UNIVERSITY OF
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Confidence in the police

International students' perspective on police in Sweden and in their home countries - a quantitative study in variables that affect confidence

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TIA 174 Research Methods

Abstract

This study aims to investigate whether variables such as gender, ethnicity, nationality, neighborhood of residence and previous encounters with the police affect the level of trust international students have towards the Swedish police and police in their home country. Furthermore, it also examines the discrepancy (or lack thereof) in the confidence that international students have in the Swedish police and the police in their home countries. Studies show that confidence in the police is the main attribute for successful communication between officers and civilians, as well as for compliance and cooperation (Boateng, 2012). To examine this, a quantitative survey was conducted where a total of 104 international students in Sweden participated in the survey. The results revealed that gender, victimization experience, and negative encounters with the police harm confidence in the police. On the other hand, previous encounters with the police and ethnicity did not have a significant effect. Overall, it could be determined that international students have more confidence in the Swedish police than in the police of their home countries. This relationship is complex and appears to vary greatly depending on the person's background.

Keywords: Confidence in the Police, Victimization, Quantitative analysis, International students, Communication

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Introduction

The relationship between the police and civilians has a complicated history. As became clear in 1992 during the L.A. Riots, the relationship between police and their constituents is highly dependent on interpersonal communication factors. Verbal and non-verbal aspects as well as power dynamics are very likely to impact the behavior of civilians communicating with the police. Indeed, starting with verbal communication, police typically have a distinct way of communicating that carries both authority and urgency (Kutnjak Ivković, 2008; Peterson, 2008; van Damme, 2017). In terms of non-verbal communication, police officers are notable as they carry a uniform that is meant to highlight their superior position (Hargie, 2010). Finally, police officers are also distinguished by the fact that they represent a greater society and the law, which puts them in a unique position of power, different from other inhabitants of a country.

This relationship between police and others is further complicated by intercultural factors such as ethnicity, gender, stereotypes, bias, and in general, belonging to different groups (Hoffman & Verdooren, 2018). Indeed, research shows that perceived 'otherness' is the root of a great deal of miscommunication, misunderstanding, and mistreatment from police officers when they handle the people they are meant to protect (Brown & Benedict, 2002). These complications lead to much unrest and often violence, as could be observed during 2020 and the Black Lives Matter protests.

As can be expected, these factors damage confidence in the police, which is a crucial part of preventing crimes (Boateng, 2012). Cooperation between the population and police officers is therefore important to reduce and prevent crime as well as reducing miscommunication between different parties. Consequently, this paper focuses on the relationship between international students and the Swedish police. Sweden is a country of interest as it has a great academic reputation -- thereby attracting international students --, while also one that has had some issues with police misconduct in the past (Granér, Skoglund, & Mikkonen, 2011). So far, there has been little research on the cultural aspects of building and maintaining confidence in the Swedish police among people who recently migrated to Sweden. Furthermore, the benefit of choosing to examine international students is that this target group is typically more accessible than the recently arrived migrant as they are connected to a university network. Moreover, university students, being part of the academic community themselves, might be more inclined to answer university surveys than the general population. Consequently, we attempt to identify the variables, such as, for example, gender, ethnicity, and prior communicative encounters, that influence international students' confidence in the Swedish police and the communication between the two parties. In

addition, we also highlight the extent to which the confidence that international students have in the Swedish police and in the police of their home countries differs.

Literature review

Various authors emphasize that public confidence is essential for the police. Studies have found that confidence in the police increases compliance with the rule of law and willingness to cooperate with the police. Boateng (2012, p.4) states that “when the public views police as legitimate or trustworthy, they cooperate with the police in ways that ensure the effectiveness of police performance”. In addition, confidence in the police increases willingness to file crime reports and intervene in minor disturbances. All in all, then, confidence toward the police is an important prerequisite for police work and efficiency (Koster 2017; FitzGerald 2010). Skogan (2009) additionally discovered that confidence in the police enhances the feeling of safety. This implies that a high level of confidence in the police is advantageous for both the general public and the police.

The following section highlights variables that have or might have an impact on confidence in the police.

