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Citation

Klinkenbijl, E. (2023). *The effect of representative bureaucracy on trust in the police by the public in sexual assault cases.*

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

The effect of representative bureaucracy on trust in the police by the public in sexual assault cases.

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Submission date: 06-01-2023

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Introduction

The police force is one of the most visible bureaucracies for the public, they are seen on the streets in your own neighborhood, you can see them driving around in police cars and you can see them on tv (Schaap, 2018). The police need the public to be able to do their job most effectively, they need people to call when they see a crime, reporting a crime, and for example being willing to cooperate as a witness (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Schaap, 2018). A requirement for people to cooperate with the police is trust, whenever people do not trust the police, it is not very likely that they will cooperate (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Schaap, 2018; Tyler, 2004). One way trust in the police can be enhanced is through representation, whenever people feel more represented by a bureaucracy, they will perceive the performance of this bureaucracy higher than a bureaucracy they do not feel represented by (Groeneveld et al., 2015). This is called representative bureaucracy. Representative bureaucracy theory assumes that people who feel more represented by a bureaucracy will perceive this bureaucracy as more legitimate and more trustworthy (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Groeneveld et al., 2015; Hibbard et al., 2021). People want to feel represented by someone who shares certain norms and values, these norms and values are formed through socialization (Groeneveld et al., 2015). Someone's background can play a key role in the creation of these norms and values, the effect of socialization is therefore very important in representative bureaucracy (Groeneveld et al., 2015; Hibbard et al., 2022). Certain characteristics of bureaucrats, such as race and gender, are good examples of the measurement of the representativeness of a bureaucracy (Hibbard et al., 2022). An example of such a measurement is the research of Baniamin & Jamil (2021), they conclude the following: "The study identifies six types of representation and finds that proper representation in the bureaucracy (here refers to equal representation as women constitute around half of the population) can create a sense of getting fair treatment and contribute to having a higher evaluation of the performance of the bureaucracy" (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021, p. 15). The effect of socialization on women and men is different, therefore it is very important for a bureaucracy to employ both men and women and create a representation of gender that is equal to the population (Hibbard et al., 2022). This gender representation is important when bureaucracies need active participation of society to be able to provide services in the best way possible (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021). It is therefore also very important for the police to be representative of the community, whenever the police represent the same norms and values as the community, trust in the police will be higher (Jackson & Sunshine, 2006). Whenever someone becomes a victim of a crime, trust in

the police from their own personal network is especially important (Boateng, 2018). When a victim decides to tell their story to for example a friend, the encouragement of this friend to file a report can be crucial in the decision whether to report the crime (Boateng, 2018). Furthermore, trust in the police is extremely important to have before one becomes a victim of a crime (Schaap, 2018). Whenever someone becomes a victim of a crime, they will be more likely to file a report whenever they already trust the police (Schaap, 2018). Whenever a victim does decide to file a report, trust can be enhanced during the conversation with the police officer (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021). This trust can be enhanced whenever someone is able to speak with a police officer of the same gender (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021). For example, whenever a woman seeks the help from a police officer, she might prefer talking to a female officer because the attitudes of the female officer towards the problems of the women seeking help might be different than the attitudes of a male officer towards the same report (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Hibbard et al., 2022). The relationship between the officer and the person reporting a crime can therefore be dependent upon the gender of the officer (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Hibbard et al., 2022; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). A crime where this relationship is seen as especially important is the case of sexual assault, due to the for example the psychological struggles of most victims (Jordan, 2002; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Stanek et al; 2022; Schuck, 2018; Widanaralalage, 2022). An alleged victim of sexual assault is assumed to be more willing to report the crime whenever the alleged victim has a higher trust in the police force before becoming a victim, and/or feels like their norms and values are represented, and/or whenever the victim receives support from informal support sources with high trust in the police to file a report (Boateng, 2018; Stanek et al., 2022).

This leads to the following research question:

What is the effect of representative bureaucracy on trust in the police by the public in sexual assault crimes?

Scientific relevance

Multiple studies have already found that the amount of trust the public has in the police is particularly important for the police to be able to function most effectively (Jackson & Sunshine, 2006, Schaap, 2018; Tyler, 2004). “Trust in the police increases citizens’ compliance with the rule of law, is related to the willingness to cooperate with the police and

report crime, improves the readiness of citizens to intervene in cases of minor problems of social disorder in their neighborhood, and is an important precondition for overall police effectiveness” (Schaap, 2018, p. 21). Whenever the public perception of the police is trustworthy, people will be more likely to report sexual assault whenever they become a victim of sexual assault (Jackson & Sunshine, 2006; Schaap, 2018; Tyler, 2004). Furthermore, people with a high trust level of the police will be more likely to encourage their relatives and friends to report sexual assault to the police (Boateng, 2018). Whenever someone becomes a victim of sexual assault, trust in the police can be influenced from the first conversation onwards (Jordan, 2002; Schaap, 2018).

While it is well known that gender influences the relationship between the officer and the one reporting, there is a gap in the literature regarding male victims (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). Representation has been proven to be crucial for female victims of sexual assault in their decision whether to report the crime or not, however, it is unknown whether this is the same for male victims (Van Ryzin et al., 2017). Furthermore, the amount of trust people have in a police officer when reporting the crime might change whenever the gender of the police officer and the victim are the same or when they are different (Widanaralalage et al., 2022). Earlier research has shown that victims find reporting to a police officer with the same perceived gender more comfortable (Stanek et al., 2022). This research will focus on the trust of the public in the police officer whenever the gender of the police officer has the same perceived gender as the gender of the victim and whenever the police officer has a different perceived gender than the gender of the victim. Knowing if trust of the public in the police is different in both situations contributes to research on representative bureaucracy.

Representative bureaucracy theory assumes that people who feel more represented by a bureaucrat will perceive the bureaucrat as more legitimate and more trustworthy (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Groeneveld et al., 2015; Hibbard et al., 2021). The gender of the police officer can contribute to the public believing that the victim is being represented by the officer, which therefore will increase trust of the public in the police officer when the gender of the officer and the victim match (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Groeneveld et al., 2015). Whenever people believe that for example a female officer is more trustworthy handling an interrogation of a male victim the results would contradict representative bureaucracy theory. If people trust the female police officer more with a female victim than a male police officer with a female victim the results would support representative bureaucracy theory (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). This research could therefore provide us with new data on trust towards the

police and the relationship trust has with the gender of the police officer and the gender of the victim.

Societal relevance

Reporting sexual assault is necessary for the police to be able to arrest the perpetrator. However, sexual assaults are severely underreported (Fonds Slachtofferhulp, 2021; Stanek et al., 2022; World Population Review, 2022). In countries where there is data available on sexual report rates, it is estimated that only 40% of women seek help after being sexually assaulted (World Population Review, 2022). Furthermore, it is estimated that less than 10% of the alleged victims report the crime to law enforcement (World Population Review, 2022). Fonds Slachtofferhulp in The Netherlands (Organization for victim support) also shows these results. They show that the number of registered notifications of rape in the Netherlands grows every year, while the number of reports to the police stagnates (Fonds Slachtofferhulp, 2021). Victims decide not to report sexual assault for multiple reasons: some people fear a negative reaction from the police or victim blaming (Young et al., 2018); other reasons like shame, guilt, and the social stigma around victims of sexual assault are important reasons for victims not to report the crime (Stanek et al., 2022; Young et al., 2018). Victims might need the help or support of friends and/or family whenever they are in doubt whether to file a report or not (Boateng, 2018; Young et al., 2018). Whenever the overall trust in police officers is higher, victims will report the crime sooner and will receive more support from their friends and family (Boateng, 2018; Young et al., 2018). The trust in the police is not only based on personal experience, but people can also base the amount of trust in the police on the stories of their friends and family (Schaap, 2018). Thus, not only the trust of victims of sexual assault is important, the trust of the whole public in the police is very important (Schaap, 2018). This study can show the police force whether the trust in the police is high or low when it comes to managing sexual assault cases. This can in the end motivate the police to try to enhance trust in the police force, which will lead to more reports on sexual assault.

Theory

In this chapter, the different theories used in this thesis will be explained. The theories will first be discussed separately, later the theories will be discussed in relation to each other. This section will serve as the basis for answering the research question and the hypotheses.

Representative bureaucracy

Representative bureaucracy can be explained by looking at the two different words, representative and bureaucracy. Representative or representation means that one person or a smaller group of persons is the embodiment of a bigger group. The definition of a bureaucracy is as follows: “A body of thoroughly trained officials serving during good behavior” (Wilson, 1887, p. 216). In other, more simple words a bureaucracy is “A system for controlling or managing a country, company or organization that is operated by a large number of officials employed to follow rules carefully” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2022). The combination thus means that one person or a group of people inside a system will embody the norms and values of the population. These values are important for this group whenever they need to decide something, therefore, whenever a bureaucracy is representative, it will focus more on these values when making decisions (Groeneveld et al., 2015). Examples of characteristics that are important in representative bureaucracy are: race, gender, and identity (Hibbard et al., 2015). Whenever a bureaucracy is representative of society, it will be seen as more legitimate and more effective (Arslan et al., 2020; Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Groeneveld et al., 2015; Sievert, 2021). Furthermore, being representative of society will increase trust in the bureaucracy and the willingness to cooperate (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Groeneveld et al., 2015; Van Ryzin et al., 2017). Trust in the police is also dependent on the representativeness of the police force, whenever people feel like their norms and values are represented by the police, they will have more trust in the police (Jackson & Sunshine, 2006).

There are different forms of representative bureaucracy, there is passive representation, active representation, and symbolic representation. The forms of representation are not mutually exclusive, which means that more forms of representation can happen at the same time (Groeneveld et al., 2015). This thesis will cover the forms of representation separately for the sake of clarity. The first two will be discussed briefly, symbolic representation will be discussed more elaborately. Passive representation means that the bureaucracy mirrors the demographic characteristics of society (Groeneveld et al., 2015; Hibbard et al., 2021; Meier &

Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Riccucci et al., 2014; Schuck, 2018; Sievert, 2021; Van Ryzin et al., 2017). Passive representation can turn into active representation when the bureaucrats will act on behalf of the values that belong to the demographic group they represent (Arslan et al., 2020; Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Groeneveld et al., 2015; Hibbard et al., 2021; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Schuck, 2018; Van Ryzin et al., 2017). Symbolic representation is not hugely different from passive representation, the difference is that the people who are represented change their attitudes towards the bureaucrat (Hibbard et al., 2021; Riccucci et al., 2014; Van Ryzin et al., 2017). Where passive representation just occurs because the bureaucrats are employed, symbolic representation occurs due to a positive psychological change inside the head of the one being represented (Arslan et al., 2020; Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Sievert, 2021) This means that the people who are represented believe that their values are represented, because one or more bureaucrats that they consider representative for themselves are employed in a bureaucracy (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Sievert, 2021). The bureaucrat does not have to change anything in their actions (Riccucci et al, 2014). Symbolic representation has an influence on the perception citizens have of a bureaucracy (Sievert, 2021). Whenever a bureaucracy symbolically represents a group, this group will see the bureaucracy as more trustworthy and legitimate (Sievert, 2021). Research of Riccucci et al., (2014) gives an example of the increase in trust whenever the public feels more symbolically represented by a bureaucracy. The research shows that whenever more women are employed in a police department, the decisions made on domestic violence are perceived more trustworthy by the public (Riccucci et al., 2014). Another example of the effect of symbolic representation is the research of Arslan et al., (2020), this research shows that women are more likely to report crimes perpetrated against women whenever they feel more symbolically represented by the police force.

