They Are Us? The mediating effects of compatibility-based trust on the relationship between discrimination and overall trust

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The tragic Christchurch massacre brought the dangers of social 'othering' to the forefront of public attention. While the extreme nature of the attack shocked majority and minority groups alike, overt and latent discrimination are common experiences for many minorities in Aotearoa. Focusing on the impact of discrimination, this research examines the mechanism through which discrimination negatively affects intergroup trust, utilizing the multidimensional Intergroup Trust Model. We investigate trust through a study of police-minority relations, comparing the Aotearoa Māori perspective with the Black American perspective. Mediation analysis, based on a multidimensional approach to trust, suggests a similar mechanism across both groups: Perceived discrimination's impact on trust is mediated by a lack of compatibility-based trust, the perception that they are 'others' to the police. Taken together, the results provide insight on how discrimination erodes intergroup relations and indicate that its damaging impact can be repaired by strengthening groups' perceived compatibility with one another and highlighting shared parallel similarities.

Keywords: discrimination; trust; Intergroup Trust Model; minority perception; police relations; Otherness

With modern societies seeing a dramatic increase in heterogeneity, questions around social equality and cohesion become increasingly pressing. Perceptions of unfairness and inequality in the treatment of different groups in society erode trust and threaten social cohesion and stability. Such perceptions are typically held by minorities groups, who are more likely to inhabit a space of social 'otherness'.

Otherness is an abstract social condition that implies difference and/or categorical separation. Its social connotations suggest a contrast against an accepted standard and often results in the devaluation of individuals and groups that do not meet the parameters for 'standard' membership in society. To inhabit a space of social otherness is to be relegated to social isolation and vulnerability. Therefore, the act of 'othering' is fundamentally dangerous.

The Christchurch Shooting highlights the devastating result of social othering and otherness. Systemically and culturally, Muslim residents of Aotearoa suffered from being made 'other' prior to the tragedy. In the aftermath, their place in society, though sentimentally reaffirmed by widespread and repeated declarations of inclusion, remains functionally on the outskirts of 'standard'. Bias and discrimination are part of the lived experiences of many minorities groups in Aotearoa, including Muslim Kiwis, refugees, and visitors (Harris et al., 2012; Rahman, 2018). Recent influxes of East and Southeast Asia immigrants have resulted in increasingly visible instances of 'benign' anti-Asian racism (Ng, 2017). Within academic discourse surrounding immigration and refugee intake in Auckland and other major cities throughout Aotearoa, Muslim immigration raises questions about security, terrorism, and foreign religion (see Stephens, 2018), while resettlement intake of white South Africans prompts questions about 'finding home' (eg. Winbush & Selby, 2015). Meanwhile, other minority group members are marginalized and/or entirely ignored in Kiwi social categorization.

The bias and discrimination faced by minority groups, like the Muslim, Māori, and Pasifika communities in Aotearoa, are often used to explain their lower levels of trust (e.g., Born et al., 2009; Dovidio et al, 2008). The trust minority groups have in their society and institutions is negatively linked to their perceptions of bias and discrimination. Douds and Wu (2018) reported a negative relationship between perceived racial discrimination and generalized trust in Texas, such that individuals who had experienced more racial discrimination reported lower levels of generalized trust, or "a general belief in the trustworthiness of most people" than individuals who experienced less (p. 567). Similarly, Bowling, Parmar, and Phillips (2003) concluded that discriminatory policing practices, such as excessive use of stop and search, negatively impact trust of minority communities in the police.

Although causality between perceived discrimination and bias and trust is difficult to establish, longitudinal research indicates that perceived discrimination may breed lower trust. Gordon, Street, Kelly, and Souchek (2006) found that while there was no difference in the level of trust displayed by Black and White patients in their physician before their initial visit, Black patients reported less trust after the visit. The difference in trust between Black and White patients was predicted by Black patients' perceptions that their physician displayed less supportiveness, less partnership, and less information during the visit.

Taken together, current research suggests that when individuals participate in a society or institution as a minority, how they are treated can shape the trust they have for those around them. When they encounter bias and discrimination, their trust decreases, negatively affecting social cohesion, social capital, and general intergroup

relations (Hooghe, Reeskens, & Stolle, 2007).

As the literature on the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust has grown, our understanding of trust has been evolving. While most of the research on this link captures trust using unidimensional scales with a few general items, the field has come to understand trust as a complex, multidimensional construct that requires context-specific measures (Balliet & Van Lange, 2013; Bhattacherjee, 2002; Roy, Eshghi, & Shekhar, 2011). The present research seeks to use the Intergroup Trust Model

to bring these recent developments in trust literature to the study of the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust (Kappmeier & Guenoun, 2018).

