Keep your friends close and your enemies closer: A mixed methods study on adolescent-police interactions and trust in London

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

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Declaration

Declaration of Authorship

I, *Jeffrey Nicholas DeMarco*, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it, is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is clearly stated.

Signed:

Date: *Thursday, July 30th, 2015 in London, UK*

Acknowledgements and dedications

Undertaking a philosophical doctorate is no easy task. The months and years of solitude and anxious ruminations are often enough to make even the most strong-willed and minded question their life trajectory. It is thus imperative that any doctoral candidate be supported by those around them; socially, emotionally and mentally. My experience was certainly no different, and a plethora of thanks are in order.

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Abstract

Keep your friends close and your enemies closer: A mixed methods study on adolescent-authority-police interactions and trust in London.

Adolescents are over-represented in the Criminal Justice System (CJS) as both the perpetrators and victims of crime. The literature suggests that many adolescents are mistrustful and uninterested in dealings with the CJS, in particular the police. Two themes were explored in the literature: the Contact Hypothesis as a means of generating positive police attitudes and the issues of trust across different relationships including authority and the police. The study presented explored the experience of trust in youth-authority relationships in a cross-section of young people (aged 13-18) living in London and involved in different youth group activities. The research adopted a mixed-methods approach comprising two qualitative studies (involving ethnographic observations and focus groups) and a quantitative study involving questionnaire design, testing and analysis. All three studies developed themes on both trust in general, and attitudes of trust to authority figures and the police in particular. Reflective accounts and thematic analysis showed that whilst most participants described respectful relationships with the authority figures they dealt with, for example in their youth groups; their views of the police were more negative. Expected differences in responses were found between the teenagers working directly with the police as cadets and those in more general youth work activities. The qualitative findings were used to inform the development of a new Trust in Authority Questionnaire (TAQ) for the third study, this was then tested in a group of vulnerable community youth attending one of the youth groups.

Statistical analysis on the quantitative data found good reliability of the TAQ and significant association with a range of psychosocial risk factors including social deprivation, behavioural disorder and differential contact with the police. A final statistical model showed that lack of TAQ trust in the police was predicted by the negative quality of previous police contact, behavioural disorder and negative intentions to engage with the police. The research findings showed support for the Contact Hypothesis with positive experience improving attitudes towards the police. However there was limited transferability of trust from youth workers to police. Various forms of power also emerged across the three studies, with interaction of power and trust discussed. Implications for future community initiatives and youth training, and utility of the TAQ as an outcome measure are discussed in terms of the reduction of youth antisocial behavior and improved relations with the police.

Key words: adolescence, antisocial behavior, youth work, partnership, police, police-youth interactions, trust, youth work.

List of abbreviations

AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
ASPD	Antisocial Personality Disorder
BCS	British Crime Survey
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CD	Conduct Disorder
CH	Contact Hypothesis
CJS	Criminal Justice System
DSM	Diagnostic Statistical Manual
ED	Emergency Department
M	Mean
PC	Police Constable
PCSO	Police Community Support Officer
P/PV	Public/Private Ventures
QCS	Quality of Contact Scale
SD	Standard Deviation
SDI	Social Deprivation Index
SDQ	Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire
SPAS	Semantic Police Attitude Scale
TA	Therapeutic Alliance
TAQ	Trust in Authority Questionnaire
TPB	Theory of Planned Behaviour
TSBC	The Small Business Consultancy
VPC	Volunteer Police Cadets
WYEC	Wandsworth Youth Enterprise Centre
χ^2	Chi-square
YOT	Youth Offending Team
YW	Youth Worker

Contents

Introduction

During the summer of 2011, mass outbreaks of violence and disorder occurred across London, taking mere days to reach several other areas of the United Kingdom. Assaults, looting, arson and murder were among the criminal offences perpetrated over the four days of disorder. The public, politicians and media alike loudly voiced their opinions regarding the 'degeneracy' and 'innate criminality' that citizens of the United Kingdom were seeing in their neighbourhoods (Morrell, Scott, McNeish and Webster, 2011). During a time of austerity measures within UK police forces and re-organisation of policing, an unprecedented 'zero-tolerance' stance was taken in sanctioning and punishing these rioters. It became clear through the media coverage following the apprehension and convictions of many of the rioters that they were ethnically diverse; from economically deprived backgrounds and they were young, mostly adolescents (Ministry of Justice, 2011). This thesis will focus on a similar group of youth and their experience with authority figures.

Across British society, the relationship between adolescents and the Criminal Justice System (CJS) has often been characterised by difficulties and conflicts (Sampson, Morenoff and Raudenbush, 2005; Smith, 1994; Smith, 1997). Adolescence is a lifestage with heightened risk of both engaging in a criminal act as well as becoming the victim of a crime, particularly for males (Jennings et al., 2010; Matjasko et al., 2010; Moffit, 2003). Various characteristics of adolescence are implicated, with pubertal development, cultural norms, peer pressures, life stage and dependence on the family all highlighted in contributing to risk for serious and violent offences (Agnew, 2003).

Improving the quality of adolescents' direct experience of the police (Bellair and McNulty, 2005), could improve their level of trust with the police. The Contact Hypothesis is a key theme throughout the study. This states that under the right conditions, repeated positive interactions lead to improved relations and a generalised level of trust. In order to improve the relationship between police and adolescents, each needs to be able to understand and respect the importance of each other's role in society (Clarke, 1983) in developing mutual trust. Building a trusting relationship of youth with the police is not an easy task. Using civilian authority or non-police authority figures (for example youth workers) to structure trusting relationships with adolescents

as a mechanism for increasing trust in the police is a second key theme of the thesis. Thus transferability of Trust (the association between trust in authority from one type of authority figure to another, such as the police), is a second key theme investigated.

Previous criminological research has examined different encounters between the public and police on a range of factors, including whether the individual feels fairly treated, and the nature of the police encounter (Skogan, 2005; Skogan, 2006; Weitzer, Tuck and Skogan, 2008). This large body of work is of direct relevance for the themes of the current thesis. It will be argued that the Contact Hypothesis (informed by research examining quality and type of police contact) will provide an original focus for examining adolescent trust in the police. Furthermore, social and psychological risks will be examined in predicting both quality of interactions with the police and trust in the police. Also, the development of positive relations with civilian authority figures (such as youth workers) will be explored as factors associated with improving trust with the police. This association could facilitate future improved relationships between adolescents and police without involving the police directly. It is argued that improved trust in other types of authority may be associated with youth accepting police actions as more normative, fairer and more positive and therefore report intentions to engage with the police positively in relation to crime. Having positive views of those in authority, including police, may then promote resilience to offending and mitigate against antisocial behaviour. This may in the longer term lead to desistence and deterrence from offending behaviour, and reduce the over-representation of youth in the CJS.

This thesis thus examines the link between adolescents and authority figures and the associated psychological and social factors. Broadly, the thesis has three primary aims and three more specific objectives of investigation.

General Aims:

1. To explore the relationship between adolescents and adults who exert authority over them in the development of trust in these relationships.

2. To develop a new self-report measure for gauging trust in authority in general and the police in particular.

3. To investigate various psycho-social influences on modelling trust overall and specifically, trust in the police.

Objectives:

1. Use qualitative exploratory approaches with a focus on trust to understand different types of trusting relationships and how trust comes to be realised within adolescents.

2. To collect and analyse data to investigate the associations between types of contact experiences with the police and social psychological variables linked to difficulties in police relationships, including psychopathology.

3. To construct, analyse and test a 'best fit' model of trust between adolescence and the police.

Based on this investigation into diverse adolescents' experiences with the police and authority, the research will demonstrate that trust is an important element in positive exchanges with the police.

Methodological approach

The thesis combines qualitative and quantitative methods to both explore and test the aims and objectives. A combination of observations, focus groups and survey investigation was used to explore the quality of experiences reported by the youth in their view of the police and their self-reported levels of trust in family and friends, community youth work facilitators and the police. Qualitatively, field observations and focus groups were used to investigate the relationships between the youth and the authoritative figures in a range of youth organisations and activities, including the police cadets. This allowed for the development and deeper understanding of emergent themes which are critical in understanding the trust construct in relationships between adolescents and the police. The focus group themes were structured around the concepts of trust; trust in close and significant others; trust in youth workers and trust in the police and experience with the police. Thematic analysis applied to the transcripts of the focus groups allowed for analysis of re-occurring themes surrounding trust. These themes and their constituent parts were analysed for interpretation and support of the overall aims and objectives of the thesis. Themes and quotes arising from the focus groups were used to construct items for the Trust in Authority Questionnaire (TAQ) tested and used for the investigation of psychosocial factors associated with trust.

The research has the potential for application in youth offending intervention and prevention, for example the implementation of training to civilian and non-civilian practitioners working with young people, such as Youth Workers (YW) or the police. Here it has the potential to foster a deeper understanding of teenage needs and behaviour. In dealing with crime rates and positive policing, trust 'inoculation', or 'transfer' may assist local authorities, politicians and community leaders in solving the issues of youth overrepresentation in crime. For youth involved in their communities and developing reciprocal relationships with authority figures, an association to other individuals may provide a mechanism for the police to benefit from a better working partnership with such groups.

Thesis organisation

The thesis explored in depth two main bodies of literature. The first chapter describes the link between adolescence and crime within both a framework of youth justice policy and interactions with the Criminal Justice System. Through an exploration of the work undertaken by Wesley Skogan scrutinising public-police relationships, youth-police interactions will be contextualised within social and criminal justice policy associated with young people and youth anti-social behaviour. In turn, a critical consideration of the social psychological theory of intergroup contact and the Contact Hypothesis will be presented and critiqued, evaluating public-police encounters. Beginning with a brief examination of the research conducted over the last sixty years regarding intergroup contact, the chapter outlines the literature surrounding experience and contact with the CJS with an in-depth analysis of youth-police contact experience.

Chapter two provides a critical evaluation of the literature on trust. This will focus on the research and literature developed by Tyler (2001; 2003; 2004) on institution and motive-based trust of the police, including an in-depth analysis of the procedural justice model of police legitimacy, where trust plays a central part. In addition the work by Hough and Sato (2001) on the Eurojustis project examining a range of perspectives on trust will be discussed and various pieces by research within the CJS and policing services will also be presented. This section will provide an understanding of the importance of fostering trust both directly and through other authority figures. Contemporary policy links related to trust in the CJS and authority figures will be presented, and a critique of methodologies used in measuring trust addressed.

Chapter three describes the methods used in the study and planned data analysis. This includes observations, focus groups and survey data, as well as measure development.

Chapter four and five describe the findings of the two qualitative studies. The first study used an ethno-methodological framework to illustrate the composition and function of three of the participatory organisations in the research. Characteristics of different relationships within these groups are discussed. The latter provided a thorough analysis of the focus groups conducted in a number of the youth groups. Comparisons are made between youth working with the police versus those that work with non-police authority figures.

Chapter six describes the development of the new TAQ trust questionnaire and its validation, and the quantitative analysis of the questionnaire investigating the improvement of youth-police relationships. The range of statistical analyses conducted is described and associations between demographics, trust, attitudes, and police contact quality and psychopathologies are identified and an overall model predicting trust developed.

Chapter seven provides the discussion of the findings. Interpretations of the results are made through links to theory, the research literature and in relation to social policy. The overarching theme of power and its importance both independently but also as a primary interacting variable with trust is presented. The conclusion offers a potential direction for the future development of an improved relationship between teenagers, the police and authority. In addition recommendations linked to policy involving adolescents in the community and police accountability in teenage interactions are made.

Chapter 1: Adolescence, crime and police experience

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the link between adolescence and crime in British society, specifically in relation to experience with the police, and in the context of policy involving juvenile justice. The chapter will first outline research to show that crime is indeed at a peak in adolescence and how this relates to social and psychological factors. Next, the historical and current juvenile justice policy relevant to youth-authority relationships with the state is discussed including that with criminal justice professionals. Political economies governing youth punishment and rehabilitation are also outlined. This is followed by an outline of key findings from studies of the 2011 summer riots indicating the causes, motivations and consequences of riot involvement and anti-social behaviour relevant to recent events.

Research into public-police interaction will then be presented and discussed. This includes understanding various types of police encounters and experiences. Finally the influence of more positive attitudes and interactions towards the police is described through investigations of intergroup contact and the Contact Hypothesis will be addressed with reference to youth and police interactions.

1.2 Youth, moral panics and general preconceptions

Negative public sentiment and attitudes towards youth have contributed to society's frequent treatment of them as a threat, and this is then related to adolescents own hesitation and mistrust in figures of authority (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 2010). The manner in which institutions (such as criminal justice and education) interact with youth and youth culture, and how adolescents are depicted through the media, is highly influential in the propagation and evolution of 'respectable fears' and 'moral panics' (Cohen, 1972). Where society labels young people as bad; this can lead to their misrepresentation across the community in a shared value system (Bernburg, Krohn and Rivera, 2006). These ideas are reinforced through highlighting cases of youth as being anti-social and deviant, leading to the erosion of community engagement. As a consequence, the mutual development of trust is difficult.

The prosocial behaviour of youth is thus often seen as the exception, rather than the rule, and as the evolution and development of child and adolescent policy demonstrates a vicious circle may ensue which catalyses further negative adult views of contemporary youth (Bernard, 1992).

Drift theory takes elements of the panics and labels alluded to above, to explain motivation and behaviour. Sykes and Matza (1957) argue that bad behaviour can be explained by the reinforcement of negative expectations. The difficult relationships that youth have with police officers and the criminal justice system can be in part explained with these 'labels' and 'drift' elements. In a sense, the labelling by the media of problem youth culture in part influences youth in further distancing themselves from mainstream institutional figures and increasing mistrust of the police and other authority figures. By being confrontational, mistrustful and negative in interactions, the youth inadvertently conform to the expectations of many of the adults in their lives. Their behaviour becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

A last point relates to the fortification of antisocial values. Subcultural theories of youth deviance describes how the perceived strain leads to the adoption of new shared cultural norms and values by those youth who have difficult relationships with the police or authority in general (Agnew, 2003). If these new values become the group norm, engagement and cooperation between law enforcement and youth culture will be increasingly difficult to actualise.

These criminological approaches are important in developing the themes of this thesis. These theories assist with contextualising the rational for investigating the relationships between adolescents and authority, including the police. It provides some background to the difficulty in police and teenagers 'getting along'. The next section will present research linking the adolescent developmental phase with increased criminal and antisocial behaviour.

1.3 Adolescence and crime

It is clear that both the prevalence and incidence of offending and criminal behaviour are highest during the teenage years (Scott and Steinberg, 2008). Newburn (2007) argues that the age-crime curve is one of the facts of criminal research, with all types of

crime peaking in the teenage years and dropping dramatically in early adulthood. Using both police records and surveys, Newburn concluded that as many as a fifth of those cautioned or convicted in any given year were between the ages of ten and seventeen, with over a third being under the age of twenty-one. This is corroborated by the extensive work of Farrington (1986; 1992; 2005)

Criminal behaviour in teenage years has been linked to development and psychopathology. Terri Moffitt's (1991; 1993) seminal papers on the taxonomy of offenders in western cultures has investigated clinical diagnoses of Conduct Disorder (CD) in relation to delinquency, and leading to Antisocial Personality Disorder (ASPD) over the age of 18. Conduct Disorder is highly prevalent in young offending populations. Moffitt's main conclusions showed two forms of delinquent and antisocial behaviour: one life-course persistent (where individuals engaged in antisocial and delinquent acts at a fairly regular frequency over the course of their development, emerging in late childhood/early adolescents and continuing into adulthood) and the other adolescent-limited where a heightened frequency of offending in the teenage years is observed which desists in the mid-twenties. As a consequence, when teenage youth offend, most are likely to be in the adolescent-limited group and more likely to change their behaviour in a positive direction with age. However, a significant minority will be resistant to such change.

Agnew (2003) interprets offending and conduct problems in terms of the characteristic behaviours expected from teenagers in an advanced Western, industrialised society. A reduction of authoritative supervision (by parents or caregivers); integration in an increasingly peer-dominated social reality; an urge for adult rights and privileges, as well as an increased expectation for social/academic merit are all argued to be associated with increased offending amongst this age group. Other recent studies have supported these findings (Chen, 2010; Powell, Perreira and Harris, 2010; Sentse, Dijkstra, Lindenberg, Ormel and Vennstra, 2010).

However, several cross-sectional and longitudinal research studies have demonstrated that only a small fraction of youth commit the majority of offences/crimes, suggesting chronic and frequent offending among a relatively small group, potentially those lifetime persistent (West and Farrington, 1977; East and Campbell, 1999). An early study by Wolfgang, Figlio and Thorsten (1972), using a birth cohort in 1945 followed

up 10,000 boys born in the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States. When the boys reached adulthood (i.e. eighteen years of age, therefore in the year 1963), the researchers consulted multiple sources in order to gauge experience of delinquency with a label of 'chronic offenders' applied for those having had five or more previous arrests. From this sample, they found that only 6.3% of the participants were chronic offenders yet these boys were responsible for over half of the total number of arrests for the entire group. Thus much of what is considered serious offending, attributed to adolescents in general, is actually committed by a small proportion of youth. More recently, Fergusson and Horwood (2002) carried out a follow-up on a longitudinal study tracking 896 boys and girls in Christchurch, New Zealand, from birth to the age of twenty-one, to investigate the common theoretical models that could explain delinquency. They assessed offending behaviour over the last calendar year before study from the age of 12. Participants were classified at 18 and 21 as having offended in the last year if (by own or parent report) they had engaged in either a property offence (breaking and entering, shoplifting, vehicular theft, other theft) or a violent offence (assault, fighting, using a weapon, cruelty to animals). Of the sample, 9.4% of the males were considered to be chronic offenders engaging in a significantly higher amount of crime. Specifically, between fourteen to twenty years of age, and labelled 'chronic offenders' engaged in a significantly higher number of offences (141.1) than any of the other labelled groups. This confirms the association between adolescence and higher rates of offending, delinquency and chronic offending.

Having shown evidence for adolescence being a peak time for offending and delinquency, with much of the crime committed by a small percentage, but with potential for positive change, the next section will look at policy in relation to youth offending.

1.4 Policy development and youth in England and Wales

This section will provide a brief history of youth justice legislation, leading up to the present day and introduce the concepts of neo-liberalism and social-democracy within the context of the Criminal Justice System. Finally, a discussion of relevant current political provisions and acts will be presented to provide further support for the

importance of developing positive contact and trust between adolescents and the CJS, in particular the police.

1.4.1 Definitions and context

Over 20 years ago, Bernard (1992) described youth justice policy as part of a vicious cycle where the mistakes of one government lead to the mistakes of their successors through reactionary changes to criminal justice legislation, in particular when related to young people and crime. This he describes as detrimental to any intervention and preventative measures utilised. Neo-liberal and social democratic policies surrounding youth justice have been at the forefront of debate in establishing optimal and effective measures of both punishment and prevention. Neo-liberalism is the term used to describe the political practice of free movement of labour and market competition (Pratt, 2006). With reference to criminal justice, it involves laws and measures that would seek the reduction of state involvement in the management and rehabilitation of offenders, with a focus on an individualistic approach to the offender's involvement in crime. This would mean that the individual, rather than their social circumstances, is responsible for the perpetration of the crime. The opposing view-social democracy, or penal welfarism—postulates that crime is a consequence of deeply entrenched issues within the structure of society (Cavadino and Dignan, 2006). As a result, punishment in its operative sense is replaced with initiatives focusing on rehabilitating the individual and preventing marginalisation and exclusion through state funded provision of basic social needs and treatment programmes (Bernard, 1999). This includes intervention on all levels of the criminal justice system (i.e. courts, prisons, policing).

These two political-economic theories are critical in understanding the importance of how adolescent contact with authority figures, including the police, is influenced by the political climate. Both can be argued to appear in some form in current UK policy around youth behaviour. If a more welfarist approach is being taken, the expected criminal justice response would be one of inclusion and engagement with offenders at all levels of the criminal justice process. In our current climate this includes the Safer School Partnerships (SSPs) requiring the presence of Police Community Support Officer's (PCSOs) and Police Constables' (PCs) at community schools. A neo-liberal approach advocates 'zero-tolerance' policing and crime control methods of criminal justice. A contemporary example is the policies adopted following the 2011 riots,

whereby reformation via punishment was essentially advocated. The divergent criminal justice practices under the lens of conflicting political approaches can have serious consequences on the creation of legislation and policy. Specifically, inconsistency in the enduring implementation of these policies may lead to uncertainty and mistrust by the public of the intentions of the police and CJS.

Bernard (1992) argued that when a society hosts a punitive neo-liberal approach to youth justice policies, these are intrinsically linked to society's moral panics involving problems with youth anti-social behaviour and deviance. Policy makers within the legal and political spheres in this mode, thus adopt strict punishments for young people involved in, or associated with criminal activity. As this punitive stance develops future governments when in power address and counterbalance these by attempts to input more lenient and rehabilitative-focused provisions (the social democratic direction). Over time the punitive approach can again find renewed support, when any continued youth problem is blamed on the softening of sanctions imposed. There is the danger then of reverting to the original position and re-introducing harsher measures of crime control (Jenson and Howard, 1998).

The social democratic approach is seen as being tolerant of youth deviance, and focused on the inclusion of youth within society. Arguably, this advocates a restorative approach, placing an emphasis on causes of behaviour within particular social conditions such as neighbourhood deprivation, with expectations of rehabilitation through the establishment of strong links to the community, potentially through positive authoritative figures (Shearing, 2001). This approach requires the development of trust between youth and the police, if the rehabilitative interventions are to be effective.

A thorough understanding and contextualisation of both the social democratic and neo-liberal views are paramount to the arguments presented in the thesis, and it is important to acknowledge alternative perspectives. For example, Althusser (2006) discussed both the function and composition of the government, or the 'State Apparatus (SA)', which serves to perform and protect the rights and freedoms the upper classes whilst repressing the freedoms of the lower classes. In this the police are considered to serve as agents of the SA in repressing these rights. Although this is of importance to the overall discourse of policing young people, for the purpose of the current thesis the focus will remain on social democratic and neo-liberal perspectives.

The current study, takes this latter approach with an emphasis on trust, and extends it by investigating the importance of community run organisations in dealing with young people at risk of exclusion and marginalisation to build trust in authority in the expectation that this then transfers to the police and to more prosocial behaviour. The importance of involvement on all levels of community life, including engagement with teachers and community leaders as well as police officers can be seen to be important within this approach (Knepper, 2012).

Some context to youth policy is now provided. This involves considering some of the key developments in legislation over the last century, within the scope of both neo-liberal (punitive) and social democratic (welfarist) approaches. A brief account of youth justice policy and its influences on the current relationship status of young people and authority figures within the CJS is outlined below. A particular focus is on the changes between inclusive and excluding youth criminal justice policies, and whether these successive changes have a destabilising effect on the public view of adolescents and in turn adolescent trust in authority.

1.4.2 A brief history of youth justice legislation

The 'youth problem' has always been a perceived risk to society's structure, functionality and safety (Cohen, 1972), where contact with adult authority figures can have both positive influences on formative development, but also long lasting consequences relating to trust and cooperation. Over the last one hundred and fifty years, media reports of uncontrollable youth roaming the streets of and terrorising citizens has been a common element of adolescent-focused criminal justice rhetoric (Muncie, 2005). The legislation and policy outlined below shows some duality of neo-liberal and social democratic principles, often combined but with different emphases.

The Juvenile Offenders Act 1847 provided authorities with an expedited process in removing 'problematic' young people from the community, and placing them in secure institutions. Whilst this had some welfarist elements (including the abolishment of hard labour) it still provided a large degree of power to the authorities over youth viewed as being beyond repair and responsible for many of the social ills faced by the community (Muncie, 2009). In the following century over eight decades later, the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 implemented a more welfare-driven approach.

The Act focused on the link between antisocial youth behaviour and poor parental or caregiver treatment. Although not explicitly framed in terms of trust in authority, the welfarist ideology embedded within the Act stipulated the importance of protecting young people from maltreating adults who are also authority figures. The Act directly supported establishing formal, inclusive and trusting links with figures in mainstream society, whilst not punishing the youth given their problem backgrounds. Instead of isolating the young people and physically removing them from their communities, the identification of neglect, poverty and deprivation was acknowledged to influence behaviour, permitting authorities to provide support in a rehabilitative context. Although a softer approach is argued, it should be noted that often, sections of the Children and Young Persons Act were still considered punitive. This included the placing of blame on those adults responsible for them; but it also maintained the age of criminal responsibility below the age of ten, and retained the use of corporal punishment in disciplining young people. These elements highlight the duality within the act.

The Criminal Justice Act 1948 re-introduced some neo-liberal punitive practices where social control over anti-social young people was seen as a priority. This was at odds with the policy development at the time, as through the recommendations of the Beveridge Report and the societal wide targeting of the 'Five Great Evils', the welfare state post-World War Two was in its infancy and widely considered the way forward. Instead, the Criminal Justice Act took a markedly different tone, perhaps indicative of society's different views of youth crime. This allowed for the removal of antisocial youth from mainstream society, but without associated rehabilitative measures. The creation of detention centres and the increase of powers by the courts and other law enforcement agencies saw more harsh punishments dealt with swiftly in cases of youth deviance and criminality. The focus thus returned to the 'problematic individual', and an isolationist or exclusionary model of dealing with youth deviance. Interestingly, the Children's Act of 1948 countered elements of the above, where a more welfarist nationwide drive was placed on dealing with deprived children; thus taking charge in assisting with their deprivation and troubled family life. These two acts provide elements of contrasting intentions, again showing a difficult and odd co-existence of neo-liberal and welfare qualities.

Labour introduced the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act and saw the re-introduction of social democratic approaches, whilst maintaining some elements of the preceding punitive nature for the more serious crimes (Davies, 1986). This included reform to the juvenile court system with a greater focus on community provision to youth in trouble with the police. The policy was to deal first with the social factors impacting on the individual, but for more extreme cases the young person was removed from mainstream society. The emergence of bifurcation, a parallel trajectory of sentencing and punishment with differential outcomes where those youth deemed the most dangerous and highest risk are treated more severely, became a reality (Bottoms, 1977). For example, a young person could be dealt with in magistrate's court, but if they were deemed more difficult and posing a greater threat, they could be sent to crown court and have their crimes scrutinised under judge and jury. The Criminal Justice Act 1982 emerged nearly two years after Margaret Thatcher achieved office on a radical neo-liberal political platform. The Conservative Manifesto of 1979 (leading to their election into power) argued for personal responsibility in offending and rejected the links between criminality and social and familial conditions. The 'short, sharp, shock' treatment of these youth was advocated, dealing harsh punishments for criminal behaviour, but not lengthy or enduring punishments. The ethos was one of individual responsibility, hence blame and punishment. It is of note that youth imprisonment declined dramatically in the following years (Newburn, 1996) and although this may be seen as a successful outcome to provisions within the Manifesto, it was inconsistent with the generally punitive stance of the Conservative Party and its 'short, sharp, shock' treatment.

The Criminal Justice Act 1982 and subsequent Criminal Justice Act 1991 again demonstrated the dualistic nature of youth justice. The former CJA 1982 initially adopted strict administration of the law to adolescents but then led to a rehabilitative focus within the CJA 1991, in which attempts were made to introduce equality and fairness into the youth justice system. Reparation, retribution and reform within the community were all advocated.

The New Labour government elected in the late 1990's were responsible for the creation of The Crime and Disorder Reduction Act of 1998 which has had significant influence on contemporary youth justice practices, being largely social democratic with

an undertone of neo-liberalism. It also reorganised youth justice. The establishment of the Youth Justice Board and the managing of Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) saw the introduction of a new, executive non-departmental public body. Its primary provisions were to oversee the youth justice system in England and Wales whilst working at preventing offending and recidivism of individuals under the age of eighteen (Home Office, 1997). The YJB also manage and operate the Youth Offending Teams, multi-disciplinary teams of professionals run by local authorities in managing the rehabilitation and prevention of societal exclusion of youth offenders. Essentially, the use of YOTs underlined the importance of dealing with young people within a justice-oriented context. This sought to develop positive relationships of youth with adults in authority for the empowerment and best interest of the adolescent in fostering social inclusion and preventing crime (Gray, 2005). This was extended with the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999 where referral and reparation within the community were deemed more appropriate as sanctions in preventing youth exclusion. However, the policy and legislation of the time also had a punitive element. For example, the creation of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) meant that civil infractions by youth could be treated as criminal offences for the first time.

It is important to note the historical shifts in practice within youth justice. Each presupposes some different underlying assumptions about young people and their engagement in crime. The manner in which youth are viewed by the CJS may in turn be critical in determining how youth engage with the police and criminal justice services more generally. If criminal justice policy is portrayed as both punitive and rehabilitative, there will be difficulty reconciling this view both with the public and with young people themselves. The dual approach to treatment of young offenders can also mitigate against stability, consistency and certainty of professionals within the CJS and the young people they are aiming to help. It could be argued that in democratic societies, there is inevitability of dual-purpose punishment; often with the criminal justice institution needing to appease the needs of the public through punishment whilst meeting the criminal and criminogenic needs of the offender through rehabilitation.

1.4.3 Current policy context

Contemporary policy prioritises more inclusionary practices, giving importance to ensuring strong ties between young people and authority figures, including the police, to prevent youth anti-social behaviour. It thus supports a social democratic approach to social engagement and crime prevention as a lifespan goal. However some of the financial aspects initiated (e.g. payment by results) has the potential for more punitive undertones and consequences of the policy.

The 'Breaking the Cycle' Green paper (2010) was presented as part of the Coalition government's manifesto in tackling crime and punishment, recidivism, youth offending and public safety. A central theme running through current policy is the facilitation of appropriate rehabilitative practices in the criminal justice system, with an increasing involvement of the private sector with financial incentives contingent upon outcomes. Less obvious is the government's parallel intention to continue neo-liberal practices through sentencing reforms and 'Payment by Results', a return to 'Thatcherism' and aspects of the Criminal Justice Act 1982. Whilst this could be social democratic in a mature society it has not been generally categorised as such in this context. This is where individual responsibility (including that of the family) is seen as a priority in dealing with criminals. *Breaking the Cycle* set out specific conditions and strategies aimed at tackling recidivism through improvements to the resettlement process. There are specific provisions linked to the management of juvenile offenders. Recommendations for more structured support dealing with mental health issues as well as skills training and education for future employment are prioritised. This intends to respond to the needs of these young people, assisting with reintegration and inclusion into the community upon release from prison by providing essential social and cognitive skills to participate (Wilson, Gallagher and MacKenzie, 2000). This in turn can potentially lead to a more positive view of CJS professionals by young people. The government aims to reduce the yearly 75% recidivism by providing appropriate services and interventions. It is possible that this more need-specific provision will improve not only outcomes but also the public perception of the CJS. This renewed engagement with young offenders could assist adolescents in developing more positive attitudes towards the criminal justice system. This has direct links to Skogan's view (2005; 2006)

relating to police-initiated encounters and fair treatment, discussed at length later in the chapter.

Professional support for young offenders is also outlined in the green paper in relation to reducing recidivism. A stable and professional multiagency support network is now required in the form of Social Workers, Alcohol and Substance Support Officers and Youth Offending Team Officers to assist the young person with the transition back into community, or within the boundaries of their restrictions. Firstly there is an issue with youth perceptions of adult authority with these individuals, and the potential different placement of each on a spectrum of trust and authority. Secondly, there is an additional emphasis placed on the demand of the local government in funding these multi-disciplinary teams and networks. This expectation, together with the assistance of nationwide institutions (i.e. NHS) and the voluntary sector, are expected to work together in providing a safety net for those young people at risk of recidivism and further exclusion (Wood, Kade and Sidhu, 2009). This is enacted through focusing on the youth environment within the community, such as in school or leisure centres to establish positive relationships between youth and professional authority figures.

A recent study investigated support for the families of offenders newly released or serving prison sentences with a focus on parenting, specifically keeping the offspring-parent relationship active where it is deemed needed and appropriate for the young person's formative development. Functional multi-disciplinary partnerships were found to be of paramount importance in preventing recidivism and supporting the family towards prosocial outcomes (i.e. breaking intergenerational criminality; securing adequate employment and financial security) (DeMarco, Davidson and Bifulco, *unpublished*).   Other studies have evaluated the utility of inter-agency partnerships in dealing with youth anti-social behaviour such as truancy and delinquency, with mixed results, but with promise of improvement in prevention and risk management when dealing with adolescents (Baker, Sigmon and Nugent, 2001; Burnett and Appleton, 2004).

Safer Schools Partnerships (Youth Justice Board, 2009) is focused on   primary intervention (community wide) as well as secondary intervention (directed to high risk neighbourhoods and families) in dealing with anti-social children and adolescents. The SSP initiative aims to provide a safe and enriching environment for pupils at school, as

well as in the general neighbourhood, to facilitate inclusion, learning and enjoyment. This is to ensure greater engagement and strong bonds between young people and the professionals they come into contact with. Specifically police officers, either PCs or PCSOs are assigned to schools. In essence, these criminal justice professionals become embedded in the school environment, and assist with educating young people about safety, victimisation and anti-social behaviour. They engage in discussion and social activities with the young people assigned to them which serve both an educational and a wider support function around issues of antisocial behaviour. The SSPs work in conjunction with several other legislative and governmental provisions, such as the Behaviour and Attendance Partnerships in tackling pupil attitudes and behaviours such as truancy, which are linked to anti-social behaviour (DCSG, 2010). They also work with the 'Every Child Matters' outcomes linked to ensuring equality of support and treatment of children and young adults from all backgrounds (Cheminais, 2006) and local Children's Plan, focusing on the provision and maintenance of happy and safe childhoods (DCSF, 2007). These highlight the directed acknowledgement and diversion of resources in setting in place protective factors for all youth but also establishing anchors to society for those most at risk of exclusion.

The efficacy of SSPs has been indicated in several studies (Bhabra, Hill and Ghate, 2004; Ross, Duckworth, Smith, Wyness and Schoon, 2011). For example, a team from York University performed an evaluation of several SSP schools in comparison to controls and found absence and truancy rates fell significantly, as did self-reported fear of crime and feelings of victimisation when compared to non-SSP groups (Bowles, Reyes and Pradiptyo, 2005).

A study investigating a similar initiative in the USA examined the impact of placing law enforcement officers in high schools (Jackson 2002). The researchers found that the presence of police officers did not significantly help in changing many of the negative views already held by the youth attending the school. The lack of significance was associated to previously negative experiences by the youth with law enforcement officials (Jackson, 2002). This leads to further consideration of whether other underlying societal features involving discrimination towards the public may contribute to the hardened views of the students.

However the SSPs initiative is highly relevant to the themes developed for the current research in two ways:

Firstly, the presence of police officers on school sites assists youth with developing better relationships and understanding of the role of the police. In addition, through shared positive interaction there is the potential for a reduction in mistrust of the police. This can be linked to the Contact Hypothesis which states that increased positive encounters with members of another social group, leads to a reduction in anxiety, tension and prejudice between the two groups.).

Secondly there are direct implications for invoking a model of trust in the procedural justice integrated into SSPs. As the police have a presence both in the school and the local community, the youth and their families and other adults in the local area are likely to affected by the increased police presence. Through the young people having such contact at school the police representatives are more likely to become an accepted part of the community. This will be discussed in further detail in chapter two.

Intergenerational transmission of violence and deviance in families has been demonstrated repeatedly in research studies (Farrington, 1995c; Farrington, Coid and Murray, 2009; Farrington and Welsh, 2007). These have included investigating environmental factors such as parental psychopathology and parenting styles, whilst often neglecting the influence of genetic factors (Rhee and Waldman, 2002). Twin and adoption studies have been useful in demonstrating a likely interplay between both environmental and genetic factors in influencing resilience/vulnerability to crime and anti-social behaviour within families and across generations (Hicks, Foster, Iacono and McGue, 2013). The concept of intergenerational transmissions has been the focus of recent policy in curbing deviance.   The Troubled Families Initiatives (2012) delivered across England and Wales by local government is charged with identifying those families with the highest levels of deprivation and risk and likely to transmit risk to children. The aim is to mitigate the long term consequences of family disadvantage by providing appropriate and adequate support in all areas of risk to the individual family (Featherstone, Broadhurst and Holt, 2012). This initiative integrates well with the others described, with a focus on keeping youth in formal education and preventing youth delinquency and anti-social behaviour by focusing on aiding the family as a whole, including employment issues or deviant lifestyle of the parents. These provisions

on the whole are directed at mitigating and ameliorating the environmental stressors and risks in intergenerational transmissions. These are generally viewed as critical to gene-environment interplay but if genetics are of greater influence, they may prove to be less effective than desired.

Such an intensive, all-encompassing framework is believed by the government and practitioners to remove these families from the fringes of society. The government aims to ensure these families are able to cope with the demands of normative social engagement and prevent exclusion (Social Justice, 2012). The importance of empowerment, equality and the provision of opportunity for young people thus seems to be of paramount importance in keeping them engaged. Following on from this, it is proposed that engagement with professionals in authority, including the police, could serve as a protective factor, promoting social inclusion.

1.5 Contemporary social context of youth and justice

The issue of lack of positive engagement leading to youth alienation can be applied to analysis of the summer riots in England in August 2011. In a recent report for the Cabinet Office, Morrell, Scott, McNeish and Webster (2011) conducted a qualitative analysis investigating the young people who were involved. The report identified several of the motives of the ethnically diverse young groups held responsible for the widespread delinquency and disorder that occurred from August 6th to August 9th in 2011. The report involved 206 young Londoners in discussions, focus groups and interviews. Approximately half were under the age of eighteen. Four main factors contributed to young people's involvement in the rioting: societal, familial, personal and situational factors. These are described in turn.

Familial factors focused on the individual's feelings of closeness and attachment within the family. Participants who were involved in the disorder of the riots were more likely to be those who stated that their parents/caregivers and/or siblings would not show disapproval. This supports the importance of adult authority in the lives of adolescents and the lack of sanctions for misbehaviour. Elements of this are discussed in chapter five.

Situational factors focused around group processes, such as available information, peer pressure, circumstances and presence of authority as associated with riot involvement. For example, many young people used social media and the internet for rapid updates of the disorder on the streets, which enabled them easy access of sites to congregate and actions to take. The participants stated that if they had authority figures in their lives, with whom they had strong and respectful bonds, they were likely to avoid the disorder. No interpersonal barrier was described as guiding their decision-making process. This highlights the importance of having various authoritative figures in the lives of adolescents to guard against delinquency and anti-social behaviour.

Personal factors such as previous criminal history, previous problems with the police and issues with people in authority were found to contribute to participating in the wide-spread rioting and looting. The young people involved in the study reported that their previous criminal convictions influenced whether they engaged in looting with their like-minded, antisocial peers. Their previous negative experience with the Metropolitan police was also a major factor found to be associated with their disregard for figures of authority. The youth recruited for the study discussed how they felt that authority figures hindered adolescents from moving forward in society towards employment and opportunity. The riots, according to some of the youth responses, were the younger generation's chance to retaliate for what they viewed as the unfair and unequal treatment they had been subjugated to by those in authority.

Social factors such as poverty and materialism were also found to be one of the major factors leading to engaging in the riots in August 2011. Many of the young people participating in the research, while having few financial resources still expressed need for expensive consumer items. Caught up in mass mayhem sweeping the evening streets of many English cities, the youth saw an opportunity to easily acquire possessions usually out of their reach.

Morrell and colleagues (2011) also examined the decision making process of these young rioters in engaging in the disorder. The reasons provided by the participants for deciding to engage in the antisocial behaviour included boredom, opportunity and revenge. Given that adolescents can make poor rational choice decisions in their teenage years for immediate gains without considering consequences, this could make them vulnerable to being swayed by other young people who maybe more persistently

engaged in antisocial behaviour disorder. This may be accompanied by the confidence that they could easily get away with antisocial behaviours without facing harsh consequences.

The final motive described in the Morell study was revenge on the police. The participants stated that adolescents and the police have always had a difficult relationship and this accounts for youth antisocial behaviour. The findings demonstrated that the adolescents had very negative perceptions of the police force, seen as an almost tyrannical controller that hinders them from any independence and opportunity. The youth claimed to feel oppressed by the police as a consequence of their standing in society. Thus the disorderly behaviour served as an effect, or result of this oppression and stress in society.

This study is important in analysing a recent outbreak of group delinquency in London youth, which has implications for issues of trust. A final link in the establishment of trust between young people and authority through dualistic policy is the punitive stance taken with sentencing and punishment post-riots. The rioters were treated harshly and severely as a consequence of their involvement, regardless of the crime or delinquent act. Under a welfarist approach as is advocated by the current Coalition government, less strict and isolationist techniques, such as community service or suspended sentences would have been expected. These did not materialise, and thus could not have assisted with the amelioration of youth-authority relationships.

The next section will focus on public and youth encounters with the police.

1.5.1 Criminological context of public-police contact

Analysis of individual police encounters with members of the public is potentially important for understanding the public-police relationship in general. Decker (1981) differentiates 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' police contacts. These are also defined as citizen-initiated or police-initiated respectively. Voluntary (or citizen-initiated) contacts with the police are those where members of the public choose to make contact or purposefully draw police attention in a non-antisocial manner. For example, asking for directions or information regarding an event. In contrast involuntary contacts (police-initiated) are those where the police's attention is drawn as a result of negative

behaviour (e.g. through speeding; being drunk and disorderly). These distinctions are terms are important when considering the quality and impact of police encounters, given citizens who initiate police contact generally demonstrate higher levels of satisfaction with their police force than those who have contact involuntarily (Reisig and Parks, 2000). The impact of these on police contact with adolescents is discussed further below.

Although there are several socio-demographic factors that influence risk of negative experience with the police, investigators strongly emphasise the importance of the public-police interactions themselves. Based on extensive investigation of different types of public-police encounters, across the United States, and with British Crime Data BCS data from the United Kingdom, Skogan (2005) states that whilst there are multiple factors that influence public sentiment towards the police, the most important for criminal justice and social policy are the quality (perceived and real) of the service being provided as evidenced in individual interactions. Individuals' unique encounters and experiences with the police have therefore the most influence on our opinions and attitudes towards the police. Furthermore, Winfree and Griffiths (1977) argue that it is the nature of specific police contact that explains nearly one-fifth of the publics' ratings on police performance; far outstripping the influence of any socio-demographic factors such as age, gender or deprivation. Additionally, victims tend to be less satisfied with police contact than non-victims. This is an interesting point when linked to the frequent offender-victim status of adolescents who are likely to have more negative encounters with police which in turn is likely to decrease their levels of satisfaction and increase their negative perception of the police force in general.

Researchers have also focused on specific elements of the police encounter, as opposed to quality of the police service, in influencing public opinion. This involves either the manner in which the police engage in the investigative process (process orientation) or the resolution of the circumstances leading to their encounter with the police (outcome orientation). Research by Sunshine and Tyler (2003) found that the process as opposed to the outcome is more influential in public perceptions of the police.

This will be discussed further in the next section.

1.5.2 Police-initiated versus citizen-initiated contact

Individuals who feel that they have been treated fairly, without discrimination based on age, gender or race, and have been informed of their rights and reasons for police interaction are more likely to rate the encounter as satisfactory, even when the consequences are negative (Weitzer, Tuch and Skogan, 2008).

Whilst citizen initiated encounters lead to positive feelings towards the police (Cheurprakobkit, 2000; Reisig and Parks, 2000), those encounters of poorer quality are deemed by the public more influential and enduring then those that are positive (Weitzer et al, 2008). This means that the more negative experiences tend to leave the most lasting effects on the individual's views of the police.

Weitzer and colleagues made a further differentiation in looking at four types of police encounters: two police initiated encounters, where one involved a pedestrian stop (i.e. being stopped whilst on foot) and the other a vehicle stop (i.e. being stopped whilst in a motor vehicle). There were also two citizen-initiated encounters; one involving a crime and the other defined as a 'non-crime' (Weitzer et al., 2008). These had differential impacts on confidence in the police. Crime related citizen-initiated encounters involved for example calling the police or reporting a suspicious person or activity to the police. Non-crime related encounters included calling the police to report a traffic accident, or to ask for information relating to community matters or general questions. The findings showed that with citizen initiated crime contact, police responding quickly and efficiently and taking 'appropriate' action related to highest satisfaction and these were deemed the most important duties of a police officer. However, with citizen initiated non-crime contact police action had no impact on subsequent public confidence. With both types of police initiated contacts described above, being stopped as either a pedestrian or as a motorist had negative effects on perceptions of the police, with BME individuals reporting pedestrian stops as the most negative. Therefore with citizen-initiated contacts, only crime related matters, if handled well by the police, had the potential for improving public confidence; non-crime matters having no effect at all. In the police initiated scenarios, both situations led to poorer views of the police.

Sced (2004) also investigated police-initiated encounters, but differentiated between those of an inquisitorial nature (i.e. neutral; investigative) and those of an adversarial

nature (i.e. hostile; accusatory). She also included a control of 'random' police-initiated contact. She found that adversarial contact experiences were seen as less satisfactorily than inquisitorial. Thus the police have a difficult task in forging good relationships with the public, and the inherent quality of contact is based on its context.

Skogan (1996) reported that through analysis of BCS data from 1992 four factors provided important determinants in the quality of police contact with the public. These were: (1) being kept informed of on-going investigations, whether as a victim or reporting an incident; (2) being treated politely when contacting the police; (3) perceived effort of the police throughout the interaction; and (4) police interest in what the individual reported. Police initiated contacts showed similar trends, which also held for young respondents.

Expanding the investigation into the type of contact that the public and the police share, Skogan (2009) discussed two theoretical models of policing: reassurance and accountability. The reassurance model of policing discusses how, when confidence in the police is high, factors such as security, control, safety and the perception of disorder are all managed, with the public being largely content with the manner in which police are handling their jobs. This view underpins the perceived value of community policing where visibility of the police is raised, with the expectation of increase in confidence with the benefit of feelings of safety and control improved. In the UK, Home Office' National Reassurance Policing Programme demonstrated (through surveys, telephone panels, interviews, focus groups) that when police are visible, accessible, prompt and efficient, police are popular as a consequence. Community based policing initiatives showed reductions in perceived anti-social behaviour and crime by the public (Quinton and Morris, 2008).

With the accountability model, high rates of neighbourhood disorder and crime are shown to lead to lower satisfaction with the police. This is because the police are held accountable for the rate of crime and antisocial behaviour and as a consequence suffer in their public image. One study in a large American city showed that it was those participants who had no contact with the police that showed the most positive levels of police confidence. This is consistent with similar findings across North America and the United Kingdom (Bradford, Jackson and Stanko, 2009; FitzGerald, Hough, Joseph and Quershi, 2002; Skogan, 2006). Asymmetry was also noted, with those reporting

negative encounters having three times more influence on their reported levels of confidence than those reporting positive encounters, which will be evaluated below. This concept is discussed further.

1.5.3 Asymmetry of police encounters

The concept of police asymmetry postulates that the quality of public-police encounters (i.e. positive versus negative; favourable versus unfavourable; satisfactory versus unsatisfactory) has an important effect on impact, with negative experiences exerting a more significant influence than positive ones (Skogan, 2006). Miller (2004) found asymmetry in police-initiated encounters in an urban American city; Lieber and colleagues (1998) demonstrated that positive encounters with adolescents may not necessarily influence positive attitudes in the police. Finally, Cheurprakobkit (2000) supported this approach investigating minority groups in American cities. Ethnicity is deemed important as a constraint in contacting the police, with a demonstrable reduction in contacting the police in areas with higher rates of ethnic minorities. This means that those belonging to more marginalised and excluded groups are also the least likely to contact the police when in need (Skogan, 2005).

There are potential explanations of this perceived asymmetry. Skogan (2006) states that either the public see 'positive' experiences as exceptions and not the standard normal practice of policing; or more likely, the police are expected to perform their duty diligently, efficiently and to the satisfaction of the public at all times, hence are not rewarded for 'good' police work in particular instances.

As described earlier, perceived negative police-initiated contact and citizen initiated contact led to far more public dissatisfaction (four times and twenty-three times respectively) than positive experiences (Skogan, 2006). Thus when the public initiates the encounter, and it is perceived poorly, damage is done to perceptions of the police. The findings were repeated in research on other American cities as well as in the British Crime Survey 1992 although the difference was significantly less in the UK sample.

However, the findings as reported failed to highlight that personal and neighbourhood risk factors contributed far greater explanatory power to the models. Also the findings were not tested on young people and certain types of informal police experiences (such

as passing on the street or engaging at school or in a community setting) were not investigated, leaving some implications of the findings unaddressed.

The BCS has provided a data-rich pool of studied public-police encounters. In addition, the criminal justice policy-centric approach by the UK government in both police legitimacy and confidence and public satisfaction is held in high regard internationally (Bradford et al., 2009). Most agree that improving confidence in the policed through positive encounters will have a ripple effect on positive outcomes such as: reducing fear of crime, support by the public for the police; increased crime reporting and police co-operation; improved involvement by the community in police-led community initiatives; and more generalised positive impact on the larger CJS as a whole.

A tabular summary of different types of police contact and associated research is given in Appendix 1.

1.5.4 General limitations, critiques and alternatives

There have been a number of criticisms to the research identifying citizen and police initiated contact by Skogan (2005; 2006; 2012). Firstly, this involves the lack of clarity about the type of contacts: many of the elements of encounters studied were not necessarily mutually exclusive. For example, specific types of encounters with the police were not differentiated, this might include a participant asking a police officer for directions or been stopped for dangerous driving or questioned in the investigation of assault.

Also the studies did not differentiate public culpability in the police-initiated encounters. Any police-initiated encounter could be perceived as accusatory. For example, stop and search practices and zero tolerance policing in poverty stricken boroughs have led to public anger, since these are not initiated by any wrong doing.

It is therefore clear that the way in which police encounters are measured can be key to the conclusions drawn from the data. Measures used by Skogan included self-report single items where categories were preselected and levels of intensity or involvement were not established. Therefore the citizen or police initiated encounter lacked any descriptive depth of the interaction.

Skogan (2012) advocates future research should be prospective with data collected at different intervals, to control for potential negative biases in reporting. He also argues for fielding research with individuals engaging with police in more innovative approaches, such as Citizen Police Academies, Community policing partnerships and in schools or alternative community organisations. This would provide a less adversarial and inquisitorial context for public experience. Thus there is substantial variation within public-police interactions and the public was more concerned with fairness than whether or not they liked or disliked the police. Within this thesis, considerations of the above issues were applied to the methodological structure, specifically in the recruitment of participant organisations.

The next section will explore the social psychological theory of the Contact Hypothesis making a case for its relevance to investigating youth-authority and youth-police relationships.

1.6 The Contact Hypothesis

The Contact Hypothesis (CH) is a social psychological approach to research on intergroup behaviour, dating from the 1950s (Allport, 1954). It states that increasing the frequency of social encounters, or contact, between groups, the relationship between those groups will improve. This has important implications for groups in conflict, opposition, or where discrimination occurs. By increasing the frequency of positive contact between members of different groups (defined by ethnicity, religion, age, employment or gender for example) reductions in the use of stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination will occur (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Tropp, 2003). Thus, discrimination existing between groups should subside (Dovidio, Gaertner and Kawakami, 2003). This is supported by research investigation in psychology (Abrams and Hogg, 2004; Lee, Farrell and Link, 2004) and in criminology, (Brown and Hewstone, 2005; Wright, 2009). Allport's (1954) early work on this theory argued that negatively held attitudes between groups may be reduced or altered to more neutral or positive ones; but only if clear conditions are in place. These will be identified in more detail.

According to the CH, if individuals from lower status groups, such as those with BME backgrounds, have increased contact with majority ethnic groups, then there is increased

opportunity to actively engage with beneficial effect. This may range from contact with a neighbour belonging to a different group or working with a number of individuals belonging to differing ethnicities leading to increased social engagement. Proponents of the theory of increased contact (Allport, 1954; Eller, Abrams, Viki and Amara, 2007; Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger and Niens, 2006; and Pettigrew and Tropp, 2008) hold that through these interactions, greater understanding develops and a reduction in the use of stereotypes, reducing conflict between different social groups and making for more harmonious co-existing (Miller, 2002).

Most of the early research on CH was focused on race relations between white and BME citizens living in the United States as communities became more diverse, with the research also successfully carried out elsewhere. A meta-analytic review by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) demonstrated that although 72% of the samples investigated were American, the same findings were produced elsewhere. For example, in England and Wales, intergroup relations have been examined successfully using CH in a number of studies (Bousfield and Hutchison, 2010; Brown, Vivian and Hewstone, 1999; Hutchison and Rosenthal, 2011; Turner, Hewstone, Voci and Vonofakou, 2008).

According to Allport (1954), four basic conditions need to be in place in order to foster positive intergroup relationships. These conditions are: (1) social norms, where the participating groups see the contact as regular and normative behaviour; (2) intimate contact, where the situations being engaged in are more than casual occurrences; (3) equal status, where the participants see each other as equal and (4) co-operation, with equal effort exerted by all parties involved for similar objectives. Following Pettigrew's (1998) review, several other meta-analyses on the CH have corroborated Allport's original four conditions (Dovidio et al., 2003; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). Although the necessary conditions are at times difficult to meet, for example as applied to the current thesis, the issue of equal status in police encounters, the research does dictate that more positive results emerge when adherence is pursued. The following section will attempt to discuss why, in conjunction with the findings of Skogan in relation to police encounters; the CH is useful in understanding youth-police interactions.

1.7 Relevance of the contact hypothesis to youth crime

When comparing community groups with the police, the latter will always have the greater power in individual contacts. This means the CH condition of equal status cannot be met. Irrespective of the police's desire to create partnerships in the community and foster crime prevention initiatives with ordinary citizens, the police will always have more power to dictate transactions with the backing of the law. This is higher that with other civilian authority figures, such as YWs or teachers. Thus there are more difficulties in creating a neutral area for discourse and equal but positive contact between the public and the police.

Public confidence in the criminal justice system within any democratic society is a requirement for system functionality. Although the CJS is composed of various other agencies—the courts, correction services, probation – it is the police who are the most visible. Therefore the public's opinion of the police is shown to heavily influence the overall confidence and perceived legitimacy of the criminal justice system as a whole (Tyler, 2003).

1.7.1 Contact between the general public and police

In the seminal work by Decker (1981), findings showed that positive attitudes towards the police forces were lowest amongst youth and minority groups. Smith (1983) supported this claim, showing that overall young black males were most likely to report negative previous experiences with the police, with lower intention to engage with the police services. Further exploration of these finding by other researchers is examined below.

In their meta-analysis Brown and Benedict (2002), describe one hundred past studies using self-report to ascertain perceptions of, and attitudes towards the police. The conclusions were that support of the police and positive attitudes towards the police vary depending on the type of interaction, the demographic characteristics of groups being studied and previous experiences with the police. This review of largely US literature, discovered that four variables were consistently found to influence public attitudes towards the police including young age; previous contact experience (either

positive or negative); neighbourhood (socioeconomic status); and ethnicity (minority status).

Myhill and Quinton (2011) working with the National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA) showed the importance of positive public-police interactions. These improved quality of future encounters with the police with impact on both prevention and voluntary public co-operation in on-going police investigation. A study conducted by Quinton (2011) where 937 members of the public in England and Wales completed a survey as part of an evaluation of crime and policing information. One of the key themes that emerged was that the public indicated the degree of fair and respectful treatment by the police would predict the extent to which the police in England and Wales were seen as a legitimate social institution. In addition, those police encounters where contact experiences were identified as poorer in quality were associated with much lower levels of confidence in the police force and influenced the generalised impressions of the police (Myhill and Beak, 2008; Myhill and Quinton, 2011). These findings are consistent with general intergroup contact research where poor previous experience with members of another group is associated with more negative feelings and opinions towards them.

Bradford, Jackson and Stanko (2009) have researched public-police encounters and how these contact experiences can have a lasting effect on the manner in which the police are perceived by the public. The investigators highlight that according to the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), many neighbourhood policing strategies across England and Wales are aiming at increasing the frequency and improving the quality in police and public interactions. The authors found that by improving the quality of particular police interactions, citizens feel more secure and have more confidence in their police officers. Looking at survey data administered in the London Metropolitan Police Service's Public Attitude Survey, and similar to findings in the United States (Schuck and Rosenbaum, 2005), there seems to be some initial indication that contact experiences judged as satisfactory by the public can have small, yet significant influences on the public's general attitudes towards the police. The preliminary findings seem to indicate that if contact can be improved between the police and the public, attitudes and behaviours of the public will improve.

The 1992 British Crime Survey for England and Wales conducted an analysis of 3138 respondents living in metropolitan areas, with contact included and respondents scoring their level of satisfaction with a police encounter. A discrepancy was found between those public-initiated police contacts related to criminal activity (reporting a crime, reporting suspicious circumstances or reporting a disturbance) and those related to non-criminal activity, such as asking for information. Respondents who had contact with the police over a more neutral topic (such as providing or receiving information) rated the police more favourably in the interaction than those who contact them for crime related matters. This may indicate the difficulty in fostering a positive intergroup contact experience between the police and the public. When such strict expectations of the 'other' group are present prior to any interaction, particular outcomes in behaviour are already expected (Terrill, Paoline III and Manning, 2003).

Little research has examined police contact, and underlying negative attitudes in relation to improving relations between the police and relevant social groups. The Citizens Police Academy (CPA) was created in the city of Miami in an attempt to improve public-police relations (Cohn, 1996). In essence, CPA's are classroom-type sessions in which the police attempt to educate and inform the public about their policing aims and objectives. They provide a medium for citizens and the police to communicate and educate the public about police policies and procedures. It also allows the public to interact with law enforcement officials in a non-threatening and co-operative manner. The aim is for these sessions to increase the quality and quantity of contact between the public and police.

Brewster, Stoloff and Sanders (2005) measured experiences of 120 participants engaged in a CPA in two American cities (Harrisonburg and Richmond, Virginia) with pre and post engagement questionnaires. The questionnaires looked at participant's beliefs about the police and their intentions to co-operate in an on-going investigation if necessary. Overall, the findings were similar to other studies where participant's attitudes towards the police were generally already favourable prior to engaging in any form of educational interaction with the police (Raffel, 2005; Schafer and Bonello, 2001). However, Brewster and colleagues did find that the post-engagement questionnaires indicated significant increases in positive attitudes, positive beliefs and greater intentions to co-operate in an on-going police investigation. This research needs

repeating in the UK to see if improved youth-police and public-police relations can be replicated.

1.7.2 Police contact and young people

The findings on police contact and the public has been extended to cover that with young people where rates of crime are heaviest. The emerging theme is that those youth who reported individual positive previous police encounters demonstrated more positive feeling and attitudes in general towards the police, and those with more negative past encounters reported the opposite (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969;Wattenberg and Bufe, 1963; Winfree and Griffiths, 1977). However, studies in this area have often been plagued by small sample sizes, poor instrument development and multiple methodologies, with sample selection not necessarily being indicative of those youth who come into the most contact with the police (Griffiths and Winfree, 1982).

Hopkins (1994) conducted research on contact with youth and police forces in Scotland. Using eighty-one pupils (all aged approximately fourteen years), across three different schools, the research team carried out twenty-eight group discussions regarding previous contact experience with the police. The groups for the discussions usually constituted no more than three students and questions related to their interactions with police to whom they had been introduced in school-based police contact programmes. These initiatives would have police officers from the local jurisdictions come in and talk to the youth on topics such as bullying and drug use. Firstly, many of the impressions the youth had of the police force were based on negative experiences held either personally or through that of friends or peers. Hopkins argues that in order to improve relations between the youth and the police, each side must actively appreciate the role that the other plays in society and not generalise from limited experiences. It was believed that providing youth groups and the police with the opportunity to interact together in a proactive manner would allow youth to appreciate and comprehend the role of police, and the police to respect the needs and motivations of youth culture.

Griffiths and Winfree (1982) undertook a seminal study examining positive and negative encounters between adolescents and the police in Canada and the United States.   The young people were selected from a series of high schools in both countries and were asked a series of questions related to their experience with the police. Overall,

it was found that negative police encounters, positive police encounters and self-reported employment prestige (of the police) predicted nearly twenty percent of the variance in participant attitudes towards the police. This is impressive in supporting the importance of police contact in improving (or worsening) youth-police relationships. However, only a dichotomous scale of positive and negative contact with the police was utilised, with ambiguous definitions of police encounters. More contemporary research on police encounters and contact utilises a spectrum which reduces the likelihood of confounding findings (Bradford et al., 2009; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Viki, Culmer, Eller and Abrams, 2006).

Lieber and colleagues (1998) researched a group of males who had either been accused or adjudicated and focused on elements of their social environment such as deprivation and previous police contact. They found that the quality of youth encounters with the police was influenced by SES and neighbourhood factors; as well as the young peoples' antisocial and delinquent attitudes. The research in this area does have methodological problems, for example in terms of measures, analysis and sample selection with anti-social and delinquent youth participants more likely to hold negative attitudes towards the police.

