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Boroughs and the Badge: Local Contexts and Confidence in Police

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Abstract

As citizens interact with the police more than most civil servants, increasing the citizenry's confidence in police is key to helping maintain rule of law and internal stability within a state. One of the key areas to be investigated in the pursuit of better police-community relations is on the impact of public services and housing on police legitimacy. Historically, American cities have been widely segregated based on race and income, especially in urban areas, which in turn alters the services available in those areas. The public services and the neighborhoods in which they are delivered are key parts of many people's lives, positioning them as an important variable in determining whether individuals have confidence in their police force. This paper will investigate the relationship between the satisfaction individuals have for their local context and their confidence in police to answer: Do conditions in an individual's city or town causes them to lose confidence in the police?

Keywords

police, police confidence, public trust, policing

Disciplines

American Politics | Criminology and Criminal Justice | Political Science | Public Affairs | Urban Studies

Comments

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Boroughs and the Badge: Local Contexts and Confidence in Police

The relationship between Americans and the police forces in their communities is under immense strain after nationwide protests over the death of George Floyd, among many others, at the hands of police. Gallup polling conducted in October of 2020 found that public confidence in police was at a record low 48%, the first time that a majority of Americans did not express confidence in them (Brenan 2020). These results come at a time that police forces globally are facing challenges to their legitimacy. In Nigeria, for example, massive protests have erupted calling for an end to the Special Anti-Robbery Squad, a largely unaccountable police force which has been accused of dozens of counts of abuse and murder by international organizations (Lawal and Olanrewaju 2020). Meanwhile in London, the Black Lives Matter movement continues protesting the way in which black and brown people face systemic oppression in England (Baggs 2020). The American BLM protests have sparked a worldwide movement against police brutality around the globe, lending support to activists seeking to reform their state's police system.

Politicians and political scientists are now turning more than ever to the rigorous study of policing. The use of field experiments conducted in live environments with the assistance of police is a growing type of field research used to investigate the relationships between police and citizens (Braga et al. 2014). These investigations have been conducted both domestically in America and globally, such as a major field study conducted in the Turkish city of Adana (Sahin 2016) and have led to policy changes as far back as the 1980's. This rise is not just due to

researchers seeking to investigate the role of police in society, but also due to state interest in how to improve police legitimacy and effectiveness (Braga et al. 2014).

As citizens interact with the police more than most civil servants (Mazerolle et al. 2013), increasing the citizenry's confidence in police is key to helping maintain rule of law and internal stability within a state. One of the key areas to be investigated in the pursuit of better police-community relations is on the impact of public services and housing on police legitimacy. Historically, American cities have been widely segregated based on race and income, especially in urban areas, which in turn alters the services available in those areas (Trounstine 2020). The public services and the neighborhoods in which they are delivered are key parts of many people's lives, positioning them as an important variable in determining whether individuals have confidence in their police force. This paper will investigate the relationship between the satisfaction individuals have for their local context and their confidence in police to answer: Do conditions in an individual's city or town causes them to lose confidence in the police?

The paper will examine previous literature in the field of criminology and political science connected to the examination of public trust and confidence in police. Literature on the subject has expanded in recent years, with new field experiments allowing for deeper understandings of how public opinion on police is influenced. This paper will then examine contemporary datasets to look for a significant relationship between confidence in police and satisfaction of city/town conditions on a global scale. Following this, this paper will examine these relationships with a series of controlled variables to examine large-scale trends in the public-police relationship. These controls will allow for a better examination of the global conditions in which the public loses confidence in the police and the magnitude of each factor.

This examination will be key to determining a way forward for police reform as many states work to rebuild community trust in police forces.

Process-Based Investigative Model

The study of police legitimacy is one relatively underdeveloped in the field of political science (Blair et al. 2019). However, in the field of criminology, there is significant literature on causes of police legitimacy which center around two major theories: those investigating the influence of process-based procedural justice on confidence in police and those investigating the influence of citizen contexts on confidence in police. Between these two the study of procedural justice has been investigated to a much greater degree (Zhao et al. 2016). Procedural justice is the theoretical approach that the more impartially and fairly ('fair' being a largely perceived value) the police conduct their jobs, the greater the degree of confidence and legitimacy that the community will assign to them, as supported in a wide range of studies (Blair et al. 2019; Li et al. 2016; Mazerolle 2014; Mazerolle et al. 2013: Hamm et al. 2017; Bryden et al. 2008)

Currently, the study of procedural justice has been centered around the proposal and defenses of the "process-based model of legitimacy" (Tyler 2003, 2004, 2008) as opposed to the classic trust model. The process-based model argues that cooperation with the police stems from how individuals are treated by police and an obligation to obey law enforcement (Hamm et al. 2017). This proposed theory has been investigated and supported through empirical evidence by both data-based research and by randomized field trials, (Mazerolle 2014; Pryce et al. 2016; Nix et al. 2014). This has led to scholarship largely moving away from the classic trust model, which argues that ability, integrity, and benevolence lead to trust between law enforcement and citizens, which in turn leads to cooperation (Hamm et al. 2017).

With the growth of field experiments, several have been conducted using the assumptions of the process-based model, yielding fruitful data on what affects public confidence in police and thereby police legitimacy. (Braga et al. 2014) One groundbreaking trial, conducted by Lorraine Mazerolle in 2013, utilized traffic stops in Queensland, Australia to examine the effect procedural justice programs had on public perceptions, making it the "first randomized field trial of legitimacy policing" (Mazerolle 2013). This was later emulated by Sahin et al., who conducted a similar study in Adana, Tukey (2015). Both found that the influence of procedural justice improved public perceptions of the individual interactions with police (Mazerolle 2013; Sahin et al. 2015); however, these two major studies came to differing conclusions regarding general views toward police, with Mazerolle et al. arguing confidence may be improved through such interactions (2013), and Sahin et al. arguing that one interaction would have little impact on general confidence levels(2015). Both, however, utilized the process-based model in their research design, something increasingly common in randomized field trials (Braga et al. 2014) These randomized trials utilizing on-duty police actions as a method of data collection have become a growing tool, as law enforcement agencies are increasingly allowing access to researchers in exchange for statistic-based proposals for how to improve community relationships. (Braga et al. 2014, Blair et al. 2019, Sahin et al. 2015)