Gender

Authors list various aspects that influence the way police officers communicate with different people, including demographic information like age and gender. Gender and communication are closely linked when it comes to interaction with the police. A study examining how police gender imbalance contributes to perceptions of procedural unfairness concludes that women and men are communicated with and dealt with differently (Novich et al., 2018). Not only are women spoken to and dealt with less harshly than men, they are also less likely to be investigated and arrested. There are several reasons for this. Indeed, the fact that women are searched less often is likely due to the fact that there are significantly fewer female police officers and male police officers are often not allowed to search women (Reaves, 2015). Thus, gender bias may contribute to the difference in interaction and communication. Based on the internalization that women are helpless or passive, officers may be more lenient toward women to protect them. Alternatively, officers might perceive women as less threatening (Novich et al., 2018). This would naturally lead to women having a more positive image of the police, which is supported by the WVS data that show that there is a small tendency for men to have somewhat less confidence in the police (Haerpfer et al., 2020).

Police and Civilian Interactions

Police are distinct from their constituents in several ways. Indeed, not only do they differ in terms of verbal and vocal communication, but they also differ in terms of non-verbal and non-vocal ways as well. For example, police are dressed in clothes that distinguish them from others, which conveys an air of strength before an encounter even happens (Hargie, 2010). Furthermore, police officers are trained to behave non-verbally and non-vocally in ways that help with persuasion and establishing authority (Vrij & Winkel, 1992), both of which are very important communication skills to influence an outcome in one's favor (Boughton, 2013; Burgoon & Birk, 1990).

In terms of verbal differences, research indicates that police officers often need to preserve a “face” (Goffman, 1955) of authority, meaning they tend to set the tone for the encounter with the interlocutors to increase the chance of "voluntary" cooperation and the confidence in police's trust and legitimacy (Peterson, 2008). Furthermore, Mills et al. (2021) conducted an experimental study with 257 students at large, finding that accommodative behaviour within police-civilian encounters might lead to enhanced trust towards an individual police officer, without affecting the overall perception of the police.

Thus, while these differences set civilians and police apart, several researchers have made it clear that contact and communication encounters with the police are significant for civilians when it comes to establishing confidence in the police (Kutnjak Ivković, 2008; Peterson, 2008; van Damme, 2017). For example, Bradford (2010, p.2) argues that “personal contact is a key moment in the formation of opinions about the police. Individual encounters can create moments in which the legitimacy of the police is reinforced or undermined”. The basic hypothesis is that there is a symmetrical correlation between contact with the police and confidence in policing. Yet, some researchers have come to a different conclusion. Skogan (2009) argues that there is an asymmetrical relationship between contact with the police and confidence in the police. His findings indicate that the influence of a bad experience is four to 14 times greater than that of a positive experience. Regardless, it is clear that contact and communication events between civilians and police is important and that the police need to be aware that their actions in dealing with people affect people's opinions and perceptions of individual officers and the institution as a whole (van Damme, 2017).

Cultural, Ethnological and National Aspects of Police Trust

To understand how cultural aspects could impact the international student's confidence in Swedish police, some elements that have been considered as highly relevant for intercultural communication, as well as different non-verbal communication features between cultures, should not be neglected. These are, for example, approach/avoidance strategies (Hall,

1990), power distance relationships, high/low cultural contexts (Hoffman, Verdooren, 2018), and individualism/collectivism (Kim, Sharkey, & Singelis, 1994). In particular, Vrij (1992) argues that non-verbal communication features among different cultures, such as the difference of speech disturbance, excessive body language, and the frequency of smiling, could cause cross-cultural police-citizen interactions to elicit more misunderstandings.

In addition, Kassin and McNall (1991) argue that police tend to invade personal space to heighten the tension during interaction with the suspect. Since Sweden is defined as a low-contact country, which means the people from Sweden will be more anxious when others exceed their own social distance limits (Hall, 1990), the different manner of using personal space among cultures may lead to miscommunication between police and civilians. Thus, confidence in the Swedish police is likely also affected by these factors.

Regarding the collective aspect of cultural differences, Staubli (2017) claims that a discrepancy between attitudes towards police in Western and Eastern European countries does exist. She argues with support from Sztompka (1999) that this discrepancy stems from general social confidence and is rooted in the nation's level of both modernity and complexity. Therefore, the confidence level in the police does not only vary on the individual level but also on a national level.