Introduction to the Intergroup Trust Model

The Intergroup Trust Model unifies the existing literature on the multidimensionality of trust to provide a common foundation in the context of intergroup conflict or tension (Kappmeier, 2016). The model posits that intergroup trust is the aggregate of

the five dimensions of competence, integrity, compassion, compatibility, and security. (refer to Figure 1 for descriptions of each of the dimensions)[1]. These dimensions are interdependent such that one may correlate with another. For instance, a decrease in competence-based trust may be associated with a decrease in integrity-based trust. Additionally, trust along each of these dimensions is conceptualized as a continuum such that groups can have varying levels of trust along each of the dimensions.
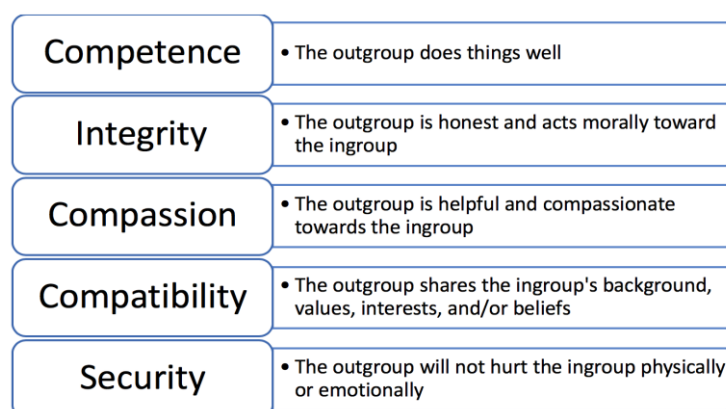

Figure 1. Dimensions of the Intergroup Trust Model.

Minority Trust in the Police

The current research used trust relations between the police and minority communities in Aotearoa and the United States as case studies through which to examine the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust. The police as a institution is a relevant context in which to investigate minority trust. They have many interactions across different groups in a society but they represent the beliefs and power of the more dominant groups (Sidanius, Liu, Shaw & Pratto, 1994).

Trust in the police is integral to the stability and security of a society. Minority trust in the police is particularly important to the development of a sense of belonging in the wider society. International research on the interactions between police and minority communities reveal the police as a polarizing institution. Some view the police as peacekeepers and a helpful fixture of a secure society. Others, particularly minorities, view the police

and their modes of operation with suspicion or contempt (Tyler, 2005). Minorities consistently report less trust in police than majorities, and they are less likely to view the police a legitimate institution (Tyler, 2010; 2011). Minority lack of trust in the police often stems from historical antagonism between the police as an oppressive force and minorities as victims of violence and/or prejudice. In societies with a history of group-based law enforcement discrimination, the police can be perceived by minorities as heavy-handed agents of existing, unjust power dynamics rather than as peacekeepers. Past and present experiences of brutality, harassment, and bias create perceptions of the police as racially and/or culturally discriminatory, procedurally prejudiced, and ultimately untrustworthy (Schuck, Rosenbaum & Hawkins, 2008). Repeated experiences of police prejudice, discrimination or violence (or vicarious experiences shared among members of a community) negatively impact trust in

the police as well as the belief that a particular group belongs within the policed society (Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & Ring, 2005). While a great deal of research and media attention has been devoted to strained police-minority relations in the USA, a similar pattern is evident in Aotearoa: Māori communities are less likely than Pākehā communities to report that they trust the police (e.g. Panditharatne, et al., 2018). Furthermore, Te Whaiti and Roguski (1998) highlights the negative consequences of the police's bias and discrimination towards Māori communities on Māori trust.

This article centers on the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and intergroup trust. Through two studies, we conceptualized intergroup trust as trust in the police to tap into minority perceptions of their relationship with their broader society. We explored the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust using working scales based on the Intergroup

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[1] The original article, using qualitative research speaks of seven dimensions, however quantitative follow-up work

indicate a stronger support for the five dimensional model

Trust Model. Study 1 was conducted in Aotearoa and Study 2 was conducted in the United States.