Janeksela (1999) focused on youth attitudes towards authority figures, including the police and examined youth-authority relationships and delinquent behaviour. Overall, youth who experienced a direct police encounter perceived the encounter as adversarial regardless of the outcome (i.e. arrest, caution, neutral) and reported fewer positive attitudes and feelings towards the police than those with no direct contact. More positive encounters with the police were associated with subsequent higher positive reporting of attitudes and feelings towards the police. Janeksela (op cit) also acknowledged the visibility of the police as a form of societal authority; and if these are perceived to be unfair, inappropriate or negative, public discontent will be directed towards them.

In a study by Moretz Jr. (1980) examining senior high school students of both genders in their attitudes towards the police. They found that whilst holding positive views of the police the students found it difficult to understand the purpose, function and behaviour of police officers. This lack of understanding may contribute to youth-police

conflict and incongruent expectations by both. Studies such as this may assist in future strategies to improve youth-police relationships.

In a study comparing youth interactions with the police in Scotland and West Germany, Dobash and colleagues focused on 'free time' for socialising amongst the participants (Dobash et al., 1990). Across both countries contact with the police was greatly increased during youth activities in city centres during their free time, especially during events linked to 'night time economies'. The activities the participants engaged in during these free periods, were often perceived as 'deviant and anti-social' by the community, including the police. The above study was in an era in Western German society where police interactions involving increased spot identity checks linked to the socio-political context of the country at the time.

Brandl, Frank, Worden and Bynum (1994) provide an additional aspect presented as a dichotomy in understanding public-police relationships: global and specific attitudes toward police. Global attitudes refer to holistic feelings towards the institution, similar to institutional trust as defined by Tom Tyler. Global attitudes involve support across the institution in question and involve the support or rejection of the institutional authority. Specific attitudes or support focuses on particular elements of the institutions role and the ability of the individuals within said institution to conduct their tasks and roles. Examining the relationship between global and specific attitudes towards the police, they found that the public's global attitudes towards the police influence their assessments of specific public-police situational encounters in terms of attitudes. Conversely the situation specific encounters influence the public's global attitudes towards the police, but less strongly. Thus the global assessment and attitudes of police as an institution have a stronger influence on attitudes towards the police in specific encounters. This is important in considering how to improve youth-police interactions requiring focus on the general prior to the specific. The same theoretical considerations could be applied to trust, as discussed in the next chapter and also central to this thesis. As many of the measures on police attitudes include an item linked to trust in the police, the current investigation of general trust, trust in authority, trust in the police and the development of a trust measure could benefit from our understanding of public-police relationships, as evident in this study.

'Anti-authority syndrome' is a term discussed by Tisseyre (1976a; 1976b) in relation to the generalised negative attitudes and opinion youth from various backgrounds direct towards police forces and other authoritative figures in their lives. This syndrome is believed to transcend gender, class and race and to be related to coercion and social constraint. The position states that when individual freedoms are believed to be under threat, the figures charged with preventing and interfering with these perceived freedoms come under attack by the public. Specifically adolescents, who are quicker to impulsivity and aggression when feeling threatened, are likely to come into increased conflict with authority figures and report more negative attitudes towards them.

Tisseyre also discusses the existence of a problem amongst youth perceived as delinquent by society. Regardless of arrests or convictions, being labelled as delinquent will influence future actions. As a consequence, these young men and women who see themselves as anti-social will inherently have more negative attitudes towards the police and the legal institution as a whole. As such, having this label will unfavourably influence the manner in which police encounters with the young people will play out. This in turn can greatly influence the manner in which the police perceive these adolescents, leading to a level of judgement and negativity. This is reported to be more of a factor in particular jurisdictions, for example where police can decide whether to arrest or not, then the attitudes of the young person towards the arresting officer can be crucial to the outcome. There are links to the optimal conditions of intergroup contact within Tisseyres' research; specifically that when adolescents do not engage in cooperative practice, or refuse to act fairly and equally during a police interaction; this increases their chance of being arrested and further deterioration of youth-police relationships.

Nihart, Lersch, Sellers and Mieczkowski (2005) extended this area of research to include the different relationships with authority from a range of adolescents. They found significant association between attitudes towards parents, teachers and the police. However, when rated on attitudes towards each authority figure, the youth provided generally positive accounts of parents and teachers, with neutral reports towards the police. Overall, it would seem that there is a link between different types of authority figures in the lives of adolescents but with different levels of positivity.

Rogowski (2001) engaged in qualitative research with adolescent offenders to explore their motivations for engaging in criminality and delinquency. Many of the motivations provided were those already identified such as achieving higher social status, but also with boredom identified with leisure and free time also appearing as important. Specifically, several of the participants in the study claimed that associated with neighbourhood deprivation, low SES and boredom, as well as lack of appropriate conduits for energy and free time, adults in the neighbourhood at various authority levels will always complain. This complaining leads to poor impression management by the youth, who in turn go elsewhere to dispense their energy, often getting themselves into trouble. This is crucial to the themes developed in the current thesis in examining the importance of alternative appropriate activities that will motivate, and allow the young people to not feel disrespected by adults.

In terms of relationships with the police, strong levels of dislike and distrust are often verbalised by youth who have been in adversarial encounters with the police. There are feelings of unfair treatment and discrimination. Generally, many young people in the interviews and focus groups in Rogowski's study had a sense of injustice, in that they believe they are 'nicked' because they are young and that the police get away with inappropriate behaviour and abuse of power and authority. Issues with race and gender are also discussed in relation to police contact, with contrasting views. Often race is seen to be a saving grace, as 'majority' police officers do not want to be perceived as racist (in the opinion of the participants). Class was also discussed, with police believed to criminalise those of poorer backgrounds. One participant stated that when she was in a middle-class foster family's neighbourhood, the police would ignore her but as soon as she was seen in the lower, deprived neighbourhoods, she would become a focus for attention and animosity.

Peterson-Badali, Abramovitch, Koegl and Ruck (1999) investigated youth apprehended by the police in the Canadian justice system and their experience with the police throughout the ordeal. Specifically, the researchers examined the due process rights of the young suspects, and whether the police officers' involved adhered to the rules and regulations. They found issues with the police mishandling the interactions. Only one-third of the youth were told they were permitted under law to have parent or guardian present for questioning whereas nearly one-fifth were asked to waive their right to have

a parent present; a mere 10% were asked if they understood their rights. This seems critical in understanding the troubled youth-police relationship, and its links to procedural justice. If representatives of the legal infrastructure such as the police are not adhering to the rules and regulations, but guilty of omissions and deceit in following the process then there will be consequences for confidence and police legitimacy. This will in turn inflame difficulties in relations between youth and the police. This will be developed further in subsequent chapters when discussing trust as a theme.

Rarick, Townsend and Boyd (1973) provided an interesting perspective when investigating young people's attitudes toward the police. Appreciating that a large portion of adolescents did not come into direct contact with the police, the researchers turned their focus to the influences of television drama as a source of information and learning. Interestingly, depictions of television police are mainly homogenous across groups of young people, whereas perceptions of actual police are diverse and range across the sample of youth queried. For the majority of the youth, the correlations between actual and tv-depicted police is weak to non-significant, indicating that they are aware of police behaviour in their home towns as being distinctly different to that in which they experience on television. Qualitative analysis supported this finding. It would be interesting to consider the influence of fictional police depictions versus those on the news or documentaries in influencing opinions and attitudes towards those youth who do not have regular contact with the police. This final piece of research is important in considering the association of different types of authoritative exposures and their influence on trust in the police.

1.8 Measurement of police contact

The sections covering both public-police encounters and the CH present a range of research approaches. As was discussed earlier in relation to the quantitative approaches taken by Wesley Skogan and colleagues, different types of factors have been used to categorise and define the publics' varying police encounters. The research surrounding the CH also employed a range of methodologies in gauging the type, quantity and quality of police contact. These included unilateral or dichotomous categorical selections on type (Islam and Hewstone, 1993; Voci and Hewstone, 2003); graded likert-scales (Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000); or semantic differentials (Aberson, Shoemaker and Tomolillo, 2004; Caspi, 1984) as amongst the most popular.

Each has merit, with likert scales and semantic differentials being a popular choice amongst social scientists (Friborg, Martinusson and Rosenvinge, 2006).

In contrast, the work by Skogan aimed to look at the type of police encounter, its fairness and perceived influence on the public. Most of the work related to the Contact Hypothesis focused on describing various elements of the police interaction. Merging elements of both is thus considered an optimal and efficient method in capturing as much information about police encounters and their influence on individuals and has influenced the methods used in the present thesis.

1.9 Summary

Having first introduced the theme of youth behaviour in relation to moral panic, this chapter then reviewed studies identifying the adolescent life stage as one where crime and delinquency are at a peak, and where experiences with the police are critical—the central theme of this thesis. The literature shows that adolescents are over-represented in the CJS, both as victims and as offenders. It is argued that the police and adolescents have increased frequency of CJS-related encounters compared to other age groups and would benefit from increased contact under the appropriate conditions which could improve relations.

A review of background policy and legislation critically evaluated policy development surrounding youth and authority and examined aspects of contemporary CJS practice in relation to adolescents as a group. It focused on the troubled relationship between young people and adults in authoritative positions, such as the police. The distinction between punitive and rehabilitative or preventative actions was made and these examined in relation to policy at different times historically. Through exclusionary processes looking at punishing youth, such as 'short, sharp, shock' initiatives, adolescents can be further marginalised. This is in contrast to initiatives increasing benign contact with the police, for example through schools, to improve adolescents' experience of contact with the view to generalising greater confidence.

The literature on police-public contact and subsequent confidence in the police was examined. The Contact Hypothesis was described in detail in relation to how attitudes between various antagonistic groups can be improved, as context for considering police-

youth interactions. Whilst this has support from a range of studies, there is dispute over the details, for example in the pre-requirements for the contact to be effective and the mechanisms by which the increased contact leads to cognitive and behavioural change. Several studies have looked at the overall attitudes and beliefs the public hold towards the police. If increased direct and extended contact improves intergroup relationships between different ethnicities, religions and orientations then this could be applied to the contact and relations between police and adolescents and to the wider CJS as proposed in the study reported here.

Studies agree that contact is not always enough in order to make improvements in intergroup relationships. Both mediating and moderating factors could influence the relationship between the contact experience (direct or indirect) and outcome behaviours. The contact experience is unlikely to operate alone in improving the social interactions between the youth and the police. More investigation is required of the factors which positively reinforce the contact experience to improve relations. Establishing trust is argued to be integral in changing negative attitudes towards an opposing group, and fostering and maintaining positive ones. Developing better relationships between adolescents and the police is central to this thesis and through aspects of the contact hypothesis; this youth-police relationship will be explored.

The next chapter explores the concept of trust in relation to adolescent offending and relations with the CJS as a central theme for the proposed study.

Chapter 2: Trust in authority and the Criminal Justice System

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to explore trust as a basic construct in human life as well as investigating its role in relating to authority, specifically between youth and the police.

Trust is envisaged as a moderating factor that may help strengthen the effects of the intergroup contact experience as discussed in the last chapter. The Oxford English Dictionary definition of trust is 'firm belief in the reliability, truth, ability or strength of someone or something.' Such social phenomena as intergroup anxieties (Turner, Hewstone and Voci, 2007); outcome expectancies (Plant and Devine, 2003); and social inclusion (Wylie, 2004) have all been investigated in the context of enhancing trust. Trust has been additionally identified in the research literature as a significant factor in creating improved relations between young people and the police (Hinds, 2007). This chapter will focus on the research on trust in authority, with police and other notable figures in an adolescent's social world. The chapter will start by providing some general definitions and ways of understanding trust. The nature of relationships with authority figures, for example between adolescents and professionals within the CJS will be examined. The last section of the chapter will provide a substantive examination of the existing empirical work indicating the utility of trust between youth and the police, as well as how it has been measured.

2.2 Defining trust

Trust has always been an important construct in the social sciences and in the comprehension of human development, interpersonal relations and learning. Throughout the individual's social development, trust is fostered in a multitude of important relationships with different people in different contexts, including parents, peers, teachers and employers (Dunn and Schweitzer, 2005).

The work of development is to increase the individual's moral and social knowledge to improve capability and make informed subjective judgements about who to trust and listen to for guidance and advice. This follows the early years with its 'blind' adherence to the demands and requirements of significant authoritative others needed for survival (Rotter, 1967). It is in this blind adherence that trust develops as an essential element in

the human learning process (Bryk and Schneider, 2003). Although work by Beck (1992) suggests that as society becomes more individualistic its members tend to become increasingly more sceptical of this blind adherence, with greater mistrust and suspicion. However, trust in social relationships is critical to normal development and good quality of life, and an appropriate level of trust in authority similarly is a necessary for a cohesive society.

Trust has been studied across many disciplines including economics and the social sciences (McKnight and Chervany, 1996). It is variously defined, for example, Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt and Camerer (1998) refer to trust as the willingness of a person to accept their own vulnerabilities based on past experiences about the overt behaviours and intentions of others. This provides the initial opportunity for reliance and support of another, and provides the basis of disclosure and trust.

Bradford, Jackson, Hough and Farrall (2009) describe trust in several different ways. For example, trust is an implicit belief that others will not deliver harm; that their behaviour is predictable and trust itself is a key element of social discourse. Trust can also be seen in action by individuals, and trust between two parties or people enacted in their relationship. Furthermore, trust is argued by Bradford and colleagues as revealed to other people in their social surroundings by their past actions and co-operative behaviour, as well as in their future intentions to engage with others. There is an implicit intention not to deliver harm and to help or protect. This final point of future intentions to engage and co-operate with others will be developed in relation to improved trust in the police.

Most of the early research has focused on 'global' trust: a sense of explaining individual's feelings/opinions/belief in human nature or people, as a whole. Erikson (1964) was an early proponent of trust as key to psychological and social development, and described it as critical to the infant bond with their primary caregiver developing in very early years. This, he argued, had a major impact on the child and much later, the adolescent and adult's generalisations of trust to other important individuals and from there to society in general. If the child does not develop and structure trust in those early formative years, it may be difficult for them at future dates to secure positive and healthy intimate relations with others. Relational trust differs from global trust in that its focus and limit is to specific people or relationships only. Thus in examining trust held

by youth in the police this will involve general trust, but may also refer to relational trust in terms of specific officers or particular types of interactions. This distinction is important in considering whether individuals can learn to generalise trust in the adolescent stage.

On the discussion of public trust related to the CJS, Tyler (2001) differentiates institutional trust and motive-based trust. The former involves the way an individual believes that the CJS (specifically the police) shows good moral and ethical behaviour is honest and shows genuine care of the communities served. If this institutional type of trust is established, Tyler argues that members of the public will report that they feel the police are honest and competent at their jobs and work to serve and protect the community. Thus the higher the levels of institutional trust, the higher the level of compliance with the law (Tyler, 1990; 2001; 2003). Motive-based trust involves examining inferences about the motives and intentions of others, such as the police (Tyler and Huo, 2002). Such characteristics as being caring and kind when the police are dealing with members of the community and making the greatest effort to meet the needs and the demands of the public are involved. These various definitions of trust need to be considered in examining the nature of trust in the police. However, the original definition set out by Rousseau and colleagues connects the different theories by drawing together the quality of previous experiences, trust and the future intentions. When combined with Erikson's view of the individual learning to generalise trust, this can complete the picture. The chapter will now present empirical evidence in four primary areas around trust and young people: understanding trust in authority, trust in the CJS and the police, the procedural justice model of trust and finally, measuring trust.

2.3 Trust in authority

A consistent theme identified in work with antisocial adolescents is their problematic relationships with parents, guardians, teachers, police and other members of authority. Through clinical work done with youth diagnosed with CD, it is clear that issues with authority and authoritative figures are a common theme among many offenders in their teenage years (APA, 2000). The link between difficulties with authority and youth experiencing behavioural disorders common in offending such as CD and ADHD is important in comprehending the construction of trust as related to the police.

Murray and Thompson (1985) assessed the manner in which 12-16 year old students attending comprehensive schools in an English city area, perceived authority figures including parents, teachers and the police. They discovered that teenagers were not as negative towards authority as expected. In fact, teenagers tended to demonstrate favourable attitudes towards the police and parents. This was more common in those younger in age, in relationships with all three types of authority and reporting previous experience of positive interaction with these authority figures. The older students however demonstrated less favourable attitudes towards the police. Murray and Thompson concluded that the degree to which an adolescent feels included in their community is partly a consequence of their attitudes and relationships with those in authority. The more the teenagers interact favourably, with teachers, parents and police, the more likely they were to have respectful, positive attitudes towards other adults in authoritative positions. It should be noted however that the study made no attempt to quantify negative attitudes and levels of trust/mistrust.

Studies show that males have more negative attitudes towards institutions which yield state authority than females (Emler and Reicher, 1987). Since men tend to have more negative feelings towards institutions such as the CJS, then positive interactions with members of these 'authoritative' groups are less likely to develop, particularly given the overrepresentation of males in the CJS.

Browning and colleagues (1994), in an investigation of police surveillance found that youth, as well as those with minority status reported being more bothered, harassed and disrespected by the police. As described earlier, adolescents have a clear over-representation in the CJS and come into contact more than other age groups with CJS professionals. Improving trust between these youth and police could have important implications for both crime prevention and intervention (Bradford, Jackson and Stanko, 2009).

Unlike many adult encounters with the police where some form of offence is involved, the police have additional contact and interaction with youth through schools, youth programmes and local social environments (e.g. busy city centres, bars, movie theatres). Whilst such contact should often increase trust, where the contact is seen as oppressive this will contribute to adolescents feeling mistrustful, and suspicious of the amount of surveillance provided (Kenney, Pursuit, Fuller and Barry, 1989).

However, it should be noted that studies also show most youth have favourable perceptions of the police (Hurst, Frank and Browning, 2000). Additionally, variables such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity and gender show inconsistent findings with respect to overall levels of trust in authority of juveniles (Flexon, Lurigio and Greenleaf, 2009; Gabbidon, Higgins and Potter, 2011). This needs addressing through further research.

Another relevant issue is in the environmental or situational context of the young offenders and professionals working in criminal justice. Thus the type of institution, ward or secure setting where young offenders are detained and the socio-environmental context is likely to affect their experience of the CJS (Borduin, Henggeler, Blaske and Stein, 1990). This includes whether the groups are same or mixed sex, age, type of criminal behaviour involved, the socioeconomic status of the youth, their ethnic diversity and even religious faith (Herrenkohl et al., 2000). These factors are all shown to influence the way in which a young person is able to trust the authority figures around them.

The topic of trust between the public and the authoritative CJS will now be outlined.

2.4 Trust in the Criminal Justice System

The first underlying question around trust in the CJS involves the issue of why any social institution needs to be seen as legitimate (Hough and Sato, 2011). In the context of the CJS, Hough and Sato argue that actions and behaviours of professionals need to be considered both fair and respectful for the processes carried out to be seen as legitimate by the public; their public trust in the justice system thus develops by engaging in 'fair and respectful' behaviours. As a result of increased trust and perceived legitimacy of the CJS, officers and officials find their duties and tasks are much easier to conduct. Should the police be seen as legitimate (therefore holding the public's trust) it is argued that their abilities to both tackle crime and control disorder and delinquency are greatly facilitated.

Tyler (2005) used his two concepts of motive and institution-based trust to explore ethnic group differences of trust in the police force. The sample included 1653 citizens of New York from white and BME backgrounds and involved structured interviews

conducted over the telephone. Overall, the mean levels of trust in the police were in the positive range. However, white respondents did express higher levels of trust than their minority ethnic counterparts. The generalizability of these New York findings to other locations needs to be examined in further research, in different populations and ethnic minority composition. The constructs of motivational and institutional trust have not to date been examined to the same extent in UK contexts. Issues surrounding cultural relevance and applicability of the USA based concepts would need further validation in UK settings.

The ideal set of conditions that need to be in place in order for trust to grow between the public and the CJS has been investigated by Kelling and Coles (1996). They argue that the public's level of trust in the police is contingent upon their subjective belief that the police are 'doing their job'. If the public believe that the police are successfully prioritising crime prevention and intervention and using resources well, then trust from the public should be significantly improved and in turn, followed by more general support. Therefore it is argued, the police's ability to control crime influences the levels of trust from the public. This is discussed further in the next section.

2.4.1 The Procedural Justice model of trust

The procedural justice model of law enforcement and police accountability is crucial to the operation and functionality of our justice system. It endeavours to administer justice fairly and equally, whilst serving the public it represents. This section aims to resent the concept together with police confidence and legitimacy related to procedural justice models of policing. It will then discuss the importance of trust in the public's interactions with the police and the larger criminal justice system; and provide a brief synopsis of associations between procedural justice, trust and current criminal justice policy in understanding the police's ability to serve and protect the public. Specifically in relation to this thesis, as trust is deemed vital in a functioning youth-police relationship, and is a central component to the procedural justice model it is important to understand how elements of trust, power and youth-adult relations interact.

2.4.1.1. Defining procedural justice

The police in democratic societies carry out their duties by the consent of the public. This means that the police are able to stop, arrest, question, charge and protect because the public give them these rights and support the police in their routine activities (Hinds, 2007). However, in order for the police to gain the consent of the public in carrying out their duties, they must be seen as a legitimate societal institution. Other institutions such as social work (Beresford and Croft, 2001); the NHS (Brown, 2008) and education (Cheng and Tam, 1997) follow similar patterns of legitimacy. This legitimacy is obtained through developing both confidence and trust in the service, such as the police, through their actions; their behaviours; and their demeanour when interacting with the public. Therefore, in its simplest form, the procedural justice model of policing states that in order for the police to police by consent, they must be seen as legitimate and in order to be seen as legitimate, they must establish both confidence and trust in their role and duties in the eyes of the public. Failure to do so will lead to a breakdown of the police's ability to perform their job, and arguably higher levels of crime, disorder and non-compliance in investigations (Skogan, 2009). This can be interpreted through the Contact Hypothesis. As one of the optimal conditions for intergroup contact is co-operation, if confidence and trust in the police is low, their legitimacy is threatened and their ability to interact and engage with the public is diminished. This could impact negatively on youth-police relations

Hough and Sato (2011) state that all actions conducted by the criminal justice system and its multiple agencies, must be done with fairness, equality, honesty and respect. By adhering to these morally normative standards, the CJS as a whole will arguably be perceived as legitimate. This is managed through the development of trust, confidence and belief in the justice system. Therefore trust by the public in the police develops through fair and respectful engagement. The authors argue that the actors within the justice system find their duties much more manageable and the control of crime and delinquency is more effectively handled.

The procedural justice model argues that people judge fairness on the process of their police interactions, not the outcomes, and is a composition of the quality of police decision making, the quality of how the public or persons are treated by the police and

the perceived trustworthiness of the police officers in which one is interacting with. There are however particular activities and behaviours that can cause problems to the entire model, which are discussed below.

Hough and colleagues (2010) focus on how members of the public are treated by the police and the subsequent development of trust. They relate the development of police legitimacy through trust; how this is developed and the use of authority. These researchers also focus upon the public's willingness to co-operate and interact with agents of the CJS. The authors, in collaboration with the National Policing Improvement Agency, demonstrated that trust in the police was extremely important in influencing the public's perceived legitimacy of the police. In turn, it was argued that trust was of the utmost importance in supporting public co-operation with the justice system and compliance with the law where there are reductions in trust and legitimacy, cynicism and negative attitudes towards the policing institution increases.

Research has been extended to an analysis of the causes of loss of confidence in police authorities. The concept of 'profiling' through stereotypes is utilised, with race and ethnicity playing a central role. Weitzer and Tuch (2002) claim that when the perception of injustice at the hands of the police is felt, support and confidence in the police decreases. This is especially true amongst BME and discriminated groups (i.e. youth, females) and is supportive of the general argument that highly visible incidents of police misconduct (i.e. Stephen Lawrence, Summer Riots 2011) leads to decreases in support of the police.

When individuals feel they are ascribed unfair or unjust attributes (e.g. racial profiling), the authority and legitimacy of the police decreases. There are substantial safeguards that can assist in preventing these attributions on the part of the public, notably the importance of perceived fairness of treatment.

A study by Tyler and Wakslak (2004) investigated young adults (18 to 26) and their experience and confidence in the police in Los Angeles, Oakland and New York. Specifically, how reduced confidence in the police affects the manner in which young people are willing to engage and cooperate with the police. Judgements about the utility of discriminatory practices by the police when engaging on a one-to-one basis are equally harmful to the public-police relationship. Interestingly in a study with citizens

from New York City, trust had little or no influence on institutional approval/support—instead, it was the perceived quality of police behaviour in interactions and quality of treatment that were seen as central to supporting the police.

Hence, a policing model that prioritises fairness is of the utmost benefit to the community it serves. Fairness is inextricably linked to the issues surrounding police encounters and previous police contact as discussed in chapter one. Specifically, when the public deem the quality of a police interaction to be fair overall, regardless of whether police or citizen initiated, public satisfaction is improved. Members of the public will benefit from respectful police officers who minimise their use of discriminatory beliefs and internal attribution based judgements; judgements attributed to the individual because of who or what they are in society. Additionally, the manner in which police engage with the public will assist in fostering fairness and cooperation in the public, leading to greater satisfaction with the police. This all assists the police in improving their effectiveness to the benefit of the community.

2.4.1.2 Models of procedural justice

Sunshine and Tyler (2003) discuss dual motivations of the public in support of the police, identified as instrumental and moral. Instrumental motivation involves the risk model, which posits that the police are agents of social control, and the performance model, which argues that the police manage social disorder. Each will be briefly outlined below.

The risk model looks to the police to deter crime and anti-social behaviour. Where the probability of punishment for offending is high, the public believe that potential criminals will consider offending as too risky. The performance model focuses on the police in a managerial and administrative capacity. If the police are believed to be effective at their jobs and in their roles as protectors and agents of criminal justice, then the public will provide them with support and co-operation in on-going police investigations to reduce crime and catch offenders.

In well-functioning democracies, the police are perceived by the public to uphold the moral standing, norms and values of the public that they serve, all whilst serving their societal instrumental purpose of maintaining social order. There is a Durkheimian

element of social solidarity, in the common sharing of these community values and morals. Sharing the same set of community based beliefs assists with understanding and rapprochement of the criminal justice institution and the public it serves (Jackson and Sunshine, 2007).

Procedural justice takes on elements of a social identity approach. When people in the community see those in power and positions of authority as being representative of their values and norms, the perception of moral solidarity is achieved (Tyler, 2006). As a consequence, those members of the public feel closer and more integrated into the group. Elements of intergroup contact can be seen with the optimal condition of equal status and societal norms shared. In the intergroup contact literature, meeting these conditions is necessary for improved relationships. Thus the procedural justice and the Contact Hypothesis are compatible theoretical frameworks. They complement each other in the achievement of their goals. Procedural justice can only be delivered where there are shared societal norms and where people in different positions in the societal structure nevertheless have equal status, while the CH requires these same necessary conditions to ensure that contact brings about positive change in attitudes.

Sunshine and Tyler's models show moral solidarity as a significant contributor in compliance, co-operation and empowerment within a procedural justice model of policing. It should be noted however that socio-demographic factors, such as SES and gender were far stronger predictors of such behaviours. There were also significant contributions of social inclusion and integration to models of police fairness and efficiency, where participants who demonstrated that they viewed the police as exercising their authority in a fair way also identified with their community to a larger extent.

Hogg (2001) claims that members of the public who can identify with authority figures such as the police and recognise them as representatives of the morals and values of the larger community will be more likely to engage with the police. Here we have the re-occurrence of co-operation between parties as an important factor but also the concept of compliance with authority. Beetham (1991) also supports the importance of morality, central to police legitimacy and the procedural justice model. The police must demonstrate moral authority in their actions congruent with the moral norms and values of the society that they police.

The 'citizen-initiated' police contact described by Skogan (2005; 2006) supports the procedural justice model of policing. This describes how the public are empowered through contact with the police, and as a consequence see the police responding positively in resolving conflict. Trust and confidence may be increased as a result, thus legitimizing the purpose and behaviour of the police in the eyes of the public. Additionally Skogan states that when confidence in the police is widespread, the work of the police is more simply managed and effectively conducted, regardless of the encounter type. Tyler and Wakslak (2004) states that the more the public view the police as legitimate, the more likely they are to comply with police demands and requests, including co-operation in on-going police investigations.

Disorder undermines the public's confidence in the police; citizens are more likely to hold the police partially responsible for anti-social behaviour and delinquency in their own communities (Weitzer, Tuch and Skogan, 2008). Pressure by the public may influence police decisions, and in turn, rash decisions and inappropriate policing may lead to a greater problem between the community and the police.

With marginalised and excluded ethnic communities, participants often report the police as an illegitimate social institution—it was through these hard to reach minority communities that community policing became an important element of improving public confidence and relationships between the public and the police (Skogan, 2006).

The next section extends the discussion into policy and policing.

2.4.1.3 Policy and policing

Skogan (1996) credits the UK with their tactful emphasis on public-police relationships. There is a substantial body of research on public opinion about the police in England and Wales. This is a reflection of national policy, such as the Conservative government of the 1980's 'Citizen Charter', which called for a customer service approach by government agencies, such as the police, in dealing with the public. Its primary aim was to improve service provision by social institution such as the police by implementing elements of accountability, transparency and efficiency. Sets of standards were established that institutions were expected to meet and clear, with understandable targets for the public to see, published (Tritter, 1994).

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The Home Office's National Reassurance Policing Programme (NRPP) developed as a product of falling crime rates but increasing public insecurities. The surprising negative relationship between these two phenomena influenced public perceptions of the police, via the failure of the reassurance model of procedural justice. As a result, recommendations were made to the police forces in tackling crime and disorder to reassure the public. Along with reductions in fear of crime and targeting specific types of anti-social behaviour, the NRPP identified increasing satisfaction and confidence in police forces around England and Wales as one of its primary objectives. This included a community-involved approach where crimes seen as important to the neighbourhood are tackled and the community is involved in the process of identifying problems and targeting them. Lastly, a community-policing approach was advocated, increasing the presence of visible, accessible and 'authority' figures specific to the area (Tuffin, Morris and Poole, 2006). Generally speaking, the NRPP aimed to utilise concepts linked to procedural justice and the reassurance model, demonstrating through extensive evaluations that when police are visible, accessible, prompt and efficient, positive popular perceptions of the police result as a consequence (Hough et al., 2010). Community based policing initiatives linked to the NRPP were piloted across England and Wales between 2002 and 2005 and generally showed reductions in perceived anti-social behaviour and crime by the public, supporting the reassurance model of procedural justice and policing (Quinton and Morris, 2008). Several other evaluations have supported the NRPP's utility and effectiveness (Fielding and Innes, 2006; Morris, 2006; Quinton and Tuffin, 2007).

The Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act (2011) created the post of elected police and crime commissioners across 41 of the 43 police authorities in England and Wales. The intention was to provide local independence in decision-making and resource management, meeting the needs and ideals of the community served. There are links to the NRPP discussed above in tackling and specifying the needs of specific communities in dealing with crime, victimisation and anti-social behaviour as well as a community-policing. Again, the importance of increased close contact between members of the public and the police is emphasised.

Finally, the current Howard League 'U R BOSS' initiative seeks to include youth through participation into all aspects of the criminal justice process, from legal support through to policy development. Youth from across England and Wales with a range of previous experiences with

the police have been consulted. The aim, through the 'U R BOSS' programme is to improve how youth and police officers perceive each other and work together in the prevention of crime and anti-social behaviour (U R Boss, 2012). With the election of the Police and Crime Commissioners, the intention was for adolescent representatives to make their voices heard and acknowledged at the managerial level. By engaging in discussion with the heads of each police authority, adolescents could have their concerns voiced and made public. This would provide a mechanism for improving relations between youth and the police, in particular through the identification of key concerns on both sides. This project fits well with the themes in the current thesis, in promoting the development of prosocial relationships between police and youth. The idea of working in collaboration with Police and Crime Commissioners provides an acceptable voice to the police, and invites adolescents to actively engage, interact and have their voices heard. Interim evaluations have shown positive developments in selected pilot locations of youth involvement in the CJS and participation with Police and Crime Commissioners (U R Boss, 2014a; 2014b). Further research will be needed to follow up on how these engagements generally influence or effect youth-police interactions in the future.

Linking this to the CH, the effects of increased positive contact demonstrated by those in authority, such as politicians and the police, can have significant positive impacts on relationships between groups.

2.4.2 Trust between the public and the police

Over the last quarter century, substantial changes have been made in western justice systems. In the United States, Canada, England and Wales, police incidents have been made public showing the ethnic and gender based biases of the police and of inappropriately forceful methods used by the police, which have led to major changes in governance towards impartial and fair police intervention (Sherman, 2001). In the past, confidence in the CJS has been low. Although changes have improved the CJS over time in line with socio-historical contexts (equality for women, regulation of state and municipal police forces) with parallel development of trust, there are still large pockets of mistrust in particular groups. Part of this is due to the fact that a larger proportion of crimes occur in more volatile, poor, ethnic minority neighbourhoods where trust is

likely to be low in general (Liska and Bellair, 1995). Therefore, a particular issue with investigating trust is the stratum of society reflected in particular samples studied. Many population-based attitude and satisfaction surveys may not represent those who have the most frequent police initiated contact with the police such as previous offenders, who may have high mistrust. A need has been identified to establish better rapport and trust between (previous) offenders and the CJS professionals.

There is also research to indicate a certain level of mutual trust needs to exist between peers and neighbours in society for optimal crime interventions (Sampson, Raudenbush and Earl, 1997). When people are trusting of each other, especially in their neighbourhoods and urban centres, then a decrease in violent crime is seen. This can be linked into elements of the CH where improved contact experiences lead to improved relations, and the moral integration element of procedural justice.

Hohl, Bradford and Stanko (2010) argue that the trust of the public helps legitimise the CJS to the community as an authoritative organisation that must be adhered to. They go on to claim that not only does trust contribute to the increased legitimisation of police forces in the public's view, but it also facilitates both support and co-operation from the public in general, fostering a better service and more adequate 'protection' and presence. The Home Office (2008) has emphasised the importance of retaining and enhancing the trust that exists in the CJS by the public.

Bradford and colleagues (2009) looked into the data generated from the BCS and their relation to contact and experience with the police. The authors found a negative association with contact and trust between the public and the police, especially in negative contact scenarios, such as stop and search practices. However, they note that current criminal justice policies appear to advocate an increase in both neighbourhood policing and Police Community Support Officers (PCSO) on the streets aimed to improve public-police relationships. Policies such as the Police Reform Act (2002), creating the role of the PCSO within the police services attest to the increased visibility of the police in our cities. They predicted that by increasing the number and quality of police-citizen contacts through these initiatives, the negative view of the police would reduce. Bradford and colleagues (2009) concluded that opinions about how much the police actually engage with the public, their perceived impartiality, fairness and effectiveness were all highly related components of trust. The authors also indicate that

more research is needed in this area with more specific questions about police-public contacts. These theme will be developed in the study reported here, applied to adolescents, similarly over-represented in the CJS, to examine if trust is related to interactions with intermediary or community programmes of various types. If such trust developed then this could be utilised in increasing trust and positive interactions with the police.

Sandstig (2007) investigated Swedish citizen's trust in the police as well as other social institutions (i.e. health care and social services). He found that a small majority of people trusted the police a great deal (over 57% of the population surveyed) much more than other professionals such as doctors or politicians. Those individuals who were both more highly educated and older were more likely to trust the police than those unemployed with lower levels of education. In terms of ethnicity, those individuals who were either born in Sweden or whose parents were born in Sweden trusted the police more than those who grew up outside of the country. It should be noted that Sweden follows a welfarist approach to policing and all services, where collective inclusion and fair treatment are common place, thus these findings are not entirely generalisable to other countries.

Developing our understanding of the public's perceptions and beliefs in the police, Tyler (2005) investigated ethnic differences between trust and confidence that American citizens have in the CJS, with an emphasis on the police forces. It has been stated that one of the most important factors contributing to the ability of a police force to fight crime is the voluntary nature of public co-operation. Legal institutions find it much more difficult to tackle issues in crime prevention and intervention without public support (Sampson and Bartusch, 1998). Various groups in western societies are argued to engage more in the reporting of crime and criminal activities, to participate and contribute in the community towards crime prevention, and finally, to respect, understand and accept the allocation of public resources for the purpose of fighting crime if they have higher levels of trust in their police. Similarly, members of the public are believed to be more willing to engage in police co-operation when they have higher levels of trust and confidence (Moore, 1997). This is key in understanding the essential 'partnership' that is required for the police to function at an optimal level in the public's view. If the public do not have trust and confidence in the police, then it is argued they

will be less likely to engage with the police. This can involve providing information as a witness or making a telephone call to the police when a crime occurs. Lack of public trust will create more difficulties for the police in carrying out their official duties. With the youth groups that will be examined in the study reported here, establishing this trust is considered essential in both improving relationships between adolescents and the police and indirectly by combating crime and disorder in the community. Thus if trusting attitudes towards the police can be improved amongst youth groups, then co-operative behaviour with the police will increase and minor delinquency may be prevented, curtailing a potential escalation to violence and further criminality.

2.4.3 Trust in other branches of the Criminal Justice System

When various 'sub-departments' of the CJS are examined independently (police, probation, courts, mental health), the police tend to receive the highest self-reported levels of confidence and trust (Tyler, 2005). This is often attributed to the greater degree of transparency and visibility of the police over other criminal justice services, thus distinguishing them apart (Giordano, 1976; Hurst and Frank, 2000; Tyler, 2001). Despite this, Tyler states that there is lack of overall trust and confidence in the CJS. This is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, recent crime statistics over the last fifty years have shown a significant drop in reported and documented violent crime in both the United States and the United Kingdom, with the levels of self-reported trust in the CJS remaining stable (McArdle and Erzen, 2001). Thus the positive advances in the prevention of crime have not improved the public's view of the institution. New York City, considered a hot spot over the years for criminal activity was turned around by the Broken Windows initiative and the hard line approach of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, with the New York Police Department praised for its reduction in crime levels throughout the city. There were criticisms of both the Mayor's approach in attributing Broken Window's and zero-tolerance policing to the crime reduction, as crime was declining in many American cities in which no change in police tactics was implemented (Bowling, 1999). Critics believe that the reduction was more likely the result of a series of environmental and demographic variables such as increased custodial sentences for those convicted of crimes and a decrease in the production, distribution and consumption of crack cocaine (Fagan, Zimring and Kim, 1998). Regardless of how

citizens themselves attributed the crime drop, the public's level of trust and confidence in the police remained relatively unchanged (Tyler, 2011).

Despite potential increases in police effectiveness as described above occurring, it can be argued that in order for the police to efficiently and optimally carry out their duties, they need to gain the respect and appreciation of the public (Hohl et al., 2010). This is because the higher the levels of trust and confidence in the police force, the more likely it is that the public will be willing to co-operate in police investigations. As an indirect result of increased co-operation and trust, the police would have more resources at their disposal from the improved collaboration and co-operation of the public, to potentially have an increased positive effect on different areas of criminal justice (i.e. reporting crime, neighbourhood safety, deterrence, witness statements) (Viki et al., 2006). However, this raises a conundrum in that those that have the most to gain from increased crime prevention, intervention and co-operation (BME groups and adolescents-Kennedy, 2000), are also those that seem to be the most direly affected by crime and are also less likely to engage with the CJS (Viki et al. 2006). In other words, trust seems to increase the public's attitudes in working with the police and legitimising their duties but the people that need the police the most, or who are most likely to come into contact with them have the lowest trust and most negative attitudes about the police force. This thesis intends to explore youth and police relationships, and the importance of taking advantage of any increased contact experiences that youth have with the police. Every contact experience should be seen as an attempt at public relations, where the police and the adolescents try to foster and work through dislike in a professional and amicable manner.

2.5 Young offenders and trusting authority

Since the focus of this thesis is on adolescence, the issues surrounding trusting relationships amongst youth need to be examined, as well as the problems they may have in developing and maintaining trust and the benefits it can provide. In the first instance, it should be noted that a large majority of the research in examining trust focuses predominantly on the relationships young people have with their teachers, peers and parents and instead of narrowing in on delinquent activities, the literature concerns itself more with impulsive and risky behaviour as correlates of delinquency. Activities

such as cigarette smoking, drinking and driving, hard substance abuse and unprotected sex are all behaviours with which trust, relationships and behaviour are investigated.

Gregory and Ripski (2008) examined both students and teachers in this context. As with the police and agents of the CJS, efficient institutional time in teaching and decreased peer and teacher stress was needed for optimal global functioning of the youth in terms of both their behaviour in class and outside of class, as well as their work ethic. As described earlier, the lower the levels of confidence and trust in the establishment, the less likely that the establishment itself will be able to perform its societal duties (Kennedy, 1997; Tyler and Wakslak, 2004); the same applies here in the analysis of teaching. The researchers discovered that the more the students found their teachers to be trustworthy and authoritative, the more likely they were to be co-operative in activities, engage in lesson plans and curriculum and the less likely they were to engage in defiant behaviour. This model provides an insight into the utility of establishing trusting, authoritative relationships between youth and the figures in authority with power over them.

From a parental standpoint, Kerr, Stattin and Trost (1999) looked at the nature of the trusting relationship between the parent and the child/adolescent. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the original figure of authority in any one individual's life is the parent, and therefore relevant to this discussion. Recruitment was undertaken in Sweden, where an entire city's public-school system was targeted, with 1283 adolescents recruited, aged 14 years. Measures ranged from self-reported frequency of offending, relationship with parents and siblings and daily activities, with most items measured on five-point Likert scales with statements of agreement/disagreement. Kerr and colleagues (1999) found the young person's readiness to disclose daily routine activities to their parents was highly associated with other measures of positive youth-parent relationship. Essentially, this means that parents base the developing trust relationship with their children predominantly on disclosure of what they are doing in their everyday lives.

However, the more dysfunctional a family (poor relationships, improper child rearing, and unstable economic income), the more likely the child was to engage in delinquent acts. Yet, even if the family was dysfunctional, strong authoritative trust between caregivers and their children discouraged antisocial behaviour. The concept of familial

function was seen from both the parent and the child's self-reported perspectives, as a product of the existing trust between them. That means that dysfunction in the family unit was considered from the existing levels of trust between the child and the parents. This leads to an interesting path of research in that if the trust is positive between both sides, then this may provide some sort of protection against committing acts of delinquency. Further examination of the construct of trust is needed to provide further insight into its role within adolescence. Increasing trust between figures of authority in the youths' lives is likely to increase their positive level of interaction with implications for the CJS and the police.

Mentoring programmes applied in countries such as Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom provide interesting examples of CJS links in which the construct of trust can be examined in relation to youth offending and delinquent behaviour. Becker (1994) describes mentoring programmes as a constructive relationship between disadvantaged or underprivileged youth with adult volunteers who foster development on a large range of factors; from personal growth to career/skills development, learning novel sports and engaging in activities that were never available to them to begin with. The idea is to allow the youth to create a meaningful, reciprocal relationship with an adult in which friendship, productive authority and respect can be maintained.

Grossman and Garry (1997) discussed the evaluation of a large number of American mentoring programmes that were investigated over an eighteen month period from various locals around the country through the Public/Private Ventures (P/PV) non-profit organisation. The young people, or mentees, involved were aged between ten and sixteen, with a slight majority being male. Over half of the youth involved belonged to an ethnic minority, most of African origin. Almost all of the youth lived with only one parent, usually the mother, and a significant number of the children came from low-income families, with a history of family violence and/or substance abuse.

One of the more interesting conclusions that Grossman and Garry drew from the project was the fact that it was extremely important to provide the young mentees with a strong, positive, trusting relationship. It was argued that had the skills not already been there for the mentors to use in developing these trusting relationships, then the overall benefits of the programme would have faltered. Many of these youth had come from underprivileged homes, and may lack a particular authoritative figure in the family unit

which may create obstacles for further increasing trust from a low baseline. The CD literature (APA, 2000) states that a common issue with youth offenders is the early sign of difficulty with authority, such as arguing, non-compliance and failure to follow rules. It would therefore be interesting to examine if these new 'stranger' relationships would help to replace elements missing from family life and in doing so, intervene in a potential path to criminal activity. These new relationships are also interesting from the perspective of the 'transferability' of trust to the police as discussed in the introduction.

Associated with this, the P/PV study also found that as a result of engaging in a mentoring programme, the quality of relationships between the mentees and their parents/caregivers improved compared to control youth who did not engage in the trusting, authoritative 'stranger' relationship with a mentor. The effect was found to be stronger for males than females and for youth from white than those from ethnic minority groups. This can be applied to trust in authoritative figures related to the CJS. For example, mentoring programmes with juvenile delinquents in establishments such as Feltham in the United Kingdom have sought to develop such trust. Again, the potential of transferring trust from one authority figure to another is evident.

A multi-disciplinary team investigated the efficacy of detention and training orders amongst young offenders across England and Wales (Hazel et al., 2002), with an aim to provide policy makers and CJS professionals alike with information on the effects of secure detention on marginalised and excluded youth. This nationwide study made statistical comparisons between those that were involved with community projects, skill development and educational alternatives and those that did not. The authors found a significant decrease in re-arrest rates following release from those young people that were involved in some form of extra-curricular activity or skills development when compared with those with no involvement. In line with the work described above by Grossman and Garry, as well as many of the other studies discussed in this thesis, the importance of ensuring involvement with the community in the lives of our 'at-risk' youth seems to be important in keeping them away from delinquency. Furthermore, the importance of the participants in developing bonds and relationships with other authority figures in these projects seems crucial in keeping them resilient and crime-free.

A recent project conducted by Spalek, Zahra and El Awa (2011) examined community-based mentorship and applied it to the relationship between Muslim youth and the police in Birmingham and London. Although the study was not primarily aimed at improving police-youth relationships, it investigated the possibility of increasing trust between police officers and Muslim youth in the face of contemporary counter-terrorism strategies. The project was carried out with the use of semi-structured interviews with sixty participants. The interviews were split between collecting data in focus groups (one in London, the other in Birmingham) and one-to-one sessions with a variety of individuals associated with the research questions surrounding Muslim youth and counter-terrorism policies. Of the sixty individuals, fifteen were police officers; fourteen came from Muslim community projects interested at improving relations with the police; thirteen were related stakeholders, ranging from local authorities such as youth agencies; and the final nine were Muslim youth living in London or Birmingham. Although there were several research questions of interest such as the utility of multi-agency counter-terrorist efforts and police partnerships in Muslim communities, the focus here is on the overall relationship between diverse youth and the police.

The study showed the difficulties Muslim youth had in trusting the police and vice versa in the post-9/11 period, where Muslim minorities were often labelled as 'suspects' prior to the collection of evidence and data. This is supported in previous work looking at the partnership of Muslim communities and law enforcement (Spalek, El-Awa and McDonald, 2009; Spalek, 2010). This distrust is increased by the covert nature of counter-terrorism methods where intentions and objectives by the police are not always obvious for security reasons.

Three main requirements came out of the Spalek study when establishing trust with Muslim minority youth and the police: (1) trust cannot be exploited by the police but instead has to be nurtured into a reciprocal relationship with the youth and Muslim communities; (2) trust needs to be clear, open and overt and; (3) trust needs to involve all sides in equal partnerships. Looking at all three of these general, qualitative findings, parallels can be drawn with the earlier work looked at in relation to the contact hypothesis (see Allport, chapter one). Concepts such as equal status and co-operation, as well as intimate contact all converge on the findings presented in the Spalek paper

regarding trust. These findings link aspects of the current investigation into trust in authority and the optimal conditions of contact reviewed in chapter one.

The difficulty in establishing equal status between an authoritative institution and the public is highlighted yet again as potentially problematic in that there will always be a power differential between civilian groups and the police who are empowered by the legal institution to carry out their duties. However, the study shows that ameliorated conditions of the relationship seem promising in relationship improvements.

This AHRC study is important for a variety of different reasons. In particular, the manner in which it examined the components and importance of building trust between police and Muslim youth in battling terrorism is crucial. In a sense, the AHRC project did with Muslim youth and police with relation to terrorism what the proposed study aims to undertake with a diverse group of youth and the police to highlight co-operative behaviour in tackling crime in London. Trust seems to play a major role in on-going police-societal interactions and if harnessed correctly, the research seems to indicate that improved relations between the police and the public they protect may result. If appropriate programmes and opportunities are provided for the police and public to engage in discourse without prejudice and in neutral conditions, trusting relationships may develop. Through these more trusting relations, other aspects of the police-public relationship such as co-operation in combating crime can benefit.

2.6 Measuring trust

Although the analysis of trust has been multidisciplinary researched topic over the past five decades, the utility of trust/mistrust in the relationship between CJS professionals and the public has been relatively neglected, with a lack of consistent objective measurement at local and institutional levels (Home Office, 2015). The construct has been examined both empirically and theoretically, from multiple perspectives (sociological, economic, psychological, organisational and ecological) (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000). In addition, there is a lack of appropriate measures to aid with investigating public and police relationships. The utility of self-report methods in crime research is widely used (Junger-Tas and Marshall, 1999), there are however no such standardised measures of trust which are used across criminal justice systems or contexts. There is thus a need for new tools, used consistently in assessing levels of trust

in CJS professionals and agencies. In order to assess whether additional measures of trust are needed in this field, it is important to identify what is currently available and has been administered in the past. Thus an outline of how trust has been measured in the criminological and social psychological literature is given below.

Bradford, Jackson, Hough and Farall (2009) conducted a meta-analysis of research studies of trust and confidence in criminal justice by the British public. They found that the BCS has been the primary source of quantitative data on both trust and confidence in the police forces across the United Kingdom. In terms of measurement of trust and confidence, the respondents gave their agreement on 5-point Likert scales to questions such as *'They (the police in this area) would treat you with respect if you had contact with them for any reason'*. Other similar survey type initiatives, such as the Policing for London Survey (PfLS) in 2000 and the Metropolitan Police's Public Attitude Survey (METPAS) have provided other sources which are comparable to the yearly BCS items of confidence and trust indicators in the police.

Hohl and colleagues (2010) investigated trust in the police as measured through police engagement, police fairness and police effectiveness. For *Police Community Engagement*, questions centred on the manner in which the public feel their concerns are acknowledged, their community issues are understood and prioritised for the greater good and their subjective reliance in their police force. *Police Fairness* examined the public's perceptions of police impartialness (to suspects and issues), fairness to the respondents particularly, friendliness and helpfulness. Lastly, *Police Effectiveness* was measured examining their ability in tackling gun crime, victim and witness support, policing large scale events, tackling dangerous driving and prompt emergency response. All of these were self-report and measured using Likert scales. Scores were calculated on each criterion with higher numbers more suggestive of favourable opinions, increased confidence and more trust in the police.

Hough (2011) undertook a large Europe-wide study examining the construct of trust and how various countries have measured trust between the public and professionals within their justice systems. It involved the use of self-report surveys examining the public's feeling towards various aspects of a given countries justice system. The study used Likert scales to gauge a participant's agreement with statements of trustworthiness. Key studies contained within the Hough study are described below.

Exploring trust in police internationally, Jokinen and Ruuskanen (2009) reported on an investigation carried out in sixteen different European countries. Using a scale from '0-10', where '0' represented no trust in the police and '10' represented complete trust in the countries own police forces. The purpose was to rank the various participatory countries based on their citizen's responses. Overall, countries comprising the Nordic regions (such as Finland, Norway and Denmark) were found to report the highest levels of trust in their countries police. These countries produced scores in trust averaging approximately eight out of a possible ten. The lowest levels of trust reported were found in the Eastern European participant countries, including Poland and the Czech Republic, with scores around four out of a possible ten. The United Kingdom reported a fairly average level of trust in the police in the mid-range. The study does encompass the experiential nature of reporting on trust in the police as well as showing how this varies according to political economies.

In order to measure 'trust and confidence in the police', Tyler assessed both motive-based and institution-based trust. Institutional trust was measured with an 8-item scale with questions such as *'People's basic rights are well protected by the police'* or *'I trust the leaders of the NYPD to make decisions that are good for everyone in the city'*. This is based on Tyler's definition of institutional trust that there is a clear indication of its association to the police as a legitimate community institution, who have the citizens' best interests in mind. Motive-based trust was measured with a 3-item scale with questions such as *'The police give honest explanations for their actions to the people they deal with'* and *'The police take into account the needs and concerns of the people they deal with'*. We can imply through the question wording that, as Tyler and Huo (2002) defined it, these items measure citizen's perceived motives of their communities' police force. Both sets of trust questions were measured on a 4-point scale where scores of one indicated low belief in the statement and scores of four denoted high levels of agreement. Certain items were reversed scored, such as the items measuring institutional trust *'There are many things about the NYPD and its policies that need to be changed'* and *'The police are often dishonest'*; and basic means and standard deviations were calculated and compared across ethnic groups.

Roux, Roche and Astor (2011) performed a study looking at ethnic minorities trust in the CJS in metropolitan France, specifically Paris, also using a self-report inventory.

This study was conducted under the research body governing the Euro-Justis partnership between several European countries and academic institutions (see Hough and Sato, 2011). Comparisons between BME groups and ethnic majorities, in this case white French nationals and their trust and distrust in police were made. All questions on the survey pertaining to the police asked respondents to indicate their personnel level of trust as either *'Totally trust'*, *'Somewhat trust'*, *'Do not trust'* or *'Not at all trust'*. Of the 1492 participants surveyed, 1105 represented the ethnic majority group while the remaining 387 represented the individuals of BME backgrounds. Overall, mistrust in the police was found to be higher in ethnic minority respondents in France. Under the category *'No trust at all'* almost one fifth of the BME respondents indicated that this was their feeling toward the police, whilst less than ten per cent of the white participants responded in the same way.

When participants were queried later about their perceptions of policing styles (such as whether they felt the police abuse stop and search procedures or discriminate against particular groups), half of the BME group agreed with these statements. This led the authors to conclude that trust was directly related to the views of policing styles; more mistrust and more negative views of current policing techniques. It should be iterated that this project was done as a pilot for the larger Euro-Justis report, which has already been commented on in this chapter. What is of importance is the support a small project like this goes in demonstrating the relationship between BME groups and the police. As discussed in chapter one, the members of BME groups have lower overall trust and were therefore more likely to see the police as abusing their power.

The studies described above all demonstrate the use of self-report methods. This approach has strengths and weaknesses. In support of self-report data, allowing participants to answer questions linked to the particular research aims and objectives independently and autonomously with little researcher interaction is seen as a positive to avoid researcher interference or bias. This approach can be criticised on the grounds that subjective biases by participants may lead to socially desirable responses, and that respondents may become habituated to the pattern of questioning and therefore give similar answers to every question (the 'response set' problem). These criticisms point to the possibility of poor construct validity (Chan, 2009). Chan argues that these difficulties, although important, are not sufficient to nullify the approach.

The measures used are in the main unstandardized with little data provided on reliability and validity in the populations studied. They also vary in item content from study to study. They are also limited and tend to be designed for very specific purposes. Thus most are only relevant to police rather than combining this with more general elements of trust, or trust in other authority figures. Thus new standardised tools which have more general use are required. A breadth of indicators capturing the complexity of public opinions regarding trust and confidence in the police will always be required, including elements of police effectiveness, fairness and shared values (Barber, 1983; Hough and Roberts, 2005). However as discussed at the beginning of this section, objective standardisation is also of importance in measuring trust.

A fundamental aspect of this thesis is the construction of a tested, valid and reliable measurement tool to assess trust in an adolescent population. It is important to acknowledge what has been administered in the past and the manner in which it was done. Having now a basic grasp on how trust has been measured in the criminological and social psychological literature, a particular emphasis on the findings of measuring trust in both authority figures and the CJS will now be discussed.

2.7 Summary and Emerging Research Questions

This chapter has investigated the concept of trust in the context of relationships in the CJS in the ongoing research literature. The more general concepts of global and relational trust and the purely CJS related concepts of institutional and motive-based trust have been the focus. It also examined contexts where trust between the police and other figures of authority had been examined. Findings in this area are inconsistent but the literature suggests that trust between the public and the police are important. For co-operative interactions or reductions in fear of crime, trust can help improve society's view of the police as well as contributing to superior prevention and intervention methodologies (Spalek et al., 2011).

However, the review has shown that besides the identified optimal conditions for contact—norms, intimacy, equality and co-operation—other factors contributed to improved relationships. In particular, if trust can be improved between the police and the public, then improvements in relationships with different social groups and positive interactions in on-going police investigations are possible. Furthermore, the more the

public trusts and has confidence in the police, the more likely they will co-operate in a police investigation and the more likely that the police are themselves seen as legitimate (Tyler, 2001).

The themes contact and trust outlined in these two introductory chapters are used to identify an area of study around the dynamic relationship of adolescents with various authority figures in their lives, as well as in their trust in the police. This will be conducted by looking at community-based programmes that have youth dealing with members of authority both civilian and non-civilian.

Providing as ethnically diverse a population to study as possible assists in accurately representing both the young population of London and those most likely to have contact with the police (Fagg, Curtis, Stansfeld and Congdon, 2006; Reid, Weiss, Adelman and Jaret, 2005). Aspects of the Contact Hypothesis will be applied to examine a relationship between groups from a novel perspective. Instead of investigating a minority and majority group within society, the research will instead focus on the relationship between 'adolescents' and 'police'. The youth involved will, according to the CH, serve as the subordinate social group (Hewstone, Rubin and Willis, 2002) whilst the authoritative social institution of the CJS, specifically the police, will represent the majority status group.

The research questions emerging from the literature reviewed will seek to identify the main dimensions in considering the views of youth in deprived London neighbourhoods towards authority, both generally, and in the police. This will take into account aspects of contact and trust. The research questions are grouped into those exploratory (1 and 2) and those confirmatory (3, 4 and 5). These are outlined below:

Research Question 1: Can ethnographic observations identify characteristics intrinsic to trusting relationships between adolescents and authority figures, with respect to the police and others in authority?

Research Question 2: By talking directly to young people in the community about their perception of trust in authority and the police, can key factors relevant to issues of contact and trust be identified and confirm results of the group observation findings?

Research Question 3: By using information acquired from the qualitative, exploratory studies, can the critical variables be condensed into a standardised reliable and valid self-report tool (Trust in Authority Questionnaire, TAQ)?

Research Question 4: Will trust relate to demographic risk and behavioural disorder? Specifically, among young people engaged in a community programme, will higher levels of trust found in those with more self-reported fair past police contact?

Research Question 5: Will overall trust and/or trust in the police relate to other psychosocial variables linked to police contact and will these latter variables act as significant contributors in regression models predicting trust?

Developing a measure to accurately gauge self-reported trust is a central objective of the current study. Using groups of diverse youth living within the metropolitan area of London is the basis for the sample selection. Undertaking observations of youth in organised youth activity and conducting group discussions themed on trust was seen as an appropriate procedure in developing a new tool around trust which could be beneficial to Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) or any other number of community charitable organisations to gauge levels of trust in authority.

The benefit of a positive, authoritative relationship between the youth and the programme facilitators of the organised activities is tested in relation to influence on other aspects of their lives, such as their attitudes towards the police. It is argued that aspects of the relationship with the programme facilitator can vicariously influence the youth relationship with police. Previous experience with the police and the number of these experiences and attitudes held towards the police are all potential contributors to future intentions of co-operating in relation to witnessing crimes. It also examines whether direct positive contact with the police in the context of the cadet organisation, is associated with higher levels of trust in the police in general. The study aims to explore the levels of self-reported trust in relation to observations and group reports in organised activity, and in relation to survey investigation of clinical symptomatology, particularly behavioural disorder, social disadvantage, attitudes towards the police and in particular, intention to co-operate after witnessing a crime. Details of the study methods are given in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Method

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the methods applied in investigating the concept of trust in authority and the police, together with aspects of intergroup contact theory, through studies of community-based adolescents. Three inter-related studies will be outlined. The progression from exploratory (study 1 and 2) to confirmatory (study 3) will be highlighted, culminating in testing a purpose designed new measure of trust used to investigate the interrelationship between risk factors and levels of trust overall, in authority figures and specifically in the police.

3.2 Overall study design

The study utilised a cross-sectional, mixed methods design. It was separated into three distinct projects over the course of the data collection period involving qualitative and exploratory (1 and 2) and quantitative and confirmatory (3). Participant group selection and size varied for each study. The studies were carried out using three distinct methods: qualitative methods of ethnographic observation; focus groups and quantitative method of questionnaire administration. All studies involved working with different organisations involved with young people in London. These are summarised below:

Study 1—Ethnographic observations of young people: The overt observations ranged across sessions and programmes, with a total of 18 documented (transcribed) and 6 undocumented (passive observations) conducted. The aim was to observe interactions with authority figures within the groups, including those working directly with the police.

Study 2—Focus groups with young people (14). These were spread across the various organisations and participants to gather young people's views on authority, trust and the police.

Study 3—Development of a purpose designed trust questionnaire on trust in authority and test this on a group of community-based young people (100). This included investigating levels of social risk, psychopathology and previous police contact.

In order to homogenise the groups investigated, all had to be (a) involved with one of the participatory organisations; (b) live in a London borough and; (c) be 13-18 years of age. Figure 1 below provides a brief synopsis of the general purposes at each study and level of data collection.