As for aspects relating to ethnicity and confidence in the police, researchers have found that people who are part of an ethnic minority are more likely to have less confidence in the police (Brown & Benedict, 2002). Presumably, this is because minority groups are more often to report being victims of over-policing, police mistreatment, and racism (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Warren, 2010). According to Peterson (2008), ethnic minority youths in the Swedish society are often belligerent to respond to disrespectful attacks to their neighbourhood and to defend from what they perceived as disrespectful attacks when they encounter the police. It stands to reason that this undermines confidence in the police. Weitzer and Tuch (2004) also point out that ethnicity is a strong predictor of perceptions of the police because minority citizens are not only more likely to have negative experiences with the police but are also more common to live in high-crime neighborhoods where relations with the police are contentious. Although most research on this topic focuses on people of color in the United States, some studies show that other ethnicities, such as Latinos, are affected by disparate treatment by police (Slocum et al., 2018).

Context, Institution Performance Perspective and Victimization

Another variable that is likely to have an effect on confidence in the police is the environment in which the person finds themselves in. Indeed, studies show that neighborhoods have an impact on confidence in the police (Luo et. al., 2021; Payne & Gainey, 2007; Reisig & Parks, 2002). In fact, those residents who believe crime and disorder are a problem in their neighborhood report less confidence in the police than those who do not perceive such problems (Cao et al., 1996). Furthermore, respondents who reported feeling a greater sense of security in their neighborhood express more confidence toward the police (Ashcroft et al., 2002). Similar results can likely be observed not only in the U.S., but also around the world. Therefore, the neighborhood of residence has an impact on confidence in the police.

Regarding the Institutional performance perspective, the citizens' confidence and satisfaction are tightly linked to institutional performance (Wu, 2012). Some previous research pointed out that police visibility, response time, quality of police-citizen interactions, and police responsiveness to citizens' needs can be seen as a consistent predictor of police support and confidence. For example, Kutnjak Ivković (2008) pointed out that personal experience of seeing police patrol and being a crime victim is strongly related to the support of police. Moreover, (Nofziger & Williams, 2005), found the positive contact with officers increased confidence in the police; the nature of contact with police thus has been shown to be more critical than the frequency.

Furthermore, Wu (2012) also pointed out that existing research reveals that victimization and the fear of crime are also crucial in police performance. Cao et al. (1996, p. 12), for instance, showed "the fear of crime and recent victimization experience exerts a larger effect on confidence in the police than do any of the demographic variables". In Cao et al. 's research (1996), neighborhood factors, such as low-income, high crime communities, such factors related to potential disorder factors will affect the public's expectation of police's confidence. However, Chu & Song's research (2008) disagreed with Cao et al.'s point that fear of crime will affect police expectation. In contrast, Chu & Song (2008) claimed that neither the fear of crime nor being a victim significantly affects perceived police effectiveness. Regardless, victimization and neighborhood of residence should be considered crucial factors to include in a holistic study.

The International Student Perspective

While a great deal of research has focused on the different variables that affect public confidence in the police (Kutnjak Ivković, 2008; Sindall et al., 2012) as well as how migrants' or ethnic minorities' opinions on police might differ from the majority populace's perception (Ben-Porat, 2008; Han et al. 2020; Sun & Wu, 2015; Taylor, Wyant, & Lockwood, 2015),

relatively little research has examined the relationship between international students' confidence in the police of their home countries and the country they travel to. It stands to reason that some factors that contribute to international students' opinions of the destination country police should be similar to those of migrants, but with certain key differing factors, such as the average number of years of guaranteed higher education. Thus, there is a definite research gap when it comes to examining international students' perspective on police, and how it might differ from other migrants.

Research Aim

With the literature review in mind, there are several variables that should plausibly affect the international students' confidence in the Swedish police and the police of their home countries. These include gender, nationality, ethnicity, victimization experience, perceived neighborhood safety, as well as prior negative encounters with the police. Therefore, this study attempts to measure how much confidence the average international university student has of the Swedish police compared to the police in their home country. In doing so, we also examine whether variables found in previous studies are valid when it comes to international students.

The study tries to answer the following research question:

RQ1: Do gender, ethnicity, nationality, neighborhood and previous encounters with the police affect the level of trust International students have towards the Swedish police and their home country police? If yes, how and to what extent?

