioners and end users, we introduce a new conceptual and measurement framework for assessing reciprocal trust in policing contexts. The framework is grounded in the academic robustness supported by

extensive peer-reviewed research, while also being shaped by the practical demands of feasibility, accessibility, and operational relevance that are essential for frontline practitioners and user groups. We argue that integrating academic rigour with practitioner and user group insight is essential for developing a framework that is both conceptually robust and operationally meaningful. Academic evidence ensures the model rests on validated theory and reliable measurement principles, while practitioner and end user perspectives ground it in the lived realities, constraints, and decision-making environments of frontline policing and community-police engagement. This combination allows the framework to be simultaneously credible, relevant, and implementable.

We propose a measurement framework that aims to advance a bi-directional understanding of trust in policing contexts, positioning trust not as a unidirectional judgement made by communities about police, but as a dynamic, relational process that flows both ways. As noted above, by conceptualising community trust in police and police trust in communities as analytically distinct yet interdependent, the framework captures the reciprocal nature of trust-building and the ways these two dimensions interact over time. This shift moves beyond compliance-oriented models of legitimacy and towards a relational account grounded in mutual vulnerability, shared learning and co-production, while recognising the need for rigorous measurement. At its core, the framework aims to link the measurement of trust directly to intervention and practice.

In our framework, trust is treated not as a static attitude but as a socially embedded process shaped by ongoing cross-boundary interactions, institutional histories, and wider intergroup dynamics. This requires a multi-level measurement strategy that attends simultaneously to individual psychological variables (e.g., emotions, perceptions, ideology, behavioural intentions), direct and indirect experiences, organisational cultures, contextual variance and broader structural conditions. Crucially, the framework foregrounds intergroup relations, recognising that trust

between police and communities is shaped by power asymmetries, status differences, and the legacies of past harms. These dynamics are especially salient in contexts where marginalised communities have experienced procedural injustice or trauma, making one-way trust-building interventions insufficient or even counterproductive.

To address these complexities, the framework adopts a mixed methods approach that integrates and extends established trust models (reviewed earlier) and Community of Practice dialogic traditions. Quantitative measures, such as the development and validation of a bi-directional trust scale with separate community-to-police and police-to-community subscales, including related predictors and outcomes of trust, will provide robust, comparable indicators across participating countries. These will be complemented by qualitative and participatory methods that capture the lived experience of trust, the meanings communities and officers attach to their interactions, and the contextual factors that shape trust trajectories. This combination ensures that measurement is both rigorous and sensitive to local realities.

The framework is closely aligned with the TING (Trust in Neighbourhood Groups) model that is at the core of BTL-COP, which emphasises that trust-building in cross-boundary intergroup contexts is a negotiated, long-term shared process rooted in relational continuity. As noted above in 4.1, trust cannot be achieved through isolated interventions; rather, it emerges through sustained engagement, mutual respect, dialogue, and shared problem-solving within a community of practice. In this view, repairing broken trust, particularly in low-trust or traumatised contexts, requires the creation of long-term trustworthy environments in which police and communities can learn from one another and co-produce solutions to mutually agreed goals, such as establishing and protecting safer neighbourhood spaces.

By recognising police trust in communities as equally significant, the framework highlights how officers' perceptions of community legitimacy,

cooperation and goodwill shape their behaviour, decision-making and willingness to engage in collaborative problem-solving. This bi-directional lens also opens new avenues for understanding how mutual trust contributes to early crime identification and long-term crime prevention, particularly when relational continuity enables crime reporting, information-sharing, collective efficacy and shared responsibility for safety.

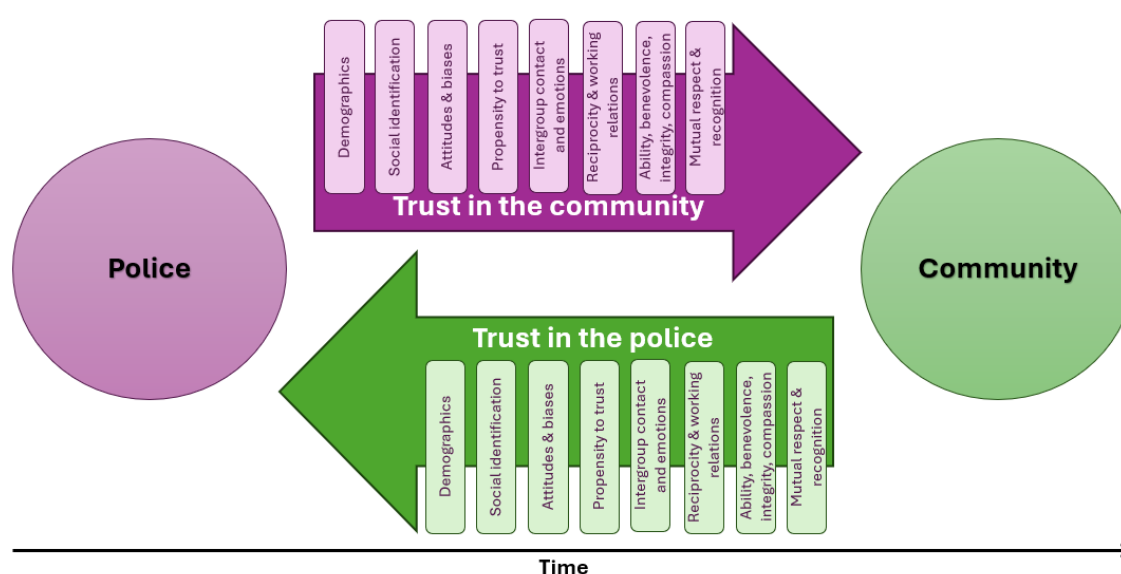


Figure 6: The BTL-COP bi-directional trust model of trust building between police and community over time

A distinctive contribution of this framework is its attention to the local/community level as a critical site of trust formation and sustainability, a community of place (Signori et al., 2023: 3-4), while also articulating how local trust dynamics connect to national and global patterns. Trust is experienced and negotiated in specific neighbourhoods, yet these interactions are embedded within broader institutional, political, and cultural contexts. By integrating local qualitative insights with cross-national, local, and global-level quantitative measures, the framework enables a nuanced understanding of how trust-building processes vary across settings while identifying common mechanisms that can inform international practice.

We argue that this bi-directional, multi-level, mixed-methods and co-produced measurement framework provides a novel and rigorous foundation for understanding and strengthening trust between police and communities. It positions trust not as a commodity to be delivered, but as a relational achievement that enables a shared community of practice gradually to evolve beyond a boundary structure (Wenger, 2010; Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2014): into a community that unfolds through sustained engagement, shared learning, and mutual recognition of common goals.

4.4 Cautionary Note on Barriers to Police-Community Trust: Aporophobia, Generational Trauma, and Intersectionality

A police-community trust framework in the context of the BTL-COP project would remain incomplete without attending to three interconnected phenomena that operate beneath and beyond individual police-citizen encounters, shaping the structural and psychological terrain on which trust must be built: aporophobia, generational trauma, and intersectionality (Cortina, 2017; CIPsi, 2022; Crenshaw, 1989). Accordingly, any trust framework applied in policing in this context must confront these forces directly; failing to account for how they shape context, perceptions, and data (including data from the BTL-COP project) risks producing analyses that are not only incomplete but fundamentally misleading. We elaborate on this cautionary note below.

Taken together, these concepts help explain why trust deficits in marginalised communities are so deeply entrenched and why they prove so resistant to conventional policy interventions, insofar as overlapping systems of classed, racialised, gendered and migratory disadvantage concentrate exposure to poverty, cumulative victimisation and state surveillance, thereby sedimenting intergenerational expectations of injustice and institutional betrayal (Branco, 2016; CIPsi, 2022; Crenshaw,

1989).

Aporophobia, a term coined by Cortina (1996, 2017) to describe the rejection, aversion, and discrimination directed at people identified as poor, offers a conceptual lens through which the institutional dimensions of poverty-based exclusion can be understood. Unlike racism or xenophobia, which are grounded in ethnic or national origin, aporophobia is rooted in socioeconomic position, rendering it both pervasive and largely invisible within institutional structures (Cortina, 2017). Comin et al. (2020), in the first analytical framework for the multi-dimensions of aporophobia, distinguish between micro, meso, and macro dimensions of the phenomenon, arguing that aporophobia operates not only at the level of individual attitudes but also within institutional protocols and governmental structures that systematically disadvantage the poor. This multidimensional character is particularly significant in policing contexts, where institutional aporophobia can be embedded in operational priorities, detection protocols, and training frameworks without being recognised as a form of discrimination. Ortega-Esquembre (2019) further argues that overcoming aporophobia requires moving from a logic of cooperation grounded in mutual advantage to a logic of recognition that acknowledges the dignity of those who cannot reciprocate materially, a shift that is directly consonant with the relational long-term trust-building approach proposed by the BTL-COP framework.

In the policing context, aporophobia manifests in the differential treatment of economically marginalised individuals, whose visible poverty marks them as objects of suspicion, control, or neglect rather than as citizens deserving of protection and respect. This dynamic directly violates the core conditions of procedural justice, namely dignity, voice, and impartial treatment, that the literature identifies as essential for building trust.

The empirical evidence for aporophobia within policing is growing. Picado-Valverde et al. (2025), in a qualitative study with ten police officers in Castilla y León, found a generalised lack of awareness of aporophobia

among frontline officers, who had not encountered it as a recognised category in their professional training or practice despite regular contact with people experiencing homelessness. Crucially, the study also revealed that victims of aporophobic violence overwhelmingly do not report to police, citing distrust of authorities, fear of identification, a belief that complaints would not be taken seriously, and a normalisation of the discrimination they experience. These findings are consistent with an earlier study by the same research group (Picado-Valverde et al., 2023), which developed the first detection protocol for aporophobic victimisation and identified distrust of police and judicial systems as a validated risk factor among people living in extreme poverty. García Domínguez and Vander Beken (2023), in the first empirical study of aporophobic victimisation outside Spain, found that approximately half of a sample of homeless people in Ghent, Belgium had experienced aporophobic discriminatory incidents or hate crimes, with the most frequent reasons given for non-reporting being a belief that nothing would be done and mistrust of the police. This Belgian evidence is particularly significant for the BTL-COP framework as it demonstrates that the pattern of institutional invisibility and under-reporting documented in Spain is not a nationally specific phenomenon but a structural feature of how poverty-based discrimination intersects with policing across different European contexts.