While we expected to replicate the established finding that there is a negative association between perceived discrimination and bias and trust, the primary goal of this research was to get a more nuanced understanding of the mechanism through which perceived discrimination and bias lower intergroup trust. Unlike the trust measures used to study the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust in previous studies, the Intergroup Trust Scale (Kappmeier & Guenoun, 2018) can provide an understanding of which of the five dimensions of intergroup trust are most relevant to this relationship. Such insight can be utilized to guide future research into the link between discrimination and bias and trust. Additionally, this research can support the development of trust-building interventions between the police and their communities, given our context of police trust relations.

STUDY 1

Study 1 investigated minority trust in the police in the context of Aotearoa by examining the relevance of the five trust

dimensions in face of discrimination and bias.

METHOD
Participants
Study 1 was conducted in Aotearoa through an online Qualtrics survey and exclusively recruited participants from a minority group: Māori (n = 320).

Measures
Perceived discrimination was measured with three items, including "People who share my racial identity are discriminated against by the police". Ratings were made on 7-point scales anchored at 1 ('Strongly disagree') and 7 ('Strongly agree') (α = .78).

Perceived bias was measured via two items which assessed police bias, e.g. "The police consistently apply the same rules to different people." Ratings were made on 7-point scales anchored at 1 ('Strongly disagree') and 7 ('Strongly agree'). The final scale was reversed coded so that 'Strongly agree' corresponded with the perception that the police display bias (α = .71).

Overall trust in the police was measured on a scale from 0 to 100. Participant were asked how much they

trust the police, with 0 indicating no trust and 100 signifying complete trust.

Trust dimensions. We used a working version of the revised Intergroup Trust Scale (Kappmeier & Guenoun, 2018) which consisted of 26 items on 7-point scales anchored at 1 ('Strongly disagree') and 7 ('Strongly agree'). The items captured the five dimensions of Intergroup Trust Model: five items measured competence-based trust (α = .83), five items measured integrity-based trust (α = .82), five items measured compassion-based trust (α = .71), seven items measured compatibility-based trust (α = .72), and four items measured security-based trust (α = .72). Items were framed as if-then statements in order to tap into the perceived relevance of the dimensions to trust. The structure of conditional statements allows for a more concrete causal link between the attributes of the outgroup introduced by each item and trust (Borsboom, Mellenbergh, & van Heerden, 2004; Mischel & Shoda, 1995). An example of an item created to assess integrity-based trust is "If the police are honest, then my trust in them will increase".

Table 1. Study 1 Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations

		1	2	3	4	5	Mean	SD
	Overall Trust	---					73.81	21.03
Relevance of:								
	Competence-based trust	-.022	---				5.39	1.06
	Integrity-based trust	-.069	.57**	---			5.83	0.92
	Compassion-based trust	.021	.73**	.65**	---		5.51	0.93
	Compatibility-based trust	.152**	.37*	.36**	.35**	---	5.04	0.96
	Security-based trust	.01	.58**	.7**	.68**	.4**	5.64	0.98

** p < .001

RESULTS

Descriptives and correlations
Overall, the Māori participants reported trusting relationships with the police with M = 73.81 (sd = 21.04), but they also reported perceived bias (M = 4.85; Sd = 1.25) and bias (M = 3.25; Sd = 1.36) to some degree from the police. Before further analysis, we examined correlations between the mediator variables and overall trust. While all five

trust dimensions correlated positively with each other (ps < .001), only compatibility-based trust was also significantly associated with overall trust (See Table 1).

Relationships between perceived discrimination, trust, and the five trust dimensions in Aotearoa
First, we examined the relationship between perceived discrimination and overall trust in the police and the role of

the five trust dimensions in this relationship.

We conducted a multiple parallel mediation analysis through ordinary least squares regression using perceived discrimination as the predictor, overall trust in the police as the outcome, and the five trust dimensions as mediators. The analysis was conducted in SPSS, using the Haynes process tool 3.3, Model 4. Figure 2 presents the model. The direct

path from perceived discrimination to and overall trust was significant (c' = -4.8, *p* = *.00*, CI [-6.36; -3.25]), indicating that perceived police discrimination negatively impacts overall trust in the police. Additionally, as outlined in Table 2, the direct paths from perceived police discrimination to four dimensions - competence, compatibility, compassion, and integrity - were significant. Only the path to security-based trust was not significant. This suggests that perceiving

police discrimination increases the relevance of competence-, integrity-, compassion- and compatibility-based trust. However, the only indirect paths from perceived police discrimination to overall trust that were significant where those through integrity- and compatibility-based trust (integrity-based trust: β = -.6253, $β_{se}$ = .36, CI [-1.46, -.07], compatibility-based trust: β = 1.53, $β_{se}$ = .52, CI [.66, 2.7]). This indicates that of the four trust dimensions

relevant to the relationship between perceived police discrimination and overall trust, only integrity- and compatibility-based trust mediate the relationship. In summary, integrity- and compatibility-based trust play primary mediating roles in the relationship between perceived police discrimination and overall trust.