This research will focus on the symbolic representation of gender in the police force. Whenever people feel that their gender is represented by the police force, trust in the police will be higher (Sievert, 2021). People will be more likely to encourage others to file a report (Boateng, 2018), and people will be more willing to cooperate (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Schaap, 2018; Tyler, 2004). The feeling of trust through representation is also important when someone wants to file a report on sexual assault. The theory assumes that trust can be enhanced when a female officer will help a female victim and the other way around when a male officer will help a male victim (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021). There has been a lot of research on symbolic representation regarding female police officers and female victims, but

extraordinarily little research has been done on symbolic representation regarding male victims. There are several reasons for the lack of research on male victims of sexual violence, one clearly being the underreporting of sexual assault crimes with a male victim (Jordan, 2002). A crime like sexual assault is seen as a gendered crime, this is because the perpetrator is often assumed to be male, and the victim is assumed to be female (Jordan, 2002). This assumption contributes to the incredibly low report rate of male victims of sexual violence. Male victims of sexual assault only see themselves as a victim of sexual assault in 16% of the cases (The 1 in 6 statistics, 2018). This means that the sexual assault was reported to an institution, nevertheless, the men did not feel as if they were a victim of sexual assault (The 1 in 6 statistics, 2018). The different view society has of male and female victims will be elaborated on later in this chapter (Young et al., 2016).

Representative bureaucracy and sexual assault

Because of the lack of research on male victims of sexual assault, this part of the thesis will focus on the research that has been done on the effect of female police officers on the report rates of sexual assault and the trust of the public in female police officers (Arslan et al., 2020; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Stanek et al., 2022). The trust of the public in female police overseeing the report of a female victim has been researched, while the trust in a police officer of any gender overseeing the report of a male victim has not (Widanaralalage, 2022).

Before going into the relationship between representative bureaucracy and sexual assault, it needs to be clear what is meant by sexual assault. The definitions of Stanek et al., (2022) and Bullock & Beckson (2011) are used to explain sexual assault. We speak of sexual assault whenever there is sexual contact between individuals without the consent of all people involved, this includes performing sexual acts without consent and forcing someone to perform sexual acts without consent (Stanek et al., 2022). Sexual acts include: “contact between the penis and the vulva or the penis and the anus. Between the mouth and the vulva, or the mouth and the anus; the penetration, however slight, of anal or genital opening of another by hand or finger or by any object” (Bullock & Beckson, 2011, p. 200).

The police world has been seen as a very male-dominated world, furthermore it is assumed that male police officers are more insensitive when it comes to sexual assault (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). This makes the relationship between representative bureaucracy and sexual assault a remarkably interesting and salient research (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty,

2006). However, before the preference of a male or female officer is relevant, the victim must first be willing to report the crime. Whenever there are more female police officers visible in an area, the reporting of crimes against women is higher (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). This means that the symbolic representation of gender contributes in an incredibly positive way to the report rate (Arslan et al., 2020). Not only does the report rate rise, but the number of arrests is also higher when more female officers are employed (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). In their research conducted in 60 urban areas in the US they find the following result: “A 1 standard deviation change in the percentage of female police officers, in this case, would be associated with a 7.4 percent increase in the sexual assault arrest rate” (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006, p. 857). Being visible as a female police officer can be done in diverse ways, it can be as small as just seeing female police officers on the street or on campaign posters (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). The idea that there probably will be an option to speak to a female police officer is related to a greater willingness to cooperate and to report sexual assault (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). When the gender of the police officer and the victim is the same, some shared experiences and values can have a positive effect on the relationship between the officer and the victim, these advantages seem to disappear when the gender of the officer and the victim do not match (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). Female victims often mention that they believe female police officers will have more sympathy and feel more empathy towards the victim (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Schuck, 2018). Research shows that multiple female victims of sexual assault did not feel comfortable talking to a male police officer (Jordan, 2002). Some women even stated that: “They would not have been able to provide a male officer with details of a sexual assault” (Jordan, 2002, p. 337). These female victims stated that after being sexually assaulted by a man, they did not even want to hear a male voice, let alone tell the whole story to a male officer (Jordan, 2002). Research of Stern & Oehme (2015) showed that people in general see women as kinder and gentler, they state that this “makes the public more willing to talk” (Stern & Oehme, 2015, p. 354). This might imply that male victims also prefer to speak to a female officer instead of an officer with the same gender. Furthermore, whenever the public believes that the composition of the police force is diverse and there is a high possibility of speaking to a female officer, they will be more likely to encourage a victim of sexual assault to report a file (Boateng, 2018). This research will establish whether symbolic gender representation increases trust of the public whenever there is gender symmetry or not.

Difference between women and men

As mentioned before, there is a lack of research regarding male victims of sexual assault. This section will explain the different reactions of society to male victims of sexual assault and the different expectations people have of male victims of sexual assault in comparison to female victims of sexual assault.

There are multiple differences between the way society reacts to male victims and to female victims of sexual assault. These assumptions people make are called rape myths (Waterhouse et al., 2016). These rape myths are defined as: “descriptive or prescriptive beliefs about rape (i.e., about its causes, consequences, perpetrators, victims, and their interaction) that serve to deny, downplay, or justify sexual violence” (Waterhouse et al., 2016, p. 2). These rape myths can affect the attitudes people have towards victims of sexual assault, according to research conducted by Waterhouse et al., (2016). Rape myths also influence the attitudes of police officers. Rape myths can therefore also cause less trust in the police by victims and by the public (Waterhouse et al., 2016). Male victims of sexual assault are often believed to be less masculine, being a victim does not fit the norms of masculinity that are constructed by society (Young et al., 2016). Furthermore, it is widely believed that men who are the victim of sexual assault are gay (Widanaralalage et al., 2022). The assumption that male victims of sexual assault are gay, also implies that all perpetrators are male (Widanaralalage et al., 2022). It is often assumed that male victims of sexual assault wanted the assault to happen, because if they really did not want the assault to happen, they just should have fought the perpetrator (Davies, 2002; Widanaralalage et al., 2022). All these different assumptions contribute to the stigma around male victims of sexual assault. The all-consuming rape myth regarding male victims is; real men cannot be raped (Davies, 2002; Widanaralalage et al., 2022). All the above assumptions do not apply to female victims of sexual assault. It is not assumed that female victims of sexual assault are less feminine, nor is it believed that all female victims of sexual assault wanted the assault to happen because she did not punch the perpetrator (Widanaralalage et al., 2022; Young et al., 2016). Furthermore, not all female victims of sexual assault are assumed to have a specific sexual orientation (Widanaralalage et al., 2022). This does not mean that victim blaming never occurs in the case of female victims. The assumption that a female victim of sexual assault wanted the assault to happen is often more associated with for example, the clothes the victim wore (Waterhouse et al., 2016; Workman & Orr, 1996). This strong stigma around male victims of sexual violence may contribute to the low report rates of male victims of sexual violence and the small numbers the

organizations that help male victims of sexual violence have of male victims seeking help (Young et al., 2016). In addition, the stigma around male victims of sexual violence may also contribute to the lack of research on male victims of sexual violence (Young et al., 2016).

Representative bureaucracy and police trust

Trust in the police is extremely important when it comes to reporting sexual assault. Before we go deeper into the relationship between trust and the police, we need to establish the definition of trust. The definition Bauer (2018) uses of trust is as follows: “we essentially speak about a truster A that trusts (judging the trustworthiness of) a trustee B with regard to some behavior X in context Y” (Bauer, 2018, p. 2). In the case of a sexual assault report the truster A is the one filing the report, the trustee B is the police officer. Trust is thus something one expects of someone else, not a specific behavior someone shows (Bauer, 2018). Another important dimension in this research is the trust of the public in the police officer, in this case the truster A is a citizen and the trustee B is still the police. Certain demographic characteristics of people can also influence trust in the police, according to research by Schaap (2018) “Women, the elderly, those with higher education and with higher income, ethnic majority members, and those who attend religious services more often have trust in the police. The same holds for students (as compared to those who are employed)” (Schaap, 2018, p. 131). This thesis will analyze whether these demographic characteristics also influence trust in the police in case of sexual assault.

As mentioned before, trust in the police is crucial when reporting sexual assault. It has been proven that distrust in the police leads to underreporting of crimes, a splendid example of this is the research on college women and the reporting of sexual assault (Stanek et al., 2022). This research shows that college women stated that they would not file a report if they became a victim of sexual assault whenever they perceived the police as unfair and untrustworthy (Stanek et al., 2022). The police rely on people to come to them voluntarily to file a report, therefore it is necessary for the police to create a feeling of trust within the population (Ricucci et al., 2014; Stanek et al., 2022). Symbolic representation enhances the amount of trust an individual can have in the police (Arslan et al., 2020). Research of van Ryzin et al., (2017) confirms this. “Gendered representativeness of the police department influenced people’s judgements of the department’s fairness, trust-worthiness, and performance, all else equal, and that the effects were greater for women” (van Ryzin et al., 2017, p. 1366/1367). Victims need to be sure that the police will not engage in victim blaming

(Stanek et al., 2022). Furthermore, the victim needs to trust the police that they will believe their story, the fear of not being believed by the police is one of the biggest reasons victims do not report sexual assault (Stanek et al., 2022). When a victim of sexual assault does decide to file a report, the police is often the first authority that will listen to the story and can provide help. This first moment of telling what happened is crucial for the victim, the victim should get the feeling that they are not being victimized by the police (Jordan, 2002; Schaap, 2018; Stanek et al., 2022). This could contribute to the victim feeling less vulnerable and less stigmatized (Jordan, 2002; Stanek et al., 2022). As mentioned before, male victims of sexual assault are often more stigmatized and are more likely to distrust people around them, which results in male victims keeping their trauma all to themselves (Young et al., 2016). Male victims are therefore also less likely than female victims to file a report (Young et al., 2016).

While this first encounter with the police is especially important for the rest of the process and the personal development of the victim, the experience victims have with the police is not as friendly and safe as it should be (Schaap, 2018; Widanaralalage, 2022). Victims stated that they felt judged and that the police did not take them seriously, they felt as if the police did not believe their story and often also mentioned that they felt as if the police wanted them to believe that the assault was their own fault (Widanaralalage, 2022). This negative experience with the police can have profoundly serious psychological consequences for victims (Widanaralalage, 2022). Whenever victims share their own experiences with their friends and family, the trust in the police will become lower (Schaap, 2018). The willingness to cooperate will decrease and people will be less likely to advise someone else to file a report (Boateng, 2018; Schaap, 2018). This thesis will contribute to the research done on trust so far by asking general questions about the police and comparing these to the questions regarding a sexual assault crime. Furthermore, the measurement of trust of the public in the police is a good indication of the amount of trust victims will have in the police.

Hypotheses

The theory discussed above has led to the following hypotheses:

H1: Trust in the police officer will be high when the officer and the victim have the same perceived gender.