The cross-national character of aporophobic distrust is further substantiated by Valerio Mendoza et al. (2024), whose analysis of 126 regions across 14 EU-15 countries found that xenophobic rejection is significantly more pronounced towards migrants perceived as poor than towards those with higher socioeconomic status, providing the first large-scale empirical evidence that aporophobia, not xenophobia alone, drives exclusionary attitudes in European public opinion. The protocol further established that social isolation, lack of community ties, and absence of contact with support services compound this distrust, creating a self-reinforcing cycle in which the most vulnerable individuals are simultaneously the least visible to the

institutions mandated to protect them.

The concept of aporophobia gains additional explanatory power when situated alongside generational trauma, which captures how the effects of institutional harm are transmitted across time, shaping the trust orientations of individuals and communities who may never have directly experienced the originating events. Smith Lee and Robinson (2019), in a qualitative study with forty young Black men in Baltimore, documented how exposures to police violence begin in childhood, with participants reporting that they witnessed officers beating and injuring older Black men in their neighbourhoods before the age of twelve. These early life exposures produced distrust of police that deepened through adolescence and emerging adulthood as participants transitioned from witnesses to direct targets of racial profiling, harassment, and physical injury. Seventeen percent of the subsample reported losing loved ones to police killings, and the grief associated with these losses was inseparable from a broader sense of racial injustice and institutional betrayal transmitted through family narratives and community memory. Smith Lee and Robinson (2019) conceptualise these experiences as racial trauma, situated within a sociohistorical continuum that includes slavery, lynching, and the systemic targeting of Black communities by law enforcement, arguing that contemporary police violence activates collective memories of racial terror that reverberate in the psyche of affected communities.

Kyprianides and Taylor (2024), writing in the UK context, extend this analysis by distinguishing between collective trauma, community trauma, and intergenerational trauma as distinct but overlapping frameworks for understanding how negative interactions with police produce effects that transcend the individuals directly involved. They argue that unresolved communal trauma can be passed from one generation to the next, embedding narratives of mistrust and antagonism that become resistant to surface-level engagement initiatives. Their analysis of reconciliation practices in policing concludes that addressing intergenerational trauma

requires not merely improved procedural justice in individual encounters but a sustained, trauma-informed process of acknowledgement, dialogue, and institutional accountability.

These dynamics of poverty-based exclusion and transmitted trauma do not operate in isolation but intersect with other axes of social identity to produce compounding effects on trust. Intersectionality theory, originating in the work of Crenshaw (1989, 1991), holds that social categories such as race, class, gender, age, and geography are mutually constitutive and cannot be meaningfully analysed in isolation, as their intersection produces experiences and outcomes that exceed the sum of their individual effects (Branco, 2016). Hellgren and Gabrielli (2021), in an empirical study of non-western migrants and Roma people in Spain, demonstrate directly how aporophobia and racialisation function as mutually reinforcing categories of discrimination, producing what they term a double stigmatisation that compounds the material precariousness of those affected and perpetuates cycles of exclusion across generations. Their finding, that discrimination based on assumed poverty and discrimination based on ethnic origin are frequently indistinguishable in the lived experience of those targeted, provides an important empirical bridge between the aporophobia and intersectionality literatures, and underscores why any trust-building initiative that addresses only one dimension of marginalisation will remain insufficient. Applied to police-community trust, an intersectional analysis reveals that the communities most affected by aporophobia and generational trauma are precisely those whose overlapping marginalised identities compound their exposure to coercive policing and their exclusion from institutional protections.

Tura et al. (2026), in the first application of multilevel analysis of individual heterogeneity and discriminatory accuracy (MAIHDA) to trust in the police, examined 96 intersectional strata constructed from sex, ethnicity, age, social grade, and London residence using data from over 11,600 respondents in England. Their findings demonstrate that non-White

ethnicity, lower social class, younger age, and London residence each independently predict lower trust, but that intersectional combinations produce compounding effects that exceed additive models, with 41% of between-strata variance remaining unexplained by main effects alone. The strata with the lowest predicted trust were overwhelmingly young, non-White, from the lowest social grade, and resident in London, confirming that the intersection of racism, classism, and ageism operates as a system of interlocking disadvantage rather than as a set of separable risk factors. This finding is consistent with earlier work by Kule et al. (2019), who applied an intersectional framework to citizen satisfaction with police in the United States and found that White males with higher incomes were significantly more satisfied with police than all other intersectional groups, while the interaction of minority status, female gender, and lower income produced patterns of dissatisfaction that single-variable analyses would obscure.

Read together, these three bodies of literature suggest that marginalised communities face what may be described as a triple barrier to trust in police. Aporophobia ensures that poverty itself functions as a ground for institutional exclusion and discriminatory treatment, operating at micro, meso, and macro levels simultaneously (Comin et al., 2020) and intersecting with racial and ethnic stigmatisation in ways that compound vulnerability (Hellgren & Gabrielli, 2021). Generational trauma means that the effects of past and present police harm accumulate across time, producing orientations of distrust that precede and outlast any single encounter (CIPsi, 2022; Smith Lee & Robinson, 2019). Intersectionality demonstrates that these dynamics are amplified when poverty, race, age, gender, and geography converge in the lives of the same individuals and communities (Branco, 2016; Crenshaw, 1991). Conventional procedural justice interventions, while necessary, are insufficient to address barriers of this depth and complexity, precisely because they operate at the level of individual encounters and assume a baseline of institutional neutrality that does not exist for the communities most affected.

The bi-directional, dialogic, community-of-practice approach proposed within the BTL-COP trust framework is designed to address these compounding dynamics by moving beyond encounter-level fairness to sustained, long-term, relational engagement in which trust is co-produced through mutual recognition, shared problem-solving, and the gradual negotiation of vulnerability on both sides. The TING model proposes that this takes place ideally in the trusted safe space of a local partnership in the form of a community of practice with a shared identity and passion to develop a safer neighbourhood, continuously improving on-going mutual engagement. By recognising that trust-building in contexts marked by aporophobia, generational trauma, and intersectional disadvantage requires not isolated interventions but long-term institutional transformation grounded in reciprocity and accountability, the BTL-COP framework offers a conceptual and practical response to the structural conditions that the literature identifies as the most consequential barriers to police-community trust.

4.5 Foresight-Informed Contribution to Security

The BTL-COP Trust Measurement Framework provides a foresight-informed contribution to EU internal security policy. This contributes to the 'human and trust layer' within the EU's foresight-driven security ecosystem, complementing existing technological priorities. EU internal security is increasingly shaped by foresight-informed, multi-agency innovation ecosystems; however, these are currently more mature in technological domains than in trust, community intelligence, and vulnerable population engagement. The BTL-COP Trust Measurement Framework addresses this gap by focusing on bi-directional trust, informed also by aporophobia, poverty-driven criminal exploitation, and community-level dynamics as critical components of trust-building for effective and legitimate policing. The framework's measurement of bi-directional trust is designed also in consideration of weak signals and wild cards analysis to identify emerging

risks linked to distrust, aporophobia, and hidden local-global crime pathways. The measurement of trust can help gather data such analysis at community levels, particularly in contexts of vulnerability and under-reporting. The measurement of trustworthy capabilities will enable the development of police training and micro-credential pathways in a new *'Trust-Building and Leadership Safe Spaces Toolkit'*. Shared community-police leadership in police communities of practice for safer spaces develops the Trust in Neighbourhood Groups model for the future, building on the work of Jameson et al. (2006). Drawing on Popper et al. (2025), this can be framed through a structured foresight approach integrating context, people, process and impact. Declining trust and reduced reporting in vulnerable communities may act as early warning signals of wider intelligence gaps and hidden forms of exploitation. Community-level signals remain under-integrated into current EU security foresight and innovation pipelines. The Trust Framework and Leadership Programme will explicitly incorporate foresight methods to support practitioners in identifying and responding to emerging risks. Following completion of the Trust Measurement Framework, there is therefore scope to define and pilot a new set of foresight-related skills linked to trust-building.

4.5.1 Initial recommendations following completion of the Framework

- Develop trust-sensitive foresight indicators to complement existing performance and technological metrics in policing.
- Support leadership and train-the-trainer models that combine trust-building with foresight, ethics, and diversity.
- Develop trust measurement into trust intelligence and policing capabilities for the future, since “intelligence creates value only when it can be translated into capabilities, capabilities into action, and action into transformation” (Popper et al., 2026).

4.6 Conclusion

Trust sits at the heart of effective policing and strong communities, yet the literature tends to treat it largely as a one-directional fixed construct, something communities either possess or lack in relation to the police. The current literature review highlights how this framing has constrained both theory and measurement. Existing instruments overwhelmingly capture static, generalised perceptions of public/community trust in the police, and therefore miss the dynamic, relational, and situational qualities that shape trust as it is lived and negotiated. They also risk conflating trust in policing with broader confidence in political institutions and public services, obscuring the specific interpersonal and intergroup processes that matter for police - community relationships.

Across the evidence base we reviewed, a consistent theme emerges: trust is not simply an evaluative judgement, but a social practice grounded in reciprocity, social and relational learning, mutual recognition, and shared problem-solving. The dialogic nature of police - community engagement, where both parties interpret, respond, and adapt to one another, means that trust cannot be meaningfully understood without acknowledging its bi-directionality. Communities assess police behaviour, but police also form judgements about community intentions, legitimacy, reliability and meta-perceptions. These reciprocal perceptions shape the conditions under which cooperation, safety, and collective efficacy can develop. Relational continuity further amplifies this dynamic; trust is sustained not through isolated encounters but through ongoing patterns of interaction that allow expectations, norms, and shared meanings to stabilise over time with increasing familiarity.

