

RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN POLICE EXPERIENCES: INVESTIGATION INTO THE FACTORS INFLUENCING CITIZEN-POLICE CO-OPERATION

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ABSTRACT

Previous research demonstrates that ethnic minorities are more averse to aiding in an on-going police investigation (Viki, Culmer, Eller & Abrams, 2006). It is suggested that having had a negative experience in the past with the police may effect a variety of variables, influencing ones' willingness to cooperate. Data was collected from 120 individuals (40 Caucasian, 40 Black and 40 Asian) and provided some insight into the relationship between the variables linked to contact, attitudes and behavioural intentions to cooperate. Significant racial differences existed on a number of measures between groups and associations between variables. Specifically the findings indicate that the greater number of negative past experiences, higher mistrust, negative attitudes and lower expectations of a meeting with a police officer in the future, all contribute to lower intentions to cooperate with the police. Practicality, implications and limitations are discussed as are steps for further research.

Keywords: attitudes, contact, co-operation, ethnicity, policing

INTRODUCTION

Historically, relationships between authority figures and the public have been variably strained. From governments to service and protection from police forces, conflict in relationships is inevitable when unequal societal status exists [1]. Focussing on the police force, research has investigated the differences in relations between minority and majority group status, and their associated feelings, attitudes and experience with the police. Reference [2] found that Black members of British society were less willing to aid in an on-going criminal investigation in a variety of ways. Reference [3] demonstrated that reluctance to assist in a police investigation is markedly high amongst the young Black in British society. These studies increase awareness of the public-police relationship underlying a need urge to understand this difficult social courtship. These findings also highlight the mechanics of the cooperative nature in which the public-police relationship is built. The police and the criminal justice system, in order to optimally function, need to be reliant on the public's consent and facility in cooperating [4]. Certain issues seem to be affecting the effectivity of this partnership. The current research is concerned with examining differences in individuals of varying ethnicities willingness to cooperate with the police based on their previous contact experience. Additionally, whether ethnicity and one's past experience is associated with outcome expectancies of a social encounter with police;

anxiety towards a hypothetical encounter with the police; trust in the criminal justice system; inclusion in English society; and attitudes towards the police.

In terms of improving relationships between different social groups, the Contact Hypothesis may be addressed. It postulates that in order for members of different social groups to engage in positive contact (that is, contact that will reduce firmly held stereotypes and prejudices), certain optimal conditions are necessary. These conditions were built on a foundation of four key factors: equality in status, willingness to cooperate with members of the out-group, support from members of one's own group and common goals between the two sides [5][6][7]. If these four factors are adhered to, research tends to demonstrate that attitudes between the groups involved significantly improved when given the opportunity to interact [8][9]. However, an immediate problem is apparent when considering the contact between social groups with the police, and that is the notion of unequal status.

The interactions between the two parties occur amidst a large power differential, with the police holding authority. In terms of cooperation, many encounters with the police will be, to an extent, involuntary (depending on the circumstances) as well as having conflicting goals. Cooperation may not be conducive, as previously held notions by said social group could potentially cause a lack of support in positive contact engagements [10][11]. Delving further into the literature, it would seem that the inability to meet the optimal conditions for contact is not the only setback to positive public-police relations.

The Contact Hypothesis

It is now common belief within the community that both the quality and quantity of contact with any out-group will influence beliefs and attitudes towards them, as long as the optimal conditions are in place [1]. It has also been shown this contact-attitude relationship may be mediated by anxious feelings and tendencies created within the individual [12]. The majority of out-group membership in these previous studies have been members of groups holding minority status from the norms of Western societies. These have ranged from the Black community, homosexuals [13]; the mentally ill [14]; and the homeless [15]. In a meta-analysis conducted by Tropp & Pettigrew [16] exploring contact research carried out during over the last fifty years, only 5% of the samples surveyed involved contact with societal institutions (such as looking at the police). Researchers [17] conducted a survey with citizens from a particular community within the United States and found that contact had no effect on people's attitudes towards the police. In another study, Cheurprakobkit [18] investigated racial differences between Hispanics and non-Hispanic Americans based on a variety of variables and their attitudes towards contact with the police and their entailed performance. It was concluded that with the criminal justice institution, certain practices and policies needed to be implemented to ensure positive police and minority relationships were fostered. This would influence better cooperation from members of these groups. Additionally, having heard positive accounts or stories from friends, peers and relatives of an incident with an officer of the law would aid in creating better feelings and attitudes towards them [19].

Extended contact is the idea that pertaining knowledge that a member of your in-group engaged in a positive experience with a member of the out-group (in this case the police) will facilitate the potential development of positive intergroup attitudes [20]. The basic mechanism suggested behind this theory

is that these significant other friends or family with the relations serve as a positive exemplar in one's own script of intergroup relations and friendship, and may act as an initial foundation in which to build further positive contact upon [21]. Extrapolated to relations between the public and the police, perhaps it may be conceivable that knowing others similar to us who have had positive contact experiences will establish one's own ameliorated beliefs.