H2: Trust in the police officer will be high when the police officer is female.

Research design

The aim of this research is to find out whether trust in the police will be lower whenever the gender of the police officer and the victim are different in comparison to a police officer and a victim with the same perceived gender. Furthermore, the trust of the public when the police officer is female will be compared to the amount of trust when the officer is male. This research thus makes use of the following research question:

What is the effect of representative bureaucracy on trust in the police for alleged victims of sexual assault?

This research will use quantitative methods to answer the research question with the use of a survey experiment. Descriptive statistics will be used to answer the research question. This chapter will explain the research methods and design in more detail.

Method

To answer the research question, this research used an experimental vignette survey. A vignette experiment can be defined as: “a collection of vignettes, that is, a set of systematically varied descriptions of subjects, objects, or situations in order to elicit respondents’ beliefs, attitudes, or intended behavior with respect to the presented vignettes” (Steiner et al., 2016, p. 52). Vignettes are often real-life stories which are relatable for people who are filling in the survey (Steiner et al., 2016). Experimental vignette surveys make use of a story that is identical on all points except for the independent variable (Mutz, 2011). This makes the vignette treatment the ideal research method for this study. The independent variable is the gender of the officer, the dependent variable is public trust in the police. There are four different scenarios in which the gender of the police officer and victim change. When someone filled in the survey, they only received one of the four scenarios. The participants were randomly assigned to one of the scenarios and distribution of people over the scenarios was even, this was done by using the randomization option in Qualtrics (Stanek et al., 2022). The respondents only receive one vignette because otherwise they would have been able to guess the intention of the study and may base their answers on social norms instead of their own opinion (Mutz, 2011; Steiner et al., 2016). Since all respondents only receive one vignette, the response rates per vignette are lower than whenever respondents would see all the vignettes. Nevertheless, the treatment would be too obvious whenever respondents would receive all four vignettes (Mutz, 2011). The vignette experiment gives the opportunity to do

an in-between analysis of the different vignettes and a within-person design which compares the different answers of all individuals who answered the survey questions about one of the vignettes (Atzmüller & Steiner, 2010).

Respondents will receive a vignette with just one of the options that are separated by a slash in this story:

A group of police officers are talking to each other at the police station. They hear there is someone who wants to file a report of sexual assault. The officers look at each other and after a short discussion they decide female/male officer Laura/Tom is the one who should talk to the alleged victim.

The woman/man filing the complaint is Eva/Ben, she/he is asked to take place in an interrogation room. Officer Laura/Tom enters the interrogation room and she/he asks Eva/Ben to tell what happened. Eva/Ben tells the following story:

I was at a party and I met someone there. We talked for a while and then we kissed. It was a fun night and we were having a good time. The person I kissed offered to bring me home, I accepted and we left the party together. When we arrived at my door, we started kissing again and I suddenly felt a hand unbuttoning my pants. I tried to push the hand off of me and I told that I just wanted to kiss, nothing more. It did not work, I felt a hand going into my pants and I felt really scared. Eventually I managed to get away, I ran to my friend's house and they told me to go to the police station.

Officer Laura/Tom takes notes and asks questions. At some point, officer Laura/Tom asks Eva/Ben if she/he would like a glass of water; and asks some further questions before writing her/his report.

The gender of the police officer and victim are made clear by using names that are usually perceived as male and female names, furthermore the use of she/he and her/his is quite frequent. This is to make sure that the respondent notices the gender of the police officer and the victim (Stanek et al., 2022). However, respondents should not be able to notice the treatment, which could lead them to answer in a way they believe to be more socially acceptable instead of voicing their own opinion (Mutz, 2011). The story is quite short and written in simple language, this is done intentionally so that respondents will be able to keep their attention and understand the full story. “Experience from other online survey

experiments suggest that lengthier, verbal or textual treatments are often less effective” (Van Ryzin et al., 2017).

After reading the story, the survey will include questions about the vignette, which can establish the amount of trust citizens have in a police officer with a symmetric perceived gender as a victim in two vignettes, in the other two the police officer and the victim do not have symmetric perceived genders. These questions are explicitly about the expectations the respondents have of the police officer, in this case the respondent is thus truster A and the police officer is trustee B (Bauer, 2018). The survey continues with some demographic questions of the respondents such as: age, gender, level of education, employment status and country of residence. The last part of the survey consists of questions about the police in general, this can establish whether a respondent has an overall low trust level in the police or that the respondents trust in the police is high, but low in the case of the vignette questions (Arslan et al., 2020; Morell & Javid, 2016). To answer the first hypothesis, the questions that were posed after the vignette story will be used. As the theory stated before, people do tend to have more trust in female police officers because they are seen as more empathetic than male officers (Arslan et al., 2020; Jordan, 2002; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Stern & Oehme, 2015; van Ryzin et al, 2017; Widanaralalage, 2022; Young et al., 2016). Trust from the public in the police would result in female officers being perceived as more trustworthy by women according to representative bureaucracy theory. However according to multiple different studies, men would also have more trust in a female officer. To answer the second hypothesis, the questions regarding trust will be used in combination with the question “If you were in a situation like the situation in the story, what gender would you like the officer to be?”.

Respondents

The survey is distributed among citizens in the Netherlands, who do not have to be Dutch. Since the aim of this research is to measure the level of trust the public has in the police, there were no requirements for filling in the survey. The sampling procedure is thus a probability sample, which means that the sample used is a random sample from the study population. The survey has been distributed online via various social media networks, for example: WhatsApp, Instagram, and Facebook. The study aims to get as many respondents as possible and is therefore a large N study.

After distribution, the survey has been online for two weeks. The respondents of the survey are not completely representative of society, more than half of the respondents are students

($n=82$, 62.60%) between 18-24 years old ($n=84$, 64.12%). The level of education is also higher than the average level, while 35,5% of people in the Netherlands in 2021 had finished a bachelors, masters, or higher (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2022) 68.69% of the respondents of this research have finished a bachelors, masters or higher ($n=90$). Nevertheless, the number of male ($n=65$, 49.62%) and female ($n=64$, 48.85%) respondents is almost equal, which means that the results are generalizable for men and women. The people answering the questions from out of the Netherlands have asked me if they could fill in the survey because they were on a holiday but do live in the Netherlands, these results can thus be used for the research ($n=8$, 6.30%). The results of the demographic questions can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1: the results of the demographic questions

| Demographic factor | Frequency | Percentage % | N |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Age | | | N=131 |
| Under 18 | 3 | 2.29% | |
| 18-24 | 84 | 64.12% | |
| 25-34 | 34 | 25.95% | |
| 45-54 | 1 | 0,76% | |
| 55-64 | 5 | 3.82% | |
| 65-74 | 2 | 1.53% | |
| 75-84 | 0 | 0.00% | |
| 85 or older | 0 | 0.00% | |
| Gender | | | N=131 |
| Male | 65 | 49.62% | |
| Female | 64 | 48.85% | |
| Non-binary/third gender | 0 | 0.00% | |
| Prefer not to say | 2 | 1.53% | |
| Highest level of education | | | N=131 |
| Less than high school | 3 | 2.29% | |
| High school graduate | 38 | 29.01% | |
| Bachelor's degree | 58 | 44.27% | |
| Master's degree | 31 | 23.66% | |
| Ph.D | 1 | 0.76% | |
| Doctorate | 0 | 0.00% | |
| None | 0 | 0.00% | |
| Prefer not to say | 0 | 0.00% | |
| Current employment status | | | N=131 |
| Employed full time | 27 | 20.61% | |
| Employed part time | 15 | 11.45% | |

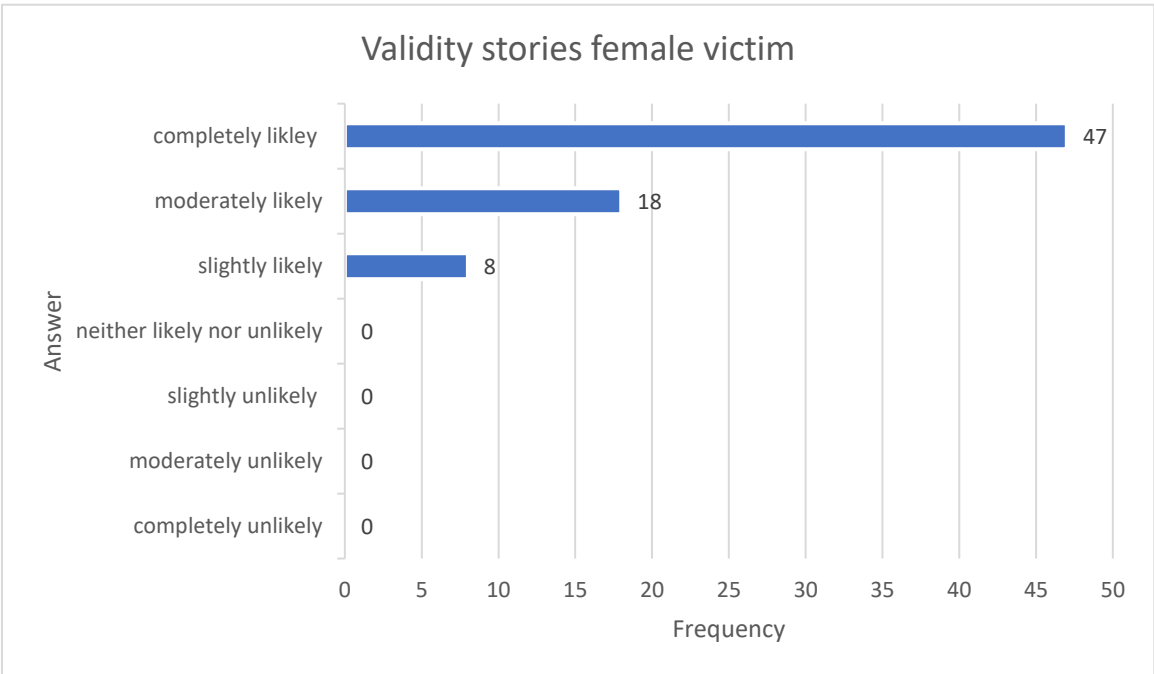
| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|--------------|
| Unemployed looking for work | 2 | 1.53% |
| Unemployed not looking for work | 4 | 3.05% |
| Retired | 1 | 0.76% |
| Student | 82 | 62.60% |
| Disabled | 0 | 0.00% |
| Prefer not to say | 0 | 0.00% |
| Where do you currently reside? | | N=127 |
| Netherlands | 118 | 92.91% |
| Other | 8 | 6.30% |
| Prefer not to say | 1 | 0.79% |