The limitations of current measurement approaches underscore the need for more granular, context-sensitive tools. A mixed-methods design offers a way to capture the complexity of trust as both a subjective evaluation and an interactional process. Quantitative survey measures can be aligned with qualitative insights from interviews, observations, field

notes, and focus groups, enabling researchers to examine how trust varies across demographic groups, lived experiences, and interactions with multiple public services. This approach also helps disentangle trust in policing from trust in wider institutional systems, providing a clearer picture of the specific relational mechanisms at play.

The bi-directional framework developed through this literature review addresses these gaps by offering a multilevel model capable of capturing trust at both dyadic and intergroup levels. It incorporates measurable relational variables, reciprocity, participation, mutual recognition, and shared meaning-making, that reflect the social processes through which trust is built, challenged, and repaired. By integrating evaluative judgements with the interactional dynamics that underpin them, the framework provides a more robust conceptual grounding and a more sensitive measurement strategy than existing tools.

Ultimately, this approach enhances both theoretical clarity and practical relevance. For policing practitioners, trainers and end users in communities, it offers a model that reflects the realities of frontline work, where trust is continually negotiated through everyday encounters. For researchers, it provides a foundation for developing empirically grounded, relationally attuned measures that can capture the evolving nature of police - community trust. By recognising trust as a reciprocal, dynamic, and context-embedded process, this framework supports a more nuanced understanding of how policing can contribute to safer, more equitable, and more resilient communities.

5 The BTL-COP Evaluation Protocol

This section of the Trust Measurement Framework describes the process for collecting quantitative and qualitative data to analyse changes in trust between police and communities within the four regions participating in the BTL-COP project (Lewisham Borough in London, Zagreb, Madrid and Valencia).

5.1 Evaluation study objectives

5.1.1 *Primary Objective*

The primary objective of the BTL-COP evaluation protocol is to assess changes in bi-directional trust between police officers and community members (including those from marginalised / stigmatised groups) following participation in community–police engagement intervention workshops in the four BTL-COP partnership regions (Lewisham Borough in London, Zagreb, Madrid and Valencia).

5.1.2 *Secondary Objectives*

Across the four BTL-COP partnership regions this tool is also used to evaluate:

1. Changes in community members' perceptions of police competence and willingness to engage in future collaborative activities.
2. Changes in police perceptions of community cooperation, procedural fairness, and willingness to engage in future collaborative activities.
3. Community members' and police attitudes towards shared meaning-making, participation and wellbeing to function as a community of practice.

4. The psycho-social factors associated with increased trust following the intervention workshops (i.e., functioning as predictors of increased trust or outcomes of increased trust).

5.2 Research Questions

1. Does participation in a co-produced intervention workshop increase community members' trust in police?
2. Does participation in an intervention workshop increase police officers' trust in community members?
3. To what extent are changes to trust and other outcome variables maintained over time?
4. To what extent are changes in trust and other outcome variables associated with increased perceptions of community of practice, legitimacy, and cooperation?
5. To what extent do demographic, dispositional or relational and intergroup factors associate with trust change?
6. Are workshops more effective for certain groups, for those with certain experiences (e.g. intergenerational) and in certain regions?

5.3 Design

A mixed method, experimental repeated measures survey design will be used. Participants will complete self-report surveys (via paper-pen or electronically using a QR code and a Qualtrics^{XM} survey) immediately before and after participation in a workshop. They will also be invited to complete follow-up surveys at various post-workshop intervals to assess the longitudinal nature of trust outcomes. Two parallel survey instruments will be administered:

As shown in Figure 7, the measures included in the BTL-COP evaluation protocol in this mixed methods study can largely be categorised into three levels according to how they interact with trust: (1) micro level (e.g. individual/psychological factors), (2) meso level (e.g. social or group level factors) and (3) macro level (e.g. wider society/systemic factors).

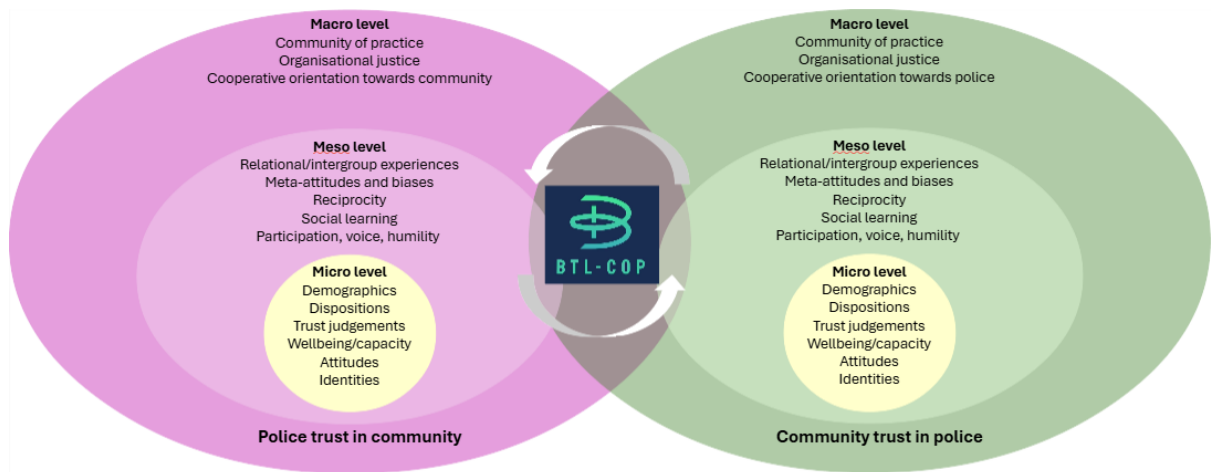


Figure 7: Contextual categorisation of BTL-COP trust variables

5.4 Intervention Description

The intervention consists of structured 60 to 120-minute, community–police engagement workshops, which are described in detail within **BTL-COP deliverable 2.5: Observatory Workshop Framework**. The program employs a community of practice approach and is designed to facilitate dialogue, relationship-building, and collaborative problem-solving in safe space.

The BTL-COP workshop intervention will initially be piloted between September 2026 and April 2027 and involve approximately 200 participants (50 in each partnership region).

5.5 Research Ethics

Ethical guidelines from relevant professional bodies (e.g., the British Psychological Society) will be followed alongside the University of Greenwich research ethics guidelines and Health and Safety policies. Ethical approval for the study will be sought from the University of Greenwich Research Ethics Board, and data collection will only begin once full approval has been granted. Because part of the research involves participants under the age of 18, both parental consent and assent from young people will be required prior to participation. Consent materials will outline the purpose of the study, participants' right to withdraw at any stage without penalty, and the contact details of the research team. Where appropriate, information about support services will also be provided. All participants will receive a full debrief at the end of the study. Data will be treated confidentially and anonymised through the use of personal codes rather than names. This system allows participants to withdraw their data without revealing their identity and enables datasets to be linked across time points. All data will be stored securely in password-protected files and on encrypted devices.

5.6 Population

5.6.1 *Community Member Participants*

Inclusion Criteria:

- Aged 16 years or older.
- Reside within the target community.
- Able to provide informed consent [please note that participants aged below 18 years will be required to also provide parental consent].

Exclusion Criteria:

- Individuals unable to complete survey instruments.
- Individuals declining consent.

5.6.2 Police Participants

Inclusion Criteria:

- Police officers or authorised law enforcement personnel.
- Police officers who have been assigned to the target jurisdiction.
- Able to provide informed consent.

Exclusion Criteria:

- Individuals declining consent.

5.6.3 Sample Size

The target sample in each of the four BTL-COP partnership regions will include:

- Community participants: n=200 (n=50 per region). To reach our target number we will aim to recruit n=100 per region as this is a longitudinal design and therefore, we expect participant attrition.
- Police officers: n=80 (n=20 per region).

5.7 Measures

5.7.1 Measures for Community Members

Figure 8 visually illustrates the process for collecting self-report survey data from community members. This process should be repeated at pre-, post, and any follow-up stages (with the exception of demographic questions which only need to be asked at pre-stage). Please refer to Annex 7.1 for the full questionnaire with items. As shown in Figure 8, variables are split between those that are core (i.e. need to be included on every questionnaire) and those that are context specific (i.e. are optional and only need to be included where relevant to the sample

group and the context).

Questionnaire items include (context specific items are highlighted as optional in bold):

- Demographics [pre-stage questionnaire only]
- Propensity to trust
- Perceptions/attitudes (of the public/young people/outgroups)
- Identity (with ethnicity, with community, with humans)
- Meta-attitudes (beliefs about others' attitudes toward them)
- Meta-dehumanisation **(Optional)** (beliefs that the police dehumanise the public)
- Stereotypes **(Optional)** (about the police / young people / poor people any target outgroup)
- Trust judgements (Ability, Benevolence and Integrity)
- Intergroup trust **(Optional)** (includes additional items of compassion and security)
- Mutual respect (as perceived by community members)
- Intergroup contact (positive and negative contact with community/young people, quantity and quality of contact, indirect/vicarious contact)
- Intergroup emotions (empathy toward community, anxiety about interacting with community, threat (perceived threat from community)
- Reciprocity (CoP)
- Intergenerational experiences
- Community member - police working relations **(Optional)**
- Identity threat **(Optional)**
- Cooperative orientation toward the police officers (willingness to partner with police)
- Participation/voice/humility **(Optional)** (openness to police input)
- Wellbeing (psychological)
- Authenticity **(Optional)**