The relationships developed between any group and their police forces are subjected to a myriad of mediating variables, all of which can influence the valence of ongoing interactions. Previous authors have examined societal factors ranging from socioeconomic status, gender, age and previous victimization, in hopes of clarifying a pattern in order to evaluate the mechanics of both the positive and negative relations between the public and the police [22]. Recently, it has been found that all else aside, four repeating variables (age, contact, neighbourhood and race) are considered to be the sole four factors that have consistently and repeatedly shown significance in affecting held attitudes towards the police force in general [23][24].

Anxiety

Intergroup anxiety can be seen as posing problems to the functioning of positive contact. Certain anxieties fuelled by previous experiences, religious or cultural values may have devastating effects before contact is even made or attempted [12]. If anxiety is already a factor in initiating or engaging in contact with other groups, then forcing contact may cause individuals to enter the encounter with derogatory and negative beliefs [25]. Examining these phenomena amongst different groups from the public and the police force is a novel research direction, as not only is it theoretically suboptimal due to unequal power, for many it is considered a fairly anxiety provoking experience. Stephan and Stephan [26] stressed that anxiety between differing groups in society results from believing that negative consequences will accompany any interactions with members of an out-group. Based on their thoughts and beliefs about out-group members, this anxiety is believed to be maintained by individuals' expectations of negative consequences both during and following the interaction. In most scenarios, it is believed that by adhering to the optimal contact conditions, anxiety can and may be reduced however extended to the police and the inability to set these conditions in place, difficulties will arise [8][25]. Furthermore, individuals may have unfounded anxieties towards speaking to the police. Although no theoretical framework states the following, factors ranging from outstanding warrants, being viewed by peers, previous experience and lack of trust may all contribute to a base anxiety that any individual may hold towards police officers. As Plant and Devine [27] concluded, people with few positive previous experiences with members from an out-group will not have obtained the scripts and guides in presenting oneself in an intergroup situation. It is suggested that this would lead to them having negative expectations about future encounters, thus contributing to an underlying anxiety. Extending this to the public's interactions with the police, if previous contact was poor in quality then theoretically, the same concepts mentioned above may be applied. The individuals in question will hold negative expectancies of meeting and engaging with a police officer and will not know how to act accordingly in a neutral situation. This has been found to produce hostility towards the out-group members and further avoidance of interactions with them [28]. In engagements with law enforcement, this may be incorrectly perceived as anti-social behaviours and in turn could cause

apprehension or further negative experiences, thus perpetuating anxieties and avoidance [29]. One needs to examine these negative outcome expectancies which linked to the anxieties.

Outcome expectancies

Theorists have positively identified outcome expectancies as one of the moderators between the contact experienced by subjects with any theoretical out-group, and their behavioural intentions [27]. Outcome expectancies may be clarified by briefly considering the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB). TPB defines the type of relationship held between beliefs (or in this case, ones beliefs about their proceeding behavioural intentions) and attitudes. In general, individuals own held attitudes towards their unique behaviour has been claimed to be determined by their accessibility to their own beliefs about behaviour [30]. In the case of the subsequent research, belief is defined as one's own subjective feelings that a particular behaviour will in turn produce a particular outcome. Outcome expectancies are beliefs of how we expect a theoretical event to conclude. It is further hypothesized that these expectancies effect the manner in which our attitudes towards particular social embodiments are constructed and furthermore, how these attitudes will subsequently dictate behavioural beliefs and intentions [31]. In the case of this research, outcome expectancies towards hypothetical encounters with members of the police force are of interest, and how in turn these expectancies will both be managed by previous contact, and in turn, how they will manage further attitudes and behavioural intentions towards cooperation in an on-going police investigation.

Trust

Trust of the police is considered an extremely viable tool in ameliorating and maintaining public-police relationships [32]. Society knows that the police have additional authority over the public than the common man, and the police receive the training and expertise necessary in order to gauge the uniqueness of social settings that will require the use of force and power. The public inherently needs to develop a strong sense of trust in the police in order to facilitate proactive co-existence and co-operation in all matter related to society and safety [33][34]. One of the issues with trust however is its measurement. Researchers have previously used a range of statistical tools to contextualize trust, from semantic differential scales [35] to discourse analysis likert scales [36] following semi-structured interviews. Of concern here is the context, as the definition of trust will differ depending on the situation, trusting agents/parties and emotional undertones [37]. An individual's personnel idea of trust will change remarkably quick as you place them in a situation where they are surrounded by people they know versus strangers. Therefore for the purpose of this study, we wish to find and modify an instrument that will be able to tap into the general construct of trust as it is applied to the police.

Social inclusion

In a multicultural environment, individuals from a multitude of cultural beliefs, ethnic backgrounds and religious faiths find themselves densely grouped together. Different senses of integration and participation in society will be internalised [38]. Identified in a recent report [39], United Kingdom police services face what is commonly considered a 'Third Generation' group of ethnic minorities that differ from the elders that previously settled and integrated and engaged in intergroup contact with the community. These youth hold a hybrid sense of belongingness with shared loyalties to both their origins as well as the subculture their settlement in the United Kingdom has provided. This generates

the dynamism of ethnicities and how varying people with varying backgrounds may have drastically different views of their sense of community [40].