Data analysis

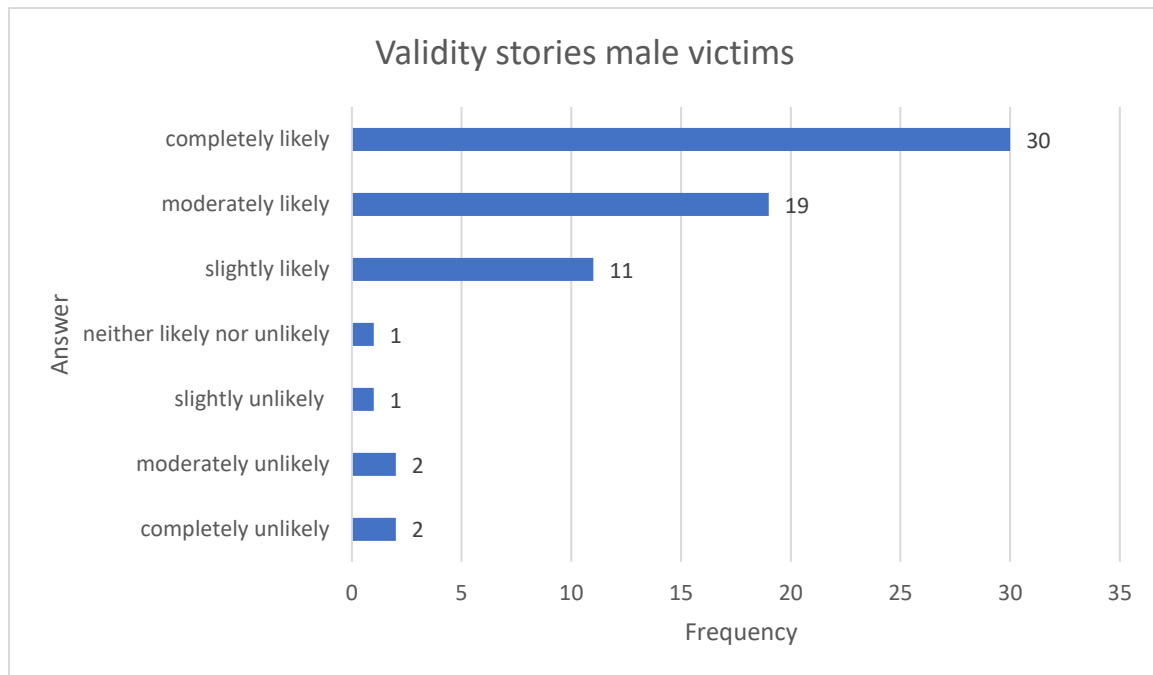
This research will use descriptive statistics to answer the research question. Descriptive statistics are used to describe the difference between the measure of central tendency and the spread of scores around the central tendency, which is the dispersion (Marshall & Jonker, 2010). The standard deviation will be used to show how much of the results are within one standard deviation of the mean, which will give more insight about whether the amount of trust the public has in the police is very scattered or whether people are more unified (Marshall & Jonker, 2010). The research will look into the mean of the results for each vignette and compare these results. This will give insight into the difference between the average amount of trust the population has in the police officer in the different scenarios (Marshall & Jonker, 2010). To test whether the difference between average trust levels between the groups used, an independent two-tailed t-test was done. The results of this test will tell us if the difference between the average of the groups is substantially statistically significantly different from zero at the 95% confidence level or not (Healey, 2012). This can thus tell us whether there is evidence to believe that there exists a difference between the compared groups. We therefore will be able to reject or not reject H₀ (Healey, 2012). H₀ is the opposite of the original hypothesis and thus states that there is no relationship between the independent and dependent variable (Healey, 2012). If H₀ is rejected, there is a relationship between the gender of the police officer and the gender of the victim in the case of H₁. If H₀ is rejected when testing H₂, trust is high when the police officer is female. Answers of respondents who did not get one or more of the manipulation questions right were removed from the results. The manipulation questions confirmed whether the respondent knew the gender of the victim and police officer, and what the story was about.

Validity and reliability

Because vignette questions are more realistic than questions posed in a conventional survey, the vignette treatment has a higher internal validity (Steiner et al., 2016). The specific validity that becomes higher because the vignette is realistic is the construct validity (Steiner et al., 2016). This means that the vignette treatment will be able to give the results that are intended for this research (Steiner et al., 2016). The internal validity of this survey experiment is high, which means that the “inferences about the cause-effect relationship between the presented vignette stimuli and respondents’ reaction to the stimuli "are valid (Steiner et al., 2016, p. 53). The external validity of the vignette experiment is not as high as the internal validity due to the sample of respondents which is not representative of the entire population (Steiner et al., 2016). However, the external validity of this research was tested by one question in the survey. Respondents are asked to fill in how likely they think the event of the story is to happen in real life. The results of this question are different for the stories that included male victims in comparison to the stories that included female victims. Nevertheless, most respondents view the scenario as completely likely to happen ($n=77$, 59.68%), only 4.65% ($n= 6$) believes this situation is unlikely to happen in real life. Results of this question are displayed in Graph 1 and Graph 2.



Graph 1: measurement of the external validity by respondents of the scenarios including female victims.



Graph 2: measurement of the external validity by respondents of the scenarios including male victims.

Results

This chapter of the research will focus on the results of the hypotheses testing. The results will be discussed later in the discussion.

Matching and not matching gender

This first section will focus on H1: “Trust in the police officer will be high when the officer and the victim have the same perceived gender”. In order to establish whether there is a relationship between the gender of the police officer and trust of the public, this part of the research tests whether to reject H0 or not. To determine whether trust in the police officer is higher when the gender of the police officer and the gender of the victim match, the respondents read a vignette and were asked to answer three questions about trust. These three questions were: “I trust officer Laura/Tom to handle this case rightly,” “I believe officer Laura/Tom will be effective at providing the first necessary victim aid,” “I believe officer Laura/Tom will do her/his absolute best to arrest the perpetrator of the assault”. Respondents received only one story with a male or female officer. Response options ranged from fully distrust/fully ineffective/completely unbelievable (1) to fully trust/fully effective/completely believable (7).

Trust score is the average of the means of the three trust related questions from one scenario. For example: the trust score of the scenario Tom/Ben is 4.78, this shows that the average of the three means of the trust questions regarding the scenario of Tom/Ben is 4.78. The means of the three trust questions per scenario and the trust score can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2: Comparing means of the trust related questions regarding the different scenarios

| | Mean | Std. Deviation | Variance | N |
|--|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------|
| Laura & Eva | | | | |
| I trust officer Laura to handle this case rightly | 5.89 | 1.24 | 1.54 | 18 |
| I believe officer Laura will be effective at providing the first necessary victim aid | 4.89 | 1.66 | 1.87 | 18 |
| I believe officer Laura will do her absolute best to arrest the perpetrator of the assault | 5.22 | 1.87 | 3.51 | 18 |
| Trust score | 5.33 | | | |
| | Mean | Std. Deviation | Variance | N |
| Tom & Eva | | | | |
| I trust officer Tom to handle this case rightly | 5.28 | 1.34 | 1.80 | 25 |
| I believe officer Tom will be effective at providing the first necessary victim aid | 4.68 | 1.43 | 2.06 | 25 |

| | | | | |
|--|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------|
| I believe officer Tom will do is absolute best to arrest the perpetrator of the assault | 4.56 | 1.58 | 2.49 | 25 |
| Trust score | 4.84 | | | |
| | Mean | Std. Deviation | Variance | N |
| Laura & Ben | | | | |
| I trust officer Laura to handle this case rightly | 5.5 | 1.47 | 2.16 | 22 |
| I believe officer Laura will be effective at providing the first necessary victim aid | 5.55 | 1.47 | 2.15 | 22 |
| I believe officer Laura will do her absolute best to arrest the perpetrator of the assault | 5.18 | 1.80 | 3.24 | 22 |
| Trust score | 5.41 | | | |
| | Mean | Std. Deviation | Variance | N |
| Tom & Ben | | | | |
| I trust officer Tom to handle this case rightly | 5.4 | 1.43 | 2.04 | 20 |
| I believe officer Tom will be effective at providing the first necessary victim aid | 4.6 | 1.39 | 1.94 | 20 |

| | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|----|
| I believe officer Tom will do his absolute best to arrest the perpetrator of the assault | 4.35 | 1.53 | 2.33 | 20 |
| Trust score | 4.78 | | | |

Scale: 1-7

The means for the matching gender scenarios are not higher than the means of the not matching gender scenarios. Trust scores of the matching genders are: 5.33 (Laura/Eva) and 4.78 (Tom/Ben), for the not matching genders the trust scores are: 4.84 (Tom/Eva) and 5.41(Laura/Ben). The “Mean matching” is the average of means from the scenarios where the genders matched, the “Mean not matching” is the other way around, thus the average of means from the scenarios where the genders did not match. To see whether these differences are statistically significant, an independent t-test was performed. The results can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3: two-sided t-test trust questions matching or not matching gender

Nmatching= 38 Nnotmatching=47

| Question | Mean matching | Mean not matching | P value | Std. Deviation matching | Std. deviation not matching |
|--|---------------|-------------------|---------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| I trust officer Laura/Tom to handle this case rightly | 5.63 | 5.38 | 0.42 | 1.37 | 1.44 |
| I believe officer Laura/Tom will be effective at providing the first necessary victim aid | 4.74 | 5.09 | 0.30 | 1.60 | 1.42 |
| I believe officer Laura/Tom will do her/his absolute best to arrest the perpetrator of the assault | 4.76 | 4.85 | 0.82 | 1.75 | 1.64 |
| Total trust measurement | 5.04 | 5.10 | 0.83 | 1.29 | 1.34 |

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001 (two-tailed test).

The difference between average trust levels for the matching and not matching groups is not substantially significantly different from zero at the 95% confidence level. There is no evidence to believe that there exists a difference between the groups in every question and the amount of trust.

Extra findings matching and not matching gender

As has been proven in earlier research, women tend to have more trust in the police (Schaap, 2018). To test whether women have more trust in the police when the gender of the police officer and the gender of the victim are matching in comparison to the trust of men in the same scenario, an independent t-test was performed. The results can be found in Table 4.

Table 4: two-sided t-test trust questions matching gender; comparison male and female respondents
Nmale respondents: 16, Nfemale respondents=22.

| | Mean male respondents | Mean female respondents | P value | Std. deviation male respondents | Std. deviation female respondents |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|--|--|
| Total trust measurement | 4.83 | 5.20 | 0.40 | 1.32 | 1.23 |

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001 (two-tailed test).

The results show that the mean of female respondents is higher than the mean of the male respondents, which indeed suggests that the trust of female respondents is higher than trust of male respondents in a matching gender situation, however, the results are not statistically significant when we look at the P value (p=0.40) and thus, the difference between the two groups is not statistically significant at the 95% confidence level. There is no evidence to believe that there exists a real difference between the groups.

It is possible that trust is higher when male respondents only look at the male matching duo, Tom and Ben, and when female respondents only look at the female matching duo, being Laura and Eva. Respondents can identify themselves with both the police officer and the victim whenever the police officer and the victim are of the same perceived gender as the respondent. To establish whether trust is higher when male respondents look at the male matching duo and female respondents at the female matching duo, another independent t-test was done. These results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: two-sided t-test trust questions matching gender; comparison male and female respondents when looking only at matching gender of their own perceived gender

Nmale respondents: 6, Nfemale respondents=8.

| | Mean male respondents | Mean female respondents | P value | Std. deviation male respondents | Std. deviation female respondents |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Total trust measurement | 4.78 | 5.91 | 0.11 | 1.42 | 0.83 |

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001 (two-tailed test).

