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Under the Influence? Factors That Impact Canadian's Confidence in Police

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by

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ABSTRACT

The public's confidence in police is a crucial factor to a police department's ability to serve its community effectively. However, not everyone in a democratic society feels confident in the police's ability to protect and serve their community. Factors including race, gender, age, education, income, neighbourhood crime perceptions, and past discrimination have all been found to have significant impacts on an individual's confidence in police. These factors have not been evaluated in tandem, nor have they been adequately reviewed in a Canadian context. Using the 2014 Canadian General Social Survey, this study answers the following three questions: 1) How does confidence in police vary by education? 2) Do neighbourhood perceptions of crime and household income affect confidence in police? Using Kimberlé Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality to identify interacting and multiplying dimensions of disadvantage, this paper further explore 3) how does confidence in police differ across visible minorities and immigrants with similar levels of education? Through descriptive statistics, binary and ordered logistic regressions, this study found that, overall, education was positively associated with confidence in police; individuals who believe they live in high crime neighbourhoods were less likely to have confidence in the police; and household income negatively impacts confidence in police for those who make under $79,999 and visible minorities. Lastly, this study found that immigrants with higher education were less likely to be confident in the police, a finding revealed through an intersectional analysis relative to white, native-born individuals. Police services and policymakers may find these results useful to improve community perceptions and relationships with the public.

Keywords: confidence; police; trust; intersectionality; education; visible minorities; immigrant status; Canada

Introduction

The public's confidence in police is a crucial factor in a police department's ability to serve its community effectively. Residents are more inclined to report crime and victimization to the police when they are confident in their ability to uphold their institutional integrity and expectations (Murphy et al., 2013). From this perspective, policing is a well-functioning and highly valued organization within society when the public is confident in the police.

While the majority of people in democratic societies are confident in the police (Garcia & Cao, 2005), some groups may be less confident in the police's ability to protect them and their communities. Studies have found that females hold more positive evaluations of the police than males, and older individuals are more confident in the police than younger individuals (Sprott & Doob, 2009; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). African Americans, Hispanics, and other minority groups evaluate police services less favourably than white people (Garcia & Cao, 2005; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; 2005). Additionally, racialized minorities with less education and lower income have been found to have extremely negative perceptions of the police (Garcia & Cao, 2005; Reardon et al., 2015; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; 2005). Recent immigrants' confidence in the police is higher upon initial entry but drops the longer they reside in their new country (Pass et al., 2020).

Neighbourhood safety perceptions, the collective norms, and cultural beliefs of a citizen's neighbourhood strongly influence individuals' attitudes towards the police (Crank et al., 2003; Huebner et al., 2004; Priest & Carter, 1999). Coupled with the higher rates of joblessness, family disruption, and poverty in minority communities (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Kammersgaard et al., 2021; MacDonald & Stokes, 2006; Putnam, 2000; Weitzer, 2000), the result is greater fear of crime, and increased cynicism toward local police (Meares & Kahan, 1998). Taken together, this

research suggests visible minority status, immigrant status, lower income, lower education, higher neighbourhood crime perceptions, overall sense of belonging, and previous experiences of discrimination are all sites of meaningful analysis to determine how confidence in police varies across the population.

Currently, a large portion of the literature focuses on minority and ethnic groups and their experiences with the police (Bradford et al., 2017; Cao, 2011; Cao, Frank, & Cullen, 1996; Garcia & Cao, 2005; Huebner et al., 2004; Jung et al., 2019; MacDonald & Stokes, 2006; Pass et al., 2020; Priest & Carter, 1999; Reardon et al., 2015; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; 2002; 2004; 2005), however, there is less literature focusing on other characteristics. While the literature demonstrates that confidence in police varies within the population along dimensions of gender, age, race, education, and income, few studies have explored confidence in police from an intersectional perspective. To date, much of the literature explores these factors individually, net of other factors, rather than at the intersection of multiple dimensions of identity.

Furthermore, few studies have explored these issues in Canada. America's increased availability of handguns, its associated gun culture, and the existence of American ghettos are possible explanations of the violent crime differences between the two countries (Ouimet, 1999). As a result of these different values and contexts, Canada and the United States may have different interactions between the police and the public based on racial, immigrant, income, and educational diversity. Much of the diversity between the two countries stems from structural differences in their social support programs, structural differences in their government, Canada's multiculturalist approach to immigration, national identity, its diversified communities, and its approach to policing (Ben-Porat, 2008). Although aspects of life such as race, education, and income have not been discussed or reviewed widely in Canadian academic literature as

compared to countries such as the United States, it remains an important issue (Perry & Sutton, 2006).

Recently, there has been an increase in media covering the growing public concern of systemic issues within Canadian police services. Movements such as Black Lives Matter, the murders of Canadian D'Andre Campbell, and Americans Michael Brown and George Floyd by police officers have prompted calls to defund the police in an attempt to hold them accountable for their actions in Canada and the United States (Boisvert, 2021; Fine, 2021; Hooker, 2016; Nasser, 2020). While confidence in police issues have become highly prevalent in Canadian and global media, there remains to be little research using an intersectional approach to analyze the specific factors that contribute to or tarnish one's confidence in police. A representative overview of confidence in police in Canada needs to be performed so that police officers and policymakers may have a better understanding of what affects Canadian confidence in police.

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationships between race, immigrant status, education, neighbourhood crime, and household income, and their corresponding effects on the public's confidence in police within Canada. This study uses the 2014 Victimization Cycle of the Canadian General Social Survey (GSS) and Kimberlé Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality to understand how confidence in police may vary across multiple dimensions of identity. Race, gender, age, and ethnicity can impact other dimensions of identity including neighbourhood, education, and ability (Collins, 2015; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). This study is one of the first to employ an intersectional theoretical framework to better understand how confidence in police may vary within the Canadian population, and analyze the factors that produce the greatest public doubt in the police's ability to serve and protect the entire population.

Literature Review

Conceptualizing Confidence and Trust

Confidence in police refers to the public's assurance that the police, and the larger criminal justice system, has the ability to uphold its institutional integrity and public expectations (Murphy et al., 2013). Confidence is mainly used in reference to institutions and the generalized system of trust and integrity it operates within. This further extends to include defined role expectations and reputations within social and political institutions and the psychological perspective of the holder (Barber 1983; Cao, 2015; Luhmann, 1988). Confidence in police is similar to the concept of trust in police. Trust in police is described as one's own judgement of the likelihood to receive the appropriate police behaviour from an officer when in an uncertain or risky situation (Jackson & Gau, 2016). Trust has further been described as an intimate type of faith and social relation that requires no proof, is willing to accept uncertainty and risk, and is often used in reference to an individual rather than their institution (Hart, 1988; Seligman, 1997). These concepts are similar and are often used interchangeably; however, confidence in police encompasses the larger organization, the upholding of law, values, and morals, and the institutional role of police in our society. The long-term socialization of police and acceptance of their symbolic power is dependent on their institutional foundations, the public's perceptions, and confidence in them (Bourdieu, 1991; Cao, 2015; Garcia & Cao, 2005; Lipset, 1990). Police are only valuable to a democratic society when they are backed by the public's confidence by treating individuals with dignity and represent a legitimate service that respects the citizen's values (Cao, 2011; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Tyler, 2001; Wortley et al., 2010). This paper focuses on confidence in police, rather than trust in police, because confidence offers a more

encompassing evaluation of the system and institution of policing itself and the public's perception of it rather than focusing on individual trust experiences.

Race

African Americans, Hispanics, and other racialized minority groups tend to evaluate police services less favourably than white people (Garcia & Cao, 2005; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; 2005). African Americans are more likely to be the victim of racial profiling, excessive use of force, discrimination, and that hearing about these negative police encounters from others further exacerbates these negative perceptions (Ben-Porat, 2008; MacDonald & Stokes, 2006; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; 2005). Additionally, because African Americans are disproportionately represented in high crime neighbourhoods, they are more likely to experience higher levels of crime and increased negative interactions with law enforcement (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Ren et al., 2005; Smith, 1986). These interactions often further produce negative experiences with police, which act as catalysts, reducing police effectiveness, increasing the existing crime rates, and reducing public confidence in the police (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Cao, 2011). This has intensified racial tensions, discrimination, and further segregated its citizens from equal opportunity. The recent police murders of unarmed Black North American citizens through the use of excessive force and ignoring victims' pleas for help and submission have caused public outrage (Boisvert, 2021; Fine, 2021; Hooker, 2016; Nasser, 2020). This is a major problem not only for the minority communities, but also for the police services themselves as they are public servants whose mission is to serve and protect their local communities (Cao et al., 1998; Percy, 1986). Officers that act in these ways are directly undermining their mission statements, oaths, and ethical commitments to the public by taking advantage of their authority in communities that are already susceptible to higher crime and

reduced quality of life, thus, negatively impacting the public's confidence in them (Reardon et al., 2015).