Figure 3.1 General outline of sub-studies and aims

Study 1—Ethnographic observations

-Develop rapport with participants and groups for future phases

-Gain understanding of interactions adolescents engaged in with authority and other young people through observation of their group behaviour

Study 2—Focus Groups

-Capture adolescent perspectives of trust and related themes through group discussion

-Explore importance of authoritative relationships to adolescents and the elements of trust relevant to police contact

Study 3—Questionnaire development and testing

-Design questionnaire items based on previous qualitative studies. Test validity and reliability of trust questionnaire

 -Evaluate trust in the police in a group of community-based youth together with other psycho-social variables. Test best model of overall trust and trust in the police

Note: Illustration of progression of studies, data collection phases and primary aims.

3.3 Participating organisations

Contact was made with a range of organisations in London who worked with adolescents, seeking co-operation for participation in the studies. Five organisations are

detailed below, all of whom agreed to participate and were used in some aspects of the investigation:

3.3.1 The Small Business Consultancy (TSBC)

TSBC provides a London service for troubled youth, focusing on developing entrepreneurial and business skills. Their primary aim is to take advantage of the young people's drive for financial stability and material acquisition to provide them with the foundations and basics of entrepreneurial skills and business knowledge. This includes learning how to perform market research, creating a financial report or managing budgets, with the programme facilitator's creating themed sessions. These sessions aimed at challenging the young people with the objective of engaging in a business venture. The youth involved were mainly male, aged between fourteen and eighteen and recruited from the east London boroughs of Barking and Dagenham and Tower Hamlets.

3.3.2 Oasis Trust

In Lambeth, **Oasis Trust** facilitates a youth football team, bringing together several 'at-risk' youth with histories of CJS encounters. The youth participate with a league accredited team with football practice and playing matches part of their weekly routine. This group has serious aspirations to the professional sporting world and the young people are required to show basic aptitude in their pursuit of football success. The young people involved come together to learn how to co-operate and work with individuals outside their social circle in an unfamiliar environment. These youth are all male, age ranging from fourteen to eighteen years old from the London boroughs of Southwark and Lambeth. The majority are of BME backgrounds and their risk of offending varies from low to high.

3.3.3 Redthread

Redthread is an organisation that deals with victims of youth violence. Initially the programme was set up at King's College Hospital Emergency Department in south London where the victims of violence could speak on-site with a Youth Worker (YW) or non-criminal justice related authority figure. The organisation also runs a 'one-stop'

shop for adolescents at The Well Centre. The aim is to have a health context for seeing the youth who have been attacked for a variety of sessions with a General Practitioner or nurse about their state of health and to talk with one of the on-site YWs about other areas of their lives which have led to the violence. In addition to the hospital ED, The Well Centre is better able to provide the youth that visit them with a non-stigmatising, comfortable and safe environment to discuss both health and violence issues. The aim is for the youth to develop relationships with authority figures on site, and for this to generalise to future encounters with the police. Thus it is vicariously trying to improve their relationships with the police despite the apparent health focus. The youth are both male and female in their late teens to early twenties. They are again predominantly of BME backgrounds and at high risk of offending, many already having had encounters with the CJS.

3.3.4 The Wandsworth Youth Enterprise Centre (WYEC)

The **Wandsworth Youth Enterprise Centre** (WYEC) provides a safe centre for unemployed youth to sit in with a professional counselor and employment advisor in order to explore their options in the job market. The aim is to provide these young people with the skills and knowledge in order to pursue a venture in private enterprise. The project facilitator explained that many of these young people come from middle class backgrounds but have an assortment of educational problems and life events that have taken them off the mainstream path of career/employment as well as social inclusion. Such events include early pregnancies, family troubles and failed educational experience.   The project provides these individuals with a set of skills and the opportunity to interact with an authoritative professional in a field that they may be interested in. The service is located in Tooting southwest London, mixed gender with a range of familial and socio-economic personal risk factors but no specific CJS involvement.

3.3.5 The Volunteer Police Cadets (VPC)

The **Volunteer Police Cadets** (VPC) is the London Metropolitan Police Authorities cadet programme. This involves weekly meetings between Special Constables, Police Community Support Officers (PCSO) and Police Constables and participating youth. Some young people attend because they want to become police officers; others are

placed there by their parents or caregivers as a means to learn discipline and respect authority; while others are there due to parental fear of their involvement in crime and delinquency. The cadets are expected to follow strict codes of conduct, in which they respect and adhere to authority. At the meetings, attendance is taken; uniforms are checked; misbehaviour is not tolerated; and community services and activities are both encouraged and expected. Direct relationships with the police in a 'non-criminal justice' related situation (such as these weekly meetings) is aimed at altering these youths' perceptions of the police. The units engaged are equally populated by both genders and the spectrum of low to high risk is fully represented. The particular units visited for this study were stationed in Tower Hamlets, Southwark, Islington and Camden, thus across London.

See Table 3.1 for a summary of the participating organisations at each phase of data collection.

Criteria for participation in all of the organisations varied depending on the aims and objectives of the project. All projects were directed towards adolescents living in a specific geographical area (i.e. Oasis services were aimed at teenagers living in Southwark and Lambeth). However, the projects all shared general directives towards community engagement and assisting 'at-risk' and excluded youth. Any youth meeting age criteria (usually between the ages of 13-18, across the projects although exceptions were present) and showing an interest in the services being offered were encouraged to join. Many of the participants had issues with antisocial behaviour or experienced deprivation and risk factors associated with antisocial behaviour (i.e. single-parent family, low SES, low school/college attendance).

Table 3.1 Summary of participating groups

Organisation - Subject Group	Methodology		
	Qualitative		Quantitative
	1. Observations (n)	2. Focus Group (n)	3. Questionnaire study (n)
1.The Small Business Consultancy (TSBC)	5 sessions	1 group (n=4)	-
2. Oasis Trust	13 sessions	2 groups (n=22)	100 respondents
3.Redthread	1 session*	2 groups (n=9)	-
4.WYEC	1	1 group (n=5)	-
5.Metropolitan Police (VPC)	4 sessions*	8 groups (n=95)	-

NB: (*) Observed but not fully documented.

3.4 Ethical considerations

This section outlines the ethical issues and procedures relevant to the investigation.

Ethical approval was obtained from the Royal Holloway, University of London ethics committee (see appendix 2). Each organisation was met with individually, in which ethics documents and research aims and objectives were presented. Formal agreement was given.

In addition, the Metropolitan Police required a security vetting process to be undertaken (for the Volunteer Police Cadets) as well as a full disclosure of research intentions through an additional ethics application. This was obtained from the Research and Strategy division at the Metropolitan police.

Due to the perceived vulnerability of many of the youth participating and in accordance with the aims and objectives of the partner organisations, a Criminal Records Bureau check (CRB but since re-labelled as a Disclosure Barring Service [DBS] criminal record check) was also undertaken by the researcher (see appendix 3). All the organisations involved were required to go through parental consent procedures but this was deemed unnecessary for the current study by the organisers and the ethics board. The organisation had the discretion to decide what types of actions and activities may be undertaken whilst the youth are in their care, including this research study. However

individual signed consent by the young people who participated in focus groups and questionnaires was implemented.

Background material about the proposed project was provided at each stage of the study to the lead contacts of organisations involved. For the observations, contact was made with each organisations facilitator who agreed to participation and who always initially provided the introduction to the group. Any questions that any of the youth or the organisation facilitators had would also be addressed. For both the focus groups and the questionnaires, briefing/information sheets were brought along to each of the sessions. Signed consent was required prior to both engagements in the focus groups as well as, for completing the questionnaire. All participants were assured that ethical approval had been granted and that all behaviour, action and analysis would be carried out within the British Psychological Society Code of Conduct and Ethics. The participant responses would remain confidential, and all data would be protected under guidelines from the Data Protection Act 1998. On several occasions, the youth needed to be reassured that the researcher was not working with the Metropolitan Police or any CJS-related entity. Such reassurance was given to aid openness in responses.

All questionnaires were anonymised, but identified by codes linked to the list of participants. This was so that if they later wished to be excluded from the study, they needed to contact the researcher to make their concern known. They would then be removed from the data base and overall analysis. Following completion of both the focus groups and/or the questionnaire, participants were provided with the researcher's contact details, who they could approach if they had any questions or concerns. Alternatively, they were given the option of informing one of their group facilitators who could contact the researcher on their behalf.

Because many of the youth involved in the study had a history of antisocial behaviour, the security of the researcher when working alone collecting data needed to be assured. Advice was taken on security from plain clothes police officers working in the ascribed areas and known to project facilitators and the researcher arranged to be contactable by colleagues at specified times when out data collecting late in the evening. Programme facilitators were always on hand during the sessions.

The next section outlines the methods relevant to each of the studies undertaken.

3.5 Qualitative studies

3.5.1 Study 1 – Ethnographic Observations

Study 1 involved overt observations of the participatory groups. This commenced in October 2010 and continued on towards the latter half of 2011. The main purpose of these observations was to examine the youth interactions with group facilitator and behaviour amongst the participants themselves; to inform the project themes of trust and authority; and to facilitate recruitment for the second qualitative study, the focus groups.

3.5.1.1 Study 1 – Sample

The observations were carried out across all five of the London organisations recruited and described earlier. With each group, the researcher made initial contact and engaged in preliminary introductory meetings, where the aims and objectives of the study were explained. The groups all shared two main characteristics: being 'at-risk' youth and participating in community-based activities. All observation groups varied in the number of youth present (see table 3.1 earlier).

A total of eighteen formal observations were carried out (in which documentation was taken) whilst an additional six were added with the 'late comers' to the project (WYEC, VPC and Redthread). For a full account of all the different groups observed, see appendix 4.

3.5.1.2 Study 1 – Procedure

Sessions varied in length, running from one to three hours. At the beginning of every session, the youth were asked permission to allow the researcher to observe and were informed about the process with an option to request termination of the session. All interactions and social exchanges (such as banter, horse-play, verbal arguments, communication, teamwork) were documented over the course of the observations. Background information was also included in the documentation (an illustrative sample of one particular observation log entry for the football activity can be seen in appendix 5). This included an introduction to the session (location, weather conditions if outside sport, attendance); identifying main participators; observations of the activity taking

place; comments on issues of conflict, disciplinary action, diversions or distractions; and the mood and demeanour of the young people.

3.5.1.3 Study 1 – Analysis plan

Several different types of interaction were observed ranging from youth attitudes towards their peers, to their interactions with the programme provider. Anything observed that was believed to be relevant in informing the second qualitative study (2-focus groups) and study 3 (questionnaires) was expanded on in relation to young people's trust in authority.

Following the write-up and collation of the observational phase and a summary account, an ethnographic review of the behaviour and interactions seen was outlined. Key themes surrounding relationships between the youth and the service providers, attitudes towards the organisation and overt actions were documented.

Miles and Hubermans' (1994) seminal text, *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook,* was used to gauge relevant outputs deriving from the observations for analysis. In particular, two appropriate tools were utilised from their source material: 'reflective remarks' and 'vignettes'. These could be used in preparing unstructured qualitative data for presentation of informal field notes and formal structured 'data entries'. It is standard practice for both reflective remarks and vignettes to be used in the earlier steps of qualitative data analysis and this was followed in Study 1 (Yin, 2011).

In both reflective remarks and vignettes, observations around trust of others in general and in authority in particular were a guiding theme consistent with the overall aims of the investigation.

3.5.1.3.1 Study 1 – Reflective remarks

Reflective remarks are commonly used following the documentation of raw field notes (Miles and Huberman, 1994, pp. 66). Essentially they are used to convey subjective insight from the researcher into what is observed during an ethnographic study. The notes themselves are taken whilst carrying out the observation and are in raw form; likely to be subjected to the researcher's personal view and hence bias. Processing the original notes following data collection allows the researcher to think about the data

afterwards with hindsight. Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that research field notes are elements required in structuring a narrative or a story to provide a descriptive and coherent account of the phenomena observed. This is done by threading together the multiple micro-observations taken and makes the information more accessible given the common need to seek cohesion and structure in understanding aspects of the world in constructing narratives to understand those events presented (Graesser, Singer and Trabasso, 1994). Qualitative social researchers typically take these raw observations and thread them together into a sequence of events following logic or patterning relevant to the themes being explored. The narrative provides the researcher and the research audience with a story that aims to illustrate the research questions being investigated. It enables a practical representation of the participants in the environment in which they are being studied. It also allows the researcher to highlight and support the points and themes that are central to the study. These complement the vignettes created. Whilst the vignette will illuminate the salient and crucial points in a discriminating and informative manner (Sparkes, 2007), the reflective remarks create a coherent and structured commentary on what was observed.

The observations conducted in the current study were reflective in the sense that the researcher was looking retrospectively at notes made when the different groups were visited. The series of experiences were then assimilated to provide a picture of the interactions and group dynamics of each of the participatory groups. The observations were ordered not by time or sequence but rather by the researchers overall assessment of what was seen and experienced.

Behaviour or actions observed at the time that seemed irrelevant could become more valuable once the researcher has had the time to cognitively digest the significance of the interactions and behaviours observed. The reflective nature of the exercise permits the researcher to think abstractly, away from the concrete analysis of 'cause-and-effect' that may be postulated after viewing the particular human actions. Reflective remarks allow a fresh and open re-interpretation of the data to alternative explanations and elaborations. Once structured by the researcher into a coherent narrative, the main points may be highlighted and examples illuminated in transforming the researchers accounts into vignettes.

3.5.1.3.2 Study 1 – Vignettes

Ethnographic vignettes are a methodological process whereby a cohesive narrative is placed upon a series of observations and interactions, utilising the reflective remarks and permitting the observer to structure his or her understanding of the event or events (Humphreys, 2005). They enable the researcher to thread together multiple pieces of information and reflections in the early stages of data analysis and provide a narrative of observed, unstructured data such as those collected in natural observations. They also have the added use of imagery or symbolism to extend the description and make qualitative data more understandable to the reader or layman (Erickson, 1986). They provide a human touch, painting vivid, evocative descriptions and images of the social reality observed. The use of vignettes permits the presentation of qualitatively rich data in a concise way. Furthermore, it allows the researcher to look at the data collected and subsequently categorise or typify recurrent themes or symbols in a coherent manner (Miles and Huberman, 1994, pp. 81). The vignette constructed permits a narrative of observed, unstructured data such as those collected in natural observations.

Vignettes can follow any form and for the purpose of the current study were constructed as a structured summary or 'case example'. Each set of observations were described with an introduction where the overall research aims and objectives of the researcher were presented, followed by a descriptive analysis of the themes and constructs unveiled. The findings were then linked back to the original research questions. The discussion then examined issues that may have been missed or neglected in conducting the observations and other underlying features that could potentially have been evaluated. The vignettes of the group's observations in this study aimed to provide a simple narrative based on the field work conducted in the study. They also provide the reader with insight into the young people and groups studied which inform the quantitative aspect of the study.

3.5.2 Study 2 – Focus groups

The second qualitative study (2) comprised a series of focus groups conducted with the same organisations as the ethnographic work.

3.5.2.1 Study 2 – Sample

The fourteen focus groups all centred around developing the theme of trust, with different groups. Two focus groups (1 and 2) were carried out with various participants from the Oasis community engagement programmes. For continuity this group was also used in study 2. Two further focus groups (3 and 4) were conducted with Redthread's youth panel at The Well Centre. Single focus groups were carried out with groups from both TSBC (5) and the WYEC (6). The remaining eight groups were comprised of the different VPC programmes recruited for the project: two from Islington VPC (7 and 8); one from Camden (9); three from Tower Hamlets (10-12); and finally, two from Southwark (13 and 14). A larger concentration with the VPC programmes was due to their suitability and numbers available. Variations in ethnicity, SES, age, gender and motives for participation were all adequately represented across these groups.

The focus groups varied in the number of individuals involved, ranging from four to twelve participants.   Overall, 134 different participants engaged throughout the administration of the focus groups, with an average of nine per group.

Most participants were male and ranged in age from fourteen to eighteen. The groups were comprised predominantly of lower-middle to lower SES.   The youth predominantly came from BME backgrounds.

3.5.2.2 Study 2– Procedure

All of the focus group sessions were between forty-five and sixty minutes in length and in the location of the common gathering/meeting place for the group in question. Sometimes, when groups shared a similar base of operations or facilitator, youth from across the different programmes were placed together in the same session. No financial or material incentive was provided to aid co-operation but light snacks, soft drinks and sweets were offered. In the cases involving participants from the Metropolitan Police's VPC, a variety of cadet programmes were pre-selected by the researcher through dialogue with the head VPC co-ordinator.

In accordance with ethics guidance, participants were in the first instance given a briefing introducing the researcher (although many knew him already from the

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ethnographic observation phase) and general background of what the research involved in verbal and written form. Consent forms were sent around, signed and dated and stored according to Data Protection regulations, locked in the researcher's university office. It was explained to all participants that they could leave at any time if they wished. After the brief introduction and explanation to the participants, they were informed that the length of the conversation would be audio-recorded with the use of a digital voice recorder, transferred onto the computer of the researcher and transcribed verbatim for further qualitative analysis. Additionally, it was explained that all of their identities and responses would remain completely anonymous. In the instances where names were used, they were re-labelled anonymously in the actual written transcriptions.

Theme sheets were created to direct the flow of discussion and prompt new leads in the areas of interest. Copies were provided for both the researcher as well as any of the facilitators or professionals sitting in on the session. The theme sheets provided direct questions regarding the nature of trust, with subsections relating to the subsets being explored (different types of trust, trust in different people, trust in authority and trust in the police). Prompts were also added to the questions should participant responses have been too narrow. Complete copies of participant information packages, including consent forms and theme prompts are given in appendix 6.

Following the delivery and collection of information, all participants were debriefed and provided with contact details for the researcher should they have any follow-up questions. Audio recordings were saved onto a hard disk for storage and were password protected. Each session was transcribed verbatim in order for further analysis to be carried out. As individual participant details were not taken, and the general use of the information gathered was to inform study two of the data collection, minimal annotation and labelling of speakers was applied. Participants were simply labelled as JD (researcher), OM (other male) and OF (other female). Once these had been carried out, qualitative analysis was undertaken in the form of thematic analysis and using the NVivo Version 9.0 computer programme.

The thematic analysis was conducted on the transcripts of the focus groups. It involves a grounded interpretation of textual sources, in which links to literature and research aims and objectives of the investigation in question. In its simplest form, thematic

analysis aims to structure and support theoretical constructs via association between multiple pieces of information. In the current thesis, definitions of trust and work in the ethnographies, as well as the development of the focus group schedule assisted in directing the thematic analysis and allowing for interpretation and links between focus group findings.

3.5.2.3 Study 2 – Analysis plan

Three general themes were used as subject topic guides in the focus group discussions. These were (1) the general construct of trust; (2) trust in authority and (3) trust in the police. The aim was to establish understanding of youth trust both generally and specifically. All of these themes with associated prompts and follow-up questions were established in advance and can be found in the focus group briefing package (appendix 5). All focus group proceedings were transcribed and a sample transcript is provided in appendix 7.

NVivo 9.0 is a computer software programme that permits researchers to work with unstructured qualitative data, and was used in the analysis of the focus group transcripts. It provides an efficient way to store, track and analyse non-numerical data. The programme permits the uncovering of trends and patterns found within the data set, working from a top-down perspective. Using its analytical methods, large tracts of material can be scanned and coded to discover frequencies, repetitions and concepts interlinked and relevant to predefined parameters. It provides a systematic means to track themes related to the research and those new areas that become evident over the course of analysis. Observations and notes can be made in parallel with the running of the analysis and evidence can be built in the support of the findings. All outputs and hand notes were keyed into computer files and stored according to protocol.

The overall goal of the focus groups and the analysis carried out by NVivo 9.0 was to identify repeating themes and trends from the transcripts for greater understanding of the trust concept, and this in turn to assist in informing the construction of the questionnaire in the third study. In particular, concepts and themes surrounding the construct of trust and its relation to authority and the police were prioritised. A primary aim was to construct items measuring trust that were relevant and contextual to the youth that would be completing the questionnaire.

3.6 Study 3 – Quantitative data

The third study involved the development and testing of a questionnaire on trust in order to produce quantitative data looking at associated psychosocial variables. This was then to be developed into a model predicting trust overall and in the police. The questionnaire pack developed involved existing standardised measures together with a new one whose items were derived from the qualitative studies (1 and 2): the Trust in Authority Questionnaire (TAQ). In addition, an adaptation of an existing measure evaluating intentions to co-operate with the police was formulated using new scenarios emergent from the focus groups and relabelled as the Behavioural Intentions Adapted (BI-A) measure.

The questionnaire component of the study compiled different scales widely used in the forensic and criminological literature. The questionnaire pack included various sections of measurement, including: demographics; lifestyle and risk; psychopathology and behavioural disorder; police encounters and contact; and the new measure on trust.

The concurrent use of established demographic and psychosocial measures aided with both the validation of the new questionnaire, the exploration of associations between the variables under investigation and the development of a trust model. The study was also able to address the issue of trust in the police in relation to the Contact Hypothesis, measured in terms of quantity and quality of police contact. It also addressed the issue of associations of trust between civilian authority figures (youth workers) and the police.

Given that the study undertaken involved the intersection of forensic psychology, social psychology and criminology, the measures selected reflected aspects of this multidisciplinary dynamic. More details are provided about the sample and individual measures below. A full version of the questionnaire administered is provided in appendix nine.

3.6.1 Study 3 – Sample

The 100 participants were derived from an initial pool of 175 questionnaires (co-operation rates of 57%). This is similar to other survey response rates in this area (Asch, Jedrziewski and Christakis, 1997; Baruch, 1999).

One organisation already studied in studies 1 and 2, was utilised: the community-based Oasis Trust. All participants were recruited from the south London boroughs of Southwark and Lambeth and this represented a relatively high risk social group, with no formal links to the police and varied demographic, risk, disorder and police interaction profiles. It allowed for the examination of differences in the young people in their ongoing experience of social adversity, their police contact and how this reflected on their trust in the police and authority in general.

3.6.2 Study 3 – Procedure

All participants were approached at their community organisation in London and asked to complete the questionnaires in the context of the activities they attended.

Those agreeing were given a consent form to sign. Participants were then asked to take their time and go through and respond to all items on the questionnaire. No names or addresses were required for the questionnaires which were identified by number.

There were two phases to the study. First a pilot phase to test the initial questionnaire and its reliability, adapting it as necessary and second the full study to test the final questionnaire in relation to other variables.

All data was inputted into SPSS 19.0 for analysis with basic data cleaning and data checks conducted. Checks were made for outlying values and the normal dispersion of all measures. All items were scored either based on the published procedures or, in the instance of the newly developed TAQ, a new scoring was derived over the course of the study.

3.6.3 Study 3 – Measures

The six primary sections of the final collated questionnaire are outlined below. Each of the six areas outlined in detail below provide a brief introduction to the constructs or items being investigated as well as an explanation of the measures selected. Table 3.2 lists the different measures utilised.

Table 3.2 Measures utilised

Factor	Measure Name	Author(s)
Social adversity	Demographics*	
Social risk	Lifestyle, neighbourhood and background	Estevez and Emler, 2010
Psychopathology	Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ17+)	Goodman, Meltzer and Bailey, 1998
Police interactions and contact	Frequency (Quantity) of contact	Hutchison and Rosenthal, 2011
	Quality of vicarious/extended contact	Eller et al., 2007; Turner et al., 2007
	Quality of police contact (QCS)	Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000 Tyler, 2005 Viki et al., 2006
	Attitudes towards the police (SPAS)	Tyler, 2005; Viki et al., 2006; Hohl et al., 2010
	Behavioural Intentions to co-operate with the police - adapted (BI-A)	Smith et al., 1983 Viki et al., 2006
Trust	Trust in authority (TAQ)	(new to this study)

3.6.3.1 Demographics

To measure **ethnicity**, scales commissioned by the government such as the Metropolitan Police Attitude Scale, or PAS, were adopted. Youth identified themselves under a selection of potential ethnic groups (White, Black, Asian, Chinese, and Mixed)

with subsections under each. For example, the category 'Black or Black British' allowed respondents to select this while also allowing them to identify whether they were: Black Caribbean (origin), Black African (origin) or Black other. The category of 'Asian or Asian British' permitted respondents to specify as to whether they were: Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi or any other Asian background. It was considered that this approach would be the most inclusive and sensitive to the participating sample as well as reflecting the complexity of second or third generation status.

In order to have an indication of participants' **socioeconomic** status, participants were asked about parents work. A closed-ended question simply asked *'Are your parents employed'* and asked the responded to indicate *'Yes'* or *'No'* for both their mother/female caregiver and father/male caregiver. The open-ended follow up question asked *'Describe the type of work you parents/caregivers do'*. Participants were instructed that they could respond with *'unemployed'* or *'do not know'* if this was the case.

For an indicator of **family life/parental relationships**, two closed questions asked participants to indicate who they lived with and if they had ever been separated from their parents. The first question asked *'Parents that I live with at the moment'* and included mother and father combinations with caregivers. *'Other-adults'* was also an option. Participants were instructed to tick all those boxes that apply to them. The second question asked *'I have been separated from my birth parents'* and again offered participants several options including *'Never'* and *'Deceased'*. Subjects were then prompted to indicate what age they were at the first separation from both their mother and father.

The participants were asked about the length of **time they had been engaged** in the service and their frequency of attendance. For frequency of attendance, the participant needed only circle one of six possible responses, such as *'Daily'* or *'Weekly'*. For engagement with the organisation, instructions allowed for the respondent to indicate how long they had been part of the associated community programme, to the nearest month (i.e. one month, thirty-six months).

3.6.3.2 Lifestyle, family and antisocial behaviour

Several predictor variables were identified around neighbourhoods, family, school and substance use and included to provide a matrix of commonly associated risk factors of offending to examine in relation to trust variables.

Various items were based on Estevez and Emler's (2010) investigation into adolescent risk factors of offending. This was considered relevant since carried out using British youth (England and Wales) participating in the 2005 Offending Crime and Justice Survey. The items were comprehensible, with low attrition rates found in that study. For the purpose of this study, the simplicity of the closed-ended categories were considered appropriate.

Close-ended *'Yes-No'* response type questions were used to gauge the participants experience of neighbourhood, family relations, school behaviour and substance use. Four main subsections were included in this portion: neighbourhood, family, school and substance use. For the *neighbourhood* and *school* sections, responses were the same, with a higher number of *'Yes'* responses indicating a greater link to risk or antisocial behaviour.

In reference to *family*, the same format as discussed above was applied, querying participants in a *'Yes-No'* framework. Items looked at whether participants lived with their parents, had good relationships with them or if they had ever suffered bereavement. Certain items were reverse scored in this section (i.e. *I have run away from home before*) where a positive response, such as *'Yes'* led to a negative score.

Taken from the same project, *alcohol use* was gauged on a self-reported frequency, based on the amount of alcohol the participant has consumed. Responses ranged from as frequent as daily to as scarcely as less than once every two months.

Finally, antisocial behaviour and criminal activity were reported on a simple *'Yes-No'* close-ended response. Five items asked participants about their antisocial behaviour, criminal activity and criminal convictions. Where *'No'* is answered, the respondent continues on to the next statement. When a *'Yes'* is ticked, the participant is prompted to indicate how many times. For example, *'Have you ever engaged in antisocial*

behaviour before', responding with a *'Yes'* would ask the respondent to indicate how many times over the last year.

3.6.3.3 Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire 17+ (Goodman, 1998)

In order to gain an understanding of the symptoms, behaviours and psychological disorders present in the young people, a screening tool was used to assess whether the participants were experiencing behavioural and/or emotional disorder or problems with peers. The Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) (Goodman, Meltzer and Bailey, 1998) is a concise tool that can be administered to children and adolescents, with standardisation nationally and validation against clinical measures to determine disorder rates.

The SDQ in its simplest version is a brief questionnaire that poses questions on twenty-five psychological symptoms and behaviours that the young person is currently experiencing. The attributes are divided into five general categories, three are psychological disorders (conduct, hyperactivity-inattention and emotional disorder) and two involve peers and prosocial behaviour. The three disorders and the peer problem categories are summed to provide a score out of forty pertaining to 'overall difficulties'. In addition each of the subscales provides a case/abnormal and borderline level of disorder. These scores can be used as screening prior to clinical interview to determine suitable interventions (Goodman, Lamping and Ploubidis, 2010). These are published scores derived from a national survey that provides both subclinical (threshold) and clinical cut-offs (Meltzer, Gatward, Goodman and Ford, 2000).

Each question asks the respondent a statement regarding social interactions or symptoms, such as *'I think before I do things'*. A Likert scale with three options to choose (not true, somewhat true and certainly true) is used for calculations (*'0', '1'* or *'2'*). Thresholds for Emotional problems, Conduct Disorder, Hyperactivity Disorder and peer issues are provided and subclinical (or borderline) thresholds are also published. Additionally, national prevalence rates are available (Meltzer et al., 2000).

The SDQ tool comes in various formats, ranging from adolescent self-report to informant report (for the difficult individual, the teacher/parent/caregiver may respond). The tool has additional features such as an impact supplement, where following

completion of the twenty-five items, the respondent is asked to elaborate on certain problems they may have. Additionally there can be a follow-up section in which further queries are made regarding problems in specific social niches, such as their home life.

Whilst this tool is mainly used for young people aged 11-16, after consulting with Professor Robert Goodman (the creator and primary administrator and expert on the utility and findings of the SDQ), it was made clear that the SDQ has been used on samples upwards of nineteen years of age. It was applied in the three year follow-up to the 2004 National Survey (in which the original sample group was aged 5-16, thus bringing their range to 8-19). As there is no other suitable tool, Professor Goodman agreed its substitution for the age group in this study.

3.6.3.4 Contact with the police

*Frequency/Quantity of contact (*Hutchison and Rosenthal, 2011)

Frequency of contact with the police was examined with a single item which asked the number of times the respondents had physically come into contact with the police over the course of the last year. This was similar to the version used by Hutchison and Rosenthal (2011). This could be for any reason, e.g. from passing a PCSO on the street to calling the police to report a crime or even asking an officer for directions.

Quality of contact Scale (QCS) (Viki et al., 2006)

The Quality of Contact Scale (QCS) was adapted from the test used by Viki and colleagues (2006). Respondents were asked to consider a previous situation in which they had come into a direct experience with the police. Following this, they were asked to describe the experience in terms of seven semantic differentials. The seven semantic pairings were '*Voluntary-Involuntary*', '*Co-operative-Competitive'*, '*Pleasant-Not Pleasant'*, *'Fair-Unjust',* '*Friendly-Hostile'* and '*Warm-Cold'*. The first and fourth pairing listed above (*Voluntary* and *Fairness*) was added to reflect issues surrounding type of police encounter and procedural justice raised in the literature (Hohl et al., 2010; Tyler, 2005). The final two pairing (5th and 6th) mentioned were added for reliability, having been used in an abundance of the intergroup contact literature (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000). 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 previous encounters with the police.

Extended/vicarious contact (Turner et al., 2007)

A measure designed by Turner and colleagues (2007) and Eller and colleagues (2007) was used. Each of the participants was asked to think about the types of encounters with police they had heard about through others (i.e. vicarious contact). The list of potential sources included peers, colleagues, family and friends.

Each respondent was asked to think about police experiences they had heard of over the last year. They were then asked to write a single frequency for both the number of positive and the number of negative experiences they had heard. Participants were told to re-classify any experience they deemed as 'neutral' to 'positive'. An overall score was calculated for each participant based on the total number of positive and negative vicarious experiences they reported. The basic premise of this method is that the overall differential between the positive and negative scores would provide the respondent with an overall positive or negative 'extended' contact quality score. For example, if a respondent indicated that they had ten positive/neutral vicarious experiences with the police and seventeen negative vicarious experiences, then they would score a (+10) and (-17) respectively. Their overall 'extended contact' score would be (-7), categorising them as negative. For the purpose of this analysis, respondents were dichotomously classified as having a positive or negative vicarious influence from others.

'Semantic Police Attitudes Scale (SPAS) - Adapted scale

Participants responded to a seven-item 7-point semantic differential scale after being asked to consider their attitudes towards police officers. This was an adaptation of the Metropolitan Authority Police Attitude Scale (MAPAS) (see Hohl et al., 2010) measure using the same format but with alterations to some of the descriptors from Tyler (2005) and Viki et al. (2006). The pairings in the semantic differentials were as follows: *'Rude-Polite', 'Liars-Truthful', 'Friendly-Unfriendly', 'Helpful-Useless', 'Lazy-Active', 'Prejudiced-Impartial', 'Lenient-Strict'* (R) and *'Concerned-Indifferent'* (R). Higher scores by individuals were seen as demonstrating more positive overall attitudes towards the police (following reversal of scales where appropriate).

Behavioural Intentions – Adapted scale (Viki et al 2006)

The two scenarios created for analysis in the behavioural intention section were adapted from the original work by Smith (1983), following an example of updated scenarios by Viki and colleagues (2006). Participants were asked to consider relevant offences or crimes they may hypothetically witness, or be victims of, and rate on a Likert scale (7-points) of their likelihood to (a) call the police, (b) provide a witness statement to the police or (c) provide testimony in court if required. In the current study, scenarios were adapted to ascertain when individuals would and would not turn to the police for assistance. Two scenarios were constructed based on the frequency of crimes discussed during the focus groups. One scenario related to being mugged on the street, whereas the other related to having someone who you disliked threatened with a knife. For each scenario, the participant was requested to answer on a 7-point Likert scale, where *'1'* represented *'Strongly disagree'* and *'7'* represented *'Strongly agree'*, their subjective level of agreement on each of three questions. The three questions in order were: Calling the police; providing a witness statement to a police officer and; providing evidence in court during a police investigation.

3.6.4 Trust in Authority Questionnaire (TAQ)

The trust measure on the questionnaire was constructed as a main part of the study. Item design was influenced by the qualitative findings of the focus groups. Three different subscales of trust were created, all based on Likert-scales ranging from one to seven (*'1'* represents *'Strongly agree'* and *'7'* represents *'Strongly disagree')*. Several items were purposely reversed in order to counter response sets by the participants. A full description of the construction of the TAQ is described in chapter 6, with further details in appendix 8.

3.6.4.1 Core trust

Core trust consisted of eight items all focusing on the most frequently occurring themes that the youth had discussed in the focus groups. Concepts such as confidence, respect, longevity, reciprocation and intimacy are represented throughout the items. For example, *'Trust involves placing my confidence in other people'*. In addition, social groups such as intimate peers (close friends) and family were consistently repeated in

the data. For that reason they were also included in order to provide the measure with physical entities alongside the many latent constructs. As indicated in the previous section, each item carried a maximum of seven, with lower scores indicative of more general feelings of trust in others. The final version of the TAQ retained 5 directed towards measuring core trust.

3.6.4.2 Trust in authority

Trust in authority was constructed in very much the same manner as the core trust measure in that it used consistent and frequently occurring themes and words to create items included on the measure. In addition, trust in authority and trust in the police (the following section) needed to have similar items overlapping so that those items gauging authority would also be available to gauge trust in the police force. This was to address the issue of 'transferability' of trust in the police. That is to say that trust in the police can be developed vicariously through experiences and relationships with individuals perceived by the youth to be authoritative. For example, *'Treating young people like me fair and equal helps increase my trust in the police'*. Six items were constructed for this measure, looking at trust in non-familial adults, working together, equality and partnerships, development and inclusion. The final subscale of TAQ authority retained 4 of the original items constructed.

3.6.4.3 Trust in the police

As above, with the exception of simply stating 'adult' or 'authority' in the actual statement, the term 'police' or 'Metropolitan police' was used. Questions were structured around interactions, developments, clear explanatory dialogue and overall trust in the police. For example, *'Interactions with a few police officers has increased my overall trust in the police'*. For the third time, participants indicated their level of agreement on a one to seven Likert scale with particular items reverse scored. Six items were used in the final version of the TAQ to measure trust in the police.

The reliability tests for established measures are presented next.

3.6.5 Study 3 – Reliability of established measures

Cronbach's alpha was calculated for three questionnaires to provide internal consistency scores for the SPAS, SDQ and Quality of police Contact Scale (QCS). These are shown in table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Internal reliability of standardised scales

Scale	Cronbach's Alpha
Semantic Police Attitude Scale (SPAS)	0.87
SDQ17+	0.69
Quality of police Contact Scale (QCS)	0.80

Both the Semantic Police Attitudes Scale (SPAS) and the Quality of police Contact Scale (QCS) yielded high values for internal consistency.

The SDQ17+ had comparatively lower values to the other two scales at α=0.69, below the 0.70 usually expected. This is likely to be due to the fact it measures symptoms related to five disorders/risk factors so similarity between items covering both emotional and behavioural disorders is likely to be lower than for measures covering a single construct. Whilst internal consistency can be improved by deletion of items, it was not deemed appropriate to exclude items because of the published cut-off scores needed to define disorder. It should however be noted that the SDQ was used for a slightly older group than is typical. Professor Robert Goodman, the main designer of the Strength and Difficulties measures was also consulted regarding the application of the SDQ17+ self-report to a cohort beyond his original age limits. The self-report has been used with participants up to the age of 19 in the past (with national samples). The upward extension (SDQ17+) is what is used in the current study and although it has no formal validation, it mirrors the original self-report with the exception of item wordings.

Internal reliability scores were also calculated for the adapted vignettes assessing behavioural intentions for police cooperation, which all yielded high alphas (all within 0.74-0.90) and shown in table 3. 4.

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Table 3.4 Internal reliability of behavioural intentions scales

Interaction/Intention	Cronbach's Alpha
Call the police	0.84
Witness statement	0.74
Evidence in court	0.69
Interact in knife crime	0.79
Interact in mugging	0.90
Interact overall	0.89
Average alpha	0.81

Reliability and validity tests for the new measure of trust, the TAQ, are provided in chapter six.

3.6.6 Study 3 – Statistical power

Statistical power analyses were undertaken to establish the sample size needed to adequately test the TAQ questionnaire in study 3.

The power to calculate appropriate test re-test was calculated first. This determined reliability of the scales when used on the same respondents on two occasions. There are no strict parameters around deciding a sample size needed to test the properties of a new questionnaire in terms of reliability and validity. Test-retest numbers are usually left to the discretion of the researcher in tool development, but around 10-20% are usually acceptable (Paiva et al., 2014). Twenty individuals were used in the sample for test-retest, this accounted for 20% of the sample. Therefore for the current study, the number selected is considered appropriate.

In terms of standard numbers of respondents per measure, usually around 20 are required for each. Given that there are five key measures, then numbers of 100 would be sufficient.

Power calculations were conducted to determine the size of sample required for study 3 to also show significant relationships between the variables investigated. Due to the

novelty of the constructed questionnaires, no directly comparable study was available. Illustrative power calculations were devised on the basis of findings from other studies using the selected measures. The study aimed for sufficient power whilst maintaining alpha at 0.05 or lower.

A basic online statistical calculator Javastat was utilised to calculate the minimum sample size required for the study. Two different power calculations were used (i) the sample size required to detect significant association between the quality of police interaction from direct contact versus indirect contact and (ii) the sample size required to detect subclinical/clinical versus normal rates of disorder in an intervention using the SDQ in 'at-risk' youth. Comparable study sample sizes previously utilised in investigations of attitudes in the police and behavioural outcomes are also given. These are described below.

1. A calculation was carried out based on figures from a study investigating the nature of direct versus indirect contact with the police on perceived quality of contact on a sample of ethnically diverse adolescents and young adults before and after an encounter with the police (Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins and Ring, 2005). The calculation found 44.6% of those with direct experience with the police had good quality interaction versus 18.8% who had no direct experience at all (vicarious or indirect), with an effect size of r=0.53. Power was set at 90% with an alpha of α=0.05, requiring a total sample size of 102.

2. A second calculation was conducted utilising a study investigating 'at-risk' children and adolescents participating in evidence-based intervention programmes within the school system to examine psychological disorder (Little et al., 2012). In their study 68.3% of participants were engaged in one of three evidence-based intervention programmes with the SDQ used for difficulty scores. Those participants involved with a project showed lesser overall difficulties score than their control group peers with an effect size of r=0.50. Power was set at 90 % with an alpha of α=0.01, requiring a total sample size of 106 in order to see a significant difference in diagnosis.

The study used for comparison purposes is outlined below:

1. Viki and colleagues investigated race and willingness to co-operate with the police and used similar variables in their study to the ones reported here (Viki et al., 2006). Attitudes towards the police, quality of contact and social vignettes prompting participant's willingness to engage with the police in an on-going investigation were utilised in a sample of 120 undergraduate students.

It can therefore be seen that a sample size of approximately 100 is estimated as suitable based on the power calculations and study comparisons above to determine significant findings in this study.

3.6.7 Study 3 – Statistical analysis

Analysis was undertaken using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) IBM version 19.0. Frequency counts were run on all datasets and verified to ensure data was properly entered (including those items that were reverse scored). Brief data cleaning was performed eliminating outliers and all derived scores were calculated following published procedure. Significance of relationships and associations was set at the $p<0.05$ (maximum) level.

Basic descriptive statistics were conducted on all the demographic variables. Cross-tabulations with Chi-square (χ^2) statistics were calculated to examine significance of relationships between key variables.

Associations between the demographic variables such as organisation and risk and the measures looking at attitudes in the police, trust in authority and the police and quality of contact and symptoms were carried out using Pearson's 'r' correlations.

Multivariate regression analysis was run investigating the best fit models with risk, disorder, quality and attitudes towards the police, and behavioural intentions to cooperate items serving as independent variables in relation to overall trust, trust in the police and trust in authority as measured by the TAQ as outcome variables.

3.8 Summary

This chapter focused on the research design, sample, data collection and measures used and statistical analysis planned for the three different studies. It outlined the varying types of methods applied and the samples and measures used. In addition:

- The design of the overall investigation and three separate studies was presented in relation to the initial research questions described in the introductory chapters.

- Samples were selected from a range of community programmes in London. The background of the various organisations involved, their contacts and the programmes that they offer youth in the community were outlined. In addition, the type of youth that they reach out to was described and a breakdown of the various preliminary data collection phases provided.

- Ethical consent and Disclosure Barring Service (DBS) procedures were outlined.

- The three studies comprised an ethnographic study, a focus group study (both qualitative) and a quantitative survey study which utilised the newly designed TAQ questionnaire. The aim was to explore the issue of trust using multiple methodologies and distinct samples. The three studies progressed in phases from the most exploratory and unstructured (observations) to the quantitative study which sought to test the research questions derived from the earlier studies and the literature review. The utility of the focus groups in conceptualising trust as well as deriving the new questionnaire items was discussed, as was the construction of the new tool. A mixture of established standardised measures such as the SDQ (with the 17+ addition) as well as new, novel items involving trust were put together to have an overall understanding of adolescents' living in London.

- The construction and refinement of the TAQ items were outlined, following its pilot use on 20 respondents.

The following three chapters will provide the study findings.

Chapter 4: Qualitative Study 1 – Observation case studies

4.1 Introduction

This chapter undertakes the analysis of field observations conducted on three different organisations participating in the research. The purpose of the observations was to demonstrate the idiosyncrasies of the participatory groups; the young men and women involved (as users) with the organisations and the dynamics of the relationships both amongst the young people and with the authoritative adults running the programmes themselves. This would assist in illustrating the sample characteristics being investigated throughout the three studies. The investigation sought to answer the first research question:

Research Question 1: Can ethnographic observations identify characteristics intrinsic to trusting relationships between adolescents and authority figures, with respect to the police and others in authority?

This chapter therefore aims to structure the researcher's observations in formalised, coherent and structured manner. It is intended to provide an understanding of how the organisations participants function as well as illustrate the importance of these young people's relationships with authoritative figures in an informal hierarchy. In addition, it informs both studies 2 and 3 of the thesis in providing an intimate understanding of the functionality of each group.

4.2 Outline

The data collected throughout the observations comprised a collection of field notes written by the researcher during the observations themselves, followed by more formal post-hoc analysis and documentation in the form of vignettes and reflective comments. These post-hoc commentaries were reflective in nature, elaborating upon what was observed and all were written within seven days of the observations themselves. They were intended to synthesise and complement the raw field notes taken at the time of the observations in order to structure a narrative and cohesive account of field experience.

Certain prerequisites were established in pre-observation meetings with the programme facilitators. Basic requirements of the programme such as working with 'excluded' or

'at-risk' youth were required and all the groups included youth aged thirteen to eighteen years of age. Programmes for inclusion in the observations all provided some form of engagement activity. This needed to be a communal activity that the adolescent participant and group facilitators could work on in collaboration. A range of activities were included from learning how to write a budget to improving athletic skills. There were not firm restrictions as to what activities the young people were engaging in to be eligible for observation, although each group had a different focus.

No theme schedules, prompts or briefings were provided for the participants prior to the observations. The researcher conducted several pre-observation meetings with the facilitators across the different projects/programmes. At these meetings, aims and objectives of the research were discussed. At the observations themselves, the programme facilitator would always brief the participants, introduce the researcher and allow the researcher to describe his background and his intentions. In fact, the participants rarely asked questions and for the most part became accustomed to the researcher simply being present in the location taking notes, discussing protocol and specific youth with the facilitators and discussing particular subjects related to their experience with the young people themselves.

4.3 Findings

The analyses of the observations were separately undertaken for the three organisations where observations were conducted. Firstly, Oasis Trust was observed on several occasions in south London. Secondly, The Small Business Consultancy (TSBC) was observed in a series of encounters with one group working on a project in Barking and Dagenham. Lastly, the Volunteer Police Cadets (VPC) were observed during time spent with the youth and officers.

Each grouping had aspects in common with respect to the behaviours being examined around youth reactions to authority. The data emerged via multiple observations routed in ethnographic methods through vignettes and reflective remarks. The relationship between the young participants and the programme facilitators and between the participating youth was documented. This linked the research to the primary aim of investigating the establishment of trust between adolescents and authority as a

preliminary step in investigating trust with the police. This next section introduces the groups observed in terms of vignettes and relevant reflective remarks.

4.3.1 Vignette 1 - Oasis

A group of young men participating in the Oasis in south London were observed over a six month period. The weekly observations took place on a series of football pitches. Observations of the young people working with the YWs at Oasis were documented.

The documented sessions showed that the youth participating were motivated by a passion for sport. The young men that attended the Oasis Trust football club seemed typical of other local youth; they wore the same popular designer brand clothes, owned Smartphones with the newest applications and music, and discussed and argued over the English Premier League football teams and players. Their conversation was of girls and school; jobs and families and future plans both in the immediate and long term.

These young men spent their days in Southwark, one of the most deprived boroughs of London. What was striking about this area was the contrasting proximity of deprivation and affluence. The south London sites are both in direct view of the Houses of Parliament, Whitehall, the Ministry of Justice and the London Eye and other tourist attractions.

The youth were a representative mix of south London populations in terms of deprivation, ethnicity and background. This is reflected in the micro-groups evident amongst the football team. The young men of African-Caribbean origin formed their own cohort; greeting each other in distinctive manner, wearing similar styles of fashion and headwear. Their reported ties to low level criminal and antisocial behaviour were confirmed through informal discussion with the group facilitators. There was talk of being linked to south London gangs. This could not be corroborated, with notoriety and boasting of gang involvement likely to be common behavioural responses to establish credibility (Megens and Weerman, 2010).

The second largest micro-group of young men participating with the Oasis football team was defined by their Asian ethnicity. These young men were a mix of various South Asian countries, religions, and affiliations with most being second or third generation

British. These young men presented as quieter and seemingly more disciplined than their African-Caribbean counterparts.

Lastly were the white British youth. They seemed to be the most retiring group, stayed mostly separate and seemed in attendance purely for the football rather than socialising. This last point is a common theme observed across the diverse ethnic groupings: the primary motive of all in attendance was to play and win at football even though more complex social interactions were observed.

Most of the sessions attended were training sessions for the first and second teams. The youth appeared highly motivated to train and demonstrate their football prowess in front of each other. Superiority on the football pitch provided the young men with a better reputation amongst their peers, and increased street 'ratings' or reputation. It also seemed to boost their self-confidence and 'bravado'. All these young men aspired to be like their football heroes. One young man told the researcher that he comes to these practice sessions for one reason, which is to develop his skills and get 'noticed' by the right people in the footballing world. He stated that he always tried his hardest and respected his coaches because he knew he needed the skills to be successful and this would eventually pay off.

In informal dialogue many of the young men knew however that football fame and fortune was beyond their capabilities. However, it was customary to act as if their only prospects for future success were to achieve dominance on the football pitch amongst their peers. These young men seemed to believe that football dominance and success was their best shot at a fair, equal and prosperous future. Education for many of these young men had failed with a large proportion of them having given up schooling, been excluded due to poor attendance or troublesome behaviour on site or simply refused to actively engage. The YWs assigned to manage and run the sessions were white British and from middle class backgrounds and therefore differed from the youth they were engaged with. At first sight, the youth workers themselves seem dangerously out of place in the locale, especially in some of the back streets and alleys in the borough which have a reputation for danger. One of the youth workers told the researcher:

'…one of the reasons I started working with these lads is so I would not be afraid of walking by them on the pavement…'

(OL3, pp. 2, 2010)

However, the relationship between the YWs and the aspiring footballers was positive. Respect and discipline was established and the young men would do as they were told by the YWs. This is because the young men learned very early in their participation that superiority on the pitch is no guarantee for inclusion in the team's first line-up. The young men were required to demonstrate respect for each other, the team and their youth leaders. Attendance needed to be high and tardiness was not tolerated and would be punished by both (small) fines and sanctions such as running laps or performing crunches while the other boys trained. Misbehaviour or horseplay was not tolerated during training, nor was disrespecting the coaches or the captain whilst they were speaking, discussing technique and tactics or leading a drill.

The experience that these young men were engaged in had several observable benefits. Not only did their participation provide them with a new network and support of individuals within the community, it also forged relationships and bonds with like-minded others and the two 'professionals' within their community. These were labelled as new 'role models', as a few of the young men named their coaches. The YW coaches also provided them with aims and objectives for their own endeavours in other aspects of their lives. Some of the youth would go to them for advice about future employment opportunities. Employment in sporting goods shops, coaching football and sales and marketing in some of the lower football organisations were a few of the opportunities these young men were exploring. This is where the project demonstrated its wider benefit.

4.3.2 Reflective remarks – vignette 1

The relationship that the young men were creating with the youth workers/coaches seemed valuable. Many of the youth described how their lives at home were difficult at times. A common thread of discourse involved the lack of a father figure, the presence of several siblings and sometimes an ill mother who could rarely leave the house. However, a large majority of the youth no longer lived with their parents or had regular contact with them or their families. As described earlier, most were also out of

education or employment. These youth were not therefore socialising with any significant adults during this important developmental period. The two YWs serving as coaches provided the young men with an alternative non-parental and non-educational authoritative role with whom they had regular contact and interaction. Unlike their parents and teachers, the coaches had the advantage of working with the young people in a variety of ways. They provided guidance and sports-learning in an area that the young person was passionate and excited about. The young men were motivated to become better players, learn new techniques and win matches and championships. The coaches were perceived as their gateway to this. The young men looked up to these two YWs with for inspiration, respecting them for their knowledge of the game as well as the control they wielded over both the team and their individual future as part of that team. In turn, the youth learned to develop a trusting and respectful relationship with their coaches. They acknowledged their authority and would turn to them for advice and assistance. One young man was about to become a father and knew nothing of child care, courtship or sexual health. He could not turn to his mother or father for help and his friends would mock him if he expressed need for support. He spoke to one of the coaches who put him in contact with another group of young men using the Oasis services. The fact that he had come to this coach for direction points to the success of these groups in forging of these relationships.

In one observation on Bonfire Night, November 2010, the young men were extremely agitated on the pitch and disobeyed orders repeatedly. The coaches finally decided to discipline them and call them out on their behaviour, explaining how they were letting everyone down, including themselves, and they would be prohibited from playing in their next match, the boys behaviour noticeably changed and their determination to play well grew. They took their punishment, and trained ten times harder. They were silent and referred only to the coaches as 'sir' for the rest of the training session. They acknowledged their misbehaviour and submitted to the authority of the youth leaders. This showed the effectiveness of such groups in exerting authority. Such relationships can provide youth with the stability, discipline and mentorship that they may be lacking in their lives.

The sessions also provided the youth with social skills for other aspects of their lives. Since many were outside of education, the training and inclusion in the matches

provided the young people with both aspirations for future endeavours as well as access to real life advice through an authoritative adult. By interacting and conversing with the YWs on site, the participants were able to gain work experience, knowledge of professional courses and personal development opportunities. They were also able to gain advice on particular issues facing them in their daily lives through discussion with the trained YWs.

The research literature argues that lack of a proper formal education is a risk factor which can lead to future crime, antisocial behaviour and delinquency (Farrington, Loeber and Ttofi, 2012). Additionally, several scholars have postulated that people learn in many different ways and forms (Barrington, 2004; Stanford, 2003). The formal education system in many countries fails to embrace different learning techniques and styles for adolescents. This study illustrated that various replacements may provide the young people with the necessary engagement to tailor-make their learning and teach discipline and focused application.

4.3.3 Vignette 2 - The Small Business Consultancy (TSBC)

In the autumn of 2010 and spring of 2011, a new grassroots organisation titled 'The Small Business Consultancy' (TSBC) was making headlines across the local and national media. It comprised an innovative programme run by a previous substance abuser and delinquent youth who had been excluded from formal education. TSBC provided community programmes aimed at budding entrepreneurs in society. Unlike Oasis, TSBC targeted young people that had a real interest in business and an ambition to pursue financial and commercial success.

Originating in the deprived London borough of Tower Hamlets, the project aimed recruitment at marginalised and excluded young people living in the area. The organisation quickly spread to local neighbouring boroughs across London. Local councils saw the benefit of the programme as two-fold. First it assisted in keeping potential 'at-risk' youth off the streets and actively engaged, and was thus potentially preventative of both victimisation and offending behaviour. Secondly they saw the opportunity of providing many young people with working skills that could later be beneficial for their employment or self-employment. TSBC provided the young people

involved with the chance of engaging in an activity they were deeply interested in, whilst interacting and bonding with an authoritative adult who led the group.

The observation focussed on one group of young people involved in TSBC's programme known as E=MC². The group included seven young people aged between 14 and 18, only one of whom was female, and all of whom were from BME backgrounds. These youth had ASBO's (Antisocial Behaviour Orders), criminal convictions and YOT (Youth Offending Team) orders. One in particular had a conviction for GBH, arson and sexual assault. The group was observed over several weeks from the beginning of their participation to the end of their business skills training. Over that period of time, several obstacles and opportunities presented themselves to the group, all of which were tackled in a variety of ways. Firstly, the relationship the participants had with the learning facilitators will be commented upon here. Secondly, the behaviour manifesting as they progressed through the programme curriculum will be discussed.

On the first few occasions that the researcher visited the site, the atmosphere in the room was tense. The participants were seemingly cautious in displaying their true intentions and motivations for attendance and rather ill at ease toward their peer group. This was possibly due to their standing amongst this new peer group—they did not want to seem too eager or keen. The young people thus showed some reluctance to be in attendance yet were respectful and acknowledging of the learning facilitator. The first ten weeks are taken up with classroom style activities and lessons. Basic business skills and arithmetic were taught as well as activities ranging from developing a budget, market forecasting and understanding the commercial markets via role playing. Lessons were lengthy, lasting anywhere from two to three hours (and usually in the evenings, a commonality between TSBC and Oasis), involving a mixture of teaching methods and styles (lectures, group work, guest speakers). As with Oasis, the participants were under no obligation to attend and it was personal choice which dictated their involvement with the project. Therefore it was inferred that those young people present were willing to be on site and participating. Through conversations with the group of students and the learning facilitators, it was evident that these young participants had a strong urge and desire to learn from the programme and develop their skills to assist their future career and lifestyle choices.

Lessons were structured with a very high expectation of discipline and courtesy. Similar to Oasis, antisocial behaviours including tardiness, rudeness (to colleagues and facilitators) or lack of application were dealt with through firm and public verbal warnings with no excuses allowed in mitigation. For example, on a particular evening, one of the young men arrived late and without the homework he had been assigned completed. The facilitator of the session had him explain his situation in front of all attendees, which he did whilst smiling. The learning facilitator sternly warned him that this was not a joke and repeat offences would not be tolerated. After apologising to his peers, the young man was asked to leave, complete his assignment and return the following week with everything completed. The young man was late again the following week, without having completed what was asked of him and was dismissed from the programme without a chance to appeal.

4.3.4 Reflective remarks – vignette 2

It is evident that TSBC has acknowledged that the programme is not simply about teaching the young men and women basic business and entrepreneurial skills. It is also about providing them with the professional and behavioural skills to manage different aspects of their daily lives and working environment. They learn how to respond appropriately to authority. When guest speakers attended sessions, the youth were encouraged to present projects, ask questions and seek out volunteer work experience. The programme and its managers structured the sessions and used them as a catalyst for further development. Once opportunities arose, such as a professional in a field of interest to their own coming to present to them, they were encouraged to exploit the experience to its full potential for their own benefit. It provided them with the skills to deal with future employers, instructed them on how to dress, speak and act during the interview process appropriately, regardless of the standard of job they are applying for. As with Oasis, it helped instil discipline, knowledge and maturity in these young people's lives. It provided them with structure and understanding of the world around them through the catalyst of a topic or subject matter that they enjoyed.

It should also be noted that the ten week business skills training course was not the only purpose of the project. The group was expected to come together and form a cohesive team of like-minded individuals. With this team, they were expected to develop a

business plan for a new project or device that could be marketed and sold (with the backing of the board of directors of TSBC). Previous projects had been successfully exploited, included for example a speaking headboard for a cradle; an East-Indian cuisine catering company; a clothing label representing east London; and the current group's pilot concept, a collapsible knife for kitchens and chefs.

Most of the participants did not know each other prior to participation in the project. However, they needed to learn to work together to accomplish the assigned tasks. They also needed to socialise and learn to recognise each other's strengths and weaknesses, and to learn how to appreciate and value the work of others, to see encounters as co-operative, and understand how to use the resources available to them. One of the key concepts of TSBC is the young person realising their own potential. TSBC provided the means and direction for the young people to work towards their goals but also required them to learn how to do it independently. For example, the facilitators would not call on their behalf to set up an interview or ask for a donation; nor would they provide a placement through one of their programmes or professional connection. Instead the young people were required to do this for themselves and were encouraged and enabled to do so individually with the aid of the appropriate skills. It was possible to see the transformation in this small group of seven over the course of the project.

For example, during the first session of observation, many of the participants were timid, somewhat anxious, introverted and lacking confidence in their abilities. As the weeks passed, the participants started to engage more in social activities together and with the facilitators of the programme. They would offer each other advice and assistance for both programme-related and unrelated tasks. They would spend time together and offer employment advice and constructive criticism and debate business plans and future activities. At one point the group was split regarding which venture to follow for their innovative entrepreneurial project. The facilitators voiced their opinions in terms of feasibility but allowed the young business men and woman to come to their own decision regarding their likely path of success. This was indicative of the purpose of TSBC in not simply creating and sustaining a new company or innovative product, but about the young people developing the appropriate skills to include themselves in employment or training ventures from which they have been excluded.

For the most part the youth were motivated and enthused. They did not see the tasks they were given as meaningless effort but rather as tools to assist their future. They often remarked on how close they felt to the other participants and how the programme had assisted them in challenging their skills. It also allowed them to consider other young people in their situations and to work together on something worthwhile which they recognised many of their own peers and friends might find boring. They learnt to resolve their issues with their peers and 'co-workers' in amicable and socially acceptable ways. They argued and debated their points of difference instead of resorting to conflict or aggression. This appeared to help foster pro-social coping skills in a previously antisocial group.

Transformation was evident in particular scenarios. Arriving slightly late for a session, the researcher made his way through the estate where large groups of young men and women were engaging in antisocial behaviour. From the main pavement they could be seen loitering in front of shops; yelling at passing cars; and throwing bottles at passing buses and onto the roads. As the groups grew larger and larger, small altercations and confrontations started between the rival bands of young Londoners living in and around the estate. At one point, this led to a physical altercation in which a mass of young people started converging on each other, with fists being swung and objects being thrown. Three of the young men involved on the TSBC project were out having a cigarette when the disorder commenced in close proximity. As the disorder spread and the youth finished their cigarettes, one young man turned to the researcher and said:

> '…this don't make things no easier man. I tried to get away from all this shit, innit. [It] follows [you] wherever [you] goes…'
>
> (OLBarking2, pp. 2, 2011)

This was followed with a shake of the head, a few more utterances of profanity commenting on the lack of ambition and integrity the young fighters had and a return indoors to finish the activity that they were currently working on. The example illustrates an overt display of desired change.

A third programme also aimed to engage and involve young people, whilst assisting them in learning and developing their prosocial skills which it was hoped would assist them into adulthood. This was the Volunteer Police Cadets which was different from

the other two groups in being organised by the police and therefore involving a high level of contact with police officers.

