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UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Comparing Perceptions of Policing in Canada

by

Stephanie Cantlay

A THESIS

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Abstract

Urban police agencies and rural police agencies can differ with respect to the size of their police force, training, availability of resources, and size of area they patrol, yet Canadians tend to be favourable to their local police. The purpose of this study is to examine public perceptions of policing across Canada by comparing the perceptions of those living in rural areas to those in urban centres. Using population-level data collected by Statistics Canada through the General Social Survey Victimization (Cycle #28, 2014) this study assesses whether differences in perceptions of policing can be explained by the type of urban/rural population centre. Results suggest that when perceptions of police are examined across provinces, favourability differs between urban and rural population centres.

Keywords: policing, perceptions, rural, urban, neighbourhood, population centre

Preface

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, S. Cantlay.

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For my mother who encouraged me to pick more daisies.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

> It is the relationship between the police and the public which determines the efficacy of policing (Jock Young, 1992, p. 27).

Context and Rationale

Overall, Canadians are favourable to their local police (Cao, 2011; Cao, 2014; Sprott & Doob, 2014). However, this generalization does not take into consideration whether geography and locality influence Canadians' perceptions of their local police. Perceptions can change based on residents' neighbourhoods, cities and provinces, and between urban and rural population centres (Sprott & Doob, 2014).

Response times, for example, may be a factor influencing perceptions of police effectiveness and residents' perceptions of local police (Ruddell, Lithopoulos, & Jones, 2014). Previous research has shown that fast police response times to calls for service can increase residents' satisfaction with police (Cihan, 2014; Lee, Lee, & Hoover, 2017). Residents of rural areas may also be particularly concerned with response times due to distances between houses and police stations compared to urban population centres where locations are closer together (Ruddell, Lithopoulos, & Jones, 2014). While previous research on perceptions of police has considered the ecological perspective and examined different urban neighbourhoods, rural populations also have perceptions of police that may be influenced by, for example, slower response times. Characteristics of both urban and rural neighbourhoods can influence how residents perceive their local police which is the focus of the present study.

As recently reported in Canadian news, some rural property owners have been responding to perpetrators by taking justice into their own hands (CBC News, September 2016; CBC, February 2018a; CBC, February 2018b; Friesen, October 2016). In August 2016, a vehicle with five people inside drove onto the property of Saskatchewan farmer Gerald Stanley, hoping to find

help to patch their flat tire (Friesen, October 2016). Stanley perceived the strangers to be attempting to steal a vehicle or items from a vehicle on his property and he fired his handgun (CBC, February 2018b). This resulted in the death of one of the men, Colten Boushie. This story garnered national headlines during and following the trial, and after the verdict. Some had argued that Boushie, an Indigenous man, was the victim of a racial killing (Friesen, October 2016). Others felt that Boushie had been trespassing and attempting to steal from the farmer (Friesen, October 2016). Stanley was acquitted of second-degree murder on the strength of his counsel's argument that he acted in self-defence grabbing his firearm, but the gun fired accidentally three times (CBC News, February 2018b). Although acquitted of second-degree murder, Stanley was convicted of improper storage of firearms, resulting in a $3,000 fine, $900 victim surcharge, and a ban from owning firearms for ten years (CBC News, April 2018).

In September 2016, also in Saskatchewan, three armed and masked robbers attempted to steal the fall harvest from a farmer's property, but a farmhand was able to fight them off without using a weapon of his own (CBC News, September 2016). After this event, many farmers discussed carrying firearms on their person and in their farming equipment, such as tractors, to protect themselves and their livestock and produce from attempted robbery (CBC News, September 2016).

In February 2018, a rural Albertan homeowner, Eddie Maurice was taken into police custody after taking a number of gun shots directed at two suspects breaking into and attempting to steal from his vehicles (CBC, February 2018a). One of the suspects was injured from the shots. Maurice was charged with aggravated assault, pointing a firearm, and careless use of a firearm. Following a ballistics report, it was found that the bullet ricocheted, accidentally injuring the suspect and the charges were dropped (CBC, June 2018a). In August 2016, also in rural Alberta,

Daniel Newsham pursued a truck stolen from a nearby property which resulted in a vehicle collision and the death of the driver of the stolen vehicle (CBC, February 2018a). Newsham was charged with manslaughter and the trial is set for December 2018 (CBC, February 2018a).

These news reports describe rural residents defending their property and themselves against crime. Rural residents can face different issues to that of urban residents and perceive the need to carry out their own methods of crime prevention. Reasons behind rural vigilante justice are related to slow police officer response times, or perceptions of slowness by the victim or homeowner (Ruddell, Lithopoulos, & Jones, 2014, p. 789). In all of these incidents, the investigating police agency urged farmers and rural residents to refrain from engaging with perpetrators and using a firearm to protect themselves, suggesting instead that they call police to report the crime (CBC News, September 2016; CBC, February 2018a; CBC, February 2018a).

Many police officers patrolling rural areas are also at risk of injury due to a lack of resources and physical distance for officer back-up. In March 2005, four Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officers were shot and killed on an isolated property in rural Alberta (CBC, January 2011). The initial call for police was from bailiffs requesting assistance during the repossession of Jim Roszko's (the property owner) truck (CBC, January 2011). The bailiffs were concerned by Roszko's behaviour, fearing he may become violent and apparently had fled the property (CBC, January 2011). In addition to collecting the vehicle, the officers found evidence of a 'chop shop' and a marijuana growing operation (CBC, January 2011). During the collection of evidence, which stretched into the night, Roszko came out of hiding and fatally shot four officers and himself (CBC, 2011). This event is the largest police officer killing in Canadian history and provoked questions related to officer safety (The Star, 2007). Recommendations included providing police with night-vision goggles and tougher body armour (The Star, 2007). Aside from improved equipment, there

was a lack of officers available to assist. In this case, the local RCMP detachment had requested assistance from a neighbouring detachment on the case (The Star, 2007). Two of the slain officers were on overtime during the murder; another officer was not scheduled to work; and a fourth officer was in civilian clothing without a firearm (The Star, 2007). The isolation of the property may have played a role in the tragedy as the officers' deaths were only noticed when they were unresponsive to radio calls by team members not on the property (CBC, January 2011).

In July 2018, in Camrose, Alberta, an older resident was struck by a train at a rail crossing and died as a result of the crash (Bartko, July 2018). The local police agency organized a public community meeting and provided residents with grief counsellors and psychologists (Bartko, July 2018). This news article depicts a different aspect of rural policing where officers are more involved in community issues. These officers identified a need during their investigation because the community was small and almost every resident was impacted in some way by the accident (witnessing the incident, living near the tracks, using the crossing regularly or knowing the deceased). In small communities, police officers often play the role of law enforcer and mediator even when off-duty. These informal relationships might mean that crimes are unreported, charges are not laid, and matters are dealt with informally (RCMP, 2017a).

Police chiefs influence policies and practices and are the public face of the police agency. Police chiefs' increased visibility can influence residents' perceptions of policing (Motschall & Cao, 2002). Mike Boyd, for example, served as the Chief of the Edmonton Police Service (EPS) from 2006 to 2010. The three previous chiefs were fired for various reasons and Boyd inherited administrative problems, as well as public and officer distrust (CTV News, June 2009). During Boyd's term, in May 2008, an off-duty EPS officer was charged with five counts of impaired driving causing bodily harm, five counts of dangerous driving causing bodily harm and one count

of driving with a blood alcohol level above the legal limit (CBC News, April 2009). In response to the vehicle crash and related charges, Boyd stated police officers are not normally discharged based on impaired driving convictions (Cotter, May 2008). The president of the Edmonton Police Association, on the other hand, stated that police officers are dismissed for an offence even if not found criminally guilty (Cotter, May 2008). The EPS officer was suspended with pay during the investigation and in September 2008 he resigned from the police force (CBC News, April 2009; Cotter, May 2008). The EPS officer was convicted of four counts of dangerous driving causing bodily harm and the remaining charges were dropped during trial due to charter violations (CBC News, April 2009; Cotter, May 2008).

The public holds police officers to a higher standard with respect to criminal offences. To some it may appear that the EPS charged one of their own officers with impaired driving and may be seen as a step forward for breaking policing culture and the officer code of silence. Incidents of police misconduct can impact residents' perceptions of their local policing and have lasting effects (Weitzer, 2002, p. 406). Residents may be uncooperative towards police officers and believe allegations of police misconduct even when the officer acted appropriately (Weitzer, 2002, p. 406).

In 2013, Calgary was hit with a flood that bought massive damage to the city and remains one of Alberta's all-time largest natural disasters. At the time, Rick Hanson was the Chief of the Calgary Police Service (CPS), serving from 2007 to 2015. CPS evacuated almost 100,000 residents from flood zones (Ho, June 2014). According to Hanson, this evacuation was successful because of resident cooperativeness with CPS (Ho, June 2014), suggesting positive and supportive relationships between residents and their local police. These news articles of rural and urban policing provide examples of the variety of ways police respond to community needs and how

these events can impact perceptions of policing. Negative and positive perceptions of policing occur in both population centres.

Policing in Canada

It is an oversimplification to suggest that the federal police force in Canada is only concerned with national security, while municipal police agencies focus on local issues. Most police forces work together through integrated units. Canada's only federal police force, the RCMP, primary focuses are on financial crime, national security, protective policing and criminal intelligence. Provinces can have provincial RCMP divisions. The RCMP is also contracted by municipalities to provide policing through local RCMP detachments in various cities and towns.

There are three provincial police forces in Canada: Ontario Provincial Police, Sûreté du Québec and Royal Newfoundland Constabulary. Each provincial agency is responsible for patrolling provincial highways and waterways, providing policing to municipalities (which do not have their own police force), and participating in investigations with other law enforcement agencies in Canada. Highways are patrolled by municipal police, provincial police, federal police, another law enforcement agency such as the Alberta Sheriffs, or a combination of multiple agencies. The RCMP is the sole policing service for Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut (Greenland & Alam, 2017). The Toronto Police Service is the largest municipal police service in Canada with 5,366 total officers (Greenland & Alam, 2017). When examining officer-resident ratios, Montréal Police Service (Service de police de la Ville de Montréal) has more officers, 229 officers per 100,000 residents compared to Toronto Police Service's ratio of 190 officers per 100,000 residents (Greenland & Alam, 2017).

Municipalities must have law enforcement and there are multiple ways to police a city. Two or more cities can agree to be policed by a regional police service, a municipality can create

its own police service, or a city can outsource a police agency (Alberta Solicitor General, 2018). All municipalities in Newfoundland and Labrador are policed by either the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary or RCMP (Greenland & Alam, 2017), unlike municipalities in other provinces. Creating and sustaining a police force is expensive, therefore smaller municipalities often outsource to the RCMP, or to one of the three provincial policing agencies mentioned above as a cost-cutting measure.

The First Nations Policing Program began in the early 1990s in order to build and maintain positive relationships with police and Indigenous communities (Kiedrowski, Petrunik, & Ruddell, 2016). This policy ensures Indigenous communities receive officers dedicated to one reserve to ensure police officer responsiveness; support self-sufficiency and self-governance; and promote "trust, mutual respect, and participation in decision-making" (Kiedrowski, Petrunik, & Ruddell, 2016, p. 5). The First Nations Policing Program is a *tripartite agreement* which blends together federal governments, provincial or territorial governments, and First Nation or Inuit communities. There are two types of policing agreements: one where a First Nation or Inuit community has its own police agency and the other where the RCMP provides policing services to a First Nation or Inuit community (Donnermeyer, DeKeseredy & Dragiewicz, 2011, p. 25; Kiedrowski, Petrunik, & Ruddell, 2016).

RCMP detachments are outsourced by municipalities with less than 5000 residents (Alberta Solicitor General, 2018). Rural policing in Canada is perceived as centralized, "more focused on political and administrative tasks; and, in terms of legitimacy, more closely tied to government and less accountable either to public or law" (Mawby, 2011, p. 11). Unlike the United States, Canadian police officers are not recruited locally to rural policing agencies (Mawby, 2011, p. 19). This is often because rural policing is outsourced to the RCMP or one of the three provincial

policing agencies mentioned above, and applicants are hired at the national level as opposed to applying to work with their nearby police force directly.

The structure of police agencies and the types of agencies differ based on provinces, territories, and population centre. There are multiple levels of policing in Canada creating interrelated law enforcement teams. A municipality may have multiple policing agencies patrolling within one area or a municipality may have a detachment of a national or provincial police force patrolling the area. It could be that public perceptions of policing differ across Canada because of the different types of policing offered by geography and population size. Most rural population centres are patrolled by the RCMP and provincial policing agencies. Most urban population centres are patrolled by municipal police agencies. Both the type of population centre and the type of policing agency together are likely to influence public perceptions of policing.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter Two describes three different social disorganization theories [Shaw and McKay's (1969), Sampson and Groves' (1989), and Bursik and Grasmick's (1993)] and how social disorganization theory relates to the social ecological perspective. Residents' evaluations of policing, specifically the process-based regulation model and procedural justice model are discussed. Finally, I highlight rural crime and rural myths to provide context to this thesis.

Chapter Three describes previous research on perceptions of policing and how these studies influenced my research questions and variables of interest. Beyond urban and rural population centres, the relationship between demographic characteristics, including race and ethnicity, is highlighted along with a discussion of studies comparing urban and rural population centres.

Chapter Four outlines my research design and methodology. I describe the process for acquiring Statistics Canada microdata and the rationale behind secondary data analysis. In addition

to describing the research design, this chapter outlines generalizability and limitations of the research.

Chapter Five includes descriptive statistics of the sample and compares and contrasts perceptions of policing in Canada and by provinces with a focus on urban and rural population centres. I also analyse perceptions of policing between two cities in Alberta (Calgary and Edmonton).

Chapter Six concludes my thesis and provides a summary of the findings and potential explanations for geographic differences. Policy implications for policing agencies and recommendations for future directions in this research area are discussed.

CHAPTER TWO: CRIMINOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SPACE AND POLICING

Social Ecological Perspective

An ecological perspective views geography as central to socialization. In this study, I compare and contrast characteristics of rural and urban areas that can account for differences in perceptions of policing among geographic areas. Bottoms (2007) defines social ecology as "the study of the spatial and temporal relations of human beings as affected by the selective, distributive and accommodative forces of the environment" (p. 530-531). Byrne and Sampson (1986) list key variables such as "characteristics of population aggregates (e.g. race, income, family composition) along with characteristics of the physical environment (e.g. density, overcrowding, opportunity, size of place)" (p. 80) which guide a social ecological study.

The social ecological perspective has been connected to varying styles of urban policing depending on the neighbourhood. There are five zones in a city according to the social ecology of crime perspective: "the central business district at the very core; the 'zone in transition' about that centre; an area of stable working-class housing; middle-class housing; and the outer suburbia" (Rock, 2007, p. 19). Rural areas are often excluded from the social ecology perspective when it comes to crime. Although this study does not specifically test social ecology, the perspective influences the variables and research questions. Depending on the findings, this perspective could be redeveloped to include rural spaces.

Shaw and McKay's Social Disorganization Theory

Shaw and McKay (1969) borrowed from Park and Burgess' (1925) urban sociology and zone theory of The Chicago School to describe why juvenile delinquency occurred in certain residential areas of Chicago (and, later on, other major American cities), but not other residential areas. They concluded that the factors that created a delinquent, and in turn created criminal

behaviour “are inherent in the community” (p. 315). It was discovered that residents with little opportunity, specifically male youths, achieve economic success through criminal activity (Shaw & McKay, 1969, p. 187). Communities with lower rates of delinquency are characterized by higher economic status and similar conventional values held by residents (Shaw & McKay, 1969, p. 170). Communities with higher rates of delinquency are characterized by lower economic status, and these residents hold a variety of values (Shaw and McKay, 1969, p. 171). These communities did not have opportunities to participate in organizations or in meaningful roles outside of school for youth to succeed in traditional avenues (Shaw & McKay, 1969, p. 386).