Neighbourhood and Poverty

Location, neighbourhood, community ties, and poverty are crucial factors that impact confidence in police. Neighbourhoods that face social and economic impoverishment have consistently shown negative attitudes towards the police and see them as illegitimate and ineffective agents of social control (Anderson, 1999; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer, 2000). African American and other minority families are still largely segregated within housing markets, linking the two circumstances (Reardon et al., 2015). Housing market discrimination, residential preferences, and differences in household structure have all been used as explanations for the minority segregation from higher income white neighbourhoods (Reardon et al., 2015). These conditions and preferences frequently result in forcing African American and minority families to purchase homes within neighbourhoods that experience increased crime rates and a lower quality of life (Reardon et al., 2015). Researchers have found that middle-class African American families that made a household income of $55,000 to $60,000 a year lived in neighbourhoods that were rated as equivalent to that of a white person who averaged a $12,000 a year income (Reardon et al., 2015). To put these values in perspective, the United States Department of Health and Human Services (2019) classified any household with an annual income of $12,490 or less as living in poverty. While their income may be above the poverty line, their neighbourhoods do not reflect this.

Poor minority individuals are twice as likely to be unemployed and further struggle to obtain reliable employment opportunities (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2020; The Bureau of the Census et al., 1998). Qualified and capable minority workers are discriminated against by employers on

language barriers, and intentional or implicit rejections of foreign and Black sounding names, reducing the callback rates for minority job applicants (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2020; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Oreopoulos, 2011). With multiple factors negatively impacting minority job application success, the resulting and continued unemployment fuels the creation of impoverished communities and ghettos.Ghettos are impoverished areas of cities often occupied by minority groups, which are more prone to violence, poverty, gang fights, drug sales, and under-policing due to limited police interventions and risks of anti-police violence (Kammersgaard et al., 2021; Ouimet, 1999; Torres, 2017).

These disadvantaged communities are more likely to face further joblessness, family disruption, and poverty, as they are less likely to make demands on local government, and more likely to have low levels of engagement within local organizations such as police services and community engagement programs (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Kammersgaard et al., 2021; MacDonald & Stokes, 2006; Putnam, 2000; Weitzer, 2000). These factors were found to produce greater fear of crime, increased cynicism toward local police, and weaken the bonds within African American communities through the demonization of police (Meares & Kahan, 1998). This cynicism towards police is then perpetuated by officers who work in these high-crime minority neighbourhoods, as many have been found to use coercive authority more frequently and record fewer crimes reported by victims (Smith, 1986). These coercive actions by police include the use of threats or physical force against individuals, which then reduces the community's faith in the police to uphold their role, integrity, and expectations, thereby impacting the neighbourhood's confidence in police (Smith, 1986).

These negative attitudes and neighbourhood differences were examined by Sampson and Bartusch (1998) who studied 343 Chicago neighbourhoods and found that the negative attitudes

towards police held by African Americans could be explained by the concentrated and extreme levels of violent crime happening within their communities. American ghettos and the grouping of welfare recipients have exacerbated the creation of highly impoverished communities by segregating the poor and homeless into concentrated areas of cities (Ouimet, 1999; Reisig & Parks, 2003; Weitzer, 2000). Additionally, studies have found that perceptions of safety, the collective norms, and cultural beliefs of a citizen's neighbourhood strongly influence their attitudes towards the police (Crank et al., 2003; Huebner et al., 2004; Priest & Carter, 1999), with the overall level of community disadvantage being the strongest predictor of police perceptions at a neighbourhood level (Michalos, 2003; Reisig & Parks, 2000). These neighbourhood and employment discrimination factors continue to facilitate the reproduction of impoverished minority and ghetto communities in which negative police perceptions are reinforced and perpetuated.

With racialized groups already feeling targeted by the police, acts of heavy police surveillance, coupled with an unwillingness to become involved over minor criminal acts, dramatically worsens these communities' perceptions of police effectiveness (Torres, 2017). Because confidence in police is impacted by an individual's housing situation and community beliefs, citizens are highly susceptible to adopting negative perceptions of the police from their neighbourhood community regardless of their own personal experiences (Priest & Carter, 1999; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005).

Educational Disparity

Education is an important factor to consider as it can broadly determine career opportunities, socioeconomic class, lifestyles, living conditions, health, quality of life, and subsequently confidence in police (Cao, 2011; Ross & Mirowsky, 2010). An individual's

accumulated years of education represents the skills, values, knowledge, and learned behaviours that promotes success in their life (Ross & Mirowsky, 2010). Education also assists in the development of effective habits and attitudes, including dependability, motivation, judgment, trust, and confidence (Kohn & Slomczynski, 1993).

To date, there are mixed findings on the relationship between educational attainment and an individual's confidence in police. Canadian research has found that more highly educated individuals are less confident in the police (Cao, 2011). Research from the United States has found that African Americans that obtained a higher education had less confidence in the police (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). In contrast to these findings, the same researchers found that less-educated African Americans believed that law-abiding African Americans were disproportionately and unfairly targeted by police due to the high involvement of African Americans in street crimes (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999), suggesting that less educated African Americans were less confident in police. However, this perception was not held by African Americans with higher levels of education within their neighbourhoods. The researchers suggest that greater educational attainment, a stronger understanding of the justice system, reduced involvement in crime heavy communities, and the superior critical thinking skills obtained through post-secondary institutions may increase confidence in police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002; Wortley et al., 1997).

Other research has found that education is positively associated with satisfaction with the police, meaning the more educated you are, the more likely you are to be satisfied with them (Reisig & Parks, 2000). This contradicts the previous findings that more education results in less confidence (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Cao, 2011; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). Because there are mixed findings, the relationship between education and confidence in police is important to

consider, as all individuals occupying lower socioeconomic levels have been found to hold more negative views of the police than the wealthy (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). Cao's (2011) research identifies that education remains to be a significant characteristic to consider and suggests that education has important impacts on Canadian communities' confidence in police, regardless of the mixed literature.

Immigration and the Leap of Faith

Immigrants and their children may have experiences with police and the criminal justice systems in their home countries that influence their perceptions and confidence in police in Canada. An Australian study seeking to determine if trust in police varied between first and second-generation immigrants found that within groups of racialized minorities, recent immigrants were more likely to begin with trusting the police when they arrived, but the more years that they lived in Australia, the more their trust in police declined (Pass et al., 2020). Similar research labelled this phenomenon as a 'leap of faith' by immigrants as they are most likely to be moving from a non-western developed country (Bradford et al., 2017). It has been suggested that immigrants move to western developed countries because the quality of institutions is much higher (Jung et al., 2019; Nannestad et al., 2014). This expectation of the increased quality of institutions coupled with the leap of faith mentality leads to a temporary increase in their level of confidence in police within immigrant and minority populations (Bradford et al., 2017). These values may also speak to the different roles police services hold in migrants' origin countries that immigrants use as a frame of reference for their new democratic country's institutions (Jung et al., 2019). However, the Australian study found that their confidence in police reduced over time, with immigrants becoming more critical of services and treatment provided to all groups (Pass et al., 2020). This indicates that after spending extended

periods of time as immigrated citizens, immigrants to a new country may begin to perceive differential, unfair, and unequal treatment across the population and its diverse communities.

While confidence in policing has been found to decline with duration for all immigrants in Australia, Canadian research has found that recent immigrants arriving from other established democracies were significantly more negative towards police upon arrival than those coming from authoritarian regime countries (Jung et al., 2019). Jung, Sprott, and Greene (2019) highlight that immigrant-specific factors and visible minority status need to be considered in tandem and as separate factors. While immigrant-specific factors including political, economic, and social differences of home countries are not easily obtained, an intersectional approach to analyzing different socioeconomic and sociodemographic dimensions of identity, also present in a Canadian context, that uniquely impact immigrants. For example, household income may have a significant impact on confidence in police for immigrants but not for native-born citizens. This would allow researchers to better understand how ethnicity and nativity interact to shape the experiences of immigrants and their confidence in the police.

The research on immigration demonstrates that migrants' origin country and its differences in social, government, and political structure have a major influence on police perceptions in their new country. With the understanding that not all immigrants are visible minorities, prior studies have not adequately addressed how immigration and visible minority status independently impact confidence in police. Even fewer studies have explored how the intersection of being an immigrant and racialized minority may impact confidence in police differently. This is problematic as the factors impacting confidence in police for native-born individuals may not be the same for immigrants. This may also alter the levels of confidence in police held by non-racialized groups as immigrants have been found to have increased rates of

confidence upon arrival based on factors that are external to their new country (Jung et al., 2019; Pass et al., 2020). The inclusion of and separate intersectional analysis of immigrants and visible minorities will help resolve this issue.