D2.3: Trust Measurement Framework

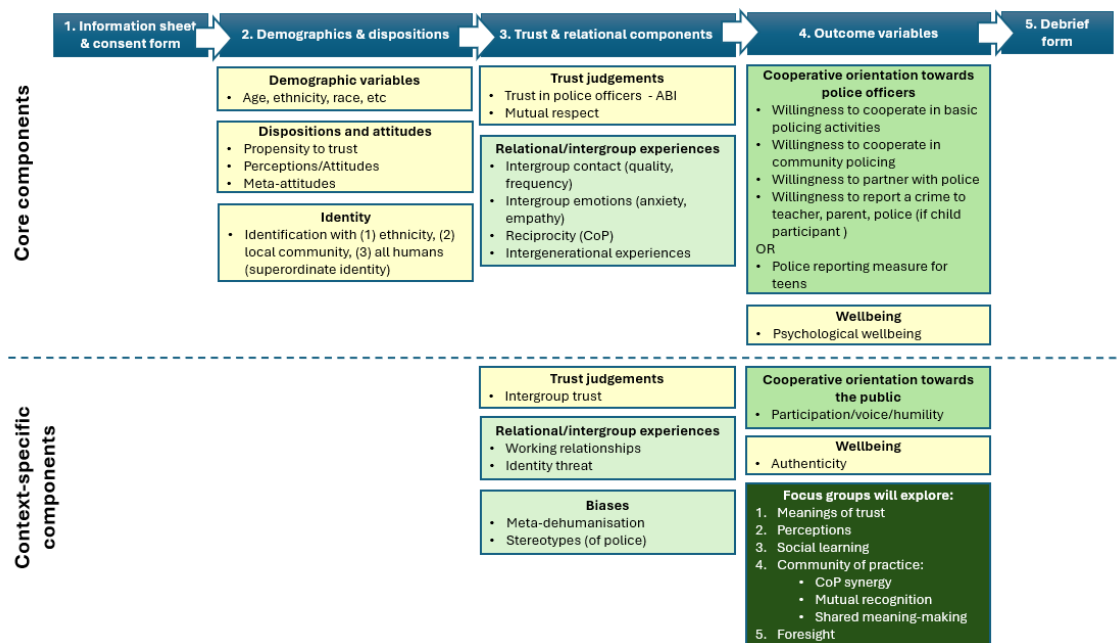


Figure 8: Flow diagram for collecting data from community members

5.7.2 Measures for Police

Figure 9 visually illustrates the process for collecting data self-report survey data from police officers. This process should be repeated at pre-, post- and any follow-up stages (with the exception of demographic questions which only need to be asked at pre-stage). Please refer to Annex 7.2 for the full questionnaire with items. As shown in Figure 9, variables are split between those that are core (i.e. need to be included on every questionnaire) and those that are context specific (i.e. are optional and only need to be included where relevant to the sample group and the context).

Questionnaire items include (context specific items are highlighted as optional in bold):

- Demographics [pre-stage questionnaire only]
- Propensity to trust
- Perceptions/attitudes (of the public/young people/outgroups)

D2.3: Trust Measurement Framework

- Identity (with job, with community, with humans)
- Meta-attitudes (beliefs about others' attitudes toward them)
- Meta-dehumanisation **(Optional)** (beliefs that the public dehumanises police)
- Stereotypes **(Optional)** (about the public / young people / poor people any target outgroup)
- Trust judgements (Ability, Benevolence and Integrity)
- Intergroup trust **(Optional)** (includes additional items of compassion and security)
- Mutual respect (as perceived by officers)
- Intergroup contact (positive and negative contact with community/young people, quantity and quality of contact, indirect/vicarious contact)
- Intergroup emotions (empathy toward community, anxiety about interacting with community, threat (perceived threat from community))
- Reciprocity (CoP)
- Police-resident working relations **(Optional)**
- Identity threat **(Optional)**
- Cooperative orientation toward the public (willingness to share power and work with the public)
- Participation/voice/humility **(Optional)** (openness to community input)
- Wellbeing (psychological)
- Wellbeing (occupational) **(Optional)**
- Authenticity **(Optional)**
- Capacity (i.e. organisational justice) **(Optional)**

D2.3: Trust Measurement Framework

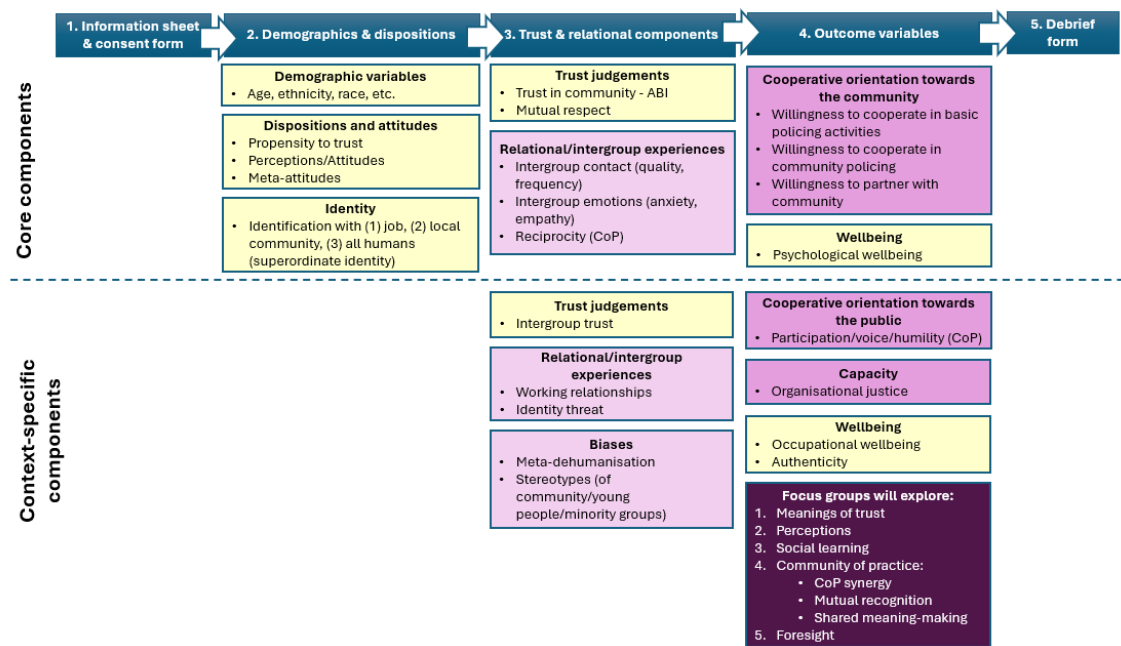


Figure 9: Flow diagram for collecting data from police officers

5.8 Data Collection Procedure

All survey data will be collected using secure electronic survey software or pen and paper questionnaires. The use of either modality is up to the team collecting the data and is based on practical considerations, such as place of data collection, ability to access electronic software, etc.

Unique identification codes will be used to match pre-test and post-test responses to allow for statistical analyses. Participant identities will not be linked to survey responses, so the datasets will only include anonymous data. Data will be stored on encrypted institutional servers accessible only to the research team.

After completing a workshop participants may also be offered the opportunity to participate in interviews/focus groups with researchers post intervention workshop. The semi-structured discussion guide is available in Annex 7.3 for community participants and Annex 7.4 for police officers.

Prior to completing any survey and/or an interview/focus group, participants will be given a participant information form for police or for

community members and an electronic consent form. Participant information forms should be retained by participants. Participants should write their ID codes on their participant information forms, as these will be used to match the pre- and post- data in an anonymous manner. All study materials will have undergone ethical scrutiny and will be distributed after research ethics clearance has been given to the research team. See information regarding the research ethics procedure in 5.5 above.

Completed questionnaires and audio files from recorded interviews/focus groups should be sent to University of Greenwich for analysis by the research team (please send the data in password protected files using the BTL-COP SharePoint Teams folder – General – WP2 - Data deposit – [select your region]). Any data completed electronically using Qualtrics^{XM} software will be entered into the data table automatically, so you do not need to send anything further.

Keep a record of all completed consent forms and participant ID codes in a separate file (e.g. an excel table) so we can match data for later time points, and we can identify a person's data should they wish to withdraw from the study.

5.8.1 *Pre-Test Survey*

Surveys are self-report and administered immediately before intervention participation using either as a pen and paper questionnaire or electronically by providing respondents with a unique ID code. For electronic administration of the survey, participants will be given a QR code or link to follow in order to collect their responses. The online method will allow the research team a speedier and more practical approach to collecting the data. However, as mentioned, a pen and paper questionnaire will also be available.

Information collected at pre-stage will, as a minimum, include:

- Demographics

- Dispositions and attitudes
- Trust and relational components (will provide baseline trust levels)
- Outcome variables (e.g. willingness to cooperate)

5.8.2 Post-Test Survey

Surveys are self-report and administered immediately following intervention completion participation using either pen and paper questionnaire or electronically via Qualtrics^{XM} by providing respondents with a unique ID code.

Information collected at post-stage will, as a minimum, include:

- Dispositions and attitudes
- Trust and relational components
- Outcome variables (e.g. willingness to cooperate)

5.9 Statistical Analysis Plan

Data collection will involve quantitative self-report surveys as well as qualitative interviews/focus groups after the quantitative data collection. Composite questionnaire item scores will be calculated according to the validated measure protocol using guidance from the original scale.

Data will be analysed separately and then triangulated using mixed methods analysis to ensure the research questions are sufficiently addressed.

Separate analyses will be conducted for:

- A. Community trust in police
- B. Police trust in community

5.9.1 *Quantitative Analysis*

Data will be collated, exported, tabulated and checked prior to statistical analysis. The following statistical tests will be performed.

1. Descriptive Statistics:
 - Means and standard deviations
 - Frequencies and percentages
 - Distribution characteristics
2. Reliability Testing:
 - Internal consistency of trust scales will be assessed using Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha \geq 0.70$ considered acceptable).
3. Pre/Post Comparisons:
 - Paired t-tests / repeated measures MANOVA for 2+ time points.
 - Wilcoxon signed-rank tests (if non-normal distributions).
4. Cohort Comparisons:
 - Group differences (such as partnership region, gender, age) will be assessed using regression analysis.

5.9.2 *Qualitative Analysis and Triangulation*

Qualitative data will undergo thematic coding using structural thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2022) in NVivo software. Quantitative evaluation data from surveys will be triangulated with the simultaneously collected qualitative data from focus groups using concurrent mixed methods triangulation analysis (Creswell et al., 2003).