The highest rates of delinquency occur in the core ‘zone in transition’ and the farther away from the ‘zone in transition’, the lower the rates of delinquency (Bottoms, 2007, p. 531). The ‘zone in transition’ is characterized by “economic deprivation, physical deterioration, population mobility, and population heterogeneity” (Bottoms, 2007, p. 531). These neighbourhoods are considered socially disorganized because residents do not share common values and there is a lack of social control. This perspective assumes that the core has the highest rate of crime. Based on this assumption, residents in the core have less favourable perceptions of police compared to residents living in other areas.

The movement of immigrants to large urban cities is important to social disorganization theory. The idea is that immigrants tend to settle in large urban cities, often in inner-city neighbourhoods due to inexpensive accommodations (Shaw & McKay, 1969, p. 374). The children of these immigrants were thought to become delinquent due to a lack of community organizations, but once the family moved to a new neighbourhood, outside of the inner-city, these children did not continue to reoffend, but rather new immigrants and their children moved into the inner-city neighbourhood and committed delinquent behaviour in their place (Shaw & McKay, 1969, p. 374).

This perspective assumes that the inner-city has the most crime and crime is reduced when residents move out of the inner city or settle in a neighbourhood outside the 'zone in transition'. This might lead one to expect that there is little or no crime at all in rural locations.

Sampson and Groves' Social Disorganization Theory

Sampson and Groves (1989) test the social disorganization model and extend the original model of social disorganization theory to include family disruption and friendship networks. Family disruption is measured as single-parent households, where it is theorized that there are fewer parents and adults supervising teenagers which could lead to delinquency (Sampson & Groves, 1989, p. 785). Friendship networks are important to preventing crime because "when residents form local social ties, their capacity for community social control is increased because they are better able to recognize strangers and more apt to engage in guardianship behaviour against victimization" (Sampson & Groves, 1989, p. 779). Their analyses of the original theory and their extended theory support the claim that "communities characterized by sparse friendship networks, unsupervised teenage peer groups, and low organizational participation had disproportionately high rates of crime and delinquency" (Sampson & Groves, 1989, p. 799).

Residential stability impacts friendship networks positively, and urbanization impacts friendship networks negatively (Sampson & Groves, 1989, p. 787). It is assumed for this thesis that residents in rural (as compared to urban) neighbourhoods would have stronger friendship networks and be able to prevent crime due to greater residential stability and lack of urbanization. Communities with lower socio-economic status have fewer resources, and thus inadequate resources to control youth (supervise and prevent delinquency) compared to communities with higher socio-economic status and greater resources (p. 788). Additionally, communities with higher levels of family disruption impacts delinquency positively compared to communities with

two-parent households (p. 779). The strength of Sampson and Groves' (1989) analyses is that it tested an American criminological theory and applied it to United Kingdom. This shows the strength of social disorganization theory and the likelihood of its generalizability to other countries, including Canada. Further, Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997) define collective efficacy as "social cohesion among neighbours combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good" (p. 918). Collective efficacy is a factor that will be considered in this research.

Bursik and Grasmick's Social Disorganization Theory

Bursik and Grasmick (1993) formulate the final extension of social disorganization theory and include informal social control in the model. They argue that residents within a geographic area, such as a neighbourhood, regulate behaviour and that this regulation only occurs if there is a combination of formal and informal ties in a geographic area that brings residents together to form a community (p. 3-4). Informally regulating behaviour controls or minimizes crime in a neighbourhood.

At the neighbourhood level, Bursik and Grasmick (1993) describe three levels or categories of regulation and their interconnectedness with regard to social control: private order, parochial order, and public order. The first means of regulating individual behaviour is within the private order or the regulation of behaviour by one's primary group. This includes an individual's friends and family and "social control is achieved through the threat of loss or loss of social support" (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993, p. 16). The primary group can exhibit this social control through "criticism, ridicule, ostracism from the group, deprivation, a resort to third parties, desertion, self-destruction, or violence" (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993, p. 16). A primary group can also call police as a way to exhibit social control using a third party.

At the parochial order, social control is achieved through connections to local institutions and the regulation of social control by these institutions. Bursik and Grasmick (1993) list "schools, churches, and voluntary organizations" (p. 17) as examples of local institutions regulating behaviour at the individual level. It is important to note that in order to be considered parochial, these institutions must be physically located in the neighbourhood. A relevant crime control institution includes neighbourhood surveillance and if residents observe suspicious behaviours, they confront the perpetrator(s) and hopefully deter crime. A neighbourhood is a space with which residents are familiar and less likely to be fearful because residents have control of one's surroundings. However, when strangers enter the neighbourhood, residents can become fearful that they will lose social control because they are unable to predict strangers' actions (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993, p. 92). Again, crime prevention programs must have a 'grass-roots' element to them whereby residents identify a need and are involved in the creation and implementation of the service. Vélez (2001) provides examples of public and informal social control: placing ATMs inside a police station to reduce robberies and the development of a recreation centre for youth in a high crime area (p. 838). In both instances, local organizations or residents themselves worked with their local police agencies to secure funding and support for these projects (Vêlez, 2001, p. 838).

Finally, the public order refers to social control occurring from outside a neighbourhood. At this level of regulation, the focus is on the ability of a neighbourhood to access resources from agencies outside of its neighbourhood (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993, p. 17). Bursik and Grasmick (1993) examined the relationship between residents and local public organizations within the neighbourhood in question, and the relationship between these local public organizations and external organizations outside the boundaries of the neighbourhood (Bottoms, 2007, p. 568). There

is a strong connection between parochial and public, because in order to secure resources, residents as a group (or a local institution) must recognize the need for a particular program or service. There is also an underlying assumption that a neighbourhood has community capacity. Kelly and Caputo (2011) contend that "in order to organize such a program, a community must have considerable capacity, there must be someone to lead and organize the initiative, there must be a place to hold meetings and a way of contacting people to participate. Further, there must be a willingness to participate" (p. 21). If a neighbourhood has the desire to organize a program or is currently implementing services, the program will likely require the support of decision makers to provide financial resources. This thesis does not test the three levels of social control, but insights from the parochial and public order guide my research questions and variables. Police officers and residents are involved in neighbourhood social control.

Policing Evaluations

Although police officers are not politicians or elected officials, they are government employees and are influenced by politics at their respective political levels: the municipal level (i.e. CPS), provincial level (i.e. Ontario Provincial Police), and federal level (i.e. RCMP). These varying political realms are important to understanding perceptions of local police agencies in Canada. Police officers are both part of the political system and impacted by the political system simultaneously. Political actors construct crime as a social issue (Rollwagen & Béland, 2012. p.143). For example, politicians can include crime control and reduction in their platforms during elections, but it is the police officers who are on the ground enforcing the criminal policies if the politician is elected. Easton (1975) argues that political support is a combination of specific support and diffuse support. Obedience to legal authority requires support from residents because police officer enforcement or actions mean little if residents are uncooperative or ignore their officer's decision (Tyler, 2003, p. 291). Specific support is a type of evaluation or the satisfaction "members

of a system feel they obtain from the perceived outputs and performance of the political authorities" (Easton, 1975, p. 437). For example, a resident may be answering a question about police officer response times to their home following a 911 call. A resident would base this evaluation on specific support because the question is tapping into a specific situation. Diffuse support "refers to evaluations of what an object is or represents…. Not of what it does" (Easton, 1975, p. 444). Furthermore, a resident might evaluate the police in more general terms when asked "how confident are you with your local police: not confident at all; somewhat confident; very confident."

Residents can evaluate their policing agencies on whether officers "treat people fairly, recognize citizen rights, treat people with dignity, and care about people's concerns" (Tyler, 2001, p. 216). These evaluations are based upon personal emotions and experiences (Tyler, 2001, p. 233). Residents can also evaluate their police based on cost, time, and performance (Tyler, 2001, p. 216). These evaluations are based upon policing outcomes (Tyler, 2001, p. 233). Tyler (2001) argues that residents are more likely to evaluate their police based on personal evaluations as opposed to performance-based evaluations (p. 233). The personal evaluation often focuses on an individual officer, whereas the performance-based evaluation assesses the agency as a whole. However, a personal evaluation, although shaped by an experience with one officer or one interaction, can be applied to an entire police agency. Residents in public opinions surveys of policing can use personal evaluations, performance-based evaluations, diffuse support, specific support, or a combination to form their responses (Easton, 1975; Tyler, 2001). If police agencies take under advisement national surveys or conduct their own surveys as part of community-building policies, the survey responses could guide how police resources are used and encourage police accountability.

Weisheit, Falcone, & Wells (2005) argue that rural residents distrust the government because of the assumption that the government is responsible for taking away land rights, mineral rights, and gun ownership laws (p. 45). It is suggested that rural residents rely on informal networks rather than the government to solve problems, and when rural residents do seek out police officers to deal with a situation, it is to settle matters informally rather than formally (Weisheit et al., 2005).

Process-based Regulation and Procedural Justice

Tyler & Huo (2002) define process-based regulation as strategies which "encourage the judgement that the police and the courts are using fair procedures in exercising their authority and to develop the publics' trust in the motives of legal authorities" (p. 204). The process-based model of regulation is concerned with two kinds of compliance or cooperation (immediate and long-term compliance). Police rely on their ability to gain immediate and long-term compliance by citizens (i.e. cease the aggressive behaviour and deter it from repeating) when the police interact with the public and intervene in specific situations (i.e. domestic violence) (Tyler, 2003, p. 283). General compliance, the second type of compliance, is concerned with laws being obeyed by the general public in their everyday lives (Tyler, 2003, 284). This model assumes that residents comply with or obey police based on fairness or procedural justice. Citizens obey the law as a type of formal social control through policing, but citizens themselves can regulate behaviour informally.

Policing and collective efficacy have two types of relationships. The first is that police effectiveness *encourages* collective efficacy and assumes that "when police perform their job well to effectively control crime and respond to community problems and calls for service, citizens feel they can rely on the police and will subsequently be willing to take the risks associated with intervention" (Sargeant, Wickes, & Mazerolle, 2013, p. 72). The second is procedural justice which *influences* collective efficacy in communities. As discussed above, procedural justice

assumes that when officers are "perceived as legitimate it is expected that people will be more willing to take pro-social action around problems" (Sargeant et al., 2013, p. 73).

Tyler & Huo (2002) define procedural justice as the results of situations viewed as fair by everyone involved (p. 51). These decisions are based on fairness, not outcomes (p. 51). As it relates to policing, procedural justice is concerned with officers' actions with residents and residents' opinion of the decision. The decision does not have to benefit the resident, but the residents must view the interaction or decision as fair. Procedural justice-based questions are often included in public opinion surveys of policing. Residents' perceptions of procedural justice can be based on direct contact with police which could favourably alter evaluations of police agencies in general; these positive evaluations can increase residents' desires to assist in law enforcement investigations (Lim, 2015, p. 676).

Rural Criminology

Contemporary criminology has tended to focus on large cities. The surveys used in this area of research may therefore have an urban bias. For example, questions or statements regarding safety when walking alone on the street at night does not make sense to someone living in a rural area where there are no sidewalks and roads are desolate at night. The strategies, programs and policies that come out of these urban-based studies are assumed to work in rural communities. The study of perceptions of policing in an urban setting occurs more frequently in the literature because these areas are more likely to have poverty and high crime rates contributing to negative perceptions of policing compared to other areas (Nofziger & Williams, 2005, p. 250). This does not mean that researching perceptions of policing in rural settings is less valuable. Rural residents can have alternative perspectives of policing to urban residents.

Rural life is often depicted as idyllic, characterized by a close sense of community and freedom from crime. Tönnies (1955) contends that informal, personal ties and common goals characterize rural communities (*gemeinsschaft*) whereas formal, impersonal processes characterize urban communities (*gesellschaft*). Urban society is often depicted as heterogeneous with diverse residents while rural life is assumed to be homogenous (Weisheit et al., 2005, p. 9). For example, Shaw and McKay (1969) argue "because of the anonymity in urban life, the individual is freed from much of the scrutiny and control which characterize life in primary-group situations in small towns and rural communities" (p. 318). Rural areas may be similar with respect to demographic characteristics, but rural communities can have different relationships to police between communities, while urban centres can have more similar relationships with police across different cities.

Frank's (2003) powerful juxtapositions are examples of the rural and urban stereotypes that are depicted in the media. These associations influence peoples' opinions of city and country living.

> If the big city is noisy, then the small town must be quiet.
> If the big city is exciting, then the small town must be boring.
> If the big city is a cultural oasis, then the small town must be a cultural wasteland.
> If the big city is dangerous, then the small town must be safe.
> If the big city is atomized, then the small town must be connected.
> If the big city is dirty, then the small town must be clean. (Frank, 2003, p. 214).

Rural life is assumed to be characterized by recognition and identification. Knowing people and having acquaintances is useful to prevent crime because neighbours are watchful, outsiders are noticed, residents feel a responsibility to act, and suspects are identified (Weisheit et al., 2005, p. 43). On the other hand, if victims and offenders are more likely to know each other, the structures in place that attempt to prevent crime, such as a close community where everyone

recognises each other and can quickly identify outsiders, can be a barrier for victims coming forward to identify perpetrators and contacting police (Weisheit et al., 2005, p. 43).

Conclusion

This thesis incorporates rural centres in a social ecological-based perspective of crime, specifically, as it relates to social disorganization. Physical space can influence collective efficacy and procedural justice which shape residents' decisions of their local police. Residents evaluate their local police through diffuse and specific support and through personal and performance-based evaluations. This thesis argues that rural communities and urban centres will not have identical perceptions of local policing.

CHAPTER THREE: PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON PERCEPTIONS OF POLICING

The focus of my study is on perceptions of policing in Canada, therefore this literature review will highlight studies using samples of Canadians and, where possible, comparative studies with rural and urban residents. Studies focusing on other countries are also included to indicate the need for Canadian research in specific areas. Although the focus of this thesis is *perceptions* of policing, my literature review includes attitudes, opinions, confidence and trust in policing agencies in urban and rural settings to guide the formulation of research questions and identify independent variables. When policing is discussed in general, images and perceptions of metropolitan policing agencies come to mind and yet this type of policing is not labelled as 'urban'. The following section will outline previous studies conducted in urban areas and discuss their findings and relevance to the current study.

Policing in Urban Areas

Research comparing perceptions of police within neighbourhoods in the same city and patrolled by the same metropolitan police force yields mixed results. The socioeconomic status of a neighbourhood can influence perceptions of policing though the relationship is not always clear. Boateng (2016, p. 229) found that neighbourhoods with a higher average income and education were more trusting of their police compared to residents living in neighbourhoods with a lower average income and education. Conversely, Gainey and Payne (2008) demonstrate that residents living in low-income or disadvantaged communities are, on average, satisfied with their local police (p. 314). Sargeant et al. (2013) establish that wealthier communities are more likely to intervene if they witness a problem in their community compared to less wealthy communities (p 77). Intervening in a problem in one's community is a measure of collective efficacy. Collective

efficacy is related to policing because residents are willing to engage in crime prevention or informal social control.

Studies of municipal policing in urban Saskatchewan reveal positive perceptions of local police overall and an increase in positive perceptions in longitudinal studies despite higher crime rates compared to the rest of Canada (Cheng, 2015; Jones & Ruddell, 2015). Jones and Ruddell (2016) indicate no significant differences between policing districts or neighbourhood quadrants in Regina with respect to residents' confidence and trust in their local police force (p. 32).

Social and physical disorder can influence perceptions of policing. Residents living in neighbourhoods with high levels of disorder are less trusting of their local police, but residents who fear crime are more likely to trust their local police (Boateng, 2016, p. 230). Sprott and Doob (2009) indicate that neighbourhoods with social disorder have the least favourable views towards their local police, but not towards the criminal court system (p. 358).