While the P value (p=0.11) is lower than when the male and female respondents did not only look at scenarios where the matching gender is the same as their own perceived gender, the P value (p=0.11) is not statistically significant. This again means that there is no reason to believe that there is a real difference between these groups, since the difference between the average trust between male and female respondents is not statistically different from zero at the 95% confidence interval.

Students are also believed to have more trust in the police than non-students (Schaap, 2018). To trust this an independent t-test is conducted between the total trust of students when genders are matching and the total trust of non-students when genders are matching. .

Table 6: two-sided t-test trust questions matching gender; comparison male and female respondents when looking only at matching gender of their own perceived gender

Nstudents: 23, Nnon-students=15

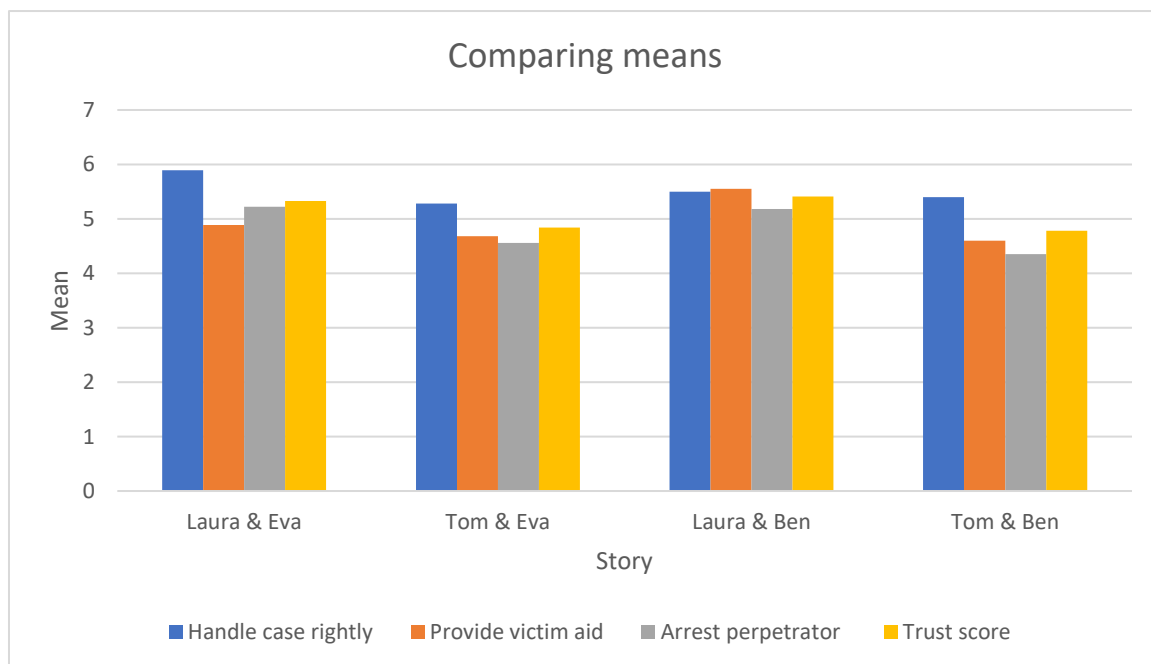
| | Mean students | Mean non-students | P value | Std. deviation students | Std. deviation non-students |
|--------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Total trust measurement | 4.81 | 5.4 | 0.18 | 1.31 | 1.17 |

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001 (two-tailed test).

The means of the students and non-student groups indicate that the non-student group has more trust in the police than the student group, which is not in line with the results of Schaap (2018) Furthermore, the P value (p=0.18). is not statistically significant. This means that the average trust between the student and non-student group is not statistically different from zero at the 95% confidence level. There is thus no substantial evidence that there is a difference between these two groups.

Female police officer

The same vignette stories can be used to answer the second hypothesis, H2: “Trust in the police officer will be high when the police officer is female”. By figuring out whether there is a relationship between the gender of the officer and trust of the public, H0 is rejected or not. The manipulation questions are also important for this hypothesis, the answers of the respondents that did not get all the manipulation check questions right have not been analyzed. First, we can compare the trust scores of the scenarios with the female police officer and the male police officer. The trust scores are the averages of the means for all the questions regarding trust. The trust scores for the scenarios with officer Laura are: 5.33 and 5.41 while the trust scores for the scenarios with officer Tom are 4.84 and 4.78. When comparing not only the trust scores but also the means of the separate questions, it is noteworthy that the means for question 2 and 3 about the ability to provide the first necessary victim aid and doing your absolute best to arrest the perpetrator are lower than the mean of question 1 in all stories. The second and third question means are lower in the scenarios with male officers (Tom/Eva: 4.68, 4.56; Tom/Ben: 4.6, 4.35) than the scenarios with the female officer (Laura/Eva: 4.89, 5.22; Laura/Ben: 5.55, 5.18). The means are compared in Graph 3.



Graph 3: comparison of the means between all questions and the overall trust score. Laura/Eva ($n=18$), Tom/Eva ($n=25$), Laura/Ben ($n=22$), Tom/Ben ($n=20$).

This would indicate that people do have more trust in the female police compared to the male police officer. To establish whether the difference between trust in male and female police

officers is statistically significant, an independent t-test was done. The results can be found in Table 7.

Table 7: two-sided t-test trust questions regarding the difference of trust in male and female police officers

Nfemaleofficer= 40 Nmaleofficer=45

| Question | Mean female officer | Mean male officer | P value | Std. Deviation female officer | Std. deviation male officer |
|--|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| I trust officer Laura/Tom to handle this case rightly | 5.68 | 5.33 | 0.26 | 1.39 | 1.37 |
| I believe officer Laura/Tom will be effective at providing the first necessary victim aid | 5.25 | 4.64 | 0.07 | 1.60 | 1.42 |
| I believe officer Laura/Tom will do her/his absolute best to arrest the perpetrator of the assault | 5.2 | 4.47 | 0.05* | 1.82 | 1.53 |
| Total trust measurement | 5.38 | 4.81 | 0.05* | 1.34 | 1.18 |

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001 (two-tailed test).

The results show that in the first question, the trust of the public is not different for female and male officers, the P value (p=0.26) is not statistically significant. The difference between the average trust is not statistically different from 0 at the 95% confidence interval. The second question is also not statistically significant but is very close to being statistically significant at the 95% confidence interval. For the third question and the total trust measurement (all means of all the stories combined like done for hypothesis 1), the difference between the average trust in female police officers and male police officers is substantially statistically different from 0 at the 95% confidence interval. There is thus enough evidence to believe that there is a difference between these groups.

Extra findings female police officer

The study of Schaap (2018) states that women and students have more trust in the police than men and non-students. To see whether students and women also have more trust in female police officers than in male police officers, the total trust measurements of stories with a female police officer of male and female respondents and students and non-students are compared.

Table 8: comparison between trust of male and female respondents in female police officers
 Nmalerespondents: 23, Nfemalerespondents=18.

| | Mean male respondents | Mean female respondents | P value | Std. deviation male respondents | Std. deviation female respondents |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|--|--|
| Total trust measurement | 5.34 | 5.5 | 0.72 | 1.25 | 1.41 |

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001 (two-tailed test).

The means of the male and female respondents are very close, which shows that the difference between the answers male and female respondents gave is not very big. To test whether the difference between the average trust is statistically different, a t-test was done. The results of the t-test show that the difference is not statistically different from zero at the 95% confidence interval. The P value (0.72) is also not statistically significant.

The same analysis was done for students. To see whether students have more trust in female police officers than in male police officers, compared to who non-students trust more, a t-test was done.

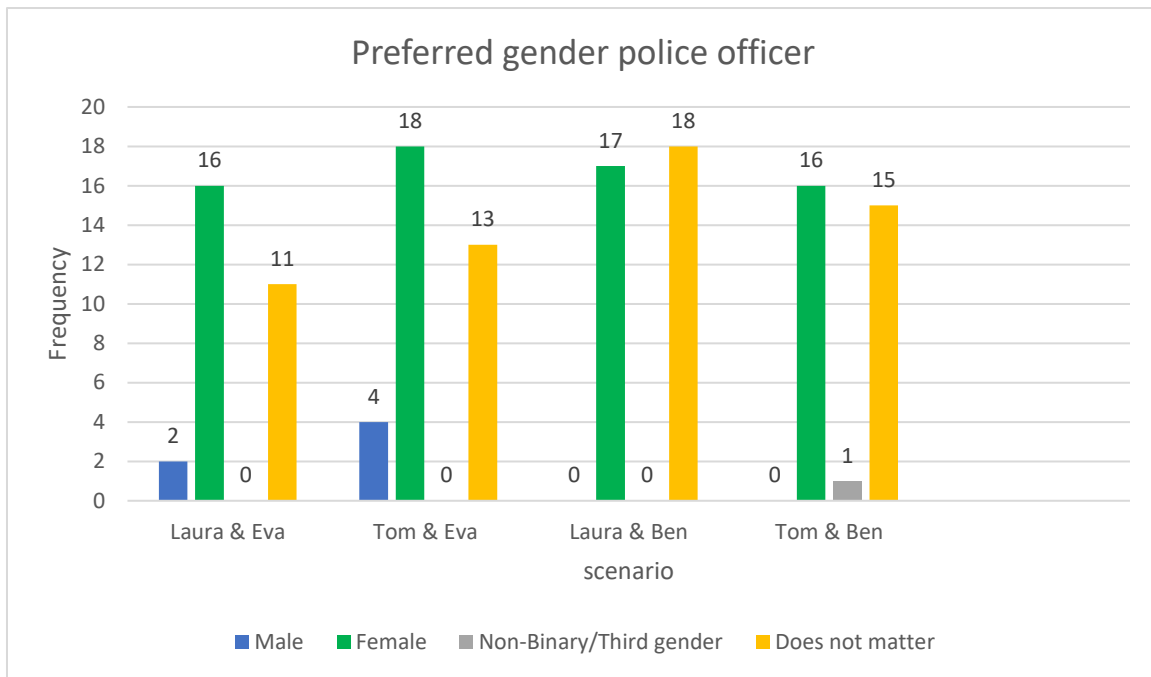
Table 9: comparing the trust students and non-students have in female police officers.
 Nstudents: 26, Nnon-students=14

| | Mean students | Mean non-students | P value | Std. deviation students | Std. deviation non-students |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Total trust measurement | 5.40 | 5.33 | 0.89 | 1.12 | 1.61 |

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001 (two-tailed test).

The mean of student and non-student respondents is very similar, which indicates that the amount of trust these groups have, is also very similar. The P value (0.89) is not statistically significant. There is therefore no reason to believe that there exists a difference between students and non-students when it comes to the amount of trust in female police officers.

One of the questions in the survey is also important for the second hypothesis. The question is: "If you were in a situation like the situation in the story, what gender would you like the officer to be?." The choice of the respondents can confirm whether more people would like to have a female police officer or not. The results of this question are shown in Graph 4.



Graph 4: The results to the question what the preferred gender is of the police officer if you go through a similar situation. Respondents were divided based on the vignette they were shown.