Table 2. Study 2 OLS path analysis for the indirect effects of discrimination on overall trust

Predictor	Mediator	a	a_{se}	LCI	UCI	Outcome	b	b_{se}	LCI	UCI
discrimination	Competence	.1*	.04	.01	.19	Overall Trust in the Police	-1.96	1.59	.-7	.16
	Integrity	.14**	.04	.06	.22		-4.41*	1.8	-1.4	-.08
	Compassion	.1*	.04	.02	.18		3.3	2.02	-.08	1
	Compatibility	.24**	.04	.16	.32		6.36**	1.33	.66	2.67
	Security	.08	.04	-.005	.17		.32	1.78	-.4	.43

** p < .001; * p < 0.05; 5000 Bootstraps, Seed=190323

Relationship between perceived bias, trust, and the five trust dimensions in Aotearoa

Next, we examined the relationship between perceived bias and overall trust in the police and the role of the five trust dimensions in this relationship.

We again conducted a multiple parallel mediation analysis using ordinary least squares regression with bias as the predictor, overall trust in the police as the outcome, and the five trust dimensions as mediators. The analysis was conducted in SPSS again, using the Haynes process tool 3.3, Model 4. Figure 3 presents the model.

Just as with perceived discrimination, the direct link from bias to overall trust was significant (c' = -5.63, *p* = *.00*, CI [-

7,24; -4.03]), indicating that perceived police bias negatively impacts overall trust in the police. However, as seen in Table 3, unlike perceived discrimination, perceived bias was only negatively associated with compatibility- and security-based trust, indicating that perceived bias reveals a higher need for compatibility- and security-based trust. From these two trust dimensions, only the indirect path from perceived bias to overall trust through compatibility-based trust was significant (β = 2.75, $β_{se}$ = 1.27, CI [.26, 5.24]). This suggests that only compatibility-based trust mediates lower trust in the police in the face of perceived bias.

Taken together, the correlation results and analysis, shows that perceived police

discrimination or bias predicts lower trust in the police. The data further suggest, that this lower trust is mediated by an increased need for compatibility-based trust— a trust based on the perception that one relates to the police or that police are similar to one's own group. While integrity-based trust was also relevant for the relationship between perceived discrimination and overall trust, only compatibility- based trust had significant indirect effects for both perceived discrimination and perceived bias. Thus, of the five dimensions of the Intergroup Trust Model, it was compatibility-based trust that gave the most insight into the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust.

Table 3. Study 1 OLS path analysis for the indirect effects of bias on overall trust

Predictor	Mediator	a	a_{se}	LCI	UCI	Outcome	b	b_{se}	LCI	UCI
Bias	Competence	-.03	.04	-.12	.05	Overall Trust in the Police	-1.05	.81	-5.09	1.16
	Integrity	-.02	.04	-.1	.05		-4.33*	.01	-8	1.16
	Compassion	-.06	.04	-.14	.01		2.5	1.96	-.68	7.28
	Compatibility	-.15**	.04	-.23	-.08		2.75**	1.27	3.73	9.00
	Security	-.11*	.04	-.18	.03		-.15	.93		

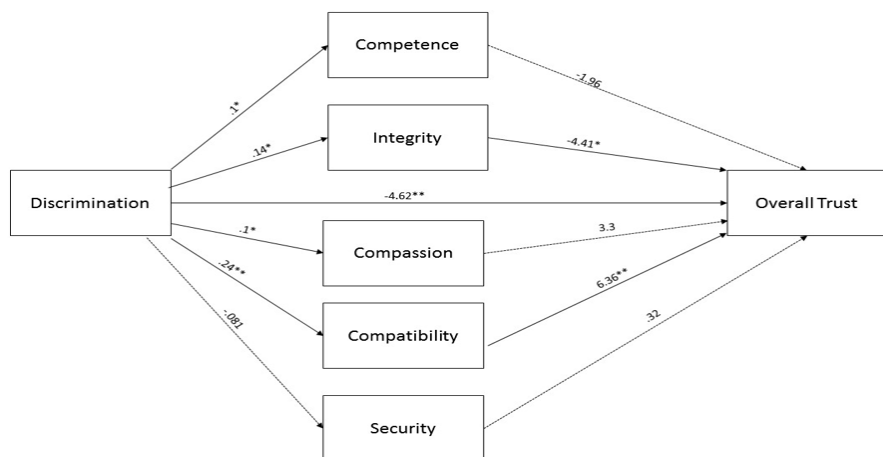** p < .001; * p < 0.05; 5000 Bootstraps, Seed=190323