Respondents who have stronger ties to their community are less likely to feel a duty to obey their local police (Antrobus, Bradford, Murphy, & Sargeant, 2015, p. 161). This could mean that the community group a respondent feels closest to has negative perceptions of local police. Nix, Wolfe, Rojek, and Kaminski (2014) discover that residents, who perceive high collective efficacy in their neighbourhood, are also more likely to evaluate their local police as procedurally just or as fair decision makers (p. 16). However, residents living in neighbourhoods with perceived social disorder are less trusting of their local police, even when controlling for procedural justice (Nix et al., 2014, p. 19).

Personal encounters with police can influence a resident's opinion of their local police depending on the situation. Renauer (2007) suggests that police attendance at community meetings, police accessibility and police-resident problem solving does not improve the likelihood

that residents will engage in informal social control (p. 76.) Instead, increased police attendance at community meetings reduces residents' perceived neighbourhood informal social control (p. 76). This suggests that when police officers are visible in neighbourhoods, residents will feel less of a duty to prevent or deter crime and delinquency on their own. In this study, examples of employing informal social control included stopping a fight in front of your home; contacting parents if you saw their child(ren) skipping school; confronting youth graffiti vandals; confronting a disrespectful youth (p. 68). All acts of informal social control were against perceived delinquent youths. In their research on road-side breath stops, Antrobus et al. (2015) demonstrate that specific policing experiences did not shape citizens' general perceptions of their local police (p. 161). The closer residents live to violent crime incidents including "homicide, other homicide, assault (excluding sexual) and robbery (armed and unarmed)" (p. 141), the more likely residents will report higher confidence in their police compared to residents who live farther away (Zahnow, Mazerolle, Wickes, & Corcoran, 2017). This suggests that residents living closer to crimes are able to observe police responses or actions contributing to their higher levels of confidence in police.

Findings regarding gender and its influence on perceptions of policing are mixed. Gainey and Payne (2008) analyzed multiple models to tease out gender differences in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods and found no evidence to suggest differences in perceptions of policing. However, Cao (2011) indicates that gender, or rather being a woman, is significantly associated with more positive perceptions of policing after controlling for perceptions of crime, safety and neighbourhood disorder (p. 14).

Racial profiling has a long history in policing. Among those who are targets of racial profiling, these negative experiences can influence residents' relationships with their local police. Lai and Zhao (2010) contend that self-identifying as a racial or ethnic minority negatively impacts

perceptions of police. African Americans and Hispanics have more negative attitudes towards police compared to non-visible minority groups (Lai & Zhao, 2010, p. 690). Cao (2011) documents that visible minority Canadians have less positive perceptions of their local police compared to non-visible minorities, with the largest difference regarding questions about officer fairness (p. 14). Sprott and Doob (2014) compare visible minority Canadians perceptions of their police and discover that positive perceptions of police depend on the province of residence. For example, South Asian Canadians are relatively confident in their local police in Ontario, but this finding does not apply to South Asian Canadians living in Alberta and British Columbia (p. 375).

Sargeant et al. (2013) observed less social cohesion in neighbourhoods with racial and ethnic diversity due to language and cultural barriers (p. 77). This is particularly the belief of white respondents who blame the lack of social cohesion on other racial groups rather than their own racial group (Sargeant et al., 2013, p. 77). Social cohesion is related to informal social control as residents who perceive more social cohesion in their neighbourhood are more likely to intervene in neighbourhood problems. Lee and Gibbs (2015) provide evidence that while minority groups have negative perceptions of their local police, this finding is mediated when controlling for social distance (p. 326). Specifically, minorities report larger social distance, or less informal or casual interactions with police than their non-minority counterparts (Lee & Gibbs, 2015, p. 325). This finding suggests that increasing interactions between minority groups that do not result in arrests, searches, fines, and tickets would improve perceptions of policing.

Several studies have been conducted on policing in Saskatchewan and its relationship with Indigeneity in an urban setting. Jones and Ruddell (2016) suggest that Indigenous people are less satisfied with the work of Regina Police Service, but this is not statistically significant when comparing Indigenous people to non-Indigenous people (p. 52). Conversely, Indigenous people

are less satisfied with the work of Saskatoon Police Service compared to other visible minority residents (Cheng, 2015, p. 697). Ethnic and racial differences in perceptions of policing suggest that results can differ depending on who is categorized as minority or visible, the sample size and where the research takes place.

Policing in urban areas is synonymous with policing in general. Perceptions of policing in large cities has been researched extensively and findings indicate that the economic status of a neighbourhood (or a resident) and perceived collective efficacy can influence residents' willingness to engage in informal social control. Witnessing crime or living in higher crime rate areas does not necessarily mean that residents will be critical of police. Residents can experience contact with police as procedurally fair, or they may live near crime scenes and are able to observe officers engaging with their job. Immigrants often move to large Canadian cities and visible minorities can have negative perceptions of policing because of racial profiling. Similarly, Indigenous residents living in urban cities can have negative perceptions of policing.

Policing in Rural Areas

Sociology and criminology foundations are tied to the industrial revolution and growth of urban centres. Rural criminology is not as popular in the general criminology field; however, many researchers are petitioning for the development of a Division of Rural Criminology at academic meetings, conferences and associations (J. Donnermeyer, personal communication, November 26, 2017). Incorporating rural areas into criminology could be useful to strengthening pre-existing theories such as the social ecological perspective (DeKeseredy, 2016, p. 266). For example, collective efficacy and social disorganization are concepts developed by researchers conducting studies in urban centres (DeKeseredy, 2016, p. 268). These theories may unfold differently in rural areas, and impact perceptions of policing in rural areas differently as well (DeKeseredy, 2016, p.

268). This section will outline previous studies conducted in rural areas and discuss their relevance to the current study.

Rural policing can appear different from urban policing for a variety of reasons. Residents living in rural areas can feel they are not as accessible to police leading to longer response times (Adorjan et al., 2017, p. 563; Ruddell, Lithopoulos, & Jones, 2014, p. 789). Echoing these long response times, Wooff (2015) demonstrates that rural officers often lack officer resources, struggle with little nearby back-up and part-time hours. Lindström (2015) argues that even when resources increase for law enforcement agencies, these are not distributed evenly and the number of police officers in rural areas is in decline. In order to properly police these areas officers must understand the needs of the community, use discretion when possible, and be a resident of the community (Adorjan et al., 2017). Giblin, Burruss, Corsaro, and Schafer (2012) contend that collective efficacy influences residents' decisions to engage in self-protective behaviours. For example, if rural residents perceive less collective efficacy in their community they report being at risk of crime and therefore engage in self-protective behaviours (Giblin et al., 2012, p. 512).

Women living in rural areas and experiencing domestic violence live in heightened isolation, both in terms of physical distance to support services and a lack of emotional support. Service providers (including health care, social work and law enforcement) can find it challenging to encourage women to seek assistance because of the shame associated with domestic violence (Owen & Carrington, 2015 p. 233). This is an issue for services in both large metropolitan areas and rural areas. However, specific to rural and small town issues, women are further discouraged from seeking assistance due to easy identification in towns where everyone knows one another and women can experience judgement and gossip from other residents (Owen & Carrington, 2015 p. 233) Additionally, by approaching a service for domestic violence, they are identifying their

partner as an offender which the woman may or may not want to expose (Owen & Carrington, 2015 p. 235). This is further complicated when an officer of the local policing detachment is the perpetrator or friend of the perpetrator. Research in Australia revealed that male rural police officers are less likely to arrest domestic abusers when they are friends or acquaintances because the arrest disrupts male bonding practices (Scott & Jobes, 2007; DeKeseredy, 2016). Positive perceptions of local policing by victims can increase the likelihood of victims filing reports and being cooperative with witness testimony during trial.

Minority groups living in rural areas were more likely to have negative perceptions of local policing compared to non-minority groups (Nofziger & Williams, 2005, p. 262). This is not surprising. However, minority groups who had positive contact with police reported positive perceptions of police (Nofziger & Williams, 2005, p. 262). This suggests that while negative perceptions among minority groups occurs in rural areas as well, procedural justice, or viewing an officer's actions as fair, can improve relations between visible minority residents and police officers in rural areas.

Perceptions of policing from an Indigenous, rural resident perspective are infrequent in the literature. However, Griffiths and Clark (2017) conducted research on police-Indigenous relationships in the Yukon following multiple Indigenous deaths of those in police custody or during altercations between police and Indigenous residents. Indigenous respondents had mixed opinions of developing a relationship with their police. Residents believed "there [was] no way for the community to work with the police" whereas others believed the community, including police officers, needed to work together to reduce hostility (p. 566).

Ruddell et al. (2014) compared multiple Indigenous communities and found that the farther the distance from an urban area or the more isolated a community, the more officers there are

patrolling the community (p. 786). This may seem counter-intuitive, but many of the communities cover a large patrol area. For example, the overall police officer-resident ratio in Canada is 185 officers per 100,000 residents (Greenland & Alam, 2017). Northwest Territories has a ratio of 411 officers per 100,000 residents (Greenland & Alam, 2017). Yukon has a ratio of 333 officers per 100,000 residents (Greenland & Alam, 2017). Nunavut has a ratio of 353 officers per 100,000 residents (Greenland & Alam, 2017). By comparison, Ontario is the most populated province and its officer-resident ratio is 183 officers per 100,000 residents (Greenland & Alam, 2017). Although there are more officers per resident, there may not be enough police officers given the space and distance between properties. Additionally, isolated communities have a smaller population which can skew or alter the statistics. Crime rates are highest in the most isolated communities and communities closest to urban centres (Ruddell et al., 2014, p. 787). This suggests that officer presence alone is not enough to reduce crime rates in isolated or rural communities. To overcome challenges of visibility in rural areas, some police officers complete administrative work remotely in mobile work stations or in vehicles in busy areas as opposed to the police stations where residents would be unlikely to see them (RCMP, 2017a).

Research in perceptions of policing in rural areas indicates that relationships with residents and police officers can be based on informal ties that can exist in smaller communities. Rural residents who perceive less collective efficacy in their communities can engage in self-protective behaviours, such as owning a firearm, as a reaction to perceived slow police officer response times and feelings of isolation. Although there is a large officer-resident ratio, there may not be enough police officers given the space and distance between properties, thereby impacting and reducing positive perceptions of policing.

Comparing Policing in Urban and Rural Areas

In recent years, research has focused on comparing perceptions of policing between rural and urban areas. Kwak, San Miguel, and Carreon (2012) found that residents who live in larger cities with a greater population are less favourable to their local police compared to residents living in less populated, smaller cities (p. 138). Rural residents were found to trust police more than urban residents, but rural residents have lower perceptions of safety compared to urban residents (Rukus et al., 2017, p. 16). Perhaps rural residents feel less safe than urban residents because of distance between houses and the large areas rural policing agencies patrol.

Sozer and Merlo (2013) demonstrate how a community policing philosophy impacts crime rates differently depending on the size of the police force. It is likely that smaller police agencies patrol rural areas and larger police agencies patrol urban areas. There were more community police officers in smaller agencies, but the work of community policing was weak in both sizes of agencies (Sozer & Merlo, 2013, p. 513). In their study, agencies were assessed on whether the agencies conducted public opinion polls with citizens, evaluated officer performance, involved citizens in programming and implementation, including community policing principles in training, and partnerships with residents, to name a few components (Sozer & Merlo, 2013, p. 511). Even though a police agency has community policing officers or labels its force as community policing, implementing community policing programs and policies does not occur as frequently as occurs in policy and programming documents and reports. Additionally, community policing was found not to reduce crime rates in the immediate area (Sozer & Merlo, 2013, p. 516).

Kaylen and Pridemore (2015) compare rural and urban residents who are victims of violence resulting in an injury and their willingness to seek medical treatment and contact police regarding the crime (p. 241). Results indicate that the type of area the respondent lives in does not

influence contacting police or seeking medical treatment (Kaylen & Pridemore, 2015, p. 244). In other words, respondents across different types of geographic spaces notified police and sought medical treatment at similar rates.

Geography or policing district contributes to officers' reactions to their use of force in role-playing scenarios. In a study by Barrett, Haberfeld and Walker (2009), researchers created policing scenarios and observed the officers' responses. In the scenarios, urban officers were concerned with busy shifts which can impact decision-making; arresting immediately for verbal abuse (Barrett et al., 2009, p. 171). However, rural officers perceived verbal abuse as an occupational hazard and did not arrest for this type of abuse because it is not a criminal offense; they used the law to guide their actions at times recited from memory their training manuals (Barrett et al., 2009). Rural officers were concerned with backup times and their personal safety in scenarios where incidents occurred in isolated areas (Barrett et al., 2009, p. 171).

Police agencies and Indigenous communities have a long history in Canada going back to colonization and Indian Agents policing through residential schools and stripping of land rights (Cao, 2014, p. 503). Lithopoulos and Ruddell (2011) conducted a survey of police officers across Canada who police communities with large populations of Indigenous people. These communities are categorized as isolated or non-isolated depending on the distance to the nearest city and how one accesses the community (road, plane, boat, etc.). Characteristics of officers significantly differed depending on the type of community the officer worked in. Officers working in isolated communities were more likely to be younger, have less police work experience, more education and live in the community they worked compared to officers working in non-isolated communities (Lithopoulos & Ruddell, 2011, p. 441). Officers working in non-isolated communities are also more likely to identify as Indigenous, were raised by an Indigenous family, lived on a reserve, and

grew up in the community where the officer now works (Lithopoulos & Ruddell, 2011, p. 441). Officers working in isolated communities reported using policing tactics that do not require back up and arresting an individual without laying charges compared to officers working in non-isolated communities (Lithopoulos & Ruddell, 2011, p. 445). Officers working in isolated communities perceive that the residents expect officer discretion, but that police are not involved in community activities nor did residents assist and collaborate on policing initiatives (Lithopoulos & Ruddell, 2011, p. 445). Finally, officers working in non-isolated communities believe their training was adequate compared to officers working in isolated communities (Lithopoulos & Ruddell, 2011, p. 447).

Comparing perceptions of urban and rural residents and policing is beneficial because research can identify variables that may increase or reduce positive perceptions of policing. Comparisons can then be made because the methods used are the same. Rural policing officers may police differently than urban policing agencies resulting in conflicting relationships between officers and residents. Both rural residents and rural police officers mention issues of distance for officer back-up and response calls compared to urban residents and urban police officers. Urban police officers may react more formally with residents compared to informal relationships developed by rural police officers. These relationships can shape perceptions of policing in either type of population centre.

Research Questions

These findings contribute to the expectation that geographical differences will be related to varying perceptions of policing. Policing research often focuses on urban policing and residents - criminological theory regarding police officer-resident interaction tends to be grounded in urban policing research. Collective efficacy, informal social control and procedural justice involving

residents and police officers can be different in rural versus urban contexts. Race and ethnicity appear to negatively impact perceptions of both urban and rural police agencies.

Many studies have focused on the perceptions of policing in one Canadian community, at a local level, and very few have examined potential differences across communities and provinces with varying population sizes. This project will help to fill these gaps by answering the following questions:

1. *Do perceptions of policing differ between urban residents and rural residents in Canada?*
2. *Do perceptions of policing differ between urban residents and rural residents across Canadian provinces?*
3. *What accounts for differences and similarities of perceptions of policing between urban residents and rural residents?*
4. *Do perceptions of policing differ between two urban population centres in a particular province?*

Conclusions

While a number of studies consider perceptions of policing, this study focuses on perceptions of policing between rural and urban residents in Canada. It will then consider urban and rural differences by provinces and urban differences between two urban population centres in one province. A review of the literature revealed that other variables influence perceptions of policing in addition to population centre. I control for demographics such as gender, age, racial and ethnic minority, income, education and community characteristics such as collective efficacy and other crime related variables such as crime rate, social disorder, contact with police and previous victimization as referenced by the studies in the above literature review.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS

This study uses secondary data from the Canadian General Social Survey (GSS). Using secondary data from a large survey such as the GSS not only reduces time and cost, but also enables access to a large sample and, in this case, the ability to analyze an entire country (Singleton & Straits, 2010, p. 405). A disadvantage to using secondary data, however, is that because these questions were developed for other purposes, key concepts are difficult to measure and requires some adjustment to how I approach my research questions (Singleton & Straits, 2010, p. 407).