Methodology

Data for this study was collected through an online survey sent out to the international student population in Sweden during the first half of the 2021 spring semester. The target population of international students includes foreign students who had migrated to Sweden for the express purpose of undertaking an exchange year or completing a degree in a Swedish higher education institution. Over several weeks, students were prompted to respond to the survey via different communication channels, such as social media (Facebook and WhatsApp) and also through emails sent to student email addresses. The present study uses probability sampling to achieve a cross-sectional design (Treadwell, 2017), with the final number of responses ending up at n = 104.

The questionnaire aimed to establish a mean score of respondents' confidence in police both in Sweden and in their home countries through several questions measuring their

willingness to report a crime, their opinions about how the police allocate resources, and whether they believe the police receive adequate training. This data was also complemented by several other independent variables, primarily on the individual level. Respondents' nationalities were also collected.

Variables

The *two dependent variables* were scores produced by combining the responses from several questions meant to assess the respondents' confidence in the police both in their own home countries and Sweden. These questions used an ordinal scale ranging from 1-6 (1 = Not very likely, and 6 = Very likely), to try and understand the respondents' inclination towards trusting the police and their overall confidence in the police's ability to fight crime, as well as maintaining social cohesion (Sindall et al., 2012). The questions, except for one which was reversed, all used 1 to mean that the respondent was not confident in the police's ability or response, and 6 to mean that the respondent felt confident in the police. After re-coding the one question which was reversed, scores were added and divided by the number of questions asked in order to obtain a mean score symbolizing the respondent's overall confidence level of the police. A higher mean score indicates higher confidence in the police. This was done twice: to measure the respondents' confidence in the police in their home country and the Swedish police.

The *independent variables* included several demographic factors. These were: nationality, age, gender, and ethnicity. Starting with nationality, which was gathered as a nominal variable where the respondents were asked to type out their nationalities themselves. This data was later re-coded into continental data, as too few responses to make any accurate predictions based purely on nationality were received (0 = Europe, 1 = Asia, 2 = South America, 3 = Africa, 4 = North America). No data from the other continents were collected. Moving on, age was gathered as an ordinal variable. However, with extremely few responses from age groups outside of 18-24 and 25-34, the variable was not included in the analysis. Gender was gathered as a nominal variable, where the categories "Other" and "Prefer not to say" were dropped because of too few responses (0 = Male, 1 = Female). Finally, ethnicity was also gathered as a nominal variable (0 = White, 1 = Southeast Asian, 2 = Black, 3 = East Asian, 4 = Hispanic, 5 = Other). Responses, where the respondent chose several categories, got clustered with "Other", while those who chose not to say their ethnicity were dropped.

Variables meant to examine whether the respondents felt safe in their neighborhoods in both Sweden and their home countries as well as if they considered themselves victims of crime in Sweden and their home countries were also included. While the neighborhood safety

variable used an ordinal scale similar to how confidence in the police was measured (1 = Not very likely, 6 = Very likely), the victimization variable was measured on a scale ranging from “Never” to “More than Once”. As little difference was measured between having experienced crime once and more than once, the responses were clustered into victims of crime or not victims of crime in both Sweden and their home countries (0 = Never, 1 = Once or more than once).

Finally, it was also deemed important to measure to what extent previous experiences with police could have had an impact on the respondent’s confidence in the police. Thus, even though most respondents probably had very little experience with Swedish police simply because they had not spent much time in Sweden, it was necessary to measure if the respondent’s confidence had less to do with their perceptions of the police’s competence, and more so with their own negative perceptions. Consequently, the questionnaire asked the respondents whether they had experienced any or several negative encounters with the police in Sweden and their home country. These answers were then re-coded, and respondents who chose not to answer the questions were dropped (0 = Never, 1 = Once or more than once).

Data Analysis

Several methods were used to analyze the data and answer *RQ1*, including descriptive statistics, t-tests, ANOVA, and Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) to determine the significance, mean values of confidence in the police, as well as to what extent different independent variables affected said confidence. Consequently, the analysis was completed using a sample of n = 88 after having dropped incomplete or faulty responses. Furthermore, statistical significance was calculated using a p-value of $p < 0.05$.

To assess how different variables affect the confidence in Swedish and home country police, the frequency and descriptive statistics were analyzed to understand the distribution of data and the mean of the continuous variables that were collected.