There remain to be some additional gaps in the literature regarding how race, immigrant status, education, income, neighbourhood, and other characteristics that may affect Canadian's confidence in police. The majority of the current literature focuses on African Americans and their experiences with police in comparison to a non-racialized reference group. Because these studies focus on race differences in confidence in police, the other variables such as education, age, income, and neighbourhood crime perceptions are often not emphasized or reviewed to the extent that race is.

With the exception of Cao's (2011) and Sprott and Doob's (2014) Canadian studies, which utilize previous cycles of the GSS, many of the remaining articles exploring race and confidence in police use different racial and non-racial group compositions and do not use an intersectional approach. Because race is socially constructed, boundaries exist between studies as definitions of who belongs to a racialized group can be impacted by time, location, and data availability. This definitional disparity can make it unclear who is considered to be part of the majority populations. This makes group-based generalizations difficult to interpret as race definitions may vary within each context.

Due to this focus on race, research has often framed the literature in a way that has described African Americans and other racialized minorities as the only groups of people that have differing or negative confidence in police.

Intersectional Interactions

This study uses Kimberlé Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality as a framework for understanding how the combination of race, immigrant status, gender, education, income, and neighbourhood crime may impact confidence in police (Crenshaw, 1989). Crenshaw posits that individuals occupy multiple dimensions of identity, which may result in intersecting axes of disadvantage. For example, an individual could be poor, Black, live in a high crime neighbourhood, and have previous negative experiences with the police. With each factor individually having negative impacts on confidence in police, the intersection of these characteristics together could result in exceptionally more harsh perceptions than each factor alone. Crenshaw articulated that Black women, specifically, occupied multiple dimensions of disadvantage and were multiply burdened, but that current examinations of discrimination were reviewed on single-axis approaches, being either a woman, or a Black individual, but never acknowledging or recognizing that the combination of the two characteristics could have particularly harsh consequences (Crenshaw, 1989). Crenshaw analyzed the unique experiences of Black women and their multidimensional axes of identity and how they related to subordination and disadvantage. This theory of multiple identities meeting at an intersection has since expanded to recognize race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, age, and more (Collins, 2015).

This paper utilizes an inclusionary model of intersectionality, which conceptualizes that intersections of identity can have multiplicative effects of disadvantage for an individual (Choo & Ferree, 2010; Crenshaw, 2001; Staunæs, 2003). Importantly, one must also acknowledge that larger structural processes are always at play that organize individuals into categories on macro and meso levels, leaving the individual's agency hindered and at the will of many complex

forces (Choo & Ferree, 2010; Prins, 2006; Staunæs, 2003). However, the application of the inclusionary model of intersectionality allows for the interconnections of race, gender, income, immigrant status, and additional contextual variables such as discrimination, education, and neighbourhood crime variables to be analyzed through additive multivariate methods to determine if particular combinations of individual circumstance result in differences in confidence in police. As previous literature has identified, confidence in police has not been explained by a singular cause. However, the combination of an individual's life circumstances and the conditions they live within may offer more detailed insight into these issues beyond what has been previously offered and how they relate to confidence in police. Race, gender, income, education, neighbourhood composition, and other contextual variables like local crime perceptions, overall sense of belonging, immigrant status, and previous experiences of discrimination and impoverishment may be interpreted as separate factors affecting confidence in police. However, they are linked, as demonstrated in the above sections.

Canada

While these studies have provided literature to inform this paper, they are also being sourced from many different geographical locations. The majority of the literature that focuses on race and confidence in police comes from the United States, and the most recent research focusing on ethnic minorities and immigrants was produced in Australia (Pass et al., 2020). While some Canadian research on immigration has been performed (Jung et al., 2019), these studies do not use an intersectional perspective. Canada warrants its own analysis due to its continuing and unique foundational ties to Great Britain. Unlike the United States, Canada itself was formed after the existence of the Mountie police service (Lipset, 1990). This encouraged Canadians to follow British traditions, welcomed higher conservative legal control, and citizens

were more willing to sacrifice small liberties for the greater good of their communities (Hagan, 1991; Sacco, 1993). Because United States settlers were present before the creation of police, they became highly individualistic and more frequently resisted legislative control (Lipset, 1990). These foundational differences between the United States and Canada have created two different social, political, and legislative landscapes that have shaped how citizens interact and perceive the police for over 150 years making Canada a unique point of analysis.

In 1971, the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* was introduced, which promotes the coexistence of many racial identities, religious affiliations, and cultural practices, as well as it promotes diversity in perspectives of government, police, appropriate social order, and the law (Government of Canada, 1988; Stenning, 2003). As a result of this legislation, immigrants may not experience the same decline in confidence experienced by immigrants in other countries. Canada and the United States may have different levels of racial, immigration, income, and educational diversity due to the structural differences in Canadian government, Canada's multiculturalist approach to immigration, national identity, its communities, and its approach to policing (Ben-Porat, 2008). For example, the *Ontario Police Services Act* was introduced in 1990 to embrace multiculturalism, help diversify Ontario's police services, and strengthen their relationships with their expanding multicultural communities (Ben-Porat, 2008). While more recent Canadian studies still identify racial tensions with police as a problem (Cao, 2011; Jung et al., 2019), there have been legislative actions taken to reform police conduct and enact policies reflective of Canada's changing population and values. While legislative action around multiculturalism is not unique to Canada, Canada's history of multicultural acceptance and its willingness to adapt its values reflects the ongoing effort to improve its institutions and respect for its citizens.

Additionally, because there is little Canadian research exploring confidence in police by race, gender, education, income, and neighbourhood, using an intersectional perspective will allow them to be explored with respect to multiple dimensions of identity. Previous research that has included variables such as age, income, and education have used continuous measures for their analysis. This paper will explore if there are significant differences within these measures using categorical variables, which could be valuable in providing a generalized understanding of these factors and their nuance.

This study examines how variations in socioeconomic status such as income and education combined with sociodemographic variables such as race and immigrant status alter the level of confidence in police held by the public in Canada. In particular, this study asks 1) How does confidence in police vary by education? 2) Do neighbourhood perceptions of crime and household income affect confidence in police? Using Crenshaw's intersectionality, I further explore 3) how does confidence in police differ across visible minorities and immigrants with similar levels of education?

Methodology

This study uses the General Social Survey (GSS), Cycle 28 – Victimization Cycle (Statistics Canada, 2016). The primary objectives of the GSS are to gather data on social trends, monitor the changes in living conditions, well-being, and provide information on policy issues of emerging interest. This paper uses the most recent publicly available Victimization Cycle of the GSS to better understand current Canadian perceptions of the police, their perceptions of crime, and the justice system.

The GSS-Victimization survey is the only Canadian population-level survey with recent data on public perceptions of the police. The 2014 victimization cycle collected questionnaire

responses from 33,127 respondents aged 15 years and older from 79,000 households across the ten provinces and the territories using a Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) method (Statistics Canada, 2016). A single member of every sampled household is randomly selected to complete the questionnaire. The 2014 iteration of the victimization cycle utilized both landline and cellular telephone numbers with supplemental information provided to Statistics Canada to reach as many unique households as possible while accounting for the shift away from landlines towards cell phone only households. The data in the dataset was collected from January 2014 to January 2015 and had a response rate of 52.9% (Statistics Canada, 2016). The GSS is widely used in victimization research and is a highly reputable data source for sociological analysis (Cao, 2011; Sprott & Doob, 2014). After dropping respondents with missing observations on the dependent variable (n=388) and independent variables (n=2,856), the final weighted analytic sample is reduced to 29,883. Missing cases account for 9.79% of the original sample.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this analysis is an individual's self-reported confidence in the police, which is captured by asking respondents whether they have: (1) a great deal of confidence, (2) some confidence, (3) not very much confidence (low), or (4) no confidence at all in the police (Statistics Canada, 2016). Respondents are asked to exclude security guards, fire marshals, by-law officers, and all others who do not have the authority to make arrests when answering this question.

This variable is recoded in two ways. First, (1) a great deal of confidence in police, and (0) Some, low/not much, to no confidence in police for binary logistic regressions. Recoding the dependent variable into a dichotomous outcome helps explore which independent variables have

the greatest impact on reducing an individual's confidence in police (Cao, 2011). Some confidence is combined with low and no confidence as it implies that respondents are not fully confident in the police or have some doubts.