Data Source

The data for this project are individual-level data from the General Social Survey (GSS) (2014) - Victimization (Cycle #28: Canadians' Safety) (Statistics Canada, 2014). Data were collected through computer assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) from January 2nd to December 31st, 2014 (Statistics Canada, 2016). Telephone numbers available to Statistics Canada were used to create a sampling frame of both homes with landlines and homes with cellphones (Statistics Canada, 2016).

I used the master files of the GSS as opposed to public use files for this project. A master file "contains all responses by each respondent, recorded in the format specified on the questionnaire." (Statistics Canada, 2018a, para. 39). A public use microdata file is the modified version of its corresponding master file (Statistics Canada, 2018a). Modifications include collapsing variables, collapsing variables into one variable, suppressing variables, and removing outliers (Statistics Canada, 2018a, para. 48). These modifications prevent the identification of respondents, whereas the master file can potentially identify respondents (Statistics Canada, 2018a). Results from the master file are vetted by Statistics Canada analysts to ensure responses remain confidential (Statistics Canada, 2018a)

Using the master files required an application to Statistics Canada to access the data through the Research Data Centre (RDC) as opposed to a direct download from the University of Calgary library through the Data Liberation Initiative. There are seven steps for applying to access the data and releasing the data to use for a master's thesis. First, the applicant drafts a project proposal and obtains a letter of support (this is a letter from the graduate student's supervisor) (Statistics Canada, 2018c). Next, the applicant completes an online application form on the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council website (Statistics Canada, 2018c). Third, the proposal is evaluated by a Statistics Canada Subject Matter Expert. The expert reviews the proposal for relevance of the methods listed and the need to use master files (Statistics Canada, 2018c). If the proposal is accepted, the researcher completes a security screening process to obtain a reliability security clearance (Statistics Canada, 2018c). Fifth, the researcher signs a microdata research contract with Statistics Canada. The researcher becomes a "deemed employee" of Statistics Canada and agrees to data confidentiality requirements and sets a deadline for completion of the project (Statistics Canada, 2018c). Once the contract is signed, the researcher can access and analyse the microdata. The researcher must be physically present in the RDC to analyse data. Finally, the results are vetted by Statistics Canada analysts to ensure confidentiality and released from the RDC to be used in publications such as this thesis (Statistics Canada, 2018c).

Sample and Sampling Weights

The GSS consists of a nationally representative sample of Canadians over the age of fifteen (N= 33,127) (Statistics Canada, 2016). Canadians living in the Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut and full-time institutionalized residents were excluded from this target population and sample (Statistics Canada, 2016). Based on the target population, coverage is estimated to be 86% complete with a response rate of 52.9% (Statistics Canada, 2016). The goal of this project is to

generalize to the Canadian population in terms of rural and urban residents in Canada and compare residents living in urban and rural population centres in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta, and British Columbia.

In stratified random sampling, the sample is divided into separate, or mutually exclusive groups, in this case provinces (Singleton & Straits, 2010, p. 164). Simple random samples then are drawn from each stratum and once complete the stratum are combined to form the whole sample again (Singleton & Straits, 2010, p. 164). Ten provinces are divided into strata based on geographic boundaries and a simple random sample without replacement was conducted with each stratum (Statistics Canada, 2016).

A survey weight variable and bootstrap weight variable are used for estimates to make inferences required for demographic, provincial, and national analyses. These weights consider the underrepresentation and overrepresentation of individuals who answered the survey and those who did not answer the survey and adjust accordingly.

Variables and Measurement

Appendix A displays the variables of interest from the GSS. The information is grouped into variables representing perceptions of police (dependent), geography and neighbourhood (independent), social disorder (independent), contact with police (independent), previous victimization (independent), other criminological (independent), and demographic (independent). Each of these concepts is described below.

Perceptions of Local Policing

Perception of policing is measured by an index including six questions that assess respondents' self-reported opinions regarding their local police. Respondents were asked, "Do you think your local police does a good job, average job or bad job of: (1) enforcing the laws; (2) promptly responding to calls; (3) being approachable and easy to talk to; (4) supplying information to the public on ways to prevent crime; (5) ensuring the safety of the citizens in your area; and (6) treating people fairly." Cao (2014) argues that with the inclusion of these six variables, "the final index captures three aspects of confidence in the police: dependability, competency, and respectfulness" (p. 7). These aspects of confidence in police relate to Tyler's (2001) concept of procedural justice previously discussed. A principal components analysis of these items indicated one component with an eigenvalue of 3.80427, supporting using them as one measure of perceptions of policing. Responses were summed to create a scale of perceptions of policing (Cronbach's alpha = 0.8831), with higher scores indicating more favourable perceptions of policing (with scores ranging between 0 – 12).

Geography and Neighbourhood Measures

Respondents were asked, "To determine which geographic region you live in, could you tell me your postal code?" and based on that information the computer generates the type of population centre (either rural or urban) and province. Urban centres include census metropolitan areas (an urban core of 50,000 or more with a population of 100,000 or more) and census agglomerations (an urban core with a population of 10,000) (Statistics Canada, 2017c). Another definition of urban is 1,000 or more population with a population density of 400 or more inhabitants per square kilometre (Statistics Canada, 2017c). Census rural is defined as the population living *outside* settlements of 1,000 or more inhabitants (Statistics Canada, 2017c).

I had hoped to include suburban as a population centre response with urban centres referring to neighbourhoods close to the city centre and suburban centres referring to neighbourhoods farther away from the city centre. However, this was not a defined response in the survey. Statistics Canada does not have a formal definition of suburban, unlike urban and rural. For example, some researchers have used neighbourhood density to differentiate between urban and suburban with more densely populated neighbourhoods in the core and less densely populated neighbourhoods in the periphery (Turcotte, 2008). However, density differs significantly from municipality to municipality making it challenging to make comparisons. Other researchers measure distance to the city centre, but this can skew urban and rural population centres because it does not take into consideration that municipalities differ in size and what might be considered far from the city centre (and is thus suburban) is still considered inner city in another municipality (Turcotte, 2008). Suburban was not included as a population centre size because of the lack of Statistics Canada definition.

The provinces included in this analysis are British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. Price Edward Islands' population was too small to categorize residents as rural or urban and was categorized separately as one region. In other words, the original responses for population centre were urban, rural, and Prince Edward Island. Because of this categorization, Prince Edward Island is excluded from the analyses. As mentioned previously, the territories are not included in the sample and this is a limitation of the study when attempting to generalize to the Canadian population.

The respondents' duration of living in their neighbourhood was measured by asking, "how long have you lived in this neighbourhood?" Respondents' categories included less than 6 months; 6 months to less than 1 year; 1 year to less than 3 years; 3 years to less than 5 years; 5 years to less

than 10 years; and 10 years and over. Further analyses excluded respondents who have lived in their neighbourhoods for less than one year to ensure respondents were clearly considering their current local police and their neighbourhood. Duration of years living in a neighbourhood is important for measuring collective efficacy because residents who have lived in their neighbourhood for at least a year are more likely to feel connected to their community and neighbours (Sargeant et al., 2013).

Social Disorder Measures

Social disorder is measured with seven questions. Respondents were asked, "In your neighbourhood, how much of a problem are: (1) noisy neighbours or loud parties; (2) people hanging around on the streets; (3) garbage or litter lying around; (4) vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage to property or vehicles; (5) people being attacked or harassed because of their skin colour, ethnic origin or religion; (6) people using or dealing drugs; and (7) people being drunk or rowdy in public places?" Respondents indicated if the issue was a big problem, a moderate problem, a small problem, or not a problem at all. A principal components analysis of these items indicated one component with an eigenvalue of 3.38384, supporting their use as one measure of social disorder. Responses were therefore summed to create a scale of social disorder (Cronbach's alpha = 0.8205), with higher scores indicating more perceived social disorder.

Previous Victimization

Vehicle and property crimes were selected to measure previous victimization because these crimes are likely to be reported to police for insurance purposes (Sinha, 2015). I controlled for crimes that occurred on personal property, excluding crimes that occurred in public spaces, at a workplace, and while travelling or on vacation. Respondents were asked, "During the past 12 months, (1) did anyone deliberately damage or destroy any property belonging to you or anyone

in your household, such as a window or a fence; (2) did anyone illegally break into or attempt to break into your residence or any other building on your property; (3) did anyone take or try to take something from you by force or threat of force; (4) was anything of yours stolen from outside your home, such as yard furniture; (5) did anyone steal or try to steal one of these vehicles or a part of one of them, such as a battery, hubcap or radio; (6) did anyone deliberately damage one of these vehicles, such as slashing tires; and (7) did anyone steal or try to steal something else that belonged to you?" reporting yes or no. A principal components analysis identified multiple components with low eigenvalues of (1.19 - 1.63) and a weak internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha = 0.3958) suggesting that previous victimization cannot be measured as one scale. Several attempts were made to combine different questions of previous victimization to create one measure with no success. Ultimately, I decided to measure previous victimization with two separate questions regarding property crime and vehicle crime: (1) break and enter and; (2) stolen vehicle or parts. These two questions were more likely to have been answered than other victimization questions leading to a larger sample size.

Contact with Police

Contact with police is measured with eight questions. Respondents were asked, "During the past 12 months, did you come into contact with the police: (1) for a public information session; (2) for a traffic violation; (3) as a witness to a crime; (4) by being arrested; (5) because of problems with your emotions, mental health, alcohol or drug use; (7) because of a family member's emotional problems, mental health, alcohol or drug use; or (8) for any other reason?", reporting yes or no. A principal components analysis identified multiple components with a low eigenvalues of (1.03 - 1.61) and a weak internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha = 0.4041) suggesting that contact with police should not be measured as one scale. Several attempts were made to combine different

questions of contact with police to create one viable measure though this was not successful. Very few people in the sample stated they had contact with police by being arrested and were excluded from further analyses. Three questions are used and measured separately in further analyses on contact with police: (1) information session; (2) traffic violation; and (3) witness to a crime.

Other Criminological Variables

Respondents were asked, "Compared to other areas in Canada, do you think your neighbourhood has a higher amount of crime, about the same or a lower amount of crime?" This variable was transformed into a dichotomous variable named 'crime rate', where similar crime rate and lower crime rate responses were combined (same or lower amount of crime = 0, higher amount of crime = 1). 'Collective efficacy' is measured by asking, "Would you say this neighbourhood is a place where neighbours help each other?", responding yes or no.

Demographic Variables

Originally dichotomized variables capturing Indigenous status, gender, visible minority, remained dichotomized. Respondents were asked, "Are you an Aboriginal person, that is, First Nations, Métis or Inuk (Inuit)? First Nations includes Status and Non-Status Indians", answering yes or no. Respondents were asked, "Are you male or female". Respondents were asked, "Are you a visible minority?", answering yes or no. A visible minority is a person who is not white or not Caucasian, excluding those who are Aboriginal (Statistics Canada, 2017d).

Categorical data including education and marital status were transformed into dichotomized responses. Respondents were asked, "What is your highest educational degree?" with answers including less than high school diploma or its equivalent; high school diploma or a high school equivalency certificate; trade certificate or diploma; college, CECEP or other non-university certificate or diploma; university certificate or diploma below bachelor's level;

bachelor's degree; university certificate; diploma or degree above the bachelors level. Responses were dichotomized into "less than a high school degree" or "a high school degree or more". Although ideally, education would be measured in years of education this data was not available.

Scale demographic variables included income and age. Respondents were asked open-ended, "What is your age?" Personal and household income was not directly asked of respondents and instead was obtained through a linkage to tax records. For personal income, 30% of respondents were not matched to tax records. For household income, 40% of respondents were not matched to tax records. Personal income was selected because it provided more responses. Instead of using scale data in dollars, income data was transformed into a dichotomized variable of respondents earning less than $40,000 before taxes and respondents earning $40,000 or more before taxes due to high statistical outliers and most respondents earning less than $20,000.

Hypotheses

1. **National Rural / Urban Hypothesis:** Rural residents will have less favourable perceptions of police compared to urban residents controlling for age, sex, education, income, marital status, visible minority status, and aboriginal status at the national level.
2. **Provincial Rural / Urban Hypothesis:** Rural residents will have less favourable perceptions of police compared to urban residents controlling for age, sex, education, income, marital status, visible minority status, and aboriginal status even when comparing and contrasting provinces.
3. **Calgary/Edmonton Hypothesis:** As described in Chapter One, EPS has experienced more chief turnover and dismissals in recent years compared to the CPS. Based on this finding, Calgarians will have more favourable perceptions of police compared to Edmontonians

controlling for age, sex, education, income, marital status, visible minority status, and aboriginal status even when comparing and contrasting cities.

Data Analysis

Prior to analyses, data were examined and cleaned. The majority of respondents had at least one missing value, mostly income. This is because income was not directly asked of the respondent, but identifying information linked the respondent to Canada Revenue Agency data. Not all respondents' income could be linked (Statistics Canada, 2016). Individual income was selected over household income because there were fewer missing responses, however many reported earning nothing in the previous tax year. Respondents that have a missing value on any question of interest were deleted, also known as listwise deletion (Singleton & Straits, 2010, p. 516).

Bivariate Relationships and Multiple Regression

T-tests will be conducted to assess the association of population centre (rural or urban) with perceptions of police. Multiple linear regression is utilized to measure the association between population centre (rural or urban) with perceptions of policing controlling for demographic variables, criminological variables, and length of time living in the same neighbourhood. Each province will be assessed with multiple linear regression in addition to Canada overall.

Regression diagnostics were tested prior to the analyses in order to assess the appropriateness of utilizing multiple regression. A few regression assumptions were challenged: autocorrelation, homoscedasticity and normal distribution. This is to be expected given the nature of the data. I corrected for these deficits where possible and acknowledge that this is a limitation of the study. However, the absence of multicollinearity means that the predictors are uncorrelated and multiple models are appropriate.

Statistical Models

I use three linear regression models to test my hypotheses to assess the urban/rural population centre differences in perceptions of policing. I evaluate whether the urban/rural population centre difference remains significant above and beyond demographic and other criminological variables regarding perceptions of policing while controlling for length of time living in the same neighbourhood. Below are the models.

Model 1 – Focal Relationship
Population Centre ⟶ Perceptions of Policing

Model 2 – Controlling for demographic variables
Population Centre ⟶ Perceptions of Policing
- Age
- Gender
- Education
- Income
- Visible minority status
- Indigeneity

Model 3 – Controlling for demographic and criminological variables
Population Centre ⟶ Perceptions of Policing
- Age
- Gender
- Education
- Income
- Visible minority status
- Indigeneity

- Crime rate comparison
- Social disorder
- Neighbours help each other
- Contact with police
- Previous victimization

Conclusion

I used multiple linear regression models to answer my questions comparing perceptions of policing of residents living in urban and rural population centres and across provinces. I use Statistics Canada microdata as a way to generalize to the Canadian population and used the master files instead of the public use files to use data without collapsed variables. In addition to population centres as predictors of perceptions of policing, I use demographic variables and criminological variables as predictors and controls.

CHAPTER FIVE: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Descriptive Statistics

In total, responses from 33,127 Canadian residents were analysed to *estimate* to the overall population for this study. The actual sample size could not be released based on Statistics Canada confidentiality guidelines (Statistics Canada, 2018a). When analyses are conducted on master files, the results of the analysis must be vetted to ensure respondents cannot be identified (Statistics Canada, 2018a). Reporting the sample size is a violation of this confidentiality agreement. Table 1 lists the descriptive statistics for the overall sample; about 85% of Canadian residents live in urban areas.