Tyler's process-based model is a useful theory for examining the way in which police gain confidence and legitimacy from citizens, however, it is not without limitations. The biggest limitation of this model is that it is largely focused on police behavior, with little attention paid to the impact of identifying traits of citizens, which may alter their likelihood to have confidence in the police. Many populations globally do not see the police as a form of protection, but as a vulnerability, defined in the scholarship as "the potential for harms that run from concrete,

individual injury to more nebulous psychological harms." (Hamm et al. 2017) The model fails to account for populations for whom the quality of treatment and obligation may not outweigh the risk or history of police-related vulnerabilities. For example, in Sahin et al.s' study, the results emphasize how the police treat the traffic violator and not the identifying characteristics of the violators (2015). In this case, those of lower socioeconomic status who must commute to work may be more likely to be pulled over. Depending on the areas of the city it was conducted in, there could also be racial/ethnic biases in the data by virtue of observing crimes in minority-heavy neighborhoods and not noting that in the presentation of results (Sahin et al. 2015). These individual's general attitudes toward police may not have changed, as per the trial's findings, because those individuals may have been a part of a group in Turkey such as the Kurds, who view the police as a vulnerability.

Context-Based Model

The gaps left by the process-based model have been noted and challenged by scholars (Nix et al. 2014, Hamm et al. 2017), who argue that this top-down approach leads to a sort of colorblindness in terms of viewing how citizens interact with the police system. One of the most important challenges to the model argued that the classic trust model, while flawed, was more robust in contextualizing the reasons behind confidence and trust in police (Hamm et al. 2017). According to the process model, for example, if police in America treated a minority neighborhood with procedural justice principles, then community relations would likely improve. This model fails to consider that the neighborhood may lack basic services, access to healthcare, been previously victimized by police, etc. which may result in lower confidence levels. In response to these gaps, a second school of thought in the study of police legitimacy has arisen

focusing on the impact of the contexts of neighborhoods, cities, and communities on police legitimacy (Li et al. 2016).

Local context is an essential element in investigating public confidence in governmental bodies such as the police due to the importance of local expectations of the state. Research has shown that in general, citizens have expectations of their government and when those expectations are not met, their trust in public institutions is eroded (Wroe 2014). Studies in the field of political trust have found that this "implicit psychological-democratic contract" (Mattila and Rapeli 2017) applies to a great deal of topics, including healthcare, access to transportation, housing, and sanitary conditions, among others. One such study found through surveys in 19 Western European nations that those who were unsatisfied with their healthcare or were in poor health exhibited significantly lower confidence in the government than those who were satisfied or healthy (Mattila and Rapeli 2017).

In contexts and communities in which there is a history of mistrust, incompetency, or corruption, studies show that those contexts can have long lasting effects on public trust in major institutions, such as the medical field (Blair et al. 2017; Kauf et al. 2017; Casiday et al. 2006). Given the increasing academic investigation of modern forms of segregation in America, which is well established as predominately driven by racial and economic factors (Trounstine 2018, 2020: Enos 2017; Downey 2003), scholarship using the context-based model has expanded to account for these trends. This segregation has a direct impact on the quality and availability of services, particularly in cities with many land use regulations (Trounstine 2020). This segregated deprivation of high quality services can also cause long term effects on an individual's trust in public institutions- key works in the field have found that lower intergenerational mobility

reduces trust in government for multiple generations after the original discriminatory policies were first implemented (Chetty and Hendren 2018a, 2018b).

At present, preliminary evidence indicates that an individual's living contexts can have significant effects on their views of police (Nix et al. 2014; Trounstine 2018). Previously, one of the major vulnerabilities of the context-model was that it often insufficiently integrated context into the data collection process (Bryden et al. 2008). Studies, both of a survey-based nature and those conducted in the field (Blair et al. 2019; Li et al. 2016; Nadal et al. 2017; Pryce et al. 2016; Trounstine 2020), now much more commonly seek out information regarding trust in police and its relationship to the contexts of the units of study. The inclusion of context has led to multiple studies rejecting the process-based model's more simplistic explanation in favor a complex one, dependent on local history and social ties (Blair et al. 2019; Nix et al. 2014). For example, studies conducted in coordination with the Liberian National Police found through contextual analysis of the collected data that Liberians who were not a part of a secret society (powerful socio-political groups in Liberia) were far less likely to trust the police, something not explainable under the process-based model (Blair et al. 2019)

Others in the field have utilized the process-based model for the construction of hypotheses and research design but utilized contextual information as a control to check the veracity of the results (Pryce et al. 2016; Trounstine 2020). Others have examined the ways in which context specific views on the police translate into long term outcomes, such as health outcomes or cooperation with police (Blair et al. 2017; Kauf et al. 2017; Pryce et al 2016). For example, a study conducted among immigrant students in Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden found that higher perceptions of discrimination led to "current and future negative health outcomes", with a

greater effect stemming from actual or perceived police discrimination, supporting previous literature (Kauf et al. 2017; Schmitt et al. 2014). These findings have been of immense value to the field, as they have demonstrated the ability of the context-based model to not only discuss the more immediate impacts of attitudes toward police, but also the ability of the model to discover and evaluate long term trends in data sets.

Despite this proven capability, many of the studies in the field still avoid examining global-level patterns in interactions between citizens and police, focusing instead on the immediate impacts in national contexts (Nadal et al. 2017; Li et al. 2016). However, with the successes of high-profile studies conducted in conjunction with police to predict long term trends in public opinion (Blair et al. 2019; Sahin et al. 2015; Mazerolle et al. 2013), scholars from both major schools of thought are largely realigning their focus toward the study of long term outcomes and policy proposals (Chetty and Hendren 2018a, 2018b; Blair et al. 2019).