The dependent variable is also recoded into a trichotomous outcome for ordinal logistic regression, i.e. (1) low, and no confidence at all, (2) some confidence, (3) a great deal of confidence. Categories 3 and 4 of the original variable, (3) not very much (low), and (4) no confidence at all, are combined due to low response rates and little nuance existing between the descriptive categories. The value of including a trichotomous dependent variable demonstrates which independent variables significantly impact confidence in police across all levels of public perception. This allows researchers to determine which variables should be prioritized and considered for those attempting to improve public relations in their communities by developing approaches that address these factors.

Independent and Control Variables

This study has five main independent variables, which include education, neighbourhood crime perceptions, household income, visible minority status, and landed immigrant status. The control variables include landed immigrant year, sense of belonging, previous homelessness, previous experience of discrimination, area of residence/population centre, age, and marital status.

Education captures a respondent's highest certificate, diploma, or degree achieved. This variable is coded as (1) less than high school diploma, (2) high school diploma/high school equivalency certificate, (3) trade certificate or diploma, (4) college, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma, (5) university certificate or diploma below a bachelor's level, (6) bachelor's degree (e.g., B.A., B.Sc., LL.B.), (7) university certificate, diploma/degree above

bachelor's. For this analysis, categories (4) and (5) are combined as they are both considered less than a bachelor's level but higher than a trade certificate or diploma. Neighbourhood crime perception is surveyed by asking respondents if they feel that their neighbourhood has a higher amount of crime compared to other areas within Canada. This variable is coded (1) higher crime levels, (2) about the same, and (3) lower crime levels. The GSS gathers data on income using tax data that Statistics Canada holds on annual household incomes. This is an 8-category ordinal variable with (1) less than $20,000, (2) $20,000 to $39,999 and continuing until (8) $140,000 or more (Statistics Canada, 2016). Household income has a high percentage of missing cases; therefore, missing cases are coded (9) not stated/missing cases to maintain sample size. Statistics Canada collects information on self-reported visible minority status using the definitions provided by *The Employment Equity Act* (Government of Canada, 1995). Visible minority is a term used to describe individuals that belong to one or more racial or cultural groups, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour (Government of Canada, 1995, Statistics Canada, 2015). A respondent is classified as a visible minority and coded as (1) visible minority if respondents identify as South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Malaysian, Laotian), West Asian (e.g., Iranian, Afghan), Korean, Japanese, or Other, and (0) non-visible minority if they identify as single-origin White, single-origin Aboriginal, multiple-origin White/Latin American or White/Arab-West Asian. Respondents identifying as non-visible minorities are classified as members of the reference category for this study. Furthermore, findings related to visible minority status will provide an updated analysis of Cao's (2011) review of the 2004 GSS victimization cycle to reflect the current Canadian context. The variable immigrant status is measured by asking if the respondent has ever been a landed immigrant in Canada. A landed

immigrant, or permanent resident, is an individual that has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities (Statistics Canada, 2016). This variable is coded as (1) yes and (0) no; those who answered no were considered the reference category for this study.

The control variables include whether respondents experienced discrimination in the past, whether they have a history of homelessness, marital status (married, living common-law, widowed, separated, divorced, single/never married), urban/rural population centre (Prince Edward Island is included with rural), and age (15 to 24, 25 to 34, 45 to 54, 55 to 56, 65 to 74, and 75 years and older). Sense of community belonging is also controlled for by collapsing (1) very strong, (2) somewhat strong, (3) somewhat weak, (3) very weak, and (5) no opinion into (1) belong (combination of very strong and somewhat strong) and (0) don't belong (combination of somewhat weak, very weak, and no opinion). A secondary immigration measure asks what year the respondent landed if they had identified as a landed immigrant in the previous immigrant status question. Landed immigrant year is coded as a 13-category ordinal variable ranging from (1) before 1946 to (13) 2010 to 2014 (Statistics Canada, 2016). This variable is recoded into decades to reduce the number of categories, help with interpretation, and due to small sample sizes in some immigrant cohorts. The categories are (1) before 1959, (2) 1960 to 1969, (3) 1970 to 1979, (4) 1980 to 1989, (5) 1990 to 1999, (6) 2000 to 2009, (7) 2010 and after, and (99) not an immigrant. With the immigrant year variable being dependent on answering the previous question, all valid skips hold no value and are coded as (99) not an immigrant to maintain sample size. These variables are used together (Pass et al., 2020) to explore how immigrants' confidence in police changes compared to those with more years in Canada.

Analytic Strategy

I begin using descriptive statistics to explore differences in frequencies across all variables to provide preliminary insight into my research questions and confidence in police. To answer my research questions, I use binary logistic regressions and ordered logistic regressions. To answer my first research question, how confidence in police varies by education, I use a binary logistic regression with the dichotomous measure of confidence in police against the independent and control variables (Table 2). My second research question asks whether neighbourhood perceptions of crime and levels of household income affect confidence in police. Table 2 answers this question, and an additional binary logistic regression is run with interaction terms for visible minority status by household income to explore any existing relationships, controlling for all independent and control variables (Table 3A). Table 2 also allows me to answer my third research question, which asks whether confidence in police differs between visible minorities and immigrants net of all covariates. To explore whether confidence in police varies across groups, I introduce an interaction term between visible minority status and education, controlling for all independent and control variables (Table 3B). I use the same approach to explore the interaction of dichotomous immigration status and education (Table 3C). For ease of interpretation and due to the few cases per cohort in landed immigrant year, the dichotomous immigrant status variable is used in the interaction term. Both Table 3B's and Table 3C's binary logistic regressions use the dichotomous dependent variable of (1) great confidence and (0) some, low, to no confidence in police. Lastly, I estimate ordered logistic regressions on all tables to determine if the odds ratios change once all confidence in police categories are included using the trichotomous dependent variable of (1) low confidence, no confidence at all, (2) some confidence, and (3) a great deal of confidence. If the results from the

ordered logistic regressions differ from the binary, this would identify variables that specifically impact an individual's chance of holding the greatest confidence in police. If the results are similar to the binary regression, this will indicate that the variable has a significant impact for individuals at all levels of confidence in police. All regression results are presented in the form of odds ratios with statistical significance being indicated if ^p <0.1; *p < .05; **p < .01; or ***p < .001. All analyses are weighted using GSS population person weights.

Results

Sample Characteristics

The overall weighted analytical sample description and weighted sample description by confidence in police are provided in Table 1. From this, we can see that the majority of Canadians have a great deal (45.68%) or some (46.93%) confidence in the police and that fewer people have low (5.60%) to no (1.79%) confidence in the police. Visible minorities make up 15.08% of the sample, with females (50.42%) being the majority gender. Landed immigrants account for nearly 20% of the sample, with almost 50% of immigrants reporting great confidence in the police. Of the 20% of immigrants, almost 38% have arrived in Canada since 2000. This means that more than a third of all immigrants have arrived within a 14-year period, a substantial portion of total immigrants. Age has an even distribution overall, indicating that the survey was completed by all age groups with a similar number of respondents. Half of the respondents are married (50.00%), followed by single (27.78%) and living common-law (11.24%). The sample is well educated, with more than 25% of respondents holding a bachelor's degree or higher.

As age increases, a great deal of confidence also increases, showing that older people are more confident in the police, with the exception of respondents under 35 who report the highest rates of some confidence (53.55% and 50.78%). Additionally, as age increases, the number of

respondents reporting low to no confidence steadily decreases (9.28% to 2.99%). Notably, in the last age group, 75 years and older, some and low to no confidence in police are at their lowest frequencies for the entire age variable, which indicates that older people have the highest proportions of great confidence in the police and have fewer doubts overall.

In Table 1, we see that high school diploma or equivalent is the most common level of highest education obtained (27.32%) followed by college, CEGEP, other non-university diploma, university certificate or diploma below bachelor's level (25.50%). Additionally, rates of a great deal of confidence in the police increase as education increases. Furthermore, we see that the rates of low to no confidence decrease as education increases, suggesting that higher education may result in higher confidence in police.

Most people perceive their neighbourhoods to have lower crime rates than other areas (75.93%), and few believe that they live in high crime neighbourhoods (3.99%). However, those perceiving to live in high crime neighbourhoods reported having nearly equal rates of a great deal (29.81%) and low to no confidence in police (20.79%). This suggests that residents in high crime neighbourhoods are largely split on their views of the police and consequently have the highest rate of low to no confidence. In terms of household income, approximately 32% of people refused to provide information on household income. Of the remaining 68%, most respondents indicated that their annual household income is $140,000 or more (15.78%) followed by $40,000 to $59,999 (9.85%). Notably, as household income increases, fewer people report having low to no confidence in police (9.24% to 4.19%). Inversely, a great deal and some confidence increase slightly as income increases to account for this. This suggests that those with higher income are the most confident, and that those with the lowest income are the least confident.