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7 Annexes

7.1 Questionnaire for Community Members

Community Members' Trust in Police Officers: Proposed Measurement Framework

I. Demographics and Dispositions

a. **Demographic Variables** [Need to be adjusted for different cultural contexts]

1. **How old are you?** _____ (years)

2. **What is the gender you most identify with?**

- Woman
- Man
- Transgender woman
- Transgender man
- Non-binary
- Not sure
- Prefer not to say
- Not listed (please state) _____

3. **What is your ethnic group?**

White

- English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British
- Irish
- Gypsy or Irish Traveller
- Roma
- Any other White background (please specify) _____

Mixed or Multiple Ethnic Groups

- White and Black Caribbean
- White and Black African
- White and Asian
- Any other Mixed or Multiple ethnic background (please specify) _____

Asian or Asian British

- Indian

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- Pakistani
- Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- Any other Asian background (please specify) _____

Black, Black British, Caribbean or African

- African
- Caribbean
- Any other Black background (please specify) _____

Other Ethnic Group

- Arab
- Any other ethnic group (please specify) _____
- Prefer not to say

4. What is your nationality? _____

5. In which country were you born _____

6. If you were not born in the UK, how long have you lived in the UK? _____ (years)

7. What is your religion?

- No religion
- Christian
- Buddhist
- Hindu
- Jewish
- Muslim
- Sikh
- Another religion (please specify) _____
- Prefer not to say

8. What is your current marital status?

- Single
- Married
- Civil partnership
- Living with a partner
- Separated
- Divorced
- Widowed
- Prefer not to say

9. Do you have any physical or mental health conditions or illnesses lasting or expected to last 12 months or more?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

10. If yes to Q9, do these conditions or illnesses reduce your ability to carry out day-to-day activities?

- Yes, a lot
- Yes, a little
- No
- Prefer not to say

11. What is the highest qualification you have completed?

- No formal qualifications
- Secondary education (GCSEs/O Levels or equivalent)
- Further education/vocational qualification
- Undergraduate degree
- Postgraduate degree
- Other qualification (please specify) _____
- Prefer not to say

12. Which of the following best describes your current situation?

- Employed full-time
- Employed part-time
- Self-employed
- Unemployed and seeking work
- Student
- Retired
- Homemaker/carer
- Unable to work due to disability or illness
- Other (please specify) _____
- Prefer not to say

13. What is your total annual household income before tax?

- Less than £15,000
- £15,000–£24,999
- £25,000–£39,999
- £40,000–£59,999
- £60,000–£79,999
- £80,000 or more
- Prefer not to say

14. How many years have you lived in your current local community or neighbourhood? _____ (years)

15. Which of the following best describes the area where you live?

- Urban
- Suburban
- Rural
- Mixed urban-rural
- Prefer not to say

16. Have you participated in any community, neighbourhood, voluntary, charitable, or civic organisations during the past 12 months?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

17. If yes to Q16, which types of organisations? (Select all that apply)

- Neighbourhood or residents' association
- School, parent, or youth organisation
- Charity or voluntary organisation
- Religious organisation
- Environmental organisation
- Sports club or recreational association
- Trade union or professional association
- Political party or campaign group
- Community development group
- Mutual aid or support group
- Other (please specify) _____

18. If yes to Q16, how frequently do you participate with such organisations (e.g., local authorities, schools, charities, community groups)?

- Never
- Rarely
- Occasionally
- Frequently
- Very frequently

19. In politics, people sometimes describe themselves using the following scale. Where would you place yourself?

- Very liberal / very left-wing

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- Liberal / left-wing
- Slightly liberal / slightly left-wing
- Centrist / moderate
- Slightly conservative / slightly right-wing
- Conservative / right-wing
- Very conservative / very right-wing

20. How interested are you in politics?

- Not at all interested
- Slightly interested
- Moderately interested
- Very interested
- Extremely interested

21. Have you had any direct contact with the police during the past 12 months?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

22. Approximately how many times have you had direct contact with the police during the past 12 months?

- Once
- 2–3 times
- 4–5 times
- More than 5 times
- Not applicable
- Prefer not to say

23. Thinking about your most recent contact with the police, who initiated the interaction?

- I initiated the contact
- The police initiated the contact
- Both
- Not applicable
- Prefer not to say

24. What was the main reason for the interaction?

- Reporting a crime or incident
- Victim of crime
- Witness to crime
- Seeking assistance or advice
- Community engagement activity
- Traffic-related interaction
- Stop and search

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- Enforcement-related interaction
- Other (please specify) _____
- Not applicable

25. Overall, how would you rate your most recent interaction with the police?

- Very negative
- Negative
- Neither positive nor negative
- Positive
- Very positive

26. Have you been the victim of a crime during the past 12 months?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

27. How safe do you feel in your local area during the day?

- Very unsafe
- Unsafe
- Neither safe nor unsafe
- Safe
- Very safe

28. How safe do you feel in your local area after dark?

- Very unsafe
- Unsafe
- Neither safe nor unsafe
- Safe
- Very safe

29. Which of the following issues are concerns for you in your neighbourhood? (Select all that apply)

- Burglary or theft (e.g., break-ins, vehicle theft, phone theft)
- Shoplifting and retail crime
- Drug use or drug-related activity
- Anti-social behaviour (e.g., noise, vandalism, public disorder)
- Violent crime (e.g., assaults, knife crime)
- Organised crime (e.g., drug networks, coordinated theft groups)
- Fraud or scams (online, phone, or doorstep)
- Lack of visible policing
- Slow police response or difficulty contacting police
- Other (please specify) _____

30. Which of the issues you selected is your top concern?**(Choose one)**

- Burglary or theft (e.g., break-ins, vehicle theft, phone theft)
- Shoplifting and retail crime
- Drug use or drug-related activity
- Anti-social behaviour (e.g., noise, vandalism, public disorder)
- Violent crime (e.g., assaults, knife crime)
- Organised crime (e.g., drug networks, coordinated theft groups)
- Fraud or scams (online, phone, or doorstep)
- Lack of visible policing
- Slow police response or difficulty contacting police
- Other (please specify) _____

b. Dispositions and Attitudes**Propensity to Trust (Tan et al., 2025)**

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Most people can be counted on to do what they say they will do.							
Most adults are competent at their job.							
Most people do not cheat.							
People can generally be relied on to keep their promises.							
Most people are honest in negotiations.							

Perceptions/Attitudes Toward Police Officers (Moon & Zagar, 2007)

Scale: *Strongly Disagree (StD)*; *Disagree (D)*; *Slightly Disagree (SID)*; *Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND)*; *Slightly Agree (SIA)*; *Agree (A)*; *Strongly Agree (StA)*

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Community members are suspicious of police officers.							
Community members respect police officers.							
Community members have positive attitudes toward police officers.							

Meta-Attitudes (Haddock et al., 1993)

Scale: 0 = *Very cold* – 100 = *Very warm*

Instructions: Using the below thermometer scale from 0 to 100, please indicate how you generally feel toward police officers.

0 (very cold) 100 (very warm)

Your feelings toward police officers	
---	--

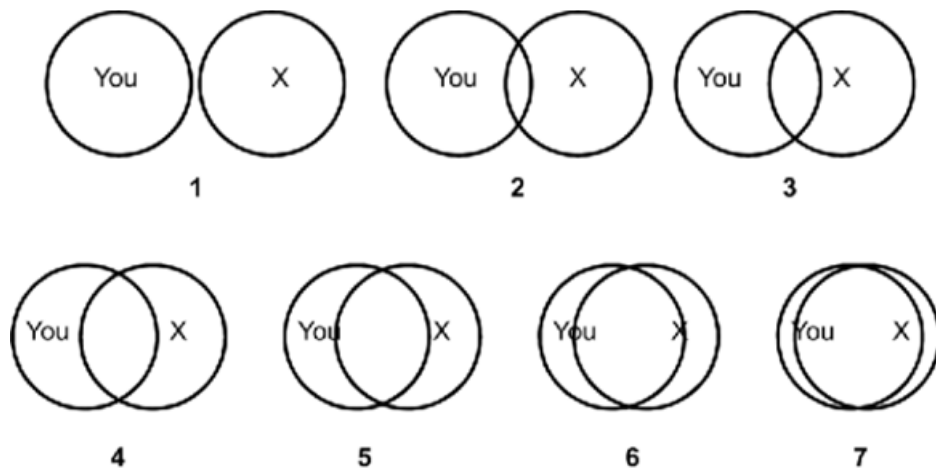
Instructions: Using the below thermometer scale from 0 to 100, please indicate how you think that police officers generally feel toward your community members.

0 (very cold) 100 (very warm)

Police officer feelings toward community members	
---	--

c. Identity

Identity Fusion (Aron et al., 1992)



Instructions: Each pair of circles here shows a different level of closeness between you and a group of people. The more the circles overlap, the closer the relationship. Choose the pair that best represents how you see your relationship with the following groups.

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Self and police officers.							
Self and community live in.							
Self and younger community members.							
Self and older community members.							
Self and ethnic minority community members.							
Self and all humans.							

II. Trust and Relational Components

a. Trust Judgements

Trust in Police Officers - Based on the ABI Model and adapted from (Mayer & Davis, 1999)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement below:

Item	SD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
I trust police officers.							
I would call the police if I were in trouble.							
I trust police officers to keep me safe.							
I trust police officers to keep our community members safe.							
I trust police officers to prevent crime.							
Police officers are well-trained.							
Police officers are good at their jobs.							
Police officers care about the people they serve.							
Police officers act in the best interests of the general community.							
Police officers are open and honest.							
Police officers follow the rules when doing their jobs.							

Mutual Respect (Nalla et al., 2018)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement below:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	SA
Most community members have a positive view of police officers and their work.							
Most community members respect police officers.							
Community members have reason to be trustful of most police officers.							

----- **OPTIONAL** -----

Context-Specific Measures in Relation to IIa:**Intergroup Trust Scale (IGT-Scale; Kappmeier et al., 2026)**

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Competence

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Police officers cannot do their work properly.							
Police officers are not capable.							
Police officers do not have the knowledge to do their jobs properly.							
Police officers are competent.							

Compassion

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Police officers do not care enough about us to be helpful.							
Police officers are looking after us.							
Police officers do not sympathise with our concerns.							
Police officers do not genuinely care about our welfare.							
Police officers respond caringly and constructively to our problems.							