Table 1: *Proportions and means for demographic variables and crime-related variables in Canada*

Variable	Proportions
Population Centre (Urban)	.849
Demographics	
Income (Less than $40,000)	.591
Education (High school or less	
Indigeneity (Indigenous)	.092
Visible Minority (Minority)	.064
Gender (Male)	.468
Crime-related variables	
Collective Efficacy (Yes)	.849
Crime Rate (Lower or same amount of crime)	.856
Previous Victimization	
Vehicle Theft (Yes)	.224
Break and Enter (Yes)	.236
Contact with Police	
Information Session (Yes)	.153
Traffic Violation (Yes)	.215
Witness to a Crime (Yes)	.205
	Weighted Mean
Age	37.783 (in years)
Social Disorder	2.825

Table 2 lists the descriptive statistics for residents living in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. New Brunswick has fewer residents living in urban areas (66%) compared to the national percentage (85%). Almost half of residents in Nova Scotia had less than a high school diploma compared to the national percentage (37%), Newfoundland percentage (40%) and New Brunswick percentage (44%). Almost 20% of residents in New Brunswick reported vehicle theft in the last year compared to 9% of Nova Scotians and nearly 15% of respondents from Newfoundland. Contact with police percentages varied by type of contact and by province.

Table 2: *Proportions and means for demographic variables and crime-related variables in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick*

	Newfoundland	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick
Variable			
Population Centre (Urban)	.758	.779	.659
Demographics			
Income (Less than $40,000)	.59	.631	.678
Education (High school or less)	.398	.49	.443
Indigeneity (Indigenous)	.083	.078	.085
Visible Minority (Minority)	X	.027	X
Gender (Male)	.507	.574	.381
Crime-related variables			
Collective Efficacy (Yes)	.839	.806	.86
Crime Rate[1] (Lower or same amount of crime)	.914	.914	.914
Previous Victimization			
Vehicle Theft (Yes)	.149	.085	.197
Break and Enter (Yes)	.148	.172	.15
Contact with Police			
Information Session (Yes)	.202	.185	.061
Traffic Violation (Yes)	.056	.109	.052
Witness to a Crime (Yes)	.192	.246	.325
		Weighted Mean	
Age (in years)	38.07	34.904	38.617
Social Disorder	2.771	2.721	1.869

X = Not large enough sample size to report

[1] Perceived crime rate in New Brunswick did not meet the minimum cell count as required by Statistics Canada. To solve this problem, the crime rate variable was collapsed in the Maritime provinces. Newfoundland and Nova Scotia had similar perceived crime rates prior to combining proportions.

Few residents of Newfoundland (6%), Nova Scotia (11%) and New Brunswick (5%) reported contact with police based on a traffic violation compared to the national percentage (22%). Few residents of New Brunswick (6%) attended a public information session where they had contact with police compared to the national percentage (15%), whereas residents of Newfoundland (20%) and Nova Scotia (19%) reported higher percentages than the national proportion. About 19% of residents in Newfoundland reported contact with police as a witness to a crime, whereas nearly 25% of residents of Nova Scotia and 39% of New Brunswick residents reported higher percentage than the national percentage (21%). New Brunswick reported the lowest social disorder average (1.869) compared to the national average (2.825), Newfoundland average (2.771) and Nova Scotia average (2.721).

Table 3 lists the descriptive statistics for residents living in Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba. About 81% of residents in Manitoba lived in urban areas, compared to Ontarians (84%), the national percentage (85%) and Québécoises (87%). Manitobans had the highest income ($40,000 or more percentage, 67%; less than $40,000 percentage, 33%) whereas the majority of residents in Ontario (66%) and Quebec (63%) earned less than $40,000. Almost 24% of residents in Manitoba self-identified as Indigenous compared to the national percentage (9%), the Ontario percentage (5%) and the Quebec percentage (3%). Ontarians (39%) and Manitobans (.43%) had lower a lower percentage of males compared to the national proportion (47%) and Quebec proportion (57%). In the past year, residents of Quebec (33%) and Manitoba (32%) had higher proportions of vehicle theft compared to the national proportion (22%) and residents of Ontario (14%). Québécoises reported higher percentages of contact with police for traffic violations (37%), compared to the national percentage (22%), the Ontario proportion (15%), and the Manitoba proportion (13%).

Table 3: *Proportions and means for demographic variables and crime-related variables in Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba*

	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba
Variable			
Population Centre (Urban)	.872	.836	.809
Demographics			
Income (Less than $40,000)	.626	.667	.331
Education (High school or less)	.371	.323	.342
Indigeneity (Indigenous)	.034	.051	.234
Visible Minority (Minority)	.045	.115	.044
Gender (Male)	.566	.385	.427
Crime-related variables			
Collective Efficacy (Yes)	.771	.901	.907
Crime Rate (Lower or same amount of crime)	.926	.916	.932
Previous Victimization			
Vehicle Theft (Yes)	.325	.14	.321
Break and Enter (Yes)	.207	.177	.375
Contact with Police			
Information Session (Yes)	.119	.17	.161
Traffic Violation (Yes)	.365	.154	.127
Witness to a Crime (Yes)	.161	.119	.368
		Weighted Mean	
Age (in years)	36.15	35.987	39.643
Social Disorder	2.47	2.366	3.582

Residents of Manitoba reported higher proportions of contact with police as a witness to a crime (37%), compared to the national percentage (21%), the Quebec percentage (16%) and Ontario percentage (12%). On average, Manitobans perceived a score of 3.582 in social disorder compared to Quebec (2.47), Ontario (2.366), and the national average (2.825).

Table 4 lists the descriptive statistics for residents living in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. More British Columbians live in urban areas (93%) compared to the national percentage (85%). About 5% of residents in British Columbia self-identified as Indigenous compared to the national percentage (9%), the Alberta percentage (19%) and the Saskatchewan percentage (31%). All three provinces (Saskatchewan = 3.281; Alberta = 3.705; and British Columbia = 3.334) had relatively high perceived averages of social disorder compared to the

Table 4: *Proportions and means for demographic variables and crime-related variables in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia*

	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
Variable			
Population Centre (Urban)	.846	.842	.925
Demographics			
Income (Less than $40,000)	.611	.535	.479
Education (High school or less)	.547	.469	.303
Indigeneity (Indigenous)	.311	.186	.051
Visible Minority (Minority)	X	.056	X
Gender (Male)	.608	.464	.492
Crime-related variables			
Collective Efficacy (Yes)	.938	.743	.897
Crime Rate (Lower or same amount of crime)	.591	.742	.734
Previous Victimization			
Vehicle Theft (Yes)	.343	.24	.238
Break and Enter (Yes)	.254	.288	.358
Contact with Police			
Information Session (Yes)	.101	.155	.173
Traffic Violation (Yes)	.151	.261	.22
Witness to a Crime (Yes)	.285	.303	.279
		Weighted Mean	
Age (in years)	37.417	40.073	42.86
Social Disorder	3.281	3.705	3.334

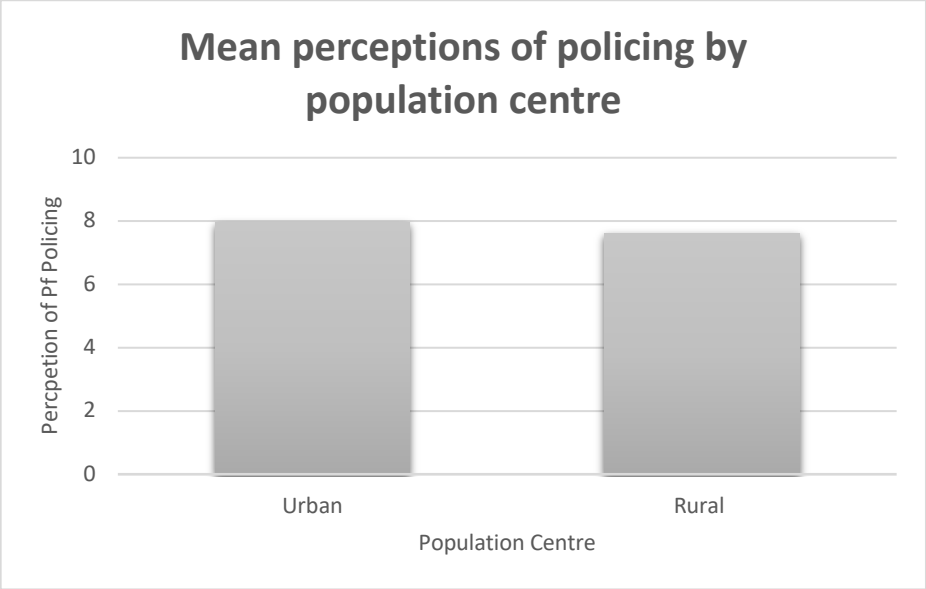
X = Not large enough sample size to report

national average (2.825). Only 60% of residents in Saskatchewan perceived a lower or same amount of crime compared to the rest of Canada. This is relatively low compared to the national percentage (86%), the Alberta percentage (74%), and the British Columbia (73%) percentage.

Perceptions of Policing Across Canada

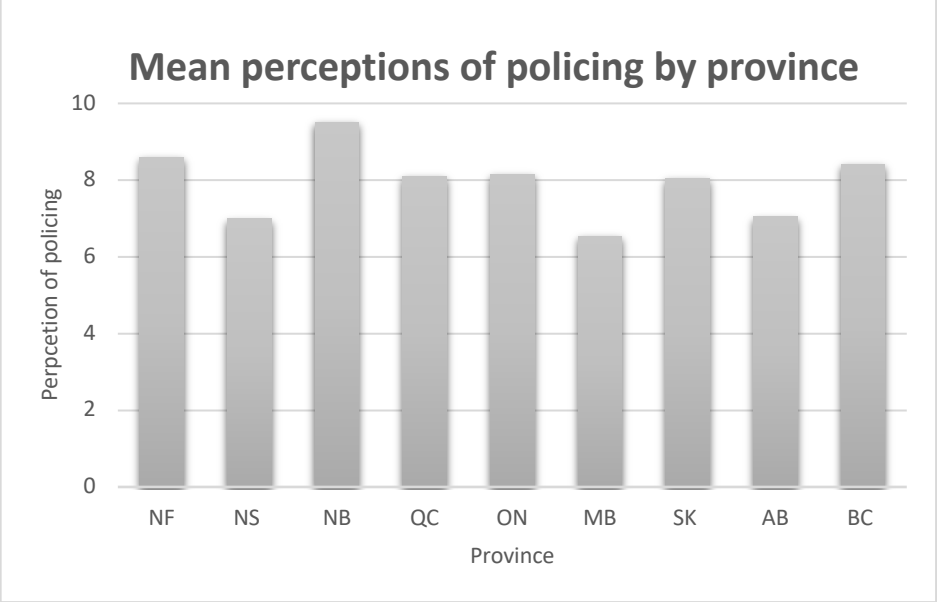
Overall, Canadians are favourable toward their local police with an average of 7.9 (0 being the least favourable and 12 being the most favourable). In the national sample, rural and urban residents do not significantly differ with regard to their rating of local policing. Figure 1 visually depicts this similarity.

Figure 1. *Perceptions of policing by urban/rural population centre*



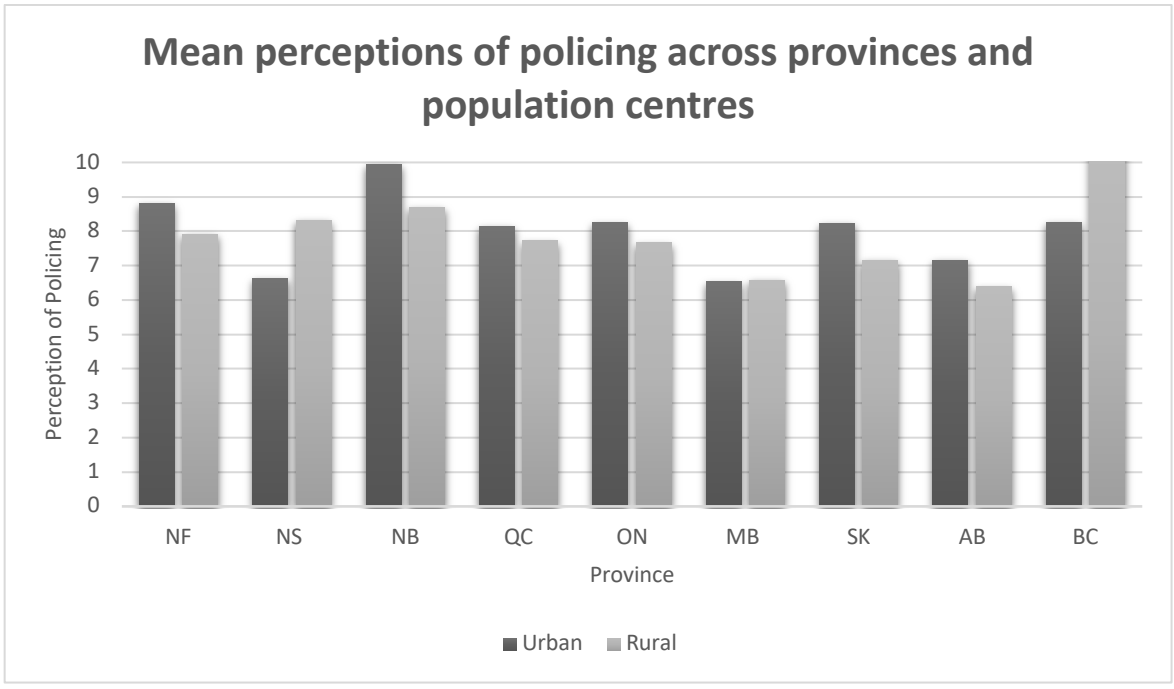
Geographic differences across the provinces are noticed when comparing perceptions of policing by province (Figure 2). For example, New Brunswick rates their local policing very highly (weighted mean = 9.5) while Manitoba rates their local policing the lowest (weighted mean = 6.5) compared to the rest of Canada (weighted mean = 7.9).

Figure 2. *Perceptions of policing by provinces*



Once I examine urban/rural population centres and provinces simultaneously (Figure 3), perceptions of local policing vary by urban/rural population centres. For example, New Brunswick, which has the largest positive average with regard to local policing overall (weighted mean = 9.5) has higher averages for urban residents (weighted mean = 9.9) compared to rural residents (weighted mean = 8.6) There is no clear pattern when examining urban and rural residents by provinces. Urban residents in Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta were more favourable to their local police compared to rural residents in the same provinces. Residents in British Columbia, Manitoba and Nova Scotia were more favourable to their local police compared to urban residents in the same provinces. Most provinces within a region (Maritimes includes Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; Central Canada includes Ontario and Quebec; and Western Canada includes Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia) do not have the same arrangement, although urban residents and rural residents in Central Canada (Ontario and Quebec) are most similar.

Figure 3. *Perceptions of policing by provinces and urban/rural population centre*



Modelling Perceptions of Policing: Canada and the Provinces

Overall, ten areas were analysed - one at the national level and one for each province separately. Each area had three separate regression models, each model building on the previous in an additive approach. For each of the ten areas, Model 1 examines the relationship between urban/rural population centre and perceptions of policing alone. Model 2 examines the relationship between urban/rural population centre and perceptions of policing controlling for demographic variables. Model 3 examines the relationship between urban/rural population centre and perceptions of policing controlling for demographic variables and crime-related variables. This approach highlights urban/rural population centre with the expectation that this factor will remain a significant predictor of perceptions of policing even when other variables are added into each subsequent model.

Unstandardized coefficients are reported in the multiple regression tables (see Tables 5 – 8) because bootstrapping weights cannot produce standardized coefficients. Bootstrapping weights and sampling weights are required to release results from the RDC. R-squareds are reported (see Tables 5 – 8) to depict how much variation in perceptions of policing is explained by each model. As could be expected, each subsequent model increased the variation explained in the model for Canada and the provinces.