Table 1 provides the descriptive statistics for nominal variables, whereas Table 2 reports the descriptive statistics for the continuous variables included in the analysis.

Frequency Table

	Variable	Option	Frequency	Valid Percent (%)
	Gender			
		Male	38	43.2
		Female	50	56.8
	Continent			
		Europe	50	56.8
		Asia	22	25.0
		Africa	8	9.1
		NorthAmerica	3	3.4
		SouthAmerica	5	5.7
	Ethnicity			
		White	44	50.0
		Hispanic	3	3.4
		East Asian	11	12.5
		Southeast Asian	12	13.6
		Black	9	10.2
		Other	9	10.2
Sweden				
	Victimizzation			
		Never	74	84.1
		Once	13	14.8
		More than once	1	1.1
	Negative Encounter			
		Never	80	90.9
		Once	7	8.0
		More than once	1	1.1
Home country				
	Victimization			
		Never	39	44.3
		Once	23	26.1
		More than once	26	29.5
	Negative Encounter			
		Never	39	44.3
		Once	23	26.1
		More than once	26	29.5

Table 1. Frequency table of nominal variables

Descriptive Statistics (N = 88)

	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
Confidence in Swedish police	4.75	.751	3.20	6.00
Confidence in home country police	4.12	1.128	1.4.	5.80
Safety in Sweden	4.66	1.364	1.00	6.00
Safety in home country	4.51	1.278	2.00	6.00

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of continuous variables

One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and independent sample t-tests were conducted to determine whether the independent variables significantly affected the measure of

confidence in the Swedish police and the home country police, and if there was any significant difference between the two means.

Finally, an OLS analysis using the two models listed below was conducted.

Confidence in Swedish police = β0 + β1 * Gender + β2 * Victimization in Sweden + β3 * Continent + β4 * Ethnicity + β5 * Neighborhood Safety in Sweden + β6 * Negative police experience in Sweden

Confidence in home country police = β0 + β1 * Gender + β2 * Victimization in Home country + β3 * Continent + β4 * Ethnicity + β5 * Neighborhood Safety in Home country + β6 * Negative police experience in home country

The two models were measured for Cronbach's alpha. The model for *Confidence in Swedish police* had a score of α = 0.63, whereas the model measuring *Confidence in home country police* had a score of α = 0.73 respectively when measuring all seven variables. Admittedly the scores are low, but this is not surprising considering the sample size.

Ethical considerations

An ethical aspect that has been considered in the making of the questionnaire is the principle of whether there is harm to participants (Bryman, 2012). Since the questionnaire asks the respondents whether they have been a victim of any kind of crime and/or have had negative encounters with the police, there is a risk that it might trigger emotional distress. If the respondent has previously had a traumatic experience with police and/or crime it could cause unnecessary discomfort and psychological harm. To avoid any potential harm to the participants there is an informed consent form at the beginning of the questionnaire which thoroughly explains that the questionnaire is voluntary and that the participant can stop at any time, which according to Bryman (2012) is important for the participant's integrity and safety. The informed consent form also assures the respondents their anonymity and that the information that is given will be kept confidential to protect the individual (Treadwell, 2017). In terms of the potential harm of the study, at the very end of the consent form, there is a trigger warning which aims to inform about the emotional risks of taking the survey and what negative feelings it might provoke. The questionnaire also asks the participants about their ethnicity which could be considered being a sensitive topic for some. Gathering this information, however, as seen in the literature review, is necessary as it is feasible that ethnicity plays a role in how the international students might perceive the police which makes this variable relevant for our study. Email addresses from some of the participants were also gathered as they were interested in the study's findings. Finally, to keep the information safe, and only accessible to the creators of the study, the data was kept on the

cloud, and password protected. All collected data was deleted after completing and delivering the study.