Integrity

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Police officers lie to get money and power.							
Police officers do dishonest things.							
Police officers deceive us.							
Police officers have a great deal of integrity.							

Compatibility

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Our lifestyle is incompatible with police officer's lifestyle.							
Police officers are similar to us.							
Police officers have different views on important issues than us.							
Police officers differ greatly from us.							

Security

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
We have to change the way we live because we are scared of police officers.							
Police officers attack us.							
We have nothing to fear from police officers.							
Police officers exploit us.							

b. Relational/ Intergroup Experiences**Quantity of Contact with Police Officers (Voci & Hewstone, 2003)**

Scale: *Never (N); Rarely (R); Occasionally (Oc); Sometimes (S); Often (Of); Very Frequently (VF); Extremely Frequently (EF)*

Instructions: Please answer the following questions, thinking generally about everyday life:

Item	N	R	Oc	S	Of	VF	EF
In everyday life, how frequently do you interact with police officers?							
In everyday life, how often do you encounter police officers?							

Quality of Contact with Police Officers (Voci & Hewstone, 2003)

Scale: 1 = low pole – 7 = high pole

Instructions: Again, generally speaking, how would you characterise the contact you have with police officers using the following adjective pairs:

Superficial						Deep
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Forced						Natural
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pleasant						Unpleasant
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Co-operative						Competitive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Distant						Intimate
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Intergroup Anxiety (adapted from Stephan & Stephan, 1985)

Scale: Not at all (NAA); Slightly (S); Moderately (M); Quite (Q); Very (V); Extremely (E); Very Much (VM)

Instructions: To what extent do you feel the following emotions when interacting with police officers:

Item	NAA	S	M	Q	V	E	VM
Awkward							
Comfortable (R)							
Suspicious							
Embarrassed							
Relaxed (R)							
Anxious							
Confident (R)							

Intergroup Empathy (Batson et al., 1997)

Scale: Not at all (NAA); Slightly (S); Moderately (M); Quite (Q); Very (V);

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Extremely (E); Very Much (VM)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you feel the following emotions toward police officers in general:

Item	NAA	S	M	Q	V	E	VM
Sympathetic							
Compassionate							
Soft-hearted							
Warm							
Tender							
Moved							

Reciprocity (part of CoP). Bespoke items adapted from Jones & Barry (2011); Cunningham-Erves et al., (2024)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: The following questions relate to the partnership between police officers and community members. Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Police officers and community members are supportive of each other.							
When one side contributes, the other responds in a constructive way.							
Police officers and community members work together in a productive way.							

Negative and Positive Family Stories about Police Officers (Cameron et al., 2006)

Scale: Never (N); Rarely (R); Occasionally (Oc); Sometimes (S); Often (Of); Very

Frequently (VF); Extremely Frequently (EF)

Instructions: Please indicate how often family members have shared the following types of stories or experiences about police officers with you.

Item	N	R	Oc	S	Of	VF	EF
Do/ did any of your family members tell you negative and upsetting stories about police officers?							
Do/ did any of your family members tell you positive and pleasant stories about police officers?							

----- OPTIONAL -----

Context-Specific Measures in Relation to IIb:

Community Member-Police Officer Working Relations (Nalla et al., 2018)

Scale: Scale: Strongly Disagree (SD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (SA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Community members often call the police if they see something suspicious.							
Community members often provide information about a crime if they know something and are asked by police officers.							
Community members are willing to work with police officers and try to solve neighbourhood problems.							

Identity Threat (Kteily et al., 2016)

Scale: Not at all (NAA); Slightly (S); Moderately (M); Quite (Q); Very (V); Extremely (E); Very Much (VM)

Instructions: When I think about the way that police officers perceive community members:

Item	NAA	S	M	Q	V	E	VM
I find it offensive							
I find it illegitimate							
I find it threatening							
I think it is reasonable (R)							
I find it appropriate (R)							

Meta-Dehumanization (Kteily et al., 2016)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Police officers see my community members as subhuman.							
Police officers think of my community members as animal-like.							
Police officers think my community members are beasts.							
Police officers see my community members as less evolved than other groups.							
Police officers see my community members as belonging to a lower form of civilization.							

Stereotype Content Model (Fiske et al., 2002)

Scale: Not at all (NAA); Slightly (S); Moderately (M); Quite (Q); Very (V); Extremely (E); Very Much (VM)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you think police officers, generally speaking, are:

Item	NAA	S	M	Q	V	E	VM
Competent							
Confident							
Capable							
Skillful							
Friendly							
Warm							
Good-natured							
Sincere							

III. Outcome Variables

a. Cooperative Orientation Towards Police Officers

Willingness to Cooperate in Basic Police Activities (Nalla et al., 2018)

Scale: Strongly Unwilling (StU); Unwilling (U); Slightly Unwilling (SIU); Neutral (N); Slightly Willing (SIW); Willing (W); Strongly Willing (StW)

Instructions: How willing are you to cooperate with the police in the following basic police activities:

Item	StU	U	SIU	N	SIW	W	StW
Cooperate in preventing minor offences (e.g., traffic offences).							
Cooperate in preventing criminal offences.							
Cooperate in maintaining community order.							
Cooperate in crime investigation.							
Patrol together with community members.							
Cooperate in crime prevention.							

Willingness to Cooperate in Community Policing (Nalla et al., 2018)

Scale: Strongly Unwilling (StU); Unwilling (U); Slightly Unwilling (SIU); Neutral (N); Slightly Willing (SIW); Willing (W); Strongly Willing (StW)

Instructions: How willing are you to cooperate with the police in the following community police activities:

Item	StU	U	SIU	N	SIW	W	StW
Cooperate in identification of security problems in the community.							
Cooperate in neighbourhood watch.							
Cooperate in establishment of police-local community partnership.							
Cooperate in promotion of community-policing projects.							
Cooperate in informal gatherings of community members and police officers (sport, culture).							
Cooperate in defining objectives of police work in the local community.							
Cooperate in the local safety council.							

Willingness to Partner with Police Officers (Carr & Maxwell, 2018)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
I would be comfortable working with police officers on issues that are important to my community, even if I could not directly monitor his/ her actions.							
If I had my way, I would work collaboratively with police officers on issues that are important to me.							

If I had my way, I would let police officers have a say in how we conduct activities in my neighbourhood.							
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-----**ALTERNATIVE COOPERATION MEASURE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE**-----

Police Reporting Measure (for Teens; Burden et al., 2023)

Scale: Not at all likely (NAAL); Very unlikely (VU); Unlikely (U); Neither likely nor unlikely (NLNU); Likely (L); Very likely (VL), Extremely likely (EL)

Instructions: How likely would you be to report the following events to the police?

Item	NAAL	VU	U	NLNU	L	VL	EL
If you saw someone trying to steal something from someone else's home.							
If you saw someone threatening to hurt someone in their neighbourhood.							
If you saw someone beating up a stranger on the street.							
If you saw someone stealing something from a store.							

b. Subjective wellbeing

Satisfaction with Life (SWLS; Kjell & Diener, 2021)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
In most ways my life is close to my ideal.							
The conditions of my life are excellent.							
I am satisfied with my life.							

----- OPTIONAL -----

Context-Specific Measures in Relation to IIIb:

Participation and Voice (part of CoP) Bespoke items adapted from Sunshine & Tyler (2003); US DoJ (2013)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Community members have opportunities to influence policing decisions.							
Police consider community members' opinions when deciding what to do							
Police involve community members in solutions to community problems							
People feel able to express their views openly in interactions with police officers.							

Authenticity Scale (Wood et al., 2008)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
I think it is better to be yourself, than to be popular.							

D2.3: Trust Measurement Framework

I don't know how I really feel inside.							
I am strongly influenced by the opinions of others.							
I usually do what other people tell me to do.							
I always feel I need to do what others expect me to do.							
Other people influence me greatly.							
I feel as if I don't know myself very well.							
I always stand by what I believe in.							
I am true to myself in most situations.							
I feel out of touch with the 'real me'.							
I live in accordance with my values and beliefs.							
I feel alienated from myself.							

END OF SURVEY

7.2 Questionnaire for Police

Police Officers' Trust in Community Members: Proposed Measurement Framework

I. Demographics and Dispositions

a. **Demographic Variables** [need to be adjusted for different cultural contexts]

1. **How old are you?** _____ (years)

2. **What is the gender you most identify with?**

- Woman
- Man
- Transgender woman
- Transgender man
- Non-binary
- Not sure
- Prefer not to say
- Not listed (please state) _____

3. **What is your ethnic group?**

White

- English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British
- Irish
- Gypsy or Irish Traveller
- Roma
- Any other White background (please specify) _____

Mixed or Multiple Ethnic Groups

- White and Black Caribbean
- White and Black African
- White and Asian
- Any other Mixed or Multiple ethnic background (please specify) ____

Asian or Asian British

- Indian
- Pakistani
- Bangladeshi

D2.3: Trust Measurement Framework

- Chinese
- Any other Asian background (please specify) _____

Black, Black British, Caribbean or African

- African
- Caribbean
- Any other Black background (please specify) _____

Other Ethnic Group

- Arab
- Any other ethnic group (please specify) _____
- Prefer not to say

4. What is your nationality? _____

5. In which country were you born? _____

6. If you were not born in the UK, how long have you lived in the UK? _____ (years)

7. What is your religion?

- No religion
- Christian
- Buddhist
- Hindu
- Jewish
- Muslim
- Sikh
- Not listed (please specify) _____
- Prefer not to say

8. What is your current marital status?

- Single
- Married
- Civil partnership
- Living with a partner
- Separated
- Divorced
- Widowed
- Prefer not to say

9. Do you have any physical or mental health conditions or illnesses lasting or expected to last 12 months or more?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

10. If yes to Q9, do these conditions or illnesses reduce your ability to carry out day-to-day activities?

- Yes, a lot
- Yes, a little
- No
- Prefer not to say

11. What is the highest qualification you have completed?

- No formal qualifications
- Secondary education (GCSEs/O Levels or equivalent)
- Further education / vocational
- Undergraduate degree
- Postgraduate degree
- Other qualification (please specify) _____
- Prefer not to say