< Table 1>

Multivariate Analysis

Next, binary logistic regression is used to estimate the likelihood of reporting (1) a great deal of confidence against (0) some, low, to no (referent) confidence in police, by the independent and control variables (Table 2). All variables are controlled for within this model as they have been previously identified as having significant impacts on confidence in police in other studies and countries, or act as novel variables of interest and are maintained in respect to intersectionality.

Educational Disparities

Table 2 answers the first research question, which asks how confidence in police varies by education. Those with less than high school education are 18% more likely ($p < 0.01$) to have great confidence in police as compared to those with high school diplomas or equivalent. Additionally, respondents who are educated with college, CEGEP, other non-university diploma, university certificate or diploma below bachelor's level are 16% more likely ($p < 0.01$) and those who hold a bachelor's degree are 19% more likely ($p < 0.01$) to have a great deal of confidence in police than those with high school education. Lastly, as we increase education, once reaching the highest education, university certificate, diploma, or degree above the bachelor's, individuals are the most likely (27% more likely, $p < 0.001$) to have a great deal of confidence in police as compared to those with high school diplomas or equivalent. This demonstrates that those with the highest education are most likely have the highest confidence in police and those with high school education have the lowest confidence in police.

The ordered logistic regression shows that when accounting for the trichotomous confidence variable (great, some, and low to no confidence), only less than high school loses

significance while all other education remains significant with little variation in odds ratios between the regressions. This suggests that education has a significant impact on confidence in police for all respondents with a college education or greater and are more likely to have increased confidence in police. These findings answer my question by demonstrating that education is positively associated with confidence in police. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between education and confidence in police using the binary regression data.

<Table 2>

<Figure 1>

Table 2 also provides insight into the relationships between confidence in police and many of the other independent and control variables. Table 2 identifies that visible minorities are less likely (22%, $p < 0.001$) to have a great deal of confidence in police than non-visible minorities. When reviewing landed immigrant year, immigrants coming to Canada between 1960 and 1989 are significantly less likely to have a great deal of confidence in police as compared to those who arrived in 2000 to 2009. Non-immigrants were significantly less likely (35%, $p < .001$) to have a great deal of confidence in police as compared to immigrants who landed in 2000 to 2009. Alternatively, immigrants who just landed in 2010 and more recently are significantly more likely (61%, $p < 0.01$) to have a great deal of confidence than those who arrived in 2000 to 2009.

Individuals that feel that they do not belong to their community are less likely (42%, $p < .001$) to have a great deal of confidence compared to those who feel that they belong. Those who have been previously homeless are less likely (32%, $p < .01$) to have a great deal of confidence than those who have no history of homelessness. As compared to individuals who did not experience discrimination in the last 5 years, those who did are less likely (44%, $p < .001$) to

have a great deal of confidence in police. Individuals residing in rural/PEI areas are less likely (11%, $p < 0.01$) to have great confidence than those living in urban settings. Females are significantly more likely (10%, $p < .01$) to have a great deal of confidence in the police than men. Age is found to be positively associated with having great confidence; in other words, as age increases, the likelihood of having a great deal of confidence also increases. Those who are 15 to 24 years old are less likely (20%, $p < 0.01$) to have great confidence, and those who are 75 years or older are more likely (40%, $p < 0.001$) to have great confidence in the police, a 60% difference, when compared to 55 to 64-year old's. Respondents who are married are more likely (13%, $p < 0.05$) to have great confidence, and those who are divorced are less likely (13%, $p < 0.1$) to have great confidence compared to single people. The cut offs in Table 2's ordered regression shows that individuals with values equal to or less than -3.41 are classified as low to no confidence in the police, and those with values -0.53 and greater are classified as having great confidence in the police. Individuals reporting values between -3.41 and -0.53 are classified as having some confidence in police.

Neighbourhood Crime Perceptions and Household Income

Table 2 and Table 3A answer my second research question which asks if neighbourhood perceptions of crime and levels of household income affect confidence in police. In Table 2, neighbourhood crime perceptions show that those who believe their neighbourhood crime levels are higher than other areas are the least likely (43% less likely, $p < 0.001$) to have a great deal of confidence as compared to those living in areas with perceived lower levels of crime. Those believing to live in areas with the same level of crime as other areas are also less likely (36%, $p < 0.001$) to have a great deal of confidence as compared to those who believe they live in low crime neighbourhoods. This suggests that in comparison to low crime neighbourhoods,

individuals that believe they live in an area with above a low crime rating are more likely to have lower confidence in the police. This indicates that neighbourhood crime perceptions do significantly impact confidence in police.

Table 2 answers the portion of the question regarding household income. The binary logistic regression shows no relationship, but the ordered logistic regression shows that all household income earners below $79,999 are at least 11% less likely ($p < 0.1$) to be in the higher categories of confidence in the police when all other factors are held constant. This suggests that household income is a significant factor in determining confidence in police.

As mentioned in the analytic strategy, I further explore an interaction of visible minority status and the impacts of income as found in previous literature (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; 2002). Table 3A includes binary and ordinal regressions and an interaction term for visible minority status by household income to review this potential relationship.

The interaction term in Table 3A's binary regression of visible minority by household income indicates a slight negative trend in great confidence. Visible minorities making less than $20,000 are 85% more likely ($p < 0.05$) to have great confidence than non-visible minorities with the same income, as compared to those who make $140,000 or more. This likelihood drops to 65% more likely for visible minorities who make $40,000 to $59,999 than their non-visible minority counterparts, a 20% drop in likelihood. These results indicate that greater income for visible minorities is associated with decreased confidence in the police. However, this relationship is not present in the ordered regression interaction term, suggesting that it is only significant in determining visible minorities likelihood of having the highest confidence in police. Importantly, while the binary regression does indicate that visible minorities' confidence

in police drops as income increases, their initial likelihoods of having great confidence still remain significantly higher than their non-visible minority counterparts with the same income, as compared to those who make $140,000 or more.

<Table 3A>

Visible Minority and Immigrant Education Differences

The binary logistic regressions in Table 3B and 3C answer my third research question, which asks if confidence in police differs between visible minorities and immigrants with similar education. The interaction term in Table 3B of visible minority status by education shows little overall trend with the college, CEGEP, or other non-university diploma or university certificate or diploma below bachelor's level being the only significant relationship less likely (36%, $p < 0.01$) to have great confidence. This remains relatively consistent in the ordered logistic regression in Table 3B. This suggests that visible minority education overall has minimal significant differences as compared to non-visible minorities' education, which found more education resulted in greater confidence.

The interaction term in Table 3C of immigrant status by education shows that immigrants with college, CEGEP, or other non-university diploma or university certificate or diploma below bachelor's level and all education above, are significantly less likely to have great confidence in the police as compared to non-immigrants with the same education. Immigrants holding a university certificate, diploma, or degree above a bachelor's are the least likely (34% less likely, $p < 0.01$) to have great confidence in the police as compared to non-immigrants with the same education. This trend is consistent in the ordered regression, indicating that this relationship exists on all levels of confidence, not just the likelihood of having a great deal of confidence. Immigrants with higher education have significantly more negative perceptions of the police than

non-immigrants with the same education. This suggests that as immigrant education increases their confidence in the police decreases.

<Table 3B and 3C>

Sensitivity analyses were performed within the binary and ordered logistic regressions to determine if alternative interaction terms presented significant relationships. Relationships tested included neighbourhood crime perceptions by income, by visible minority status, by immigrant status, and lastly by urban/rural centres, finding no significantly different relationships in any of these possible interactions. I also tested interaction terms for immigrant status by household income, by age, and by sense of belonging, finding no significant relationships as compared to non-immigrants. This indicates visible minority and immigrant status by neighbourhood crime perceptions do not have significantly different impacts on confidence in police than they do for non-visible minorities and non-immigrants. Lastly, immigrant status by education and visible minority status by household income are the only significant interactions, meaning that there are differences in confidence for these groups when interacted with income.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study was one of the first to incorporate an intersectional framework to review Canadian confidence in police with the goal of determining how previously identified factors impact Canadian confidence. This research was unique, as it incorporated Kimberlé Crenshaw's (1989) intersectional framework to identify and analyze the multidimensionality of identity and life circumstances by building on the existing confidence in police research that previously found mixed results on, education, neighbourhood crime, income, visible minority status, and immigrant status (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Cao, 2011; Jung et al., 2019; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). My results show that overall visible minorities are less likely to have great confidence in

the police, in line with previous research performed in Canada (Cao, 2011; Jung et al., 2019; Sprott & Doob, 2014). However, my study adds to this area of research by showing that these effects are still present when controlling for many other contextual and identifying factors such as age, gender, marital status, income, education, neighbourhood crime, whether they feel that they belong to their community, whether they have ever been previously homeless, and if they have been a victim of discrimination.