Causal Explanation and Hypothesis

While there are a great many factors which go into the public's trust and confidence in police, the contexts of individuals are major influences on that trust. As previous literature suggests (Blair et al. 2017; Kauf et al. 2017; Casiday et al. 2006), public trust in the government is connected to the contextual quality of public services, such as healthcare or housing (Trounstine 2018). The impacts of these contexts can be very long-lasting, potentially lowering levels of trust for generations after these initial harms (Chetty and Hendren 2018a, 2018b). It has also been well established that harmful distributions of public services and living contexts are often tied to systemic forms of discrimination (Trounstine 2018, 2020; Enos 2017; Downey 2003), and this discrimination extends into police-community relations (Trounstine 2020).

To this point, I believe that there is a direct and significant link between the contexts of an individual's town or city and their confidence and trust in police. This is because the services in cities make up an integral part of individual's daily life and affects their views of the government agencies which help run the city. In general, I believe that when individuals feel that their towns and cities are unsatisfactory in terms of healthcare, housing, public transportation, or schools, they will seek to place blame for this, and that blame will largely fall on law enforcement. Due to the police's position as the public servants with whom the public interacts the most, they are the most visible, and thereby easiest to blame. As a result of this:

1. I hypothesize that in a comparison of individuals, the lower satisfaction a respondent has in their city/town's contexts, the lower their confidence in the police will be.
2. I also hypothesize that the impact of a respondent's satisfaction level in their city/town's contexts will also be more significant than alternative variables when predicting confidence in police.

I will control for City/Town Size, Corruption, and Income Level. I control for city/town size because cities with higher populations generally have better access to higher numbers of services and higher quality services. This may cause cities/towns with lower populations to see a magnified decline in confidence in police as satisfaction goes down, while higher population cities/towns may see a lower level of decline in confidence in police as satisfaction goes down. I control for corruption in the respondent's governments as states have different levels of corruption. It is expected that those living in states with higher levels of corruption will have lower levels of confidence in the police than those living in states with lower levels of corruption. I control for income level because individuals with higher incomes may have better

access to public services and thereby improved satisfaction in their cities or towns. This may cause individuals of a higher income level to have higher confidence in police than those of a lower income level, who may lack the same access to public services or high-quality services.

Research Design

Introduction

In order to test the hypotheses, I examined data from the Wave 6 World Value Surveys. These data include an annual survey during the years 2010, 2011, 2013, and 2014, with 89,565 respondents from 60 countries around the globe.

I selected these data because I am researching the impact of city/town contexts on levels of police legitimacy on a global scale. These surveys asked respondents to both report their level of confidence in police and their levels of satisfaction for different categories of their local contexts. I selected these years specifically because they are the most recent years of World Value Survey data which have both questions about police confidence and questions about satisfaction with local contexts. I also chose these years to ensure that I had multiple years' worth of observations to increase the data available to me. Importantly, the data was collected in a global context, which allows for better examination of macro-level trends in police legitimacy. A constraint of these surveys is that respondents do not answer all questions, which limits the number of data points collected for each variable, and many of the variables are ordinal in nature which makes ascertaining the exact levels of confidence or satisfaction difficult.

Variable measurements

In order to operationalize the level of police legitimacy, I use the V113, or Confidence in Police variable. The survey question asked to respondents was "I am going to name a number of

organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all?" with a 1-4 scale. The scale was labeled as follows: "1. A great deal 2. Quite a lot 3. Not a lot 4. None at all." As seen in Table 1, mean confidence in police was 2.324, the mode was 2 ("Quite a lot"), and the median was also 2, indicating a relatively high level of confidence in the police across the globe.

Table 1: Confidence in the Police

Confidence Level	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
A great deal	15,410	17.61	17.61
Quite a lot	33,671	38.49	56.10
Not a lot	25,348	28.97	85.07
None at all	13,058	14.93	100.00
Total	87,487	100.00	

Source: 2010-2014 WVS Dataset

Respondents' satisfaction in their cities and towns was surveyed with responses to the question, "In the city or area where you live, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the quality of the following?". This question had multiple response variables, each with a scale ranging from 1-4, with -1 through -4 as additional options. The scale was as follows: "1. Very Satisfied 2. Fairly Satisfied 3. Fairly Unsatisfied 4. Very Unsatisfied -1. Don't know -2. Refused. -3 Not applicable -4. Not asked." Respondents with responses or non-responses in the categories of "Don't know", "Refused", "Not applicable", or "Not asked" were removed from the data. From the 8 variables for city/town satisfaction, 4 were chosen to focus on their specific impacts: "The schools", "The public transportation systems", "The quality of healthcare", and "The quality of housing."

School satisfaction had a mean of 2.384, a median of 2 for fairly satisfied, and a mode of 2 for fairly satisfied, all of which indicate globally respondents are fairly satisfied with their city/town's schools. Public transportation system satisfaction had a mean of 2.560, a median of 2 for fairly satisfied, and a mode of 2 for fairly satisfied, all of which indicate globally respondents are fairly satisfied with their city/town's public transportation systems. Healthcare satisfaction had a mean of 2.672, a median of 3 for fairly unsatisfied, and a mode of 2 for fairly satisfied, which indicate that global respondents are fairly satisfied to fairly unsatisfied with their city/town's quality of healthcare. Housing satisfaction had a mean of 2.491, a median of 2 for fairly satisfied, and a mode of 2 for fairly satisfied, all of which indicate globally respondents are fairly satisfied with their city/town's quality of housing. Figures 1-4 display the mean confidence scores of police by the respondents' levels of satisfaction with their city contexts, with lower mean confidence scores of police representing greater levels of police legitimacy.