12. Which of the following best describes your current situation?

- Employed full-time
- Employed part-time
- Self-employed
- Unemployed and seeking work
- Student
- Retired
- Homemaker/carer
- Unable to work due to disability or illness
- Other (please specify): _____
- Prefer not to say

13. What is your total annual household income before tax?

- Less than £15,000
- £15,000–£24,999
- £25,000–£39,999
- £40,000–£59,999
- £60,000–£79,999
- £80,000 or more
- Prefer not to say

14. How many years have you served as a police officer?

_____ (years)

15. How long have you been in your current role?

_____ (years)

**16. How long have you worked in your current station or
policing area?**

_____ (years)

**17. Which of the following best describes your current rank or
level of seniority?**

- Constable / Police Officer
- Sergeant or equivalent
- Inspector or equivalent
- Senior leadership / management
- Civilian police staff
- Other (please specify) _____
- Prefer not to say

**18. Which of the following best describes your current
operational role?**

- Neighbourhood / community policing (primary focus)
- Response policing (some community contact)
- Investigations (limited community contact)
- Specialist / other operational role
- Supervisory / leadership role
- Other (please specify) _____
- Prefer not to say

**19. Which of the following best describes the area you
primarily serve?**

- Urban
- Suburban
- Rural
- Mixed urban-rural
- Prefer not to say

**20. Have you ever worked in a community or neighbourhood
policing role?**

- Yes, currently
- Yes, previously
- No experience in community policing
- Prefer not to say

21. If yes to Q20, how long have you been/were involved in community policing? _____ (years)

22. How often does your current role involve direct contact with members of the public in your local policing area?

- Never or almost never
- Less than once per week
- Several times per week
- Daily
- Multiple times per day
- Prefer not to say

23. As part of your policing role, do you collaborate with any community, neighbourhood, voluntary, charitable, or civic organisations?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

24. If yes to Q23, which types of organisations do you collaborate with? (select ALL that apply)

- Neighbourhood or residents' association
- School / parent / youth organisation
- Charity or voluntary organisation
- Religious organisation
- Environmental organisation
- Sports club or recreational association
- Trade union or professional association
- Political party or campaign group
- Community development group
- Mutual aid or support group
- Other (please specify) _____

25. If yes to Q23, how frequently do you work with non-police organisations as part of your policing role (e.g., local authorities, schools, charities, community groups)?

- Never
- Rarely
- Occasionally
- Frequently
- Very frequently

26. Have you received formal training in community engagement, neighbourhood policing, or public participation?

- Yes
- No
- Unsure
- Prefer not to say

27. If yes to Q26, when did you last receive this training?

- Within last year
- 1-3 years
- 3+ years

28. In politics, people sometimes describe themselves using the following scale. Where would you place yourself?

- Very liberal / very left-wing
- Liberal / left-wing
- Slightly liberal / slightly left-wing
- Centrist / moderate
- Slightly conservative / slightly right-wing
- Conservative / right-wing
- Very conservative / very right-wing

29. How interested are you in politics?

- Not at all interested
- Slightly interested
- Moderately interested
- Very interested
- Extremely interested

b. Dispositions and Attitudes

Propensity to Trust (Tan et al., 2025)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Most people can be counted on to do what they say they will do.							
Most adults are competent at their job.							
Most people do not cheat.							
People can generally be relied on to keep their promises.							
Most people are honest in negotiations.							

Perceptions/Attitudes Toward Community Members (Moon & Zagar, 2007)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Police officers are suspicious of community members.							
Police officers respect community members.							
Police officers have positive attitudes toward community members.							

Meta-Attitudes (Haddock et al., 1993)

Scale: 0 = Very cold – 100 = Very warm

Instructions: Using the below thermometer scale from 0 to 100, please indicate how you feel toward the community you work in.

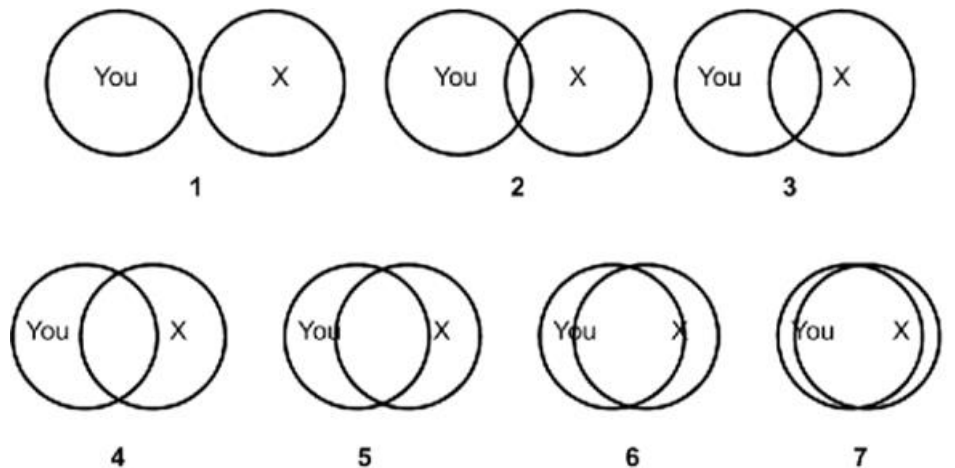
	0 (very cold)	100 (very warm)
Feelings toward community members		

Instructions: Using the below thermometer scale from 0 to 100, please indicate how you think that the community you work in feel toward police officers.

	0 (very cold)	100 (very warm)
Perceived community members feelings toward police officers		

c. Identity

Identity Fusion (Aron et al., 1992)



Instructions: Please select the number that best represents your relationship with the following groups:

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Self and police officers.							
Self and community worked in.							
Self and community lived in.							
Self and younger community members.							
Self and older community members.							
Self and other minority community members.							
Self and all humans.							

II. Trust and Relational Components

a. Trust Judgements

Police Officer Trust in Community Members (Mourtgos et al., 2020)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree

D2.3: Trust Measurement Framework

(StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
I do not worry about having a normal, frank conversation with community members because they will not use my responses against me.							
I am willing to do more proactive police work even if it increases the possibility of community members criticism of me.							
If it were up to me, I would be even more visible to community members while at work.							
I am willing to take action on minor offenses even if it increases the possibility of community members criticism of me.							
At work, I am willing to take actions on noncriminal issues, such as dealing with homelessness and mental health concerns, even if it increases the possibility of community members criticism of me.							
I have no concerns about mentioning that I am a police officer when I am off-duty and talking with community members.							
I am willing to give community members the benefit of the doubt when they engage in behaviour that makes me question their intentions.							
I would be willing to let community members determine whether my actions as a police officer were justified.							
I believe community members should have a great influence over issues that are important to me as a police officer.							

D2.3: Trust Measurement Framework

I am willing to give out my personal information to community members (e.g., full name and cell phone number).							
I am fine with family members telling others that I am a police officer.							
Making myself more vulnerable to community members criticism would not be a mistake.							

Mutual Respect (Nalla et al., 2018)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Most police officers have a positive view of community members.							
Most police officers respect community members.							
Police officers have reason to be trustful of most community members.							

----- OPTIONAL -----

Context-Specific Measures in Relation to IIa:

Intergroup Trust Scale (IGT-Scale; Kappmeier et al., 2026)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Competence

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Community members cannot do their work properly.							
Community members are not capable.							
Community members do not have the knowledge to do their jobs properly.							
Community members are competent.							

Compassion

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Community members do not care enough about us to be helpful.							
Community members are looking after us.							
Community members do not sympathise with our concerns.							
Community members do not genuinely care about our welfare.							
Community members respond caringly and constructively to our problems.							

Integrity

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Community members lie to get money and power.							
Community members do dishonest things.							
Community members deceive us.							
Community members have a great deal of integrity.							

Compatibility

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Our lifestyle is incompatible with community members lifestyle.							
Community members are similar to us.							
Community members have different views on important issues than us.							
Community members differ greatly from us.							

Security

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
We have to change the way we live because we are scared of community members.							
Community members attack us.							
We have nothing to fear from community members.							
Community members exploit us.							

b. Relational/ Intergroup Experiences
Quantity of Contact with Community Members (Voci & Hewstone, 2003)

Scale: Never (N); Rarely (R); Occasionally (Oc); Sometimes (S); Often (Of); Very Frequently (VF); Extremely Frequently (EF)

Instructions: Please answer the following questions, thinking generally about everyday life:

Item	N	R	Oc	S	Of	VF	EF
In everyday life, how frequently do you interact with community members?							
In everyday life, how often do you encounter community members?							

Quality of Contact with Community Members (Voci & Hewstone, 2003)

Scale: 1 = low pole – 7 = high pole

Instructions: Again, generally speaking, how would you characterise the contact you have with community members using the following adjective pairs:

Superficial						Deep
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Forced						Natural
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pleasant						Unpleasant
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Co-operative						Competitive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Distant						Intimate
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Intergroup Anxiety (adapted from Stephan & Stephan, 1985)

Scale: Not at all (NAA); Slightly (S); Moderately (M); Quite (Q); Very (V); Extremely (E); Very Much (VM)

Instructions: To what extent do you feel the following when interacting with community members:

Item	NAA	S	M	Q	V	E	VM
Awkward							
Comfortable							
Suspicious							
Embarrassed							

D2.3: Trust Measurement Framework

Relaxed							
Anxious							
Confident							

Intergroup Empathy (Batson et al., 1997)

Scale: Not at all (NAA); Slightly (S); Moderately (M); Quite (Q); Very (V); Extremely (E); Very Much (VM)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you feel the following emotions toward community members you work with in general:

Item	NAA	S	M	Q	V	E	VM
Sympathetic							
Compassionate							
Soft-hearted							
Warm							
Tender							
Moved							

Reciprocity (part of CoP). Bespoke items adapted from Jones & Barry (2011); Cunningham-Erves et al., (2024)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: The following questions relate to the partnership between police officers and community members. Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Police officers and community members are supportive of each other.							
When one side contributes, the other responds in a constructive way.							
Police officers and community members work together in a productive way.							