4.3.5 Vignette 3 - Volunteer Police Cadets (VPC)

The Volunteer Police Cadets (VPC) is a community programme run by the Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA) throughout the thirty three boroughs of London. Aimed at adolescents from diverse backgrounds, the MPA's main objective is to promote a practical interest in policing and community involvement through participation with the cadets. Leadership and communication skills, as well as community engagement are all critical areas that the staff involved with the VPC plan to instil and promote amongst the youth they come into contact with. One cadet leader in Southwark summarised the primary goal of the VPC:

> '…we want these young men and women to feel safe in their surroundings. We want them to feel like they can go to the shop or the cinema or the park and not be vulnerable to victimisation…being a cadet promotes community involvement as well as providing our leaders of tomorrow with a voice and a contribution to the society they belong to…'

<div align="right">(OLVPC, 24.11.2011)</div>

This sums up the VPC's main mission, which is to involve those vulnerable to exclusion and antisocial behaviour in the larger community and foster skills that will assist them in reaching their goals and aspirations in the future.

This section will briefly describe the behaviour of the cadets and their staff sergeants and cadet commanders.

The young men and women that participated in the VPC boroughs visited came from diverse backgrounds. They covered the full adolescent age range and were cross gender. Different ethnic groups were more or less evenly represented across the cadet units. The socio-economic status of the participants was varied. Most were enrolled in full-time formal education although some had recently stopped attending or were on the verge of exclusion due to bad behaviour. However, it was evident that the participants were not from such deprived backgrounds as in the other groups.

Motivations for attending the weekly cadet meetings were varied. Some chose to come as an extra-curricular activity to fill their post-school evenings. Others had parents who enrolled them as an alternative to being on the street or loitering with their peers after school. A few were enlisted by parents who feared a descent into delinquency and believed that the cadets would instil some respect for authority and discipline in their youngsters. Finally, a few were referred by social services or YOT teams as a viable option for the young person post-involvement in crime or antisocial behaviour.

Observations with four different units were conducted in the early autumn of 2011. This included Tower Hamlets with approximately 60 cadets; Southwark with approximately 40 cadets; Islington with approximately 45 cadets; and Camden with 14 cadets.

Each unit was commanded in a similar way along police lines. Cadets arrived and signed in with the Police Constable or Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) in command of the crew. Senior cadets were responsible for commanding their peers at the beginning of each session through roll call and parade (a formal march). Every unit commenced their evening's activities with a roll call, uniform check and drill/parade. The drills and parades were not necessarily strenuous or physically demanding but deemed to instil discipline in the young cadets. When they failed to comply with standards, they were docked points (related to a reward scheme) and were disciplined verbally in front of their peers. Most of the young cadets complied with both the drills and uniform standards.

The rest of the evenings were usually themed around particular activities. Some involved understanding and learning particular components of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE, 1984), teaching the young people their rights as citizens. Popular and heated discussions emerged involving the legislation around stop and search procedures, drug crimes, detaining suspects and police intelligence, lessons potentially of enormous relevance to London adolescents. They assisted in strengthening a bond not only between the cadets and the officers but also with their peers outside of the cadets. Given not many young people can confidently claim that they comprehend the legislation and procedure behind stopping a youth suspected of concealing a weapon, or being issued an ASBO, the social utility of that knowledge is likely to assist these cadets in future interactions with police and law enforcement. Ideally this would also

help improve understanding amongst youth in London of a police officer's duty to serve and protect. From the interactions of the young cadets observed, they seemed to appreciate the duties of the police in carrying out these actions, whilst not necessarily approving. Many commented about how they could not wait to inform their friends at school or on the street about the real procedures and legislation behind police tactics.

There were two main types of interactions observed: that of the cadets with each other and that of the cadets with the police officers. Between themselves, the youth would break off into cliques. As was seen with the Oasis football organisation, smaller groupings encompassing individuals of similar ethnic backgrounds tended to congregate. The newer cadets tended to socialise with those that brought them in and those they deemed similar. Young women of Bangladeshi and Indian descent participated in the Tower Hamlets group stating their primary purpose of meeting other young Asian men, away from the eyes of their parents and caregivers. This led to certain amounts of disorderly behaviour with the teenage females appearing not to take the lessons and activities to heart as much as their peers. These young women also at times distracted the young men who were normally well behaved and disciplined.

4.3.6 Reflective remarks – vignette 3

Overall, the relationships and behaviour amongst the young people was amicable. Those that had been involved longer were more open and engaged more with the newer recruits, attempting to draw them away from the isolation of their pre-chosen social grouping. Respect and fraternity/sorority were evident as the young people helped each other through tasks and projects, encouraged each other to participate in extra-curricular activities such as borough parades or schemes that required the assistance of a police presence. It was clear that a large majority of the cadets respected each other, the uniform they were given, and what it represented. Many appeared proud to wear it as a symbol of their belonging to the group and seemed irritated by those that did not concur. The values adopted by the group provided a common cohesive thread or social solidarity, which bound them together.

With respect to the relationships between the commanding officers and the cadets, commonalities with other groups were again shared. Firm instructions, authoritative demeanour, yet kind and approachable styles led to positive interactions. Arguably the

newer recruits were more cautious and wary of the higher ranking officers. The cadets that had been involved for longer periods of time showed both respect, adherence to the rules but also banter, informal horseplay and camaraderie with the leading officers. One young person from Islington stated:

'…they ain't like regular [police], you know…[they are] more like friends or like nice coppers…[they] ain't out to get us. [They are] interested in what we got to say…we can joke with them and stuff…'

(FGYT8, pp. 16, 2011)

The young people appeared to respect and admire their commanding officers and those authoritative relationships at times evolved into professional friendships. The officers seemingly became more than police in the eyes of the youth; they became friendly and approachable adults. Adults they respected and admired yet would go to with questions and concerns they may be experiencing. The officers demonstrated their concern for the youth as well. Although hard on them at times when they misbehaved, they shared laughter, smiles and jokes.

The next section examines the theme of power as experienced in the three vignettes described.

4.4 Power as a cross-cutting theme

The hierarchical structure and utility of power within a group was an emergent theme across the observations. For the most part the power was discussed in the sense of the adult facilitator and programme leaders power over the youth participating. The authoritative relationship was investigated as having power in the sense of the influence on the young people and how this may relate to their development of trust in the police, or the 'transferability' of trust. Recognising authority in community programme settings such as those described above could benefit alternative authoritative relationships in participant's lives. Developing a meaningful and respectful relationship with one authoritative adult could provide the adolescents with the skills and understanding of other authority figures roles in society. Another power differential was between the participants in the organisation themselves who over time formed themselves into particular hierarchies. More experienced, involved and longer-serving

members of each organisation would end up taking authoritative roles within the groups of young people.

With Oasis (vignette 1), young men who demonstrated better skill on the pitch in conjunction with punctuality and diligence would be elevated to group leaders and team captains. They would lead smaller groups in training sessions through drills and activities and would also be chosen to represent the team in official capacities, such as in competitive games. In addition, they would be expected to serve as the voice of the team with coaches and other organisational adults, such as the researcher.

The same was true for TSBC (vignette 2) and the projects they would develop post finishing the course. Often, two or three key youth would come forward as highly motivated, engaged and extraverted. After several sessions, the leaders of the group would emerge. They would take initiative in contacting the other participants outside of class and project time. They would complete the tasks and assignments given to them above and beyond the expectations of the project facilitators. Again, as with leaders in Oasis, the young 'alpha entrepreneurs' would take the frontline in representing the group in formal dialogue and conversations with other authoritative figures such as prospective investors and sponsors. The figures of authority in each project, whether programme facilitator or peer leader, had a great deal of influence on the other participants. It is the establishment of these authoritative relationships that is being investigated to support the establishment and improvement of trusting relationships. The aim is to verify whether the trust developed in these aforementioned relationships can transfer to the police through the quality of the contact experience.

Lastly the VPC had the firmest power hierarchy amongst the participatory groups and also the only one with direct links to the police. A clear power divide existed between those young people who had served with the cadets longer and the newer recruits. They had normally been involved for much longer periods of time; were slightly older (approximately seventeen to eighteen years of age); and served as official voices and representatives of the units themselves. They conversed with the unit commanders and took orders from these authoritative adults and carried out the instructions with the rest of the unit on their behalf. When standards surrounding uniform and behaviour were not met, the young leaders of the cadets were held responsible for the rest of the group. Again, power differential between the young people themselves was demonstrated even

in the absence of the authoritative adults involved. It was interesting to see them develop their own authoritative hierarchy in the image of the relationships they have with the adults that they work with. This supported the ideas discussed earlier looking into the benefits of youth-authority interactions. Arguably, for a group of these young people involved in the various programmes, the relationships they forged with other authority figures helped to solidify their own discipline and forge a certain level of understanding and respect for the hierarchy of power and those in authority.

4.5 Study limitations

Whilst the observational phase of the qualitative study was of great use in formulating research themes around issues of power hierarchies, disciplinary behaviour and transformation in relation to authority, and served as a descriptive 'set-up' for phase two of the qualitative study it does have study limitations as described below.

Only three contrasting organisations were examined, and these had many differences as well as commonalities. Some involved adolescents who chose to be involved in the programmes whilst others were placed there by their parents or caregivers which emphasises the different nature of the groups. The study was only able to observe those who had chosen to remain in the organisations and had no information on those who dropped out and is thus not necessarily representative of the youth most at risk who failed to engage. The observations only permitted a view of particular social interactions, behaviours and dynamics at one particular time of the viewing. This limits the conclusions that can be reached about the dynamic nature and growth of the groups over time. The duration of attendance was varied, clearly with a number who did not remain in the organisations. No contact was made with those young people with whom the projects did not work. This again emphasises the restricted nature of particular observations and the limited ability to generalise the observations and reflective remarks generated.

There is an additional methodological dimension worth considering related to the inclusion of the Volunteer Police Cadets. The VPC may be considered as a 'normative' group with respect to the study. This means that due to the participant's enrolment and engagement with the cadet's programme, there is the possibility that these young men

and women are predisposed to more positive police attitudes and interactions and thus statistically more likely of joining programmes that are police-driven. Although demographics from the cadet programme indicate that just over 25% of enrolled cadets nationally are from vulnerable and 'at-risk backgrounds' (NVPC, 2015), there is still a level of likelihood that their presence and interactions with police are due to alternative, prosocial motivations. As a consequence, the cadets have been included in the qualitative studies for perspective but not quantitative. The rationale for this is the importance of understanding the different elements of youth engagement programmes and the nature of different authority relationships adolescents build.

However there is strength in providing their perspectives and information in these first two studies. The insight into their interactions and relationship development, both amongst themselves and with the police leads was intrinsically interesting and invaluable. It provides an additional layer of understanding in the nature and complexity of youth-adult interactions, regardless of background. If it is important to investigate 'non-normative' functioning, then the same should be considered for 'normative'. From a methodological perspective, this is also important as it provides a holistic and diligent exploration into the concepts of trust, authority and police relationships throughout the study. The qualitative data provides an analysis of the meanings that respondents ascribe to their mis/trusting behaviour. Qualitative methodologies such as the ethnographies undertaken here enabled the power dynamics between the responsible adults and young people to be explored. In chapter 7, elements of all three studies will be linked together in demonstrating how these various methodologies responded to the research questions throughout.

All of the observations discussed in this chapter were based on very general ethnographic methods. The importance of engaging in these observations was to investigate the nature of the authoritative relationships within each programme. Limited time was available for observing the organisations over an extended period. The reasons why certain youth were uninterested or dropped out was not explored. This would have been of great interest to see what exactly the conditions and factors were that led the participant to terminate their involvement. Perhaps the relationship with the facilitator (authority figure on the programme) was in part responsible for some youth failing to successfully negotiate authority.

Finally, qualitative and ethnographic methods have a large subjective element. The emergent themes and reflective remarks specific to the researcher's views based on the aims and objectives of the projects and these may be open to other interpretations.

4.6 Summary

This chapter provided a descriptive view of the lives of the young people being investigated through detailed observation of three contrasting youth organisations. The observations were grounded in ethnographic methods involving the use of reflective remarks and the construction of vignettes to synthesise detailed observation.

The purpose was to provide a look into the behaviour and dynamics of youth engaged in a community group activity led by an authority figure. It also had the pragmatic purpose of introducing and aiding with group contact for the second phase of the qualitative study and the quantitative study.

The findings respond to **research question 1**, where group interactions and relationships with authority were to be investigated. In summary, two predominant interactions were observed across all three community programmes: interactions between the various participants and interactions between the participants and the programme leaders. Key findings emerging from these social interactions are outlined below:

- As involvement within the organisation increased, the relationship between the participants improved and the reserve and caution of unknown peers turned to camaraderie and team work. As the youth moved up the hierarchy of the organisation, they also became more familiar and sociable with each other. Familiarity led to more trusting and strong relationships.

- The participant's involvement with authoritative relationships instilled a certain level of discipline in them and respect for their peers and superiors. This demonstrates the positive general influence these authoritative relationships can have. The youth embraced the common success of their initiative and worked together, bound by their shared aspirations and values.

- As for the relationship forged between the participants and the adults running the programmes, the development of strong, respectful and authoritative relationships emerged. Firstly with the young people looking up to their respective facilitators and who encouraged the youth to embrace their full potential. At the same time, the adults governed with a firm and strict authority that was in time recognised and respected by the youth across the programmes.

This chapter assisted in showing the utility of community programmes in involving youth from 'at-risk' backgrounds. Not only did these activities provide them with an alternative form of education in which they are able to learn, motivated by their interests and talents but it also assisted in fostering relationships with authoritative adults, such as the group facilitators involved. This last point is important in considering the impact of civilian authoritative relationships can have on trust in non-civilian authority, such as the police. Even within the various community groups, participants forged trust in their authoritative peer leaders that may have been transferred to their relationships with programme facilitators. The next chapter aims to look specifically at the trust developed between the participants and the adults that they work with and if this trust can vicariously influence other aspects and relationships in their social world, such as with the police.

Chapter 5: Qualitative Study 2 – Focus group analysis of trust

5.1 Introduction

The aims of study 2 were to further examine trust that the young Londoners studied had in various authoritative figures across the participatory organisations, through the use of focus groups. Participants engaging with civilian authority figures, such as YWs were questioned to see if they showed similar levels of trust in the police when compared to young people working directly with the police. These were also undertaken to further develop the understanding of the association between civilian trust to non-civilian authority for those not working directly with the police.

In addition, the concept of power in trusting relationships is further explored. The focus groups were also used for the development of the trust construct to inform a newly developed questionnaire measure of trust. The focus groups were used to test research question 2:

Research Question 2: By talking directly to young people in the community about their perception of trust in authority and the police, can key factors relevant to issues of contact and trust be identified and confirm the group observation findings?

5.2 Study Outline

The over-arching theme for all fourteen focus groups revolved around trust, and was framed initially in relation to the programme that the participants were attending. Three primary areas of investigation were identified at the beginning of the study which involved core trust, trust in authority and trust in the police.

Firstly, questions revolved around how adolescent participants' understood and perceived trust in their social world. The researcher sought adjectives and descriptors of how the participants perceived trust as a social construct.

Secondly, questions explored how trust in adults is formed. Concepts related to reciprocation, loyalty and family and friends were included when discussing the general formation of trust. The 'trust in authority' section was directed towards understanding what factors facilitate the development of a relationship with an authoritative figure.

Lastly, trust in the police was investigated directly. Adolescents were asked to discuss their perceptions and comprehensions of what a trusting relationship with the police force involved and the situations and duties in which the police should be trusted were explored. The responses of the VPC cadets were examined to see if they made more positive comments about the police and showed greater trust, given their higher level of positive contact. In addition methods for improving adolescents' interactions with the police and thus relieving some of the pressures on what is often characterised as a troubled relationship were discussed.

In summary the focus groups were aimed at illuminating how the adolescents involved perceived trust, how their trust was established in authoritative relationships and how trust in the police was established, maintained and restored when necessary. This is represented in figure 5.1 and is further elaborated upon below. These three themes were used in the focus group analysis.

Figure 5.1 Primary themes and their inter-relationships
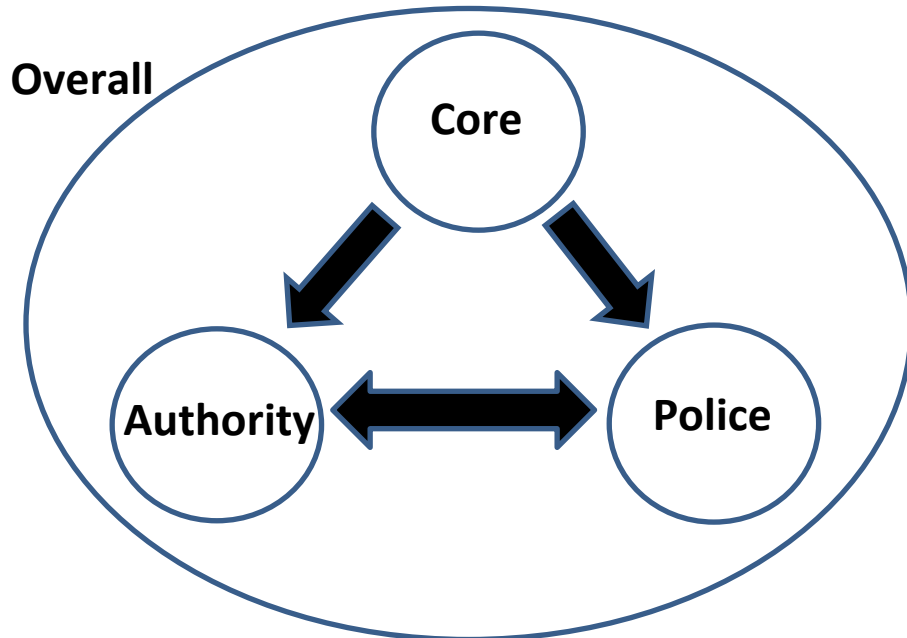
Figure 5.1 above shows the relationships between the various types of trust emerging from the current study. Essentially, there are three trust types that work interact and influence in moulding our overall level of trust. Core trust, trust in authority and trust in the police. Individually they represent very different elements of our social interactions,

both with actions and agents. Core trust also exists on a variant level; where it is considered more global and holistic for all trusting relationships. Therefore, it has a relative level of influence on the more specific subtypes of trust: authority and police. In turn, these are reciprocally influential on each other, but not necessarily on our core trust. This will be discussed in greater depth throughout the following sections.

The transcripts of the focus groups were analysed using NVivo 9.0. All items of interest in the transcripts were coded as belonging to one of the three primary themes. Each of the primary themes was composed of a series of constituent parts. Basic frequency counts were undertaken to indicate concordance of views.

5.3 Focus group findings

After completion and transcription of the focus group discussions, the content for the three dominant themes was analysed. 'Core Trust' captured the behaviour and reported prerequisites for establishing trust and some of the issues that adolescents find important in both developing and losing trust were identified. The majority of participants discussed the complexity of trust as a social construct. They commented that trust was dynamic in nature, changing depending on who was being trusted and the trust context. For example, to trust a friend, that friend must trust you first. However within a family this same prerequisite was not necessarily required. Furthermore the participants discussed the implications of social experiences in trust (i.e. telling someone a secret). They detailed how trust, depending on circumstances, could be strengthened and how it could be lost.

The second major theme described in the analysis was trust in influential, authoritative adults. Different sub-themes linked the participant conversation of trust in authority to issues in self-esteem, equality and the importance of these non-parent authority figures. It is under this theme of 'trust in authority' that the issue of civilian and non-civilian trust and the establishment of relationships were outlined.

Lastly trust in the police was discussed. Different constituent parts relating to trust, authority and corruption were major focal points of discussion by the participants. In fact a disproportionate amount of time was spontaneously spent during the focus groups discussing the police at the participants demand.

When a primary theme was coded, at least one sub-theme was also coded. In essence the primary themes of core, authority and police trust are constructed by their respective subthemes and are identified in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Trust themes and constituent parts

Primary Theme	Constituent parts/sub-themes	
Core	Confidence	Peers
	Endurance	Loyalty
	Consistency	
	Reciprocation	
	Family	
Authority	Development	Equality
	Importance of adults	Empowerment
	Mentoring	
	Self-esteem	
	School	
Police	Improper policing	
	Problems with government	
	Faith in police	
	Media influences	
	Stigma/Perceptions of police	
	Troubled relationship with adolescents	
	Areas of improvement	
	Influence of the Criminal Justice System	

Table 5.2 provides basic frequency counts for each primary theme across the fourteen focus groups and serves as an illustration of the subthemes composing each of the superordinate themes on trust. Evident is that different focus groups were particularly focused on one of the three main themes, as can be seen by the differing frequency counts. It can be seen that in general the frequencies for discussion of trust in the police were the highest (table 5.2, last row). A second table can be found in appendix 8 which presents the breakdown of the subthemes or constituent themes per focus group. It is

from the frequency of these subthemes that items were chosen in constructing the TAQ measure discussed in chapter six.

Table 5.2 Frequency of themes per focus groups

Transcript	Core Trust	Trust Authority	Trust Police	Total
FGYT1	18	27	0	45
FGYT2	33	25	72	130
FGYT3	40	41	62	143
FGYT4	23	35	62	120
FGYT5	25	61	12	98
FGYT6	9	11	5	25
FGYT7	31	40	47	118
FGYT8	34	32	89	155
FGYT9	18	13	101	132
FGYT10	28	16	65	109
FGYT11	17	13	83	113
FGYT12	44	16	66	126
FGYT13	35	57	52	144
FGYT14	21	34	85	140
Total	376	421	801	1598

NB: FGYT1 yielded no discussion of trust in the police. This was due to the nature of the group discussion focusing more on YWs and the researchers attempt to allow fluid conversation. In future focus groups, participants were more firmly directed towards discussions of trust in the police.

Each theme is discussed further below, with a brief description and analysis of the primary themes and their constituent subthemes together with comments made by the young people.

5.3.1 Construct of core trust

A constituent theme that emerged early in the analysis was the perception that family and friends were necessary in establishing trust over the formative years of childhood and adolescence. Discussion of parents, siblings, best friends and classmates were always mentioned early in the focus groups. Participants felt that trust in family was different from trust in peers. In relation to parents and family, trust was connected to their importance in teaching the participants the values, norms and rules of life. The participants looked to their parents and family to teach them how to be contributing and functioning members of society. Concepts such as respecting elders, how to treat members of the opposite sex and how to behave with an employer/superior were all discussed. The participants repeatedly claimed that they believed these familial ties

would never let them down and would prepare them for their transition into independence and adulthood. In contrast, intimate topics including dating, health and illness and lifestyle were topics that the participants did not trust their families with discussing. Instead they would cover these subjects (for example sexual intercourse and orientation) through discussions with their friends. Their comments suggested that friends were less readily trusted in the first instance but subjectively worthier of more 'high value' information. As one participant stated:

> '…I trust my mates. I trust them more than anything or anyone else in the world. My mum, I can trust her with certain things, same with my dad but not the same things I can talk to my mates about. You know, even you [researcher], I am sitting here talking to you about stuff but I don't know you, I don't trust you. I mean, I do and I would probably tell you more things, certain things that I wouldn't tell my mum or dad or family at all. But then there are the things that are really important in my life that I wouldn't tell you or them. My friends, they would know and I know they feel the same way about me. You might think it's just gossip and stuff, but we're young, so that stuff is important…they know better than to tell. Even if they do, that person will never be trusted again. He or she won't even be my friend no more…'

(FGYT3, pp. 4, 2011)

This illustrates how trust in the first instance is perceived as hard to acquire. However once trust is gained, it is seen to be a conduit for sharing information. The establishment of trust permits parties within the trusting partnership to engage with each other, facilitate disclosure of information and enhance co-operation. Once trust develops in a relationship, social interactions are facilitated. The focus group considered that any individual would be more likely to re-engage with someone they have trusted in the past. The adolescents described how information is more easily shared and disclosed if a successful disclosure of information has previously occurred. Lastly co-operative actions between the parties would be more likely if they have firm trusting bonds together. Expanding on the benefits of establishing trust, the repercussions of betraying the trust and its implications, was described:

> '...friends, you can trust them until they betray you. Once they tell your secrets or act like a snake behind your back, [the friendship], it's done...parents

though...you know, you don't tell them the same things as your friends...you tell them smaller things and when [parents] betray you, it just isn't the same...you have to trust them...'

(FGYT7, pp. 6, 2011)

Another series of recurring constituent themes revolved around the fundamental requirements necessary for individuals to enter into a trusting relationship. The participants felt that trust needed to be enduring; that is long-lasting and not a one-time event. Many participants commented that they would never tell a secret to someone that they had just met. Nor would they disclose information if it were going to be a one-time only exchange between the individuals involved. The youth refer to the concept of longevity and resource management when discussing endurance:

'...you don't just tell anyone, anything...you need to know them and know they are going to keep your secret...you start sharing everything with everyone, you [are not] going to have any friends left...'

(FGYT12, pp. 1, 2011)

The young people felt that by placing their trust in someone, a sacrifice was involved and an investment on the part of the divulger. The decision to trust in someone was thought to require a cost-benefit analysis. The individual providing the information would rationally consider both the potential of the 'secret' being revealed and the likelihood that the friendship could both benefit from divulging the information and prompt reciprocation. Trust seemed to have a dual-use in such social interactions, serving both the users in facilitating relationships but also underlying other instrumental social interactions such as reciprocation.

'...to trust someone like another [teenager] first ya, I need to like them...then they need to like pass a mini-test and tell me something. So ya, they need to trust me first before I trust them...'

(FGYT2, pp. 3, 2011)

Throughout the analysis, reciprocation was considered an absolute necessity between the parties engaged in the trusting. If someone confides a secret in a friend, the participants expected that the 'secret-keeper' will do the same. The individuals

involved returned the trust by sharing information with each other. Trust was considered to be a dynamic process where the expectation to trust is implicit and the individuals trusted did not question the validity of the information disclosed. Nor do they question what is to be kept covert (secret) and overt (open to sharing with others). These examples are used to illustrate the importance of information coming from both parties in a trusting relationship. According to the youth studied if information and trust is not reciprocated on both ends of the partnership, then any improvement or evolution of the relationship will be impossible. However, it is not simply the dynamic nature of trust that is considered necessary to evolve and maintain the relationship. The concept of loyalty was also considered central in the functionality and longevity of trust.

> '...your friends are your friends...you have to trust your friends...they are there for you...they have your back. You can tell them anything, and the ones that are your true friends, the ones you can trust...those are the loyal ones...'
>
> (FGYT7, pp. 4, 2011)

Loyalty was seen to be of paramount importance. This was defined by the adolescents as an innate and devoted attachment between the trusting parties. They needed to have some type of bond socially and historically that would facilitate the action of trust. Loyalty was considered necessary before disclosure of information could occur. The individuals needed to have each other's support and assistance under all circumstances. If the motives for the friendship did not entail loyalty the trust will either cease to further develop or cease to exist between the trusting parties.

Figure 5.2 summarises the concepts developed as constituents of 'Core' trust.

DeMarco, J. N. (2015)

Figure 5.2 Constituent parts of 'Core' trust
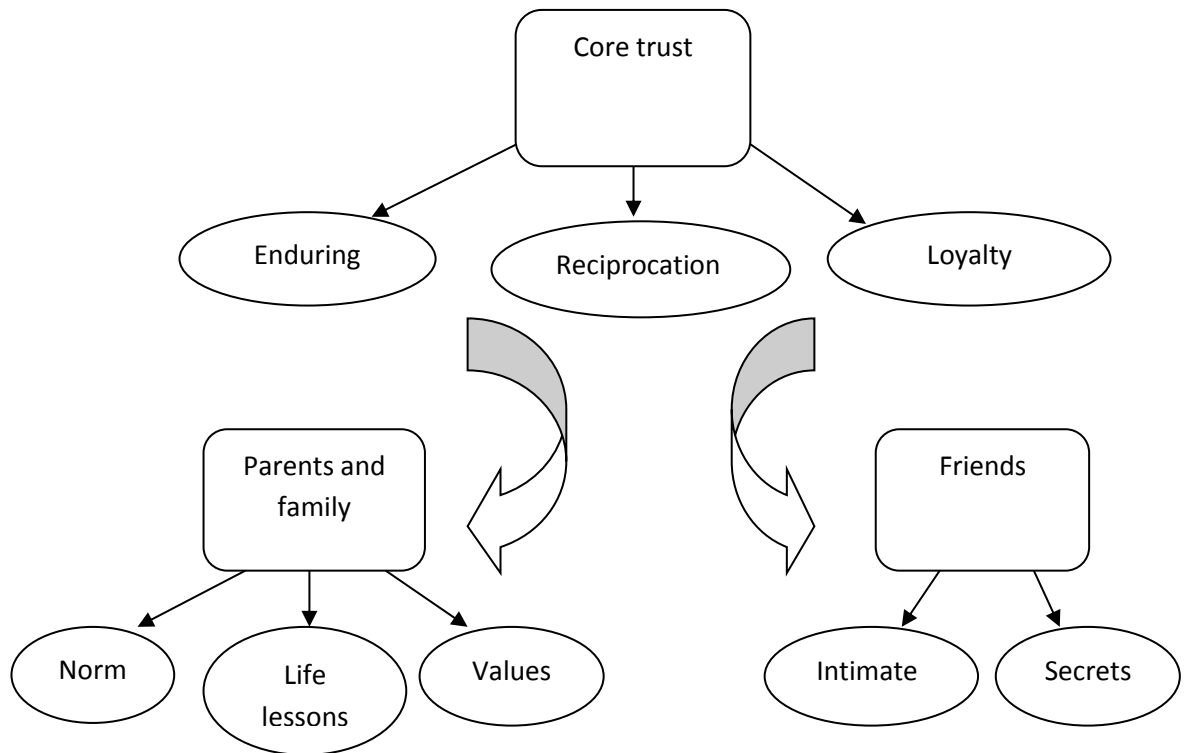
5.3.2 Trust in authority

The focus groups revealed a series of subthemes on the significance of trust in community authority figures. These included teachers, coaches, business leaders and YWs who were seen as authoritative, influential figures in the lives of the participants, including those in the group activities.

The participants agreed that adults in society outside their circle of family and friends were extremely important. Teachers, coaches, friends, parents, shop owners, and community 'elders' were most commonly identified. Although the participants were quick to agree that they did not always act as if these influential adult's opinion mattered, in fact criticisms by these adults did impact on them.

> '...we are kids. And kids are kids and you know, [adults] don't really ever give us a chance...shame actually, as [adolescents] don't really want to be seen as bad. We care what adults think of us and say about us...'
>
> (FGYT5, pp. 5, 2011)

These young people appeared to care what others outside of their age group think of them. Their comments suggest they are concerned with widespread teenage stereotypes and they do care that others who they do respect may believe negative stereotypes about them.

Confidence and development were seen as constituent subthemes of trust in authority. The subtheme of confidence was seen as essential in establishing trust in authority. The participants stated that they themselves needed to have confidence in the 'other' adult's intentions, objectives and actions when involved in the relationship before they would be able to develop trust.

> '...reckon that a lot of the time things like humanity, confidence and empathy are not [placed] upon [young people] by those higher up. They need to show us these things in order for us to develop...'
>
> (FGYT6, pp. 2, 2011)

Disclosure of information in these adults could only occur if the participants were confident that the adults had their own best interests at heart. The youth participating came from a range of backgrounds and most were initially wary and hesitant of interacting with the researcher and being aware of the questions about the police, many respondents queried whether the researcher was involved with an undercover police team. However the programme facilitators were able to reassure the participants and build their confidence in the researcher. In this case the programme facilitators were trusted by the participants and this level of trust extended to individuals whom they endorsed. This illustrates the potential of the 'transferability' of trust from one authority figure to another.

The development of the relationship between the two parties in this social bond was considered by the participants to be of equal importance to establishing confidence. Although the subtheme of development was broad and somewhat vague in description,

it enveloped a range of different activities and experiences. Essentially the youth were explaining that 'practice makes perfect' in developing skill and confidence. The adults they worked with faced difficulty in gaining the participants trust in the early stages of their interactions. The programme facilitators needed to be consistent in their behaviours and work positively towards development of the relationship with the young participants. Many of the participants confided that at first, they found that the constant intrusive or 'in-your-face' attitude of certain programme facilitators acted as a strong deterrent in developing trust. Although they continued to attend, young people found the experience and bravado of the youth teams daunting and a bit strange. A youth worker participating in a focus group with young people supported the participant's argument that relationship development was necessary:

> '...in my circumstances, you invest in [the programme], engage with [facilitators] in conversation...its spending time with individual people...it's developing that relationship...'
>
> (FGTY1, pp. 3, 2011)

Initially the youth described how they were not attending their respective programmes to forge alliances and relationships with the various adults involved. Instead they were attending with the motives of engaging in an activity that they were either passionate about (football, music mixing, art, business lessons) or felt was necessary for their future prospects. The reinforcement of having the participants on site and the constant interaction enabled relationships to build with the peers and adults involved. As relationships were built, secrets were exchanged, experiences are shared and friendships developed. The importance of these interactions appeared to be to subject the participants to the influence of individuals that could serve as sources of knowledge and empowerment.

The activities experienced between the participant and influential adults seemed to serve as a form of social catalyst. They provided the youth and the adults involved with a common interest to scaffold the relationship. The adult was then able to influence the participant in ways that may be transparent in developing rapport and strengthening the adult-adolescent bond. Significant changes in attitudes and outlooks in specific areas of their lives such as family and school were often noted as the interactions and experiences with one another developed.

The final set of subthemes under 'authority' trust involves qualities of the participant's personality and internal dispositions. These are the concepts of equality, empowerment and self-esteem and how these three attributes are developed and altered through trust with a non-parental, influential authority figure.

Equality between adults and youth revealed itself as an important construct throughout the focus groups. Inequalities with respect to prejudiced and stereotyped views of age, skin colour, religion and gender were noted. Equality was seen as important and fundamental to the formation of any lasting relationship with an adult. The participants appreciated that they were adolescents that still had to gain experience with much to learn. Whilst acknowledging their youth, they did however, feel very strongly that they were stigmatised. As one participant in east London stated:

> '...these employers or teachers or police; whoever they are and whatever they think, they need to stop. They need to start treating us as equals instead of [shunning] us away. You wonder why youth unemployment is so high in this country. Well, not really. It's obvious...those in authority don't respect us; they don't give us a chance. They need to start treating us [fairer], more equal...otherwise we will never learn...'

> (FGYT5, pp. 6, 2011)

This illuminates the sense of disapproval and even persecution the adolescents studied felt subjected to by the older generation. They felt as if their parent's generation frowned on all aspects of youth culture, including the company they keep, the clothes they wear and the studies they chose to pursue. The participants seemed to believe that they lived under a microscopic scrutiny which led to criticism. The participants indicated that for proper relationships to be formed with adults, those in authority needed to change their negative preconceptions and attitudes towards the youth. They felt adults needed to look at the adolescents as equal contributors, an 'adult-in-training' who desires guidance and advice, but also needs to be treated fairly and equally with respect.

Although the participants discussed the pit falls of being an adolescent in a culture that they felt feared and disrespected them, they also felt that their minority backgrounds made them less likely to be integrated into mainstream society. They firmly believed

that their skin colour could prevent them from being treated equally by authority. For example, one young woman claimed that in order to get any recognition by society or elders, you had to be a 'bad black kid who turned good' or a 'good white kid who stays out of trouble'. Essentially she felt that although she was an engaged, high performing black teenager she would still be at a disadvantage. She believed that the only time role models and mentors would come into their lives were if they were in trouble. Adults would come running with opportunities to engage only if they could save a young man or woman from a life of violence and deviance.

> '…it's not good enough to try and work hard anymore for opportunity. It is not enough to be good anymore. [Teenagers] in this country get treated differently at school, in jobs, on the streets, all depending on your background. If I am well behaved and if I'm good, everyone is happy and it's a relief. Same goes for if I cause trouble and if I am bad, and it's expected. Almost as if in order to get any attention from adults and people in the community, I need to kick-off, I need to cause shit.…'

> (FGYT5, pp. 2, 2011)

Similar observations were made with respect to religion. Many of the Muslim participants believed that the only time they would be recognised and treated as equals were if they were seen to give up their beliefs and religious laws. By mainstreaming, these participants felt that the public would see these young Muslims' as having been 'prevented from radicalisation'. Almost as if the standard setting of behaviours for men and women from this faith was equivalent to waging a jihad against their western neighbours. Most of the young men participating had been born and raised in England but still practised their religion. They held the same likes and dislikes as their non-Muslim peers and participated in popular culture (e.g. by watching X-Factor and cheering for Manchester United football team). Yet they believed that the adults in society perceived them as terrorists in development. They felt pressure that progress through authoritative interactions could only be made if they followed the ways and methods of western cultural and religious Christian norms and values. In order to be treated as an equal, they felt that authority figures thought they needed to first be saved from the deleterious effects of their 'social disability' which in this case was their faith.

> '...we get treated differently not because of what we are but because of who we are...no matter how good or nice or fair I act, if [adults] think I am something else, they [are not] going to even let me come close to having a chance...they've already decided what I am in their heads before they even meet me...'

(FGYT10, pp. 14, 2011)

The above quote echoes themes in the research literature involving prejudice, discrimination and stereotypes. It became evident that trust or the successful development of influential and authoritative relationships was vulnerable to societal stigmatisations. By labelling young men of BME status as 'criminals' or 'terrorists', this concept of equality is violated. According to the participants studied, equality was an important element in developing these influential and authoritative relationships. As the quote above indicated, once the adolescents perceived that they were being discriminated against they began to feel as if they have no opportunity to access these adults. Such presumption of deviance even before engaging with them results in feel mistrustful towards the men and women in charge.

Empowerment was another subtheme that emerged through analysis of the focus group transcripts. The youth felt that one of the benefits of building relationships with authoritative adults was that it made them feel empowered; they also believed that these authoritative adults should have a primary aim to empower the youth to meet their full potential and to become motivated and self-aware of their capabilities. Several of the participants discussed the concept of empowerment emphasising their own sense of powerlessness. They felt that they were not empowered in many of the social situations they entered into. What became evident was the lack of confidence that the adolescents had towards adults in general. Many of the young Londoners studied were resigned to the fact that adults in authoritative positions were prejudiced against them and held negative stereotypes about them. If they could not feel empowered in their daily lives, they would not be able to respect or trust adults in authority with the prejudices and stereotypes viewed as preventing trust from developing. To feel stronger and more confident with the support of an influential authoritative figure was seen as a necessity in building trust. Trust could then provide the youth with drive and motivation for their progress. This progress could be gauged in the strengthening of relationships with

adults in authority and in other aspects of their lives, such as school achievement and extra-curricular success.

> '...[Project facilitators] encourage us to do things that before; we didn't think we could do. It's not like they make us feel as if we can do anything...they just support and encourage us to follow our interests and opinions. It's a nice feeling to tell someone that isn't like your mum or auntie about something you like...and not be made fun of for it. Instead, you are supported and helped to achieve your goals...'
>
> (FGYT4, pp. 8, 2011)

The third and final constituent subtheme that emerged from the focus groups in forging trusting relations with authoritative figures was the concept of self-esteem. Self-esteem as defined amongst researchers refers to the human process of individual reflection, appraisal and introspection of self-worth (Bachman, O'Malley, Freedman-Doan, Trzesniewski and Donnellan, 2011). Associated with the idea of self-image (how we see ourselves and imagine others see us), it deals with the confidence in, and feelings towards our own decisions, behaviours, actions and thoughts. It became a highly significant subtheme emerging from the focus groups.   .

> '...makes me feel better about my everyday life...about the things I think about myself, ya, and the things I want to do. I feel like I have more game now when I'm out there with other young people...'
>
> (FGYT3, pp.20, 2011)

The participants viewed their self-esteem as being improved through trust with authority, similar in importance to equality and empowerment. The young people saw their self-esteem as being benefited if they were able to forge a meaningful relationship with an authoritative adult. Several young people reported feeling inadequate when engaging with daily school and leisure activities. Many stated that although they enjoyed school, they would refrain from answering questions or participating in class discussions due to the potential of being mocked by their peers. They lacked the confidence and esteem to be proud and knowledgeable in their own areas of interest. The relationship with a non-parental adult allowed them to feel special and important. Young people believed that parents were 'nice to you' regardless of your level of skill

in a particular activity. Non-parental relationships they felt, gave a more honest assessment of their abilities. This reinforced their own interest, confidence and belief in themselves at the various activities they were involved with. This reinforcement could serve as a protective factor against the negative criticism and mocking comments they feared and experienced from their peers.

> '…[Project facilitators] are nice and friendly. The things they do and say, make me feel better about my everyday life and stuff. Makes me more confident about the things I think about myself, ya, and the things I want to do. I feel like I have more game now, when I'm out there with other young people, you know. I feel more confident, more prepared…'

(FGYT3, pp. 20, 2011)

Schools and teachers were also a topic of discussion. These seem to have provided negative images of trust for the majority of the youth who participated in the study. Yet following parents/caregivers and grandparents/extended family, teachers are potentially the most influential adults that any young person is likely to encounter and interact with during their formative years (Wentzel, Baker and Russell, 2012). Young people see them for more extended and concentrated periods of time than they see their own families and friends. In addition, the teacher wields a certain level of authority and this seems a lost opportunity in aiding the young people's development and acquisition of trust, equality, empowerment and self-esteem.

There was a general mistrust of teachers across the groups that participated. The adolescents did not see teachers as influential or authoritative adults. In particular, one youth claimed:

> '…teachers ya, they're all snakes, right! You can't tell them nothing [because] they just turn on you and tell all the others. No respect man, no respect…like, I don't even think they know what they [are] teaching me. Don't even trust them to do their jobs…'

(FGYT13, pp. 3, 2011)

If the current generation of teachers have not earned the trust or respect of the youth they are responsible for educating this can have negative impacts on their development

and socialisation. The worrisome aspect is the negative valence attached to adult figures in authoritative positions could be generalised and spread to other societal institutions and authority, including the police. As discussed earlier, trust requires reciprocation. In the case of the teachers, the youth do not trust them and the teachers do not trust the youth. Trust cannot be developed if mistrust is so prominent on both sides of the relationship. Additionally, there is the issue of peer perceptions and youth subculture. If the youth know that their peers do not trust teachers, then they themselves may be hesitant to engage in a meaningful relationship with a teacher. The fear of association to an authoritative adult and the risk of alienation by one's peers may be stronger than the adolescents desire to forge a meaningful, trusting relationship.

Part of the problem with teachers according to the youth is their position within another societal institution, that of education. Unlike the YWs discussed in this chapter, teachers are provided with an automatic level of authority and control over the youth they come into daily contact with. Teachers, like the police, have a particular level of power in their interactions with young people and the youth have little control over the direction or pathways the interactions take. The youth are expected to listen, adhere to the rules and face the consequences should they disobey.

> '…teachers work for institutions…they're in charge and if you don't follow the rules, they'll take further action…just like the police…'
>
> (FGYT7, pp. 8, 2011)

Not only did they compare teachers to police officers in the type of authority they possess but the youth also accused the educational authorities of being critical and untrusting. There was a common sentiment shared amongst many of the participants that teachers were not on their list of trusted individuals because of their perceived ulterior motives. Although specific descriptions of these ulterior motives were only vaguely disclosed by the participants, they seemed to be entrenched in a lack of reciprocation and loyalty in the trusting partnership. Both loyalty and reciprocation were discussed in the core trust section of this chapter.

'…they're teachers and they're not someone to be trusted…sometimes they just gossip…they basically go around the whole house all telling each other about what you told them…they're not someone to be trusted. They're only there to educate…'

(FGYT 8, pp. 7, 2011)

The above excerpt does highlight the participants perceived issues with teachers as authority figures whom they cannot and do not trust. The youth do not see the prerequisite elements of a trusting relationship, such as loyalty in their relationship with teachers. Interestingly, the participants failed to discuss the topics and information they would disclose to their teachers and the potential motivations a teacher may have for breaching their trust, such as issues concerning the young person's safety.

In summary, the findings revealed aspects of interactions which were relevant to the development of trusting relationships with those adults who were in authority over them. The youth were predominantly concerned with adults as role models and mentors. However the focus groups revealed that finding and utilising an appropriate adult role model is not always straightforward. The issue is not always simply meeting an adult and commencing a path towards positive relations. As with friends and family, the development of a meaningful societal bond between an authoritative adult and a young person takes a lot of work and effort.

As Stanley Hall (1904) argued in his early writings, teenagers are in a tumultuous period of storm and stress where conflict with adults and authority coupled with mood disruptions are common. Contemporary developmental psychologists have challenged this, with studies showing harmonious development and cooperation during adolescence for many (Lerner, 2008). However, it is generally accepted that issues in constructing identity are an integral part of development during this phase. The research revealed that at times young people look to adults to assist them in making sense of being a teenager. The research suggests that youth do turn to the adults they know for guidance and assistance. Therefore regardless of the relationship between a young person and a non-parental adult, adults related and unrelated to the youth have an influence on them. School was a secondary subtheme discussed that did not contribute to improvements in trust with authoritative adults and was seen as an obstacle. Teachers were frequently perceived by many of the participants as being untrustworthy, lacking influence and

authority as adults. There seems to be a sharp contrast between those authority figures, civilian and non-civilian in which authority is imposed on adolescents and those authority figures that the youth have the choice of interacting with.   It has been demonstrated through the analysis of the focus groups that many of the young people wanted interactions with important non-parental adults in their lives. Surprisingly, most of the youth claimed that teachers were not important or significant enough for them to be encouraged to forge a relationship with. Figure 5.3 provides a graphic representation of the construction of this second theme of trust in authority as developed from the focus group analysis.

Figure 5.3 Model of Trust in Authority
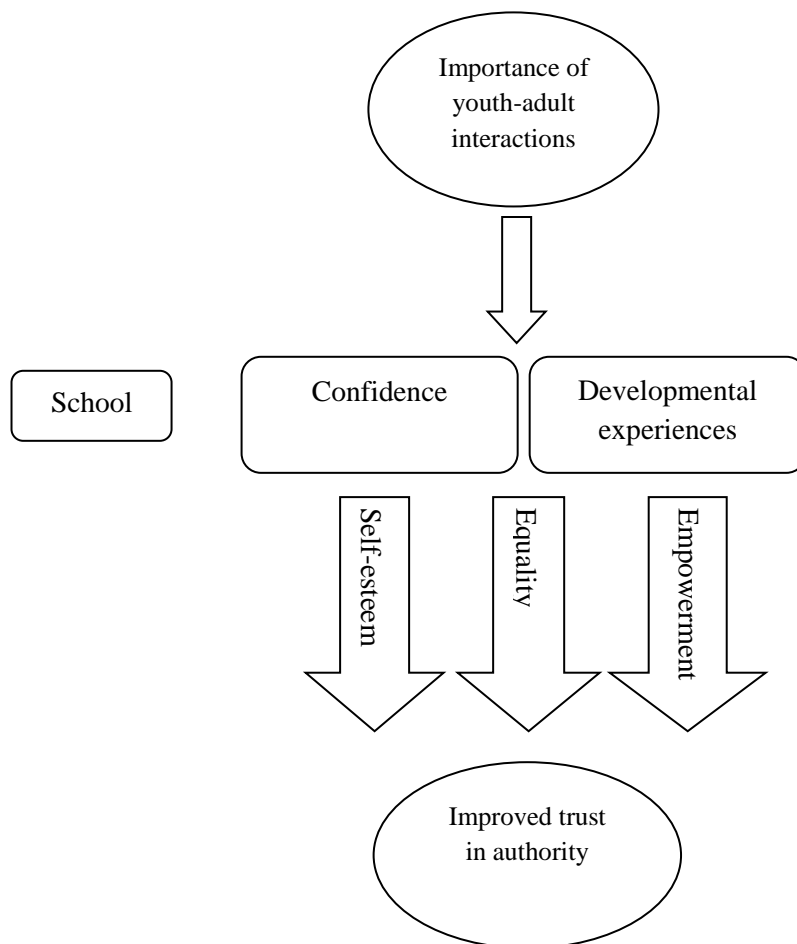
The importance of adults in the lives of young people was critical; the participants believed that adults needed to instil confidence in the young people in a reciprocal manner and provide opportunities for relationship development. The mantra of trust

and being trusted runs through both the 'core' and 'authority' themes of trust developed through the focus groups with the adolescents. All parties involved needed to be engaging in positive interactions in order for trust to develop, regardless of who is involved. Confidence needed to be developed both in the youth themselves and in the adult they were dealing with. Opportunities for developing trust could be varied, but needed to be agreed and appreciated equally by both the young person and the authoritative adult. They both needed to be clear about what they were working towards, and believe in each other's intentions.

Finally, the three 'e's' were essential in a trusting, respectful authoritative relationship: equality, empowerment and self-esteem. The former two were claimed by respondents to be necessities of reciprocation if the relationship were to last and develop into a meaningful, trusting bond. The latter, self-esteem, was seen more as a significant benefit to the relationship. Improving the participant's self-esteem would not only reinforce the importance of the adult relationship but also benefit other aspects of their daily lives and abilities.

Trust in the police, and this widened to include the CJS in general was also investigated as a theme in addition to 'core trust' and 'authoritative trust' and is outlined below.

5.3.3 Trust in the police

A final series of constituent themes emerged in relation to trust in police. Trust emerged in a general sense with respect to the position occupied by the police in the CJS and in relation to the London Metropolitan Police force who the young people had experienced direct contact – for some through their antisocial or criminal behaviour and for others because of their activities as cadets. One of the main objectives was to investigate the likelihood of associations in trust from authority figures in the community to trust in the police, operationalised as co-operating with the police.

Although the focus group schedules contained prompts to ensure that trust in the police would be discussed, the majority of the groups directed themselves spontaneously and independently to the topic of the police. As many of the respondents had come into contact with a police officer, or in the least have heard negative portrayals of the police through the media, friends or family, this section proved more extensive than the earlier

ones. There were several branches of discussion and subthemes followed given the large amount of information provided by the participants. The content of the discourse yielded six primary areas of information relating to trust in police highlighted in this analysis: Improper policing, belief in the police, troubled relationships, negative perceptions, improvements and external antagonists.

5.3.3.1 Improper policing

A recurring subtheme was improper policing practices. The youth discussed several negative aspects of their own and their friends' experiences with the police. Many of the examples provided were based around altercations on public transport, 'stop and search' policies or around loitering in their neighbourhood. There was a general consensus amongst respondents that 'improper' policing was being carried out in their neighbourhoods and directed to them as adolescents.

There was a common consensus that the police were heavy handed and took advantage of their authority whilst dealing with the youth, and in their general duties. Several of the focus group participants believed that the police only assisted potential victims when it was convenient for them to do so. They believed that more police officer time and resource could be spent patrolling the streets and responding to 'real crimes' as opposed to wasting their time intimidating and threatening the young people in the area. The participants understood that responding to rises in antisocial behaviour and knife crime was a priority that the police must deal with. But they believed that these issues were inadequately approached and that the blame unfairly attributed to youth known to the police.

Young people believed that sometimes the police tried to frighten and threaten them, simply because they had 'nothing else to do'. Subjective perceptions of police behaviour such as this can spread through adolescent networks. Any potentially inappropriate reactions or behaviour by one officer may ignite at times a wider scale response by young people, such as was seen in the summer riots 2011. When this occurs future interactions between the police and the youth are likely to be tainted and lead to an inflammation or escalation of negative interactions. As one participant stated:

'...having lunch with five friends….coming from [Elephant and Castle area] and this policeman was like "What are you lot doing around here…I don't want to see you lot around here again."…saw him again and he's like "Ah, you lot are getting nicked" and we said what for and he said "I'm a sergeant, I can make something up"…and you know, we was doing [nothing], just on our lunch, and [because] he don't like what we look like he decides we can't be there. [Expletive]!..'

(FGYT2, pp. 20, 2011)

It is not known whether such accounts are valid or in fact imaginatively exaggerated by the young people who tend to anticipate being scorned and frowned upon by the rest of society. However, their feelings and observations as to how the police treat them and their peers appear to be a consequence of the perceived style of policing that they have witnessed. Seeing the police as brutal, antagonistic and power-hungry was common, with a view that the police carried out their duties for their own ends. The participants acknowledge that it may only be a few police who act 'out of line' but that this taints the whole institution and creates barriers to the development of trust in the police by these adolescents.

Issues surrounding the product of improper (and proper) policing emerged also from the public's perceived 'blind faith', or 'belief' in the police to do what is in the public's best interests.

5.3.3.2 Belief in the police

'Faith' or 'belief' in the police implies the public understands the police's ability to do their job professionally, impartially and in the best interest of society. This 'faith' or 'belief' is also at the centre of most social psychological research investigating the public's attitudes towards the police (Tyler and Fagan, 2006). However the youth studied did not express such faith. Instead, many of the youth made clear statements of their desire for the police to change in their behaviour in order to engender such faith. This implies a desire for faith in the police that is currently blocked. The participants believed that the police stereotype adolescents and that there are too many 'bad cops'. The youth thus feel that they can only 'have faith' that the police will improve in the future.

> '…faith [belief] in the police depends on what the police are doing…I don't trust them or have faith in them when they do things like pull someone over for their race or colour…'

<div align="right">(FGYT11, pp. 16, 2011)</div>

However, this quote implies that young people can have belief in the police in particular circumstances. They do feel that the police are able to carry out their duties in a professional manner at times, but at other times they act unfairly or in a prejudiced manner and this is where 'belief' in their legitimacy is lost. The youth have little belief in the police to treat young people fairly and indiscriminately. Nor do they have belief in their efficacy when it comes to crimes or antisocial acts that will adversely affect the participants own lives. Their feeling was that there was no point calling the police for offences such as being mugged; having a bicycle stolen; mobile taken away; being beaten up; or threatened with a weapon. The youth claimed that through repeated exposure to poor policing and because of the preconceived stereotypes they felt the police had towards them, their belief in the police was eroded. The young people also seemed to lack belief or faith in how the police comported themselves when directly dealing with them. Police operations such as stop-and-search were seen as simple authoritarian policing with a general disrespect for teenagers of BME backgrounds. In light of the recent disturbances in London (both the student riots from 2011/2012 and the summer riots 2011), many of the youth also began to see police becoming less and less able to handle disruption on their own streets during this time period.

Finally, the participants had little to no belief in the police to succeed in their campaign against knife crime, but did not blame the police for the problem. They believed that the police were not allocated enough resources to deal with the knife threat facing teenagers in London. The participants drew parallels to an arms race where survival of the fittest depended on being ever well-armed, always prepared for the worst case scenario.

However, the participants did unanimously agree that they believed in the police for dealing effectively with other more serious crimes and disorder. Offences such as murder, rape, sexual assault, and counter terrorism were all deemed to be crimes that the police dealt with efficiently. For example, they expressed belief in the police to tackle

<div align="center">152</div>

and be pro-active with anti-gun legislation. They also felt that the police were good at dealing with issues surrounding the corporate world, such as embezzlement and fraud. This attitude may however be linked to a lack of experience with such 'white collar' crimes given the lower socio-economic status and the neighbourhoods in which the focus groups were conducted.

In summary, the focus groups showed that the youth studied see the police as more or less doing an adequate job in conducting crime control and protection when the issue is not directly pertinent to adolescent culture and their local area. The concepts of improper policing and belief in the police converged on several ideas that could be discussed under the lens of a different subtheme. Many of the issues discussed above allude to preconceptions, prejudices and stereotypes as expressed by the youth. Whether biases and prejudices existed on both sides is unclear.

5.3.3.3 Troubled relationship

A main focus of the current research has been examining the strained and sometimes troubled relationships between adolescents and the adults that they come into contact with. Parents, grandparents, teachers and neighbours are all social actors working in a situation in which there is a high probability of inevitable contact with young people. This section links the earlier social psychological processes governing adolescents association to crime and deviance with the participant's social relationships in terms of problems with trust and intergroup contact. One common theme that emerged throughout is the seemingly troubled relationship between young people and adults in society, particularly in how young people perceive the police. Thus this section looks at this troubled youth-adult relationship specifically with the police.

Many young people included in the current study, believed that the police did not make their lives or jobs any easier due to the fact that they appear to dislike young people. As one participant stated:

'...do not like...young people think that the police are not trying to help them. [They think that the police] are against them. That's why we don't trust them and we don't like them. They think we're all bad, and they treat us like we're all bad...'

(FGYT12, pp. 10, 2011)

One of the main reasons for holding these negative attitudes towards the police appeared to be for the sake of disliking them, or from having heard a negative rendition from a friend's encounter with the police. The adolescents had a difficult time trusting the police because they saw them as inherently biased, discriminatory and prejudiced against many groups in society, including teenagers.

'...wrongly accuse you for jamming with someone that's got a previous [criminal record]...pull you over for your race or colour as well...like wearing hoodies or caps...'

(FGYT11, pp. 16, 2011)

Considering the research surrounding intergroup contact, improving relationships and reducing stereotypes; combined with the theories by Stanley Hall (1904) it is not difficult to understand why some youth may be sceptical about the possibility of a positive, working relationship with the police.

Many of the participants referred to current socio-historical issues. These were manifested in mention of the student tuition protests of late 2010/early 2011 and the summer riots in august 2011. Respondents claimed that much of the current strain between young people and the police was the fault of none other than a few poorly behaved criminals that *'...went out to muck about and ruined [police-youth relations] for the rest of us...'.* When asked whether they felt that things would be improved between the youth and the police in a hypothetical world free of the aforementioned incidents, they were highly doubtful. Many stated that if it was not the disorder of last summer or the rise in tuition fees, it would have been something else within society.

'…you know with the riots…that kind of made the relationship with the police officers and young people a lot worse…they used violence and made loads of chaos…because of the way they dealt with it. [The police] they treat us all the same…they made [youth-police relationships] far worse…'

(FGYT4, pp. 15, 2011)

The treatment of youth during police stop and searches was perceived to be antagonistic, as was the fight against knife crime and the administering of Antisocial Behaviour Orders (ASBOs). The participants believed that regardless of societal context there would always be something that would cause friction between the adolescents of any city, in any country, and the police.

Belief in this troubled relationship between adolescents and the police seems widespread amongst the participants. They alluded to issues that were less opinion and bias and more preconceptions that they had learnt and had reinforced through experience. With respect to the contact hypothesis in chapter one, in order for relationships to improve between different societal groups, positive encounters need to be experienced for both adolescents and the police. However, positive encounters are not enough. Both sides of the contact experience need to endeavour to remain prejudice-free. This can prove difficult when stereotypes and prejudices are consistently available to learn and be utilised to make judgements. In the next section negative stereotypes and perceptions of the police will be discussed.

5.3.3.4 Negative perceptions of the police

In the previous section on the troubled relationship between police and adolescents, dominant stereotypes and preconceptions were acknowledged. In all social groupings people make generalisations regarding a group of people. Regardless of orientation, gender, class or ethnicity these preconceived notions of individuals as a group entity can have negative consequences and lead to conflicting relations. As will be discussed in the next section, mass media and technology do not assist in reducing negative perceptions. The results of grouping people together based on one-off experiences or hearing a story can still influence the overall relationship.

'…I never had no experience with [police]…but I still don't like them. I get if you've have a bad experience [with a police officer], basically if [the police] didn't deal with a problem you had before or they done like made it worse basically…but then when [friends] tell me what happened in their own time, it makes me mad…'

(FGYT12, pp. 7, 2011)

Often the police are a symbol of discipline and respect; authority and power for society. Many of the participants saw the police as a symbol of anything but discipline. They conceived them as abusive, power hungry and lethargic. These views were well entrenched in the participants views of the police.

'…most young people see police officers as snitches…most people don't trust them because they're snakes and they put lots of [friends] in prison and stuff…don't understand the real issues…'

(FGYT13, pp. 16, 2011)

The above comment supports the view that many of the young people do not trust the police prior to entering into any social exchange. The negative stereotypes are not limited to issues with trust. Often the participants described the police based on experiences they themselves may not have experienced but through the stories heard from friends and family. This is important for this section of the analysis in that many of the perceptions of the police have been developed through word of mouth as opposed to individual experiences.

'…all your [friends] hate the police…and you hear an incident or two…so you sort of fall into the role of hating as well…'

(FGYT9, pp. 6, 2011)

Thus as the above demonstrates, direct encounters with the police are not always a necessity for young people to develop negative views of the CJS. Word of mouth can serve as a sufficient medium to transfer thoughts from one individual to another. Sometimes these stories have been passed down from other authoritative individuals in the life of the adolescent, such as their parent or guardian. These influential adults in

their lives may have a significant impact and influence on the way in which an adolescent perceives the police.

> '…Of course, you get like people come whose parents and grandparents [had difficult upbringings]. It just comes down in the family like, if you're brought up [not liking the police], your [caregivers] doesn't like the police, so you'll be raised that way…the older generations pass on the anger…'
>
> (FGYT8, pp. 33, 2011)

According to the participants it is not just their friends and family members who influence their perception of the police but also the police themselves. In the case of the current theme, the youth recognised that not all police officers were necessarily 'bad' but that the actions of a few can taint the overall image of the police.

> '…even if it was one off events, you can't help but you know keep that in your mind rather than if they dealt with it really well, in the majority of cases, the thing we were talking about earlier, you've clearly got to spend a lot of time building up trust for it to seem positive, it's got to be steady and continuous where as one or two negative events can immediately change someone's view point…'
>
> (FGYT4, pp. 16, 2011)

The next section examines organisations and social phenomena such as the media that could be held accountable for some of the issues in developing trust between adolescents and the police.