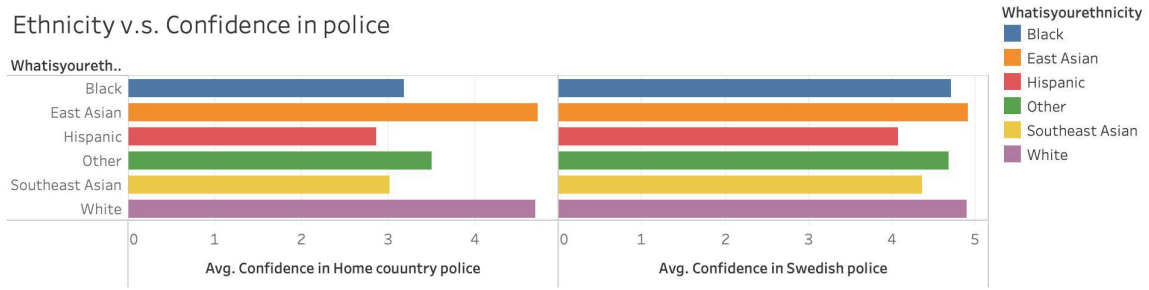
Results & Discussion

As expected, after having reviewed previous literature, most of the findings did not contradict what other studies have found. Statistical significance was found in both Swedish police as well as home country police in the variables gender (Table 5), victimization experience (Table 6 & 7), and negative encounters (Table 8 & 9) when using t-tests and ANOVA. Similarly, there were also some variables which only indicated statistical significance toward the home country police, i.e., ethnicity (Graph 1 & Table 10) and continent (Graph 2 & Table 11). In the OLS models, however, it differed slightly. Indeed, while gender similarly proved to be statistically significant, victimization experience and negative encounters proved to be less so when paired with other variables (Table 4). Instead, several ethnic categories and continent groups proved very significant in explaining confidence in home country police (Graph 1 & Table 10).

International students' confidence in the police		
	Confidence in the Swedish Police	Confidence in the home country police
n	88	88
Mean	4.748**	4.111**
Std. Error	0.0808	0.121
	* indicates $p < 0.05$	** indicates $p < 0.01$

Table 3. T-test measuring international students' confidence in the police

Table 3 shows that there is a significant difference between the average confidence in the Swedish police vs. the confidence in the home country police. Indeed, the mean confidence in Swedish police was ~4.75 (Lowest = 1, Highest = 6), whereas the mean was ~4.12 (Lowest = 1, Highest = 6) for home country police. Thus, while the variance is much higher for confidence in the home country police -- perhaps understandably as all countries are clustered together -- the results nonetheless suggest that the average international student has a very high degree of confidence in the Swedish police, which is often a higher degree of confidence than what the student has in their own country's police.



Graph 1. Confidence in police and ethnicity

Moving on to individual variables, Graph 1 and Table 4 depict the relationship between the responders' ethnicity and the confidence in police. Respondents that reported themselves as being Black, South East Asian, and those who identified as several or mixed ethnicities showed that they had significantly lower confidence levels in the police in their home countries compared to those who identified as White. However, for the Swedish police only those who identified as Hispanic were shown to have lower confidence in the Swedish police than those who identified as White. Likely, this is because of the low general number of respondents. Indeed, as seen in Graph 1, there was a definite difference in how different ethnicities reported their confidence in the police. Yet, this analysis was unable to report statistical significance on most of them. This is due to the fact that some of the variance is "hidden" in the tight correlation between ethnicity and nationality data. For example, all respondents in the study that were from Africa also self-reported as being Black. This makes the two variables intimately correlated with each other. A larger sample would have helped to disaggregate the nuances of the correlation between these two variables.

Nevertheless, the findings do point out that different ethnicities perceive police differently, much like previous research indicates (Han et al., 2020; Wu, Ivan & Brad, 2011). Additionally, again just like previous research (Cohen, 2017), our findings also suggest that even if an international student has had very little to no contact with the particular police force, if they belong to an ethnic minority, they still fear being targeted by police. As such, we can conclude that ethnicity plays a vital role in perceptions of police.

	Swedish model	Home Country model
Constant	4.247**	3.421**
	(0.309)	(0.515)
Female	0.552**	0.611**
	(0.152)	(0.182)
Victimization	-0.238	0.004
	(0.231)	(0.428)
Asia	0.394	0.555
	(0.366)	(0.435)
South America	0.423	-0.247
	(0.376)	(0.468)
Africa	0.889*	0.525
	(0.48)	(0.502)
North America	0.454	1.087
	(0.564)	(0.653)
Southeast Asian	-0.711	-1.906**
	(0.423)	(0.511)
Black	-0.604	-1.241*
	(0.464)	(0.511)
East Asian	-0.182	-0.362
	(0.394)	(0.467)
Hispanic	-0.939*	-0.819
	(0.469)	(0.575)
Other	-0.410	-0.954**
	(0.283)	(0.335)
Neighborhood Safety	0.064	0.192*
	(0.059)	(0.087)
Negative police experience	-0.273	-0.174
	(0.259)	(0.278)
n	88	88
adj. r-squared	0.23	0.53