My first research question asked if education is associated with confidence in police. Previous research on education and confidence in police has been mixed, often with education being transformed into a continuous measure and finding negative associations (Cao, 2011; Jung et al., 2019). However, by treating education as a categorical variable, I show that as levels of education increase, one's likelihood of having great confidence in police also increases, countering the previous Canadian findings. This method allowed for the successful completion of educational credentials to be compared, rather than committed years of education with no indication if the respondent was successful in obtaining any credential. This could be a better method to review education as education type has a major impact on an individual's career options and path. However, it is important to note that the possession of an educational credential or degree may not directly indicate or determine an individual's ability or skill. But the absence of these credentials may impact prospective job applicants as many employers filter out and disqualify applicants based on missing and incomplete credentials, not years committed to education. The General Social Survey victimization cycle provides a measure of completed credentials, limiting the analysis to predetermined levels of completed education with no indication of the years committed.

My second research question asked if neighbourhood crime perceptions and levels of household income affect confidence in police. I found that individuals who believed they lived in neighbourhoods with higher crime rates than other areas were significantly less likely to be confident in the police. This reflects the previous literature that found that negative neighbourhood confidence in police could be explained by extreme levels of violent crime happening within their communities (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998), the safety perceptions, the collective norms, and cultural beliefs of a citizen's neighbourhood (Crank et al., 2003; Huebner et al., 2004; Priest & Carter, 1999). Individuals who believed that they lived in areas with the same crime as other areas were also found to be significantly less likely to have great confidence in the police. Importantly, this only accounts for 24% of the sample because more than 75% of respondents believe they live in a low crime area. It is possible that respondents are misinterpreting their true neighbourhood crime rates and believe that their crime level is lower than other areas as it is a subjective evaluation, and it is unclear how high and low crime is determined by respondents. These neighbourhood crime perception findings remain important as they impact confidence in police, however, they should be interpreted with caution due to its subjective nature.

Recent Canadian research has not included income variables due to their high amount of missing cases (Cao, 2011). However, excluding income has not allowed for the creation of any baseline information regarding income's influence on confidence in police in Canada. My study retains the missing values, placing them in their own category, finding that all individuals with household income below $79,999 are less likely to have great confidence in the police compared to those earning $140,000 or more. This is supported by previous literature that found all individuals occupying lower socioeconomic levels hold more negative views of the police than

the wealthy (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer & Touch, 2002). When exploring the interaction of visible minority status by household income, I found that visible minorities in select income levels (less than $20,000, $40,000 to $59,999, and $80,000 to $99,999) have significantly higher likelihoods of having great confidence as compared to non-visible minorities within the same income groups. Across these three income groups, there is a slight negative trend where this confidence decreases as visible minority income increases, in line with previous research reporting that visible minorities living in higher classes have less confidence in police (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). Notably, this level of visible minority confidence is significantly higher than that of non-visible minorities with the same income, but when visible minority status is controlled for, net of other factors, it produces a negative effect. These findings suggest that poor visible minorities are more confident in the police than poor non-visible minorities, adding another layer of complexity to the previous Canadian literature that found that visible minorities are less confident in the police (Cao, 2011; Sprott & Doob, 2014). With more than 75% of respondents believing they live in low crime areas, coupled with increased poor visible minority confidence, it is possible that Canada does not experience the same degree of cynicism and demonization towards local police that has been found within impoverished minority communities in the United States (Meares & Kahan, 1998). Additionally, Canada may not have the same level of neighbourhood segregation, ghettoization, and welfare grouping, and therefore not experience the same compounding effects of impoverishment.

The interaction of visible minority status and household income shows that increased income has negative impacts on great confidence in police for visible minorities. This runs contradictory to the findings for non-visible minorities as it was found that individuals in lower

income brackets are more likely to be less confident in the police. While more work with income needs to be completed, this research finds that household income below $79,999 does affect confidence in police.

My third research question asked if confidence in police differs between visible minorities and immigrants with similar levels of education. I found that visible minorities with college, CEGEP, or other non-university diploma, or university certificate, or diploma below bachelor's level, are the only visible minorities who experience significant differences, making them less likely to have great confidence in police as compared to non-visible minorities. Because only respondents in one education category are less likely to be confident in the police, these findings weakly support previous work that found African Americans with higher educational attainment hold more negative views of police than less educated African Americans (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999; Cao, 2011). All other education was not significantly different from the non-interacted education variable. This suggests that visible minorities have the same positive likelihoods of confidence in police as non-visible minorities. The findings from my study add to the existing Canadian literature but demonstrates that disaggregated data can offer deeper clarity and nuance to this previously mixed relationship.

Similar to visible minorities, immigrants holding college, CEGEP, or other non-university diploma or university certificate or diploma below bachelor's level were found to be significantly less likely to have great confidence in the police as compared to non-immigrants with the same education. In contrast to visible minorities, it was found that immigrants holding a college education and above are all significantly less likely to have great confidence in the police as compared to non-immigrants with the same education. Lastly, immigrants with the highest education were found to be the least likely to be confident in the police, in line with previous

research (Brown & Coulter, 1983; Cao, 2011; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). However, this also counters some of the previous literature which broadly suggested that all individuals with greater educational attainment, a stronger understanding of the justice system, reduced involvement in crime heavy communities, and the superior critical thinking skills obtained through post-secondary institutions may increase confidence in the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002; Wortley et al., 1997). For all non-immigrants, this may be true as increased education is associated with increased likelihoods of confidence. It is unclear why immigrants deviate from this positive trend. However, one reason could be that they are arriving in Canada with preconceived ideas of the police based on the different roles police services hold in their origin countries and use that as a frame of reference (Jung et al., 2019). Additionally, if immigrants are obtaining their post-secondary education in Canada, it is possible that they immigrated years earlier and have since lost their leap of faith mentality, causing reduced confidence and further reducing it the more years they stay.

This study replicates the findings from recent Australian and Canadian immigration studies, as it was found that recent immigrants, landing in the year 2000 to present, are more likely to be confident in the police, but the more time spent in Canada, the less likely they are to have great confidence in the police. This speaks directly to the previous research in Australia that found that over time immigrant confidence dropped, and a ‘leap of faith’ phenomenon was present (Bradford et al., 2017; Pass et al., 2020). The findings of this study suggest that the more time spent in an immigrant’s new country, the inclusion of higher education, and the possibility that immigrants may arrive with preconceived negative perceptions of the police (Jung et al., 2019; Nannestad et al., 2014) all negatively impact confidence in police. Without the inclusion

of interaction terms and the implementation of an intersectional framework, the unique experiences of immigrants would go unnoticed.

This exploratory question demonstrates that the intersection of multiple dimensions of identity, such as immigrant status and educational attainment, can result in unique experiences that impact confidence in police. This is important to consider because using an intersectional approach allows for the experiences and life circumstances that determine an individual's confidence in police to be reviewed on multiple-axes rather than a single-axis approach. Simply identifying as an immigrant with no reference to one's arrival date, education, and life circumstances does not accurately determine one's confidence in police. As demonstrated, many factors impact the likelihood of having confidence in police, and this further illustrates why the implementation of intersectional perspectives and use of disaggregated data forms within confidence in police research needs to be utilized. These findings provide a greater understanding of the existing relationships that have been previously gone unexamined when reviewing confidence in police.

The GSS provides a large and representative sample of Canadians, but there remain to be some limitations with particular variables. The options provided as answers in the question asking one's level of confidence in police are vague. Furthermore, it is not clear for what reasons an individual may have these perceptions of the police, and it remains unanswerable even when including the additional identifying variables. Respondents may suppress feelings regarding confidence in police in surveys for fear of consequences and anonymity or overstate negative feelings based on singular interactions. Another limitation is that income is a commonly skipped question on surveys, making analysis relating to income extremely difficult. While some findings related to income and visible minority status by income are found, the full effect of income

remains difficult to measure due to this limitation. Increased income response rates may provide more applicable data for non-visible minorities. A final limitation to consider is the exclusion of the interaction terms of gender by visible minority status, gender by immigrant status, and other variations. While these are important relationships to explore, the scope and size of this paper restricts further investigation. Gender and its interaction with these factors could act as a separate paper with greater focus on gender, gender identity, and sexual orientation and their unique relationships with confidence in the police.