Researcher [41] examined the link between subjective social inclusion and engaging with the police across thirteen European countries. In particular, he looked at trust and future cooperation with the police, discovering that regardless of inclusion or exclusion in respective societies, the quality and structure of the government itself dictated the level of cooperation the public would provide. It should be noted that this is not exactly what is being evaluated in the current study, but that it shows an indication of what has previously been done in the field.

Investigators [42] studied young people from ethnic minorities' civic engagements and understanding of new communities. They found that these individuals' loyalties were varied and that several educational initiatives were necessary in order to ensure that these youth understood and felt like they belonged. In turn, this would be indicative of more care and respect for the happenings of one's said community and therefore, may demonstrate better relationships with members of the authoritative public, thus better cooperation. In brief, those that feel they are more a part of the United Kingdom will in turn be those most trusting of the police, with better attitudes, contact and resulting better behavioural intentions [43].

Attitudes

From a policy standpoint, improving the public's perceptions and relations with police in the community would be beneficial on multiple levels. Research tends to demonstrate that the more positive the attitudes towards the police, the more efficiently crime prevention and intervention may be implemented [44].

Attitudes towards the police are believed to be subjected to effects of previous experience with the social institution. Work done by researchers [45] indicates that direct contact eliciting behavioural responses moulds attitudes that are both longer lived and more strongly held. Relating this to contact with the police, one may deduce that either a negative or positive experience with a police officer will in turn dictate a valenced opinion and attitude. Bamberg, Ajzen and Schmidt [46] predicted that previous experience with members of the out-group (the police) will have a significant effect on individuals held attitudes and in turn these attitudes, depending on their strength, will greatly influence behavioural intentions. A positive experience may in fact help maintain positive attitudes and in turn, facilitate more positively proactive behaviour in the future whereas a negative experience will have the exact opposite effect, including avoidance of certain situations [47]. It would then seem evident that there is a link between quality of contact experience and behavioural intentions.

Behavioural intentions

Crime is prevented by eliminating disorder and disorder is reduced when residents and police work together in crime prevention [48][49]. Working together may only occur should conditions be met which, as discussed throughout this paper, is not always feasible. Should the optimal contact conditions not be met, then encounters will unlikely be useful to improving relationships. This will not help in maintaining or creating positively structured opinions or attitudes towards the police which in

turn, as [46] demonstrated, will not create or predispose one to behaviour that would be seen as aiding a police investigation.

Improvement of community and police relations is to create scenarios and situations in which members from the public and police are willing and able to discuss and listen about reciprocal problems: the community about their feelings of safety and the police about what needs to be done to be conducive of change [11][50][51]. Often citizen's willingness to work collaboratively and cooperatively with the police depends on their trusting of law enforcement [37][52][53]. Many groups in society question whether the police are capable of protecting them. It is believed that community policing programmes are one of the only procedures that would elicit reductions in criminal activity and positive increases in community and police relations [54].

Hypothesis

The following research focuses on ethnic differences in participant's quality of contact with the police and how these previous experiences are associated with their general attitudes towards the police, trust in the police, societal inclusion and intentions to cooperate with the police. Several other mediating variables will be addressed in conjunction.

It is hypothesized that individuals of differing ethnic backgrounds will vary in their quality and quantity of contact with members of the police force in the United Kingdom. Furthermore, this contact will cause differences in participant's beliefs of their cooperation in a police investigation. It is further suggested that the relationship between group membership and contact determining intention to cooperate with the police is more complicated, with anxiety towards dealing with the police; expectancies of how an encounter with the police will occur; individuals sense of inclusion and participation in the society; as well as the participants feelings and beliefs of trust towards the police will all contribute to the associations suggested above. It is further expected that trust in the police, anxiety and attitudes towards the police will all mediate the quality of the contact, and participants intentions to cooperate with the police.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 120 individuals residing within the limits of London. The 120 participants were composed of 61 males and 59 females, with ages ranging from 18 to 49. More than 95 % of the sample reported ages between 21 and 36 ($M=28.3$, $SD=7.5$). In terms of race, participant's responses categorized them as 40 White, 40 Blacks and 40 Asians. Individuals indicating mixed race status were asked to further elaborate and categorized accordingly at the discretion of the researcher.

Materials

With the exception of the initial demographic, socioeconomic status and extended contact with the police, a 7-point Likert type scale was used to measure responses in all sections throughout the questionnaire. Following score tabulation, participants' responses on items were combined to provide average scores for each measure.

Socioeconomic Status

Two nominal based questions were asked where responses would provide categorization along two dimensions: household income and highest level of education. The literature has several methods in which socioeconomic status may be investigated and it is believed that for the purpose of this data, the items used would be sufficient.

Quantity of contact

Quantity of contact with the police was measured using three items related to participant's frequency of contact with the police. Adapted from [11] only the first of their two items were used, and then altered in the following two questions with slightly different wording. This was done to increase reliability and ensure consistency between responses ($\alpha=0.89$). Each of the three items asked individuals to think about how often they came into contact with the police and rate whether it was 'Not at all-Very often', 'Rarely-Frequently' and 'Never-All the time'. Higher scores were associated with more frequent contact.