----- OPTIONAL -----

Context-Specific Measures in Relation to IIb:

Community Member-Police Officer Working Relations (Nalla et al., 2018)

Scale: Scale: Strongly Disagree (SD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (SA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Community members often call the police if they see something suspicious.							
Community members often provide information about a crime if they know something and are asked by police officers.							
Community members are willing to work with police officers and try to solve neighbourhood problems.							

Identity Threat (Kteily et al., 2016)

Scale: Not at all (NAA); Slightly (S); Moderately (M); Quite (Q); Very (V); Extremely (E); Very Much (VM)

Instructions: When I think about the way that community members perceive police officers:

Item	NAA	S	M	Q	V	E	VM
I find it offensive							
I find it illegitimate							
I find it threatening							
I think it is reasonable (R)							
I find it appropriate (R)							

Meta-Dehumanization (Kteily et al., 2016)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Community members see police officers as subhuman.							
Community members think of police officers as animal-like.							
Community members think police officers are beasts.							
Community members see police officers as less evolved than other groups.							
Community members see police officers as belonging to a lower form of civilization.							

Stereotype Content Model (Fiske et al., 2002)

Scale: Not at all (NAA); Slightly (S); Moderately (M); Quite (Q); Very (V); Extremely (E); Very Much (VM)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you think community members/ young people/ minority groups, generally speaking, are:

Item	NAA	S	M	Q	V	E	VM
Competent							
Confident							
Capable							
Skillful							
Friendly							
Warm							
Good-natured							
Sincere							

III. Outcome Variables

a. Cooperative Orientation Towards the Community

Willingness to Cooperate in Basic Police Activities (Nalla et al., 2018)

Scale: Strongly Unwilling (StU); Unwilling (U); Slightly Unwilling (SIU); Neutral (N); Slightly Willing (SIW); Willing (W); Strongly Willing (StW)

Instructions: How willing do you think community members are to cooperate with you in the following basic police activities?

Item	StU	U	SIU	N	SIW	W	StW
Cooperate in preventing minor offences (e.g., traffic offences).							
Cooperate in preventing criminal offences.							
Cooperate in maintaining community order.							
Cooperate in crime investigation.							
Patrol together with community members.							
Cooperate in crime prevention.							

Willingness to Cooperate in Community Policing (Nalla et al., 2018)

Scale: Strongly Unwilling (StU); Unwilling (U); Slightly Unwilling (SIU); Neutral (N); Slightly Willing (SIW); Willing (W); Strongly Willing (StW)

Instructions: How willing do you think community members are to cooperate with you in the following community policing activities?

Item	StU	U	SIU	N	SIW	W	StW
Cooperate in identification of security problems in the community.							
Cooperate in neighbourhood watch.							
Cooperate in establishment of police-local community partnership.							
Cooperate in promotion of community-policing projects.							
Cooperate in informal gatherings of community							

members and police officers (sport, culture).							
Cooperate in defining objectives of police work in the local community.							
Cooperate in the local safety council.							

Willingness to Partner with Community Members (Carr & Maxwell, 2018)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
I would be comfortable giving community members a task that is important, even if I could not monitor his/her actions.							
If I had my way, I would let community members have influence over issues that are important to me.							
If I had my way, I would let community members have a say in how the department conducts policing activities in their neighbourhood.							

b. Subjective wellbeing

Satisfaction with Life (SWLS; Kjell & Diener, 2021)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
In most ways my life is close to my ideal.							
The conditions of my life are excellent.							
I am satisfied with my life.							

----- OPTIONAL -----

Context-Specific Measures in Relation to IIIa:

Participation and Voice (part of CoP) Bespoke items adapted from Sunshine & Tyler (2003); US DoJ (2013)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Community members have opportunities to influence policing decisions.							
Police consider community members' opinions when deciding what to do							
Police involve community members in solutions to community problems							
People feel able to express their views openly in interactions with police officers.							

Context-Specific Measures in Relation to IIIb:

Tripartite Occupational Well-Being Scale-Short (Collie, 2020)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each

statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
I feel excited and energised by the work I do.							
I am well-prepared and engaged at work each day.							
At work, I make plans for developing my professional skills and knowledge.							

Authenticity Scale (Wood et al., 2008)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
I think it is better to be yourself, than to be popular.							
I don't know how I really feel inside.							
I am strongly influenced by the opinions of others.							
I usually do what other people tell me to do.							
I always feel I need to do what others expect me to do.							
Other people influence me greatly.							
I feel as if I don't know myself very well.							
I always stand by what I believe in.							
I am true to myself in most situations.							
I feel out of touch with the 'real me'.							
I live in accordance with my values and beliefs.							
I feel alienated from myself.							

Organisational Justice (Carr & Maxwell, 2018)

Scale: Strongly Disagree (StD); Disagree (D); Slightly Disagree (SID); Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAND); Slightly Agree (SIA); Agree (A); Strongly Agree (StA)

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each statement:

Distributive Justice

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
I am fairly paid considering the amount of effort I put into the job.							
I am fairly paid considering the amount of education, training, and experience I have.							

Procedural Justice

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
Senior managers are open to differing views.							
In my department, my opinions are valued and taken into account.							
In my department, good performance is recognised and rewarded.							
In my department, training and development is provided according to need.							
The force acts fairly regarding career progression.							
Senior management ensures that all personnel are adequately informed on important issues.							

Interpersonal Justice

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
My supervisor treats me with respect.							
My supervisor refrains from improper comments or remarks.							
My supervisor takes steps to deal with me in a truthful manner.							

Informational Justice

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
My supervisor explains procedures thoroughly.							
My supervisor provides needed information in a timely manner.							
My supervisor takes steps to deal with me in a truthful manner.							

Organisational Commitment

Item	StD	D	SID	NAND	SIA	A	StA
I have a strong attachment to the force.							
I feel a sense of loyalty to my department.							

END OF SURVEY

7.3 Discussion Areas for Community Members

When collecting qualitative data in the form of focus groups please ensure that, in a similar process to the quantitative survey data collection, all participants receive the participant information sheet and sign a consent form (parents sign for participants under 18 years of age and participants provide further assent). By doing this, participants will be aware of how their data will be stored and used for research processes, will understand the purposes for recording any discussions and will have the opportunity to ask any questions. At the end of the discussion all participants should be thanked and given the debrief form about the study. The debrief form details how they can withdraw their data should they wish to and provides contact details of the research team should they have any concerns. These documents will have been reviewed and approved by the University of Greenwich Research Ethics

Board.

It is recommended that focus groups start with a 5-10 minute warm-up section at the start to allow participants to get comfortable speaking in the group.

1. **Meanings of trust:** What does trust mean to you (generally/in relation to the police)? What increases trust? What damages trust (generally/in relation to the police)? Would you say that you trust the police?
2. **Perceptions:** What are your perceptions of the police? What do you think the police perceptions are of the community? How do you feel about this?
3. **Experiences of the workshop:** Tell us about your experiences of the workshop you attended? What worked well? What could have been done differently? Did being part of the workshop impact on your levels of trust in the police? If so, how?
4. **Communities of Practice:** Communities of Practice are defined as *"groups of people who share a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis"* (Wenger et al., 2002, p.4) *[This definition could be written up and displayed in the room somewhere]*. Communities of Practice involve a process of social learning through knowledge sharing and engaging in respectful, truthful dialogue/conversation with each other.
 - a. To what extent do you think the police and community are part of such a Community of Practice?
 - b. What needs to be in place for this to develop? PROBE: 1) mutual respect, 2) mutual recognition, 3) commitment (shared-meaning), 4) shared goals (synergy)
 - c. To what extent do you think this project will 1) establish

long-term commitment on trust building, and 2) will continue to have a positive impact beyond the life of the project?

d. What (if anything) are the challenges around this?

5. **Looking ahead:** What (if anything) has changed for you as a result of attending the workshop? How (if at all) will this impact on how you engage with the police going forward? What needs to be in place for you to develop (and maintain) trust in the police?

7.4 Discussion Areas for Police Officers

When collecting qualitative data in the form of focus groups please ensure that, in a similar process to the quantitative survey data collection, all participants receive the participant information sheet and sign a consent form. By doing this, participants will be aware of how their data will be stored and used for research processes, will understand the purposes for recording any discussions and will have the opportunity to ask any questions. At the end of the discussion all participants should be thanked and given the debrief form about the study. The debrief form details how they can withdraw their data should they wish to and provides contact details of the research team should they have any concerns. These documents will have been reviewed and approved by the University of Greenwich Research Ethics Board.

It is recommended that focus groups start with a 5-10 minute warm-up section at the start to allow participants to get comfortable speaking in the group.

1. **Meanings of trust:** What does trust mean to you (generally/in relation to the community)? What increases trust? What damages trust (generally/in relation to the community)? In your role as a police officer, would you say that you trust the community?

2. **Perceptions:** What are your perceptions of the community? What do you think the communities' perceptions are of the police? How do you feel about this?
3. **Experiences of the workshop:** Tell us about your experiences of the workshop you attended? What worked well? What could have been done differently? Did being part of the workshop impact on your levels of trust in the community? If so, how?
4. **Communities of Practice:** Communities of Practice are defined as "groups of people who share a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis" (Wenger et al., 2002, p.4) *[This definition could be written up and displayed in the room somewhere]*. Communities of Practice involve a process of social learning through knowledge sharing and engaging in respectful, truthful dialogue/conversation with each other.
 - a. To what extent do you think the police and community are part of such a Community of Practice?
 - b. What needs to be in place for this to develop? PROBE: 1) mutual respect, 2) mutual recognition, 3) commitment (shared-meaning), 4) shared goals (synergy)
 - c. To what extent do you think this project will 1) establish long-term commitment on trust building, and 2) will continue to have a positive impact beyond the life of the project?
 - d. What (if anything) are the challenges around this?
5. **Looking ahead:** What (if anything) has changed for you as a result of attending the workshop? How (if at all) will this impact on how you engage with the community going forward? What needs to be in place for you to develop (and maintain) trust in the community?



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