Despite these limitations, my findings suggest that many factors impact confidence in police in different ways. These findings further support the use of Kimberlé Crenshaw's (1989) intersectionality as a theoretical framework in policing and victimization research to better account for identifying characteristics, life experiences, perceptions, contextual factors, and allowing for the analysis and multiplication of identifying characteristics. Acknowledging that the multiplication of many factors in one's life can contribute to the positive or negative interactions with the police is imperative to furthering police service's organizational purpose and promise as the public's confidence in police is a crucial factor in a police department's ability to serve its community effectively.

These findings indicate that community policing efforts must be sensitive to the unique experiences of individuals and not categorize or treat them based on singular factors. For example, if police services can work with individuals in impoverished high crime minority neighbourhoods they could begin to improve their confidence in the police service and work together to reduce the problem crimes that they experience every day. Because residents are more inclined to report crime and victimization to the police when they are confident in them

(Murphy et al., 2013), working together, they can begin to make policing the well-functioning and highly valued organization that it is meant to be.

Future research should investigate the reasons why these negative relationships exist and the impacts for individuals that identify as indigenous. This study could act as a guide for future qualitative research to explore the specific details around why these factors impact confidence in police in Canada. While not included in this paper, the history of indigenous peoples in Canada and their experiences with the police should be reviewed as a separate research topic with a greater focus on accurate measurements for indigenous specific identities and with respect to the long history of Canada's colonization. Using these findings, police services could improve their community policing approach to enact meaningful change and further improve their public relations by integrating these findings into their existing community programming and developing new outreach activities. This study offers a national-level baseline for future studies to reference.

Table 1
Weighted Descriptive Statistics of Analytic Sample Overall and by Confidence in Police, 2014 General Social Survey – Victimization Cycle

	Overall (%)	Great Deal of Confidence (%)	Some Confidence (%)	Low to No Confidence* (%)
Confidence in Police				
Great Deal of Confidence	45.68	-	-	-
Some Confidence	46.93	-	-	-
Low Confidence	5.60	-	-	-
No Confidence	1.79	-	-	-
Female	50.42	46.50	47.35	5.75
Male	49.58	44.43	46.51	9.06
Visible Minority	15.08	43.34	49.87	6.79
Non-visible Minority	84.92	46.09	46.41	7.50
Age				
15 to 24	15.50	39.94	50.78	9.28
25 to 34	16.63	36.55	53.55	9.90
35 to 44	16.05	44.91	47.16	7.93
45 to 54	17.91	46.65	46.30	7.06
55 to 64	16.35	49.41	44.29	6.29
65 to 74	10.53	52.93	42.03	5.04
75 years and older	7.03	59.63	37.38	2.99
Marital Status				
Married	50.00	50.31	44.35	5.34
Living Common-law	11.24	39.13	50.54	10.34
Widowed	4.53	55.22	41.18	3.60
Separated	2.09	42.10	46.64	11.28
Divorced	4.36	41.86	48.19	9.95
Single, never married	27.78	39.31	50.89	9.81
Landed Immigrant	19.21	49.50	44.12	6.38
Not a Landed Immigrant	80.79	44.77	47.60	7.63
Landed Immigrant Year				
Before 1959	1.52	61.62	34.07	4.31
1960 to 1969	1.73	50.57	45.23	4.20
1970 to 1979	2.43	46.06	45.96	7.28
1980 to 1989	2.31	42.66	46.72	10.62
1990 to 1999	3.79	46.90	45.44	7.66
2000 to 2009	5.76	49.19	45.62	5.19
2010 and After	1.67	58.79	37.73	3.48
Not an immigrant	80.79	44.77	47.60	7.63

Education				
Less than high school	14.46	48.25	42.07	9.68
High School Diploma or Equivalent	27.32	42.79	49.34	7.87
Trade Certificate or Diploma	6.72	39.83	49.94	10.23
College, CEGEP, other non-University Diploma, University Certificate or Diploma Below Bachelor's Level	25.50	46.49	46.77	6.74
Bachelor's Degree	18.06	46.90	47.66	5.44
University Certificate, Diploma, or Degree above the Bachelor's	7.94	50.46	43.82	5.72
Household Income				
Not Stated/Missing Cases	31.97	42.89	47.57	9.54
Less than $20,000	2.73	43.90	46.64	9.46
$20,000 to $39,999	7.98	48.57	43.03	8.40
$40,000 to $59.999	9.85	46.44	45.19	8.37
$60,000 to $79,999	9.61	45.82	48.09	6.09
$80,000 to $99,999	8.85	47.15	46.49	6.36
$100,000 to $119,999	7.33	47.26	46.78	5.96
$120,000 to $139,999	5.91	46.27	47.91	5.82
$140,000 or more	15.78	47.81	47.99	4.19
Neighbourhood Crime Perceptions				
Higher than other areas	3.99	29.81	49.40	20.79
The same as other areas	20.07	36.19	54.24	9.57
Lower than other areas	75.93	49.02	44.87	6.11
Sense of Belonging to Community				
Belong to the Community	76.97	49.55	44.47	5.99
Don't Belong to the Community	23.03	32.93	55.05	12.02
Previously Homeless	1.63	28.55	40.88	30.57
Never Previously Homeless	98.37	45.96	47.03	7.01
Discriminated Against in Last 5 Years	13.17	30.48	53.28	16.24
Not Discriminated Against in Last 5 Years	86.83	47.98	45.97	6.05
Population Centre				
Urban	83.47	45.72	47.21	7.07
Rural/PEI	16.53	45.46	45.54	9.00
N	29,883	13,650	14,024	2,209

Note: Tables uses the weighted analytic sample.
Table displays values in percentage format.

Table 2

Odds ratios from a weighted binary logistic regression of having a great deal of confidence in police, and odds ratios from an ordered logistic regression of confidence in police, by all variables, 2014 General Social Survey - Victimization Cycle

	Binary Logistic Regression	Ordered Logistic Regression
	Odds Ratios	Odds Ratios
Education (Ref = High school diploma/equivalent)		
Less than high school	1.18**	1.09
Trade Certificate or Diploma	0.92	0.90
College, CEGEP, other non-University Diploma, University Certificate or Diploma Below Bachelor's Level	1.16**	1.16***
Bachelor's Degree	1.19**	1.21***
University Certificate, Diploma, or Degree above the Bachelor's	1.27***	1.25**
Neighbourhood Crime Perceptions (Ref = Lower)		
Higher than Other Areas	0.57***	0.46***
The Same as Other Areas	0.64***	0.65***
Household Income (Ref = $140,000 or more)		
Not Stated/Missing Cases	0.95	0.89*
Less than $20,000	0.92	0.86^
$20,000 to $39,999	0.94	0.86*
$40,000 to $59.999	0.91	0.85*
$60,000 to $79,999	0.91	0.88^
$80,000 to $99,999	0.99	0.95
$100,000 to $119,999	1.04	1.00
$120,000 to $139,999	0.97	0.94
Visible Minority (Ref= Not Visible Minority)	0.78***	0.85*
Landed immigrant year (Ref = 2000 to 2009)		
Before 1959	0.85	0.84
1960 to 1969	0.66**	0.66**
1970 to 1979	0.62***	0.59***
1980 to 1989	0.62***	0.56***
1990 to 1999	0.84	0.80^
2010 and After	1.61**	1.58**
Not an immigrant	0.65***	0.66***
Sense of Belonging to Community (Ref = Belong)		
Don't belong	0.58***	0.59***
Previously Homeless (Ref = Never homeless)	0.68**	0.44***
Discriminated Against in Last 5 Years (Ref = Never)	0.56***	0.51***

Area of Residence (Ref = Urban)		
Rural/PEI	0.89**	0.86***
Female (Ref = Male)	1.10**	1.16***
Age (Ref = 55 to 64)		
15 to 24	0.80**	0.81**
25 to 34	0.66***	0.67***
35 to 44	0.84***	0.82***
45 to 54	0.91^	0.91^
65 to 74	1.13*	1.16**
75 years and older	1.40***	1.46***
Marital Status (Ref = Single, Never married)		
Married	1.13*	1.15*
Living Common-law	0.89	0.88^
Widowed	1.06	1.08
Separated	0.94	0.90
Divorced	0.87^	0.87^
Constant	1.68	-
Cut 1	-	-3.41
Cut 2	-	-0.53
Adj R^2 =	*0.0458*	*0.0454*
N	29,883	29,883

Note: Table uses estimated odds ratios. Table uses the calculated analytic sample.
* = Due to small cases, grouped.
Significance indicated by: ^p <0.1; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 3A