5.3.3.5 External antagonists

Many of the participants commented that the reason they dislike the police is because of what they see on television, watch on the news or read in the newspapers. As Hillard (2003) commented, you can have ten positive encounters with the police, and that's good; but one negative encounter and all the positives disappear. This sums up some of the young people's views. They acknowledged that in many situations, the media will demonise the police and make them look much worse than they actually are:

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'…bad things in the news…the big news stories…that's a problem because it's the negative aspects that stick in our minds…'

(FGYT4, pp. 14, 2011)

Yet the young people in the focus groups admitted that they did not necessarily have specific examples of how the police get a bad reputation. They claimed that they did know when stories were being exaggerated and how all the good things the police do on a day-to day basis can go relatively unnoticed. The participants believed that much of the conflict and antagonistic properties could be rectified if the media was less negative and harsh in portraying the role and position of a police officer and their duties.

'…thing that would definitely stop such great distrust [in the police] is the way certain events are portrayed by the media. I think the coverage they get can be very very harsh...it's just the way they're portrayed, especially by the media…if [the media] portrayed the entire story, the police may be portrayed differently…'

(FGYT4, pp. 20, 2011)

Many participants agreed that their experience of working with police within the VPC programme led to better relationships with the police, as the youth learnt how biased reporting through the media can be. They also developed an appreciation of the unnoticed effort and work police officers engage in on a daily basis as part of their routine.

'…clearly the media is always wrong. I mean, they focus more on bad points on policing than good points…coming to police cadets, you're more comfortable with them because you learn the police aren't like that and you learn that what the media makes up is just to get people to hate the police and dislike them more and to get more people on their side if an argument comes across…'

(FGYT10, pp. 9, 2011)

The media was not the only entity that the youth felt needed to share some of the blame with the manner in which police officers are portrayed. The government was also seen to be behind much of the distrust between adolescents and the police in their view:

> '…people don't trust the police because…they don't trust the government because they are the people in power and sometimes they screw up and people don't like that…so we don't trust the government [or anything related to them such as the CJS]…'

<div align="right">(FGYT3, pp. 5, 2011)</div>

Some of the participants commented that the government was unjust, unfair and selfish when it came to many social concerns (such as the increase in tuition fees for university students). As a result, although the recent rioters/protesters acted in a deviant and violent manner at times, it was the police that had to directly deal with the government's unpopular decisions. Thus when the youth protested, it was the police that were on the front line. Coupled with the perceived media frenzy that followed, with all news agencies reporting images of clashes between young people and the police were politicians claiming that this type of protesting was criminal and that the police were fighting an impossible battle. However, many participants concurred that if the police had been tougher, they would have suffered the wrath of the public. If they had sat back and not intervened as central London was overcome by mobs of angry people, they additionally would have been criticised (as was later seen following the summer riots).

> '…[riots and student protests] were a widely reported negative thing…you are hearing stories from the media…you spend a lot of time building up trust [with the police] for it to seem positive…negative events can immediately change someone's viewpoints…'

<div align="right">(FGYT4, pp. 16, 2011)</div>

The young people in the focus groups understood the scrutiny that the police faced daily through media representations and government decisions on practice and policy. It was also clear that media depictions do not help foster good relationships between young people and the police.

> '…all I knew about the police was basically what was on the news - them beating up people that shouldn't have deserved it when clearly the media is always wrong. I mean, they focus more on bad points on policing than good points…'

<div align="right">(FGYT10, pp. 9, 2011)</div>

This section was considered to be more positive in relation to youth perceptions of the police. The participants who, for the majority of the focus group discussions voiced their issues and problems with the police demonstrated an understanding of the difficult societal role police hold. Although the participants themselves may not have gone as far as stating the exemption of all blame from the police in youth-police interactions, the fact that they understood external factors influencing the dynamic relationship was a progressive step.

5.3.3.6 VPC versus non-VPC view of the police

On the basis of the contact hypothesis, it was expected that the young people involved in the police cadets and therefore working closely with the police in situations where they respected their authority, would present a contrasting and more positive view of the police than the young people in other groups. This proved to be the case and the types of positive comments were collated and identified below for contrast with the earlier negative comments analysed.

One positive view was presented by a young person in the VPC discussing how the police were trying to improve their image and make youth in general more understanding through sending in a Special Constable to the local schools and colleges. This is similar to the Citizen Police Academies in the United States where police and citizens come into contact to discuss their overlapping problems with each other and what they can do to work together moving forward (see chapter two, Cheurprakobkit, 2000). Generally speaking, VPC cadets were more positive about their contact with the police given their experience within the cadet programme.

> '…I see them as police officers but it's weird because even though they are [Metropolitan Police] you forget they are police…and now when I see [non-cadet police officers] I know that [issues] they deal with…they don't have an easy job…I would be less judgemental [interacting with a police officer]…
>
> (FGYT13, pp. 9, 2011)

The young people in the VPC described improving youth-police relations. One young person with the VPC claimed that improvements were happening. Most of her colleagues and fellow cadets agreed:

'…these [police] here at cadets, we like them. They treat us fairly and kindly and don't make us feel like little kids. Before I came to some of these sessions, I hated the police. Like, you know, every time me and my friends would walk by an [officer] we would get dirty looks and laughs. For doing nothing and I feel that is not fair at all. What did I ever do to them [police officers]? Just because I'm a kid living in a crappy area, that [is not] my fault. I go to school and I listen to my parents and sure, sometimes I do stupid things. That don't make me a criminal. Anyways, ever since I started coming to these sessions and getting to know the police I have a new view on the ones I don't know. I definitely don't respect or trust the police on the street as much as I do the ones in here [cadet commanders]. But whatever, now when I see one on the street, I don't care as much. If they ask me a question, I know they are just doing their job. Don't mean it doesn't [anger] me from time to time, but I understand that if I co-operate, there ain't nothing that can happen...'

(FGYT9, pp. 15, 2011)

This comment is from a young cadet working with police officers on an almost weekly basis and shows a more positive attitude that emerges as a result. The opinions and attitudes of the cadets were changing as they engaged in the project. They were getting to know an authoritative member of a societal institution that their peers viewed as fundamentally coming into conflict with their own age demographic. These young people were moving towards more neutral ground in their perceptions.

'…. To know the [VPC] police officers more, you have a bit more respect for a police officer that you might see on the street…'

(FGYT11, pp. 8, 2011)

As the conversations continued, many of the participants felt that projects like the VPC they were involved with could help educate them and make them see the benefits of working with the police. They could learn about matters related to law, be engaged in the community and have connections to other professionals through internships and training days. As one young person reported:

'…you're [in forensics]? That is so cool. Do you think I could contact you in the future sometime when you know, I think about going to [university]? I mean, I know you are busy but it's something I would be really interested in hearing a bit about. That is one great thing about working with [facilitator's name and programme], you get to meet some really interesting people that are friendly and helpful and have our best interests in mind. Makes you really feel like there are people out there who care and are willing to help…'

(OLBarking1, 2011)

Participants working directly with the police through the VPC were also positive in terms of their engagement with police officers on programme sites. They established good working relationships and rapport with the officers they worked with at sessions. Direct contact, as discussed in chapter one, between different groups in society as an influence in improved attitudes and a reduction in stereotypes was therefore seen with the young people working directly with the VPC.

'…when I first started, I think I was just scared…now I trust [the police on site] like I can be myself. They're just like normal people, they're not intimidating and they're just really nice people that you can have a normal conversation with…'

(FGYT14, pp. 15, 2011)

Working with the police directly had resulted in the development of positive relationships between many of the participants and the police connected to the VPC programme. In terms of generalising their positive attitudes and trust in the VPC police more widely to the police they may not come into contact with, the participants were optimistic.

'… may not really like police [before], I know they're there for safety and stuff…I think [teenagers] learn to respect the police force better when dealing with them…[task] is to fight crime so we need to respect that…'

(FGYT14, pp. 28, 2011)

The above illustrates an optimistic picture of adolescents working directly with the police and how the trust built on site with police officers may be transferred to the

police working in the community. In terms of building a trusting relationship with a civilian, or non-police authoritative figure, parallels with the youth who worked with the VPC may be drawn. These young people report positive, trusting relationships with the authority figures they work with.

> '…I think because I've been around [the YWs] more…conversation has been [about youth issues]…it has been a situation where I can build a relationship with [YWs] and trust [them], I don't know but I think we all feel the same way [about YWs]…'
>
> (FGYT3, pp. 21, 2011)

Also, the participants within the VPC were more optimistic about the role of police officers in society generally than their non-VPC counterparts. A youth from the VPC commented:

> '…people like don't like the police before getting to know any of them…get to know the person or how it difficult it actually is to be a [police officer] before they start judging. [At the VPC sessions], we witnessed and experienced how hard it actually is to be a police officer in London or anywhere, we understand like the struggle they go through on a day to day to just solve crimes or to prevent crimes from happening…'
>
> (FGYT8, pp. 34, 2011)

Although the non-VPC participants were not as positive and optimistic about their own encounters with police officers in public, there were moments when they also were accepting of the potential improvement in trust. They were quick to differentiate between their experiences with YWs and police officers but were able to appreciate the benefits of improving relationships between youth and the police, and how their involvement with the community programme may facilitate that. A participant from a non-VPC group stated:

'…build good relationships with the [Youth Workers on site], they are fun and cool…some police can be like that…I will always have my guard up around police because of stereotypes, but so will they…I do think I trust them. I would go to them if I needed to as I respect their [duties]…'

(FGYT3, pp. 24, 2011)

In order to build a trusting relationship with authority figures in the lives of adolescents it can be argued that the source of the authority is secondary. The primary importance in the relationship was to establish rapport and facilitate engagement between the authoritative adults and the youth, whether the adults were police or not. Whether there was a directional influence on developing trust from relationships with civilian authority to non-civilian authority (police) occurs was discussed by one young person:

'…[authority figures] they actually like speak to us in a mature way and they don't see us like little kids or treat us like little kids. We show them respect and they show us respect yeah and they teach us the right things…not the same as with the police. Most officers [embody] stereotypes and to be honest, they see youth and quickly think "oh! There's a troublemaker"…so why should I trust them?'

(FGYT7, pp. 30, 2011)

With direct and indirect contact with authority figures, the investigation into associations between different types of trust is again highlighted. There was evidence that working with authority figures, whether civilian or not, had positive effects on the lives of adolescents studied leading to greater confidence and self-belief. Overall trust in the police was differentiated between those young people working directly with the police and those working with civilian authority. The participants working with the police reported more positive social encounters, attitudes and feelings towards the police that they work with. This led to a more understanding view of the police force in general, not only those encountered in their groups. This direct contact with police in a non-threatening or non-confrontational setting seems to facilitate developing a positive relationship and respect for authority in the police.

Conversely, the young people not engaged with direct, regular contact with police officers expressed much less overall trust in the police despite having developed trust and respect for the YWs they were involved with.

> '...It's hard to say [about trusting the police] because I don't know the police, I'm not going to have my guard up here [Oasis]...the police are different...you can't trust them right away [because of] stereotypes...'
>
> (FGYT3, pp. 24, 2011)

The potential influence of non-coercive authority trust from the program facilitators that they work with on the police is not immediately evident. This in part could be due to the type of authority being wielded and its source. For example, it is clear that an YW and a police officer hold drastically different types of power and are represented by very different forms of authority. Yet, for example, the football coaches were able to wield complete power in the small group they were responsible for. But the voluntary attending of the youth activities and acceptance of the expertise and seniority of youth leaders is different to scenarios where youth encounter police in unpredicted scenarios. Here police can impose authority where the young person is not a willing participant and in which they have no choice but to interact in a relatively unempowered way. A paradox between volition and coercion between the authority types is likely to manifest which will influence the participants differently. This concept of differing views of authoritative trust will be discussed further in chapter seven.

Those young people involved in the VPC and working directly with police officers on a weekly basis whilst expressing more positive views, did in fact also express some negative views but more about the police in general, rather than the ones they worked with.

> '…these police here [at cadets] they treat us fairly…they offer support and become almost like a friend…but I don't trust the police on the streets. They are moody and angry, innit. They don't care about me, except my [race] and my [clothing]…we don't consider the [police at VPC sessions] as police…they're something else…'
>
> (FGYT12, pp. 13, 2011)

Their responses within the focus groups surrounding trust in authority had another primary difference from other groups which was that the discussion of trust and the police was arrived at much more quickly with the VPC participants and they differentiated between the police they worked with and the police they may come into contact with on the streets.

> '…you can communicate with [VPC police officers] quite well…compared to the police on the streets. You can have a conversation with them and you can tell them anything…don't mean I can do that on the street [with a police officer]…'
>
> (FGYT10, pp. 15, 2011)

Some of these young people who worked on a weekly basis with the police still held preconceived negative images of who the police are and what they represent.

> '…I trust the police and I don't trust the police. I trust the [cadet police officers] because I know them but when you're out and you see a police officer, you're not going to trust them…they're stopping and searching you or they're saying something to your friends or they're behaving [improperly] …they've already got a [prejudice] in their head…I don't trust them to do it fairly.
>
> (FGYT14, pp. 8, 2011)

The negative views of police portrayed by the VPC participants were however less critical than those their non-VPC peers with the negativity stronger amongst those participants not experiencing direct one-to-one encounters with police officers on a regular basis. The following response from an Oasis participant highlights this:

> '…I don't think it's possible for people to like the police, no matter what…they're all [expletive] and all they do is [unjustly harass and intimidate] people…all they do is judge and stop you because they have [suspicions] of drugs and crime and all that…it's not possible to trust them, no, not possible, ever…'
>
> (FGYT2, pp. 15, 2011)

Evidently, working directly with the police in the VPC was not always seen as working with police officers. In fact many of the participants perceived their relationships and experience with the police at cadet sessions to be no different than those youth not enrolled in the VPC who were working directly with an YW or alternative civilian authority figure. It seems that the police force was viewed as a separate entity, regardless of which organisation the participant engaged with.

'…I trust [cadet VPC officers] more than regular police officers because I've got a relationship with... if you see another police officer...it's not the same...[cadet VPC officers] are not like the regular police...'

(FGYT11, pp. 5, 2011)

To provide some approximate estimation of the differences between community program participants and those enrolled in the VPC, the frequency tabulations for themes and subthemes discussed earlier in this chapter was again addressed to provide a contrast between negative and positive views of the police. In addition differences between VPC participants, who had direct contact with police officers, and those groups not working one-to-one with the police, are shown in table 5.3. Only those subthemes associated with 'Trust in the police' were included in the analysis. The first four listed in this section were labelled as negative comments about the police whilst the latter two (external antagonists and improvements) were labelled as positive.

Table 5.3 Negative and positive comment frequency about the police by group

Organisation	Overall police (frequency)	Positive (frequency)	Negative (frequency)	Proportion positive (%)
VPC	588	307	281	52.2
Non-VPC	226	71	155	31.4

A clear picture emerges with the overall frequency of comments about the police with a higher frequency in the VPC and a higher proportion of positive police comments. Almost half of the comments related to the thematic analysis of the focus group transcripts by those enrolled in the cadets were deemed to be positive, with only about a third of the non-VPC community programme enrolees commenting in the same way.

This assists in highlighting the difference between groups in terms of the influence and effect of direct, one-to-one contact with police officers. Although the above analysis is based on qualitative data it is consistent with the Contact Hypothesis that working with the police leads to better overall opinions and attitudes towards the police.

5.4 Influence of power in developing trust

The observations conducted with groups of young people in the previous chapter highlighted the importance of a hierarchical structure and the use of power within the various community organisations. The embodiment of power was discussed in two critical formats: power of the adult facilitator and youth leaders within the groups themselves over the other participants and the young people's perception of themselves in the functional hierarchy. A third representation of power was added, that of individual empowerment and its link to self-esteem and equality. The current section will build upon power as a fundamental element of the youths' experience within the organisation and its importance in developing a trusting relationship.

5.4.1 Youth and adult authority

When considering the convergence of power and trust between the youth and group facilitators or youth leaders, the concept of a probationary or test period was raised. Typically, an individual will be (informally) evaluated prior to deciding whether they are trustworthy or not. Developing these relationships and strengthening them over time is a continuous process that requires reciprocation. Time and energy are dispensed, and although benefits are achieved, they come at a cost.

> '…like, it doesn't come that easily, it's something that has to be proven and earned…you need to work for it and sometimes, you know, it is a lot of effort…it can all be worthwhile…'
>
> (FGYT4, pp. 2, 2011)

There is acknowledged input of participants into these trusting, authoritative relationships. The participants understand the requirement and dispensing of social resources, but also appreciate the positive consequences of engaging on an individual basis. The participants are aware of the benefits to themselves through these

authoritative relationships but also as a group in which the benefit becomes a mutual sharing of the power and group empowerment.

5.4.2 Group power

Group power or the development of power mutually across multiple individuals was also invoked. It was noted that the young people overtly receive identical information from the peer-leader and community facilitators. However, their individual interpretation and positive and/or negative reinforcement of this information can differ. Several groups and individual participants discussed the influential nature of these relationships in making them feel better and more able in their daily lives away from the organisation:

'…we ain't all friends [in reference to other participants] but we want the same thing. We come here because we like coming here but [we are all] different…[unsure] what [referring to another ethnic group] they want out of this, but we all get the same attention and same chance…on the street, in our [VPC] uniforms, we all get treated the same way. It's good…we have a stronger voice [when at cadet events]…'

(FGYT9, pp. 17, 2011)

However the acquisition of power and the development of trust both with facilitators and peers was not seen as simply working hard and achieving their desired outcome. When in a relationship with a power imbalance, the inferior position of the adolescents could hamper their perceived ability to achieve equality and empowerment in the groups. On the contrary, should they reach their individual expectations and goals within the adult-youth dynamic, the accomplishment can have extremely positive results.

'…not sure at first, police [expletive]…but you get to know them, you work together…they make you feel good. They make you feel like a good citizen and not another kid on the block who thinks he is tough…they do not make you feel like dirt…they make you work for respect, but its good [developed authoritative relationships], it's worth it…'

(FGYT10, pp. 15, 2011)

5.4.3 Youth and peer authority

Empowerment of the participants through the use of peer leaders was considered to be of the utmost importance to the participants. Although the actual power imbalance between group facilitators and participants may be more difficult to achieve, the peer leaders can provide a more accessible route. This route can be to both the feelings of power within the youth community as a group, but also the more personal sense of empowerment and its influences on self-efficacy, self-esteem and feelings of self-worth to the individual youth. As one participant stated:

> '…I didn't come here [for the adult relationship], I came here because my friends said it was worth and that you got to meet some cool [older youth] who can help you out and do [interesting activities]…'
>
> (FGYT8, pp. 5, 2011)

This is clear support for the positive influence of empowerment in authoritative relationships helping to foster trust. Using peer leaders is a highly useful and strategic mechanism in positively engaging potentially at risk young people. If the peer is more socially accessible than the author figures then it provides a more realisable potential future relationship.

> '…didn't know no one when I came here…didn't trust them because I never knew how they were…I got close to our [peer leader] and I know who they are, their personality so [I will] trust them more now…[the peer leader] he cares, like [the group facilitators] be he got my back and I can call him [anytime] and he'll [support me]…'
>
> (FGYT13, pp. 13, 2011)

Also given that individual power was built as a consequence of good behaviour and engagement, the achievement of power amongst one's peers was a useful tool in both motivating the participants into wider interactions as well as rewarding them. The potential reward of being in charge was seen as exhilarating, powerful and an aspiration.

'…I love it [being the on-field coach]..I tell them to jump, they jump…and if they [fail to engage with drills during practice], I bench them…I'm the boss…'

(FGYT4, pp.19, 2011)

The above quote demonstrates the catalysing effect of achieving power. The adolescents clearly found the concept of superiority and control over their peers as desirable. Not necessarily in an anti-social manner but in a way that provides the youth with their own authority. The dual provision in the election and positioning of a peer leader endorsed by facilitators was evident. Not only did it offer the individual youth with self-empowerment but additionally it served as a motivator to the other members of the groups. The overt display of what hard work, discipline, commitment and a prosocial ethos can gain instils desire and aspiration. Ideally these characteristics could then be carried into other aspects of their lives such as school, family life and lead to the desistance from anti-social behaviour and criminality.

'…[peer leader]'s awesome, you know. He's just the bomb. We respect him, you know…he gets on with all us [other participants] but he knows the [group facilitators]. He gets work with them and talks to other kids in trouble like that…I want to do that, show [those not participating] what it's like…'

(FGYT7, pp. 21, 2011)

Thus power continues to present itself as a cross-cutting theme throughout the current thesis. This is of immense importance when considering the key characteristics influencing youth-authoritative relationships and the maintenance and development of positive youth-police interactions.

5.5 Summary

This chapter set out to analyse the findings of the fourteen focus groups studied to elicit the views of young people engaged in youth activities of authority and trust. All were centred on the construct of trust held by adolescents in relation to different types of authority, culminating in that of the police.

The focus groups were conducted for two general purposes in addition to examining the potential influence of one type of trust on the trust directed towards the police, and the

important of the Contact Hypothesis. The first was to understand and analyse the participant's concepts of trust. The second was to use the information gathered to create items measuring young people's concepts and comprehension of trust in authority figures (such as the project facilitators and the police) and create items for the development in study 3 of a questionnaire measure of trust.

Three main themes were discussed through the analysis of the transcripts produced

- Core trust—this involved the participants understanding of what exactly trust is generally speaking and the societal agents (friends and families) that were used in order to structure and develop trust. Certain prerequisite conditions or characteristics were needed in order for trust to develop and be utilised by the young person. These were concepts such as reciprocation, enduring nature and loyalty between the trusting parties.

- Trust in authority—these concepts centred more on the trust involved with other adults (non-parents or family) that the young person was likely to come into contact with through their engagement in society and the community programme they were involved with. As with the construct of 'core' trust, certain societal agents were more likely to serve in developing trusting relationships. Teachers however were figures not invested with trust. This is highlighted as a perceived similarity in the forced, coercive authority a teacher and police officer possess. The potential similarities between teachers and police officers will be discussed in chapter seven. Equality, empowerment and self-esteem were deemed necessary by many of the youth in ensuring the success of the trust between the adults and the young people.

- Trust in the police—arguably the largest and most significant point of discussion also emerged from the focus groups. Here, the participants alluded to several sub-themes related to issues preventing the maintenance and development of a trusting relationship between young people and the police. External entities such as the media and government were held responsible for many of the problems facing this relationship. Additionally, historical concepts of stereotypes and prejudices (on both sides of the societal relationship) proved central in maintaining and propagating the divide. However, youth who had

greater positive contact with the police through their activities as cadets had higher levels of reported trust and respect, although this focused more on the specific police they worked with rather than police in general.

Power as a cross-cutting theme was discussed amongst the participants. In study one, variations in power were observed within the participants social interactions. In the current study, power was assessed as integral in the development of trust. Power within the youth individually, as a group and with the adult authority figures played an important role in facilitating trust and the development of relationships, as well as the psychological well-being of the youth themselves.

Support was found for the Contact Hypothesis with those youth working directly with the police benefiting the most from improved trust with the police force in general, reporting better understanding of police behaviour and activity. However the strength of this influence, or association between trust in authority and trust in the police was questionable. Participants working well with civilian authority figures, such as YWs did not report any improved levels of trust in the police, despite positive authoritative relationships with these adults. The next section, study 3, involves the development and administration of a new questionnaire on trust together with other measures to investigate trust issues in the young people in one of the community groups studied as well as the experience of previous police contact on trust, psychopathology and attitudes in the police.

Chapter 6: Study 3—Quantitative findings

The current chapter formalises the process of item selection and construction of the TAQ scale, tests its reliability on repeat use, and validity in terms of predicting TAQ outcomes from relevant socio-demographic variables, psychopathology and experience with the police. This is tested in a sample of one hundred (n=100) young people engaged with the Oasis Trust. The following research questions were addressed:

Research Question 3: By using information acquired from the qualitative, exploratory study, can the critical variables be condensed into a standardised reliable and valid self-report tool (Trust in Authority Questionnaire, TAQ)?

Research Question 4: Will trust relate to demographic risk and behavioural disorder with higher levels of trust found in those with more self-reported fair past police contact amongst a high-risk youth group engaged in a community programme?

Research Question 5: Will overall trust and/or trust in the police relate to other psychosocial variables linked to police contact and will these latter variables act as significant contributors in regression models predicting trust?

6.1 Development of the Trust in Authority Questionnaire (TAQ)

This section will outline the construction, testing and administration of the TAQ.

Focus group output directing TAQ items

The focus group (Study 2) themes aimed to explore issues surrounding overall trust. Thus the participants were asked about their understanding of trust but also their trust relationships with the group leaders/facilitators and the police. Key trust subthemes were highlighted and consistency was sought across each focus group, as constituent parts of the three types of trust: core, authority and the police. These were identified when they re-occurred within the transcribed group discussions involving specific types of trust. Coding was done ad-hoc, so that as transcripts were re-read and analysed, amendments were made and sub-themes/constituent parts were expanded or collapsed within each other. Upon initial completion of sub-theme identification, two meetings were held with the research assistants who had assisted in transcription and another with

the project supervisors to provide agreement and reliability of the highlighted themes. Table 6.1 below provides examples of the first draft of the subthemes grouped within their superordinate level of trust and examples from the focus group transcripts used to illustrate their significance. These were used as the basis for constructing the TAQ items and its general structure.

Table 6.1 Superordinate and subordinate factors of trust

Theme	Subthemes	Example	FG, pp.
Core	Confidence	*'...put your confidence in them...*	3, 2
	Endurance	*'...it's long-lasting with that person...'*	7, 2
	Consistency	*'...trust someone that is reliable...can tell them more...'*	3, 1
	Reciprocation	*'...bond of trust and mutuality...work and share together...'*	10, 3
	Family	*'...my family...we're really close...they won't say anything'*	11, 5
	Peers	*'...can tell friends anything and they won't talk...'*	5, 11
	Loyalty	*'...they are loyal, and I to them...'*	8, 3
Authority	Development	*'...see them put the effort in...so do I...'*	3, 14
	Importance	*'...[organisation] will take me further in life...'*	14, 9
	Mentoring	*'...make me feel welcome and comfortable...'*	5, 13
	Self-esteem	*'...have a chat with them and feel good about myself...'*	11, 17
	School	*'...teachers work for institutions...end up ordering you what to do...'*	8, 10
	Equality	*'...treat you as an adult instead of seeing you like a kid...'*	10, 23
	Empowerment	*'...[facilitators] are your friends and you feel good with them...'*	9, 7
Police	Improper	*'...threaten to nick us just for being around...'*	10, 19
	Government	*'...following government guidelines and instructions...'*	7, 13
	Faith/belief	*'...no trust among young people and the police...'*	9, 22
	Media	*'...media shows us black youth go straight to prison...'*	7, 19
	Stigma	*'...their attitudes stink and they criticise youth...'*	14, 14
	Troubled rel.	*'...always trying to catch us up...think we're no good...'*	11, 21
	Improvements	*'...like coming to cadets...we work together, get to know them...'*	11, 17
	CJS	*'...I specifically said no, they're not using me in court...'*	14, 19

Notes: Taken from focus groups 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 14

The twenty-two items identified above were used to further direct the items in the new TAQ measure.

Item construction

Items were chosen based on the subthemes and organised within the superordinate themes of trust discussed above. Table 5.2 in chapter 5 provides the full frequency of items across the transcripts. The TAQ in its first format had seven questions linked to core trust, seven questions linked to trust in authority and eight questions linked to trust in the police, giving a trust overall trust measure of twenty-two items. The 22 sub-themes identified through the focus group analysis were reduced to 19-items based on the researcher's analysis: 'mentoring' on the authority subscale and importance of the CJS on the police subscale were dropped overall as they were poorly represented through the qualitative findings. 'Problems with the government' and 'Media influences' were combined into one new sub-theme—'External antagonists'. Media and government were often cited together throughout the participants responses as externally influencing opinions of the police in a negative manner, thus this seemed a logical combination. This brought the TAQ police subscale from eight to six items, and the overall TAQ measure from 21 to 19 items. Scale items were worded so that lower scores were indicative of more trust, and higher scores indicated higher levels of mistrust. Particular items were reverse scored in order to avoid response sets. Table 6.2 shows the draft of TAQ items prior to implementation of the pilot.

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Table 6.2 Draft TAQ 19-item questionnaire

Subscale	Sub-theme	Question
Core	**Confidence**	*Trust involves having confidence in others*
	Loyalty	*Those I trust are loyal to me, and I to them*
	Endurance	*Trust with others does not last very long*
	Consistency	*Consistency in behaviour is needed for trust*
	Reciprocation	*In order for me to trust someone, they must trust me back*
	Family	*I have learnt to trust others because of my family*
	Peers	*My friends have had no part in developing my trust*
Authority	**Development**	*Working with a few specific adults here is not at all important*
	Importance	*I trust the adults at this organisation*
	Self-esteem	*Treating young people like me fairly will assist me with increasing trust in authority*
	School	*Trusting my teachers builds trust with other authority*
	Equality	*My exclusion from decisions and discussions gives me less trust in authority*
	Empowerment	*Being able to trust other adults makes me feel safe*
Police	**Improper**	*Unexplained police actions used against me makes me less trusting of the police*
	External antagonists	*Politicians and the media influence my trust in the police*
	Faith/belief	*I believe the police can make me trust them*
	Stigma	*Cannot trust the Metropolitan police...they are police*
	Troubled relationship	*If the police treat me fairly, that will help increase my trust in police*
	Improvements	*Interactions with a few police officers has increased my trust in police*

Note: First draft of subscale of TAQ, subthemes and prototype questions prior to piloting.

The next section will present the pilot administration of the TAQ and item deletion prior to finalisation.

Pilot TAQ administration

A pilot administration of the TAQ was conducted with a group of 20 young people working as volunteers at Oasis. All of the youth were final year school students who were given the briefing and instructions relevant to completing the questionnaire. Following completion, they were all asked to indicate any parts of the TAQ measure that were unclear and to note their comments on the concepts being measured. Table 6.3 below summarises the comments made on individual items.

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Table 6.3 Subjective comments on TAQ items in pilot study

Question	Comments	Action
1 (Confidence)	-clear statement (P17) -makes sense (P14) -obvious inclusion (P13)	None
2 and 3 (Loyalty and Endurance)	-what does endurance mean? (P13) -loyalty to who? You or someone else? (P1) -aren't they kind of the same thing? (P3) -I can be loyal for a long time (P7)	Items were deleted and reformulated into a new question regarding respect. This was done to account for the longevity of the trusting relationship but also the necessity of a previous level of mutual understanding. Therefore, the new item *'Respect is needed in a trusting relationship'* was constructed
10 (Self-esteem)	-makes them feel better…their life (P5) -looks at positive effect of relationship to the person in question (P4)	None
12 and 13 (Equality and Empowerment)	-I feel that these two questions are linked, but I don't know how? (P17) -feeling good or feeling safe and can only happen if you feel included (P2) -I get not being included, but I imagine other things go with that, like not being excluded would make me feel better; make me feel safer; make me feel like part of the team (P15)	The participants had problems with their understanding of these two questions. It seemed as if they were uncertain exactly what they were pertaining too. When queried further, *'Being able to trust other adults makes me feel safe'* was considered inappropriate for the sequence of questions and that *My exclusion from decisions and discussions gives me less trust in authority'* catered to the wider ideas of inclusionary acknowledgement thus equal status. As an element of equal status, feel safe meant that there was a reciprocal relationship. The subthemes of equality and empowerment were thus merged together under the guise of the latter item.
16 (Faith/belief)	-it is not just about believing…what does that even mean (P3) -I don't get this question (P4) -is it about having faith? Because if it is, then I would be willing to work towards trust (P5) -this is too vague…make it about working together (P10)	A large amount of criticism was directed towards this item in the subscale. At first, the researcher considered eliminating it from the scale however upon inspection of the pilot comments, it seemed that faith or belief in the police was a necessary prerequisite in building a relationship with police, which in turn could assist with levels of trust/mistrust. The item was thus reworded into *Developing trust with the [Metropolitan police] is not at all important to me'*.
17 (Stigma)	-very negative, I trust the police (P4) -ask straight out whether they trust the police or not (P5)	The question was re-formatted based on the recommendations to read *'I trust the Metropolitan Police'*.

Within the 'core trust' subsection, it was clear from pilot feedback that item 3, *'Trust with others does not last a long time'* was problematic. The participants commented

that implications on the timespan of this item were unclear and queried whether it meant a single trusting encounter, whether or not the individuals involved were known or unknown to the participant, and whether or not it was linked to loyalty. The re-structuring of the subtheme and integration of a new item in replacement of the previous two brought the TAQ core subscale from 7-items down to 6-items.

The TAQ authority subscale showed difficulties with three of the items: item 4 (schools), item 5 (equality) and item 6 (empowerment). As a result of the feedback and the interpretations, TAQ authority was re-formulated to include 4-items reduced from six. The item investigating *school* was considered to be irrelevant by participants and removed, and the items relating to *empowerment* and *equality* were coupled together.

Basic amendments were again made to elements of the TAQ police scale. The concept of *'improper policing'* was entirely removed due to its perceived negativity and inability to provide a positive answer even amongst those with trust in the police. *External antagonists* was generalised to any outside relationships with non-police adults; *Faith/belief* in the police was structured into a reverse scored item querying the importance of developing police relationships; lastly, *stigma* was simplified to directly ask participants if they trust the police or not. The abovementioned amendments brought the TAQ police subscale from 6-items to five items for the final version, and the overall TAQ measure was thus reduced from the amended 19-item version to the final 15-item version that would be administered to the entire sample. A version of the final TAQ can be found in appendix 9 and the final items are discussed below. These changes were additionally tested by running internal consistency on both the 19-item pilot TAQ and the final 15-item version, with Cronbach alpha scores improving greatly.

6.2 Reliability statistics

The internal reliability of the standardised questionnaires (using Cronbach's alpha) as well as more extensive reliability checks on the new measure developed (TAQ) including test-retest are reported below. For a detailed account of the construction of the TAQ, including the pilot administration and amendments post-pilot administration, please see appendix 7.

6.2.1 Trust in Authority (TAQ) measure

Table 6.4 below depicts the internal reliability statistics using Cronbach's alpha for the final version of the TAQ. Four values are provided; one each for the subscales and one for the overall measure. The alpha values calculated were of high levels for internal reliability (0.72 – 0.81) with the exception of the 'core' trust subscale (α=0.65) which fell in an acceptable range but short of the high reliability expected.

Table 6.4 Internal reliability of TAQ

Scale	Cronbach's Alpha
Core Trust (6-item)	0.65
Trust in Authority (4-item)	0.72
Trust in the Police (5-item)	0.72
Overall Trust (15-items)	0.81
Average alpha score	0.72

6.2.2 Test re-test and split test reliability

Two additional checks of reliability for the new TAQ scale were undertaken. Test re-test reliability involves the re-administration of the questionnaire to check the consistency of scores over time. Stronger support for the overall consistency of the measurement is represented by higher correlations between the multiple administrations of the instrument to participants. The test re-test reliability was conducted on 30 individuals seen at time 1 and then three weeks later at time 2. Each participant was given a code so that their scores could be matched following completion at both time periods. The correlations using Pearson's r are shown in table 6.5. These indicate an acceptable reliability for overall trust, trust in authority and core trust (0.61 – 0.77). The TAQ police subscale boasts the highest probability level (0.77).

Table 6.5 Pearson's r for test-retest administration of TAQ

Measure	R
Core Trust	0.62
Trust in authority	0.61
Trust in the police	0.77
Overall trust	0.63
Average alpha	0.66

Support is thus provided for internal reliability of the TAQ scales.

A further test of reliability was conducted in the form of split test reliability. This tests whether separate items on the measure are measuring similar traits. If these different scores of the partial forms are highly correlated, consistency is demonstrated with support for reliability. Again (see Table 6.6) both subscale and overall probabilities for the TAQ are good.

Table 6.6 Split test reliability TAQ and subscales

Measure	Cronbach alpha
Core Trust	0.73
Trust in authority	0.62
Trust in the police	0.67
Overall trust	0.76
Average alpha	0.70

Summary of reliability findings

Internal reliability of the scales was in the main good. This included the new TAQ scale. The alpha coefficient for the SDQ scale was low, but this is discussed as normal in light of its proposed outcomes. Test-retest reliability showed a range of acceptable and good levels for overall trust and its various subscales. For the entire memorandum referring to the construction and piloting of the TAQ, please see appendix 8.

6.3 The sample characteristics

Demographic characteristics of the 100 youth form Oasis selected for testing the TAQ in relation to psychosocial variables were examined in terms of their gender and age, social class, family composition and ethnicity (see table 6.7). Given the percentage and the sample is the same, only percentages are given in the following analysis.

Table 6.7 Demographic characteristics of sample

Demographic Factor	Total (%)
Gender-Male	86
Age	16.18 (2.06 S.D.)
Ethnicity-Black	48
Single mother household	53
Parent/caregiver unemployment	44
3+ encounters with police	46
Negative contact with police	43

NB[1]: **Parental and caregiver unemployment examines whether there is at least one unemployed caregiver in the home. NB[2]: 'Black' refers to the self-reported ethnicity on the questionnaire, where respondents would have selected from a number of options including, under the heading 'Black or Black British', 'Black African', 'Black Caribbean' or 'Black Other'.**

It can be seen that most of the sample was male (86%) and the average age was 16.2 years old (SD 2.06). Just under half of the sample was of African or Afro-Caribbean background, with two-fifths of the sample indicating that they were from a Caucasian background.

In total 44.0% of the sample had unemployed parents (see table 6.7) and over half of the sample lived in households run by a single mother, of whom 49.1% of the mothers were unemployed. Of those living with two parental figures, 16.7% of the fathers/male caregivers were unemployed and 47.2% of the mothers/female caregivers.

Thus there was a high percentage of family difficulty, diverse ethnicity and implied disadvantage in the largely male sample as a whole. All participants were from Southwark and Lambeth in South London, known to have high levels of social risk.

6.4 Neighbourhood, familial and behavioural risk factors

Neighbourhood risk factors were examined to reflect social risk, potentially related to Trust in authority, and to type of police contact. Table 6.8 shows that neighbourhood risks overall were common, with nearly two-thirds of the sample describing neighbourhoods with decaying buildings, and over half describing seeing drunk and disorderly locals and having noisy neighbours. Homelessness, drug use and harassment affected 36%-41% with as many as 90 of the participants having one such lifestyle risk.

Table 6.8 Neighbourhood risk factors

Lifestyle Factor **(Yes/No responses)**	**Participants (%)**
Noisy neighbours	61
Teenage loitering	57
Homelessness	41
Drug use/sale	36
Harassment	38
Drunk and disorder	53
Decay of buildings	58
Begging	49
Any one lifestyle risk	90

The sample was then examined in terms of parent/caregiver risk factors. This is because problematic childhood experience is expected to relate to low core trust, but also low trust in authority and low trust in the police. The items on the questionnaire were worded positively and therefore scores were reversed in the analysis. It can be seen in table 6.9 that 34% of the sample experienced at least one negative parental factor involving lack of praise, attention or unfair treatment, with individual risks experienced by 10%-23%.

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Table 6.9 Sample parental risk factors

Family Relationship Risk (Yes/No responses)	Participants (%)
Lack of praise (parents)	15
Inattentive parents	15
Unfair treatment	23
Unaware of activities/location	10
Any one (1) of above	34

NB: (*) denotes a significant difference p<0.05.

Conduct issues in the young people studied were examined in terms of running away, school exclusion and truancy (see table 6.10). More than half of the youth (54%) had experienced at least one such conduct problem with a range of 16%-32% for each behaviour.

Table 6.10 Behavioural issues linked to conduct and school

Conduct Problems (Yes/No responses)	Participants (%)
Run away from home	16
Suspended (school)	32
Excluded (school)	27
Frequency truancy	24
Any one (1) of above	54

NB: Four participants provided incomplete responses and were removed from the analysis (n=196).

A 'Social Deprivation Index' (SDI) of demographic risk was constructed for the next stages of analysis using a score of dichotomised demographic and risk variables in order to examine its contribution to the models developed. Participants were initially given a score of present or absent on 5 scales: (i) BME membership, (ii) single parent household, (iii) parental or caregiver unemployment, (iv) at least one neighbourhood problem (e.g. begging) and (v) problem relationship with their caregiver (at least one of lack of praise, attentiveness, engagement or awareness).

The SDI comprised the total score out of a possible five scales present (0-5). In this sample, the mean was 3.05 (SD=1.26). Participants scoring four or above on the five point scale were labelled as having high risk on the dichotomised scale. Approximately two-thirds (69%) of the overall sample was classified as having such risk on the SDI.

Summary of social disadvantage findings

There were relatively high rates (quarter to half) for neighbourhood disadvantage and other risk indicators. Nearly all the respondents had at least one such risk factor, with little difference between quality of police contact. Over a third (34%) had difficulties in relationships with parents. Over half reported a problem behaviour at home or school. A Social Deprivation Index (SDI) demonstrated that approximately two-thirds of the overall sample could be categorised as high risk, with the presence of multiple risk factors.

6.5 Psychological Disorder and behavioural difficulties (SDQ17+)

The rates of psychological disorder were then examined. Table 6.11 shows the subclinical (borderline) and case (abnormal) levels and both combined into 'total disorder'. It can be seen that conduct disorder (CD) was the most common with 55% having disorder at the subclinical level or higher and almost one-third (34%) disorder at clinical case level. Two-fifths of the young people had hyperactive disorder with 11% at clinical levels, and 29% had emotional disorder (16% at clinical levels). 'Any' case was computed for the presence of any of these disorders at subclinical or clinical level. Nearly three-quarters (71%) of the sample had a disorder using this index with 40% having two or more disorders at subclinical/case level. This is substantially higher than the representative case rates of around 12% in adolescence (Green, McGinnity, Meltzer, Ford and Goodman, 2004).

Table 6.11 Case and Subclinical Disorder (SDQ 17+)

Disorder	Subclinical %	Case %	Total disorder
Emotional	13	16	29%
Conduct	21	34	55%
Hyperactivity	11	28	39%
Any disorder	54	53	71%
2 or more disorders	15	25	40%

NB: Percentage for 'Any disorder' combines both subclinical and case scores; several participants had multiple disorders, the overall number of participants having at least one borderline or case score is tabulated.

Disorder scores were then examined in relation to the SDI to see if expected relationships emerged. Table 6.12 shows rates of social disadvantage for the different disorders (combined case/borderline level). Only conduct disorder was significantly related to higher SDI, consistent with prior research findings. However despite a slight increase in rates of SDI in emotional and hyperactive disorder, these were not significantly related to SDI in this sample.

Table 6.12 Social Deprivation Index and disorder

Disorder (n) (case or borderline)	Social Deprivation Index % (n)		Chi-square (df=1)
	Low (0-3) N=31	High (4 +) N=69	
Emotional (29)	26 (8)	30 (21)	0.22, NS
Conduct (55)	36 (11)	64 (44)	6.19**
Hyperactivity (39)	42 (13)	38 (26)	0.16, NS
SDQ overall (50)	42 (13)	54 (37)	1.17, NS
Any one disorder (70)	61 (19)	74 (51)	2.06, NS
Any 2 or more (37)	29 (9)	41 (28)	1.22, NS

NB: (**) denotes a significant difference p<0.01.

Summary of disorder in the sample

More than half of the sample experienced a probable case level psychological disorder. This rose to 71% if the lower subclinical threshold was also incorporated. A quarter had more than one disorder (25%). Those with high social deprivation showed significantly higher conduct disorder.

6.6 Attitudes towards the police (SPAS)

The relationship between the SPAS police attitude scale and disorder was then examined. Cross-tabulations and chi-square tests examined the relationship between positive and negative attitudes towards the police and levels of subclinical/case disorder.

Cut-off scores were developed for the SPAS of those above the mean (M=29.9, SD=9.39) with lower scores denoting more negative attitudes. The relationship between SPAS negative attitudes towards the police and the dichotomous disorder scores are shown in table 6.13 with significant associations apart from hyperactive disorder.

Table 6.13 Disorder cases and SPAS attitudes towards the police

Disorder (n)	SPAS % (n)		Chi-square (df=1)
	Positive N=37	Negative N=63	
Emotional (29)	19 (7)	35 (22)	3.89*
Conduct (55)	24 (9)	73 (46)	6.59*
Hyperactive (28)	27 (10)	29 (18)	0.38, NS

NB: (*) denotes a significant difference p<0.05

6.7 Trust

The distribution of TAQ scores was then examined to look at the distribution of self-reported levels of trust in this sample. In order to use dichotomised scales to examine frequency, cut-off scores were developed using means across participant scores for Core

TAQ (M=15.89, SD=6.51), Authority TAQ (M=10.44, SD=4.28), Police TAQ (M=17.42, SD=6.41) and the Overall TAQ (M=43.75, SD=13.35). Table 6.14 below displays the percentage of the sample reporting levels of mistrust.

Overall nearly half of the sample (48%) report levels of mistrust when dichotomised. Across the subscales, the lowest level of mistrust is seen on the TAQ Core subscale (39%) and the highest level of mistrust on the TAQ Police subscale (46%). Further analysis will be undertaken in subsequent sections to investigate the relationship between these various measures of trust and the quality of police contact in the lives of the participants.

In order to examine the inter-relationship of Trust in authority and Trust in the police TAQ authority subscale scores were transformed into trichotomies: the lower third of scores (4-12) were labelled as trusting; the middle tier (13-19) as neutral; and the upper third of scores (20-28) as mistrustful. Higher scores on the Y-axis represented higher levels of mistrust in authority figures. Figure 6.1 provides graphical representation of the link between the mistrust in authority scale and mistrust in the police, with a clear positive relationship denoted (r=0.279, p<0.001).

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Figure 6.1 Relationship between non-police and police mistrust
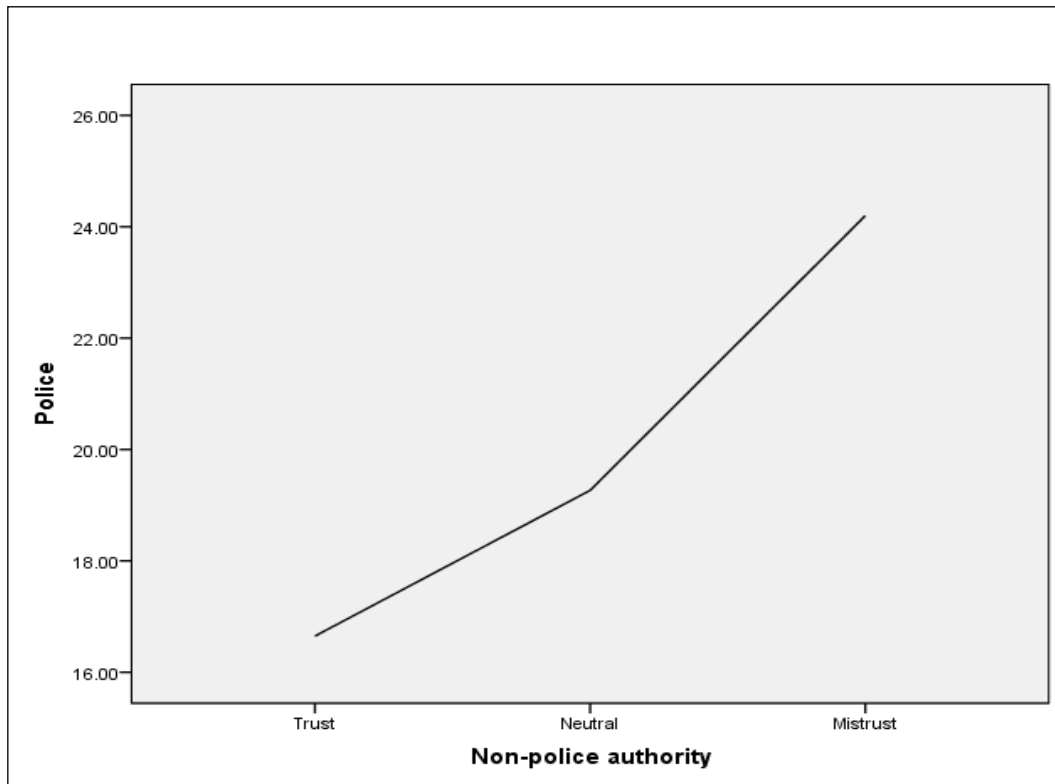
Fig. 6.1. Graph depicting the positive relationship between mistrust in authority and mistrust in the police. Lower values on the Y-axis denote higher levels of trust

6.8 Quality of contact with the police

The Quality of Police Contact scale (QCS) was a six-item measure examining quality of past police experience on a variety of semantic differentials. Higher scores denoted more qualitatively positive contacts with the police in the past. As each of the six items measured participants responses on a 7-point Likert scale, total scores between seven and forty two were possible. Participant responses were dichotomised for further analysis using the cut-off of the mean (M=23.90, SD=6.99) with scores above the average defined as positive contact, and those below the average as negative overall contact. This resulted in 43 participants scored as negative police contact. Quality of police contact was then examined in relation to social risk factors and disorder as well as the TAQ.

6.8.1 Demographic neighbourhood, familial and behavioural risk factors

Table 6.14 below depicts the relationships between quality of police contact and neighbourhood, familial, conduct and overall SDI risk.

Table 6.14 Neighbourhood risk factors by study group

Risk factor	% (n)		Chi-square	%
(Yes/No response)	Positive (N=57)	Negative (N=43)	(df=1)	Overall
Homelessness	37 (21)	65 (28)	7.84**	49
Drug use/sale	28 (16)	47 (20)	3.62*	36
Begging	35 (20)	67 (29)	10.27**	49
Noise	53 (30)	72 (31)	3.90*	61
Loitering	58 (33)	56 (24)	0.43, NS	57
Harassment	26 (15)	54 (23)	7.68**	38
Drunken disorder	44 (25)	65 (28)	4.45*	53
Structural decay	65 (37)	49 (21)	2.60, NS	58
Any one lifestyle risk	88 (50)	93 (40)	0.78, NS	90
Lack of praise (parents)	9 (5)	23 (10)	4.03*	15
Communication (parents)	12 (7)	19 (8)	0.77, NS	15
Parents treat fairly	21 (12)	26 (11)	0,28, NS	23
Family knows activities	5 (3)	16 (7)	3.31*	10
Any one (1) familial risk	30 (17)	40 (17)	1.03, NS	34
Run away	11 (6)	23 (10)	2.96, NS	16
School suspension	25 (14)	42 (18)	3.52, NS	32
School Exclusion	21 (12)	36 (15)	2.45, NS	28
Truancy	16 (9)	35 (15)	5.04*	24
Any one (1) conduct issues	42 (24)	70 (30)	7.55**	54
Social Deprivation Index	38 (68)	72 (31)	0.33, NS	69

NB: (*) denotes significant different at p< 0.05; (**) denotes significant difference at p<0.05.

In terms of overall risk, only conduct issues were significantly related to the quality of police contact, with those showing more negative previous contact with the police as almost twice as likely to report conduct issues. Whilst this may seem circular, in that those with conduct issues have more negative encounters with the police, it serves to underpin or validate the self-reported police contact scale. This suggests that those categorised as having an overall 'negative police contact' background are more likely to have neighbourhood risks and conduct issues.

Within the familial risk factors, lack of praise was the only significantly associated variable in this grouping, with those reporting negative previous contact with the police as indicative of higher levels of risk.

The SDI was then evaluated for associations with the quality of police contact amongst the participants. When differences between quality of police contact were sought, the findings were not significant therefore demonstrating that risk as defined by social deprivation in the current study was evenly distributed across quality of police contact. The figures are available in the final row of table 6.14.

Summary of risk factors and quality of police contact

Nearly all the respondents had at least one such risk factor, with little difference between quality of police contact. Parental praise which was absent more frequently in participants with negative previous police encounters was the sole familial risk factor to show significant differences. There were significant differences in quality of police contact according to the level of conduct problems. There was no difference in quality of police contact according to levels of social deprivation.

6.8.2 Police contact and psychopathology

Quality of Police Contact (QCS) was also investigated in relation to disorder, using dichotomous scales. Table 6.15 shows a significant relationship of conduct disorder to quality of contact ($p < 0.05$), but no relationship with other disorders.

Table 6.15 Disorder/difficulty cases quality of contact with the police

Disorder	Quality contact % (n)		Chi-square (df=1)
	Positive N=57	Negative N=43	
Emotional (29)	26 (15)	33 (14)	0.46, NS
Conduct (55)	42 (24)	71 (31)	5.48*
Hyperactivity (58)	26 (21)	44 (37)	2.37, NS
Any one (55)	23 (18)	31 (37)	1.67, NS

NB: (*) denotes a significant difference p<0.05.

Next, peer difficulty or problems with prosocial skills, taken from the SDQ17+ were examined both in the total sample and by quality of contact. Overall 43% were scored as having problems with peers and 22% as having low prosocial skills using published cut-offs for 'borderline' and above. There was no significant difference on quality of contact when considering problem peer relationships however participants reporting more negative quality of contact with the police were almost three times more likely to self-report problems with prosocial skills than those reporting positive police contacts.

Table 6.16 Prosocial and peer issues by quality of police contact

Relationship factor	Positive contact % (n) N=57	Negative contact % (n) N=43	Overall %	Chi-square (df=1)
Problem Peer issues	46 (26)	40 (17)	43	0.37, NS
Problem Prosocial skills	12 (7)	45 (15)	22	7.29**

NB: (**) denotes a significant difference p<0.01.

Summary of disorder and police contact findings

Disorder levels were not significantly different amongst those participants reporting negative quality of contact with the police with the exception of conduct disorder and problematic prosocial skills, both of which were more likely amongst those youth reporting negative past experiences with the police.

6.8.3 Quality of contact with police and TAQ trust scores

The relationship between the new TAQ measure and police contact was then examined using the dichotomised scales.

Table 6.17 TAQ dichotomised trust scores by quality of police contact

TAQ lack of trust Component	Contact % (n)		Chi-square (df=1)
	Positive N=57	Negative N=43	
TAQ (Core trust)	39 (22)	40 (17)	0.009, NS
TAQ (Authority trust)	37 (21)	61 (26)	5.31*
TAQ (Police trust)	39 (22)	73 (31)	8.43*
TAQ Overall trust	46 (26)	51 (22)	0.30, NS

NB: Analysis completed using portion of sample scoring below average levels on TAQ thus being categorised as 'trusting'. (*) denotes a significant difference p<0.05.

Significant differences were found for quality of contact with the police and Trust in Authority and the Police, but not for Core Trust or Overall Trust. This indicates some differentiation with the authority related and more global scales, of the TAQ. Whilst the association may not be surprising with the Authority and Police Trust, it again indicates that the two measures reflect similar structures and lends criterion validity to the TAQ.

6.8.4 Different types of police contact

This section will examine attitudes to the police on three measures: (1) overall quality of police contact; (2) overall attitudes towards the police; and (3) trust in the police. These will be examined in terms of whether police encounters were deemed voluntary (citizen initiated) or involuntary (police initiated), and their reported level of perceived fairness.

Figure 6.2 below shows how the quality of police contact is reported across two dimensions of fairness in two separate police encounters: one defined as voluntary, or citizen initiated and the other labelled as involuntary, or police initiated. The quality of police contact was calculated using an amended QCS aggregate score. Two separate semantic differentials from the original QCS: involuntary-voluntary and fair-unjust

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were used to categorise participants on the encounter spectrum and the fairness spectrum. Participants were categorised based on where their score placed in comparison to the mean.

A significant relationship was found between reported quality of police contact and the fairness of the encounter in involuntary (police-initiated) interactions, where those reporting the interaction to be judged as more fair (57%) differed from those reporting it as unjust (18%), p<0.05. There was no difference in the voluntary encounters.

Figure 6.2 Fairness assessment of police contact in different police encounters
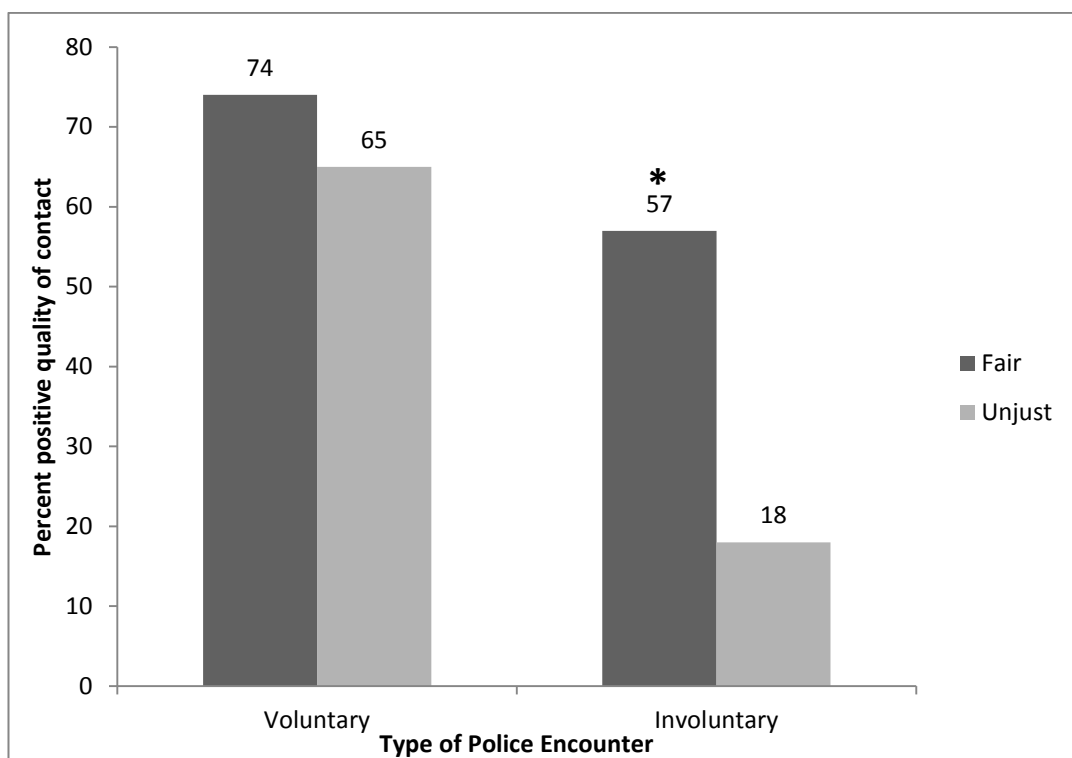
Fig. 6.2. Cross-tabulation and Chi-square analysis of quality of overall police contact across different youth-police encounters. (*) denotes significant difference at the p<0.05 level.

Figure 6.3 produces a similar examination of police encounters, however illustrates the participants on their attitudes towards the police using the dichotomised SPAS. There are significant difference between the attitudes reported in both voluntary and involuntary police contact with the youth, with those indicating that the interactions where fair reporting more positive attitudes (p<0.05). Unsurprisingly, none of the participants reporting unjust involuntary interactions reported positive attitudes towards the police, supporting the issues raised by Skogan in chapter one in relation to the influence of perceived lack of fairness and negativity towards the police.

Figure 6.3 SPAS attitudes in different police encounters
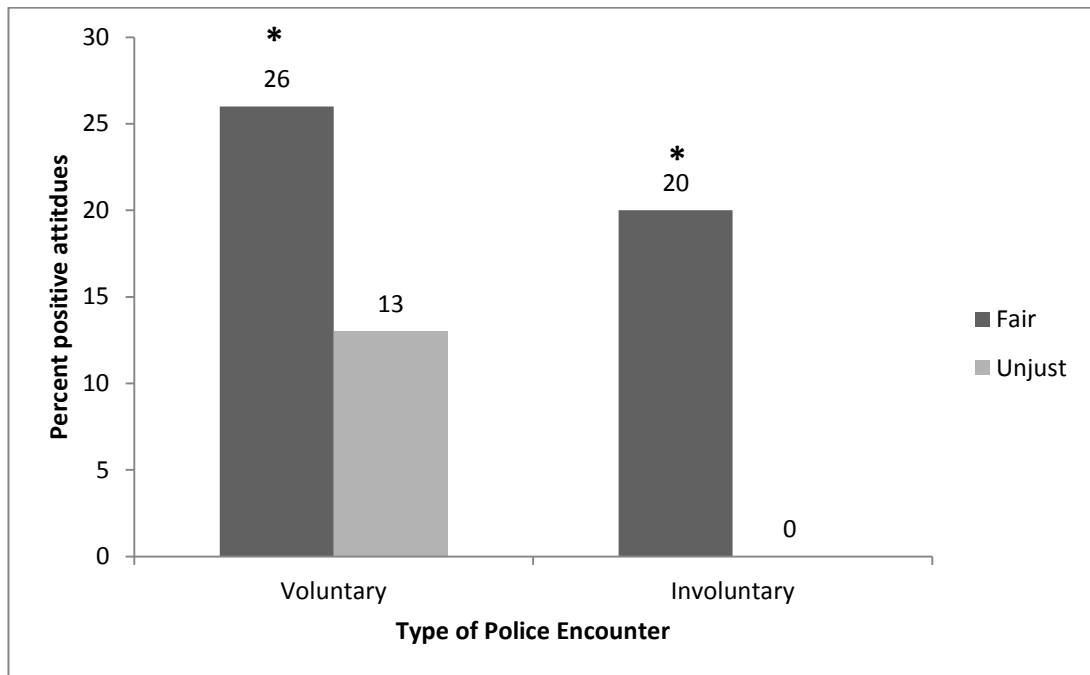
Fig. 6.3. Differences between reported attitudes towards the police in different contects. (*) denotes significant differences at the p<0.05 level.