Respondents of the survey ($n=131$) chose the non-binary/third gender option least often ($n=1$, 0.76%). Followed by the option that you would talk to a male officer ($n=6$, 4.6%). The female ($n=67$, 51.1%) and does not matter to me ($n=57$, 43.5%) options are quite close to each other, however, more than half of the people would prefer a female police officer if they were in the situation like the one in the story.

Overall police trust

Respondents were asked to answer several general questions about the police to create a better idea of the overall trust in the police. The answers to the questions differ from strongly agree/extremely unlikely (1) to strongly agree/extremely likely (7).

Table 10: Results for police questions

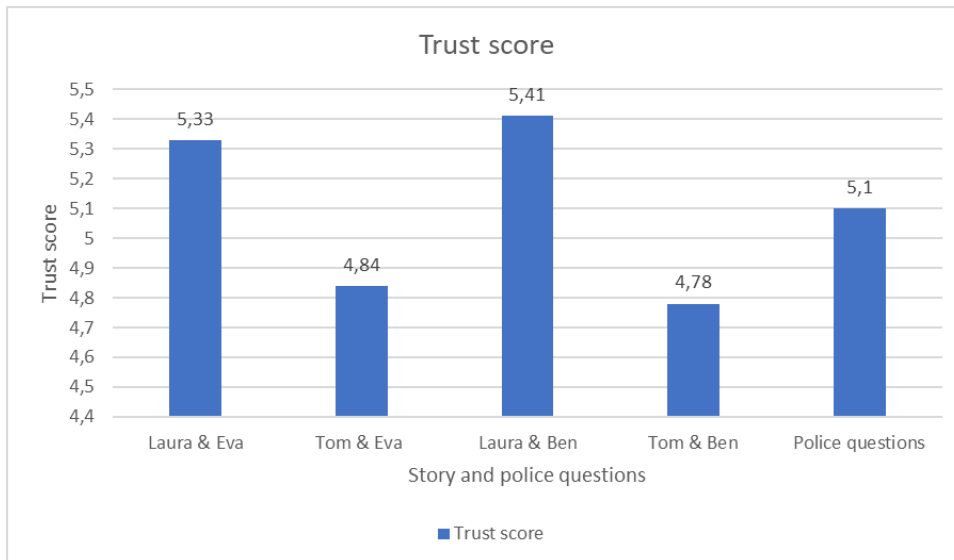
| Question | Mean | Std. Deviation | Variance | N |
|---|------|----------------|----------|-----|
| The police represents me and my values | 5.12 | 1.05 | 1.10 | 129 |
| I will call the police when I see a crime | 6.23 | 0.88 | 0.77 | 129 |

| | | | | |
|---|------|------|------|-----|
| I will call the police when I become a victim of a crime | 6.26 | 0.80 | 0.64 | 129 |
| The police is committed to serving the public | 5.88 | 1.00 | 0.99 | 129 |
| The police is available for all sections of the community | 4.71 | 1.58 | 2.50 | 129 |
| The police should focus more on diversity in their team | 5,00 | 1.52 | 2.33 | 129 |
| The police treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are | 3.99 | 1.61 | 2.60 | 129 |
| The police is a good representation of the whole country | 3.63 | 1.46 | 2.14 | 129 |

Used scale 1-7.

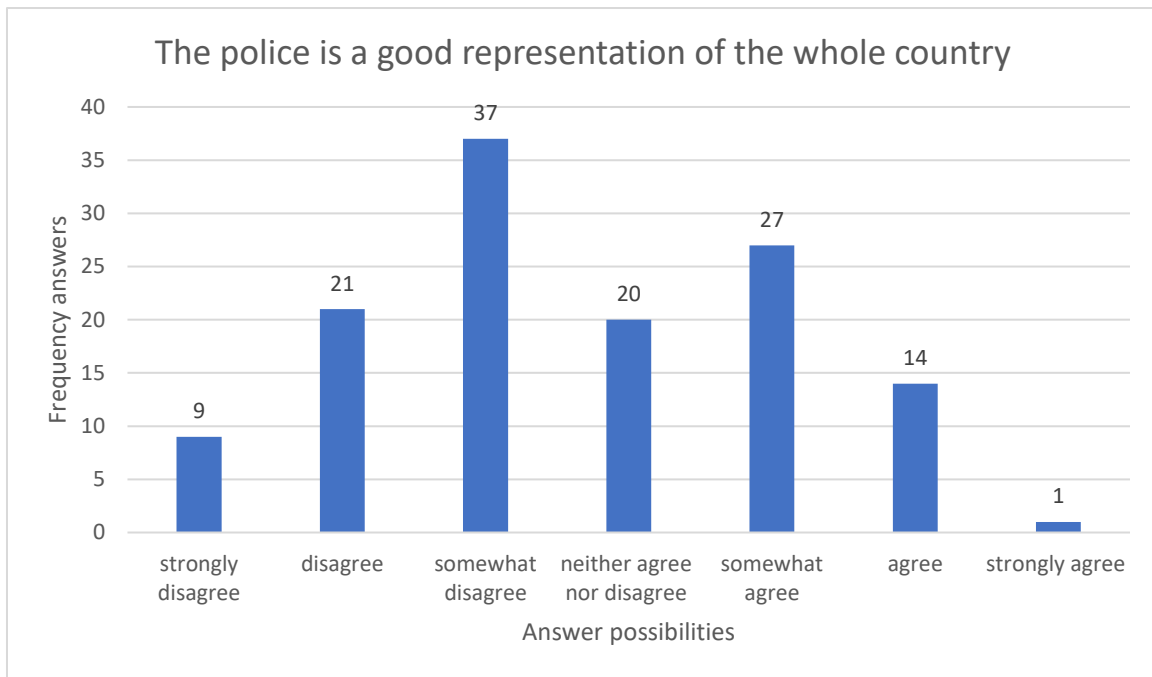
Answers of all respondents were analyzed ($n=129$) since this part did not require the manipulation checks to be answered correctly.

When we compare the trust scores of the questions about trust that were posed after the vignette story and the average of means of the questions regarding the police, this score I call the trust score (5.10). Trust is not very different when respondents answered the questions about the story or when people answer questions about the police in general, the trust score of the police is almost the same as the average of the trust scores of the stories (5.09). The results are shown in Graph 5.



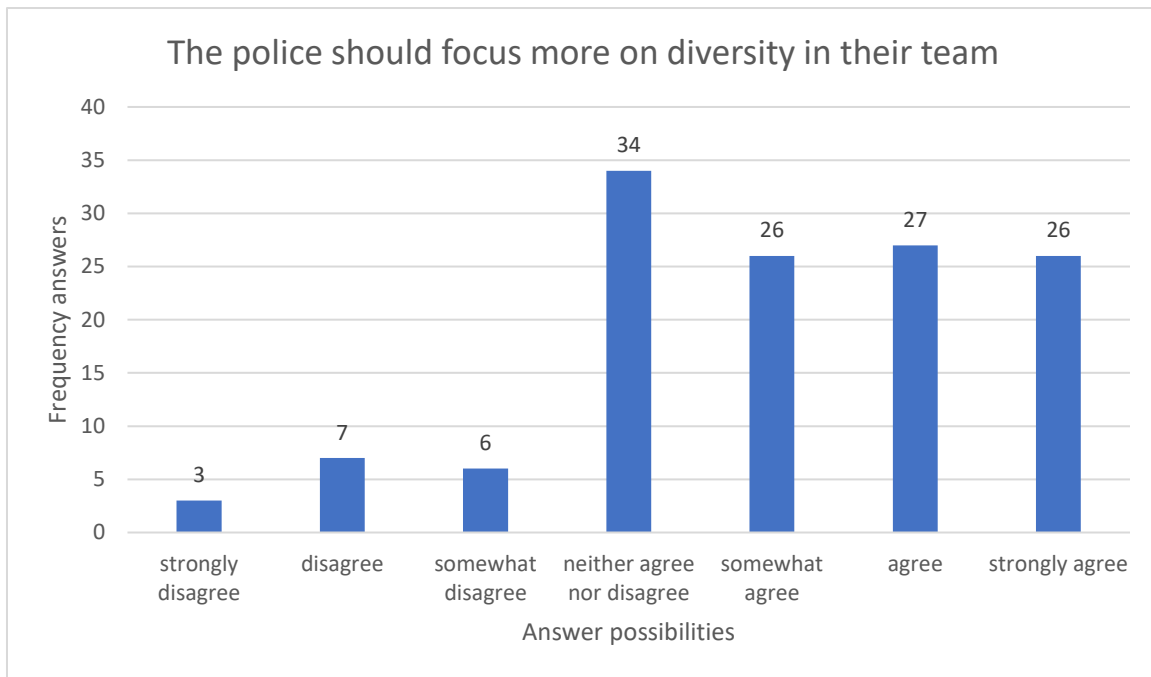
Graph 5: comparing the trust scores of the scenarios to the trust score of the police question

If we compare the answers to the questions about the police, a few things stand out. The answers from respondents to the question “I will call the police when I see a crime” are very positive; only 1.56% answered one of the following; extremely unlikely/moderately unlikely/slightly unlikely ($n=2$). 0.78% answered that it is neither likely nor unlikely that they will call the police ($n=1$). Most people 97.67% ($n=126$) answered one of the positive options: slightly likely/moderately likely/extremely likely. The answers from respondents to the question “I will call the police when I become a victim of a crime” are also very positive; only 1.55% answered one of the following; extremely unlikely/moderately unlikely/slightly unlikely ($n=2$). No one answered that it is neither likely nor unlikely that they will call the police ($n=0$). Again, most people 98.46% ($n=127$) answered one of the positive options: slightly likely/moderately likely/extremely likely. The mean of the question about calling the police whenever you see a crime is 6.23 ($n=129$), the mean of the question about calling the police whenever you become victim of a crime is 6.26 ($n=129$). The standard deviation (0.88, 0.80) and the variance (0.77, 0.64) of both questions are small, this indicates that the answers of all respondents were not scattered very broadly around the mean. The last two questions have means lower than four (3.99, 3.63). This shows that the average answer was given on the negative side of the scale. However, the standard deviation (1.61, 1.46) and variance (2.60, 2.14) of these two questions are high, which shows that results are scattered around the mean. Results for the question with the lowest mean, “The police is a good representation of the whole country” are shown in Graph 6.



Graph 6: Answers given on the question: “The police is a good representation of the whole country”

51.94% of answers ($n=67$) are one of the following: strongly disagree/disagree/somewhat disagree. 32.56% of answers ($n=42$) are more positive, being: somewhat agree/agree/strongly agree. The other 15.50% ($n=20$) does neither agree nor disagree with the statement. This indicates that half of the respondents do not feel like the police is a good representation of the whole country. The question that could relate to this question is the question about diversity being: “The police should focus more on diversity in their team. The results for this question are shown in Graph 7.



Graph 7: answers to the question: “The police should focus more on diversity in their team”.

Only 12.41% ($n=16$) of respondents disagrees with this statement. 26.36% ($n=34$) of respondents neither agree nor disagree. 61.25% ($n=79$) respondents do think that the police should focus more on diversity in their team. This is in line with the answers to the question “The police is a good representation of the whole country”, where more than half of the people disagreed with the statement.