Quality of contact

The quality of the contact participants believed to have held with the police was assessed with the use of five semantic differential scales. Adapted from work done by [11], subjects were asked to consider a previous situation in which they had come into a direct experience with a police officer and decide if the experience had been 'Voluntary-Involuntary' (R), 'Cooperative-Competitive', 'Pleasant-Not Pleasant', 'Friendly-Hostile' and 'Warm-Cold' (R) ($\alpha=0.59$). The final two items mentioned were added for reliability, having been used in an abundance of the intergroup contact literature [55][56]. Those pairings marked with (R) denote reverse scoring by the researcher upon tabulation of results. Higher scores on this measure are indicative of more positive experiences.

Extended contact

The idea of extended contact was based on a measure used by researchers [21] and measured using two items. The first asked participants to think about their friends/peers contact with police officers and the second asked about family members. Each item was attempting to gauge the amount of significant others participants had that previously had contact with police. Each item used a 5-point Likert scale for the sole purpose of facility as making more intervals was deemed to be redundant. Participants chose a number ranging from 1 to 5, with one indicating 'None' and five indicating 'More than ten' ($r=0.63$, $p<0.05$). Scores were tabulated and averaged.

Anxiety

The construct of anxiety was examined using four semantic differential scales based on work done by researchers [27] related to anxiety between Black and White people. Instead of posing four separate scenarios such as done in the seminal work indicated, it was decided to provide participants with an overarching scenario in which they were going to be neutrally approached by an officer of the law and questioned about a crime nearby. The same words in the Plant and Devine paper were used, having participants decide if the situation would make them feel 'Unhappy-Happy', 'Tense-Relaxed' (R), 'Discomfort-Comfort' and 'Worried-Calm' (R). The measure has been shown to be highly reliable in the previous literature ($\alpha=0.79$) and scores would be summed and averaged, with higher scores associated to less anxiety when faced with a police officer.

Outcome expectancies

Outcome expectancies of police encounters by participants were measured by adapting an 11-item measure created by [27] used for intergroup relationships between the White and Black community. The content was changed to include the police as opposed to Black people. In several cases, the use of the word '*prejudice*' was replaced with '*disrespect*', '*negative views*' and '*poor thoughts*'. This was done in order to make the adapted questions more relevant to the context being examined. Additionally, the item of '*Sometimes Black people view the normal behaviour of Whites as prejudiced*' was dropped due to difficulty in adapting a parallel version that would be context appropriate. Each item on the measure was assessed by a statement regarding participants thoughts towards a particular previously held belief and then asked to rank how they felt between '*Strongly disagree-Strongly agree*' ($\alpha=0.65$). Scores were added and averaged to produce a score, with higher scores indicating higher expectancies of a subsequent poor experience. Items were reversed scored on questions one, seven and nine.

Trust

Trust was believed to be a valuable construct to measure in the context of this research. Researchers [57] published a paper investigating the issues of trust between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. The general idea was to investigate individuals overall feelings of trust towards the police and then perform exploratory analysis of that score when related to the other variables. All items prompted the subject to either '*Strongly agree-Strongly disagree*' with the statements indicated ($\alpha=0.87$). Higher scores indicated more trust towards the police, with items being reverse scored on the odd interval.

Social inclusion

Adapting a measure on work done by researcher [58] with good reliability, items were selected to gauge participant's feelings towards the country as a whole by scoring: (1) their ability to make friends; (2) their abilities to make contacts and acquaintances; and (3) their ability to integrate into various organizations within the community. Participants were asked to respond to each prompt by indicating the level of agreement they felt, between '*Strongly disagree-Strongly agree*'. Higher scores were indicative of positive and stronger feelings of inclusion in British society ($\alpha=0.54$).

Attitudes towards the police

Derived from the research done with investigators [11], the attitudes measured in the current investigation are that of the participants and their feelings towards the police in general. Many of the same semantic differentials were retained from the original piece of work; however a few were added from other tools administered in similar research done by professionals gauging attitudes held towards the police. The belief is that an increased number of comparisons for participants to answer will increase the overall reliability of this measure, and was found to be high ($\alpha=0.85$). Participants had to decide what they felt more towards police on the following options: '*Rude-Polite*', '*Liars-Truthful*', '*Friendly-Unfriendly*' (R), '*Helpful-Useless*' (R), '*Lazy-Active*', '*Prejudiced-Impartial*', '*Lenient-Strict*' (R) and '*Concerned-Indifferent*' (R). Pairings marked with a (R) show that these items on the attitude measure were reverse scored. Higher scores by individuals were seen as demonstrating more positive overall attitudes towards the police.