Similar to Figure 1, Table 5 indicates that perceptions of policing do not significantly differ between urban/rural population centres in Canada. This relationship is also not significant in Model 2 or Model 3. This regression (Model 1) shows that there is no difference in perceptions of local policing between urban and rural residents in Canada. However, other variables are statistically significant and influence perceptions of policing in Model 3. On average, a one-unit increase in indigeneity (moving from Indigenous to non-Indigenous) is associated with a 1.645

Table 5: *Multiple regression unstandardized coefficients: perceptions of policing in Canada*

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Urban/Rural	-.343	-.174	-.209
Demographics			
Income	-	.044	-.09
Education	-	-.17	-.205
Indigeneity	-	2.425**	1.645***
Visible Minority	-	2.329**	2.398**
Gender	-	-.126	-.182
Age	-	.019	.021*
Crime-related variables			
Collective Efficacy	-	-	1.062*
Crime Rate	-	-	.009
Social Disorder	-	-	-.432***
Previous Victimization			
Break and Enter	-	-	-.546
Vehicle Theft	-	-	.251
Contact with Police			
Information Session	-	-	.306
Traffic Violation	-	-	-.28
Witness to a Crime	-	-	-.755
R-squared	.001	.081	.218

* = p <.05
** = p <.01
*** = p <.001

increase in perceptions of local policing; a one-unit increase in visible minority (moving from visible minority to non-visible minority) is associated with a 2.398 increase in perceptions of local policing; a one-unit increase in age is associated with a .021 increase in perceptions of local policing; a one-unit increase in collective efficacy (moving from not helpful to helpful) is associated with a 1.062 increase in perceptions of local policing; and a one-unit increase in crime rate perception (moving from lower or same amount of crime to more crime) is associated with a .432 decrease in perceptions of local policing controlling for demographic and criminological variables. The R-squared for model 1 is 0.1%; model 2 is 8.1%; and model 3 is 21.8%.

Model 1 for Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shows that there is no difference in perceptions of local policing between urban and rural residents (Table 6). In Newfoundland, on average, a one-unit increase in previous victim of vehicle theft (moving from a victim to not a victim) is associated with a 3.597 decrease in perceptions of local policing controlling for demographic and criminological variables (see Model 3). In other words, victims of vehicle theft were more favourable to their local police compared to non-victims of vehicle theft in Newfoundland. The R-squared for model 1 is 2.1%; model 2 is 16.3%; and model 3 is 36.6%. None of the variables for any of the three models for Nova Scotia were found to significantly impact perceptions of policing (Table 6). The R-squared for model 1 is 3.4%; model 2 is 13.2%; and model 3 is 30.7%.

In New Brunswick, on average, a one-unit increase in population centre (moving from urban to rural) is associated with a 2.127 decrease in perceptions of local policing controlling for demographic variables and criminological variables (see Table 6, Model 3). In other words, rural residents were less favourable to their local police compared to urban residents in New Brunswick. The R-squared for model 1 is 5.4%; model 2 is 14.6%; and model 3 is 25.9%.

Table 6: *Multiple regression unstandardized coefficients: perceptions of policing in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick*

	Newfoundland			Nova Scotia			New Brunswick		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Urban/Rural	-.902	-.425	-.504	1.695	.992	.452	-1.268	-1.67**	-2.127*
Demographics									
Income	-	-.54	-.683	-	-1.395	-.727	-	-.923	-1.35
Education	-	-.223	-.229	-	-.451	.046	-	-.87	-.391
Indigeneity	-	2.883	.975	-	1.586	1.697	-	1.236	2.17
Visible Minority	-	X	X	-	1.289	1.874	-	X	X
Gender	-	.028	-.351	-	.844	.43	-	.227	.736
Age	-	.043**	.029	-	.052	.027	-	-.014	-.003
Crime-related variables									
Collective Efficacy	-	-	.784	-	-	1.762	-	-	-.057
Crime Rate	-	-	-2.279	-	-	1.394	-	-	X
Social Disorder	-	-	-0.16	-	-	-.363	-	-	-.437
Previous Victimization									
Break and Enter	-	-	-.232	-	-	1.678	-	-	.536
Vehicle Theft	-	-	-3.597*	-	-	-1.028	-	-	1.167
Contact with Police									
Information Session	-	-	-1.302	-	-	-.12	-	-	.956
Traffic Violation	-	-	2.179	-	-	.312	-	-	.652
Witness to a Crime	-	-	2.026	-	-	-2.834	-	-	-.952
R-squared	.021	.163	.366	.034	.132	.307	.054	.146	.259

* = p <.05
** = p <.01
X = Not large enough sample size to report

Model 1 for Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba shows that there is no difference in perceptions of local policing between urban and rural residents (Table 7). In Quebec, on average, a one-unit increase social disorder is associated with a .363 decrease in perceptions of local policing controlling for population centre and other demographic variables and criminological variables (see Model 3). In other words, residents who perceive more social disorder are more likely to report less favourable perceptions of local policing compared to residents who perceive less social disorder occurring in their neighbourhood. The R-squared for model 1 is 0.2%; model 2 is 9.6%; and model 3 is 24.1%.

In Ontario, on average, a one-unit increase in income (moving from less than $40,000 to $40,000 or more) is associated with a 1.18 increase in perceptions of local policing; one-unit increase in visible minority (moving from visible minority to non-visible minority) is associated with a 3.365 in perceptions of local policing; a one-unit increase in collective efficacy (moving from not helpful to helpful) is associated with a 1.924 increase; a one-unit increase in crime rate perception (moving from lower or same amount of crime to more crime) is associated with a 1.423 increase; a one-unit increase social disorder is associated with a .377 decrease in perceptions of local policing; a one-unit increase in previous victim of vehicle theft (moving from a victim to not a victim) is associated with a 1.587 increase in perceptions of local policing controlling for population centre and other demographic variables and criminological variables (see Model 3, Table 7). The R-squared for model 1 is 0.4%; model 2 is 16.7%; and model 3 is 31.3%.

In Manitoba, on average, a one-unit increase in income (moving from less than $40,000 to more than $40,000) is associated with a 1.407 decrease in perceptions of local policing; a one-unit increase in age is associated with a .071 increase in perceptions of local policing; a one-unit increase in previous victim of a break and enter is associated with a 1.907 decrease in perceptions

of local policing controlling for population centre and other demographic variables and criminological variables (see Model 3, Table 7). The R-squared for model 1 is 0%; model 2 is 23.7%; and model 3 is 48.1%.

Table 7: *Multiple regression unstandardized coefficients: perceptions of policing in Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba*

	Quebec			Ontario			Manitoba		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Urban/Rural	-.428	-.063	.064	-.587	-.944	-.213	.036	.69	.481
Demographics									
Income	-	-.081	-.454	-	.819	1.18*	-	-2.016**	-1.407*
Education	-	-.112	-.229	-	-.346	-.263	-	-.156	.451
Indigeneity	-	3.923	2.08	-	.78	.234	-	1.446	1.431
Visible Minority	-	.203	-.331	-	3.655**	3.365***	-	.588	1.452
Gender	-	.756	.587	-	-.002	-.334	-	-1.721	-.707
Age	-	.038	.035	-	.008	-.001	-	.072**	.071**
Crime-related variables									
Collective Efficacy	-	-	.667	-	-	1.924**	-	-	-1.214
Crime Rate	-	-	-1.951	-	-	1.423*	-	-	-.243
Social Disorder	-	-	-.363*	-	-	-.377**	-	-	-.228
Previous Victimization									
Break and Enter	-	-	1.713	-	-	-1.103	-	-	-1.907*
Vehicle Theft	-	-	-.469	-	-	1.587*	-	-	-1.081
Contact with Police									
Information Session	-	-	-.622	-	-	.44	-	-	-.417
Traffic Violation	-	-	-.126	-	-	-.663	-	-	-.424
Witness to a Crime	-	-	.275	-	-	.526	-	-	-.935
R-squared	.002	.096	.241	.004	.167	.313	.000	.237	.481

* = p <.05
** = p <.01
*** = p <.001

Model 1 for Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia shows that there is no difference in perceptions of local policing between urban and rural residents (Table 8). In Saskatchewan, on average, a one-unit increase in indigeneity (moving from Indigenous to non-Indigenous) is associated with a 2.704 increase in perceptions of local policing and a one-unit increase in social disorder is associated with a .296 decrease in perceptions of local policing controlling for other demographic variables and criminological variables (see Table 8, Model 3). The R-squared for model 1 is 2.1%; model 2 is 27.1%; and model 3 is 33.9%.

In Alberta, on average, a one-unit increase in population centre (moving urban to rural) is associated with a 2.179 decrease; a one-unit increase in indigeneity (moving from Indigenous to non-Indigenous) is associated with a 2.065 increase in perceptions of local policing; a one-unit increase in social disorder is associated with a .346 decrease in perceptions of local policing; a one-unit increase in contact with police at an information session (moving from no contact to contact) is associated with a 3.112 increase in perceptions of local policing; a one-unit increase in contact with police as a witness to a crime (moving from no contact to contact) is associated with a 2.76 decrease in perceptions of local policing controlling for population centre and other demographic variables and criminological variables (see Table 8, Model 3). The R-squared for model 1 is 0.6%; model 2 is 16.8%; and model 3 is 52.9%.

In British Columbia, on average, a one-unit increase in education (less than high school to high school or more) is associated with a 2.627 increase in perceptions of local policing; a one-unit increase in collective efficacy (moving from viewing neighbours as unhelpful to helpful) is associated with a 2.652 increase in perceptions of local policing; and a one-unit increase in social disorder is associated with a .45 decrease in perceptions of local policing controlling for other

demographic variables and criminological variables. The R-squared for model 1 is 2.6%; model 2 is 10.1%; and model 3 is 39.3%.

Table 8: *Multiple regression unstandardized coefficients: perceptions of policing in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia*

	Saskatchewan			Alberta			British Columbia		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(3)
Urban/Rural	-1.078	-1.543*	-1.312	-.778	.047	-2.179**	2.028*	2.572*	.998
Demographics									
Income	-	.857	.934	-	-.542	-.729	-	.861	-.069
Education	-	-.419	-.458	-	-.267	.114	-	1.64	2.627**
Indigeneity	-	2.489**	2.704*	-	3.98	2.065*	-	.417	-.551
Visible Minority	-	X	X	-	.43	-.418	-	X	X
Gender	-	-.439	-.396	-	-.665	-.472	-	-.147	-.062
Age	-	.007	.005	-	.006	.026	-	-.022	-.025
Crime-related variables									
Collective Efficacy	-	-	-.986	-	-	-.099	-	-	2.652*
Crime Rate	-	-	1.213	-	-	-1.628	-	-	-1.532
Social Disorder	-	-	-.296*	-	-	-.346*	-	-	-.45*
Previous Victimization									
Break and Enter	-	-	-.241	-	-	-.25	-	-	-.802
Vehicle Theft	-	-	.22	-	-	-.521	-	-	1.385
Contact with Police									
Information Session	-	-	.625	-	-	3.112***	-	-	.009
Traffic Violation	-	-	-.922	-	-	.067	-	-	-.36
Witness to a Crime	-	-	.122	-	-	-2.763**	-	-	-.52
R-squareds	.021	.271	.339	.006	.168	.529	.026	.101	.393

* = p <.05
** = p <.01
*** = p <.001
x = Not large enough sample size to report

Summary of Findings

By examining perceptions of policing at the national and provincial levels I observe how the type of community influences residents' perceptions of local policing. By controlling for demographic and criminological variables, we can examine how particular variables are associated with perceptions of local policing above and beyond urban/rural population centres.

Perceptions of Policing in Canada

At the national level, perceptions of policing do not differ between urban residents and rural residents. The hypothesis that rural residents will have less favourable perceptions of policing compared to urban residents was not found to be statistically significant. However, other variables, including demographic and criminological variables, contribute to perceptions of policing in the final, national model (see Table 5, Model 3). Non-Indigenous and non-visible minority residents were more favourable to local policing compared to Indigenous and visible minority residents, respectively; older residents were more favourable to policing compared to younger residents; residents who perceived their neighbours as helpful were more favourable to their local policing compared to residents who perceived their neighbours as unhelpful; and residents living in neighbourhoods perceived to have higher crime rates were less favourable to their local police compared to residents living in neighbourhoods perceived to have lower crime rates.

Perceptions of Policing across Provinces

At the provincial level, perceptions of policing differ between urban residents and rural residents. The hypothesis that rural residents would more positively perceive local police than urban residents was supported in New Brunswick and Alberta (see Table 6, Model 3; and Table 8, Model 3). Models for the remaining provinces did not support the hypothesis that rural

residents were more favourable to their local police compared to urban residents and rather found no association. Other variables influence perceptions of policing.

Maritimes

In Newfoundland, victims of vehicle theft were more favourable to their local police compared to non-victims of vehicle theft (see Table 6, Model 3). None of the variables for any of the three models for Nova Scotia were found to significantly impact perceptions of policing (Table 6). Rural residents in New Brunswick were less favourable to local police compared to urban residents.

Central Canada

In both Ontario and Quebec perceived social disorder in one's neighbourhood decreased residents' perceptions of local police (see Table 7, Model 3). In Ontario, residents with an income of $40,000 or more were more favourable to their local police compared to residents earning an income of less than $40,000 (see Table 7, Model 3). Non-visible minority residents were more favourable to local policing compared to visible minority residents (see Table 7, Model 3). Residents who perceived their neighbours as helpful were more favourable to their local policing compared to residents who perceived their neighbours as unhelpful (see Table 7, Model 3). Residents living in perceived higher crime rate neighbourhoods were more favourable to their local police compared to residents living in perceived lower crime rate neighbourhoods. Residents who had previously been a victim of a crime were less favourable to their local police compared to residents who have not been a victim of a crime.

Prairies

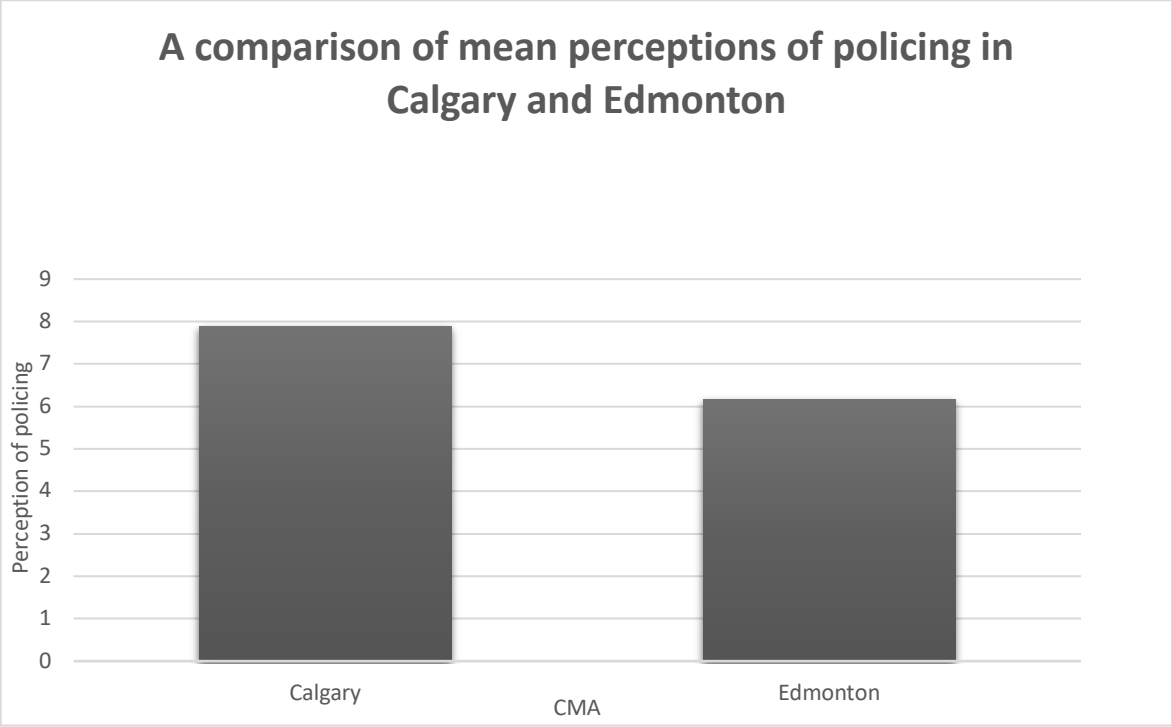
In Alberta and Saskatchewan, non-Indigenous residents were more favourable to local policing compared to Indigenous residents. In Alberta and British Columbia, perceived social

disorder in one's neighbourhood decreased residents' perceptions of local police. In Alberta, residents who had contact with police at an information session were more favourable to local policing compared to residents who did not have contact with police at an information session. Residents who had contact with police as a witness to a crime were less favourable to local policing compared to residents who did not have contact with police as a witness to a crime. In British Columbia, residents with a high school education or more were more favourable to their local police compared to residents with less than a high school education. British Columbia residents who perceived their neighbours as helpful were more favourable to their local policing compared to residents who perceived their neighbours as unhelpful. In Manitoba, residents with an income of $40,000 or more were less favourable to their local police compared to residents earning an income of less than $40,000. Older residents were more positive of policing than younger residents. Residents who had previously been a victim of a break and enter were less favourable to their local police compared to residents who have not been a victim of a crime.