Discussion

This research focused on trust of the public in the police in four different scenarios. The scenarios where the gender of the police officer match, and the scenarios where the genders do not match. Furthermore, the research examines whether trust in the public is higher when the police officer is female compared to when the officer is male.

When comparing the trust scores of the matching genders, the scores are lower than the scores of the not matching genders, this would indicate that the respondents did not have more trust in the police officer when the gender of the police officer and the victim were matching. This would mean that representative bureaucracy in this case, does not enhance trust. The results of the t-test confirm this, there is no significant difference between the trust in the police when the perceived gender is matching or not matching. This means that H_0 for H_1 cannot be rejected. This research builds upon earlier research about representative bureaucracy in

different ways. While representative bureaucracy theory does state that gender representation is crucial for building trust (Arslan et al., 2020; Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Groeneveld et al., 2015; Hibbard et al., 2021; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Sievert, 2021; van Ryzin et al., 2017), this research does not establish a difference between the matching and not matching duos. Furthermore, findings contradict the study of Schaap (2018). Women do not have more trust in the police whenever the perceived gender of the police officer and the victim match. Whenever women look at the female duo and men look at the male duo, there is also no reason to believe that there is a difference in the amount of trust from the public when there is matching gender of the police officer and the victim. Nevertheless, for students and for women the mean of the female respondents is higher than the mean of the male respondents. This could indicate a type II error, which means that the H₀ should have been rejected and that there is a difference between the two groups (Healey, 2012). A solution for this problem could have been reducing the confidence interval to 90%, this leads to more statistically significant results (Healey, 2012). Nevertheless, reducing the confidence interval increases the chance that H₀ is rejected when it should not have been the case. This is called a type I error (Healey, 2012). A reason for this error could be the small sample sizes, which increase the risk of type II errors (Healey, 2012). Nevertheless, these results can help fill the existing gap in the knowledge about male victims of sexual assault. While further research is necessary on this topic, the results of this research indicate that representative bureaucracy theory does not hold for both men and women.

When comparing trust scores for the scenarios with the female officer and the male officer, the scores for the female officer are higher. This implies that respondents have more trust in the female police officer. This especially shows when looking at the means of the questions about providing the first necessary victim aid and doing your absolute best to arrest the perpetrator. The means of these questions are lower in case of the male police officer. This would indicate that people trust the male police officer less when it comes to giving victim aid and doing your absolute best to arrest the perpetrator. The results of the t-test confirm that especially for question 3 (0.05*), trust in the female police officer is significantly different from trust in male police officers. For question 2 the difference is not statistically different on the 95% confidence level, however, the result (p=0.07) is not far from being statistically different. The statistical analysis shows that when repeating this analysis, only in 7% of the cases, the value would be larger or the same as this value. Furthermore, the total trust measurement for female officers is also statistically significantly different than the total trust

measurement for male officers. H0 for H2 can therefore be rejected. This means that trust in female officers is higher than trust in male officers. This is also confirmed by the question “If you were in a situation like the situation in the story, what gender would you like the officer to be?”. When people would all choose a male police officer, this would indicate that they trust the male police officer more, otherwise someone would not choose for an officer with this gender. This is the same the other way around, people will choose a female officer if they have more trust in female officers. 51.1% ($n=67$) of respondents would prefer a female officer. This is in line with the research that already has been done, female officers are seen as, among others, kinder and more empathetic (Arslan et al., 2020; Jordan, 2002; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Stern & Oehme, 2015; van Ryzin et al., 2017; Widanaralalage, 2022; Young et al., 2016). This research contributes to the studies already done by establishing that trust in female police officers is also higher when it comes to whether the police officer will do his/her absolute best to arrest the perpetrator of the assault.

When looking at students and women, the study of Schaap (2018) states that these two groups on average have more trust in the police. The means of male and female respondents when answering questions about the scenario with the female police officer are very close. The t-test is not statistically significant, there is no established statistical difference between the trust male and female respondents have in female police officers. The results for the trust students and non-students have in female police officers is also not statistically different, the trust these two groups have in female police officers is not statistically different from the trust these two groups have in male police officers.

The trust score of the police (5.10) and the average of the trust scores of the stories (5.09) are practically the same. This means that people have the same amount of trust in the police when it comes to sexual assault cases compared to general trust in the police. The general questions about trust in the police show that trust in the police is quite high. The high percentage of both questions about calling the police (97.67%, 98.46%) show that people are willing to cooperate with the police. The questions about the diversity in police teams and whether the police is a good representation of the whole country demonstrate that people are not really satisfied with the diversity of police teams. However, the answers were very scattered around the mean, which shows that this result is not generalizable.

Answers of respondents who did not get all the answers to the manipulation check questions right were removed from the research when the analysis was about the vignette stories. Quite

a lot of people did not get all the questions right. For the story about Laura & Eva, 18 of 29 respondents were left. For Tom & Eva this were 25 from 35 respondents. The story about Laura & Ben there were 22 out of 35 respondents left, and for the story about Tom & Ben, 20 out of 31. The results of respondents who answered “I don’t know” or thought the story was about something else than sexual assault were removed from the analysis. I have considered moving the answers of the respondents who answered the question about the gender of the police officer or victim wrong, to one of the stories where the answer would have been right. For example, if a respondent of the story about Laura & Eva answered that the police officer was female, and the victim was male, this answer belonged to the story about Laura/Ben. However, I believe that the risk of moving answers of people who did not really get the story right was too big. Therefore, these answers were also removed from the analysis where these answers mattered.

Limitations and future research

Gender is an important factor in symbolic representation; however, it is not the only factor that might influence the amount of trust someone has in the police. The race and ethnicity of the police officer and the victim could influence the amount of trust the public has in the police officer (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Schaap, 2018; Stanek et al., 2022). Furthermore, the sexuality of the victim could affect the trust citizens have in the police (Widanaralalage, 2022). Heterosexual male victims who are victim of sexual assault perpetrated by another male are less likely to be believed by the police, this means that the public could have lower trust in the police whenever they oversee a report of this sort (Jordan, 2002). This research focuses on binary gender categories, the officer and the victim can either be male or female. However, research of Widanaralalage (2022) shows that findings of research with binary gender categories might not apply to other gender identities, like for example “trans, transmasculine, and non-binary individuals” (Widanaralalage, 2022, p. 20). Furthermore, this research did not include disabled individuals as victims of sexual assault, which is also a factor that could influence the amount of trust citizens have in the police (Petersilia, 2001). Another factor that could influence trust in the police is past victimization, this could influence trust of the public and of the victim because the public might be in doubt if something like sexual assault really happens twice to the same person (Schaap, 2018). The victim could have less or more trust in the police because of earlier experience (Schaap, 2018). In all the above-mentioned cases, the influence of rape myths on the amount of trust a

respondent of the survey has could play a significant role (Waterhouse et al., 2016). Whenever a respondent of the survey believes in rape myths or has a great deal of knowledge about rape myths, they are more or less likely to assume that the police officer is also influenced by rape myths (Waterhouse et al., 2016). This influences the amount of trust someone has in the police. All the above-mentioned factors that could influence the amount of trust people have in the police are beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, all factors are very important and could be used for future research on trust in the police when dealing with a sexual assault crime.

The amount of trust people have in the police could be high or low from before starting the survey and may have nothing to do with gender. It is possible that people answer the questions regarding the vignette in a positive or negative way that is not based on the vignette but on their own beliefs (Bauer, 2018; Mutz, 2011). Furthermore, the differences between respondents' answers can be the result of a real difference in the amount of trust, however, it could also be that people have a different interpretation of the question (Bauer, 2018).

Another discussion point that needs to be taken into consideration is the fact that this research is conducted in the Netherlands, the amount of trust in the police could be totally different when the same survey experiment was conducted in another country (Schaap, 2018; Sievert, 2021). This is “because the importance of gender representation depends on economic development, culture and further country-level factors” (Sievert, 2021, p. 628). It was beyond the scope of this research to distribute the survey in another country other than the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the results can be useful for the Netherlands and for countries that resemble the Netherlands on the above-mentioned factors.

The research of Schaap (2018), established that not only the two groups that were analyzed in this study on average have a higher trust in the police. Next to students and women, for example, the elderly and those who have a higher education also on average have more trust in the police (Schaap, 2018). Since, there were not enough elderly people or people with a lower education among the respondents, these two groups have not been analyzed. This can be important to consider for future research.

The last discussion point is the fact that this research only focusses on side of the trust relationship between the public and the police. It would have been good to get an idea of the perception of the police and the attitudes they have regarding trust in the case of sexual

assault (Schaap, 2018). The trust building strategies the police use to gain trust of the public would have been interesting to compare with the attitude of the public regarding these strategies (Schaap, 2018). Nevertheless, after reaching out to several different police stations, getting a response turned out to be very difficult. Therefore, the viewpoint of the police was outside the scope of this research.

Conclusion

Trust in the police is very important for the police to be able to do their jobs most effectively (Jackson & Sunshine, 2006; Schaap, 2018; Taylor, 2004). When people trust the police, they will be more likely to advise others to file a report (Boateng, 2018), people will be more likely to cooperate with the police and whenever someone has a lot of trust in the police, they will be more likely to file a report whenever they become a victim of a crime (Arslan et al., 2020; Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Groeneveld et al., 2015; Hibbard et al., 2022; Sievert, 2021).

Representative bureaucracy can enhance trust in the police, whenever the police is representative of society, the public will have more trust in the police (Arslan et al., 2020; Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Groeneveld et al., 2015; Hibbard et al., 2022; van Ryzin et al., 2017; Sievert, 2021). This research has focused on one characteristic that is important in representative bureaucracy, the representation of gender. Gender representation is especially important in the case of sexual assault (Baniamin & Jamil, 2021; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). Sexual assault is a crime that often comes with a lot of shame, guilt, and psychological problems for the victim (Jordan, 2002; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Stanek et al; 2022; Schuck, 2018; Widanaralalage, 2022). Report rates of sexual assault are very low, which is problematic because perpetrators cannot be arrested without a report (Fonds Slachtofferhulp Nederland, 2021). The aim of this research was to answer the research question; “What is the effect of representative bureaucracy on trust in the police by the public in sexual assault crimes”. The results of this research are not in line with representative bureaucracy theory. The amount of trust of the public is not different whenever the perceived gender of the police officer and victim match. However, there is a difference between the amount of trust of the public in female officers compared to male officers. Representative bureaucracy does not influence trust in the police by the public in this research, but the gender of the police officer alone does. An important aspect of this research is the results on the diversity of police departments. It shows that people do not believe that the police is a good representation of the whole country and believe that the police should focus more on diversity in its teams.

Whenever the police have as much female employees as male employees, the report rates of sexual assault will rise (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). This research confirms this statement; whenever people believe that there is a female police officer they can talk to, they will be more likely to file a report. Visibility of these female police officers is therefore extremely important (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). More report rates can lead to more arrests of perpetrators, which could lead to less people being sexually assaulted (Fonds Slachtofferhulp Nederland, 2021). More positive encounters with the police also increase trust in the police, people will share their experience and trust in the police will rise. This research has tried to expand the existing knowledge on representative bureaucracy and trust in the police. There are many opportunities for future research, and I do really hope and encourage that researchers and police departments will try to develop the research on this important topic.

Supplemental material

Supplemental material for this research is available upon request.