Behavioural intentions towards cooperating with the police

Participants were asked to anticipate their behavioural responses in cooperating with the police by responding to eight hypothetical scenarios adapted from researchers [11] and [3]. Each scenario had individuals imagine a vivid situation involving some form of criminal offence that participants could have hypothetically witnessed. The scenarios included: 'If you were to witness someone being beaten up on the street...', 'If you heard individuals having a loud argument outside, and felt that it would escalate to the point of violence...', 'If you saw someone attempting to break into a clearly locked, closed store...', 'If you were to see someone vandalizing public property...', 'If you were to see someone pull out a knife and threaten a stranger on the bus...', 'If you were to repeatedly witness a group of Middle Eastern men meeting at late hours of the night, acting covertly and suspiciously and feared that they may be planning an act of terrorism...', 'If you were to witness an exchange taking place between two individuals in which illicit substances, such as heroin, cocaine or LSD were being sold...', and 'If you were to witness a suspicious bag being left in a heavily crowded train station by a suspicious individual and suspected a potential bomb...'. The latter four scenarios were added to make the measure more current to the socio-political climate of both urban London and recent events that have shaped the face of criminal activity since the creation of the original measures (i.e. 07/07 bombings, fears of knife crimes). Cronbach's alpha supported high reliability for the combined overall measure ($\alpha=0.81$). Each participant was then asked how likely they would be to call the police; provide a witness statement; and give evidence in court. Higher scores on each of the actions were indicative of more willingness by participants to cooperate with the police. Scores were tabulated and averaged for each of the behaviours.

Procedure

All participants were recruited at one of three central London university campuses. The researcher randomly approached individuals in the common areas, providing them with a brief synopsis of the research and asking if they were interested further. If the participant noted interest, a briefing sheet was provided outline the study in further details. As a main element of the research was for ethnic comparisons, a target of three hundred was initially aimed for to ensure that equal numbers could be recruited for the subsamples. If the participant wished to continue, they were given a consent form in accordance with the British Psychological Society's Codes of Conduct & Ethics. It also passed internal institutional university ethics procedures.

Following completion of the survey, participants were thanked for their participation following and provided with a debriefing form. Contact details were given should the participant desire further information and provide support in the event that participation led to distress.

Data was input into SPSS 21.0 for cleaning and analysis. Overall, 300 surveys were presented to interested participants. Of these, only 253 were input into SPSS as visually complete and of these 137 provided complete data sets. Upon more detailed data cleaning, parameters were placed on the data ranges to reduce the sample to equal groups of forty, providing a final sample of 120 individuals, in line with previous work in this field [59][60]. Descriptive and inferential analysis was conducted and is presented in the following section.

RESULTS

Data cleaning was performed prior to any significant statistical analysis. The sample consisted of N=120 participants evenly split between Caucasian (40), Black British (40) and Asian (40). Gender was split nearly evenly with 67 of the participant's being male (56%). The mean age for the sample was 21.3 (standard deviation 3.23). Just under 3/5 of the sample (58%) were currently enrolled as undergraduate students whilst an additional 23% were postgraduate students.

MANOVA analyses were conducted on all eleven dependent variables. For each of the dependent variables means, standard deviations, F-scores and effect sizes were tabulated and are presented below in Table 1. In order to conduct parametric tests, checks for normality, linearity, univariate and multivariate outliers, homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices and multicollinearity were all done using SPSS, yielding no violations.

Table 1. Means, standard deviations, F-scores and effect sizes for all scales

Variable	Caucasian M (SD)	Black British M (SD)	Asian British M (SD)	F-values	Effect Sizes
Quantity of contact	3.36 (1.67)	3.93 (1.70)	2.58 (2.01)	5.747*	0.089
Quality of contact	4.88 (1.19)	3.59 (0.84)	3.94 (0.85)	18.797**	0.243
Extended contact	3.18 (1.21)	3.70 (0.96)	2.55 (1.28)	9.876*	0.144
Anxiety	4.08 (1.15)	3.96 (1.20)	3.83 (1.55)	0.363	0.006
Outcome expectancies	3.36 (1.08)	4.08 (1.08)	3.87 (0.88)	5.301*	0.083
Trust	4.36 (1.10)	3.75 (0.69)	4.10 (1.18)	3.616*	0.058
Social Inclusion	5.56 (1.40)	5.97 (0.89)	5.60 (1.24)	1.435	0.024
Attitudes	4.65 (1.05)	3.67 (0.70)	4.12 (0.94)	11.718**	0.167
Call the police	4.90 (1.08)	4.70 (1.10)	4.70 (1.00)	0.452	0.008
Provide witness statement	4.21 (1.49)	3.26 (1.16)	4.10 (1.35)	5.988*	0.093
Give evidence in court	3.61 (1.50)	2.54 (1.32)	3.58 (1.65)	6.652*	0.102

NOTE: $p < 0.05 = *$; $p < 0.01 = **$

No significant differences between races were found on the measures of anxiety, social inclusion or intentions to call the police. As the primary purpose of this study is to investigate the differences between the three races on these measures, the above-mentioned three variables were not included in further data analysis. Of particular interest, the measures of attitudes [$F(2,117)=11.718$, $p < 0.01$, effect size=0.167] and quality of contact with the police [$F(2,117)=18.797$, $p < 0.01$, effect size=0.243], showed significant differences between races. Although significant differences were found within the remaining variables, further investigation would be necessary to determine the extent.

Table 2 further presents the differences between races at each dependent variable. Pairwise comparisons were made on each variable, creating three comparative dyads: Caucasian-Black British; Caucasian-Asian; and Asian-Black British. All findings presented were found to be significant.