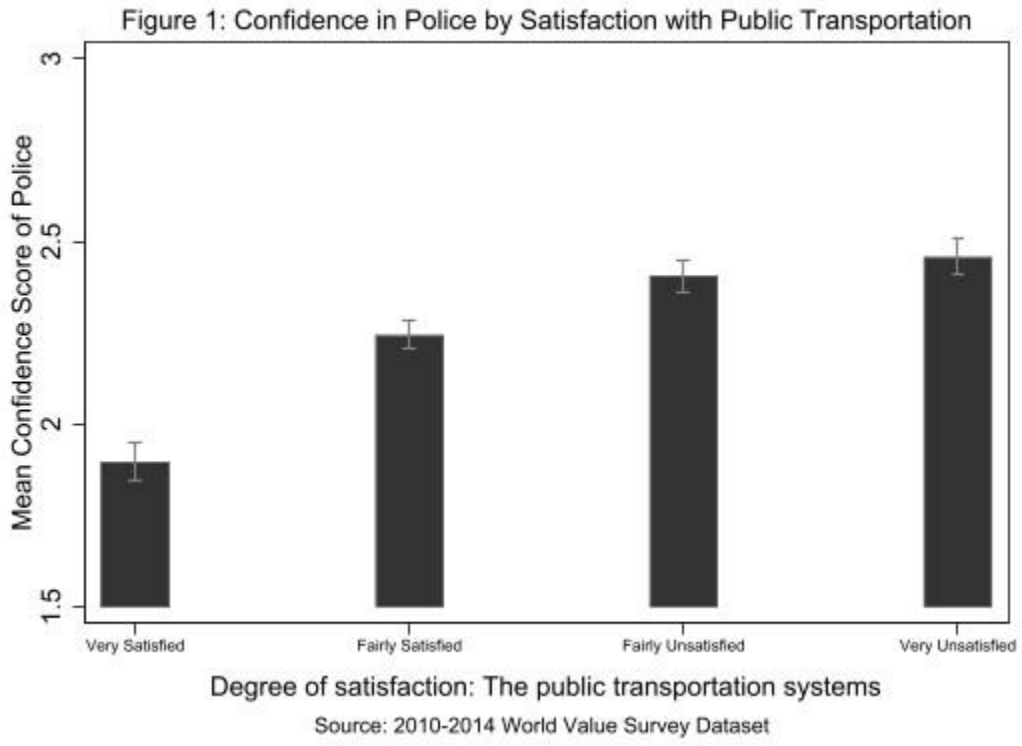
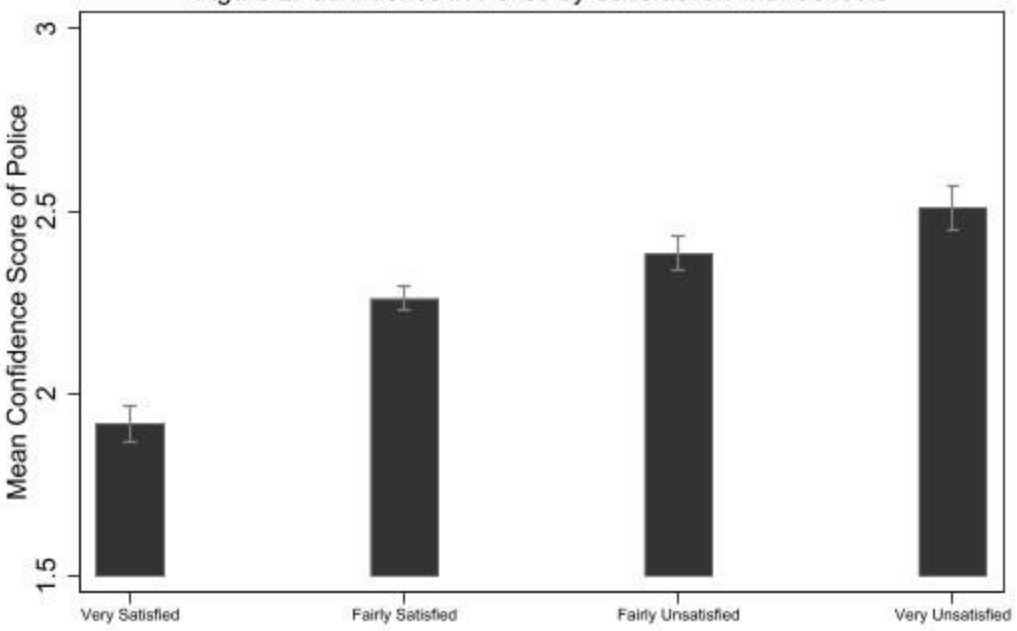
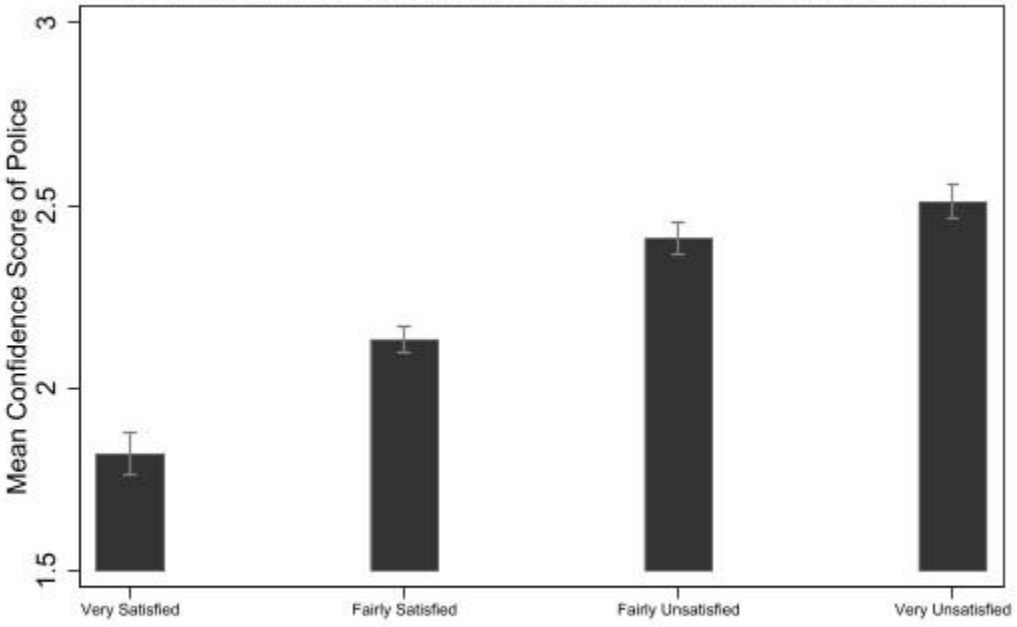