Modelling Perceptions of Policing: Calgary and Edmonton

Alberta statistically differed between rural and urban residents with regard to perceptions of local policing (see Table 8, Model 3). To analyse perceptions of policing at the local or city level, Calgary and Edmonton were compared. Chapter One described the two police agencies for each city with reference to the leadership styles of the police chiefs. Ideally, I would also like to compare two rural population centres in Alberta, but finding comparable rural communities with large enough sample sizes and response rates (Statistics Canada definition of census rural is less than 1,000 residents) proved challenging (Statistics Canada, 2017c).

Figure 4. *Perceptions of policing in Calgary and Edmonton*



Overall, Albertans are favourable to their local police with an average of 7.04. When comparing perceptions of policing in Calgary and Edmonton, I start to notice statistically significant differences by city (Figure 4). Calgarians rate their local policing highly (weighted mean = 7.9) compared to the Edmontonians (weighted mean = 6.16). Descriptive statistics (proportions and means for income, education, Indigeneity, visible minority, gender, age, collective efficacy, crime rate, social disorder, previous victimization and contact with police) could not be reported for Calgary and Edmonton due to Statistics Canada release requirements although these can be used in regression models.

Edmonton and Calgary were analysed separately with two separate models that mirror the previous additive approach: Model 1 examines perceptions of policing controlling for demographic variables and Model 2 examines perceptions of policing controlling for demographic variables and crime-related variables. Unstandardized coefficients are reported in the multiple

regression tables (see Table 9) because bootstrapping weights cannot produce standardized coefficients. Bootstrapping weights and sampling weights are required to release results from the RDC. R-squareds are reported (see Table 9) to depict how much variation in perceptions of policing is explained by each model.

In Calgary, on average, a one-unit increase in contact with police for an information session (moving from no contact to contact) is associated with a 5.582 increase in perceptions of local policing; a one-unit increase in contact with police as a witness to a crime (moving from no contact to contact) is associated with a 2.914 decrease in perceptions of local policing controlling for other demographic variables and criminological variables (see Table 9, Model 2). The R-squared for model 1 is 10.9% and model 2 is 55.4%.

Table 9: *Multiple regression unstandardized coefficients: perceptions of policing in Calgary and Edmonton*

	Calgary		Edmonton	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Demographics				
Income	-1.829	-.357	-.228	-.552
Education	1.94	1.389	-1.017	-.789
Indigeneity	.1943	-.956	5.987*	1.824
Visible Minority	1.212	-1.559	-1.031	-1.571
Gender	-1.06	.227	-1.245	-.045
Age	-.013	-.012	.038	.064*
Crime-related variables				
Collective Efficacy	-	2.09	-	1.168
Crime Rate	-	2.197	-	-.308
Social Disorder	-	-.598	-	-.415
Previous Victimization				
Vehicle Theft	-	2.5	-	-2.803*
Break and Enter	-	.183	-	.438
Contact with Police				
Information Session	-	5.582**	-	2.668*
Traffic Violation	-	-.758	-	-.09
Witness to a Crime	-	-2.914*	-	-.724
R-squareds	.109	.554	.603	.752

* = p <.05
** = p <.01

In Edmonton, on average, a one-unit increase in age is associated with a .064 increase; a one-unit increase in previous victim of vehicle theft (moving from a victim to not a victim) is associated with a 2.803 decrease; a one-unit increase in contact with police for an information session (moving from no contact to contact) is associated with a 2.668 increase in perceptions of local policing controlling for other demographic variables and criminological variables (see Table 9, Model 2). The R-squared for model 1 is 60.3% and model 2 is 75.2%. As expected, the addition of criminological variables in both Edmonton and Calgary increased the variance explained in the model. However, the increase in Calgary was almost 45% more suggesting that criminological variables are more important to explaining perceptions of policing for Calgarians. Over 75% of the variation in Edmontonians' perceptions of EPS was explained by demographic and criminological variables with 60% of the variation explained by the demographic variables.

In both cities, previous contact with police impacted Calgarians and Edmontonians' perceptions of CPS and EPS. In both cities, residents who attended a public information session were more favourable to their local police compared to residents who did not attend a public information session. In Calgary only, residents who were a witness to a crime were less favourable to their local police compared to residents who were not a witness to a crime.

Conclusion

Urban and rural residents did not statistically differ with respect to perceptions of policing at the national level. At the provincial level, urban and rural residents had statistically different perceptions of policing in Alberta and New Brunswick. Rural residents in both provinces were less favourable to local police compared to urban residents. Demographic variables including Indigeneity, visible minority status, age, education, and income; and criminological variables including social disorder, crime rate, collective efficacy, previous victimization, and contact with

police influenced perceptions of policing depending on the province. At the city level, Calgary and Edmonton residents had statistically different perceptions of policing. Age, previous victimization, and contact with police influenced perceptions of policing depending on the city. Provincial differences and potential reasons for these geographic differences are discussed in the next, and final, chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSION

Chapter Five analysed the relationship between urban/rural population centres and perceptions of policing, as well as the relationships between population centre sizes and perceptions of policing across multiple provinces. In this chapter, I summarize my findings regarding perceptions of policing in a Canadian context and describe the implications for local police agencies in Canada. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research on the study of perceptions of policing by geographic location and highlights the contribution this thesis has made to the field of sociology.

Summary of Findings and Discussion

By examining perceptions of policing at the national, provincial and city levels, I can see how the size of community may or may not influence residents' perceptions of local policing. By controlling for various demographic and criminological variables, I can examine how these variables are associated with perceptions of local policing above and beyond urban/rural population centres. These variables include Indigeneity, visible minority, age, income, education, collective efficacy, crime rate, social disorder, previous victimization and contact with police.

Urban/Rural Population Centre

At the national level, perceptions of policing do not differ between urban residents and rural residents. The hypothesis that rural residents have less favourable perceptions of police compared to urban residents was not found to be statistically significant. At the provincial level, perceptions of policing differ between urban residents and rural residents. The hypothesis that rural residents will have less favourable perceptions of police compared to urban residents was supported in New Brunswick and Alberta. The remaining provinces did not support the hypothesis that rural residents were more favourable to their local police than urban residents and, rather,

found no association. However, other variables were found to contribute to more positive or negative perceptions of policing. Events in the province, demographics of the residents or the policing structure can contribute to these differences in perceptions of policing; suggestions for these geographic differences are discussed below.

Rural residents in Alberta and New Brunswick may have shared less favourable perceptions of local policing than urban residents because of the type of police agency patrolling the municipality or region. It is assumed that most rural residents in Alberta and New Brunswick included in this study based their perceptions of policing on their local RCMP detachments. In 2016, Canada had 12,240 RCMP officers providing contract policing to provinces, municipalities and Indigenous communities (Greenland & Alam, 2017). The RCMP had 3009 police officers in Alberta of which 2640 were contract policing, and 849 police officers in New Brunswick of which 695 were contract policing (Greenland & Alam, 2017). There were 4303 municipal police officers serving in Alberta while New Brunswick had 436 municipal police officers (Greenland & Alam, 2017). Both provinces had a similar officer-resident ratio. In total, there were 172 officers per 100,000 residents in Alberta and 170 officers per 100,000 residents in New Brunswick (Greenland & Alam, 2017). However, British Columbia had the highest number of RCMP officers providing contract policing at 5,378 (Greenland & Alam, 2017) and there was no significant finding between urban and rural British Columbian residents in this study. Quebec and Ontario have no RCMP officers providing contract policing because both provinces have provincial police services. Rural residents of Alberta and New Brunswick may have different perceptions of policing due to the type of police force policing them (exclusively RCMP).

The RCMP is the only federal police service in Canada and is the largest police service with 17,979 police officers. In a 2011 report, the RCMP prioritized their duties to include

organized crime, national security and economic integrity (Lunney, 2012). Resources can be divided unequally and there may be universal policies and procedures for RCMP officers between headquarters, federal policing, and contract policing. Most RCMP officers (12, 240) provide contract policing to communities; 4,650 police officers provide federal policing including investigations, criminal intelligence, and protection; and 1,089 police officers are employed at headquarters or the policing academy (Greenland & Alam, 2017). Lithopoulos and Rigakos (2005) demonstrate that smaller and medium police services are better at controlling crime than regional services because regional services have specialized units (i.e. criminal investigation and traffic control) rather than a comprehensive officer approach (p. 348). Examples of regional police agencies include Peel Regional Police and York Regional Police.

Large police services, such as the RCMP, have more resources and diverse programming, but they are also responsible for more residents who appear to have a wider range of perceptions of policing depending on residents' neighbourhoods, regions or provinces. Police officers working for municipal police services are better at policing because they receive more specialized and integrated training which allows officers to address the needs of their residents.

Canada

In Canada, both non-Indigenous and non-visible minority status residents were more favourable to local policing compared to both Indigenous residents and visible minority residents. In 2016, 8.4% of all police officers self-identified as a visible minority and 5.4% of all police officers identified as Indigenous (Conor**,** 2018). In 2016, 4.9% of Canada's population identified as Indigenous and 22.3% of the population self-identified as a visible minority (Statistics Canada, 2017a; Statistics Canada, 2017b). Although increasingly more new police officers are Indigenous and non-visible minority status, the number of Indigenous and visible minority status officers is

not proportional to the number of residents who identify as such in the population. Indigenous and visible minority status residents who do not see themselves reflected in the police population could be less favourable to policing services. Potential solutions include sensitivity and bias training by new recruits and senior officers and hiring visible minority status and Indigenous officers.

Age was found to positively influence residents' perceptions of local policing. Older residents were more favourable to their police compared to younger residents. Social disorganization theory focuses on juvenile crime and delinquency; specifically, youth contributing to social disorder by loitering in groups in public spaces (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1997). Youth are less likely to be favourable to their local police compared to older adults because they are more likely to have negative contact with police (Hurst, Frank, & Lee Browning, 2000). As youth grow older, they are less suspicious of the police.

Residents who perceived their neighbours as helpful were more favourable to their local police compared to residents who perceived their neighbours as unhelpful. Public Safety Canada (2014) has sponsored research in Canadian cities to measure collective efficacy as a way to prevent crime and terrorism. Residents could engage in crime prevention behaviour in their neighbourhood because they feel close to the physical space and to their fellow neighbours. Residents will behave in ways to deter crime and helping neighbours when they observe police officers acting in procedurally just ways (Sargeant et al., 2013).

Residents living in neighbourhoods with perceived higher crime rates were less favourable to their local police compared to residents living in neighbourhoods with perceived lower crime rates. In 2014, Canada's crime rate was 5,777 per 100,000 residents (Statistics Canada, 2018b). Saskatchewan had the highest provincial crime rate with 12, 138 per 100,000 residents; Regina had the largest city crime rate (8,871); followed by Saskatoon's crime rate (8,967) (Statistics

Canada, 2018b). In this study, many Saskatchewanians reported that they lived in a neighbourhood with more crime than the rest of Canada (41%). Surprisingly, this finding was not found to be significant in the Saskatchewan model. Variables that were significant to perceptions of policing in Saskatchewan are discussed below.

In order to capture provincial differences of perceptions of policing, news articles were utilized to explain why significant differences were found in one province, but not another. Provincial capital cities are often highlighted in the news and research because they are larger cities. Provincial capital cities can be representative of residents' issues and concerns because more residents live in or nearby capital cities. However, the provincial results from Chapter Five are not narrow enough to specify which city residents lived in, with the exception of Calgary and Edmonton. Finally, residents living in rural population centres may not be represented in the events, policies or programs discussed.

Maritimes

In Newfoundland, victims of vehicle theft were more favourable to their local police compared to those who had not experienced vehicle theft. In May 2016, there was an increase in vehicle thefts in The Northeast Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland (CBC News, May 2016). The Royal Newfoundland Constabulary reported that most vehicles were returned to the proper owner and in good condition (CBC News, May 2016). This suggests that although Newfoundlanders are victims of crime, the police are assisting returning stolen property; which could lead to more favourable perceptions of policing. None of the demographic or criminological variables tested in Nova Scotia were found to significantly impact perceptions of policing. This suggests that other variables not tested can influence policing favourability in Newfoundland. Rural residents in New Brunswick were less favourable to local police compared to urban residents. As explained above,

these differences in perceptions of policing could be due to the type of police service patrolling urban and rural population centres in New Brunswick. For example, New Brunswick has seven municipal police services and three regional police services for a total of 436 police officers supporting municipal police services in the province (Greenland & Alam, 2017). The remaining municipalities (often rural) are patrolled by RCMP detachments.

Quebec

In Quebec, perceived social disorder in one's neighbourhood decreased residents' perceptions of local police. This is consistent with previous findings (Boateng, 2016; Sprott & Doob, 2009). In line with social disorganization theory, neighbourhoods with high proportions of low-income households and high proportions of renters are more likely to perceive disorder compared to neighbourhoods with high-income households and low proportions of renters (Cotter, 2016, p.13). In Montreal, the majority of residents are renters and the city has the lowest median income compared to other census metropolitan areas (Ferreras, July 2018; Riga, November 2017). Quebec residents renting in low-income neighbourhoods, who are more likely to perceive crime, can be less favourable to local police. Montreal is the most populated city in Quebec with half of the province's population residing in that census metropolitan area (Statistics Canada, 2016). The demographics of Montreal are representative of the province.

Ontario

In Ontario, non-visible minority residents were more favourable to local policing compared to visible minority residents. More police officers are non-visible minority status; the number of visible minority status officers are not proportional to the number of residents who identify as such in the population. Visible minority status residents who do not see themselves reflected in the

police population could be less favourable to policing services. Almost 50% of Toronto's population is racially diverse, but less than 30% of Toronto Police Service is racially diverse (Marcoux, Nicholson, Kubinec, & Moore, July 2016). Diversity in police services can alter perceptions of policing among visible minority status residents. Police checks can be a useful tool to gather information relevant to investigations. However, police checks can lead to increased carding of members of visible minority groups (Meng, 2017). A new Ontario policy implemented last year prevents arbitrary police checks by all police services in Ontario (Ontario, 2017). Police officers must inform residents why they are requesting identification and residents can refuse to provide the information (Ontario, 2017). This policy acknowledges that racial carding is an issue and that police agencies in Ontario are attempting to reduce negative interactions with racialized groups.

Residents with an income of $40,000 or more were more favourable to their local police compared to residents earning an income of less than $40,000. People with low income are likely to be less favourable to their local police because they live in neighbourhoods with higher crime, or due to their own background, they themselves can feel targeted by police. As with the national finding, Ontario residents who perceived their neighbours as helpful were more favourable to their local policing compared to residents who perceived their neighbours as unhelpful. In Toronto, crimes are concentrated in the downtown core (Charron, 2009) which supports the social disorganization theory that the farther away from the downtown core; the greater the income; increase in social cohesion and collective efficacy; and the lower the crime rate. However, residents living in neighbourhoods with perceived higher crime rates were more favourable to their local police compared to residents living in neighbourhoods with perceived lower crime rates. In 2014, Ontario's crime rate was 4,002 per 100,000 residents, which is lower than the national crime

rate (5,777 per 100,000) (Statistics Canada, 2018b). Toronto's crime rate was 3,247 per 100,000 residents (Statistics Canada, 2018b). In Toronto, low-income neighbourhoods are near high-income neighbourhoods in the downtown core. Residents can live in a high-income neighbourhood and perceive higher crime rates because of the perceived crime and disorder in nearby neighbourhoods.