Lastly, levels of self-reported mistrust in the police using the TAQ police subscale were analysed. Figure 6.4 provides the findings and shows a similar trend with the previous two analyses. In the case of voluntary police interactions with youth, there is no significant difference between the levels of mistrust in fair and unjust situations, perhaps demonstrating the neutralising effect or lack of influence/significance/importance of the encounter itself. With involuntary contact experiences, fairness contributed to the level of mistrust that the participants reported. Interestingly, those reporting unjust involuntary encounters reported significantly more mistrust than those reporting fair involuntary police encounters (44% versus 14%) which corroborates elements of previous research discussed in the literature review (i.e. public are more concerned with being treated fairly, regardless of implications of police encounters).

Figure 6.4 Mistrust and different police encounters
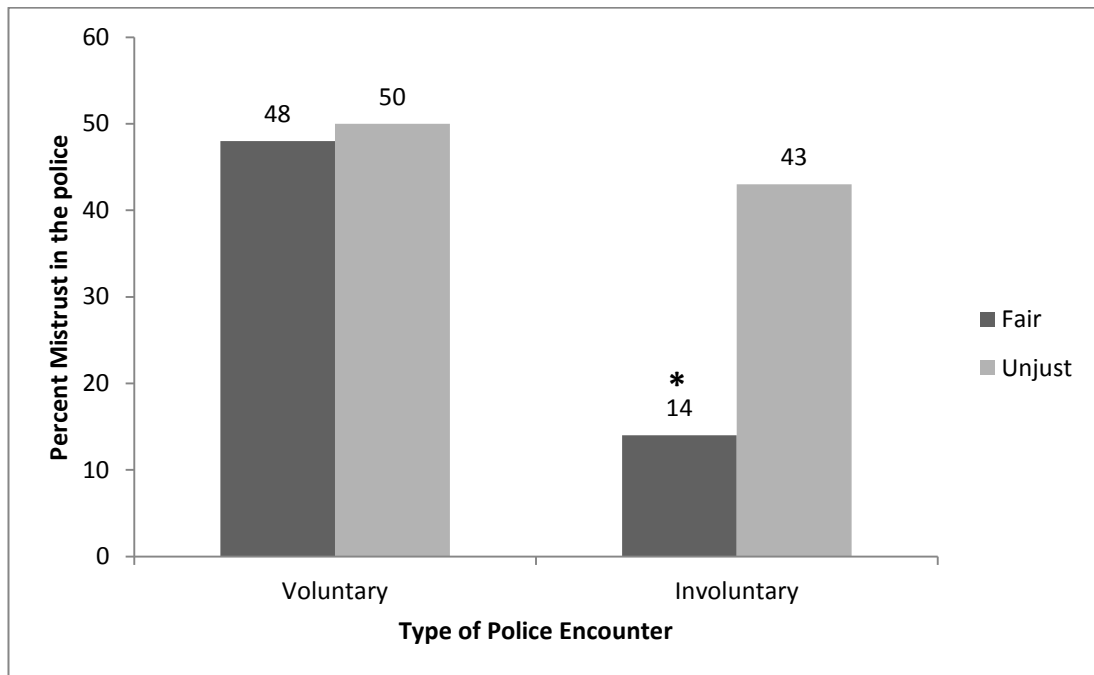
Fig. 6.4. Cross-tabulation and Chi-square analysis of quality of overall police contact across different youth-police encounters. (*) denotes significant difference at the p<0.05 level.

In summary, there seem to be relationships between the key variables under investigation and the type of police contact. In particular, issues surrounding involuntary police encounters (police-initiated) and perceived lack of fair treatment (unjust) tend to produce more negative outcomes in quality of police contact, attitudes towards the police and levels of mistrust.

6.9 Relationship between TAQ, SPAS and other risk variables

The relationship between TAQ trust factors and expected interactions with the police in relation to knife events, mugging and overall were then examined to examine levels of association as well as to establish further criterion validity of the new measure.

6.9.1 Trust, social deprivation, experience with the police and psychological disorder

Three different TAQ subscales were included in the analysis: the 6-item 'Core trust' sub-scale; the 4-item 'Trust in authority' sub-scale; the 5-item 'Trust in the police' sub-scale in addition to the agglomerated 15-item 'Overall Trust score combining all three sub-sections. Item correlation with SDQ disorder, with SPAS (attitudes towards the

police) and QCS (quality of contact) and the SDI are shown in table 6.18. When the overall TAQ score (last column) is examined, modest but significant correlations are shown with the SPAS and QCS (the negative values indicating higher mistrust linked with more negative attitudes to, and contact with the police).

Table 6.18 Correlations between attitudes to the police (SPAS), quality of contact with police (QCS), symptoms of disorder (SDQ) and trust (TAQ)

Measure	TAQ (core)	TAQ (authority)	TAQ (police)	TAQ (overall)
SPAS (attitudes)	.05	.05	-.27**	-.19*
QCS (quality of contact)	-.08	-.03	-.32**	-.21*
Social Deprivation Index	.17	-.19	.19	.15
Overall SDQ	-.09	.18	.19*	.20*
Conduct	-.08	.22*	.17*	.12
Emotional	-.15	.27**	.24**	.28**
Hyperactivity	.09	-.02	.24**	-.07

NB: (*) denotes significance at the p<0.05 level; (**) denotes significance at the p<0.01 level. NOTE– direction of associations is related to the different positive or negative wording of scale items. Thus mistrust is denoted by positively valenced associations and trust by negatively valenced associations.

The TAQ and SPAS are moderately correlated at -.19 (p<.05) indicating higher mistrust linked with more negative attitudes towards the police. Similarly, the TAQ was also moderately correlated with the QCS scale at -.21 (p<.05). Thus there is evidence that both negative previous police contact and poorer attitudes towards the police linked to higher levels of overall and police mistrust. This both confirms previous research discussed in the literature review (see chapter one and the work of Wesley Skogan) as well as supporting the validity of the TAQ in measuring trust in the current study.

Secondly, there are moderate level correlations between TAQ components and various disorders. For example, higher levels of mistrust in the police are associated with higher levels of conduct disorder; conversely TAQ police is linked to hyperactivity and TAQ authority is associated with emotional disorder. Thus there are significant associations between aspects of the trust measures, attitudes towards the police and around contact and psychological disorders giving some criterion validity for the TAQ measure.

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6.9.2 Associations of TAQ scale and Behavioural Intentions Adapted (BI-A) scale

Table 6.19 shows the relationships between the TAQ scores and the Behavioural Intentions Adapted (BI-A) scale which reflected the likelihood of the participants reported intention to engage with the police on a variety of levels over two crime scenarios: knife crime and mugging. This is to further establish the criterion validity of the TAQ scale.

Table 6.19 Correlations between TAQ and Behavioural Intentions (BI-A) scale

BI-A scale Pearson's r	TAQ Core Trust	TAQ Trust in Authority	TAQ Trust in the Police	TAQ Overall total scale
Interact in the event of a knife assault				
Call the police	.059	-.035	-.440**	-.194*
Witness statement	.101	-.079	-.355**	-.147*
Evidence in court	.059	-.018	-.345**	-.265**
Overall	.168	-.021	-.453**	-.143*
Interact in event of mugging				
Call the police	-.028	.029	-.384**	-.189*
Witness statement	-.024	.017	-.286**	-.144*
Evidence in court	.137	.082	-.196*	-.001
Overall	.033	.048	-.317**	-.137*
Overall interactions				
Call the police	.016	-.003	-.443**	-.206**
Witness statement	.043	-.035	-.360**	-.163*
Evidence in court	.228*	.081	-.307**	-.011
Interact at any level with the police	.128	.035	-.369**	-.123*

NB: (*) denotes significance at the p<0.05 level and (**) denotes significance at the p<0.01 level. Negative associations show higher levels of trust within the BI scenario.

When the Overall TAQ scale was examined (final column, table 6.19) significant correlations emerged, albeit at modest levels, in relation to the intended cooperative contact with the police. Only 'give evidence in court' was unrelated to the TAQ score. Highest correlations in each scenario were for 'calling the police'. When the trust subscales were examined, highest associations for all police interaction and co-operation scenarios were found with trust in the police. These scores ranged from -.38 to -.44, all with significance at the $p<.01$. The sub-measures of core trust and trust in authority showed largely non-significant relationships with behavioural intentions to interact with the police/CJS. The only exception was core trust; which was associated with intention to give evidence in court (overall). These findings indicate that specific trust in the police is the aspect most associated with intended co-operation with the police and that core trust and trust in authority is not a good correlate.

The final step of analysis involved conducting multiple regression analyses of the various risk and disorder scales including the new TAQ in order to establish a distinct role for the TAQ scale as well as to formulate a model which predicted trust in the police.

Summary of findings – association of measures with TAQ

Analysis examining the associations of the TAQ with other factors showed specific links between variables. The TAQ police subscale yielded moderate significant correlations with the QCS and SPAS, with the overall TAQ also producing significant links. This indicated more positive quality encounters and attitudes with the police in those participants reporting higher levels of trust. Examining the TAQ in relation to the BI co-operation scenarios, the overall TAQ score and the TAQ police subscale also produced significant relationships. Specifically, TAQ police was highly correlated with each level of the BI-A variable.

6.10 Prediction of trust in overall statistical models

The analysis aimed to determine models of trust using multiple regression analysis of the risk and disorder factors outlined. Four outcome variables were selected: overall trust (TAQ overall), core trust (TAQ core), trust in authority (TAQ authority) and trust in the police (TAQ police). Each of the sections below depict stepwise regression

models predicting these four outcome variables using a combination of Behavioural Intentions (BI-A), SPAS, Conduct Disorder, Emotional Disorder, Hyperactivity Disorder, QCS (quality of police encounters), quantity of police encounters and the SDI measure. The aim was to provide the most parsimonious model predicting the TAQ outcomes.

6.10.1 Predictive models for overall TAQ

The first series of stepwise regressions involved TAQ overall as the dependant variable. In this multiple regression analysis, total scale points were used rather than dichotomous scales with cut-offs as in the earlier analysis. The stepwise process begins by using the independent variable that has the largest single effect on the outcome (interacting with the police). The statistical regression programme then provides a series of combinations in an attempt to secure the highest level of prediction.

Model 1 below (tables 6.20-6.21) provides the sequence of analyses leading to the most optimal predictive model.

Table 6.20 Model 1 (i) Overall trust

Outcome	Predictors	R	R²	Sig.	B	T-value	Sig.
TAQ Overall	*Conduct disorder*	.239	.057	0.026	.239	2.61	0.01

When all eight predictor variables were placed in the model to predict overall trust, the single most powerful predictor in the regression model, accounting for 5.7% of the variance, was conduct disorder. Step two is shown in table 6.21 in terms of building up the predictive model with the inclusion of the quality of contact with police (QCS) measure in addition to conduct disorder.

Table 6.21 Model 1 (ii) Overall trust—step two

Outcome	Predictors	R	R²	Sig.	β	T-value	Sig.
TAQ Overall	*Conduct disorder*	.324	.105	0.01	.272	2.61	0.01
	Quality of Contact				-.222	-2.13	0.03

The quality of police contact score adds to the predictive power of the final model together with conduct disorder. The predictive ability of this final model accounts for nearly a tenth (10.5%) of the variation in participant's responses. Overall, it shows that higher levels of conduct combined with more negative levels of quality of police contact provide the optimal predictive model of overall trust as measured by the TAQ.

It should be noted that through stepwise regression, factors that are deemed non-significant in contributing to the predictive model are removed from the final models depicted and in the case of TAQ overall, the remaining six factors were not significant contributors to the final model.

6.10.2 Predictive models for police TAQ

The procedure was repeated using TAQ police as the outcome measure, to see if this differed from the TAQ overall finding. Table 6.22-24 provides the sequence of analyses leading to the most optimal predictive model of trust in the police as measured by the TAQ police subscale.

Table 6.22 Model 1 (i) Trust in the police

Outcome	Predictors	R	R²	Sig.	β	T-value	Sig.
TAQ police	*Hyperactivity disorder*	.361	.130	0.001	.361	3.59	0.001

When all predictors are placed into the model predicting TAQ police, hyperactive disorder emerged as the first predictor in the regression model, accounting for 13% of

the variance. Hyperactive disorder is discussed more fully in chapter 7 as a frequent precursor of conduct disorder, more common at younger ages and with a potentially greater developmental input. Step two is shown below in table 6.23 in terms of building up the predictive model with the inclusion of the quality of contact with police (QCS) measure.

Table 6.23 Model 2 (ii) Trust in the police—step two

Outcome	Predictors	R	R²	Sig.	β	T-value	Sig.
TAQ police	*Hyperactivity Disorder*	.464	.216	0.001	.372	3.84	0.001
	Quality of Contact				-.292	-3.03	0.01

The second step of model 2 (table 6.23) shows that the quality of police contact score adds to the predictive power of the model together with hyperactivity. The predictive power of the second step in the model accounts for more than one-fifth (21.6%) of the variation in TAQ police. Overall, it shows that higher levels of hyperactivity combined with more negative levels (lower scores) of quality of police contact provide the optimal predictive model of police trust as measured by the TAQ subscale. One final factor was added to the current predictive model through the stepwise regressions; that of behavioural intentions (BI-A) to co-operate with the police in an on-going investigation (Table 6.24).

Table 6.24 Model 2 (iii) Trust in the police—step three

Outcome	Predictors	R	R²	Sig.	β	T-value	Sig.
TAQ police	*Hyperactivity Disorder*	.503	.253	0.001	.322	3.28	0.01
	Quality of Contact				-.250	-2.58	0.01
	Behavioural Intentions				-.204	-2.05	0.05

The final model 2 (table 6.24) shows that the behavioural intentions score (BI-A) adds to the predictive power of the final model together with hyperactivity disorder and the quality of police contact. The predictive ability of this final model accounts for almost a quarter of the variation in participant's responses. Overall, it shows that higher scores on hyperactivity disorder, more negative quality of police contact and reduced intentions to cooperate with the police provide the optimal predictive model of TAQ police. Recall that higher levels on the TAQ and its subscales are indicative of higher levels of mistrust. Again, none of the remaining five variables discussed at the onset of this section were deemed significant contributors through the stepwise regression.

Therefore, both overall trust and trust in the police is explained in part by individual's quality of contact with the police. In both predictive models discussed above, more negative self-reported quality of police contact was significantly involved in predicting levels of mistrust amongst participants. In addition, each model contained a psychopathological difficulty; CD with model 1 and hyperactivity with model 2. These two disorders are frequently referenced in the literature surrounding anti-social behaviour and adolescents, which is a promising connection in understanding and predicting adolescent levels of trust/mistrust when dealing with authority. Conduct disorder is a precursor to an adult diagnosis of Antisocial Personality Disorder (ASPD) and characterised by conflict with others including those in authority. In addition, CD is a prime correlate of youth antisocial behaviour, and deviancy. Additionally, hyperactivity and impulsivity are often linked to CD, adult ASPD and risk taking and impulsive delinquency in adolescence. The model developed links the importance of trust in authority, behavioural disorders and behavioural intentions when dealing with the CJS and brings together psychological and criminological approaches.

6.10.3 Predictive models for TAQ core and TAQ authority

More of the overall variance was explained by a model predicting TAQ police than either TAQ authority or TAQ core models. Tables 6.25 and 6.26 provide the final step regression analysis for both TAQ authority and TAQ core respectively.

Table 6.25 finds an additional predictor element significantly contributing to the explanatory power. The SDI scale which measured social deprivation in the participant was a significant contributor in predicting participants trust in authority, in conjunction

with the QCS. Thus more negative previous police contact experience and the higher levels of deprivation, the more likely an individual will have mistrust in authority figures. The element of deprivation is thus linked to issues surrounding trust and mistrust.

Table 6.25 Final Model Trust in authority

Outcome	Predictors	R	R²	Sig.	β	T-value	Sig.
TAQ Authority	Quality of Contact	.231	.054	0.007	-.089	-2.09	0.04
	SDI				.715	2.72	0.07

The final model of the core TAQ is shown in table 6.26. Here we see the inclusion of behavioural intentions when co-operating with the police and psychopathology in the form of hyperactivity. Both of these predictor variables were present in earlier models of trust prediction. Here, greater disorder with hyperactivity in combination with lower intentions to co-operate with the police is contributing to an individual's levels of core mistrust. This provides further support for elements of antisocial behaviour, risk and impulsivity discussed earlier in this chapter. The core TAQ regression analysis was the weakest, with only 5% of the overall variance explained by the model.

Table 6.26 Final Model Core trust

Outcome	Predictors	R	R²	Sig.	β	T-value	Sig.
TAQ Core	Hyperactivity disorder	.223	.050	0.01	.43	2.27	0.03
	Behavioural Intentions				-.087	-2.04	0.04

Summary of regression models

Several of the variables examined throughout the study provided significant contributions when predicting trust overall and in the police, but also with trust in

authority and generally through the four regression models. The QCS, BI-A, and two disorders measured by the SDQ17+ were all found at particular steps of the modelling process, QCS recurring in three of the four models. The SDI was found to be a significant contributor in trust in authority.

6.11 Summary

This chapter has provided the findings from the third study involving a quantitative survey administration and validation of the new measure designed (TAQ). It also establishes an important role for various psychosocial elements measured in predicting TAQ overall and TAQ police in regression models. The primary findings emerging from the quantitative analysis are summarised below:

- The sample was analysed in terms of its social risk level, including the quantity and quality of contact with police. In terms of neighbourhood and lifestyle risk factors, upwards of a third to half of the entire sample reported levels of background risk whereas familial risk and conduct issues linked to authority and school were less prevalent.

- When psychopathology and disorder were examined conduct and multiple diagnoses were all significantly more common in the high risk groups according to the SDI. Therefore the total sample utilised have a range of risk not limited to univariate analysis.

- Quality of contact of participant interactions with police officers proved to discriminate between levels of psychopathology, TAQ police and TAQ overall and neighbourhood, familial and school risk factors. Those with a lack of CD and good prosocial skills; lower levels of TAQ police mistrust and less reported neighbourhood risk factors had higher scores on the QCS.

- The type of police encounter was also able to differentiate between particular psycho-social variables. Specifically, involuntary police encounters deemed unfair (unjust) showed more negative overall quality of police contact, more negative attitudes and higher levels of mistrust.

- Correlations showed moderate negative associations between key variables such as SPAS attitudes to the police, quality of contact and the social deprivation index, denoting that those with less 'risk' were likely to indicate more positive and favourable attitudes and opinions towards the police. With respect to the TAQ trust scale, both attitudes towards the police and the quality of police contact yielded moderate associations, linked to higher levels of trust in the police (TAQ police).

- Predictive modelling of overall trust and trust in the police highlighted key associations with the TAQ measure. In predicting both overall trust and trust in the police, more negative quality of police contact was a significant contributor in explaining participants levels of mistrust. SDQ17+ psychopathological disorder also contributed significantly in both models, with the two disorders most closely linked to anti-social behaviour and crime contributing to predicting levels of trust. When specifically predicting participants' trust in the police, behavioural intentions to co-operate with the police served as a significant predictor variable. The SDI scale also proved important in modelling trust in authority, in conjunction with the quality of previous police experience.

The chapter provided a validation of the TAQ scales in terms of predictive validation. It also confirmed that trust items had important associations to other psychosocial variables such as behavioural intentions towards the police in reporting and co-operating were crimes were concerned; quality of previous police contact; attitudes towards the police; psychopathology; and social deprivation.

The next chapter concludes the study by presenting a discussion of the over-arching themes and findings from the two studies analysed and discusses the implications for both current criminal justice practice, policy and future research as well as for more general engagement with young people across London and the country as a whole.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Discussion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to summarise and synthesise the findings from the three studies undertaken and to examine the implications within a theoretical and policy context. The investigation of adolescent relationships with authority and the police involved a holistic examination of youth-adult relationships across a range of social arenas. The data provided a view into the lives of varying levels of risk in adolescents living in London with an opportunity to understand the deeper meanings of trust that these young people have in each other; in their parents, teachers, coaches and mentors; and finally trust in the police.

The research is relevant to current policy discourses surrounding adolescents and antisocial behaviour. As discussed in the preliminary chapters, teenagers are over-represented at multiple levels of the CJS. Not only are they more likely to engage in antisocial behaviour and offending but they are also more likely to be the victims of delinquency (Jennings et al., 2010). Thus it is of importance when facilitating a two-way dialogue between teenagers and the police. Since adolescents are more likely to be dealing with police officers in the course of involvement in crime, then pre-existing qualities and expectations of the relationship between police and teenagers need to be better understood to improve co-operation. The thesis has sought to understand this. It could be argued that our society harbours penal populist ideologies; where harsh sanctions, punitive measures and a belief that the abnormal is dangerous dominate popular discourse (Pratt, 2006) despite a more liberal appearance. Since youth interact with and confront the police frequently, a solution to ease the tension between teenagers and the police is needed.

Given that the underlying animosity or indifference between teenagers and the police is widespread (Hurst, Frank and Browning, 2000; Taylor, Turner, Esbensen and Winfree, 2001) and the group often most in need of police help are adolescents themselves, then such barriers need to be removed. Thus although victimisation rates are high amongst youth, figures reporting on their contacting police as victims of crime are low (Bradford, Stanko and Jackson, 2009) presumably due to low levels of trust. In the study reported here, the adolescents in the focus groups perceived the police force as

inaccessible and were clear that they would not contact the police if they were in trouble, because of the belief that police were ineffective in responding to peer violence, burglary, muggings and knife crime. As Tyler (2001) discusses, without confidence and trust in the police force, the police are not legitimated by the society they serve.   It is worrying that relations between many of the adolescents studied here and the police is not of a more positive, co-operative form. Creating conditions for increased trust in the police could create resilience in 'at-risk' youth who would then be more likely to turn to the police for assistance when under threat and may thus be less inclined to engage in deviant and antisocial behaviour as a response to perceived threat.

The studies presented in this thesis, had primary aims addressed through the use of three different methods and three distinct studies (ethnographic; focus groups and thematic analysis; surveys) to triangulate findings on young people and their trust in the police and authority. The development of a new measure of trust in the police (TAQ) was undertaken to enable these concepts to be used operationally, and for future investigation.

The thesis aimed to contribute to our current understanding of how adolescents conceptualise and enact trust. Firstly the study formulated a conceptual framework of adolescents overall understanding of trust. Specifically, the research investigated how teenagers in London (post-Summer 2011 riots) understood the construct of trust in relation to figures of authority, such as the police, but covering a range of professionals from police officers, teachers and YWs.   Through the process of observing and engaging with participants, qualitative aspects of trust and the important features of authoritative relationships were developed in a methodologically robust manner. This means that the construct of trust in this study was developed inductively from the subjective views of the young people involved.   Additionally, the presence and subsequent importance of power in different forms proved critical in understanding the development and stability of trust in authority among the participants.

Secondly, the research investigated whether trust with authority figures in the community is associated with trust in other figures such as the police. The Contact Hypothesis in association to trust between two types of authority figures, from the YW managing the youth groups the adolescents were involved with, to the police was a central focus on this investigative element. From the analysis of all studies, there was

some evidence of this occurring, with the youth reporting having trust in their respective project authority figures. A brief comparison was made in terms of the quantity of positive police comments made between cadet and non-cadet groups, with those working within the VPC showing higher levels of positive comments to the police in general. Quantitative analysis in study three demonstrated a link between trust in authority (TAQ authority subscale) and trust in the police (TAQ police subscale) providing limited support for the influence of one trust type on another, and work linking previous positive experience with the police and trust also supported the amelioration of the relationships.

This indicates that individuals with positive police experiences in noncriminal contexts may use their experiences to adapt and ameliorate their overall attitudes, trust and feelings towards the police in general. Involvement with police officers in a non-CJS related scenario was associated with a good level of trust between the youth and the expected police contact in future interactions. However, there were limitations on the extent of the trust which was greater for specific police officers encountered, rather than the police force as a whole. This demonstrated a limited yet interesting association between trust from one authority figure to another.

The final aim of the study was to investigate what factors predicted each of the different subscales of trust. This was done by including measures of past quality of experience in police encounters, future behavioural intentions, and attitudes towards the police and underlying issues with psychopathology (mainly CD and Hyperactivity) into the model, as well as social deprivation factors. Three final models showed some overlap, with the quality of previous police contact (QCS) scale significantly contributing in each model. The overall trust model found that Conduct Disorder also added to prediction. The Trust in authority model subset also included the SDI (deprivation index), along with quality of police contact. Finally, the Trust in the police model provided significant contributions from police contact (QCS), behavioural intentions to cooperate with the police and Hyperactivity disorder. Providing such models helps differentiate factors influencing different types of trust, with police contact showing an effect across models, with psychopathology and social deprivation having more specific effects. This helps with understanding of the youth and their relation to the authority figures, trust and the police and suggests benefits of trusting relationships in the future for co-operative

policing. Having Conduct Disorder, Hyperactivity Disorder and Social Deprivation play predictive roles in different components additionally provides support for the implications of trust in authoritative relationships and the prevention and intervention of youth anti-social behaviour. All three of these factors have been associated with youth deviance in past research, and the fact that they are associated with higher levels of mistrust/lower levels of trust in the studies described here adds a level of validation.

The qualitative and quantitative findings are discussed below in relation to the research questions posed. Linkages to sociological, criminological and psychological theoretical approaches are discussed and recommendations made for extending the current research and influencing social and penal policy.

Research Question 1: Can ethnographic observations identify characteristics intrinsic to trusting relationships between adolescents and authority figures, with respect to the police and others in authority?

This was the focus of study 1 and the observations indicated that as involvement with the organisation increased with time and rank, the relationship between the participants improved. The reserve and caution of unknown peers turned to camaraderie and team work. The participant's involvement with authoritative relationships instilled a certain level of discipline in them and respect for their peers and superiors. Relationships forged between the participants and the adult programme facilitators catalysed the development of strong and respectful bonds. The young people looked up to their respective facilitators who in turn encouraged the youth to embrace their potential. The facilitators ran the groups with firm authority that was in time recognised and respected by the youth across the programmes. The ethnographic observations assisted in further illustrating the utility of community programmes involving a range of low and 'at-risk' youth and authoritative others and at fostering relationships with adults. Although the relationships the youth developed with their respective programme facilitators differed from that with the police in the type of authority, common aspects such as mutual respect were considered beneficial in youth-police relationships. Whilst the youth groups all had a very different focus, much of the group characteristics, relationships with the authority figures and peers were common across groups. The concept of power also emerged as important in developing relationships and trust with various individuals in the lives of the participants. Power, and feelings of empowerment proved to assist in

forging and exploring various peer and adult interactions, as well as facilitating trust as a product of the relationship development.

Research Question 2: By talking directly to young people in the community about their perception of trust in authority and the police, can key factors relevant to issues of contact and trust be identified and confirm results of the group observation findings?

Study 2 showed through focus groups that three primary forms of trust were identified by the participants. Firstly, core trust—this involved the participants understanding of what exactly trust involves globally. This highlighted as originating primarily from friends and family and involved prerequisite conditions such as loyalty and reciprocation; these key factors were seen as absolute necessities in developing any trusting relationship.

The second form of trust identified by the groups was trust in authority. This focused on the type of trust that develops with authority figures such as coaches, teachers or employers, with whom the young person is engaged. A differentiation was made between coercive and non-coercive authority. The former were identified as the programme facilitators, the latter as teachers and the police. The elements of free choice and the respect found in study 1 were evident through the discussion of trust in authority in the focus groups. Equality, empowerment and self-esteem were deemed necessary by many of the youth in ensuring the success of the trust between the adults and the young people and in developing respect in any particular authority figure.

The final form of trust discussed was trust in the police. Factors deemed problematic and preventing improved relations between youth and police were described. Social factors such as stereotypes and media portrayals of the police and high profile incidents of improper policing were all voiced as major contributors to the troubled relationship. Directions for mending and ameliorating the image of both youth and the police were also discussed. Those participants working directly with the police as cadets benefited the most from improved trust with the police force in general, reporting better understanding of police behaviour and activity. This provided some support for the CH.

Overall, aspects of positive relationships with authority figures, whether police or civilian, did emerge through the investigation of the focus groups and highlighted many

of the key findings identified through the observations. Discipline, respect but also equality and esteem were found necessary in order for a young person to establish more positive relationships with authority. Working directly with the police assisted in fixing youth images of the police and conversely, working with YWs was somewhat associated with parallel levels of trust in the police. Power and individual empowerment as discussed in the first study again proved to be critical in the development of trust across social mediums, and as a benefit for the psychological growth and well-being for the individual.

Research Question 3: By using information acquired from the qualitative, exploratory study, can the critical variables be condensed into a standardised reliable and valid self-report tool (Trust in Authority Questionnaire, TAQ)?

The questionnaire developed for study 3 was shown to have good reliability and predictive validity. The elements identified through qualitative analysis as constituent themes were operationalised in questionnaire format into 19-items composed of three subscales: Core, Authoritative and Police trust. A pilot administration of the TAQ as well as inter-item correlation analysis allowed for reduction of overlapping items resulting in a 15-item questionnaire. Tests of reliability on the final overall TAQ were conducted examining both internal consistency as well as test re-test reliability, both yielding acceptable Cronbach alphas indicating reliability of the measure. Criterion validity, the extent to which the TAQ was associated with other measures was also found to be acceptable with associations to social deprivation, the Semantic Police Attitude Scale, Quality of Contact Scale, and Conduct Disorder and predictive validity in terms of modelling Behavioural Intentions to cooperate with the police was also supported.

Research Question 4: Will trust relate to demographic risk and behavioural disorder with higher levels of trust found in those with more self-reported fair past police contact amongst a high-risk youth group engaged in a community programme?

TAQ scales were highly associated with demographic, clinical and social risk factors. The statistical analysis showed that the TAQ itself was significantly correlated with other attitudes to the police (SPAS, QCS) and to social deprivation (SDI). Specifically, higher levels of trust both with the overall TAQ and the police subscale were associated

with more positive quality of contact scores and more positive attitudes in the police. In terms of psychopathology, lower self-reported difficulties with CD were linked to lower levels of the TAQ police subscale (higher levels of trust). Those with more previous fair and just police experience were **25%** more likely to report higher levels of trust in the police than their high negative police contact counterparts, regardless of the contact being police or citizen initiated.

Research Question 5: Will overall trust and/or trust in the police relate to other psychosocial variables linked to police contact and will these latter variables act as significant contributors in regression models predicting trust?

There was evidence that trust in the police and overall trust could be predicted using selected psychosocial variables. Specifically, trust in the police was partially explained by higher levels of past positive quality police contact and lower Conduct Disorder. Overall trust could be partially explained by the past quality of police contact, behavioural intentions to cooperate with the police and lower levels of Hyperactivity Disorder. Trust in authority introduced the influence of social deprivation (SDI) as a predictor variable, whilst the QCS significantly contributed to its explanatory power. These three predictive models provide an original take on the application of the Contact Hypothesis. Not only do they re-affirm the importance of quality of contact in relation to trust with a new measure, they also provide a unique look into the importance of underlying adolescent issues with psychopathology. Specifically, both CD and Hyperactivity, both of which are linked to adolescent delinquency, are linked to the development and maintenance of trust.

7.2 Discussion of Qualitative findings

This section will further discuss the overall findings from the two qualitative studies.

7.2.1 Discussion of Ethnographic observations

The observations of the participants engaging with the various community programmes was the first step in identifying issues around trust and relationships with authority. The observations provided a deeper understanding of the organisations being recruited as

well as the dynamic of relationships between adolescents and authority figures within each service.

One of the dominant themes emerging from the observations involved hierarchical youth structure. As the youth participated within the organisations they were observed to mirror the authority within the groups. This was partially facilitated by the adults themselves providing certain 'ideal' members of the group more power in decisions influencing the group and in representing the youth as a spokesperson. At times this worked well, especially for those young people who had come to understand the intricacies of the group. Newer members who only knew one or two of the others tended to accept this power distribution. At times however it caused imbalances to the hierarchy through inattention and restlessness of the newcomers. New 'trouble-makers' would either be sternly addressed through the authoritative adults or told to consider that the organisation was not for them. This sharing of power with the youth themselves seemed to self-correct any deviation from rule-following.

The second dominant theme can be interpreted through reflexive modernity (Beck, 1992). Here, projects aimed at community engagement and the prevention of antisocial behaviour are argued to stem from socio-historical moral panics. These moral panics have for generations been perpetuated between youth culture and adults (Cohen, 1972). Following Tony Blair and Jack Straw's electoral campaign in 1997 aimed specifically at youth antisocial violence, social programmes aimed at removing 'at-risk' youth from the streets and forcing them to engage with society was seen as a necessity. Many of the participants in this study commented on not being allowed out without adult supervision or that their parents or caregivers feared for them in the evenings unless involved in constructive activities. It would seem that as society has grown to fear the attitudes of adolescents (Case, 2006), a number of actions and reactions have led to an apparent mass desire for young people to spend all of their time with real role models and mentors. This would explain the abundance of youth and community workers across London's boroughs. In managing the perceived risk that youth pose to society's well-being, an emergence of community projects and third sector programmes has resulted. Resources and funds have been directed towards keeping youth off the streets and in disciplined and regimented care and supervision (Sullivan and Larson, 2010).

This is recognised by the youth who also seem to enjoy and respect the renewed interest in their well-being as discussed in the chapter five section on trust in authority.

Thirdly, the utility of power played an important role in the lives and development of relationships amongst the youth. There was the utility of power by the programme facilitators and their control and influence over the participants, specifically with reference to the applicability and understanding of this power dynamic by the youth themselves. Recognising authority in community programme settings could benefit alternative authoritative relationships in participant's lives, such as in the police. Power between participants in the organisation themselves also served as a useful tool in the evolution of trust. It could provide important elements in the self-growth of the individuals when they have developed power, and thus empowerment as a consequence of participation.

Thus the observational ethnographies mainly found authority to be followed in relation to group-dynamics both with superiors as well as with peers within each organisation. The participants within each group adhered to the rules, listened attentively and did as instructed by the authoritative figures, regardless of the length of time they had been involved. In addition, the adolescents created power dynamics amongst themselves, with more seasoned veterans of the organisations taking lead authority roles in 'peer' management, and were equally seen as authoritative as their adult superiors. Lastly the methods in which each participatory programme operated were indicative of reflexive modernity and the public's fear of youth culture. These different programmes all functioned differently yet aimed to occupy youth, prevent further societal exclusion and offer an alternative activity to antisocial behaviour. The key feature was the functionality of trust as described in the subsequent analysis of the focus groups.

7.2.2 Discussion of Focus groups

As well as facilitating a candid conversation with the London adolescents the focus group investigation also enabled the development of a model of trust based on the teenagers' expressed views. Three primary themes were developed which differentiated core trust, trust in authority and trust in the police.

Core trust was seen to be composed of a number of subthemes including sources such as family and friends and prerequisites for trust to develop, including loyalty, endurance and reciprocation. These subthemes provided a view of the fundamental items needed for trust to develop according to adolescents. It also provides social scientists with a construction of trust represented by a specific social and cultural group. The findings illustrated that adolescent's perceived trust in the first instance as hard to come by. However once trust is gained, it is seen to be a conduit for sharing information. As Brown and colleagues (2009) discussed in their exploratory study into trust in mental health services, the development and maintenance of trust is vital for the quality and efficacy of treatment. The establishment of trust permits parties within the trusting partnership to engage with each other, facilitate disclosure of information and enhances co-operation. There are clear parallels between Brown and colleague's clarification of the trust concept and its application to the participants reported core levels of trust described here. Once a trusting relationship is started, with friends or family members, social interactions are facilitated. Any individual would be more likely to re-engage with someone they have trusted in the past. Information will be more easily shared and disclosed if a successful disclosure of information has been documented in their past.

Co-operative actions are also evident between parties who have firm trusting bonds between one another. Mellinger's (1956) early discussion of the issue underpins the more contemporary work of Brown with trust enabling more open and truthful communication. Furthermore the work of Adler (2001) corroborates trust as a facilitator of co-operative and collaborative behaviour between two trusting parties.

The theme of trust in authority was also a significant point of discussion amongst the participants. Many of the subthemes present whilst discussing core trust were constant throughout the conversations regarding authority. The participants made references to the importance of adult influences, confidence and the importance of developing youth-adult relationships. They referred to aspects of equality, empowerment and self-esteem as desirable attributes for self-development in any relationship with an authoritative adult. Becker (1963) discusses the establishment of rules and regulations in society and the potentiality of antisocial and deviant behaviour. Specifically he describes how social groups create rules and regulations. If and when these rules are broken, the resulting acts are deemed deviant and the individual is labelled as an outsider. The

outsider is then seen as deviant when breaking rules. He argues it is not the individual themselves who are deviants, but this status is the consequence of the rules and their infraction. If society labels these young people as deviant even before engaging with them, then it should not be surprised if it engenders mistrust. This emphasises the importance of establishing feelings of equality, empowerment and self-esteem in young people via the authority figures they engage with.

Importantly, school was not seen as an ideal environment to forge trusting relationships with authority figures since teachers were widely perceived as untrustworthy and lacking authority. This is discussed further below in terms of Weber's charismatic authority. Thus although teachers and police differ greatly on the amount and type of authority they wield; both are viewed as sources of imposed authority on adolescents and seen in a negative light. However, whilst police were often viewed as threatening, teachers seemed to be viewed by many of the youth as ineffective. Teachers and police officers are regulated and empowered by political institutions to carry out their duties with teenagers having little choice in their dealings with either. This 'coercive' and forced imposition of authority on their lives can be contrasted with that which is self-imposed through the community programmes described. In both cases, the teacher and police officer are charged with control over the actions and behaviours of the young people they deal with. If the young person acts out at school, the teacher will reprimand them. Students will be given coursework and deadlines to meet and failure to do so may lead to strict and defined repercussions such as detention. Yet the quality of mistrust for teachers seemed to have a more dismissive tone than that for the police. Police enforce the law, and will intervene when any member of the public contravenes what is expected of them. Young people 'acting up' in public will face visits by the police, stern warnings to change their behaviour and the threat of further punishment. In both cases, adolescents are expected to obey the rules with threat of reprimand should they contravene the rules which regulate them.

Trust in the police was the final theme developed. Discussions ranged across types of criminal behaviour and police response – from what the youth viewed as improper policing on the streets of London for more minor crime, to offences such as homicide and counter-terrorism which the youth trusted the police to handle. Discussion was at times focused on suggestions by the youth for how the troubled relationship between

themselves and the police could be mended. The teenagers did not appear to divest themselves of any responsibility for the conflict that exists between them and the police. But there was optimism. They offered recommendations rooted in the subthemes discussed during the emergent 'trust in authority' section linked to greater equality between police and youth, specifically in terms of mutual respect, and co-operative interactions where more positive relationships can be forged. The participants also acknowledged that not all police have a bad reputation, and it can take a single negative action to nullify a series of positive ones, and these latter prevail in their minds and daily lives. External sources contributing to negative views of the police, such as government policy and decision making as well as through the media were also discussed as significant contributors to the troubled relationship between adolescents and the police.

The views of youth engaged in the police cadets were noticeably different from that in the other groups in the way they perceived the police. In particular, cadet participants reported more understanding and respect for the police officers they engaged with, but also to the police in general. They showed similar levels of relationship development with the police in the programs that their peers did within their own community programme project facilitators. Characteristics such as friendship, trust and understanding were frequently discussed. The youth felt as if they were in a non-judgemental environment and could talk to their cadet leaders openly about any topic, including those intimate. The groups of young people thus differed when describing the impact of working with the police versus working with a community project leader. Those young people working within the VPC made more positive comments regarding the police force in general than their peers in other organisations. They were more likely to understand the motivations and reasons behind police actions and less quick to judge police behaviour as negative, prejudiced and rooted in ulterior motives. Their peers in other programmes, such as those in Oasis, were quick to blame police for many aspects of their lives and unwilling to listen to reason behind police rationale for actions and behaviour.

Power again presented as a finding within the thematic analysis of the focus group transcripts. In particular, the concept of individual empowerment and its link to self-esteem and equality built upon the previous studies findings of power between the youth

and with their programme facilitators. Developing power from within provided many of the participants with a fundamental component of their understanding of trust in authority. As a consequence, this idea of power as influential in trust is further supported.

7.3 Discussion of the Quantitative findings

The quantitative study involved (a) developing a new scale of trust and (b) analysing questionnaire responses to explore the risk and disorder variables associated with overall adolescent trust, and that with the police. The questionnaire was composed of a variety of subsections exploring variables including demographic characteristics, behavioural disorder as well as a range of attitudes to the police and the trust scales.

The trust prediction models assisted in highlighting the importance of quality of police encounters, behavioural intentions and psychopathology in adolescent trust. When examining these in predicting trust/mistrust amongst the youth, the over-representation of adolescents as both victims and offenders becomes central. If adolescents are engaging with police in higher frequency than other age demographics, understanding and improving the relationship between police and young people is of paramount importance. The TAQ models showed significant contributions to predictive outcome in overall, authority, core and trust in the police, notably by quality of previous police contact, behavioural intentions to co-operate and psychopathology. Since co-operation with the police is a critical factor in developing trust by adolescents, then agencies and social institutions need to invest in improving this relationship. Projects such as the VPC are a positive step in improving relations. Bringing young people and police directly together in voluntary, sociable and regimented projects forces dialogue between police and youth and can foster the development of positive relationships with particular members of the police force. As discussed in chapter five, building a relationship with a member of the VPC does seemingly improve a young person's overall impression of the police force. Working with authority figures in the community, whether police or not, seemingly forges a strong authoritative adult relationship that can benefit other aspects of the adolescent's life such as education and career development whilst providing presence of a respected role model.

The quality of police contact and attitudes towards the police also demonstrates an important link with police trust. As with much of the early contact literature discussed in chapter one, improved interactions with members of an out-group are likely to reverberate in other aspects of the in-group members' life. If improvements in the overall opinion of a police officer by a teenager can be made, this would be a highly desirable result. Young people may be more likely to approach the police in times of need if they see the police in a more trusting, and non-judgemental light. Even a slight positive shift in their view of the police may potentially have drastic consequences in the reporting of crime. Additionally, situations in which youth perceive the police as abusing their power (i.e. stop and search) may be dealt with differently. Discussed in chapter one and two, many stop and search encounters often leave youth feeling violated and taken advantage of. Adolescent reactions to a police officer during the stop and search can often become unruly and threatening, which in turn may lead to the young person's detention or arrest. Preventing these unnecessary incarcerations or penalties could be addressed through neutral or positive exposure to police officers in other domains of the young person's life. Schools, community programmes and evening neighbourhood clubs are just a few of the contexts where the CJS could invest in terms of police engagement. Additionally, and in congruence with previous research, controlling for the fairness of the police experience seemingly highlights positive police opinions and trust. This is where the importance of the transferability of trust becomes apparent once more; if authority can be instilled through non-police individuals, perhaps the police are still able to benefit.

Correlations of the TAQ measure with the police contact factors (attitudes and quality) are also important for future research into the contact hypothesis as well as for general initiatives when working with the police and other CJS-related authority figures. As the various police authorities around England and Wales incorporate the involvement of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCC), emphasis for resources and initiatives can be more widely addressed. Tools such as the TAQ measuring trust in youth-police relationships can monitor change in criminal justice initiatives used for combatting youth crime and anti-social behaviour. Specific provisions dealing with youth and police coming into more constant, consistent and neutral contact should be implemented. This should be addressed as a foundation in mending the fragile relationship between youth and the police. As the regression models show, future

expected positive police intentions, psychopathology and quality of previous police contact influences trust in the police and adolescents overall levels of trust. As such, developing and nurturing these youth-authority relationships should be a priority in tackling youth anti-social behaviour and exclusion.

7.4 Power as a cross-study theme

From study one and two, it emerged that power was an additional important construct to the investigation. Through in-depth construction of the narratives from the ethnographies as well as thematic analysis of the focus groups and the final quantitative exploration in study three, power re-appeared in different forms as important. In addition, varying types of trust were seen to manifest in unique ways dependent upon the type of power invoked. The following section discusses the implications of the power-trust links emerging from the research.

7.4.1 Review of power and trust typologies and interactive dyads

Throughout the studies, different types of trust and power emerged as key findings, independently of each other but also interacting. Where trust and power subtypes interface, a discussion of 'trust-power' dyads is made. Each of these linked interactions are an attempt at explaining the importance of both social constructs in relation to the study aims and objectives.

The three types of trust emerged throughout the study of core trust, trust in authority and trust in the police. Each of these subtypes shared similarities in how they were composed but they were also distinct in their social construction. Core trust served as a basic level of understanding for daily individual encounters as well as long-standing relationships with friends, family and loved ones. It included sources such as family and friends as well as elements linked to loyalty, endurance and reciprocation in trust development and continuance. Trust in authority focused on the social relationships the participants made with individuals with authority over them. This included YWs, coaches, teachers but also peer leaders. Key elements were linked personal growth and development through positive interactions with these adults, and the improvement (or deterioration) of self-esteem, empowerment and equality. Finally trust in the police,

where the participants discussed previous encounters, stereotypes, and external agents that influence their perceptions of trust/mistrust in the police.

Power emerged as a significant factor throughout the findings, in which it was distinct but closely implicated in trust. Power in three forms was outlined: adult authority, group/peer power and individual empowerment. All three types of power were distinct from each other and served different purposes. Adult power was intrinsically linked to obedience and conformity and the understanding of rules within different lifestyle settings. Both peer and group power were seen within youth culture as assisting in the development of norms, values and solidifying peer relations. Finally, self-empowerment was a developmental benefit in which the youth were able to grow from experience and use specific events to facilitate their ability in other spheres of their lives.

Therefore power and trust were common across all three studies. It is important to understand the interface between the two constructs, but also on the individual dyad levels. It is important to understand how power is embedded within elements of the development, functionality and utility of different types of trust. Questions such as, where the dyadic interactions become critical, what does the cross-section of adult authority power and core trust resemble? And how does group and peer power relate to trust in the police?

The next few sections attempt to link the different types of trust and power in understanding the perspectives and behaviour of the young people throughout the study with implications for youth in general. An attempt will be made to illustrate the interactions of trust and power at different levels of engagement, what these interactions resemble and finally, the seeming social and philosophical purpose of engaging.

7.4.2 Construction of trust and power

Any discussion of the interaction between trust and power needs to consider either end of the spectrum of each of these constructs. In particular, trust and mistrust compared to power and powerlessness. In attempting to link the concepts together an understanding of directionality is necessary. That is whether or not power is a prerequisite condition

in order to trust or whether trust must be established prior to any recognition or enactment of power.

Considering the positive attributes of power and trust, one can argue their reciprocal nature helps in maintaining a positive lifestyle and wellbeing. Trust involves an admission of some vulnerability and recognition of power. In essence an individual will need to 'let their guard down' in order to invite trust; that means that on an individual level, power on behalf of the participant will need to be relinquished. Such willingness to disarm to permit trust in a relationship opens the individual up to growth and development but involves an element of personal risk. It also involves an accurate judgement of the likely trustworthiness of the other. Opening up in this way to someone who will exploit the trust and endanger the individual is always a possibility (see discussion below). As time goes on and a positive relationship develops, the individual will be able to restore their levels of strength and power on an equal basis, and benefit more in establishing the relationship.

However there is also an element of choice and judgement. This occurs where the individual engaging with those with power must decide whether they wish to acquire particular resources from the relationship. Status, companionship, intimacy and friendship are all possible positive outcomes when engaging in a trusting relationship with a more powerful other.

There is a similar power differential when considering the interaction between mistrust and power between the developing individual (e.g. youth) and the source of power (e.g. youth worker or the police). However, in these circumstances, there is a pre-existing belief in the negative intentions of the power figure to be able to harm. The belief that the other may wish to do harm can be an extremely important barrier to a relationship.

A negative feedback loop is a potential consequence in maintaining further mistrust, in which with no common views, goals or expectations are recognised. Thus individuals may feel they are not receiving any benefits from the relationship and may withdraw to protect their vulnerabilities. This will lead to elements of resistance, non-cooperation and even aggression in interactions, for example with teachers or police.

7.4.3 Behavioural outcomes and benefits of trust and power

This section provides a discussion into the different social interactions in which power and trust manifest themselves.

Firstly, power and trust usually co-exist within familial and home settings. This is the merging of adult authority with more intimate familial bonds. Parents and caregivers have power over the child from its earliest years of development and trust usually develops within an attachment framework. Parental power is used to aid with both protecting the child, helping its development. Much is based on reinforcement through praise and affection. It is in this context that the child learns to trust. Acknowledgement by the child that the parent is in charge and thus has power, is critical in opening up to trust.

Secondly, there is the interaction of power and trust within the peer group. In this case, power is not necessarily used in either a forceful or reinforcing way. On the contrary, trust serves as a functional element of group identity, relationship development and conformity largely among equals. Power and trust can act as an adhesive or shield in group and peer relations. Where differences exist, trust and opposing power can assist with the rapprochement of parties, the sharing of experience and values and the forging of new group and relationship norms. Where power is shared and trust already exists, this defines the boundaries of the peer group, both to external agents such as rival groups, but also in defining the hierarchy and structure of the group itself. Members trust that group functionality will continue through those in power, but also contribute to this through power entrusted to them by other members.

Lastly, power and trust in authoritative/coercive other relationships, such as the police is dependent upon the establishment of societal norms, values and rules. Power is now not only a tool used for compliance and shaping behaviour, but also as a potential source of personal growth and development. Again, there is an element of vulnerability on behalf of the trusting youth in these cases—they do not benefit from the familiarity of trusting known adult authority figures, such as their parents or grandparents. In this case, often a cost-benefit analysis is made, where the rewards of engaging in the relationships and the development of trusting relationship may be done in order to gain some ulterior yet useful set of skills or social credits. This can include opportunities and connections

which may be a boost to life goals and ambitions. The adolescent may in the first instance develop these relationship in a purely selfish manner, so that they have something their peers do not. Thus the influence of power through these authority/coercive relationships can assist in both the development of trust but also to empower the young person in other aspects of their growth and later roles. such as dealing with employers, intimate partners, in-laws and strangers.

7.4.4 Trust, power and types of authority

Max Weber (1947) made observations on how authority is presented and embodied in different societies and institutions. These he categorised as traditional authority, charismatic authority and rational-legal authority. They share various elements in how they develop and what purpose they serve. These types of authority are aligned here with the types of trust outlined in this thesis and developed in the TAQ measure.

Weber argues that there are two major types of authority: traditional and rational-legal; both influenced by charismatic authority. In essence, the former two primary types of authority are considered more stable with the latter used to bring about change. These three elements of authority and their presence in social relationships share parallels with the types of trust outlined in this thesis.

The concept of **core trust** can be considered in relation to traditional authority. Core trust as defined in the current thesis involves elements of parental and significant other relationships (i.e. siblings, peers, family), involving loyalty, confidence and reciprocation in developing an understanding of how trusting relationships work. Traditional authority as defined by Weber involves the notion of patriarchy, and explains our actions and behaviours in specific situations as having been learned, and expected; with adherence to this authority considered the norm. The legitimacy of this traditional form of authority has been developed through generations of cultural influences, norms and values and thus is normalised in our daily functions and processes. Using the common element of family as the common feature between traditional authority and core trust, it can be seen how parents have control and influence over the growing child who learn obedience through the rewards/punishments provided. In time the authority is established through honour, loyalty and endurance with an expected conformity within it. This is similar to the concept of core trust and its

development in families and intimate relationships. These core and/or traditional elements are thus very important for other forms of both trust and authority.

Trust in authority as defined in this thesis refers to 'civilian' authority such as youth workers, teachers, coaches, or employers. This is clearly less intimate than the Core trust and more formalised, but with some reciprocation and acknowledgement required from the young people involved. This could be argued to align with charismatic authority in the establishment of youth-authority relationships. At best the young people will be expected to offer respect and agree to engagement. Such figures can be mentors, or role-models in the lives of the adolescents. Take for example the glowing reports they provided for the various group leaders they were engaged with. The latter was considered legitimate authority, and to be respected and obeyed. Although Weber's definition contained elements of 'divine' or 'supernatural' powers, these are exchanged in the context of the current investigation with authority figures who can inspire enthusiasm and personal growth through shared interests, hobbies and utilities. This includes the youth worker who can provide access to a football club; or the cadet leader who can empower the young person. These individuals are considered to have elements of exemplary behaviour which the youth wish to model and emulate. The concept of charismatic authority does additionally fit with explaining the failure of trust in authority, in part to the fact that such authority becomes routinized rather than inspiring, thus those in authority do not earn the respect. This assists with understanding the earlier finding of the participant's lack of trust in teachers. The frequent encounters, often in coercive and potentially to the youth, uninspiring circumstances, lead to the routinisation of the relationship.

Trust in the police is considered within Weber's final form of authority: rational-legal. Here Weber is referring to the political and societal leaders; those that are elected and whose authority is made official through law and legislation. This is based on a view of a rational society, with rational leaders, whose work is backed up by the development of rational laws that the public are willing to acknowledge and follow. When considering rational-legal authority within a wider context of this thesis and trust in the police, it could be argued that those individuals who trust the police are more likely to obey the laws and understand the purpose and objectives of policing. As a consequence, these individuals are more likely to see the police as legitimate and thus interact with them in

a prosocial way. Rational-legal authority can be applied to any social institution, not just the governing political party. Therefore, in looking at the CJS in the UK, one could argue that they enforce law and order as a consequence of bills passed by an elected government. In short, we obey laws that we ourselves have had an influence on through our voting rights. Trust in the police thus can be a product of how a society or institution imposes its rational-legal authority on the population. Where the laws are predictable, observable and fair, then trust can be fostered. Elements of Skogan's work merge here where different types of police contact, when considered fair and just, led to generally positive attitudes and satisfactions with the police. This in turn has implications, as already discussed, with trusting or not trusting the police.

This section draws together elements of the trust typologies developed through the thesis, linking it with the influence of power and understanding the power-trust dynamic in different forms of authority. This is illustrated in the figure below:

Figure 7.1 Inter-relationships between trust types and power
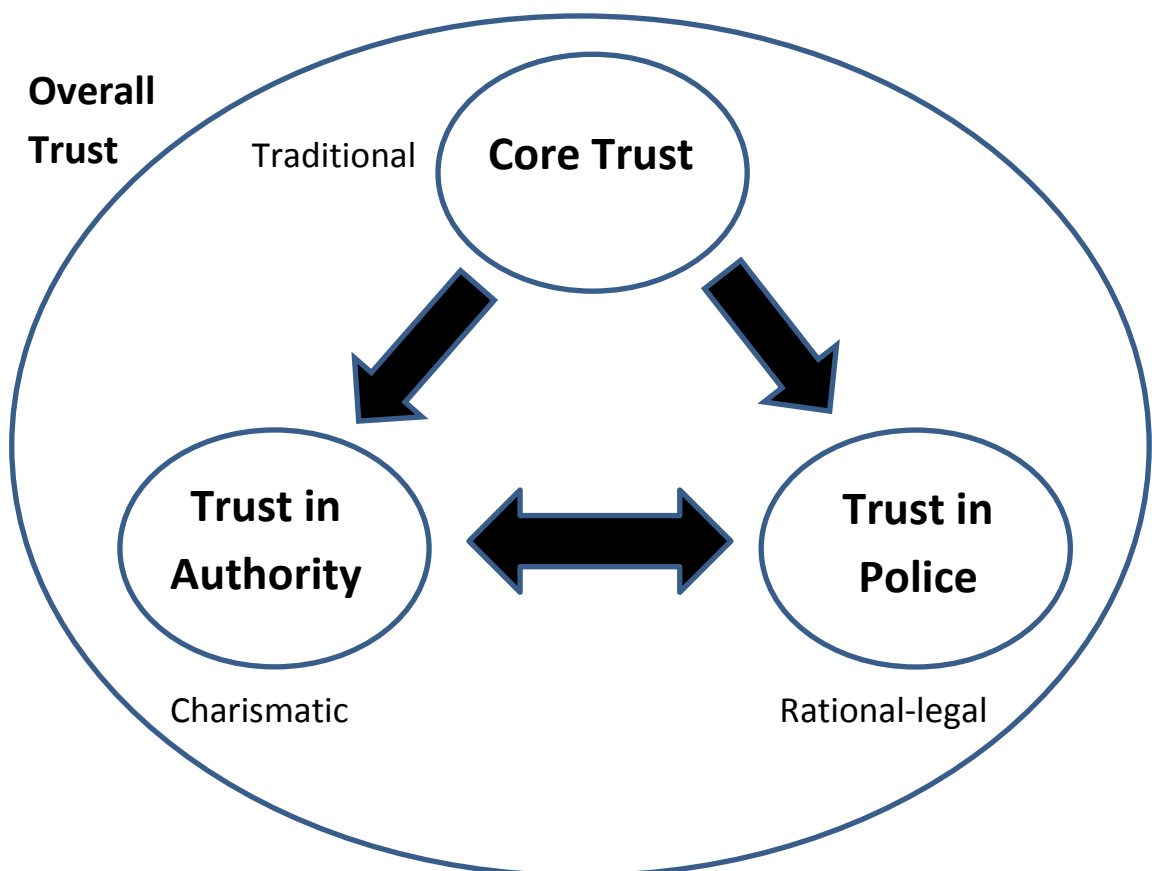
Fig. 7.1. The relationships between the various types of trust emerging from the current study and reflected in the TAQ. These are aligned with Weber's categories of authority.

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7.5 Study strength

The following section will discuss aspects of the study's strengths in relation to its multi-methodological approach, community-based direction and outcomes, inductive style and political relevance. The studies limitations will then be outlined.

7.5.1 Multi-Method Approach

The differential value of qualitative and quantitative methods has long been debated in the social sciences. For example, whether a more idiographic approach with qualitative techniques such as Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis yields more information than nomothetic methods with large sample sizes for numerical analysis is often debated.

Researchers are more often taking multi-methodological approaches in research to investigate phenomena in depth. Different methods allow researchers to provide unique and innovative perspectives on the same phenomena and to address findings to different audiences. It can also provide triangulation for findings.

Although each of the three individual studies in this thesis used different techniques and provided unique and individual findings, parallels were drawn, and validation for findings supported across studies. This provided a very holistic, in depth and qualitatively rich output that can be disseminated widely.

7.5.2 Community based approach

The sample was derived from individuals within the community, thus it provided a real world applicability of the findings as a public health model of prevention and intervention to youth deviancy and anti-social behaviour. Although clinical and forensic populations would have provided interesting perspectives, using non-specialised populations permits a more general applicability of the findings across a variety of social institutions. It also offers a cross-sectional view into the lives of young people in a vulnerable and critical time of development.

Many of the participants in this study share a constellation of factors with their peers in Youth Offending Institutions. Researching this cohort who have no criminal

conviction/institutionalisation, whilst still overtly demonstrating many risk factors is of value. Not only does in permit professionals and criminal justice practitioners to identify some key indicators of both resilience and deviancy risk, it allows a societal model of intervention to be constructed and addressed. Focusing resources on trust and the development of youth-authority relationships outside of the corrections or penal system may prove very cost-effective both financially, emotionally and mentally, and a later date in time.

7.5.3 Inductive approach

The findings are applicable to the more general investigation of adolescent development, with a view to early intervention. Although the study focused on the troubled relationship between young people and the police, and the development of trust with authority figures in youth groups, this can be applied more widely to authority figures and relationships in the lives of young people.

Many of the elements surrounding the simple aspects of constructing and maintaining trust can prove to be useful in the lives of many adolescents, and the adults that work or interact with them on a daily or weekly basis. This includes parents, teachers, coaches and employers. The research findings are not limited to the criminal justice system and the influences on policing. Grasping how young people perceive and understand trust is just as important as the specific police-related findings. Modelling relationships in all aspects of the child's life after some of the research presented here could be beneficial to adult-youth relations in general.

7.6 Study limitations

The following section will discuss aspects of the study's limitations in relation to study design, sampling, methodology and measure development

7.6.1 Study design

The study was cross-sectional so potential change in trust over time (for example in relation to length of time in the youth groups) could not be determined. Additionally, the outcomes selected in the final regression models involved variables measured at the same point in time so no time order of factors could be determined. However predicting

trust was settled upon as the most useful dependant variable. This allowed both validation of the new measure as well as confirmation of the importance of fair, positive police contact in structuring trust.

The study did not utilise a comparison group in order to examine youth with no involvement in youth groups. Therefore levels of trust could not be determined at a base level as representative of London youth. Again, further research is required to examine the TAQ in a wider variety of settings.