Figure 2: Confidence in Police by Satisfaction with Schools

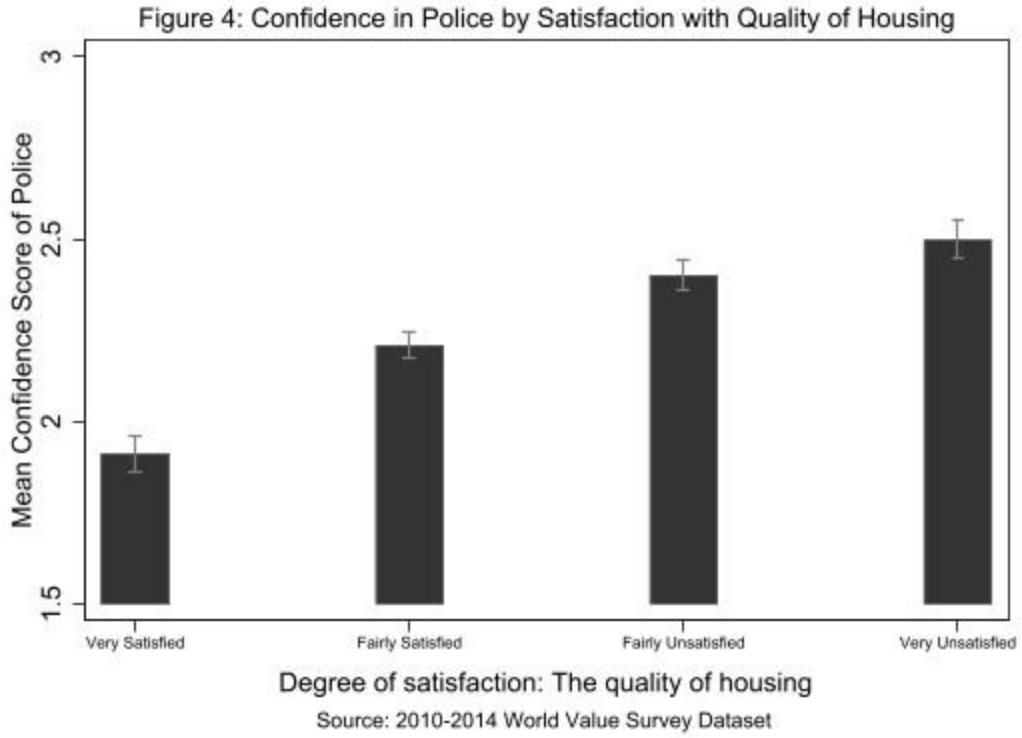


Source: 2010-2014 World Value Survey Dataset

Figure 3: Confidence in Police by Satisfaction with Quality of Healthcare



Source: 2010-2014 World Value Survey Dataset



In the survey, city size was recorded using observational data from the recorders and information about the areas in which interviews were conducted. The scale ranged from 1-8, with -2 through -4 serving as undetermined or unanswered responses. Responses -2 through -4 were removed from the data. The scale was labeled as follows: "1. Under 2,000 2. 2,000-5,000 3. 5-10,000 4. 10-20,000 5. 20-50,000 6. 50-100,000 7. 100-500,000 8. 500,000 and more." The mode for this data was 1 at 19.58%, however, the more reliable measure of center for this variable was the median, which was 5 (20-50,000 people in the respondent's city/town).

Income level was recorded by asking respondents to consider their total incomes and place themselves on a 10-point scale, with 1 being the lowest income group in their country and 10 being the highest income group. Respondents were provided with information on their country's income brackets, divided into the 10 groups, so that their placements would be contextualized. The mode for this variable was 5 at 21.51%, and the mean was also 5.

Respondents were asked by the survey to state how widespread corruption was in the government of their country. The variable was on a 1-10 scale, with 1 being "None/Low corruption" and 10 being "Widespread corruption". Non-responses were removed from the data. The mode for this variable was 10 at 26.51%, however, the more reliable measure of center for this variable was the median, which was 8.