Table 2. Pairwise comparisons of means between races on significant variables.

Dependent Variable	Comparison	Difference
Quantity of Contact	Black-Asian	1.359*
Quality of Contact	White-Asian	0.945*
Extended Contact	White-Black	1.290*
	White-Asian	0.625*
Outcome expectancies	White-Black	-0.525*
	Black-Asian	1.150**
	White-Asian	-0.513*
Trust	White-Black	-0.720*
	White-Black	0.607*
Attitudes	White-Asian	0.525*
	White-Black	0.984**
	Black-Asian	-0.458*
Provide witness statement	White-Black	0.949**
	Black-Asian	-0.835**
Give evidence in court	White-Black	1.073**

(*)=The mean difference is significant at $p < 0.05$; (**) = mean difference is significant at $p < 0.01$.

Individuals' attitudes towards the police, Caucasian participants have higher scores than both Asian and Black participants, with the latter two also demonstrating significant differences. Asian participants have more positive scores in general than Black British participants. Regarding cooperation with the police, both Caucasian and Asian participants were significantly more likely to provide a witness statement to the police in an ongoing investigation. The same trend is seen in providing evidence in a court, with both Caucasian and Asian participants being more likely to cooperate in this manner, based on the scenarios provided, than Black British participants. Considering the construct of trust, Caucasian participants were more inclined to trust the police than Black British participants, with no difference found between Caucasian and Asian or Asian and Black British participants.

Correlational analyses (table 3) were carried out to further strengthen the links between those variables under investigation to be submitted for regression analysis and whether they were indicative of behavioural cooperation and attitudes.

Table 3. Inter-correlations of all significant variables from MANOVA

	Quantity of contact	Extended contact	Outcome expectancies	Trust	Attitudes	Provide witness statement	Give evidence in court
Quality of contact	-0.030	-0.200	-0.314**	0.406**	0.488**	0.208*	0.280**
Quantity of contact		0.223*	0.146	-0.078	-0.076	-0.172	-0.168
Extended Contact			0.301**	-0.144	-0.171	-0.153	-0.128
Outcome expectancies				-0.213*	-0.328**	-0.433**	-0.473**
Trust					0.424**	0.223*	0.239**
Attitudes						0.175	0.187*

(*) $p < 0.05$; (**) $p < 0.01$

Of the three contact measures (quality, quantity and extended), only quantity and extended were correlated, $r = 0.223$, $p < 0.01$, indicating that in the least, both quantity and quality of contact with the police are independent of each other and thus both hypothetically contributing to the participants contact experience with police. Quality of contact and both trust and attitudes towards the police were significantly correlated with $r = 0.406$, $p < 0.01$ and $r = 0.208$, $p < 0.05$ respectively. This would be indicative of an association between better contact experiences with the police and a more trusting nature and attitudes towards them in general. Finally, quality of contact was significantly correlated with every other variable. This lends support to the predictive link between cooperation, anxiety, outcomes expectancies and quality of the encounter.

Considering that quality of contact, outcome expectancies, trust and attitudes were all significantly correlated with two behavioural intention measures (providing a witness statement and giving evidence in court), multiple regression analysis was ran to investigate whether the former four variables were predictors of the latter two, individually. The basic assumptions of sample size, multicollinearity and singularity, outliers, normality, linearity, homoscedasticity and the independence of the residuals was all followed and raising no issues in violation. It should also be noted that from this point, the variable of ethnicity was re-coded into a dichotomous categorical variable with the Black and Asian labels being collapsed into non-white. This was done to facilitate regression analysis. Table 4 summaries the findings and shows their predictive abilities.

Table 4. Regression analysis of remaining variables on both providing a statement and giving evidence in court.

Scenario	Predictor	Multiple Correlation Coefficient (R)	R ²	Significance	Beta	T-value
Provide witness statement	Quality of contact	0.455	0.207	0.01	0.055	0.443
	Outcome expectancies				-0.532	-4.498*
	Trust				0.181	1.417
	Attitudes				-0.050	-0.351
Give evidence in court	Quality of contact	0.506	0.256	0.01	0.181	1.328
	Outcome expectancies				-0.636	-4.940*
	Trust				0.190	1.366
	Attitudes				-0.110	-0.708

In each of the regression analyses, the model demonstrated that they accounted for a significant portion of the variance in outcome to co-operate; providing a statement scenario ($R=0.455$, $R^2=0.207$, $p<0.01$) and for the giving evidence in court scenario, ($R=0.506$, $R^2=0.256$, $p<0.01$) respectively. The models tested show that approximately 20.7 % and 25.6 % of each respective criterion variable may be predicted. Contrary to the prediction of quality of contact, trust and attitudes having largely significant effects on the criterion at this point, a more in depth view proved that each of these measures were not significant in the overall model but instead, outcome expectancies provided the strongest contribution to the model. In both scenarios, outcome expectancies significantly predicted the cooperation intention whereas quality of contact, trust and attitudes failed to do so.