Interaction term of visible minority x household income with odds ratios from a weighted binary logistic regression of having a great deal of confidence in police, and odds ratios from an ordered logistic regression of confidence in police, by all variables, 2014 General Social Survey - Victimization Cycle

	Binary Logistic Regression	Ordered Logistic Regression
	Odds Ratios	Odds Ratios
Visible Minority (Ref= Not Visible Minority)	0.61**	0.73*
Household Income (Ref = $140,000 or more)		
Not Stated/Missing Cases	0.92	0.87*
Less than $20,000	0.86	0.82*
$20,000 to $39,999	0.92	0.85*
$40,000 to $59.999	0.87*	0.82**
$60,000 to $79,999	0.91	0.91
$80,000 to $99,999	0.94	0.93
$100,000 to $119,999	0.99	0.97
$120,000 to $139,999	0.97	0.96
Visible Minority x Household Income		
Visible Minority x Not Stated/Missing	1.31	1.22
Visible Minority x Less than $20,000	1.85*	1.47
Visible Minority x $20,000 to $39,999	1.32	1.10
Visible Minority x $40,000 to $59,000	1.65*	1.46^
Visible Minority x $60,000 to $79.999	0.96	0.79
Visible Minority x $80,000 to $99,999	1.74*	1.34
Visible Minority x $100,000 to $119,000	1.51	1.38
Visible Minority x $120,000 to $139,000	1.00	0.85
Constant	1.12	
Cut 1	-	-3.01
Cut 2	-	-0.13
Adj R^2 =	*0.0465*	*0.0459*
N	29,883	29,883

Note: *Controls for immigrant status, landed immigrant year, neighbourhood crime perceptions, household income, sense of belonging, previous homelessness, population centre, discrimination experience in the last 5 years, female, age, marital status.*
Table uses estimated odds ratios. Table uses the calculated analytic sample.
Significance indicated by: ^p <0.1; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 3B

Interaction term of visible minority x education with odds ratios from a weighted binary logistic regression of having a great deal of confidence in police, and odds ratios from an ordered logistic regression of confidence in police, by all variables, 2014 General Social Survey - Victimization Cycle

	Binary Logistic Regression	Ordered Logistic Regression
	Odds Ratios	Odds Ratios
Visible Minority (Ref= Not Visible Minority)	0.93	1.02
Education (Ref = High school diploma/equivalent)		
Less than high school	1.19**	1.10^
Trade Certificate or Diploma	0.95	0.93
College, CEGEP, other non-University Diploma, University Certificate or Diploma Below Bachelor's Level	1.22***	1.22***
Bachelor's Degree	1.21***	1.25***
University Certificate, Diploma, or Degree above the Bachelor's	1.27***	1.27**
Visible Minority x Education		
Visible Minority x Less than high school	0.95	0.94
Visible Minority x Trade Certificate or Diploma	0.75	0.79
Visible Minority x College, CEGEP, or other non-university Diploma or University Certificate or Diploma Below Bachelor's Level	0.64**	0.66**
Visible Minority x Bachelor's Degree	0.84	0.90
Visible Minority x University Certificate, Diploma, or Degree above the Bachelor's Level	0.87	0.84
Constant	1.07	
Cut 1	-	-2.97
Cut 2	-	-0.10
Adj R^2 =	*0.0464*	*0.0458*
N	29,883	29,883

Note: *Controls for immigrant status, landed immigrant year, neighbourhood crime perceptions, household income, sense of belonging, previous homelessness, population centre, discrimination experience in the last 5 years, female, age, marital status.*
Table uses estimated odds ratios. Table uses the calculated analytic sample.
Significance indicated by: ^p <0.1; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 3C

Interaction term of immigrant status x education with odds ratios from a weighted binary logistic regression of having a great deal of confidence in police, and odds ratios from an ordered logistic regression of confidence in police, by all variables, 2014 General Social Survey - Victimization Cycle

	Binary Logistic Regression	Ordered Logistic Regression
	Odds Ratios	Odds Ratios
Immigrant Status (Ref= Not an immigrant)	1.90***	1.86***
Education (Ref = High school diploma/equivalent)		
Less than high school	1.19**	1.10
Trade Certificate or Diploma	0.93	0.92
College, CEGEP, other non-University Diploma, University Certificate or Diploma Below Bachelor's Level	1.22***	1.21***
Bachelor's Degree	1.25***	1.27***
University Certificate, Diploma, or Degree above the Bachelor's	1.41***	1.40***
Immigrant x Education		
Immigrant x Less than high school	0.93	0.99
Immigrant x Trade Certificate or Diploma	0.99	0.93
Immigrant x College, CEGEP, or other non-university Diploma or University Certificate or Diploma Below Bachelor's Level	0.72**	0.74*
Immigrant x Bachelor's Degree	0.77^	0.76*
Immigrant x University Certificate, Diploma, or Degree above the Bachelor's Level	0.66**	0.65**
Constant	1.06	
Cut 1	-	-2.97
Cut 2	-	-0.09
Adj R^2 =	*0.0464*	*0.0459*
N	29,883	29,883

Note: *Controls for immigrant status, landed immigrant year, neighbourhood crime perceptions, household income, sense of belonging, previous homelessness, population centre, discrimination experience in the last 5 years, female, age, marital status.*
Table uses estimated odds ratios. Table uses the calculated analytic sample.
Significance indicated by: ^p < 0.1; *p <.05; **p <.01; ***p <.001 (two-tailed tests)

Figure 1. Percent Likelihood of Great Confidence in Police by Education

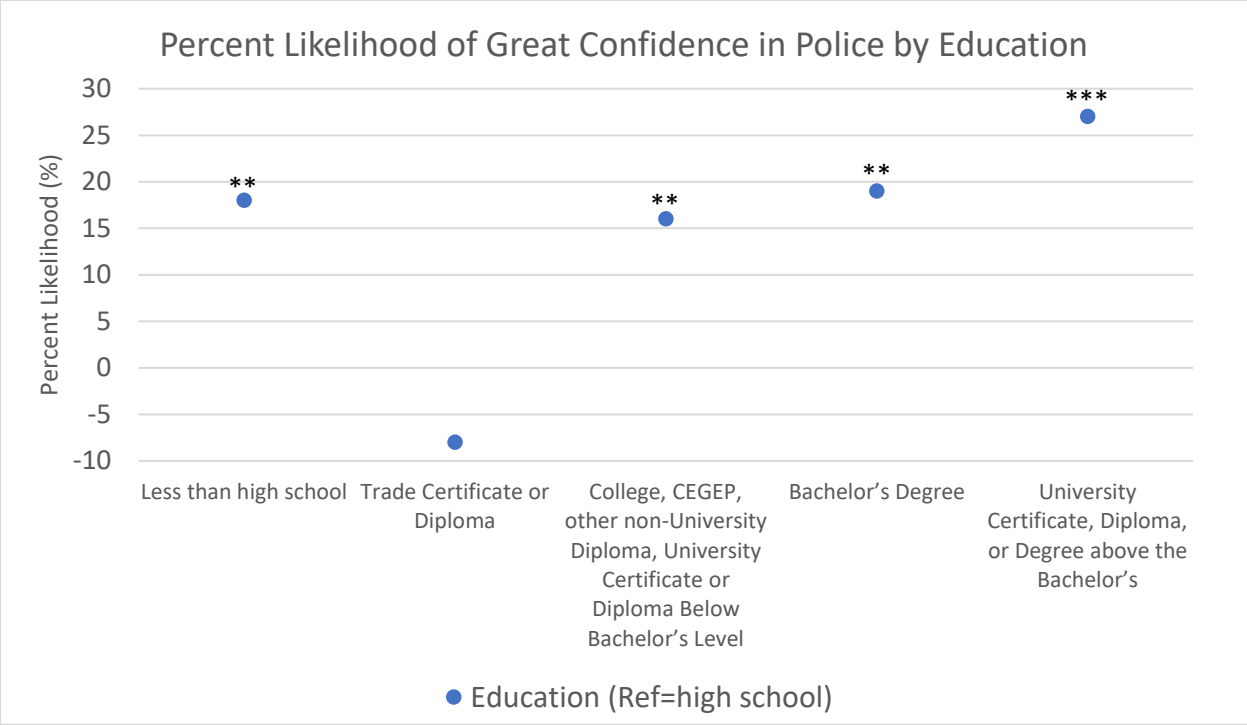

Figure 1: Displays values from Table 2's binary logistic regression using the analytic sample by all independent and control variables, 2014 General Social Survey - Victimization Cycle. Values use high school education as referent category. Odds ratios presented as percent likelihoods of having great confidence in the police. Percent values greater than 0 indicate positive likelihoods of having great confidence relative to high school education. Significance is indicated by: ^p < 0.1; *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

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