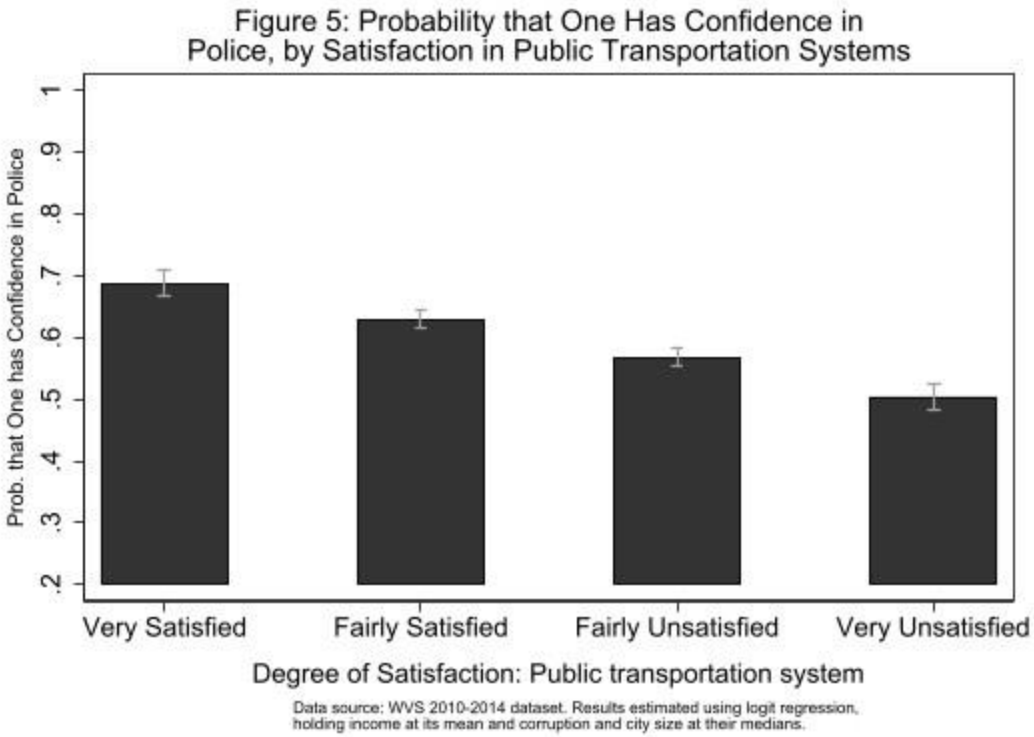
Model estimation

The dependent variable, the level of confidence which respondents have in police, is an ordinal variable recoded to be a binary variable (1 representing those confident in police and 2 representing those not confident in police). As a result, I selected a logistic regression to approximate the probability of them having confidence in the police. I ran 4 logistic regressions to estimate the probability of individuals having confidence in police, one for each independent variable: satisfaction in public transportation systems, satisfaction in schools, satisfaction in the quality of healthcare, and satisfaction in the quality of housing. For each model, I controlled for income level, city size, and corruption. Income level is ordinal, so I held income level at its median, which was 5 on a 10-point scale for country-specific income levels. City size is ordinal, so I held city size at its median, which was 5 on a 1-8 scale of how large the respondent's city/town/village was. Corruption is an ordinal variable, so I held corruption at its median, which was an 8 on a 1-10 scale representing how corrupt respondents believe their government is.

Results:

Model 1: Probability of Confidence in Police by Satisfaction in Public Transportation

Table 2: Probability of Confidence in Police	
VARIABLES	PolConf
Public Transport. Satisfaction	-0.256***
	(0.0252)
Income Level	-0.00267
	(0.0122)
City Size	0.0813***
	(0.0115)
Corruption Level	-0.139***
	(0.0113)
Constant	1.773***
	(0.130)
Observations	6,867
Standard errors in parentheses	
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1	



This model demonstrates that the less satisfied respondents are with their city/town's public transportation systems, the lower the expected probability they will have confidence in police. The public transportation satisfaction independent variable is significant with a p-value of less than 0.01, meaning that we reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis: The less satisfied individuals are in their public transportation systems, the less likely they are to be confident in the police. The effect of income level was not significant with a p-value above 0.1. City size was significant at the $p<0.01$ level, as was corruption level. According to this model, satisfaction in public transportation has the greatest effect on the respondent's likelihood to have confidence in police, with a coefficient of -0.256 compared to the coefficients for city size (0.081), corruption (-0.139), and income level (-0.002). This supports the hypothesis that local contexts will have a greater effect than alternative variables on expected levels of confidence in the police. There is no overlap between the confidence intervals at any level, with

a statistically significant decrease in probability of confidence occurring with the decrease in levels of satisfaction. The Pseudo R-Squared value is 0.045, meaning that about 4 percent of the variation in the dependent variable (confidence in police) is explained by the independent variables. The other 96 percent of the variation may be explained by other variables not included in the regression equation. Overall, this model supports the hypothesis that in a comparison of individuals, the lower satisfaction a respondent has in their city/town's contexts, the lower their confidence in the police will be.

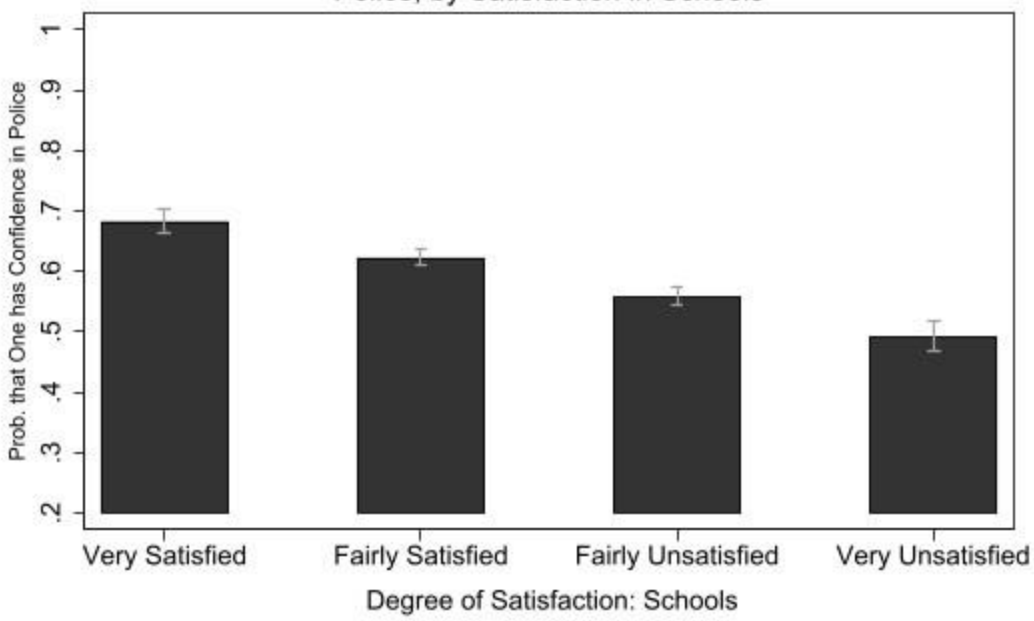
Model 2: Probability of Confidence in Police by Satisfaction in Schools

Table 3: Probability of Confidence in Police

VARIABLES	PolConf
School Satisfaction	-0.266*** (0.0264)
Income Level	0.00216 (0.0121)
City Size	0.0798*** (0.0114)
Corruption Level	-0.143*** (0.0112)
Constant	1.781*** (0.131)
Observations	6,935

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 6: Probability that One Has Confidence in Police, by Satisfaction in Schools



Data source: WVS 2010-2014 dataset. Results estimated using logit regression, holding income at its mean and corruption and city size at their medians.