7.6.2 Sampling

There were a range of youth groups included in the study, but there was no way of knowing how representative these were of young people in London. Participants included in all phases of the studies were recruited from partner organisations dealing with excluded, marginalised and antisocial youth. The organisations themselves varied in the services provided and were selected based on location, willingness to co-operate and focus. The projects included were exclusive in their provision however other programmes considered in the early phases of research, such as XLP in southeast London and Music and Change (MAC) in north London would have provided a wider range of activities. A number of other organisations were unwilling to participate. The findings may have been skewed by including organisations which were well run and where the young people were trusting of the organisers. Further investigation using the TAQ measure would be useful and participants across risk levels would be desirable in equal proportions.

In terms of the participants themselves, they were as varied as possible but were restricted in terms of gender, in the range of ethnic groups represented and those from more affluent or stable backgrounds. The sample was predominantly male, which is consistent with much of the criminological and forensic psychological literature around criminal risk. It would have been desirable to include an equal proportion of females in the sample but this proved difficult with the organisations recruited. Additionally, female adolescents and male adolescents tend to follow different antisocial and risk trajectories through the pubertal years (Moffitt, 1993; 2003; Moffitt and Caspi, 2001; Newburn, 2007) so including the small proportion of females could have skewed the results. Conversely, having as many women included as possible in future research

with the TAQ would lead to greater understanding of gender differences and female engagement in antisocial behaviour, gang culture and issues with authority.

Ethnicity proved difficult to investigate in the study in any depth in terms of differentiating groups because of the mix included. This revolved around categorisation and definitions of ethnicity. To be as inclusive and objective as possible, the Metropolitan Police's Attitude Scale (PAS) format of categorisation was used, but expanded to include self-defining labelling. Whilst Black youth, self-defined as 'Black African', 'Black Caribbean' or 'Black Other' through the questionnaire, were examined separately for some analyses because of their prominence in the crime statistics, a more detailed investigation of ethnicity was not possible in terms of the sample characteristics. Further investigation is needed to see if the findings are repeated in youth from different ethnic backgrounds and to see if ethnicity plays an additional role in determining trust issues.

7.6.3 Development of the TAQ

Although thorough methods were applied to the TAQ development including fieldwork, focus groups and thematic analysis, the creation of the TAQ measure had some restrictions upon its development. The themes developed through the analysis of the focus group transcripts had a subjective element in terms of the researcher's interpretations and the aims of the research. Participants were specifically directed towards aspects of trust, particularly trust in the police. Had the participants been given a broader brief or a focus on different trust themes this may have led to an alternative instrument with wider elements than those subthemes collected.

The section measuring antisocial behaviour, crime and convictions was also excluded from the later stages of analysis. This sub-measure was meant to provide a further classification system of risk. However reporting levels were too low to make this measure useful in the analysis. Being able to associate differing levels of antisocial behaviour and crime to behavioural issues and trust would have been a desirable addition to the current study and is the basis for future research.

7.7 Theoretical implications of the findings

This section serves as an exploration of related areas of research that have direct implications for the interpretation of the current study findings. Linkages will be drawn between the current findings and contemporary theoretical views.

7.7.1 Reflexive modernity

The concept of reflexive modernity involves the concepts of 'risk' and 'risk society'. 'Risk society' is a term originating from the 1960's by sociological theorists, most notably Ulrich Beck (Beck, 1992), who said that reflexive modernity is a characteristic process of the risk society in which progress is believed to be achieved through the reformulation and adaptation of extant institutions. As previous ideals of modernity are met, society shifts away from its original provisions. As a consequence, the institutions established during modernity begin to lose their power and influence as aspects of globalisation take precedence (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994; Ray, 2007). Criticisms of Beck's theory centre on its reductionist understanding of the structure of society as well as its function in the operation of power. Furthermore, Beck often discusses risk as an absolute and general concept, explained through single variables when in fact it is much more complex than this (Elliott, 2002; Mythen, 2005).

Giddens (1991) associates these notions of risk and reflexivity to the creation and establishment of social policies. These policies aim to influence new forms of individual identity and individual choices that have resulted from reflexive modernity and its focus on risk. The risk society postulates a degree of mobilisation by society in response to its perceptions of risks. Donoghue (2008) argues that the inability of individuals within society to manage their own potential 'risk' leads to classifications of groups viewed as requiring firm interventions. There is a perceived need for them to be dealt with promptly and at the first indication of antisocial behaviour in order to remain integrated into society. The study examined these issues in relation to the increased emergence of community initiatives for young people. As the government engages in the increasing privatisation of several traditional institutions and services such as the police, probation and the prison services, aspects of reflexive modernity are illuminated. Society has turned to alternative organisations, at the bequest of the government, to manage many of these issues.

Contemporary society is argued to have an unrealistic preoccupation with risk (Beck, 1992). An increasing concern with aspects of our lives that are uncertain, emerging from the processes of the government, unions, the public and their representatives is imperative in understanding risk in contemporary society (Adam, Beck and Van Loon, 2000). 'Risk' is traditionally defined as the probability of an event and the magnitude of its associated consequences occurring (Renn, 1998). With progress in technology witnessed over the last century, risk seems to be omnipresent. Associated with risk is the necessity for risk management through professional services and expert individuals. The entire ideology of risk and the management of its threats has almost become an industry itself. Human beings however perceive risk slightly differently as a threat to their well-being or a problem that can be altered and the outcome of a perceived risk is influenced by attitudes, social influences and culture (Slovic, 1987). 'Risk society' typically refers to the mannerisms and methods our communities apply due to this heightened existence of perceived threat. Behaviours include but are not limited to increases in our CCTV use, locking our bicycles and installing smoke detectors in our homes. These are typical examples of reactions to risk by members of a 'risk society'.

Changes in family patterns are also linked to the erosion of established modernity as part of the definition of reflexive modernity. A decrease in parental involvement and supervision of children and the increase of third sector organisations in establishing activities and programmes to pre-empt antisocial behaviour can be viewed as a result of reflexive modernity. The existence of community initiatives such as the VPC or Oasis arguably represents this societal mobilisation to tackle the perceived 'moral panics' in society, caused by teenage cultures. As Cohen (1972) argued, high-level authority figures such as politicians, media representatives and criminal justice professionals play a significant role in fuelling anxieties over British youth culture. In response to the perceived fear by the public of the danger these youth pose, politicians are able to enhance police powers and instigate more punitive sanctions directed towards antisocial youth behaviour. This in turn can have a negative influence on youth themselves, causing them to rebel against oppressive authority thus amplifying their antisocial actions. Given adolescence is historically a relatively a new concept in western families and cultures shaped by modernisation (France, 2009), when combined with penal populist exaggerated media portrayals of feral teens killing, stealing, being sexually promiscuous and taking drugs, it scares the public. The more members of the public

become afraid, the more their belief in the 'youth problem' solidifies. Therefore providing community wide initiatives that aim to tackle youth antisocial behaviour, deviance and drug use are usually warmly received (Hope, 2005). Given our communities' perceived conviction that a problem with youth exists, initiatives need to be implemented in order to counter the negative consequences of adolescent antisocial behaviour. In the case of the current study, programmes like Oasis are a response to the collective perception of the danger that adolescents pose to the general public. They provide a safe alternative where professionals are able to supervise and control those teenagers considered wild (Hope, 2005).

Through discussion with programme facilitators in the present study, it became clear that the management and funding of such programmes was heavily dependent upon both contemporary social policy on the topic of delinquent youth, such as Tony Blair's electoral campaign of 1997 and society's preconceptions of the 'youth' problem. One programme facilitator within the ranks of the police cadets stated that much of the rationale behind the operational management within the cadet programme was to ensure adolescents were off the streets in the evening and weekends. Associating this with the penal populist belief that youth pose a problem to the well-being and safety of the 'normal' population, this example supports the idea of youth antisocial behaviour prevention initiatives.

The decision of the individual young people to engage in a particular community programme may be argued as demonstrating reflexive modernity. Several participants claimed that they needed someone to speak to and an alternative activity for their evenings other than isolation and boredom. Youth who live in an impoverished area where petty crime and the selling of narcotics are common are likely to have witnessed or experienced crime first hand (Pauwels, 2011). They may also be from families that are strained financially in which the primary caregivers are away at work the vast majority of the time. It is possible that family members or friends have also experienced traumatic violence and offending. These three factors could potentially interact to provide the participants with a realistic understanding of what is facing them if they do not remain engaged and included in mainstream society.

The current study provided new insight into adolescent trust in the CJS. Not only did it permit new investigation, measurement and analysis of trust in authority and the police

in an in-depth manner but also led to construction of a new reliable psychometric tool that could in future be administered across organisations dealing with adolescents in England and further afield. Further research needs to be undertaken on the issue of risk and trust between adolescents and the police. The populist attitudes held by the public towards adolescents relate to their uncontrollable antisocial behaviour with the expectation that the police are going to deal with these youth accordingly. Tyler (2011) argues that the police cannot effectively carry out their duties if the public lacks confidence in them. Without confidence in the police, the police cease to be considered as a legitimate societal force. Without legitimacy, the police are unable to do their jobs. Linking this to reflexive modernity, the police are forced into contributing to the troubled relationship with adolescents. The public see the police as inadequate in solving their 'youth problem' which is a cause for complaint. As a result, the police often need to change tactics in order to avoid the disapproval of the public and of their superiors. They have therefore turned to methods such as increased police presence in certain locales and a zero-tolerance stance of antisocial behaviour (Hjorne, Juhila and Van Nijnatten, 2010). In response the adolescents perceive the police behaviour as heavy-handed and unfair resulting in the perpetuation of their troubled and tenuous relationship.

If youth culture and the portrayal of teenagers as 'folk devils' permeates society as a consequence of modernity, then the policing associated with is also open to populist opinion. Anxieties flamed by political and media discourse associated with youth behaviour instils fear in the public. In turn, the public demands action on the part of the CJS institutions, such as the police. Police powers in turn can be enhanced to focus on controlling the adolescent groups deemed dangerous and risky to the general population (Cohen, 1972). Former Prime Minister Tony Blair and then Home Secretary Jack Straw developed the Crime and Disorder Reduction Act (1998) as a direct consequence of these perceived risky, poorly behaved, antisocial adolescents. The Labour campaign of the time ran on the fears of the regular citizen towards adolescents. Promising to control the uncontrollable teens was seen as an ideal policy for many citizens living in England and Wales at the time. Fifteen years later, society still holds many of these attitudes and beliefs. This was reflected in the punitive stance taken with young people following the summer riots of 2011.

7.7.2 Contact Hypothesis and Police encounters

Intergroup contact and social encounters between police and adolescence formed a fundamental part of the study interpretations. What was innovative in the study was applying the Contact Hypothesis broadly to a social institution such as the police. Quality of contact in the police was found to be a significant contributor in predicting outcomes related to trust in the police. Quality of contact, measured by the QCS, was found to be associated with both overall trust and trust in the police and in their underlying levels of CD. Optimal contact conditions stated within the theory are required for a contact experience to be beneficial. Equality in status, willingness to co-operate with members of the outgroup, support from members of one's own group and common goals between the contact participants are of extreme importance (Chiroro and Valentine, 1995; Desforges, Lord, Pugh, Sia, Scarberry and Ratcliff, 1997; Pettigrew, 1998). If these four factors are adhered to, attitudes between the groups involved significantly improve when given the opportunity to interact (Lee, Farrell and Link, 2004; Dovidio, Gaertner and Kawakami, 2003). However, the problem when considering the contact between social groups with the police force is the existing unequal status.

When any member from any group comes into contact with the police, a power differential will always exist (Jackson, 2002). Regarding the condition of co-operation, many encounters with the police will be involuntary depending on the circumstances. These social groups may also be seen as holding conflicting goals as opposed to common ones. Co-operation may not be conducive, as previously held notions of particular social groups could potentially cause a lack of support in positive contact interactions (Brewer, 1996; Viki et al., 2006). However, it was found that as long as the interactions was deemed as fair and participants were treated equally by the police, there levels of trust remained high.

No prior research could be found investigating the application of the optimal contact conditions under experimental conditions between a group such as young people, and a social institution such as the police. Often researchers had taken the general citizens view of the police and attempted to score their perceived encounters (Skogan, 1990; Dean, 2008; Hohl, Bradford and Stanko, 2010). In the case of the current research, the

groups were more specifically defined under contact conditions. The outgroup or minority group was considered to be represented by the adolescents participating in the programmes. The ingroup or majority group was seen as the police, in particular the Metropolitan Police officers being discussed throughout the study.

Within this approach, direct social encounters are not necessary in order to improve relationships. Indirect contact can be applied in mending troubled relationships between young people and the police. This assists in dealing with the difficulties that arise when the optimal conditions cannot be achieved. If stereotypes can be reduced and prejudices and discriminations limited in effect through positive direct contact experiences, then it is expected that vicarious experiences can have a similar, albeit weakened influence. The exposure of positive, good schemas of authoritative interactions could be the necessary step in engaging young, 'at-risk' troubled youth in becoming prosocially engaged with authoritative adults. In addition, through these vicarious authoritative relationships, different subtypes of trust may effect each other. As will be discussed below, certain scenarios where a young, engaging teenager can share their experiences with peers may be enough to convince that non-involved peer to join the programme.

There was limited evidence of associations between trust in non-police authority figures and the police, particularly in specific conditions. For example, the TAQ authority and TAQ police subscale were significantly associated, demonstrating that trust in the police may be able to be scaffolded on trust in other authority figures.

In one of the focus groups discussing the utility of joining the Voluntary Police Cadets in Islington, a young male recounted that at first, he viewed his community programme as 'lame' and not at all worth his time. However, his views changed over consistent exposure to the group and rapport developed with the adults and with some of his peers. Although he found the group a positive experience while on site, many of the former peer group outside of the youth programme were verbally abusing him for his participation. In the end, his perseverance led to his peers respecting his views and several of his peers also joined the group and had moved through the internal hierarchy. This demonstrates both the potential consequences of positive quality contact experiences with authority figures as well as the potential influence of indirect contact through testimonial representatives, such as friends. Although joining this particular

community programme is not necessarily indicative of trusting or liking the police, it is a first step towards an improved outlook towards the CJS.

As Plant and Devine (2003) discuss in their work on understanding the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) outcome expectancies, coupled with negative previous experiences can have negative consequences on social relationships. TPB defines association between behavioural beliefs and attitudes. In general, individuals' attitudes towards their own behaviour has been claimed to be determined by their accessibility to their own beliefs about behaviour (Maddux, Norton and Stoltenberg, 1986). In the current research, belief is defined as an individual's subjective feelings that a particular behaviour will produce a particular outcome. Thus outcome expectancies are firmly held beliefs of how we expect a hypothetical event to conclude and its associated results. It is further hypothesised that these expectancies affect the manner in which our attitudes towards particular social embodiments are constructed and furthermore, how these attitudes will subsequently dictate behavioural beliefs and intentions (Ajzen, 1991). In the case of the findings reported here, outcome expectancies towards encounters with members of the police force are important and expectancies are managed by previous contact experiences. These are open to change - if someone reports a neutral or positive experience with the police, then this can influence the listener to adopt the story and incorporate it at least for a period of time. Directly related to the police, if the young people interacting with the authoritative, institution based (police) adults and have nothing but positive or good things to report to their inner circle, then this news can spread throughout the ranks of the peer group.

In view of the findings of the study, the recommendation is made of increased access of youth offenders to police/criminal justice discussions; education initiatives in colleges, schools and youth community centres in which police and youth come face-to-face in intimate discussion over each other's roles and responsibilities in the greater community. Workshops, in which youth can volunteer to see a day in the life of a police officer, are possible alternatives in which a positive police-youth interaction can attempt to be established. Evaluations of such programmes or initiatives would need to be carried out prospectively in order to gauge their effectiveness in improving relationships between the two sides (youth and police). These renewed efforts to educate the 'other' group in the idiosyncrasies of their outgroup is expected to lead to more amicable, co-

operative relationships. Furthermore, improved co-operative interaction could in fact lead towards a decrease in the overrepresentation of youth in the CJS, through increased trust of the authorities (police) and incentive to contact them in times of need (victimisation). If increased positive contact reduces negative attitudes and relations between other conflicted groups, such as Protestants and Catholics, surely the same can be applied to the troubled, rather frequent connectedness of adolescents and the police. Application of the basic premises of the Contact Hypothesis arguably supports the improvement of the youth-police relationship. However this will need to be established on a repeated basis, there is little evidence of whether increased trust can be sustained without the contact in place.

Drawing on the research presented in chapter one, largely emerging from investigations of public-police encounters, similar findings emerges from this thesis. In the first instance, citizen-initiated encounters in the current thesis that were deemed fair by the participants showed more positive results than police-initiated experiences. Specifically, those with citizen-initiated contacts considered fair stated that they had more positive attitudes in the police and more positive quality of experience. This is similar to the evidence presented by Weitzer, Tuch and Skogan (2008) where citizen-initiated encounters dealt with in a professional and role-related appropriate manner had either a positive influence on public opinion (in crime scenarios) or a neutral effect. In the same paper, all police-initiated encounters led to more negative descriptions of the police. In the current thesis, police experiences in quality of encounter and attitudes were lower than the citizen-initiated reports.

When comparing encounter type (police-initiated and citizen-initiated) for the participants in the thesis, those deemed fair generally returned more favourable descriptors of the police whilst those considered unfair had significant reductions in favourable opinion. This was especially true for the participant's attitudes of the police, and the subjective reporting of quality of the police encounter. This is in line with work on police asymmetry, where negative encounters with the police can have a much more significant influence on the public's attitudes (Skogan, 1996; 2006; Miller, 2004).

Trust/mistrust in the police was a slightly different finding, where police-initiated encounters labelled as fair by the participants saw the lowest proportion of mistrustful individuals. Those in citizen initiated encounters were more evenly split, with higher

proportions reporting more mistrust than in either of the police groups. This provides an interesting element in demonstrating the importance of treatment by the police and how this can be interpreted. This in part supports elements of Skogan's concept of asymmetrical police encounters but extends beyond his primary ideas. The fact that those individuals with citizen-initiated experiences report higher levels of mistrust demonstrates the importance of being treated appropriately, justly and fairly by the police. Those in police-initiated encounters had lower levels of mistrust than any other group when they were treated fairly. Thus is shows the potential benefits of positive police initiated encounters.

7.7.3 Re-integrative shaming

The study also explored the inclusionary power of the community programmes studied and the youth-authority relationship. In recent years a restorative approach has been taken in dealing with those adolescents labelled 'at-risk' (Paterson and Clamp, 2012). Practitioners and politicians both acknowledged the importance of keeping offenders and antisocial individuals participating in mainstream society. This meant not being overly punitive with particular groups of individuals and attempting to divert sentences from custody when possible. With reference to the Coalition governments Green Paper 'Breaking the Cycle' (2010), issues surrounding Britain's punitive stance on youth antisocial behaviour is addressed. The authors argue that teenage vulnerabilities such as social deprivation and education linked to antisocial behaviour need to be recognised. Being punitive, instead of rehabilitating, arguably exacerbates youth exclusion and further delinquency (Abrams and Snyder, 2010). Involvement in community programmes can refocus onto positive issues around engagement, skill acquisition, self-esteem, social bonding and respect for authority.

The approach invokes shaming to induce an apology and attempt prevention of stigmatisation (Hay, 2001). Several projects have focused on the idea of keeping young offenders included in mainstream society and youth culture (Makkai and Braithwaite, 1994; Miethe, Lu and Reese, 2000; Zhang and Zhang, 2004). The idea is to punish youth for the acts they have committed but to make punishment a lesson to enable change to antisocial attitudes and motivations to occur. This permits those 'shamed' to use the experience as a learning opportunity; an opportunity that provides a valuable

lesson during a vulnerable time (Gal and Moyal, 2011). By ensuring that the young person is held accountable for their actions yet understanding the harm and difficulties that they have caused, the aim is that re-integrative shaming will force them to see the fault of their ways, whilst remaining included in their peer group (Goodstein and Aquino, 2010). By not being punitively reprimanded such as with lengthy incarceration, the adolescent in question will be less handicapped in their psychosocial development (Lambie and Randell, 2013). If the adolescent is sent to prison and labelled as a criminal, they maybe disowned or distanced by their parents and have the conviction associated with future barriers to employability and social inclusion post release. Being known as a criminal is stigmatising and can be socially isolating (Mingus and Burchfield, 2012). There are other barriers to lifetime development. For example, the adolescent who serves an eighteen month prison sentence late in his teenage years will miss key years of his formative education. There is damage done to the likelihood of achieving 'A' levels or GCSE qualifications with future employment seriously compromised (Ministry of Justice, 2010). The punitive sanctions lead to further exclusion; as an employee or student and as a contributing member of society. Research suggests we need to be more accepting of the 'mistakes' that younger generations make in order to further limit the damage (Bazemore and Umbreit, 1995). The multiple organisations dealt with throughout the thesis have as fundamental aims and objectives to engage and support young, 'at-risk' youth in the community. Regardless of their previous actions and history, each organisation endeavoured to support the young participants to the best of the capacities.

It is argued that we need to develop a re-integrative shaming approach, similar to the youth justice system in countries like Japan (Sakiyama, Lu and Liang, 2011). When a young person comes into conflict with the law or is engaging in antisocial behaviour in Japan, a collective intervention response occurs involving collaboration between influential and authoritative individuals in the person's life. Parents, teachers, police and peers mobilise in order to discuss in conference the issues that are deemed to be problematic (Cavadino and Dignan, 2006). The idea is not to abandon the adolescent in their mistakes but instead to make them accountable for their actions. In return society is willing to embrace them into our shared communities once they abide by the rules.

The community programmes explored here state in their aims and objectives the importance of 'reaching out' into the community and increasing members to participation and engagement. Linking this with the fundamental theories behind restorative justice, re-integrative shaming, postulates the continued inclusion of the 'at-risk' in society, avoiding further descent into criminality and delinquency. Facilitators from all groups involved in the thesis stated on multiple occasions that they were not concerned where the participants came from in terms of their social risk status. They wanted them to feel welcomed, content and engaged; they wanted them to shed the labels of youth trouble-makers and antisocial delinquents that many of them had achieved through their extra-curricular activities.

The organisations used in the study reported here could have a greater role in reintegrative shaming post offence. Although many adolescents were involved with them from various backgrounds, the group's main aim was to provide enjoyable activities to engage young people. They allowed young people an opportunity to voice their opinions, engage in activities they liked and develop relationships with like-minded individuals without being stigmatised by their peer group. By providing the youth with an impromptu support group, not only were these organisations allowing the adolescents to have a place to belong but they were also providing them with access to authoritative and influential adults. Linked to this are components of Hirschi's (1969) theory of social bonding. The organisations demonstrated the importance of social bonding and involvement within the community; and with influential, authoritative and appropriate others in the community. These activities and individuals that promoted group cohesion and bonding are important in keeping marginalised adolescents integrated and included in their respective communities.

7.8 Political implications

The agenda tackling crime, disorder and desistence from antisocial behaviour has been seen as central by policy makers and politicians. The discussion earlier about the population demanding punitive measures when dealing with what they perceive to be direct threats to social cohesion and stability in adolescents (Snacken, 2010) has led to policy and legislation being drafted with direct implications for young offenders and 'at-risk' youth in society. The study findings will be discussed in relation to three key

governmental platforms. Firstly an association between the current study and the general directives and provisions being structured in Whitehall focused on Britain's neo-liberal policies in relation to penology and offending amongst youth. Secondly, the implications of the quantitative findings, particularly using the TAQ measure in relation to its potential utility within the Metropolitan Police Services and other national CJS institutions. Lastly, contemporary issues surrounding political economies and the increased significance of the third sector in dealing with criminal activity and anti-social behaviour in contemporary society will be discussed.

7.8.1 Whitehall discourse and trust in authority

The Coalition governments 2010 Green Paper *'Breaking the Cycle'* set out certain strategies and provisions aimed at tackling the reintegration and resettlement process of offenders. One section was devoted to dealing with youth justice and how to integrate young offenders back into the community following an offence. The document examines how to prevent further social exclusion of these young offenders who are arguably already marginalised with mental health difficulties and substance misuse, lack of education and skills and living in deprived socio-economic settings. The paper argues that providing appropriate interventions is a priority in breaking the cycle of violence and general offending. Specifically:

> '…deliver youth justice at a local level. [YOTs] are the responsibility of local authorities, who have a statutory duty to prevent offending by young people. The arrangements work well…'

> (Ministry of Justice, pp. 72, 2010)

Thus the current Coalition government's aims and objectives in this area link to previous themes of political economies and penal ideologies amongst New Labour. The Crime and Disorder Reduction Act (1998) prioritising multi-agency approaches by local authorities in the form of Youth Offending Teams (YOTs), a more community-based engagement approach is supported in intervening with young people on the wrong side of the law. The CDR Act (1998) brought together a range of statutory partners from the police, probation and Primary Care Trusts in managing and intervening when young people descend down a path of offending and antisocial behaviour. Linking both the Coalition Green Paper as well as the development of YOTs, the importance of

establishing and improving authoritative relationships between youth and criminal justice professionals is a necessity. It is through alternative criminal justice practitioners that young people that become involved in the criminal justice process for their clinical, criminogenic and societal needs to be addressed. In the social world of the young person, any particular professional or service that they come into contact with as a result of their commission of a crime will be linked to the police (Allen, 2002). Ensuring that the relationship between these youth and criminal justice professionals is as little threatening as possible could in fact improve engagement in the programmes the young offender is involved with. Thus trust is seen as important in helping build strong, respectful relationships with authority figures both inside and out of the CJS in order to facilitate optimal results in intervention adherence and outcomes. If trust is improved with some authority figures, perhaps as discussed this trust can be transferred to others in due course. Further prospective investigation is needed to explore the dynamics of trust and the conditions under which it can be generalised or increased.

There are other interpretations of trust and its importance which may be relevant. The Therapeutic Alliance (TA) between a clinician and their client is regarded by some CJS professionals for example in probation, to be of the utmost importance in securing successful therapy engagement and positive outcome in improved health or behaviour (Hogue et al., 2006). By working together in identifying needs, structuring goals and developing a bond, the client is required to develop a particular level of trust in their professional for the individual to be receptive to the intervention. This can be applied to the work conducted between any particular young person involved with the CJS and the professionals they are working with. Establishing strong links and rapport with authority members, police or not, seem to facilitate optimal programme engagement.

The young people investigated in this study share many of the risk factors that the Ministry of Justice allude to in their Green Paper such as educational exclusion. Although this thesis has focused on developing trust between adolescents and the police, the implications are far reaching. If young people involved within the criminal justice process are lacking trust in authority figures, this could prove problematic in their route to a crime-free lifestyle. Learning to respect and trust authority may indeed assist them in their engagements with probation or youth offending officers.

7.8.2 Metropolitan Police association and trust in authority

The TAQ measure developed and tested in this project may be of use not only to the police, but also to other government run institutions such as public health services in gauging change in trust levels post intervention. Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS), provide support for psychological and psychiatric need. The TAQ questionnaire can be used as a screening instrument to establish trust for adolescent mental health practitioners to use is a positive step for evidence-based practice and to evidence change. It would permit practitioners to evaluate the trusting nature of the relationship they have with the young person in multiple settings. Through multiple exposures and sessions within the CAMHS framework and the building of rapport, this should reflect in the TAQ scores and this may also link with therapeutic compliance (Florsheim et al., 2000), and engagement with other professionals.

The Metropolitan Police Authority in London has shown interest in further piloting and implementing the TAQ across their VPC service. There is interest in adopting the 15-item TAQ measure as a tool in gauging adolescents' trust in authority at the orientation phase of their involvement with the VPC. This would allow officers to have an evidence-based assessment of the level of trust or mistrust when engaging with a new recruit. The TAQ is brief and easy to administer and would provide valuable baseline data for the young people working within the Met VPC framework with the potential for follow-up to evaluate the evolving levels of trust between the youth and the police. In addition, the implementation of the TAQ will allow VPC employees and researchers alike to examine standard levels of trust and relate them to new recruits with similar programmes thus providing borough commanders and cadet facilitators with realistic and tangible aims when dealing with particular types of young people. This can provide officers with evidence of progress, or lack of progress, with their own cadets. Alternatively indicators of direct trust in police programmes can offer policy makers and corporate development strategists with additional provisions and projects to implement when tackling youth antisocial behaviour.

7.8.3 Third sector involvement in anti-social behaviour

Recent changes to the function and structure of the CJS have been at the forefront of discussion and debate in media and political circles. A pluralistic agenda currently

dictates criminal justice, with a range of different arrangements and different providers being sought for the implementation of intervention, prevention, rehabilitation and punishment (Yates, 2012). Vastly different organisational and economic arrangements are developed and explored for the delivery, funding and regulation of 'punishment' where the state is no longer the sole provider. Instead, a heavy reliance is placed on other entities from the community, where they are recruited to assist with the management of crime and punishment.

Take for instance the current media attention that probation services are receiving. The current Secretary of State for Justice Chris Grayling has been advocating a drastic facelift to the operation and function of probation (Travis, 2013). The reforms, the most radical in the service's one hundred year history, focus on the privatisation of community supervision to government run companies, operating on a payment by results agenda. Payment by Results is a political tool in which compensation to organisations or companies are made upon the verification of favourable outcomes. Described as essential in the Coalition's 'Breaking the Cycle' agenda (2010), Payment by Results is argued to optimise service outcomes as well as distance the risk of failure from the government to that of providers. This corroborates the argument surrounding the penal populist movement and the de-professionalisation of intervention, prevention and rehabilitation within society. Garland (2002) discussed the commercialisation of justice, where the state's monopoly on particular services, in this case aspects of the CJS, are ended in favour of a more distanced approach. The government issues directives surrounding pertinent issues related to criminal justice which in turn is acted upon by local communities, private bodies and the voluntary sector.

Through the lens of the current study, aspects of this privatisation can be explored. With the civilian authority figures, in the form of YWs and other community members taking the frontline in dealing with and managing the delinquency and anti-social behaviour of adolescents, the importance of developing rapport and trust with these individuals is more important than ever before. Voluntary services have historically played an important role in the lives of excluded and marginalised young people in terms of service provision. For example, the 1907 Probation of Offenders Act saw missionaries take a central role in the management of offenders in the community. As with the community organisations discussed throughout this thesis, these projects are embedded

within their local areas with formidable links to employment, education and training. In an age of austerity, these smaller organisations find themselves under threat from a Payment by Results mandate and many will be unlikely to survive any competitive bidding with large corporate powerhouses. Through privatising components of the CJS, the risk of losing professional expertise and input is a real possibility. Penal populism acknowledges a 'loss of faith' in the ability of the expert and professional (Pratt, 2006), replacing them with a chosen representative or organisation from society. There is a danger here, as there is currently facing probation, in missing the critical aims of dealing with 'at-risk' groups and the prevention and intervention of antisocial behaviour and criminality.

The current research investigating the potential 'transferability' of trust into non-CJS professionals is contentious in this instance. The benefits of using civilian authority in vicariously improving trust are innovative. However, many of the 'authority' figures throughout this study, such as YWs, are not qualified experts in mental health, jurisprudence or criminogenic needs and thus have limited roles. It is unlikely these can be used to support the abolition of youth-police or youth-CJS relationships successfully.

7.9 Youth Community-Police Academies: A note from working with authority

The head of the Volunteer Police Cadets at Scotland Yard is planning a national implementation of the cadet's programme across all forty-three police authorities in England and Wales. In early December 2012, a new initiative is being implemented in London. Within the ranks of the Metropolitan Police Authority, a partnership has developed amongst several youth providers. Organisations such as the Fire Brigade, Army Cadets, VPC and Emergency Services have joined up to offer young people a range of activities and programmes. Through cross-agency dialogue and a multi-modal approach to youth engagement, more young people are being drawn to these programmes. The adolescent reluctant to join the police may find an interest in the fire brigade; the teenager with an interest in assisting those in need may join emergency services and learn how to administer CPR or to join the Army or Navy cadets. The new dialogue will ensure that adolescents have a larger repertoire of programmes to choose from.

In addition, instead of sending programme facilitators to the recruiting sessions, senior cadets who have benefited from the programmes will attend and share their experiences. For example, the senior cadet from the VPC will go and speak to an audience of potentially interested recruit cadets about activities in the life of a VP cadet. The idea is ingenious and responds to issues raised in the current study and its findings. The concept of alternative forms of authority in fostering relationships with marginalised excluded youth and learning from and witnessing the success of a peer has merit. In addition, the peers are inoculating the would-be participants with some of the values and norms of the programme and its facilitators (in this case, the VPC). Perhaps the solution to improving relationships with youth and criminal justice authority is through the intermediary of the senior cadets. They maintain many of the core values of the police that they have been working with and in addition can relate to their peers in youth culture. More research will need to be carried out investigating the utility of cadets as a source of participation and mending the troubled relationship but it seems relevant when considering appropriate mentors and role models for young people (Grossman and Garry, 1997).

There needs however to be certain caveats when applying the contact hypothesis in this arena. In the early phases of the research reported here, the project manager of the Oasis agreed that ameliorating adolescent-police interactions was of importance and decided to effect a positive interaction. He invited a Special Officer to the local schools on a regular basis so that the young people came into direct contact with a member of the police force to facilitate open dialogue between the adolescents (and younger children) and the police. The main premise was to allow both sides of the 'troubled' youth-police relationship to converse in a controlled, neutral and democratic sense, an approach already piloted in the USA (Cheurprakobkit, 2000). However the initiative was not well managed and had problems. Comments in the focus groups conducted in the present study showed many of the participants who attended the schools where these police officers visited had experienced one-way, aggressive police initiated conversations. It seemed that although the initiative meant to foster co-operative authoritative bonds, it actually had the opposite effect. The police entered the school and dictated to the pupils what would and would not get them into trouble with the borough police. Conversely, the pupils did not interact or ask questions as they saw the experience as unequal; almost as a 'warning' to mind oneself. Although the concept is good and other schools

in other boroughs run similar initiatives, there seems to be much room for improvement in its implementation (Hopkins, 1994; Jackson, 2002). Here the prerequisites for enhanced contact were not met and the impact can lead to greater negativity.

Another related youth service involving levels of trust is a service being offered at Guys' and St. Thomas Hospital in a south London Emergency Department (ED). Provision is through the Oasis Youth Services (OYS) who are charged with providing one-to-one support for young people presenting themselves in the ED as victims (or perpetrators) of violence. The evaluation is on-going, with the set-up phase recently reported (Ilan-Clark et al, 2013). The main premise is that capturing the marginalised, excluded young people in a hospital setting and at a time of crisis provide 'teachable moments' where they can be offered youth services to prevent re-victimisation. Once they engage with an YW from OYS, the YW is expected to provide them with mentoring and support by meetings, conversations and an assessment of their interests. In ideal situations the young person is placed within a programme that they find engaging and interesting and in turn, will be less likely to engage in the antisocial behaviour that led them to the ED visit in the first place (Ilan-Clarke et al., 2013). Initial findings suggest the young people to have a high level of social risk and psychological disorder, with the young people and staff involved being confident the project tackles need in a group unlikely otherwise to access services. Again the construct of trust is shown as essential in working with unknown, authoritative figures. These young people presenting in the ED with injuries are in a vulnerable position. Suffering from injuries, they are likely to feel weakened. This is associated with the presence of a range of personnel in powerful positions (nurses, doctors, police, and YWs) and trust is required. Utility of the TAQ in programmes such as the violence prevention in the ED will assist practitioners in gauging the level of societal and emotional vulnerability a young person has at baseline and tracking their progress if and when they chose to engage. It will permit an ecologically valid 'snapshot' of the evolution of trust.

The above examples serve to illustrate the seeming importance of engaging adolescents in society and recognising their problems as our own. From placing police in schools to forge better relationships with a mistrustful demographic of teenagers to offering support, guidance and mentoring in the ED when facing a critical emotional and

physical dilemma, forcing youth and authoritative adults into interactions is a must. There is a definite societal push towards engaging adolescents within the community by the third sector, the government and the CJS. Recent Home Office research has shown the importance of local policing in improving establishing relationships with the community may be useful in improving trust, confidence and attitudes towards the police (Home Office, 2015). There are implementation issues, such as resistance of the adolescents to the service and its ability to cater to their needs and interests. The individual 'needs' of any participant must be met in order for successful engagement to be possible. In turn, a shared passion for the engagement 'activity' between the participants and the group facilitators seems to catalyse prosocial interactions and relations. It is in these interactions that trust in authority, particularly the police, should be improved. There is also the argument that increasing exposure with authoritative figures en masse could influence a larger number of individuals without the structural issues of provisioning organisations for all young people. If ethnically diverse youth are found in higher numbers than their peers in the CJS, surely provisions and community initiatives (such as the Volunteer Police Cadets in London or the Citizen Police Academies in the United States) can be put into place to work at decreasing these higher rates of both victimisation and offending .

7.10 Conclusion

The thesis investigated the troubled relationship between adolescents and the police. This is not a new area of inquiry and involves on-going debate through varied social mediums ranging from political campaigns, penal populism and educational reform. The summer riots in August of 2011 in the UK, particularly London, brought the societal fear of teenagers to the attention of the media fuelling a moral panic deeply rooted in our society's foundations as to the nature of adolescent antisocial behaviour. It would seem that regardless of the socio-historical context, teenagers are now permanently structured into our fear of crime and social instability through political discourse and media representations. It is argued here that steps can be taken in rectifying this inherent fear of youth, starting with authoritative figures in society, specifically the police.

This project responded to a series of questions linked to adolescent's interactions and experiences with authority in the public domain, in addition to the police force. As argued, this is highly topical since teenagers emerge in official crime statistics as being the most frequently affected both as offenders and as victims. In fact being the victim of crime as an adolescent can serve as a risk factor for future offending. These two observations point to the necessity of adolescents and the police improving their relationship. Since adolescents are more likely to become victims of crime then they should be the group with most need to communicate directly with the police on matters related to criminality and offending. This would be aided if teenagers could feel more comfortable and at ease in communicating in open dialogue with the police relating to their own victimisation or that of peers or family members subjected to an offence. Police can only be of assistance if the young person asks for help or provides a witness statement to the police when a crime has taken place. A greater willingness on the part of youth to engage with the police could lead to swifter police action and possible resolution. At the very least, the adolescent could physically see the police trying to solve the problem. If a teenager who has engaged with the police is able to see a discernible response in reporting a crime, perhaps negative attitudes and stereotypes held by the youth will be reduced. If they see that engaging with an officer leads to some form of positive result, then perhaps this witnessed police involvement in their lives could reinforce the importance of police in society to the adolescent community as much as to the rest of society. Such interactions will legitimise the presence of police in our communities to the adolescent community. Further involvement and engagement between the youth and the police is likely to lead to improved youth-police relationships moving forward. Finally if one young man or woman decides to pick up a phone and report a crime, ultimately seeing tangible results by the police involved in the case, then the belief is that other young people would see this as a sign of civic duty and social engagement. They would see that the police are present for an important reason and that is to protect our rights and prevent crime from plaguing our daily lives. If adolescents were to start engaging with the police branch of the CJS then perhaps in the future adolescents in turn will not feel as if they cannot approach the police after falling victim to the horrors of crime.

Barriers to such improvement in interaction do however exist in certain communities. For example several studies (Bar-tal and Labin, 2001; Hutchinson and Rosenthal, 2011;

Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy and Cairns, 2009) have before examined interactions between different groups in society (i.e. Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland) where due to historically rooted conflicts and fundamental differences reinforced by ethnicity and religion through the ages, common ground and improved interactions makes little progress. In addition, police inaction when assistance is requested can solidify negative youth and the general public's perspectives of the police. Recent Independent Police Complaint Commission (IPCC) reports, as well as popularised media accounts of police failures such as the Steven Lawrence case can create obstacles in forging trust between adolescents and the police (Horsey, 2012). This is where the utility of other authoritative adults in the young person's life could prove to be highly influential. If bringing adolescents and police together prove to be a fundamentally difficult task in certain communities, then other figureheads or community leaders within that young person's social sphere can serve as an alternative. Youth Workers, coaches and employers could all be potential mentor-like figures that assist in the process of encouraging adolescents to remain disciplined and structured in their daily lives. Through a series of teachable moments whilst engaging in an extracurricular activity that has significance to the adolescents in question respect, maturity and engagement can all be addressed. A teachable moment is considered a special time reference point within a social encounter where a young person is open to learn (Johnson et al., 2007). Through interacting with such an authority figure they will learn how to use the skills and abilities of interacting with an 'important' adult into future interactions and engagements with figures of authority. In addition, a 'transfer' of the skills and characteristics they develop, such as trust, could transpire from one authority figure to another. In fact there was little evidence of such transfer in the present study with the exception of the VPC who, through analysis of the focus groups stated that working directly with the cadet police officers led to an improved understanding of police on the street. If adolescents and police cannot interact compatibly, the use of authoritative, important adults in the lives of these teenagers seems not to influence the police-youth relationship unless the police themselves run such groups. However developing trust with other authoritative members of the community through structured activity does serve to enhance other aspects of trust and helps teenagers to develop as individuals. Through interacting and engaging with such adults, the young person can develop the necessary respect, discipline and appreciation for other adults useful for mature development. This may in turn have impact on the troubled relationship

between youth and the police and problematic issues reduced through the prosocial, positive relationship that particular young people developed with another authority figure.

Trust was defined in the study as a social construct composed of various components such as self-esteem, equality, reciprocation and empowerment. Trust is a complex phenomenon that has been widely studied in a variety of domains ranging from economics to political sciences, finance and psychology. The ethnographic observations reported here, served as a means to investigate relationships between the adolescent participants and various authority figures that they deal with, including the police. This permitted the researcher to structure a focus group schedule of themes and questions that would provide the foundation for the second qualitative study—the focus groups—which centred on developing and structuring an understanding and model of adolescents' perceptions of trust. This allowed for an ecologically accurate construction of trust on the part of adolescents living in London. Lastly, study three used the findings related to authoritative relationships both with and without the police and the understanding of adolescent trust from a core, authoritative and police perspective. This permitted the researcher to test levels of trust quantitatively in conjunction with a variety of other factors such as conduct disorder, attitudes towards the police and future intentions to interact in an on-going police investigation. A focus on the importance of relationships that adolescents have with authority figures and the establishment of trust in co-operating on shared activities, such as solving a crime was central to this thesis. The future looks promising, as the final quantitative model formulated suggested that engaging young people with authority and developing higher levels of trust in the police is significantly linked to adolescent co-operation in police investigations. Applying this to the theoretical underpinning discussed in the literature review, an increase in adolescent's willingness to interact with police officers in criminal investigations, even at low levels of interaction, may indirectly influence both victimisation and offending rates. If young people feel more at ease in contacting the police, or less fearful of engaging with them, perhaps they will be more likely to use this resource available to them.

The final message deriving from the study concerns bringing police and adolescents together in more positive scenarios. The collective voices of adolescents involved in

the study agree that they may not be immediately at ease in interacting with the police but improved interactions are definitely a potential benefit. If trust in the police can be established to a higher quality or level, then co-operation between adolescents and police officers in future investigations and crime-related enquiries would benefit. This can be tested using the TAQ scale in research investigation and service evaluation. Having the capability of using a valid and reliable tool that quickly and concisely provides authority figures with a 'snap shot' of the trust levels amongst the adolescent demographic could alternatively assist police in deciding where to allocate cognitive resources in the pursuit of their investigations. A young person scoring a higher level of trust on this screening tool would arguably be more likely to co-operate and engage with the police in their line of investigation. Alternatively, a teen scoring low in levels of trust, whether it is a component score such as towards the police or the entire measure, would likely be targeted for intervention/engagement with authoritative figures in society in one of many third sector projects, as used in the thesis. In the future this young person may be likely to engage with the police in a more prosocial manner.

Engaging young people in our communities in collaboration with symbolic authority figures like the police seem like a promising trajectory for future research and intervention. If appropriate programmes and interactions are facilitated, the conflict between young people and the police can be minimised and a more collaborative partnership would take its place. Through hard work and practice, as well as an appreciation for one another's role in society, the fight in tackling crime on the streets of our country can receive a well-needed new recruit in the form of youth-police co-operation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1— Summary definitions of types of police contact

Key concept	Definition & reference
Public police interactions in general	
Public-police interactions informs public opinion	The particular interactions each of us has with the police and our opinion of such interactions are the most influential social factor in forming our opinions of the police (Skogan, 2005)
Voluntary vs involuntary	

Voluntary/citizen initiated police contacts have higher public satisfaction than involuntary/ police initiated police contacts
 	
Citizen-initiated crime scenarios best for public satisfaction.
	Voluntary versus involuntary are biggest predictors of how we form our opinions of the police; victims are more dissatisfied with experience over non-victims (Winfree & Griffiths, 1977)
	1)'**Voluntary**' refers to those situations where the public's advertently draws the attention of the police, in a non-criminal way (i.e. asking for directions). These are also referred to as '**citizen-initiated**' and 'reactive'.
	2) '**Involuntary**' refers to members of the public drawing attention due to negative/antisocial behaviour, such as speeding or drunk and disorderly behaviour. These are also referred to as '**police-initiated**' and 'proactive' (Decker, 1981).
	Examples:
	  (1) Police-initiated crime vehicle—being stopped whilst on a motorcycle or in a car
	  (2) Police-initiated pedestrian stop—being stopped whilst out walking
	  (3) Citizen-initiated crime—contacting the police to report a crime or report suspicious behaviours
	  (4) Citizen-initiated non-crime—reporting a medical emergency or traffic accident or calling and asking for information
	NB: citizen-initiated crime scenarios were best for ameliorating public satisfaction; non-crime had no effect. All police initiated encounters led to more negative views of the police.

Important factors **citizen initiated** encounters with the public.	(1) Being kept informed of the investigation
	  (2) Being treated politely
	  (3) Perceived police effort in dealings with individual
	  (4) Interest in what report stated (Skogan, 1996)
	NB: Similar trends showed with police-initiated contacts

Treated **fairly** determines satisfaction of encounter	Regardless of the type of interaction that has been engaged (voluntary versus involuntary), being treated **fairly,** without discrimination and within the guidelines of the criminal justice system is a better at predicting public satisfaction (Wietzer et al 2008).
Police process vs outcome	
Process' more important than outcome in public attitudes	'**Process**' refers to how the police engage in the interactions from beginning to end '**Outcome**' refers to the resolution of the event in which brought one into contact (voluntary or involuntary) (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003) 'Process' seems to be more influential on forging the public's attitudes.
Inquisitorial vs adversarial	
'adversarial' contacts seen as	(1)'**Inquisitorial**' refers to a more neutral investigative stance taken; active involvement on the part of the police, but without aggression or

less satisfactory	presumptions. (2)**'Adversarial'** refers to a more hostile and accusatory stance taken in the investigation. (Sced, 2004) NB: those police-initiated encounters deemed adversarial were seen as less satisfactory experiences.
Reassurance vs accountability policing	
'Reassurance' and 'Accountability' policing	**'Reassurance'** policing refers to how the police mange day to day policing when confidence high from the public **'Accountability'** policing refers to the expansion of responsibility to bad policing when confidence is low or fluctuating. (Skogan, 2009)
Police asymmetry	
Police asymmetry Asymmetry within police-initiated experiences Asymmetry with adolescents and the police	Negative police experiences have more of an influence on our reported attitudes and satisfaction than positive experiences. (Skogan, 2006) Asymmetry in police initiated encounters—negative experiences had more of an effect (Miller, 2004). Positive experiences may not influence positive attitudes in the police (Lieber et al 1998).

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Appendix 2—Ethical approval

Application no: 04/2011

ROYAL HOLLOWAY
University of London
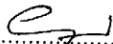
ETHICS COMMITTEE

Result of Application to the Committee

Name of Applicant: Jeffrey DeMarco

Department: History and Social Care

Title of Project: Measuring Trust between various CJS professionals and the youths they work with

This is to notify you that your research project:

	Has been approved by the Committee
✓	Has been approved under Chair's Action, this decision to be reported to the Committee at its next meeting

Professor Geoff Ward
Chair, Ethics Committee

16/2/11
Date

Appendix 3—Criminal Record Background

Enhanced Disclosure

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disclosure

Disclosure Number 001298155346

Date of Issue: 13 OCTOBER 2010

Applicant Personal Details

Surname: DEMARCO

Forename(s): JEFFREY NICHOLAS

Other Names: NONE DECLARED

Date of Birth: 29 DECEMBER 1982

Place of Birth: SUDBURY CANADA

Gender: MALE

Employment Details

Position applied for:
RESEARCHER (FURTH EDU)

Name of Employer:
ROYAL HOLLOWAY UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Countersignatory Details

Registered Person/Body:
ATLANTIC DATA LTD

Countersignatory:
ALENA FORD

Police Records of Convictions, Cautions, Reprimands and Warnings

NONE RECORDED

Information from the list held under Section 142 of the Education Act 2002

NONE RECORDED

ISA Children's Barred List information

NONE RECORDED

ISA Vulnerable Adults' Barred List information

NONE RECORDED

Other relevant information disclosed at the Chief Police Officer(s) discretion

NONE RECORDED

Enhanced Disclosure
This document is an Enhanced Criminal Record Certificate within the meaning of sections 113B and 116 of the Police Act 1997.

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Appendix 4—Observation log details

Date	Organisation	Location	Activity	Log entry
27.10.2010	Oasis Trust	Oasis Centre 75 Westminster Bridge Road Lambeth London SE1 7HS	*Tour and introduction of multiple services provided*	**YES**
02.11.2010	Oasis Trust	Oasis Centre 75 Westminster Bridge Road Lambeth London SE1 7HS	*Sessions with HUB sport, HUB Art studio and Southside music*	**YES**
05.11.2010	Oasis Trust	Public Football pitch Hatfields Road London SE1	*Training for Oasis Hub football first team*	**YES**
12.11.2010	Oasis Trust	Public Football pitch Hatfields Road London SE1	*Training for Oasis Hub football first team*	**YES**
16.11.2010	Oasis Trust	Southside Centre 1 Kennington Road Lambeth London SE1 7QP	*Presentation and informal discussion with employees of Oasis and their youth panel*	**YES**
16.11.2010 (2)	Oasis Trust	Southside Centre 1 Kennington Road Lambeth London SE1 7QP	*HUB art studio*	**YES**
19.11.2010	Oasis Trust	Public Football pitch Hatfields Road London SE1	*Training for Oasis Hub football first team*	**YES**
26.11.2010	Oasis Trust	Public Football pitch Hatfields Road London SE1	*Training for Oasis Hub football first team*	**YES**
07.12.2010	Oasis Trust	Southside Centre 1 Kennington Road Lambeth London SE1 7QP	*HUB art studio*	**YES**
14.12.2010	Oasis Trust	Southside Centre 1 Kennington Road Lambeth London SE1 7QP	*HUB art studio*	**YES**
04.02.2011	Oasis Trust	Public Football pitch Hatfields Road London SE1	*Training for Oasis Hub football first team*	**YES**
25.02.2011	Oasis Trust	Public Football pitch Hatfields Road London SE1	*Training for Oasis Hub football first team*	**YES**
12.03.2011	Oasis Trust	Victoria Park sports grounds 360 Victoria Park Road Hackney London E9 7BT	*Match day HUB firsts football squad*	**YES**

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Date	Organisation	Location	Activity	Log entry
05.04.2011	TSBC	E=MC^2 Swanlea School 31 Brady Street Whitechapel E1 5DJ	*Business skills training and entrepreneurial skills*	**YES**
05.04.2011 (2)	WYEC	Trident Business Centre 89 Bickersteth Road London SW17 9SH	*Brainstorm session with group of young unemployed job-seekers*	**NO**
06.04.2011	TSBC	128 St. Mary's Parade Gascoigne Estate Barking IG11 7TF	*Business skills training and entrepreneurial skills*	**YES**
13.04.2011	TSBC	The Salvation Army 43 High Street Romford Essex RM1 1JL	*Discussion with prolific offender involved with E=MC^2*	**YES**
13.04.2011 (2)	TSBC	128 St. Mary's Parade Gascoigne Estate Barking IG11 7TF	*Business skills training and entrepreneurial skills*	**YES**
27.04.2011	TSBC	128 St. Mary's Parade Gascoigne Estate Barking IG11 7TF	*Business skills training and entrepreneurial skills*	**YES**
14.09.2011	Met VPC	Islington Arts and Media Centre Turtle Road London N4	*Observed session with cadets*	**NO**
15.09.2011	Met VPC	Alleyn's School Townley Road North Dulwich London SE22 8SU	*Observed session with cadets*	**NO**
27.09.2011	Met VPC	Achland Burghley School Camden London N19	*Observed session with cadets*	**NO**
05.10.2011	Redthread	The Well Centre Wellfield Road London SW16 2PB	*Launch of one-stop shop for community involvement and general health with youth panel*	**NO**
12.10.2011	Met VPC	George Green School 100 Manchester Road Tower Hamlets London E14 3DW	*Observed session with cadets*	**NO**

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Appendix 5—Sample observation log entry

Date: Friday, 12th of November, 2010 @ 19h30

Location: Hatfield's Road (off The Cut), Southwark

Spent the evening under the wet, dismal sky of south London again, dressed to the "nine's" in my poor man's suit, appallingly out of place in the rougher boroughs of our majestic urban cosmopolitan. Again, present company was eclectic, comprised of the older boys of the HUB Football programme run by the OASIS Trust. Although this night was not nearly as explosive as lasts (considering Guy Fawkes presence had slightly subsided), the drone of constant rainfall made the experience interesting in its own right. For myself, I felt the use of a post umbrella may have been a slap in the face to the youngsters and the workers in their own right—who is this "posh" geezer (I wish), up on his metaphorical pedestal, clearly made of sugar therefore not able to allow one measly drop of Britain's finest rain to touch his skin? Caution to the wind (and to my own state of hair style disrepair), the brolley stayed out of sight (not out of mind) and I basked in the eternal cleansing of the heaven's tears. The boys themselves showed utter determination—just because it was raining, there was not change in demeanour. The fact that they were all here is fact of their enjoyment in the activity itself. As small of an observation as this is, I feel that its significance is of the utmost importance.   How many of us decline participation when the conditions are lacking in lustre?   I for one could have though of a million other pubs I would have preferred to be in however, like the young men themselves, my determination is great for this shared experience.

Large group this evening: twenty one participants composed of the 2 coaches (Tim & Andy), 3 Caucasian males & 16 Black youth of whom I need to attempt and put names to a face. I make a brief initial attempt at an attendance sheet but see that it will take me a little bit of effort and time:

1. **James (AC)**—captain of the team; stocky, shorter, quiet black youth who leads all practice and training (under the tutelage of the youth workers)
2. **Nassa (AC)**—very tall, lean youth who will serve as the new keeper; introduced at the commencement of practice to the welcoming greetings of the other boys.
3. **Frankie (AC)**—young male from last week that was getting into tons of antisocial issues with the leaders; issues in concentration and staying on task.
4. **Omar (L)**—tanned lad, shorter, built quite sturdy. Quiet in general but good player and participates and obeys as is commanded.
5. **James (AC)**—not the captain; very tall, lanky youth.
6. **Pedro (L)**—tall, firm built.
7. **Jamal (AC)**—shorter bloke; long hair, wears beanie most of the time; lots of effort but gets easily frustrated.
8. **Mohammed (AC)**—friend of Frankie, also dressed in red all the time. Easily distracted yet not as socially disruptive as Frankie.

9. **Jeff (AC)**—quiet boy but respectful; hair braided back in cornrows; came late last week and was under the influence (to my own suspicions).

Warm-up today was under a bit of a grey cloud (no pun intended). Many of the boys were horsing around and strolling in a various times with no urgency to get going. As I have mentioned before, time is of the essence and is one of the adult responsibilities many of us need to own up to and face on a daily basis. Tim and Andy are trying to instil this in the boys to the best of their abilities therefore have made it as one of the pillars of what they are attempting to undertake. With the associated issues of lack of promptness and determination, Tim was none the too pleased this evening.

The boys are joking around and bantering quite a bit about professional football itself—at least the discussion is centrally themed! When training finally commenced, Tim & Andy ran their normal pep talk/briefing to get things in motion. Extra incentive tonight for the boys to play and train hard as there are spots up for grab on the 1st team for tomorrows match. The leaders are trying to get them full of confidence and commitment with the intention of bringing their determination, participation and motivation to the next level. Tim broke off when they started their warm-up to talk with me and explain a tool they regularly use to motivate the boys—subject "Out of 10" scales. Whilst they train, the trainers will ask them to rate their own performance out of ten. The expectation is that no one will be perfect so that when they give themselves a 7 out of 10, they can engage in open conversation of both (A) why they merited the 7 and (B) what they could have done to get an 8 or a 9 or a ten. Interesting concept because it gets the boy's discussing with their trainers but also visualizing their own efforts and abilities. Also gives them something to work towards for the future— miniature goals if you will in the sphere of the team.

James leads the team in early drills, warm-up and stretching. I see the utility of this tool in that the act is all about empowering the boys, allowing them to control their fate, their destiny and their use of time. Along with the pillar of responsibility (which, as previously stated, is essential for adulthood), this potentially serves as another pillar, which is that of time management. The resources are there for the boys to sue at their disposal however the real task is making valuable use of the time and place allocated.

My dear troublemaker Frankie was up to no good as usual with his friend Mohammed. Whilst engaged in group stretching and press-ups, these two were spending more time and energy not doing the group task and paying more attention to making sure they were not seen not participating than doing the actions themselves. If they were to use half of that energy in a positive manner, the potential these boys would have would be huge. From this simple observation, you see that the energy and motivation is there—obviously, football for them is not the key so the question is to find them something in which to channel that extra power so it does not go to waste or worse, to nefarious activities. I do not want to waste too much more time on the phenomena of Frankie (as another incident happens later that I will elaborate upon) however it is safe to say that this was not the only misbehaving to occur over the course of the evening.

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Following the warm-up, the heavens opened…

The boys were split into two sides to work on various tasks. I stayed with the boys whom I mostly mentioned above. The drill now was a complicated form of keep away. In an enclosed, limited area the boys were urged to bring their intensity to the next level and to try and keep the ball both in play and within their own possession. Whenever the possession is lost and the ball cleared, collaborative, critical discussion is engaged in on how to better utilize their available resources more efficiently—themselves. Discussion involved what went wrong and what could have prevented it. As much about skill as the drill was, it really forced the boys to engage in confrontational yet collaborative discussion with each other. Communication and team building were the skill development best suited for this task. The added incentive of being "punished" for being the cause of a loss of possession added an interesting dynamic as well. It made the boys realize they needed to work together and if they caused loss, than they would be substituted out. The drill was really all about enabling them to actively and positively successfully communicate.

The urgency to influence them to dialogue positively with each other, even when errors are made was abundantly clear with the overall theme being that by engaging in positive dialogue, one assists in building each others confidence.

*NB: Jamal (described above) did not like being substituted out; two interesting parts of this. The first is that listening to his self-speak, he was angry and dismissive of his actions but not at his team mates, but himself; this however was played along with in that he (like many of the boys) feel that all of their choices and play are the best. You have 19 Wayne Rooney's on the field at once!

*NB: Interesting observation as a group of cute, typical young city secretaries came peddling by on one of those pub communal bikes. The girls had been drinking and were catcalling the boys. Clearly attractive women, clear issue of interruption however the boys stayed on task with barely a glance up—good interest in what they are doing.

Boys separated into four small teams for the beginning of scrimmaging. Very similar format to last week's observations however a few key points I would like to bring up:

1. When good moves or techniques are used on the pitch by members of the opposing team, congratulations and praise are given where due. Really like this point as it shows the mutual respect and enjoyment for the game that the youth have for each other.

2. The blue team had a cohesive crisis mid way thru the scrimmage—all the youth take a turn in goal keeping yet Frankie was unwilling to go when his time came up. This shows two points of interest: the first being a certain level of disregard for his colleagues and second, the necessity of being the one on the field to score the goals and set up the plays. Need to play as a team and not an individual. This continued on for a bit of time with some swearing and insults being thrown in each direction—other

team mates tried to settle them down and one even stepped in to do goal however the two other boys got fairly worked up. This was negatively affecting both teams.

3. Regarding the above mentioned—the lack of intervention by most on the pitch, even verbally made me slightly perturbed. As if they did not want to piss anyone off…

4. Last but not least, Andy was playing with the gents on one side—Jamal was getting really frustrated with his lack of closure on several plays. Andy gave him a pep talk/advice on how to deal with his frustrations. It shows what the commitment of the workers is here in that although the plan is football, they use the veil of it as a means to dialogue with these troubled youth. It provides them with the opportunity to both relate and interact.

Appendix 6—Information package for focus groups

Young people and trust in authority

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research study which involves having a group discussion regarding the concept of trust.
The discussion will take an hour or so, with around 6-10 people involved with the Islington Volunteer Police Cadets.

The discussion will be around trust in relation to people in authority in your daily and social lives, as well as with your families and friends.   The discussion will be audio-recorded for later transcription.

The idea is for me to hear what you and other young people have to say and what aspects you agree and disagree on.

Should you have any questions please feel free to ask me before the session for assistance or explanations. My contact details are included below. All responses and comments will remain completely confidential and the data you provide will be kept and stored anonymously. Finally, if at any point you wish to end your participation in the discussion simply raise your hand and tell me that you no longer wish to continue and leave. Contact details to reach me following your participation are included below.