Residents who had previously been a victim of vehicle theft were less favourable to their local police compared to residents who have not been a victim of vehicle theft. Police officers cannot solve all crimes to the level of satisfaction that is expected by the public. Residents who experience crime may be upset with the level of service provided, especially in large cities where there are fewer police officers (or a perception of not enough officers). In Ontario, the officer-resident ratio is 187 officers per 100,000 residents; all other provinces had more officers with the exception of Newfoundland and New Brunswick (Statistics Canada, 2018b).

Manitoba

In Manitoba, age positively influenced residents' perceptions of local policing. Older residents were more favourable to their police compared to younger residents. Youth are more likely to have contact with police than are older adults because youth are more visible in the community (Allen & Perreault, 2015). In Northern Manitoba, youth were more likely to commit crime than were youth in the south (Allen & Perreault, 2015). Youth are more likely to commit non-violent crimes including disturbing the peace and mischief (Allen & Perreault, 2015). However, these incidents do not necessarily result in charges. Smaller police services are more likely to record non-violent incidents, but not arrest or charge individuals (Allen & Perreault, 2015). This increase in negative contact with police can reduce youths' positive perceptions of local policing.

Residents with an income of $40,000 or more were less favourable to their local police compared to residents earning an income of less than $40,000. This is in opposition to the Ontario finding and both findings are consistent in the literature (Boateng, 2016; Gainey & Payne, 2008; Sargeant et al., 2013). More Manitobans in this study reported higher personal incomes than other provinces. Other provinces could have higher proportions of dual-income households or more residents earning no income. This could be why higher income was statistically significant towards negative perceptions of policing compared to other provinces. High income affords the opportunity for residents to protect themselves beyond local policing. Many expensive properties are within gated communities, designed to protect residents and control the movement of strangers and outsiders through walls, gates and other physical security (Wilson-Doenges, 2000). Within and surrounding the home, high-income residents can purchase private security, alarms and armoured doors to protect themselves and their belongings from crime and burglary (Di Tella, Galiani, & Schargrodsky, 2002).

Residents in Manitoba who had previously been a victim of a break and enter were less favourable to their local police compared to residents who have not been a victim of a break and enter. There were 582 break and enters per 100,000 residents in Manitoba in 2014 compared to the national crime rate of 425 break and enters per 100,000 residents (Statistics Canada, 2018b). An increase in break and enters in a community can diminish resident confidence in local policing.

Saskatchewan

In Saskatchewan, non-Indigenous residents were more favourable to local policing compared to Indigenous residents. This is consistent with previous findings (Cao, 2014; Cheng, 2015). In this study, 31% of Saskatchewanians identified as Indigenous compared to 9% nationally. The relationship between Indigenous people and police has a negative history in

Saskatchewan, and specifically with Saskatoon Police Service. It is alleged that police officers engaged in 'Starlight Tours' by arresting and abandoning young Indigenous men outside the city boundaries during winter (Cheng, 2015; Razack, 2014) which can increase negative feelings among Indigenous residents. However, Jones and Ruddell (2016) find that Indigenous residents' perceptions of Regina Police Service are positive, even if less favourable than non-Indigenous residents.

Alberta

In Alberta, non-Indigenous residents were more favourable to local policing compared to Indigenous residents. Similarly, in Edmonton, age positively influenced residents' perceptions of local policing. In this study, 19% of Albertans identified as Indigenous compared to the national figure of 9%. In Edmonton, the Soaring Eagles Indigenous Youth Camp aims to promote positive relationships with the RCMP and Indigenous communities, especially with youth aged 16 – 18. While this program is to encourage Indigenous youth to pursue a career in policing, Deputy Commissioner hopes that "that even if cadets do not end up in careers with the RCMP, they go back to their communities as ambassadors and with new connections" (Cook, August 2018, para. 10). In Edmonton, the Police and Youth Engagement Program connects EPS officers with youth, especially immigrants and refugees from countries where police oppress citizens (CBC News, June 2018c; Reach Edmonton, 2017). The program can benefit EPS as well because officers become more knowledgeable on issues effecting ethnic communities (Reach Edmonton, 2017).

In Alberta, perceived social disorder in one's neighbourhood decreased residents' perceptions of local police. Social disorder, specifically suspicious loitering, was one of the top complaints in both the 2014 and 2016 EPS public satisfaction survey (EPS, 2014; EPS, 2016). In Calgary, CPS has reinstated the Chinook Area Patrol which serves the area surrounding the

Chinook Mall in the city due to an increase in calls from residents and businesses reporting social disorder and crime (Passifiume, February 2018). Residents and business owners noticed almost immediately when the patrol returned because of a reduction of crime and disorder in the area (Passifiume, February 2018). Further, often mental health issues are masked as social disorder. CPS created a joint-initiative with Alberta Health Services to prevent people with mental health issues from experiencing the criminal justice system; instead connecting them with mental health providers. (Grant, March 2018). The officers believe this program will build better relations with the homeless population and those with mental health issues (Grant, March 2013).

In Alberta, and specifically in Calgary and Edmonton, residents who had contact with police at an information session were more favourable to local policing compared to residents who did not have this type of contact. In Alberta and specifically in Calgary, residents who had contact with police as a witness to a crime were less favourable to local policing compared to residents who did not have contact with police as a witness to a crime. Contact with police in rural settings can be more important for perceptions of policing than contact with police in urban settings because of the strong, informal ties that occur between rural residents (Nofziger & Williams, 2005, p. 265). For example, Nofziger and Williams (2005) suggest that it is the quality of the contact with police that is more likely to impact perceptions of policing as opposed to contact with police alone (p. 265). Rural residents who perceive their local police as procedurally fair following contact, can also perceive their local policing as positive whether or not the contact with police resulted in the police officer solving the problem (Nofziger & Williams, 2005, p. 265).

Residents in Edmonton who had previously been a victim of vehicle theft were less favourable to their local police compared to residents who have not been a victim of vehicle theft. This was not found to be significant with Calgarians. This is a surprising finding given that Calgary

has the most car thefts in the country; on average, 111 vehicles are stolen per week (CBC News, January 2018).

British Columbia

In British Columbia, residents with a high school education or more were more favourable to their local police compared to residents with less than a high school education. The provincial education system is regarded as one of the best education systems in Canada, and even globally based on student performances (O'Grady, Deussing, Scerbina, Fung, Muhe, 2015). This difference in education can be why a high school diploma was statistically significant towards positive perceptions of policing compared to other provinces.

In British Columbia perceived social disorder in one's neighbourhood decreased residents' perceptions of local police. Residents who perceived their neighbours as helpful were more favourable to their local policing compared to residents who perceived their neighbours as unhelpful. Vancouver is the most expensive city to live in Canada and is also home to the poorest postal codes in Canada; the low-income neighbourhoods are in the downtown core (Walks, 2013). This supports social disorganization theory where crime and disorder are most prominent in the downtown core and in areas with high levels of poverty and low social cohesion and collective efficacy. However, child poverty rates are higher in rural British Columbia (23.3%) than the rest of the province (18.3%), and the national average (17.4%), which can contradict this theory (BC Child and Youth Advocacy Coalition, 2017).

There are geographic differences in Canada by province and population centre that influence perceptions of policing. The present study examined individual and neighbourhood-level demographic and criminological characteristics that improved or reduced positive perceptions of

local police. The above discussion reflects on why differences in perceptions of policing vary across Canada.

Contribution to the Literature

Many studies have separately focused on the relationship between urban residents and perceptions of policing as well as the relationship between rural residents and perceptions of policing. This study analysed those two types of communities simultaneously to make comparisons using the same research method and data set.

Police agencies should conduct public opinion polls on resident satisfaction with police services regularly because residents who perceive their local police officers positively are more likely to follow the law and assist in crime control. If law enforcement agencies are unable to conduct their own research, police agencies should closely examine the demographics of their residents, specifically in terms of Indigeneity and visible minority status to determine and how the experiences of these groups relate to their perceptions of policing. Across Canada, race and ethnicity influence perceptions of policing although this depends on geography (provinces, rural areas, and cities).

Police agencies should know the demographics of residents in the communities they serve. Police agencies could provide officers with training in cultural sensitivity and community building (Rukus et al., 2017, p. 19). Police officers and police administration could attend community events in civilian clothing so that residents get to know officers in more informal ways. Positive perceptions of policing increase residents' likelihood of assisting in crime control and cooperating with investigations.

Critics of community policing suggest that community policing is no different from 'traditional' policing (Rukus, Warner, & Zhang, 2017). In fact, many rural policing agencies are

likely to have been informally engaging in community policing by making meaningful connections with residents and living in the districts they serve. Police officers' work satisfaction depends on officer discretion and their ability to make decisions autonomously (Johnson, 2012, p. 170). Police agencies which promote officer discretion can have more content officers than those agencies who have strict policies and provide little flexibility - there may be certain geographies or policing structures which promote officer independence. For example, as mentioned in Chapter One, rural police officers can have crimes or disorder reported to them informally and are able to deal with certain issues informally through officer mediation. Traditional policing (reactive policing) offers little room for police officer discretion whereas community policing (proactive, problem-orientated policing) encourages the sovereignty of individual police officers (Johnson, 2012, p. 170).

Social ecology and social disorganization theory guided this project and provided the rationale for many of the provincial differences in perceptions of policing, specifically for residents with low-income, living in perceived high crime rate areas, and perceiving low collective efficacy. However, this theory cannot provide an explanation as to why rural residents in Alberta and New Brunswick had less favourable perceptions to local police compared to urban residents. In fact, these findings dispute the idea that closer proximity to the downtown core increases favourable perceptions of policing. This suggests that the social disorganization theory could be further developed to include rural areas as recommended by rural criminologists. Dense populations and the close proximity of residents in urban population centres can increase the opportunity for crime. However, sparsely populated rural areas where residents are farther from their neighbours and the police can also increase crime or the perceived risk of crime. Social disorganization theory could incorporate proximity and isolation to answer why crime occurs in rural areas. However, this

theory may not be sufficient on its own to address differences in perceptions of policing in rural population centres.

Limitations and Future Directions

Procedural justice is an important aspect of perceptions of policing and is related to questions in the GSS. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the questions related to perceptions of policing factored into one scale and procedural justice was not measured separately. Although this study was conducted using a large dataset, the sample size grew smaller with each model in order to account for respondents who failed to complete the entire survey. Respondents living on reserves are excluded from the dataset. Perceptions of Indigenous people living on reserves, the locality of reserves and the Indigenous policing program could not be examined. Suburban population centres were categorized as urban population centres based on Statistics Canada definitions. Further studies could redefine these population centres so that downtown and inner-city residents could be compared against suburban residents. According to social disorganization theory, suburban areas should have less crime and delinquency and I would expect more favourable perceptions of policing compared to inner cities.

This study focused on local policing, but perceptions of local police can be influenced by vicarious experiences, news and media, and social media. The intention was not to measure policing as an institution but, rather, respondents were asked their opinions regarding local police. It is impossible to know, however, which police respondents had in mind while answering, therefore their perceptions may not have been limited to their local police. Many of the news articles discussed in Chapter One occurred after the survey was conducted in 2014. A future study could compare perceptions of policing from the 2014 GSS cycle to a future GSS cycle and examine if and how perceptions change in rural and urban population centres. Longitudinal research is

important to gather how perceptions change in a population over the years and if police misconduct events alter public perceptions of policing. This research might focus on Alberta and Saskatchewan as media reports of high-profile cases of rural incidents of property protection occurred in these provinces. While writing this thesis, CPS Chief Roger Chaffin, EPS Chief Rod Knecht, and Alberta RCMP Deputy Commissioner Todd Shean all announced their retirements in September 2018, October 2018, and January 2019 respectively (McIntosh & Smith, 2018, July). While all men are leaving their positions for different reasons, each policing agency has the opportunity for a new leadership perspective. Although a change in policing leadership does not mean all problems are solved, it would be interesting to compare perceptions of policing from the 2014 survey to a future GSS survey and examine if and how perceptions change in each city, which can highlight the impact of police leadership. Further, a publication search (with "police" or "policing" in the title) of the Canadian Research Centre Data Network revealed that only three projects were conducted using the master files of any cycle of the GSS – Victimization from 2008 to the present. This suggests that the GSS Victimization dataset is an underutilized survey when researching perceptions of policing in Canada.

Race and ethnicity could be tested for interaction effects with population centre sizes on perceptions of policing in many of the models across Canada. For example, do rural residents who self-identify as Indigenous or visible minority differ with respect to perceptions of policing compared to non-Indigenous and non-visible minority rural residents? These studies would require larger sample sizes in order to account for low frequencies of visible minorities in certain rural areas. Finally, a mixed methods approach including secondary data analysis and interviews with both urban and rural residents and urban and rural police officers could complement this research.

Conclusion

Social disorganization and social ecology shaped this project in theorizing how geography impacts residents' perceptions of policing. Using Statistics Canada microdata, I was able to analyse perceptions of policing in Canada and by province with a focus on urban and rural population centres. The hypothesis that rural residents will have less favourable perceptions of police compared to urban residents was not found to be statistically significant at the national level. At the provincial level, evidence suggests that perceptions of policing differ between urban residents and rural residents only in New Brunswick and Alberta. Ultimately, public perceptions of policing may be a coproduction of the type of population centre and the type of policing agency. It is difficult to separate geographic location from policing structure, given that most rural areas are policed by the RCMP and most urban areas are policed by municipal police forces. Police structure is therefore somewhat confounded with geographic location. Other variables predicted perceptions of policing better than did urban/rural population centre.

Policing partnerships and programs are constantly evolving, and agencies should continue to conduct research specific to their particular regions. Positive perceptions of local policing are important to the legitimacy of all policing agencies and knowing more about local residents ensures public well-being by developing positive relationships with the police. Positive perceptions of the police encourage residents' support of the police as well as encourages public assistance in crime prevention.

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Appendix A

List of variables

General Social Survey (GSS) 2014	
Perception of Police (dependent)	
PLP_110	Perception (local police) - Enforcing the laws
PLP_120	Perception (local police) - Promptly responding to calls
PLP_130	Perception (local police) - Being approachable and easy to talk to
PLP_140	Perception (local police) - Information on ways to prevent crime
PLP_150	Perception (local police) - Ensuring safety of citizens in area
PLP_160	Perception (local police) - Treating people fairly
Geography and Neighbourhood Variables (independent)	
LUC_RST	Population centres indicator
PRV	Province of residence
LRN_10	Length of time respondent has lived in current neighbourhood
Social Disorder (independent)	
SDQ_110	Social disorder - Noisy neighbours
SDQ_120	Social disorder - People hanging around on the streets
SDQ_140	Social disorder - Garbage or litter
SDQ_150	Social disorder - Vandalism or graffiti
SDQ_160	Social disorder - Attacks or harassment
SDQ_170	Social disorder - Drug use
SDQ_180	Social disorder - Drinking in public
Contact with Police (independent)	
CWP_110	Contact with police - Information session
CWP_120	Contact with police - Traffic violation
CWP_140	Contact with police - Witness
CWP_150	Contact with police - Arrest
Previous Victimization (independent)	
VSP_130	Victim of a property crime - Break and enter
VSV_110	Victim of a vehicle crime - Steal or attempt to steal a vehicle
Other Criminological Variables (independent)	
NSC_10	Crime rate comparison
QIN_20	Collective Efficacy - People in neighbourhood help each other
Demographic Variables (independent)	
AGEGR10	Age
SEX	Sex
EHG3_01	Education - Highest degree
INCG1	Income
VISMIN	Visible minority status
AMB_01	Aboriginal status