This model also demonstrates that the less satisfied respondents are with their city/town's schools, the lower the expected probability they will have confidence in police. The school satisfaction independent variable is significant with a p-value of less than 0.01, meaning that we reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis: The less satisfied individuals are in their schools, the less likely they are to be confident in the police. The effect of income level was not significant with a p-value above 0.1. City size was significant at the $p<0.01$ level, as was corruption level. According to this model, satisfaction in schools has the greatest effect on the respondent's likelihood to have confidence in police, with a -0.266 coefficient, compared to the coefficients for city size (0.080), corruption (-0.143), and income level (-0.002). This supports the hypothesis that local contexts will have a greater effect than alternative variables on expected levels of confidence in the police. This model resulted in a similar distribution to Model 1, with Model 1 resulting in a -0.256 coefficient for its city context satisfaction independent variable.

There is no overlap between the confidence intervals at any level, with a statistically significant decrease in probability of confidence occurring with the decreases in level of satisfaction. The Pseudo R-Squared value is 0.045, meaning that about 4 percent of the variation in the dependent variable (confidence in police) is explained by the independent variables. The other 96 percent of the variation may be explained by other variables not included in the regression equation. Overall, this model further supports the hypothesis that in a comparison of individuals, the higher satisfaction a respondent has for their city/town's contexts, the higher their confidence in the police will be, and the lower satisfaction a respondent has for their city/town's contexts, the lower their confidence in the police will be.

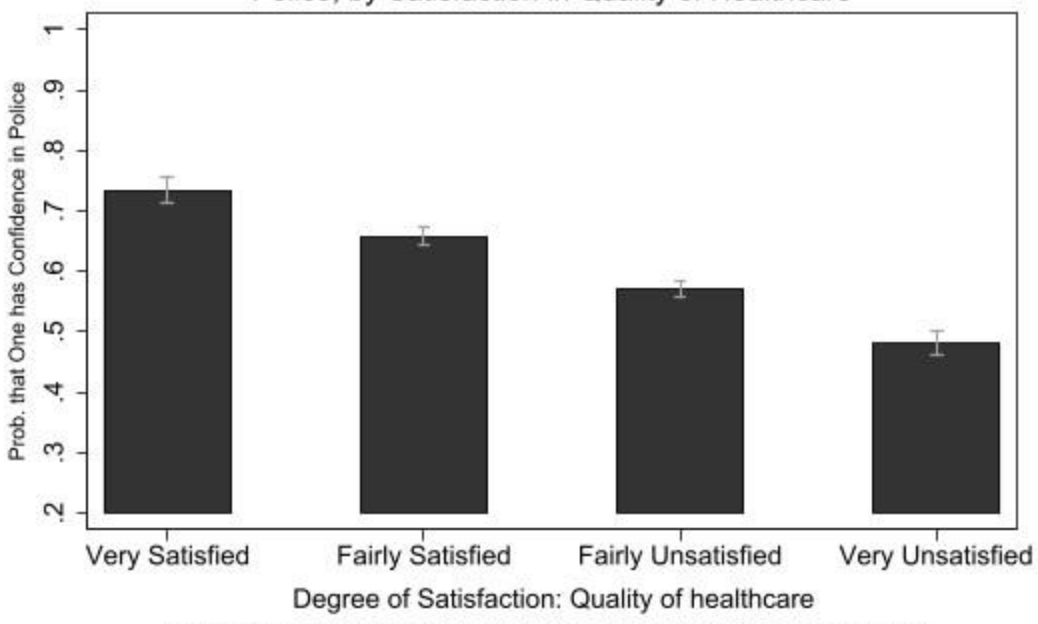
Model 3: Probability of Confidence in Police by Satisfaction in Quality of Healthcare

Table 4: Probability of Confidence in Police

VARIABLES	PolConf
Healthcare Satisfaction	-0.363***
	(0.0265)
Income Level	-0.0140
	(0.0123)
City Size	0.0816***
	(0.0115)
Corruption Level	-0.136***
	(0.0113)
Constant	2.143***
	(0.137)
Observations	6,950

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 7: Probability that One Has Confidence in Police, by Satisfaction in Quality of Healthcare



Data source: WVS 2010-2014 dataset. Results estimated using logit regression, holding income at its mean and corruption and city size at their medians.

This model demonstrates that the less satisfied respondents are with their city/town's healthcare, the lower the expected probability they will have confidence in police. The healthcare satisfaction independent variable is significant with a p-value of less than 0.01, meaning that we reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis: The less satisfied individuals are in their healthcare, the less likely they are to be confident in the police. The effect of income level was not significant with a p-value above 0.1. City size was significant at the $p<0.01$ level, as was corruption level. According to this model, satisfaction in healthcare has the greatest effect on the respondent's likelihood to have confidence in police, with a -0.363 coefficient, compared to the coefficients for city size (0.082), corruption (-0.136), and income level (-0.014). This supports the hypothesis that local contexts will have a greater effect than alternative variables on expected levels of confidence in the police. This is comparatively the highest effect of any of the models, compared to a -0.256 coefficient for the public transportation satisfaction independent variable, a -0.325 coefficient for the housing quality satisfaction variable, and a -0.266

coefficient for the school satisfaction independent. There is no overlap between the confidence intervals at any level, with a statistically significant decrease in probability of confidence occurring with the decreases in level of satisfaction. The Pseudo R-Squared value is 0.045, meaning that about 5 percent of the variation in the dependent variable (confidence in police) is explained by the independent variables. The other 95 percent of the variation may be explained by other variables not included in the regression equation. Overall, this model lend more support to the hypothesis that in a comparison of individuals, the higher satisfaction a respondent has for their city/town's contexts, the higher their confidence in the police will be, and the lower satisfaction a respondent has for their city/town's contexts, the lower their confidence in the police will be.