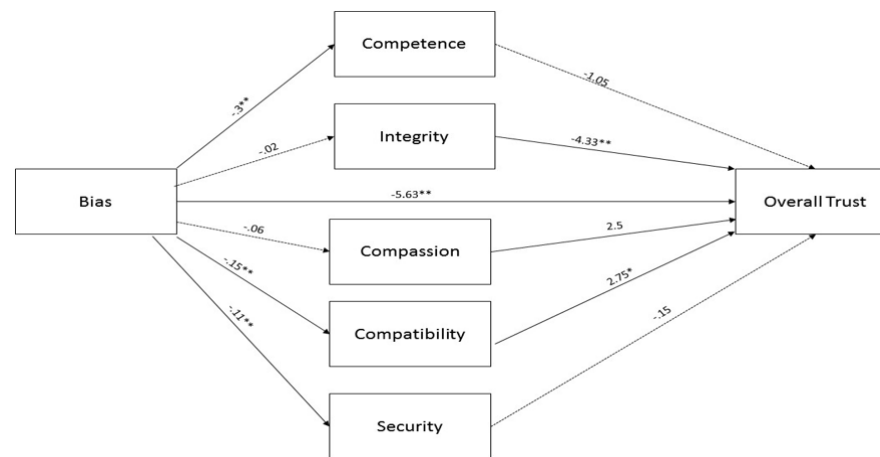**Figure 2.** Study 1. Mediation model from discrimination to overall trust

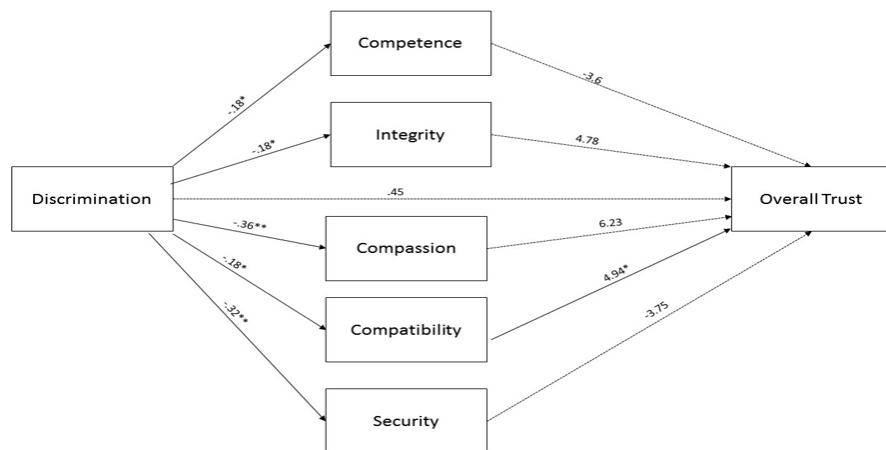**Figure 3.** Study 1. Mediation model from bias to overall trust

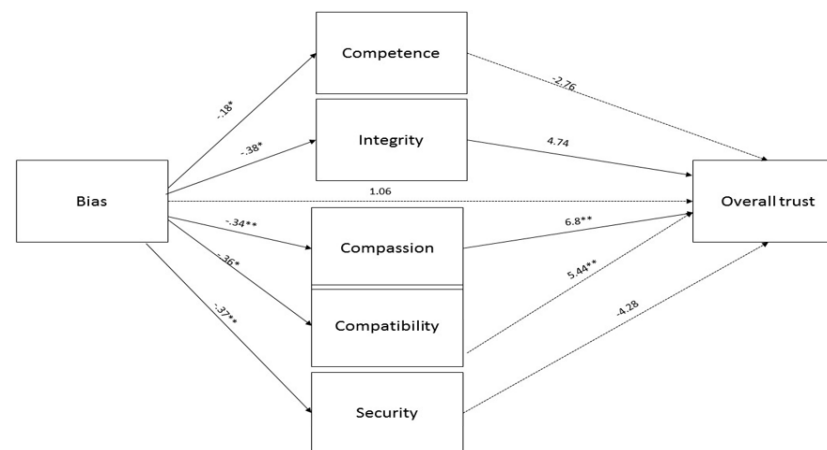**Figure 4.** Study 2. Mediation model from discrimination to overall trust (USA)

Figure 5. Study 2. Mediation model from bias to overall trust (USA)

While the research in the Aotearoa context indicates that compatibility-based trust is relevant in the face of perceived discrimination and bias, there is still the question of whether this is specific to the minority relations in Aotearoa or whether similar pattern would be found in other minority contexts as well.