If you agree to participate, please sign the consent form attached.

Thank you for your participation!

Kindest Regards,

Jeffrey DeMarco

Contact Details of Head Researcher:

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This is to indicate that I, _____, have
agreed to   **(Please Print Name Here)**

Participate in the group discussions described overleaf. I have professionally and adequately been explained all of the details surrounding the themes in which will be addressed and the goal of the research that I am about to partake in. I have been informed that I may withdraw from the process of the interview at any moment in which I feel uncomfortable; that I may choose not to answer an y particular questions that I find uncomfortable and that at any point during both the procedure and subsequent analysis, may contact the head researcher and retract my participation in the study. Finally, I have been made clear that this experiment is done in accordance with the British Psychological Society's Code of Conduct & Ethics as well as Royal Holloway, University of London's college ethical guidelines and therefore give full disclosure and consent that the information I provide may be used for the aforementioned piece of research.

_____   _____/_____/_____
          (Please Sign Name Above)   **(Date: dd/mm/yyyy)**

DeMarco, J. N. (2015)

Understanding trust
Focus group theme prompts –

1) The construct of trust

The general concept of trust is quite often taken for granted. We tend to use the idea in several different settings, with numerous different meanings.

    a.   Generally consider the word trust means to you.

    b.   Are there different kinds of trust? If yes or no, why or why not?

    c.   What does trust do for us in our everyday lives?
- ↗ family
- ↗ school
- ↗ friends

2) Trust in the Criminal Justice System

Keep thinking about trust but now I want you to think what would make you trust a police officer or someone else that they might work with? Think of:

- The police
- The courts
- Probation
- Social Services
- CJS as an entire unit

    a.   What kind of things would you think are related to trust with the above groups?

    b.   What kinds of things might make it easier for the youth to trust the above?
- ↗ What could make it harder?

    c.   What is the negative side of not trusting the above people?

3) Importance of trust with clubs

All of you have made some form of "trust" with the leaders of the groups you participate in.

    a.   How important is trust between you and say (Youth Worker)?

    b.   What do you have to do as a participant and what do they have to do as a leader to make sure you guys trust each other?

Appendix 7—Sample focus group transcript

Focus Group Condition: Focus Group 4 (The Well Centre/Redthread youth panel)

Date: Friday, 21st of October, 2011 @ 16h30
Location: The Well Centre, Streatham
Length: approximately 55 minutes
Attendance: 5 + 1
Coding: JD=Jeffrey DeMarco; OM=Other Male; OF=Other Female

JD:

Right, good evening, this is Jeffrey DeMarco, Royal Holloway UOL,. I'm sitting here at The Well Centre in Streatham right now, it's October 21st at 4:45pm, there are 6 of us in the room and we're going to have a conversation about what the concept of trust means. So welcome guys, and I start the conversation with that when I say trust, what comes to mind?

OF:

Promise. I think like when it comes to thinking about trust there should be an element of promise, like two people... yeah.

OM:

Um, how long you've known someone, like you've been building up this trust for a while, I think that's definitely a significant part of trust and whether you would trust someone, um who you're with.

OF:

Oh and feeling comfortable with someone and like with trust like, trust it like feeling comfortable with someone in order to like share whatever with the.

OF:

I think um that knowing they won't hurt you in anyway, like either physically or mentally they won't abandon you or say something horrible to you or break um a sort of moral code to you.

OM:

Um, reliability um knowing that someone can do what you trust them to do.

JD:

The guy that gives you candy off the street? (Laughs).

OF:

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I think consistency, you have to be consistent in what you, in telling them what they can say to you and what the relationship and what you say to each other.

JD:

Do you have an example?

OF:

No, um.

JD:

How would you, how would consistency play in trust with you and a mate of yours?

OF:

Um, like I know if I tell them, I always know they will never tell anyone else or whatever.

JD:

Alright, so you've all come up with some different examples, that's fine. Next, I want you to think about the different types of trust you can have and by types I mean different people, organisations, groups, ok? Start with you guys on this side first. Anybody, it's not a trick question, anything, who do you trust, who do you not trust?

OF:

Um, like do you mean like who like what types of people, um like a teacher with confidentiality like you know, your friends and who you fancy or whatever, um your mum. If you've got like any physical problems you tell your mum and you like try for her not to tell her friends and stuff, if that's what you're talking about. Yeah? And like you know the Well Centre, if you've got like any problems or whatever, you trust them not to tell anyone.

OF:

I think it's about reliance like when you put your trust in someone you rely on them and like you rely on your mum to always be there to help you or like, for instance, institutions you rely on like the hospital to be there and to make you better, whereas there's like trust to keep secrets between friends.

OF:

Um, I was going to say the things we usually don't trust are things like marketing um where they're getting the benefit or generally the police as well, most people don't trust the police, because they're known for err being err a bit racist and um thugish and not that great.

JD:

I'm not a police officer, remember that, you can say whatever you want in here.

OF:

I trust the police and stuff because they do like have experience with dealing with things and I do want to be safe so like no offence but if there's like a big group of chavs then um i'd trust the police... the chavs.

JD:

To what the chavs?

OF:

What sorry?

JD:

You would trust the police to?

OF:

Oh yeah like, if there were a big bunch of hoodies.

OF:

But yeah they'd be stopping them anyway because as soon as they see a bunch of hoodies, that's it.

JD:

Boys, anything you want to say? Just keep talking, that's the point, whatever, you don't need to raise your hands, just speak when you want to speak.

OF:

Oh ok, um.

JD:

I'm not going to bite you.

OF:

I feel like i'm talking rubbish, I don't even know what i'm on about. What was the question?

OF:

Yeah like when bad stuff happens, the police try and deal with it but a lot of the time it comes to stuff like stop and search like you might not trust them with that but if you got robbed or something, you would go to them. But because like stop and search, like

some of the people I know, they get stopped a lot and compared to other people, like coming out of carnivals, someone I knew got stopped 8 times from Notting Hill Carnival and his friend who was white didn't get stopped once.

OF:

Yeah.

OF:

So, it's sort of like the trust which you have, you know, you might think bad stuff because of instances like that.

OF:

I think trust is all about building relationships. If you have a good experience with someone and the police for example, you completely then the next time, you're much more likely to trust them, so I think it's definitely about relationships. If you have good experiences with people, of course it's going to build your trust up with authority or whatever if for example you have a teacher who's great to you, you're suddenly going to see adults and not just teachers in a better light.

JD:

I agree, that's part of my research but anyway, let's not talk about it right now but well done, golden star. Boys, anything?

OM:

Umm, I haven't really got anything more to add apart from there's kind of social trust, as in it's just kind of your secrets and stuff, knowing how they're going to react to what you have said, I think that's part of trust as well. It's how well you know the person and understanding you know, their motives I guess like whether they're going to keep things to themselves and whether they're considering you when you talk to them or whatever, not just their own interests.

OF:

It's almost predictability in a way.

OM:

Yeah, and it goes back to the idea of reliability.

OF:

Oh um, you know back to the whole idea of police and trust and stuff, I think that's quite like a tricky subject, like with um police, you can't just be like, well obviously they shouldn't just do it to like any black people but if like I was the police I wouldn't be like 'oh I trust him', i'm not going to search him, what if that person like has... or something, if i was like the police, I would like search anyone who I would think...

JD:

There's always going to be a power differential, do you trust your parents?

ALL:

Yeah, definitely.

JD:

Are your parents authoritative? Are they figures of authority in your eyes, yes   or no?

ALL:

Yes.

JD:

So they are similar to the police if you see what i'm saying? Obviously your parents aren't, well some of your parents will be but I mean obviously it is a similar difference in power, you are the weaker and they are the stronger, you still trust your parents though.

OF:

Yeah.

JD:

So yes the police are still allowed to stop and search but that's irrelevant though. Do you still trust them to do their job and would you go to them for assistance?

OF:

Yeah.

OF:

It's like they stopped my friend um because he couldn't get home because he didn't have any money so rather than doing something useful, they stopped him and told him it was illegal to ask them for a pound or something, just things like that and that then gets spread round. It's about reputation and as soon as you get a bad reputation people don't trust you.

OM:

I think it's about striking a balance as well. Authority as i'm sure all of us know is important but it's about seeming consistent and understanding, seeing it from your point of view. I think that plays an important part of how people think about the police. If you're talking about parents for example, although they might tell you off for something, they'll kind of be more empathetic, so they'll I think, it's more about your interests I think.

OF:

I think it's also about knowing their interest is solely to because they're nice and care about you and no anyone I think and um I think just actually being nice plays a huge role in um trust.

OM:

Yeah so I think it's about striking a balance between being strong and consistent with the law for example but also seeming human and generous.

OF:

But if you know they're right as well like with your parents, they might tell you off but if you know they're right you trust them because you trust their judgement that they'll tell you off when you're in the wrong but they won't hold you for something you haven't done.

OF:

I don't know if this is like relevant but maybe like trust would be like stronger if like you know if someone like normal is authoritative, like if they like um make it seem like they don't have that much power over you and they're not like dominant over you like um if they're on the same level then maybe, um, the trust would be like stronger than you know if the more dominant figure makes their power if you know what I mean?

JD:

Do you have an example of that?

OF:

Like for example you know if um a teacher, you won't trust the teacher if they're going to be like i'm a teacher and you're just a student. Like, oh wait no, sorry. Like my friends have told me, what was it again? This guy in a shop must have like, I don't know but he must have like marked his power kind of like 'oh I could get you fired' or whatever but like if he was like just talking like you know on the same level then it would make it seem like he was I don't know, like the trust was stronger.

JD:

What about here?

OF:

Hmm, what about here?

JD:

Do you trust this centre? Do you trust people that are in it?

OF:

Oh yeah, yeah I do because like, like they don't seem like their more important than you like they actually talk to us like their just like our friends.

JD:

Are they authority?

ALL:

Yeah.

JD:

Who are, who are the main ones you work with here? John i'm assuming?

ALL:

And Jack.

JD:

Jack the most but John is the boss right?

ALL:

Yeah.

JD:

Alright, you said they come down more to your level, more of a partnership if you will but are they authority?

ALL:

Yeah.

OF:

Yeah, you trust them to you know be told off or if something goes wrong, they would spring into life, like be in charge, so you don't get the feeling that they're completely equal, their important and still have um yeah, they're sort of on a higher platform or whatever. But they can also be friendly. They encourage us to do things that before, we didn't think we could do. It's not like they make us feel like we can do anything. They are realistic about things, and manage our expectations. They just support and encourage us to follow our interests and opinions. It's a nice feeling to tell someone that isn't your mum or auntie about something you like. Like, you can trust them in a different way. About things you might be embarrassed about, and not be made fun of. Instead, you are supported and helped to achieve your goals.

JD:

So, what's the difference between your own subjective trust then between the
    police, the youth workers here at

OM:

So do you mean like a comparison?

JD:

So why do you trust the youth worker and not the police? Why do you trust your
parents?

OF:

You trust their motives, the youth workers and the same with your parents really. You
trust their doing it for your own good or they're doing something good but the police I
don't know, you don't trust their motives.

OF:

I think that relates back to the previous comment um the youth workers, I think
they're like trained to like communicate in a specific way with like young people
whereas like with the police...

OF:

I was just going to say, I don't not trust the police because like when I got stopped and
searched because a girl had been robbed and obviously I don't mind that because I
know they've told me a girl has been robbed and they were really nice but then you
get the police officers that aren't nice and that's where you've got to sort of suss out
whether the police officer is nice or not so it makes it harder to trust them because
they're a bit like, they're different. They've got two different styles, you've got the one
that's sort of bad cop and then you've got the one's who are nice.

OM:

I think it's about image as well, not just their actions because when you're, for
example, being told off by your parents or something I think for a lot of people, you
can find it um a lot more meaningful um for you because you know they're an
important figure in your life and and um it's just the way you see them, them being
upset is a direct effect on you whereas someone like the police um I think some people
taking the message or moral from them is difficult because they don't have a positive
image of them. So if they see them negatively, even if their doing the right thing
because of the way you already see them, it's sometimes hard to realise they're trying
to do the best thing for you.

OM:

It's about having preconceptions and ideas about them before.

OF:

Maybe like there's no point not trusting your parents and no point not trusting   the youth workers because then you can't really work with them and you're not going to be able to be around them. With the police you don't really have to come into contact with them and there also kind of can anonymous body, you don't really think of them as like people, in terms of you haven't met them and that's probably why people don't trust because they don't know the police.

OM:

Yeah, just building on that kind of thing. You've had a lot of positive um enjoyable experiences with youth workers and your parents whereas with the police there's the thing that you think of them as which is authoritative, you don't think of them as positive influences and you might not have any memories of them doing good for you because parents and even youth workers, although there maybe negative times, I think you have a lot more to balance it with in terms of enjoyable times and you associate that.

OF:

I think it's like although you like kind of get influenced by other people as well. I know a lot of people that don't like the police and stuff and they've like kind of got a bad reputation so then obviously that's kind of like going to effect you in some sort of way but like with youth workers and parents, ok maybe like just youth workers, they don't exactly have a bad reputation so like you know like yeah. Like parents are kind of like, you know, on the same level as you and they don't really have that bad reputation that police do and that like you know.

JD:

Stop staring at the recorder.

OF:

Laughs. Sorry.

JD:

Anything else?

OM:

Um, it comes like over time. If you come across a police officer in the street, you can't be expected to put all your trust in them straight away and say with your parents who you've know your whole life obviously and you know the kind of person they are or like Jack and John here.

JD:

You haven't known them for that long have you?

OM:

We've known them for a few months and you get to know the kind of person they are. But a police officer, how do you know like how reliable they are or how sort of or whether they're going to stick to the rules that they should do.

JD:

You've touched upon two good points which i'm going to repeat briefly so we can all think about as we continue. One is what you just said, contact, the amount of contact, the quantity of contact and police versus your parents, obviously you would expect much more time spent with a parent figure or a friend than with the police and the second one is the idea of positive contact which you talked about, um and how you say certain situations might help make trust whereas negative ones, which we usually, it's either neutral or negative with the police right? Um unless you're some Italian, French or Spanish tourist and has their photo taken in Leicester Square with a bunch of bobby's around them right? And then it's a positive police experience. But, so I want you to think about that, not necessarily as an answer but as we go on. So my question now is, if you imagine trust here and for the sake of argument mistrust, so the opposite of trust over here, and let's just pretend with the police for example, we're all in the middle here and take your turns, you can say either or, what would make, what you increase your trust in them, what would make you more trustful of the police, what kind of things and what kind of events? And vice versa, what would make you not trust them more than you already don't trust them? What would make things worse, what would make relationships worse?

OF:

Well what would make you like lose their trust would be the abuse of power like um that guy who said 'oh I could lose your job' or whatever, that would obviously make you lose trust in the police but like to gain trust like if they talk to you in a good manner and in like a friendly way and like if you know their motives as well, like if like they're stopping and searching you and because of 'blah blah blah' and they're not just doing it like that would obviously make me give more trust. It's kind of like in psychology thing like you tell them and brief them before you're conducting an experiment you know but like yeah, that would make you um gain trust.

JD:

What else? Either or, doesn't matter. There's plenty, there's going to be a lot of things even if you make it as specific or as general as you want.

OF:

Um, like when our house got broken into we were given constant updates on their progress and obviously that makes you know they're doing their job right because they could have just taken our statements and just left them there and been like 'oh we couldn't find them' but I think the updates if you've been involved in a crime because it makes you trust to know they're actually doing their job.

OF:

At one point at school, there was like a resident police officer and they like came in to talk to us in PSHE and stuff and I always like saw him around and stuff and he was really nice, he would say hello all the time and I think that kind of changes your view of them and think maybe all of them are like this and you like just start saying 'hi' to police officers and all that kind of stuff and you get more comfortable being around them individually.

JD:

Well it's kind of like what the argument we just made, you see them more and you have better events with them.

OF:

Yeah it's definitely true.

OM:

Yeah, we have exactly the same thing.

JD:

And ok, let's talk about that for a couple, who's had that in their school?

OF/OM:

Yeah.

JD:

Do you all go to the same school?

OF:

Most of us (?)

JD:

Ok, so how does that work out? Let's talk about having a police officer in school.

OF:

Um, he's really friendly but i've seen him as actually useful.

JD:

Laughs.

OF:

That's so true.

JD:

Do you want to elaborate on that a little?

OF:

I've never seen him actually do something, like never seen that. He's really nice but he's just like the sort of guy that just hangs around, you know.

OM:

Yeah, that's the exact same thing for me. He doesn't seem like a police officer, he's just like another person or a teacher or something.

OF:

I guess it works in that way, like them, we don't really think of him as a police officer.

JD:

Is he a Special Constable? So he is just retired and does it or does he wear his proper uniform and everything?

OF:

He wears a uniform and stuff.

OF:

I just wanted to say, in our area we have like the police for our area and then came and knocked on our doors and introduced themselves so like saying 'we work in the area and if you need anything' and they were really nice and I think it's good to know there's someone in your area but also be able to recognise them and stuff and when you see them, you know that's the one for your area, yeah so and every time I see them he's friendly but you see him walking, especially during after school because there's quite a lot of schools where I live and sometimes fights might break out in the area so good to know they're sort of there and I think it's good they actually introduce themselves because yeah.

OM:

Yeah, that thing you were saying about them simply being there, sometimes I don't know, there's some kind of situation or something, then their presence on the street, not something they're actually doing, simply them just patrolling around at certain times and depending on what situations they're in, I think that could be quite important in building your trust if you know they're there, in you area and they're there to help if something happened then I think that helps.

JD:

And that same argument can be made about the police officer in school. Not that bad things are going to happen in the school but the idea of you guys both   just told me

this friendly story about a police officer, even though he does nothing. It might change your feelings about other police officers. Do you think it has? Do you think it does at all? Do you think it would for different people?

OF:

No.

OM:

No.

OF:

No because everyones different and every police officer is different. Like if you meet one guy it's not going to like change your view of all of them, it's more than like one police officer and um like you know, changing someones opinion like um of the whole group or professions of people. I know this might be random but I think I know why there's a lack of trust in the police because like obviously like if you know a lot of crime and you keep getting arrested and stuff like um they're going against what we're doing if you know what I mean like for instance if a teacher keeps telling you off, you're not exactly like going to trust that teacher so like I think it's about trust as an individual... and like, if like obviously you keep committing a crime and there's a police officer in your area that keep solving crimes then obviously that person is going to trust the police officer more than the person that keeps committing crime and the person that keeps getting arrested. It's about like your own situation.

OF:

I think that bad things in the news are what really put the rumours you here and the big news stories that um like the guy that got killed selling Evening Standards or something on a protest or things like that, it's the problem because it's the negative aspects that stick in minds. But at the same time, I think there's only a certain amount that police can be friends because at the end of the day, they are there to be um a sign of authority but I definitely think understanding the fact that they're just doing their job, it would be really crap without them um so it would be good if people knew about them in school, that has got to help.

OF:

And maybe it's because it might not cool to like, you know, to police, you know. For example, I keep using examples but there's this teacher that like no one likes but then they're like nice to you and you like them but then everyone's going to be like 'why do you like that person' when no one else does kind of thing, if you know what I mean? So maybe that's like the police. Oh and maybe, you know with the riots and stuff, I think like you know that kind of made the relationship with the police officers and young people a lot worse if you get what I mean because they like used violence like you know so like you know like made loads of chaos and that kind of thing.

JD:

Do you think the riots made the relationship between the youth and police worse?

OF:

Yeah.

OF:

Yeah.

OM:

Yeah.

OF:

Because of the way they dealt with it.

OF:

Because they shot someone that's what made it worse.

JD:

Yeah, but that's not just young people that pissed people all over the country off but I see what you're saying.

OF:

But it's the older generations that pass on the anger to the youth so I guess that would have made it far worse.

OM:

I think the fact that it was a widely reported negative thing, I mean the way it's portrayed is more significant than the actual thing that the police do because you're hearing stories from friends and obviously the media as well about you know, terrible things they've done. Even if it was one off events, you can't help but you know keep that in your mind rather than if they dealt with it really well, in the majority of cases, the thing we were talking about earlier, you've clearly got to spend a lot of time building up trust for it to seem positive, it's got to be steady and continuous where as one or two negative events can immediately change someones view point.

OF:

Um, I actually meant the student riots, not the riot riots, the London riots like I think that increased the um trust in police obviously because they were like helping maintain London you know like.

OM:

I think there's quite a minority um think that some of the rioting going on so to some people it might seem like the police are actually on their side, protecting you know their local shops and stuff from you know just being destroyed and stuff.

OF:

I was going to say like there's a sort of lack consistency whereas in the student riots, there was lots of police and like more, probably more than needed and there was like quite a lot of violence involved with like dealing with it and there's all those videos of people that are being beaten up by police, when the actual London riots was much more violent and threatening to everyone for the first few days and there was hardly enough police and help.

JD:

There weren't enough police.

OF:

Yeah and there wasn't enough help with the way they were dealing with it and then would have been the time to use their more violent measures to deal with it but they didn't so I think it's sort of misjudged obviously but the way they use violence when it wasn't really needed in the student riots but they didn't actually use it when it was needed, sort of. So lack of consistency makes it harder to trust them.

JD:

What about, I want to ask each of you, what's one thing you would trust the police with and one thing you wouldn't trust the police with? Anything.

OF:

I trust them to stop and search me if like they tell me their motives um because like I know their intention. I would not trust them to get down my personal details, wait no, I wouldn't trust them to stop and search me like you know, if they didn't tell me why.

OM:

I would trust, I think um any crime that is actually happening at the time, I think just with the simple professional, if there wasn't a choice and it was something they had to do, I would trust them to you know actually carry that out effectively, if you see what I mean. Whereas, if it was something like anticipation of a crime or this kind of idea of stop and search, I don't think I would trust them to be entirely consistent and you know, fair with how they're stopping and searching people.

JD:

So just to make sure i'm clear, you're ok with crime intervention and you're hesitant about crime prevention?

OM:

Exactly, that's exactly it yeah.

OF:

I was going to say obviously with stop and search, statistically they stop and search people that are more likely to be carrying a knife but in the first place if you stop them more than other people, that could be why the statistics are like that so when they're saying 'oh we're stopping an obvious group of people because they're more likely to be carrying knives', they might not know that because of the way they do it in the first place. So I don't really trust them with those types of things and I think everyone should have a completely equal chance of being stopped rather than..

JD:

That's what they say that you have.

OF:

But you don't.

JD:

I'm with you on that. Are you aware stop and search is going to change in the next three months right?

ALL:

No.

JD:

It's no longer going to be looking for knives and unfortunately the over representation of Afro-Caribbean's being stopped and searched is going to turn into looking for bombs and south Asians before the run up to the Olympics.

OF:

Yeah but my friend...

JD:

Not saying it doesn't happen.

OF:

My friend is not even 18 and he was stopped with the potential for being a terrorist.

JD:

Yeah well that's the Terrorism Act of 2006 for you. Sorry i'm going off topic.

OF:

And it was just a college bag he had on him, it wasn't anything other than that.

JD:

So you wouldn't trust the police with stuff like that but what would you trust the police to do for you?

OF:

If a crime happened to me, if I was a victim, I'd go to them.

JD:

So you think they deal with victimology or victims fairly well?

OF:

They dealt with us to yeah.

OF:

Yeah, I would trust them to like to make me feel safe if I was a victim of something um but I don't know I wouldn't trust them about.

OM:

Um I wouldn't trust them to tell them my information if I didn't know what it was about, how it was going to be used and what it was for then I don't see why yeah unless they tell me what the information is for, I wouldn't trust them with my information if they just ask, yeah.

OF:

I wouldn't trust them if like 'where are you going' and stuff and personal questions and stuff, I wouldn't trust them with that because it's just a bit dodgy if you know what I mean. But I would trust them with like what I told you before like if they tell me motives of doing whatever and then that's when i'd trust them.

OF:

I was going to say before, I had police come to my house asking me if I knew some girl but they didn't tell me anything about her, not like what school she went to not like, they just basically said 'oh do you know this girl?' and I was just like 'no' and they just wouldn't leave me alone at my house and I shut my door and they came back to me a minute later, accusing me of knowing her and I didn't know her and how am I meant to even, maybe if it's someone I vaguely met, how was I meant to know her, like you know, they didn't say any information of how I might know her or why they think I know her or why they're looking for her or anything. I'm not really going to trust them with stuff like that. They know there was certain information they should have given over to me which would have either helped me help them or just make me understand

why they're coming to my house, sort of thing and why like they the way they did it was aggressive as well, the way the knocked on my door and they were like 'you do know you've been lying to me' and it was like 'I haven't' and the way they did it was like you're not going to believe me until I say 'yes I do know her' sort of thing, because if I say no they're not going to believe me and then they sat outside for 20 minutes in their car. So i'm not really going to trust them but then because like i've had two other positive things with the police, I know obviously that it's individual and they're not all going to be like that but it should have been dealt with differently like with other things like if even you're not being stopped and searched there sort of attitude towards you is like really important. They need to be maybe taught how to be with young people - if they were going to come to me and ask me about how to deal with that situation without coming across like their accusing me and being aggressive.

JD:

OK, only a couple more minutes guys but I want to end, about 10 more minutes at the most. I want to do the last thing because we've already talked about The Well Centre a little bit and how you trust them to a certain extent

OF:

Um, more awareness like, I think we've already touched on the subject of police in schools and stuff but I think there needs to be like a higher level of like information you know like to tell people like once a week or something like that, like they talk about violence and how they do things and things they encounter and stuff and just like building a relationship with them and then   maybe like when you stop and search, you're not aggressive. I think, wait, what was the question again?

ALL:

Laughs.

OM:

What can be done to improve the relationship.

OF:

Oh yeah, um.

JD?

Anything. You're talking about the police themselves right now and what they can do to make you trust them.

OF:

Yeah um and just yeah, more awareness and politeness and knowing you motives.

OM:

I know it's not really possible but one thing that would definitely stop such great distrust is um the way certain events are portrayed by the media. I think the coverage they get can be very very harsh. For example, like the recent evictions from um Dale Farm um, the way they covered that was in a negative 'oh they're being so brutal' when really they asked these people to move so many times and that kind of thing that in the end they maybe, the only way they can solve it is by being affirmative, not necessarily violent but actual physical action is needed but it's just the way they're portrayed, especially by the media but also one off stories and word of mouth, I think is almost as negative for them and I think that's unfair really.

OF:

...I think they need to be approachable because when you're in central London you see them all the time yet you think of them as such a detached thing but you need to know that you could walk up to them and ask them something or say you've just seen someone get robbed or something you would feel like you could do that and everyone knows that they are approachable so you can yeah because I don't think I would just go up to a police officer and just talk to them but I just think there's a little barrier there that is like 'oh my gosh, can I even talk to them', because you know when they're in two's and they're chatting away and i'm sure they wouldn't mind but you feel like you don't want to go like break that or whatever.

OF:

I was going to say like if you train them in a way like how you work as in teachers and all these people that youth have been sort of taught to deal with and interact with them, it might like, obviously then the way they approach us will be more like how we'd want to be approached, more youth focused then we're more likely to build up a trust with them, overall because like sometimes the way they're trained is just to be a police officer, it's not how to deal with the youth and how to deal with like adults and stuff, it's sort of just being a police officer.

OM:

I think um.... understanding and having empathy you know, seeing it from their point of views like, um, i'm trying to think of an example, but just certain events, for example, will, we've talked about it already but if a policeman stopped someone on suspicion of something without explaining exactly why, I think they sometimes assume that the young person understands when really they might be quite confused um and not know, not necessarily give them a reason um but also the other way around because sometimes young people don't really understand the motives of the police, like we were talking before, um whether they're being 100% fair all the time and I think it's about understanding both ways, not just the police understanding young people but I think to you know, educate young people to try and understand the police better as well, would help.

JD:

What are your rights when you're stopped and searched?

OF:

To be searched by a female.

OM:

No…

JD:

But that's a lot of the problems because girls kick off, but that's not necessarily the girls faults, right? It's because, like what you're saying, there's not this common understanding from both sides and they're not educating us, we don't know that. We're allowed to ask for a female searcher but then they also have the right to bring you to the station for that to occur. Or if there is a female there, then, yes, you're allowed to wait for that but if there's not then if they want to stop and search you, they're allowed to.

OM:

Yeah but I think the fact that none of us knew what the rule was just shows that we don't understand them, it's not just them understanding young people's motives, it's us knowing enough about them as well.

JD:

That's why it's good they put a police officer in schools but it would be better if they actually talked to you, like if they came into the class once a month and gave you a talk on something - ASBOS, knife crime, stop and search.

OM:

Yeah, because they're just kind of there to talk to, they're almost too far away from a police officer, they're not explaining things.

OF:

Oh and um, you know the previous question about how to improve the trust. I think there actually needs to be an emphasis on like you know, how to make up your own opinions because, I don't know if that makes sense but like obviously you're going to get like bad you know, media portrayals about police and like positive portrayals so like there needs to be an emphasis on like you know, making your own you know opinion about what you think about, you know views and things and like an emphasis made on individual, like you know, like listening to bad portrayals.

JD:

Any last words? Anybody want to say anything else?

OF:

Oh yeah and you know about like educating people like so to like increase trust there needs to be like individual views like you know and um friendliness and more awareness like you know how you were saying like people need to be more educated

on like your rights and things and stop and search and stuff. So I think that like all ties in with like police and trust.

JD:

Anything else guys? No? OK.

JD:

Anything else guys? No? OK.

Appendix 8—Memorandum on the development of the TAQ

A primary aim of the thesis was to construct a psychometric test that was able to capture levels of trust/mistrust that participants had towards authority figures, specifically the police. As the concepts of the transferability and generalisability of trust with authority figures to the police was under investigation, a tool able to quantify an individuals perceived levels of trust/mistrust was considered critical. Specifically, individual levels of trust as well as potential different subtypes of trust were believed to interact with other social psychological variables in both contributing to behavioural intentions with police officers but also fluctuating its own appearance as a latent construct. This section will outline the methodology and investigation that was undertaken in the construction, testing and administration of the Trust in Authority Questionnaire (TAQ).

Ethnography and investigative direction

The ethnographic portion of thesis was conducted firstly in order to develop rapport and understand the idiosyncrasies of each different group. This was an information and intelligence gathering exercise that would permit the research to engage with the participants with a greater degree of understanding and knowledge at subsequent periods of data collection and analysis. It provided an intimate view into the interactions the multitude of adolescents had when participating at their specific community organisation.

In relation to the TAQ, it provided the first indication of trust typologies or as will be discussed later, the sub-sections of trust. It was evident whilst engaging on site with the participants had different personality traits and behaviours emerge whilst interacting with different individuals, both within the groups themselves but also across the type of group and activity. Although the ideas of general, authority and police trust were not preconceived findings prior to the ethnographies, the researcher was able to differentiate the participants engagement with himself; their peers; peer leaders; and facilitators. It was these final two trusting entities—peer leaders and facilitators a particular compartmentalisation or modular structure of trust appeared. This was to be highly relevant in the construction of the focus group schedule.

Focus group schedule construction

The focus group schedule was constructed in parallel with an information package to be provided to each participant. The schedule itself aimed to pursue the consideration of trust as a concept but also with the nature of the participatory groups and overarching aims of the thesis. Specifically, that meant querying the participants on their understanding of trust but also their relationships with the group leaders/facilitators and the police or larger Criminal Justice System. Each focus group took the same format, regardless of their particular group's background. This included the Volunteer Police Cadets who, when queried about the police and authority figures separately, were asked to consider the police on the streets of London as the object of trust/mistrust, and their VPC commanders as that of the authority figures.

All three sections of the focus group schedules were kept relatively open-ended and prompted the participants on their basic understanding of trust and relationships at each of the trust types. The researcher wished to comprehend the construction of trust and its subtypes according to the youth, so having an understanding of precisely what factors contributed to their trusting (or lack thereof) in relationships was considered critical. The questions were left open-ended in order to permit participants to discuss as many elements and aspects deemed important in their structuring of trust throughout the interview process.

Collection of focus group data

This is detailed in chapter 3, section 3.5.2.1.

Thematic analysis of transcripts

This is outlined in chapter 3, section 3.5.3.2. Table 1.1 below provides the first draft of the subthemes grouped within their type of trust and a complete set of examples from the focus group transcripts used to illustrate their significance. Only select

Table 1.1 Superordinate and subordinate factors of trust

Theme	Subthemes	Example	FG, pp.
Core	Confidence	'*...put your confidence in them...*	3, 2
	Endurance	'*...it's long-lasting with that person...*'	7, 2
	Consistency	'*...trust someone that is reliable...can tell them more...*'	3, 1
	Reciprocation	'*...bond of trust and mutuality...work and share together...*'	10, 3
	Family	'*...my family...we're really close...they won't say anything*'	11, 5
	Peers	'*...can tell friends anything and they won't talk...*'	5, 11
	Loyalty	'*...they are loyal, and I to them...*'	8, 3
Authority	Development	'*...see them put the effort in...so do I...*'	3, 14
	Importance	'*...[organisation] will take me further in life...*'	14, 9
	Mentoring	'*...make me feel welcome and comfortable...*'	5, 13
	Self-esteem	'*...have a chat with them and feel good about myself...*'	11, 17
	School	'*...teachers work for institutions...end up ordering you what to do...*'	8, 10
	Equality	'*...treat you as an adult instead of seeing you like a kid...*'	10, 23
	Empowerment	'*...[facilitators] are your friends and you feel good with them...*'	9, 7
Police	Improper	'*...threaten to nick us just for being around...*'	10, 19
	Government	'*...following government guidelines and instructions...*'	7, 13
	Faith/belief	'*...no trust among young people and the police...*'	9, 22
	Media	'*...media shows us black youth go straight to prison...*'	7, 19
	Stigma	'*...their attitudes stink and they criticise youth...*'	14, 14
	Troubled rel.	'*...always trying to catch us up...think we're no good...*'	11, 21
	Improvements	'*...like coming to cadets...we work together, get to know them...*'	11, 17
	CJS	'*...I specifically said no, they're not using me in court...*'	14, 19

Notes: Taken from focus groups 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 14

The twenty-two items presented above were then used for further analysis and piloting in order to develop the new TAQ measure. The entire measure would provide an agglomerated; overall score of adolescent trust in authoritative relationships but it was also intended to provide sub-scores for each of the various components, as will be discussed below.

Item construction

This is outlined in chapter 6, section 6.1. This section will focus on a more detailed account of the deletion, merging and selection of final items.

Table 1.2 highlights the frequencies of those subthemes that were selected to be used as items gauging trust. It should be noted that at up to this point in the instrument development, these were the only items available for use in further development.

Table 1.2 Subtheme frequencies

Themes	Focus Group														Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
(1) Confidence	3	5	2	2		1	8	1		3		1	4		30
(2) Enduring	1	2	3	1	1	1		4			2	1	1	1	18
(3) In/Consistency	7	3	3	7	1	1	2	5		1	4	4	2	5	45
(4) Reciprocation	5	14	8	4	14	4	10	6	6	6	3	8	7	3	98
(5) Family	2	3	15	7	2	1	5	9	3	6	6	17	11	7	94
(6) Intimacy/peers		4	7	1			2	9	8	7	2	12	10	7	69
(7) Loyalty		2	2	1		1	4		1	5		1		1	18
(8) Development	7	4	10	6	12	2	7	8	3	3	2	6	10	12	92
(9) Importance	8	6	12	15	13	2	8	9	4	2	2	5	13	6	105
(10) Mentoring	4	1	3	1	4		1	1			1		2		18
(11) Self-esteem	1	2	1		7		1			1			3		16
(12) School	1	2	4	4	7	2	12	6	2	2	5	5	17		69
(13) Equality	3	7	9	7	16	3	7	7	3	7	3		12	12	96
(14) Empowering	3	3	2	2	9	2	4	1	1	1				1	29
(15) Improper pol.		30	9	17		2	13	13	9	5	10	4	1	12	125
(16) Problems gov.		3	19						5					2	29
(17) Faith in police		7	8	13			10	4	9	13	16	6	16	11	113
(18) Media influence		17	6	5	4		5	4	5	2	2	7			57
(19) Stigma pol.		7	6	13	2	1	2	36	26	17	11	21	15	26	183
(20) Troubled/youth		8	14	7	6		10	20	21	8	9	8	9	16	136
(21) Improve				7		2	5	12	23	16	22	9	10	10	116
(22) CJS							2		3	4	13	11	1	8	42
Total	45	130	143	120	98	25	118	155	132	109	113	126	144	140	1598

Note: Items 1-7 represent core trust; items 8-14 represent rust in authority; and items 15-22 correspond to trust in the police.

The frequency of each subtheme identified is shown above and it immediately becomes evident that particular elements are much more common than others. For example, the subthemes 'endurance', 'self-esteem' and 'loyalty' score significantly lower than other factors identified whilst 'improper policing' and 'troubled youth/police relationship'

score much higher. The table also orders the subthemes within each of their superordinate trust sections, with the first seven elements being associated with 'genera' trust; items 8-14 associated with 'trust in authority' and the final eight items linked to 'trust in the police'. Therefore as already mentioned, the TAQ in its first format was to have seven questions linked to core trust, seven questions linked to trust in authority and eight questions linked to trust in the police, to have a total trust measure with twenty-two items.

The first amendments were considered pragmatic changes. This was done as a sort of 'face validity' in advance to ensure the TAQ measure seemed suitable in assessing levels of trust/mistrust. One sub-theme would be removed from the second portion, TAQ Authority. As 'self-esteem' and 'mentoring' scored significantly lower, and mentoring seemingly misinterpreted throughout the focus groups by the youth in differentiating between authority-youth relationships, it was removed from further analysis. This dropped the TAQ authority scale to six items and the overall TAQ to 21 items.

The TAQ police scale saw the removal of its sections lowest contributor, 'Criminal Justice System', and the agglomeration of 'Problems with the government' and 'Media influences' into one new sub-theme—'External antagonists'. The CJS subtheme seemed vague and ambiguous when specifically discussing the police, and both media and government were often cited together throughout the participants responses as externally shedding negative light on police, thus this seemed a logical combination. This brought the TAQ police subscale from eight to six items, and the overall TAQ measure from 21 to 19 items.

The remaining 19-items were then structured into sentences to be used in a 7-point Likert scale format. Lower responses were indicative of more trust, whereas higher scores indicated higher levels of mistrust. Particular items were reverse scored in order to account for participant's response learning throughout administration. Table 1.3 shows the first draft of items prior to implementation of the pilot

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Table 1.3 Draft TAQ 19-item questionnaires

Subscale	Sub-theme	Question
Core Trust	**Confidence**	*Trust involves having confidence in others*
	Loyalty	*Those I trust are loyal to me, and I to them*
	Endurance	*Trust with others does not last very long*
	Consistency	*Consistency in behaviour is needed for trust*
	Reciprocation	*In order for me to trust someone, they must trust me back*
	Family	*I have learnt to trust others because of my family*
	Peers	*My friends have had no part in developing my trust*
Trust in Authority	**Development**	*Working with a few specific adults here is not at all important*
	Importance of adults	*I trust the adults at X organisation*
	Self-esteem	*Treating young people like me fairly will assist me with increasing trust in authority*
	School	*Trusting my teachers builds trust with other authority*
	Equality	*My exclusion from decisions and discussions gives me less trust in authority*
	Empowerment	*Being able to trust other adults makes me feel safe*
Trust in police	**Improper**	*Unexplained police actions used against me makes me less trusting of the police*
	External antagonists	*Politicians and the media influence my trust in the police*
	Faith/belief	*I believe the police can make me trust them*
	Stigma	*Cannot trust the Metropolitan police...they are police*
	Troubled relationship	*If the police treat me fairly, that will help increase my trust in police*
	Improvements	*Interactions with a few police officers has increased my trust in police*

Note: First draft of subscale of TAQ, subthemes and prototype questions prior to piloting.

The next section will present the pilot administration of the TAQ and final amendments prior to mass administration.

<u>Piloting and analysis</u>

Following construction of the questionnaire, a pilot was conducted with a group of young people working as volunteers at Oasis. All of the youth were final year school students who were given the briefing and instructions relevant to completing the questionnaire. Following completion, they were all asked to indicate any parts of the TAQ measure that were unclear and to note their agreement/disagreement with the

concepts being measured. Twenty students partook in the piloting. Table 1.4-1.6 provides both support and issues on items as stated by the participants. Please note that details of this process are outlined in chapter 6, section 6.9.1.

Table 1.4 Conceptual validation and amendments--Core Trust

Question	Comments	Action
1 (Confidence)	-clear statement (P17) -makes sense (P14) -obvious inclusion (P13)	None
2 and 3 (Loyalty and Endurance)	-what does endurance mean? (P13) -loyalty to who? You or someone else? (P1) -aren't they kind of the same thing? (P3) -I can be loyal for a long time (P7)	Items were deleted and reformulated into a new question regarding respect. This was done to account for the longevity of the trusting relationship but also the necessity of a previous level of mutual understanding. Therefore, the new item *'Respect is needed in a trusting relationship'* was constructed
4 (Consistency)	-I want someone to either be truthful or not; then I know what to do going forward (P5) -seems right—I like to know what I am getting myself into (P1) -I would trust more if I have experience trusting in the past (P17)	None
5 (Reciprocation)	-it's a two-way street (P1)	None
6 (Family)	-duh (P1) -um, family is probably the only thing I do trust (P5)	None
7 (Peers)	No comments	None

Table 1.5 Conceptual validation and amendments—Trust in authority

Question	Comments	Action
1 (Development)	-an on-going relationship with adults (P3) -making things better by interacting (P11)	None
2 (Importance)	-they see their experience as important (P19) -they feel good when at the organisation (P11) -they value their trust (P4)	None
3 (Self-esteem)	-makes them feel better…their life (P5) -looks at positive effect of relationship to the person in question (P4)	None
4 (School)	-I thought this was about [organisation]? (P7) -this seems different? Are you talking about teachers or [group facilitators]? (P11) -this does not seem to fit in with the rest of the question? (P17)	The question *'Trusting my teacher's builds trust with other authority figures'* was removed from the measure. It became evident that many pilot participants felt that it was too confusing and caused misdirection away from the organisation under examination. There was also evidence from the focus groups that suggested teachers were perceived as being highly mistrustful. A further examination of the influence of teachers as authority figures is elaborated upon within the focus group section of the thesis.
5 and 6 (Equality and Empowerment)	-I feel that these two questions are linked, but I don't know how? (P17) -feeling good or feeling safe and can only happen if you feel included (P2) -is feeling safe important? Is that what this is about? (P3) -I get not being included, but I imagine other things go with that, like not being excluded would make me feel better; make me feel safer; make me feel like part of the team (P15)	The participants had problems with their understanding of these two questions. It seemed as if they were uncertain exactly what they were pertaining too. When queried further, '*Being able to trust other adults makes me feel safe*' was considered inappropriate for the sequence of questions and that *My exclusion from decisions and discussions gives me less trust in authority'* catered to the wider ideas of inclusionary acknowledgement thus equal status. As an element of equal status, feel safe meant that their was a reciprocal relationship. The subthemes of equality and empowerment were thus merged together under the guise of the latter item.

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Table 1.6 Conceptual validation and amendments—Trust in police

Question	Comments	Action
1 (Improper)	-this is too big; what are they doing wrong? Being racist? Rude? Wasting my money? (P18) -do you mean professionally? Or personally? (P18) -does it really matter? If they are not supposed to be doing it then people won't like it (P20)	It was decided due to the negative construction of the item and bias involved that it would lead to a decrease in responses. The public, or youth in the current study, regardless of their trust would be likely to indicate negative scores with this item. It was thus removed from the final version.
2 (External antagonists)	-this is important (P2) -they influence our attitudes and what we think about the police (P7) -its not just politicians or celebrities or news (P18) -people [at organisation] make me trust the police more (P6)	External influences from bodies, organisations and individuals outside of the police force were seen to directly influence the participant's levels of trust in the police. They made it clear that this included the politics and the media, but that it was not limited to this. The original item *'Politicians and the media influence my trust in police'* was therefore generalised to *'Interacting with non-police adults has helped me improve my trust in the police'* for the final version
3 (Faith/belief)	-it is not just about believing...what does that even mean (P3) -I don't get this question (P4) -is it about having faith? Because if it is, then I would be willing to work towards trust (P5) -this is too vague...make it about working together (P10)	A large amount of criticism was directed towards this item in the subscale. At first, the researcher considered eliminating it from the scale however upon inspection of the pilot comments, it seemed that faith or belief in the police was a necessary prerequisite in building a relationship with police, which in turn could assist with levels of trust/mistrust. The item was thus reworded into *Developing trust with the [Metropolitan police] is not at all important to me'*.
4 (Stigma)	-very negative, I trust the police (P4) -ask straight out whether they trust the police or not (P5)	The question was re-formatted based on the recommendations to read *'I trust the Metropolitan Police'*.
5 (Troubled relationships)	-good...makes sense. If they don't, I will kick off (P20) -if I did not like them to start with, and they didn't [treat me fairly], I never would...it would be worse (P4) -quality man, if you are nice to me, we can work together (P11)	None
6 (Improvements)	-practice makes perfect (P16) -[cadets] worked for me...look at me now (P19)	None

Mass administration

The TAQ was next administered to 200 participants across two of the participatory organisations. This was done in conjunction with a larger survey aimed at collecting participant responses on various social psychological constructs and demographic information. The responses were collected on site, at the participant's location of social activity after being provided with information on the purpose of the study and rationale. Consent forms were collected and administration was done in an examination type format to provide participants with as much time and as little distraction as possible. Following the collection of all responses, research assistants were used in assisting with the coding of data, tabulation of scores and input into SPSS 19.0. The statistical software was then used to conduct statistical tests of reliability and validity on the new measure.

Tests of reliability and validity

Various tests of reliability and validity were conducted in support of the administration and psychometric properties of the TAQ. These can be located in chapter 6, section 6.2 and 6.9 respectively.

Appendix 9—Youth Questionnaire Information Package and questionnaire

Thank you in advance for agreeing to participate in this study exploring the nature of trusting relationships between authoritative, older figures and adolescents in society.

The phenomenon of trust has been investigated from various disciplines over the years. The main goal of this research is to try and investigate this idea of trust in relation to the Criminal Justice System in England & Wales, seeing how we can make it work for us and explore how lack of trust may put relations between differing parties at differences.

The purpose of this research is to attempt and engage you on a several variables that may or may not be related to your feelings of trust towards different figures that are linked to the Criminal Justice System. A questionnaire will be handed to you in a written form. These questions will be set up in a manner where you will be asked to give your feelings either in agreement or disagreement with the question being asked. You will indicate your agreement/disagreement on a scale from 1 to 7, all of which will be very clearly indicated. The stronger you feel for or against a point will be indicated by your answer closer to the limits of the numbers involved. With the information provided by you as a "co-researcher" on the project, a variety of statistics will be used to look at a number of relationships. All of the information provided by you will be placed into a novel piece of research and the data will only be reviewed by me and an academic supervisor. All of this will be carried out following the British Psychological Society's Code of Conduct and Ethics.

Any information you wish to be taken out from your answers will be done so by simply telling me. All responses will remain confidential and the data you provide will be kept and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act. Finally, if at any point you wish to end your participation, or wish to be excluded from the analysis being carried out following the information gathering process, contact details for the researcher are provided below.

Thank you again for your participation!

Kindest Regards,

Jeffrey DeMarco

Contact Details of Head Researcher:

Mr. Jeffrey DeMarco

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+44 (0)778 6650 889

DeMarco, J. N. (2015)

Measuring trust between the CJS & Youth
Head Researcher: Mr. Jeffrey N. DeMarco

Participant Consent

This is to indicate that I, _____, have been:
(Please Print Name Here)

- Adequately and accordingly been explained the details surrounding the psychological research I am about to partake in.

  YES   NO

- Taken the opportunity to elaborate upon any questions I may have had.

  YES   NO

- Properly provided with answers to those questions.

  YES   NO

- Informed that I may withdraw from the procedures at any point in the analysis.

  YES   NO

- Made clear that this experiment is in accordance with the British Psychological Society's Code of Conduct & Ethics as well as Royal Holloway, University of London's college ethical guidelines.

  YES   NO

- I give full disclosure and consent that the information I provide may be used for the aforementioned piece of research.

  YES   NO

_____   ___/___/_____
(Please Sign Name Above)   (Date: dd/mm/yyyy)

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Debriefing for completion of questionnaire

Large amounts of research have been carried out in recent times with various societal groups contact with the police forces, as well as some of the various scenarios, conditions and previous experiences that come attached (such as race, nature of experience, frequency of experience, etc.). It is in part for this reason that the subsequent research is being carried out.

Previous work has shown that depending on ones group within society (sex, age, ethnicity, culture, etc.), differing levels of both trust and attitudes towards the police will be felt. The idea with the project that you have just participated in is that, by gauging these aforementioned variables in situations where the participant is involved and engaged with a member of the criminal justice system, we will be able to use the findings to carry out further initiatives and research to ameliorate these relationships.

In the past, public attitudes towards the Criminal Justice System have predominantly looked at how people perceive the police forces that are charged with serving and protecting the populace. Although this is extremely important in understanding this complex relationship, the Criminal Justice System as a whole does not solely involve the police. Youth Services, Social Welfare, the court system, probation and many more sub-organizations are all considered to constitute the CJS, and relationships with many of these organizations have been neglected in the realm of research. With youth in general, it is believed that by increasing the valence in a positive direction on many of the variables measured, relations will be ameliorated, and interventions for those that are at risk of engaging in criminality may be elaborated upon and introduced.

It is also of interest to investigate a few other factors that may mediate this potentiality: ones socioeconomic status, feelings of social inclusion and overall attitudes towards the police. By doing so and researching these additional variables, it allows the researchers to see if anything may counter the effects of both positive and negative contact in dictating intentions towards cooperation and to examine the differences between races.

The reason why you were selected for this study is because it is believed that due to social norms in which you may have been subjected to, there is the risk that the levels of belief, trust and respect towards the CJS maybe quite poor. By measuring the variables included in this experiment, I hope to demonstrate that in fact, this is the case and work with both youth groups, your own demographic and members of the CJS to tackle this issue. Investigating you, the youth, and your interactions and feelings towards the CJS will provide a virtual picture of the relationships held between the two social groups, allowing for recommendations for future courses of action to be made. It is also hoped that by demonstrating conditions of good practice, you may feel that the CJS is an acceptable organization to turn towards and trust in moments of perturbation.

Implications of this study will allow further research to be conducted on some of the factors that may or may not help to increase CJS-citizen relations here in the United Kingdom between varying social groups. Hypothetically, programmes could be developed based on this and subsequent research in parallel to forms found in the Americas that used structured Police/Citizen social groups to provide mutual education of each others duties and places in society.

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For those individuals that wish to be apprised of the findings and conclusions of this study, please e-mail jeffrey.demarco.2009@live.rhul.ac.uk with your preferred contact details, and you shall be kept informed of any further developments.

Thank you again for your participation in this study.

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Youth/Authority Interactions (Y.A.I.) Project

I am running a project looking into how young people feel about the police when involved in youth projects around London. You will be asked to answer a few questions where you will be able to tell me a bit about your background and then some of your attitudes, beliefs and experiences with the police.

The questionnaire is entirely confidential—that means that it will not have your name on it and it will not be shared outside of the university project. In addition, we have obtained ethical permission for this study.

Please could you respond to all questions found in this booklet as truthfully and accurately as possible.

If at any point you feel that you no longer wish to be involved with the study, please contact me (jeffrey.demarco.2009@live.rhul.ac.uk) so that I can remove your information from the investigation.

The questionnaire should take no more than 20 minutes of your time and I will be on hand to facilitate any questions or concerns during your participation.

THANK YOU FOR AGREEING TO COMPLETE THIS SURVEY!

Section 1: About Me

Please provide us with some basic details about yourself.

Age: _____   Sex (circle one):   Male   Female

Ethnicity (please tick any that apply—you may tick more than one box):

WHITE	BLACK or BLACK BRITISH
British ☐	Black Caribbean ☐
Irish ☐	Black African ☐
Any other ☐	Black other ☐

ASIAN or ASIAN BRITISH	ORIENTAL
Indian ☐	Chinese ☐
Pakistani ☐	Any other ☐
Bangladeshi ☐	
Asian other ☐	

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Parents that I live with at the moment (tick all that apply):

Birth-mother ☐
Other-mother figure ☐
Birth-father ☐
Other-father figure ☐
Other-adults ☐

I have been separated from my birth parents (tick correct boxes):

	Mother	Father
Never	☐	☐
Yes—but only temporarily	☐	☐
Yes—permanently	☐	☐
Yes—deceased	☐	☐

Age at first separation father _____
Age at first separation mother _____

Are your parents employed (please circle)?
FATHER/MALE CAREGIVER   YES   NO

MOTHER/FEMALE CAREGIVER   YES   NO

Describe the type of work your parents/caregivers do:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Finally, could you let us know which of these organizations you are involved in:

☐ Volunteer Police Cadets
☐ The Small Business Consultancy (TSBC)
☐ OASIS Trust
☐ Redthread

How often do you attend (Please circle)?

Daily/ weekly/ two-weekly/ monthly/ 2-monthly/ 3-monthly/ less

Approximately how long you have been using their services (round to the nearest number of months): _____

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Section 2: My family and lifestyle

For each of the following subsections, please tick the answers that apply:

Local area:

In your neighbourhood over the last year, have you experienced?

• Noisy neighbours	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• Teenage loitering and problem causing	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• Homeless on streets	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• Using and selling of drugs on street	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• People being harassed on the streets	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• Public drunkenness and disorder	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• General decay of buildings/rubbish on streets	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• Begging	YES ☐	NO ☐	

Family relationships: At least one parent will

• Praise when I have done well	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• Listen to me when I speak	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• Treat me fairly when I have misbehaved	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• Like to know where I am when not home	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• I have run away from home before	YES ☐	NO ☐	

School:

• Have you ever been suspended from school?	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• Have you ever been excluded from a school?	YES ☐	NO ☐	
• Have you frequently not attended school?	YES ☐	NO ☐	

My alcohol Use

• How often have you felt drunk in the last year:

☐ Less than once every two months
☐ Once every two months
☐ Once every month
☐ Twice or three times per month
☐ Once or twice a week
☐ Most days

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My antisocial behaviour (give the closest answer possible):

Have you ever engaged in anti-social behaviour before?   YES ☐   NO ☐
If yes, how many times? _____

Have you ever received an ASBO before?   YES ☐   NO ☐
If yes, how many times? _____

Have you ever committed a crime before?   YES ☐   NO ☐
If yes, how many times? _____

Have you ever been arrested for a crime?   YES ☐   NO ☐
If yes, how many times? _____

Have you ever been convicted of a crime?   YES ☐   NO ☐
If yes, how many times? _____

Section 3: My attitudes and impressions towards the police

Please consider your attitudes towards police officers and indicate by circling a corresponding number your feelings towards them for each pairing:

RUDE   1——2——3——4——5——6——7   POLITE

LIARS   1——2——3——4——5——6——7   TRUTHFUL

USELESS   1——2——3——4——5——6——7   HELPFUL

LAZY   1——2——3——4——5——6——7   ACTIVE

PREJUDICED   1——2——3——4——5——6——7   IMPARTIAL

STRICT   1——2——3——4——5——6——7   LENIENT

INDIFFERENT   1——2——3——4——5——6——7   CONCERNED

Section 4: My strengths and difficulties

Please take the time to carefully read through each of the statements over the next two pages. Select the box/option that you feel is most similar to your own behaviour and life.

	Not True	Somewhat True	Certainly True
I try to be nice to other people. I care about their feelings	☐	☐	☐
I am restless, I find it hard to sit down for long	☐	☐	☐
I get a lot of headaches, stomach-aches or sickness	☐	☐	☐
I usually share with others, for example food or drink	☐	☐	☐
I get very angry and often lose my temper	☐	☐	☐
I would rather be alone than with other people	☐	☐	☐
I am generally willing to do what other people want	☐	☐	☐
I worry a lot	☐	☐	☐
I am helpful if someone is hurt, upset or feeling ill	☐	☐	☐
I am constantly fidgeting or squirming	☐	☐	☐
I have at least one good friend	☐	☐	☐
I fight a lot. I can make other people do what I want	☐	☐	☐
I am often unhappy, depressed or tearful	☐	☐	☐
Other people generally like me	☐	☐	☐
I am easily distracted, I find it difficult to concentrate	☐	☐	☐
I am nervous in new situations. I easily lose confidence	☐	☐	☐
I am kind to children	☐	☐	☐
I am often accused of lying or cheating	☐	☐	☐
Other people pick on me or bully me	☐	☐	☐
I often offer to help others (family members, friends, colleagues)	☐	☐	☐
I think before I do things	☐	☐	☐
I take things that are not mine from home, work or elsewhere	☐	☐	☐
I get along better with older people than with people of my own age	☐	☐	☐
I have many fears, I am easily scared	☐	☐	☐
I finish the work I'm doing. My attention is good	☐	☐	☐

Do you have any other comments or concerns?

Section 5: My encounters with the police

Quantity of contact

How many times within the last year did you come into direct contact with the police? (Include positive encounters such as a greeting; neutral encounters such as asking for directions; and any other investigation related contact with a member of the police forces)

_____

My contact experience

Please take a moment to think about the typical situations in which you may have come into contact with the police. For each of the below comparisons, please indicate by circling a corresponding number, how much you believe the experience was:

NOT PLEASANT	1——2——3——4——5——6——7	PLEASANT
WARM	1——2——3——4——5——6——7	COLD
HOSTILE	1——2——3——4——5——6——7	FRIENDLY
FAIR	1——2——3——4——5——6——7	UNJUST
VOLUNTARY	1——2——3——4——5——6——7	INVOLUNTARY
COMPETITIVE	1——2——3——4——5——6——7	COOPERATIVE

Other peoples contact experiences

We know would like you to think about the number of police experiences you have heard from others, or indirectly. Think about all the stories you have heard regarding the police over the last year from sources such as family and friends.

1. Over the last year, how many POSITIVE police experiences have you heard about from family and friends? _____

2. Over the last year, how many NEGATIVE police experiences have you hear about from family or friends? _____

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Section 6: My trust in authority and the police

In all cases below, carefully read the statement and circle the number that you believe is closest to how you feel.

How I define trust

Trust involves having confidence in others

STRONGLY AGREE   1------2------3------4------5------6------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

Respect is needed in a trusting relationship

STRONGLY AGREE   1------2------3------4------5------6------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

Consistency in behaviour is needed for trust

STRONGLY AGREE   1------2------3------4------5------6------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

In order for me to trust someone, they must trust me back

STRONGLY AGREE   1------2------3------4------5------6------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

I have learnt to trust others because of my family

STRONGLY AGREE   1------2------3------4------5------6------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

My friends have had no part in developing my trust

STRONGLY AGREE   1------2------3------4------5------6------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

My trust in authority

I trust the adults here at this organisation (eg Oasis)

STRONGLY AGREE   1------2------3------4------5------6------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

Working with a few specific adults here has helped my trust in authority

STRONGLY AGREE   1------2------3------4------5------6------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

This organization permits me to improve relationships with other figures of authority

STRONGLY AGREE   1------2------3------4------5------6------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

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Treating young people like me fairly helps increase my trust in authority

STRONGLY AGREE   1-------2-------3-------4-------5-------6-------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

My trust in the police

I trust the Metropolitan Police

STRONGLY AGREE   1-------2-------3-------4-------5-------6-------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

Developing trust with the Metropolitan police is not at all important to me

STRONGLY AGREE   1-------2-------3-------4-------5-------6-------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

Interactions with a few police officers has increased my trust in the police

STRONGLY AGREE   1-------2-------3-------4-------5-------6-------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

Interacting with non-police adults has helped me improve my trust in the police

STRONGLY AGREE   1-------2-------3-------4-------5-------6-------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

**If the police treat me fairly, that will help increase my trust in the police overall**

STRONGLY AGREE   1-------2-------3-------4-------5-------6-------7   STRONGLY DISAGREE

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Section 7: My cooperation with the police

Carefully read each of the following scenarios and consider imagining that you are witnessing each of these events. After each, please indicate how likely/unlikely it would be for you to engage with the police on three different levels of interactions.

1. *If you were to see someone pull out knife and threaten a rival on the bus, how likely do you believe you would:*

CALL THE POLICE

UNLIKELY   1———2———3———4———5———6———7   LIKELY

PROVIDE A WITNESS STATEMENT

UNLIKELY   1———2———3———4———5———6———7   LIKELY

GIVE EVIDENCE IN COURT

UNLIKELY   1———2———3———4———5———6———7   LIKELY

2. *If you were to have your bag/purse/mobile phone stolen by a mugger, how likely do you believe you would:*

CALL THE POLICE

UNLIKELY   1———2———3———4———5———6———7   LIKELY

PROVIDE A WITNESS STATEMENT

UNLIKELY   1———2———3———4———5———6———7   LIKELY

GIVE EVIDENCE IN COURT

UNLIKELY   1———2———3———4———5———6———7   LIKELY

Thank you for your participation in this current study! We look forward to evaluating the data and informing you of our results should you wish to remain informed.