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Appendix A: Survey

Thank you for considering to participate in the research study for this Master Thesis Project. Before participating it is important to understand why and how the research is conducted. Please read the following information carefully.

This research is conducted for a master thesis and consists of an online survey. The results will give more information about the police force in the Netherlands.

The survey will take 5-7 minutes of your time.

Informed consent:

The survey will include a fictional story about an event including sexual assault. Therefore, some of the language used in this survey is explicit. If this might trigger you in any way, you are free to stop the survey now or later on without risking any sanction.

The results will be used for scientific research publications, the results will be anonymous and the confidentiality of the research will be guaranteed.

Even after agreeing to participate in this research study you are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Incomplete answers will not be used. Your responses in this research will be anonymous. It will not be possible to retrace your answers. All answers will be used for this research

only. More information about the privacy regulation of Leiden university can be found [here](https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/sociale-wetenschappen/lubec/over-ons/privacy#wie-verzamelt-de-persoonsgegevens-en-hoe-wordt-ervoor-gezorgd-dat-de-privacy-wordt-beschermd): <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/sociale-wetenschappen/lubec/over-ons/privacy#wie-verzamelt-de-persoonsgegevens-en-hoe-wordt-ervoor-gezorgd-dat-de-privacy-wordt-beschermd>

Contact information

If you have any questions regarding this research or the survey you can contact Emma Klinkenbijn, the master student of Public Administration conducting this research. To email Emma, use the following email address: e.klinkenbijn@umail.leidenuniv.nl.

Please select one of the following options:

- I agree to participate in this research study. (1)
- I do not want to participate in this research study. (2)

End of Block: Consent

Start of Block: Eva and Laura

Please read the following story:

A group of police officers are talking to each other at the police station. They hear there is someone who wants to file a report of sexual assault. The officers look at each other and after a short discussion they decide female officer Laura is the one who should talk to the alleged victim.

The woman filing the complaint is Eva, she is asked to take place in an interrogation room. Officer Laura enters the interrogation room and she asks Eva to tell what happened. Eva tells the following story:

I was at a party and I met someone there. We talked for a while and then we kissed. It was a fun night and we were having a good time. The person I kissed offered to bring me home, I accepted and we left the party together. When we arrived at my door, we started kissing again and I suddenly felt a hand unbuttoning my pants. I tried to push the hand off of me and I told that I just wanted to kiss, nothing more. It did not work, I felt a hand going into my pants and I felt really scared. Eventually I managed to get away, I ran to my friend's house and they told me to go to the police station.

Officer Laura is takes notes and asks questions. At some point, officer Laura asks Eva if she would like a glass of water; and asks some further questions before writing her report.

Page Break

According to the story, what was the gender of the alleged victim?

- Male (1)
 - Female (2)
 - Non-binary / third gender (3)
 - I don't know (4)
-

According to the story, what was the gender of the officer Eva spoke to?

- Male (1)
 - Female (2)
 - Non-binary / third gender (3)
 - I don't know (4)
-

What was the story about?

- A party (1)
 - Burglary (2)
 - Sexual assault (3)
 - A movie night (4)
-

How likely do you think this is to happen in real life?

| | Completely unlikely (1) | Moderately unlikely (2) | Slightly unlikely (3) | Neither likely nor unlikely (4) | Slightly likely (5) | Moderately likely (6) | Completely likely (7) |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| What do you think of the story? (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

If you were in a situation like the situation in the story, what gender would you like the officer to be?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Non-binary / third gender (3)
- Does not matter to me (4)
- Prefer not to say (5)

End of Block: Eva and Laura

Start of Block: Eva and Tom

Please read the following story:

A group of police officers are talking to each other at the police station. They hear there is someone who wants to file a report of sexual assault. The officers look at each other and after a short discussion they decide male officer Tom is the one who should talk to the alleged victim.

The woman filing the complaint is Eva, she is asked to take place in an interrogation room. Officer Tom enters the interrogation room and he asks Eva to tell what happened. Eva tells the following story:

I was at a party and I met someone there. We talked for a while and then we kissed. It was a fun night and we were having a good time. The person I kissed offered to bring me home, I accepted and we left the party together. When we arrived at my door, we started kissing again and I suddenly felt a hand unbuttoning my pants. I tried to push the hand off of me and I told that I just wanted to kiss, nothing more. It did not work, I felt a hand going into my pants and I felt really scared. Eventually I managed to get away, I ran to my friend's house and they told me to go to the police station.

I believe officer Tom will do his absolute best to arrest the perpetrator of the assault

| | Completely unbelievable (1) | Moderately unbelievable (2) | Slightly unbelievable (3) | Neither believable nor unbelievable (4) | Slightly believable (5) | Moderately believable (6) | Completely believable (7) |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Choose the answer most fitting for you (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Page Break

According to the story, what was the gender of the alleged victim?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Non-binary / third gender (3)
- I don't know (4)

According to the story, what was the gender of the officer Eva spoke to?

- Male (1)
 - Female (2)
 - Non-binary / third gender (3)
 - I don't know (4)
-

What was the story about?

- A party (1)
 - The police (2)
 - Sexual assault (3)
 - A movie night (4)
-

How likely do you think this is to happen in real life?

| | Completely unlikely (1) | Moderately unlikely (2) | Slightly unlikely (3) | Neither likely nor unlikely (4) | Slightly likely (5) | Moderately likely (6) | Completely likely (7) |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| What do you think of the story? (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

If you were in a situation like the situation in the story, what gender would you like the officer to be?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Non-binary / third gender (3)
- Does not matter to me (4)
- Prefer not to say (5)

End of Block: Eva and Tom

Start of Block: Ben and Laura

I believe officer Laura will be effective at providing the first necessary victim aid

| | Fully ineffective (1) | Moderately ineffective (2) | Slightly ineffective (3) | Neither effective nor ineffective (4) | Slightly effective (5) | Moderately effective (6) | Fully effective (7) |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Choose the answer most fitting for you (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

I believe officer Laura will do her absolute best to arrest the perpetrator of the assault

| | Completely unlikely (1) | Moderately unlikely (2) | Slightly unlikely (3) | Neither likely nor unlikely (4) | Slightly likely (5) | Moderately likely (6) | Completely likely (7) |
|--|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Choose the answer most fitting for you (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Page Break

According to the story, what was the gender of the alleged victim?

- Male (1)
 - Female (2)
 - Non-binary / third gender (3)
 - I don't know (4)
-

According to the story, what was the gender of the officer Ben spoke to?

- Male (1)
 - Female (2)
 - Non-binary / third gender (3)
 - I don't know (4)
-

What was the story about?

- A party (1)
- The police (2)
- Sexual assault (3)
- A movie night (4)

How likely do you think this is to happen in real life?

| | Completely unlikely (1) | Moderately unlikely (2) | Slightly unlikely (3) | Neither likely nor unlikely (4) | Slightly likely (5) | Moderately likely (6) | Completely likely (7) |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| What do you think of the story? (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

If you were in a situation like the situation in the story, what gender would you like the officer to be?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Non-binary / third gender (3)
- Does not matter to me (4)
- Prefer not to say (5)

I believe officer Tom will be effective at providing the first necessary victim aid

| | Fully ineffective (1) | Moderately ineffective (2) | Slightly ineffective (3) | Neither effective nor ineffective (4) | Slightly effective (5) | Moderately effective (6) | Fully effective (7) |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Choose the answer most fitting for you (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

I believe officer Tom will do his absolute best to arrest the perpetrator of the assault

| | Completely unbelievable (1) | Moderately unbelievable (2) | Slightly unbelievable (3) | Neither believable nor unbelievable (4) | Slightly believable (5) | Moderately believable (6) | Completely believable (7) |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Choose the answer most fitting for you (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

According to the story, what was the gender of the alleged victim?

- Male (1)
 - Female (2)
 - Non-binary / third gender (3)
 - I don't know (4)
-

According to the story, what was the gender of the officer Ben spoke to?

- Male (1)
 - Female (2)
 - Non-binary / third gender (3)
 - I don't know (4)
-

What was the story about?

- A party (1)
 - The police (2)
 - Sexual assault (3)
 - A movie night (4)
-

How likely do you think this is to happen in real life?

| | Completely unlikely (1) | Moderately unlikely (2) | Slightly unlikely (3) | Neither likely nor unlikely (4) | Slightly likely (5) | Moderately likely (6) | Completely likely (7) |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| What do you think of the story? (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

If you were in a situation like the situation in the story, what gender would you like the officer to be?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Non-binary / third gender (3)
- Does not matter to me (4)
- Prefer not to say (5)

End of Block: Ben and Tom

Start of Block: Default Question Block

You will now receive some demographic questions. Please take into account that all answers are anonymous and that the answers you give will not be retraceable to you.

Page Break

What is your current age?

- Under 18 (1)
 - 18 - 24 (2)
 - 25 - 34 (3)
 - 35 - 44 (4)
 - 45 - 54 (5)
 - 55 - 64 (6)
 - 65 - 74 (7)
 - 75 - 84 (8)
 - 85 or older (9)
-

What best describes your gender?

- Male (1)
 - Female (2)
 - Non-binary / third gender (3)
 - Prefer not to say (4)
-

What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?

- Less than high school (1)
 - High school graduate (2)
 - Bachelor's degree (3)
 - Master's degree (4)
 - Ph.D (5)
 - Doctorate (6)
 - None (7)
 - Prefer not to say (8)
-

What is your current employment status?

- Employed full time (1)
 - Employed part time (2)
 - Unemployed looking for work (3)
 - Unemployed not looking for work (4)
 - Retired (5)
 - Student (6)
 - Disabled (7)
 - Prefer not to say (8)
-

Where do you currently reside?

- Netherlands (1)
- Other, being: (2) _____
- Prefer not to say (3)

End of Block: Default Question Block

Start of Block: Questions regarding the police

You will now be asked to answer some general statements about the police in your own country

Page Break

The police represents me and my values

| | Strongly disagree (1) | Disagree (2) | Somewhat disagree (3) | Neither agree nor disagree (4) | Somewhat agree (5) | Agree (6) | Strongly agree (7) |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Choose the answer most fitting for you (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

I will call the police when I see a crime

| | Extremely unlikely (1) | Moderately unlikely (2) | Slightly unlikely (3) | Neither likely nor unlikely (4) | Slightly likely (5) | Moderately likely (6) | Extremely likely (7) |
|--|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Choose the answer most fitting for you (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

The police should focus more on diversity in their team

| | Strongly disagree (1) | Disagree (2) | Somewhat disagree (3) | Neither agree nor disagree (4) | Somewhat agree (5) | Agree (6) | Strongly agree (7) |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Choose the answer most fitting for you (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

The police treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are

| | Strongly disagree (1) | Disagree (2) | Somewhat disagree (3) | Neither agree nor disagree (4) | Somewhat agree (5) | Agree (6) | Strongly agree (7) |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Choose the answer most fitting for you (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

The police is a good representation of the whole country

| | Strongly disagree (1) | Disagree (2) | Somewhat disagree (3) | Neither agree nor disagree (4) | Somewhat agree (5) | Agree (6) | Strongly agree (7) |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Choose the answer most fitting for you (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

End of Block: Questions regarding the police