We collected similar data in the United States, where minority relations tend to be more strained than in Aotearoa (AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research, 2015). In the US, the killings of unarmed Black citizens have deteriorating the relationships between minority community and police so much that a presidential task force was formed in 2014 to address the lack of trust in the police (President's Taskforce on 21st Century Policing, 2015).

Does compatibility-based trust still play a similar role in the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and in this different context where there is a higher perceived risk to minorities' physical security?

STUDY 2

Study 2 inquired about trust in the police from both the minority and majority group perspective in Boston, USA. Only the responses of the minority participants are reported in the current study as the goal was to compare their experiences with those of minority group members in Aotearoa.

METHOD
Participants

Study 2 was conducted in in three demographically diverse Boston neighborhoods: Mattapan, South Boston, and Hyde Park. Participants were approached and invited to complete a survey that investigated trust in the police. A total of 136 Black-American residents completed the survey across the three neighborhoods.

Measures

Study 2 utilized the same measure for perceived discrimination ($\alpha = .86$), perceived bias ($\alpha = .5$), and overall trust in the police as Study 1.

Trust dimensions. We used a simplified working scale based on the Intergroup Trust Model, which consisted of 19 items that capture the five trust dimensions. Three items measured competence-based trust ($\alpha = .53$), five items measured integrity-based trust ($\alpha = .66$), three items measured compassion-based trust ($\alpha = .66$), two items measured compatibility-based trust ($\alpha = .5$), and three items measured security-based trust ($\alpha = .7$). The lower alpha derives from the fact that the scale was developed for both White- and Black-American respondents, but only the data for Black-American participants is retained for the purpose of this paper. The items were displayed on scales with opposite anchors on both sides, and participants indicated where on the continuums their perceptions of the police fall. (E.g. a security statement read, "We have nothing to fear from them" paired with "We have something to fear from them".) This unusual form was selected for its ability to mitigate multicollinearity between the trust dimensions. Also, unlike Study 1, it allowed the items to assess trust in the police along each of the dimensions.

RESULTS
Descriptives and correlations

Noticeably, the Black-American sample reported much lower levels of trust in the police compared with the Aotearoa Māori participants sample (M = 47.62 (sd = 29.27)). Unsurprisingly, Black-American participants also reported perceived police bias (M = 5.1, sd = 1.8), but to a greater degree than the Aotearoa Māori participants (M = 4.89, sd = 1.64). Prior to further analysis, we examined correlations between the mediating variables and overall trust. As seen in Table 4, all five trust dimensions correlated positively with one another and with overall trust.

Relationship between perceived discrimination, trust and the five trust dimensions, USA context

As in Study 1, we examined the relationship between perceived discrimination and overall trust in the police and the role of the five trust dimensions by conducting a multiple parallel mediation analysis. Again, we used perceived discrimination as the predictor, overall trust in the police as the outcome, and the five trust dimensions as mediators. The analysis was conducted in SPSS, using the Haynes process tool 3.3, Model 4. Figure 4 presents the model.

Surprisingly, the direct path from bias to overall trust was not significant (c' = .45, *p* = .77, CI [-2.67; 3.58]). This was unexpected given the evidence of perceived discrimination in this community, and our own prior findings regarding minority–police relations in Aotearoa. However, given that our Black-American sample reported very low levels of trust in the police, there might be a floor effect at play.

As outlined in Table 5, the direct paths from perceived police discrimination to all five trust dimensions were significant. This suggests that perceived police discrimination is negatively associated with competence-, integrity-, compassion-, compatibility- and security- based trust. Additionally, the direct paths from compassion- and compatibility-based trust to overall trust were significant. However, only the indirect path from perceived police discrimination through compassion-based trust was significant ($\beta = -2.23$, $\beta_{se} = 1.34$, CI [-5.3, -.05]). The confidence interval for the indirect path via compatibility-based trust included a zero ($\beta = -.91$, $\beta_{se} = .72$, CI [-2.64, .15]), indicating that compatibility-based trust does not influence overall trust after perceived discrimination.