Lastly, it was hypothesized that many of the above discussed variables would provide some form of mediation between race, quality of contact and behavioural intentions. Fifteen various mediation analyses were conducted examining the role of quality of contact as a mediator between race and attitudes, outcome expectancies, trust in the police and finally both providing a witness statement and giving evidence in court. Next, mediation of quality of contact by attitudes, outcome expectancies and trust were examined as to how they related to each of the behavioural cooperation criterions. In a final set of analyses, outcome expectancies were examined as to its effects as a mediator between attitudes and trust and the behavioural intentions criteria. According to the work done by [61], care was taken in the tabulation of the data to ensure that the proper assumptions and criteria were met prior to undertaking the statistical procedures. Table 5 summarises the analyses and identifies significant relationships.

Table 5. Mediation analysis and Sobel test values.

Relationship	Theoretical mediator	Sobel test value	p-value
Race→Attitude	<i>Quality of contact</i>	-3.45	0.0006
Race→Trust		-3.28	0.001
Race→Outcome expectancies		2.19	0.03
Race→Statement	<i>Quality of contact</i>	-0.955	0.34
Race→Court		-1.563	0.11
Quality→Statement	<i>Trust</i>	1.59	0.11
Quality→Court		1.49	0.49
Quality→Statement	<i>Outcome expectancies</i>	2.84	0.01
Quality→Court		2.92	0.003
Quality→Statement	<i>Attitudes</i>	0.92	0.36
Quality→Court		0.65	0.52
Attitudes→Statement	<i>Outcome expectancies</i>	2.95	0.003
Attitudes→Court		3.08	0.002
Trust→Statement		2.12	0.03
Trust→Court		2.16	0.03

Firstly, the function of quality of contact as a mediator between race and each theoretical predictor analysed in the regression analysis was considered. The mediation effects were tested by application of the Sobel test approximations for indirect paths and were done according to analyses conducted by researchers [61][62] and [63]. Attitudes ($Z=-3.45$, $p<0.01$), trust ($Z=-3.28$, $p<0.01$) and outcome expectancies ($Z=2.19$, $p<0.01$) were all significant, supporting that quality of contact significantly mediates the relationship between race and each of the three explored variables.

Quality of contact mediating the relationship between race and intentions to provide a witness statement and to give evidence in court was next tested. It was discovered that quality of contact was not a significant mediator of the relationship between providing a witness statement or giving evidence in court.

The next step of mediation analysis involved looking at each of the three predictor variables' mediating effects between quality of contact with the police and the two behavioural intention scenarios. It has already established that quality of contact mediates the effects of race on these three variables. Regression analyses demonstrated that only outcome expectancies were found to be a significant predictor of behaviour intentions (table 4). Outcome expectancies were found to work as a mediator between quality of contact and both providing a statement ($Z=2.84$, $p<0.01$) and giving evidence in court ($Z=2.92$, $p<0.01$). The variables of trust and attitudes turned up non-significant at this point of the statistical interpretation, just as they had been found to be non-significant in the regression models.

Finally, mediation analysis examining the potential of outcome expectancies as a mediator between attitudes towards the police and trust in the police was undertaken. Outcome expectancies significantly mediates the relationship between both trust and attitudes in deciding whether to provide a witness statement ($Z=2.12$, $p<0.05$ and $Z=2.95$, $p<0.01$ respectively) and giving evidence in court ($Z=2.16$, $p<0.05$ and $Z=3.08$, $p<0.01$ respectively). Therefore it may be concluded that quality of contact accounts for part of the relationship between race and held attitudes, trust and outcome expectancies and furthermore, outcome expectancies accounts for a significant part of the relationship between quality of contact, attitudes and trust in both providing a witness statement and giving evidence in court.

DISCUSSION

The results are demonstrative of the initial predictions made. Race differences were discovered in terms of cooperating with the police. Asian participants and, to an even higher extent, Black participants, seemed more aversive to engaging in behaviour that would be considered cooperative with a police investigation. The roles of quantity, quality and extended contact, outcome expectancies, anxiety, attitudes, trust and social inclusion were all evaluated for relations to behavioural intentions to cooperate with an ongoing police investigation. It was proposed that quality of contact would aid in mediating the relationship between race and attitudes, trust, anxiety and outcome expectancies. Following that, it was also believed that the four previously mentioned variables would mediate the relationship between quality of contact with the police and ones behavioural intentions to cooperate in a police investigation.

The investigation did yield differences between races. Quality of contact with the police shared similar results with previous research in that Caucasians reported significantly more positive experiences with the police than either Black or Asian participants [2][11]. Black participants on quality as well as other measures produced significantly more negative scores than Asians, supporting the work done in the previous research. Further research should compare the existing differences between the two ethnic minority groups, including comparisons in urban and rural areas. It should also be noted that although many differences did exist, those that did not still showed unequal means in responses to measures, suggesting that increasing sample size and potentially using materials geared directly for experiences with the police could yield significant results.