Model 4: Probability of Confidence in Police by Satisfaction in Quality of Housing

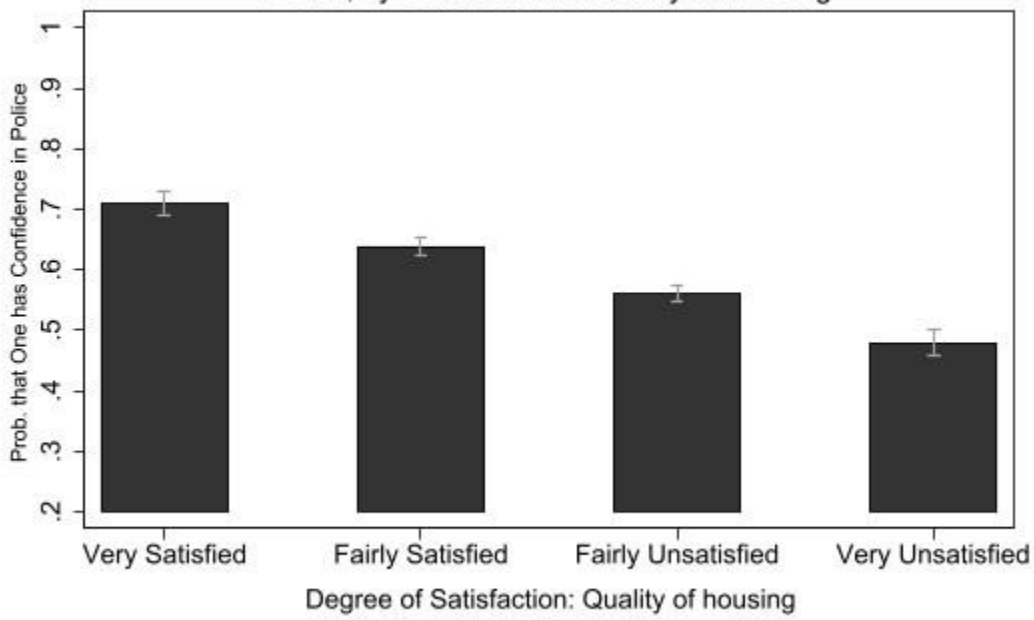
Table 5: Probability of Confidence in Police

VARIABLES	PolConf
Housing Satisfaction	-0.325***
	(0.0259)
Income Level	-0.00525
	(0.0122)
City Size	0.0938***
	(0.0115)
Corruption Level	-0.145***
	(0.0112)
Constant	1.952***
	(0.133)
Observations	6,966

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 8: Probability that One Has Confidence in Police, by Satisfaction in Quality of Housing



Data source: WVS 2010-2014 dataset. Results estimated using logit regression, holding income at its mean and corruption and city size at their medians.

This model demonstrates that the less satisfied respondents are with their city/town's housing, the lower the expected probability they will have confidence in police. The housing satisfaction independent variable is significant with a p-value of less than 0.01, meaning that we reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis: The less satisfied individuals are in their housing, the less likely they are to be confident in the police. The effect of income level was not significant with a p-value above 0.1. City size was significant at the p<0.01 level, as was corruption level. According to this model, satisfaction in housing has the greatest effect on the respondent's likelihood to have confidence in police, with a -0.325 coefficient, compared to the coefficients for city size (0.094), corruption (-0.145), and income level (-0.005). This supports the hypothesis that local contexts will have a greater effect than alternative variables on expected levels of confidence in the police. There is no overlap between the confidence intervals at any level, with a statistically significant decrease in probability of confidence occurring with the

decreases in level of satisfaction. The Pseudo R-Squared value is 0.052, meaning that about 5 percent of the variation in the dependent variable (confidence in police) is explained by the independent variables. The other 95 percent of the variation may be explained by other variables not included in the regression equation. Overall, this model provided more support to the hypothesis that in a comparison of individuals, the higher satisfaction a respondent has for their city/town's contexts, the higher their confidence in the police will be, and the lower satisfaction a respondent has for their city/town's contexts, the lower their confidence in the police will be.

Discussions and Conclusions

In each model, the impacts of local contexts were not only statistically significant, but they also had the greatest effects on the likelihood that individuals had confidence in police compared to the three control variables. Examination of confidence intervals across all models showed no overlap between levels of satisfaction, and a consistent, negative relationship between confidence in police and satisfaction in studied city contexts. These significant results lead us to reject the null hypothesis and support the hypothesis that in a comparison of individuals, the lower satisfaction a respondent has for their city/town's contexts, the lower their confidence in the police will be. As shown in these models, those "Very Satisfied" with their city/contexts were roughly 65-70% likely to be confident in police, while those "Very Unsatisfied" were roughly 45-50% likely to be confident in police, a drop of roughly 20% between the two extremes of the scale. In all 4 models, the local context variables had the most significant impacts on the likelihood of an individual having confidence in the police, supporting the second hypothesis that the impact of a respondent's satisfaction level in their city/town's contexts will also be more significant than alternative variables when predicting confidence in police.

These findings support existing literature in that the contexts of an individual have a large effect on their trust in police (Li et al. 2016; Mattila and Rapeli 2017; Kauf et al. 2017; Schmitt et al. 2014). Furthermore, no study I looked examined the impacts which multiple different facets of city contexts have on police confidence at a global scale, only making generalized assumptions about trust in the government based on the contexts of individual countries or cities. Further research could investigate why, at the global level, income level did not have statistically significant effect on police confidence when compared to local contexts. Future investigations could also examine the relationships between police confidence and other explanatory variables not examined in this paper. On the broader scale, governments seeking to improve community-police relations should continue to investigate this relationship between local contexts and confidence in police and develop policies derived from the insights given by these findings. Developing a clearer understanding of the drivers of public confidence in police is crucial to implementing effective reforms which will improve hemorrhaging public trust in the institutions meant to protect and serve them.

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