In conclusion, unlike in the context of Aotearoa, perceived discrimination does not predict lower overall trust. However, perceived discrimination does lower overall trust via compassion-based trust. The role of compatibility-based is less conclusive: even though the two direct paths for compatibility–based trust were significant, its indirect path was not. Thus, while there are relationships between perceived discrimination, overall trust, and compatibility-based trust, it does not appear to mediate the influence of perceived discrimination to overall trust.

Relationship between perceived bias, trust and the five trust dimensions, USA context

Next, we examined the relationship between perceived bias and overall trust in the police and the role of the five trust dimensions. Again, we conducted a multiple parallel mediation analysis with bias as the predictor, overall trust in the police as the outcome, and the five trust dimensions as mediators. The analysis was conducted in SPSS, using the Haynes process tool 3.3, Model 4. Figure 5 presents the model.

Table 4. Study 2 Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlation

	1	2	3	4	5	Mean	SD
1. Overall Trust	---					46.99	29.82
2. Competence	.49**	---				3.95	1.29
3. Integrity	.52**	.46*	---			3.46	1.26
4. Compassion	.57**	.62**	.68**	---		3.38	1.44
5. Compatibility	.52**	.42**	.6**	.57**	---	3.49	1.46
6. Security	.37**	.46**	.73**	.7**	.47**	3.45	1.55

$**p < .001$

Table 5. Study 2 OLS path analysis for the indirect effects of discrimination on overall trust

Predictor	Mediator	a	a_{se}	LCI	UCI	Outcome	b	b_{se}	LCI	UCI
discrimination	Competence	-.18*	.07	-.32	-.03	Overall Trust in the Police	3.6	2.59	-2.67	3.58
	Integrity	-.18*	.07	-.32	-.03		4.78	3.29	-154	8.75
	Compassion	-.36**	.08	-.51	-.20		6.23*	2.99	-1.77	11.33
	Compatibility	-.18*	.09	-.36	-.003		4.94*	2.04	.26	12.2
	Security	-.32**	.09	-.49	-.14		-3.75	2.68	-9.08	1.58

$** p < .001; * p < 0.05$; 5000 Bootstraps, Seed=190323

Again, the USA study differed from the Aotearoa study in that the direct path from bias to overall trust was not significant (c' = 1.06, *p = .54*, CI [-2.44; 4.57]). However, as outlined in Table 6, the direct paths from bias to all five trust dimensions were significant. This indicates that perceived police bias is negatively associated with competence-, integrity-, compassion-, compatibility-, and security- based trust. Additionally, the direct paths from compassion- and compatibility-based trust to overall trust were significant. With perceived bias as an indicator, both indirect paths through compassion- and compatibility-based trust were also significant and the confidence intervals excluded zero (compassion-based trust: β = -2.32, βse = 1.28, CI [-5.27, -.36], compatibility-based trust: β = -1.97, βse = 1.04, CI [-4.38, -.32]). This suggests that the negative impact of perceived bias on overall trust is mediated by the erosion of compatibility-based trust (the expectation that the police differ from them minority group) and compassion-based trust (the expectation that the police do not care about the well-being of the minority group members). Lastly, while the direct path was not significant, the total effect from perceived discrimination to overall trust, including all five mediators was significant (β = -3.92, se = 1.8; p<.05; CI [-7.55; -.28]).

In analyzing both studies jointly, compatibility-based trust appears to play an instrumental role in the relationship between perceived discrimination, perceived bias, and trust. The findings indicate a strong need for compatibility-based trust for minority group members in the face of discrimination and bias.

Table 6. Study 2 OLS path analysis for the indirect effects of bias on overall trust

Predicator	Mediator	a	a_{se}	LCI	UCI	Outcome	b	b_{se}	LCI	UCI
Bias	Competence	-.18*	.08	4.1	5.67	Overall Trust in the Police	2.76	2.63	-2.44	4.57
	Integrity	-.38**	.07	-.52	-.24		4.74	3.41	-2.05	11.52
	Compassion	-.34**	.09	-.51	-.17		6.8*	2.9	1.35	9.5
	Compatibility	-.36**	.09	-.55	-.17		5.44*	2.05	1.35	9.54
	Security	-.37**	.09	-.55	-.19		-4.28	2.66	-9.59	1.03

$** p < .001; * p < 0.05$; 5000 Bootstraps, Seed=190323

DISCUSSION

Consistent with the current literature, we found a negative relationship between perceived discrimination and intergroup trust in the police such that the more an individual believes their group is discriminated against by the police, the less they trust the police. Our results strongly suggest that this relationship is mediated by compatibility-based trust, which indicates that when faced with discrimination and bias, minority members are less likely to report compatibility-based trust.