No racial differences were found in participants' willingness to call the police to report a suspected crime. It is believed that due to the removal of direct interaction with the police forces in this condition explains the similarity between the races [3]. Calling the police to report a crime is markedly different than either providing a witness statement or giving evidence in court in that, it retains a certain level of anonymity of the participant and does not suggest further direct, prolonged contact with the police. The decreased levels of involvement associated with calling the police may make various ethnicities willingness converges. The alternative two behavioural intention conditions involved both increased contact and participation with the police, and the minorities discussed in the may be more reluctant to engage. Further research is needed.

There does seem to be a clear association between previous quality of contact, trust, attitudes towards the police and subsequent intentions to cooperate in a police investigation. Although the data shows that Caucasian participants are more likely to aid in an ongoing investigation their ethnic minority peers, it is also evident that all participants, regardless of ethnicity, are less likely to cooperate should the previous experiences with the police be negative. If an individual has a low quality of contact with police forces, they also seem to inherently trust the police less, hold more negative attitudes towards police in general and finally, be less likely to cooperate at any level in an investigation.

Prior to the collection of data and statistical analysis, outcome expectancies were included to consider its relation to behavioural intentions when linked with anxiety. As anxiety demonstrated non-significant racial differences, it was dropped from the regression and mediation analysis. However, during the investigation of the variables demonstrating racial differences, outcome expectancies was found to be both the most significant predictor of behavioural intentions dependent upon quality of contact and also found to mediate the relationship between quality of contact, trust, attitudes and the behavioural intentions of providing a witness statement and giving evidence in court. Higher scores indicated stronger beliefs that the experience would be negative. Therefore it would seem that the better the quality of contact, the less negative outcome expectancies individuals will have and the more likely they will be to cooperate in a police investigation. Secondly, the higher the trust and the better the attitudes towards the police, the less negative outcome expectancies will be and the more likely they will assist in a police investigation. Further research needs to be conducted on the role of outcome expectancies in peoples contact with the police and how they are established, cognitively structured and their behavioural output manifests, alluding how they may contribute to functioning in individuals contact experiences.

Although all participants were categorized as Black, Caucasian or Asian, no control was placed on whether they were British citizens. Judging the scores provided on the social inclusion measure, it is believed that a vast majority of the participants feel generally at home in England. This does not however discriminate between individuals feelings towards the police both here and, if applicable, in their home country. Associated to this problem is the lack of control over whether participants were gauging their responses based on experience with the police here in the United Kingdom, abroad or a hybrid model in which they pooled all experiences across international boundaries in providing their responses.

Additionally, ongoing socio-political movements and governmental legislation needs to be addressed in its relation to the nature of this study. For example, the recent increase in knife crimes amongst London youths and the associated resurgence of 'stop and search' practices within urban areas has led to a certain level of dissatisfaction among many ethnic minorities, regardless of age (Johnston, 2006). Considering the police are the individuals carrying out such procedural matters, they bear the brunt and the consequences of the actions. Due to current events, responses may be partial and biased. It is believed that in the future, performing experimental and longitudinal designs may provide social policy and governmental figures with a more accurate picture of how to optimize police/public relations in the long run.

The current research does offer a glimpse into the applicability of the contact hypothesis and its associated theories developed over the years with issues surrounding race differences and relationships with the police force (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). One of the proximal goals that this and similar research have shown and should continue to support is the utmost importance of improving the quality of contact experiences between all groups and the police. Attempts at inoculating the public in towards positive relationships with the police should be carried out via open, public events as well as information and community sessions where citizens and police may interact neutrally regarding events and scenarios important to all parties involved [18]. In a cultural mosaic such as London, introducing cultural training programmes may benefit the police side of issues by creating a particular level of understanding and empathy for that which is different. This may help to create a buffer interaction, in which both the police and the Asian and Black communities may interact without predisposing hostilities creating an already anxious situation aggravatingly more negative. Additionally, by proving understanding and approaching criminal investigations or police-related transactions with a more neutral, 'ethnically' friendly manner may provide a well-deserved chance for the contact and experiences of all parties involved to ameliorate for the better.

In the future, research evaluating the benefits of an ethnically diverse police force may benefit procedural legitimacy. The ethnicity of police officers may indeed prove to be influential in participant's responses for future research. Considering the basics of the contact hypothesis and in-group membership, and disregarding momentarily the power differential between the parties involved, the mere fact that both sides of the interaction share an ethnic and potentially cultural background may indeed facilitate more positive experiences or in the very least, neutralize any predispositions that citizens may already hold towards the police. This line of research would additionally be of interest in exploring if various societal groups perceive the police, regardless of race, as an out-group as a whole. Perhaps the future of contact research will be to delve into hierarchical levels of contact based upon a plethora of environmental factors. Irrespective of the above, the current exploratory study permits future academics to consider multiple avenues of contact and subsequent varying types of behaviour.

It seems of the utmost important to facilitate public-police relations in order to increase future cooperative behaviour. As mentioned, several variables seem to be involved with this entire process, and it is certain that future exploratory studies would likely establish further ones. What is certain is that by increasing the quality of the above relationship in turn will increase the valance of the other variables discussed in a positive direction, thus increasing intentions to behave in a cooperative manner with the police. From a social policy standpoint, this would be beneficial to community safety, crime prevention and intervention as well as increasing citizens' levels of comfort and perceived safety.

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