This exploratory finding provides further insight into how the treatment of minority groups in a society affects their relationships with majority groups and their institutions. Communities and institutions should focus on highlighting how the identities of all community members are compatible with one another. In order to productively acknowledge and appreciate diversity across groups, societies can create a foundation of shared similarities and a common sense of belonging. Such interventions have been proposed previously to mitigate bias and increase intergroup trust. For instance, Gaertner & Dovidio (2000) suggest that a common, superordinate identity can be created across groups using an alternative dimension of identity to reduce bias and foster trust. Kappmeier & Mercy (accepted for publication) propose that the creation of a Shared Collective Memory, which takes into account the different presentation between groups, contributes to social harmony and intergroup trust. Similarly, Hooghe, Reeskens, & Stolle (2007) found that individuals in countries where immigrants are given the most extensive voting rights were more trusting than countries where they were not integrated into the citizenry as smoothly.

While this research uses a unique, multidimensional approach to generate insights into the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust, there were several limitations:

First, these results are correlational. Accordingly, they do not speak to the causal relationship between perceived discrimination, bias and trust. Second, the items used to assess trust along the five dimensions of the Intergroup Trust Model in Study 2 slightly differed from those used in Study 1 and they possessed a slightly different focus. While we do not believe the differences affected the overall conclusions, other results may have been influenced.

Another limitation is that we only explored the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust in one context: minority communities' relationships with the police. It is possible that different dimensions of the Intergroup Trust Model are important to the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust in different contexts. For example, compassion-based trust may be as important to this relationship as compatibility-based trust in relationships between minority communities and physicians. Similar research must be conducted across various intergroup settings in order to understand whether our findings can be generalized across all contexts where there exists an association between perceived discrimination and bias and trust. However, even if different dimensions prove to be useful in different settings, the results of this research are still noteworthy for two reasons. First, the Intergroup Trust model was used to generate a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust. Second, even if the importance of compatibility-based trust to this relationship is limited to the context of police-community relations, it can still be used to guide future policing interventions and research.

Conclusion

This rapid response article for the New Zealand Journal of Psychology responds to the senseless horror of the Christchurch mosque massacre. We are hopeful that this tragedy will pass into history as an extremist singularity in Aotearoa, however, as New Zealand society grows increasingly more diverse and shifts to a multicultural intergroup arrangement, issues of positive social integration, intergroup bias and/or discrimination, and reduction of 'otherness' will only grow in scope and importance.

Our data reveals that the Māori community may have perceptions of dissimilarity between themselves and the police force. The importance of compatibility-based trust formed a consistent pattern of 'otherness' displayed by minority difficulty to relate to the police and the belief that the police do not share the same culture or values. Further research can investigate whether police relationships with other minority groups (such as Muslims, Pasifkia and/or Asians) are similar. Additionally, future research might also examine the importance of compatibility-based trust in the police from the Pākehā perspective, although prior research in the US did not reveal a similar need for compatibility-based trust among White Americans (Kappmeier, 2017).

Taken together, this and previous works highlights the necessity of strategies that improve intergroup relations and reduce institutional and systemic prejudice; these strategies will be particularly important for government institutions, whose mandate to treat all persons fairly and equally under the law is fundamental to the sense of belonging of a diverse citizenry. The police, as a government institution that reserves the right to use force in order to protect the safety and rights of citizens, must carry an extra burden of duty in the pursuit of social cohesion and equality. Because of this added burden, the police must consistently strive not to endorse or legitimize spheres of 'otherness' through differential treatment or attitudes toward minorities.

In Aotearoa, development of these strategies will require a recognition of historical and present spaces of social otherness and of those who have been forced to inhabit them (Sibley & Osbourne, 2016), whether those spaces be overtly endorsed by ideological extremists or latently maintained by unequal/unfair treatment from government institutions. Here lies the value of our research in intergroup trust, perceived bias and discrimination:

Despite the need for more research on this topic, our findings suggest that approaching intergroup trust via the multidimensionality of the Intergroup Trust Model may prove useful for intervention, particularly in creating a greater sense of compatibility between the police and the policed. Otherness is an ever-evolving social category. Overtime, what once was 'other' can become the new normative representation and, vice versa, what once was standard may fall from dominant grace, such as racist and oppressive views becoming 'othered'. However, this does not happen without intentional effort, and strategies to develop a common ingroup identity or shared sense of belonging across group lines need society-wide supported interventions.

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