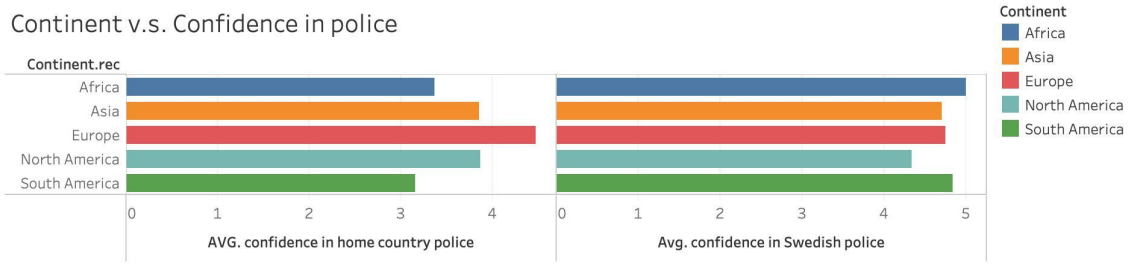
Standard errors in parentheses * indicates p < 0.05 ** indicates p < 0.01

Table 4. OLS models for international students' confidence in the police

As mentioned earlier, data on nationality was grouped and re-coded based on Continents. The ANOVA result indicated that the nationality variable had a significant effect on confidence in the home country police (F = 3.678**, p = 0.007) (Graph 2 & Table 11); however, it did not have a statistically significant effect on the confidence in Swedish police. As shown in Table 4, nationality did not have a statistically significant effect in the OLS model either. Indeed, the only continent that showed a significant difference in confidence in

the Swedish police compared to Europe, was Africa (p = 0.052). However, it should be noted that this lack of significance can, in part, be attributed to the relative lack of diversity within the sample.

The result of confidence in home country police resonates with Staubli's (2017) point, which indicates the confidence in home country police differs across countries. By contrast, the confidence in Swedish police among international students barely differs between nationality groups (Graph 2). This is possibly a result of choosing Sweden as a destination for studying abroad and this can be seen as a prerequisite of having higher confidence in Swedish institutions generally. As Wu et al. (2012) argued, the trust in police is highly related to trust in whole institutions and society. Hence, international student's confidence in Swedish police is generally high and was not impacted by their confidence in home country police.



Graph 2. Confidence in police and nationality

Gender proved to be statistically significant in both the t-tests and the OLS models (p < 0.001). Indeed, women's mean confidence in the Swedish police was higher than that of the men's, as can be seen in Table 5. The mean confidence score for women was ~5.01 (Lowest = 1 Highest = 6; S.D. = 0,734), on the other hand, for men it was ~4.42 (Lowest = 1 Highest = 6; S.D. = 0.666). A similar trend was found when analyzing confidence in the home country police. Women's mean confidence in home country police was ~4.50 (S.D. = 1.040), and the mean of men was ~3.36 (S.D. = 1.055).

This result is in line with findings from WVS indicating that the women, typically, have more confidence in the police (Haerpfer et al., 2020), which can likely be attributed to the fact that women and men are communicated and dealt with differently. That is, because men are spoken to and dealt with more harshly, and are investigated and arrested more frequently than women, they have less trust in the police (Novich et al., 2018). Literature suggests that this is because, on the one hand, there are significantly fewer female police officers (Reaves, 2015) and, on the other hand, gender prejudices that women are weak, need to be

protected and do not pose a threat still prevail (Novich et al., 2018). It can be assumed that the difference in confidence in the police between men and women is smaller in Sweden than in other countries, since Sweden is, according to WVS, very advanced in terms of gender equality and the prejudices should therefore also be less (Haerpfer et al., 2020). However, the results reveal that the difference is still significant.

When examining the victimization variable, one can see that having been subjected to crime in Sweden (p=0.004) significantly affected confidence in the Swedish police. Indeed, as can be seen in Table 6, for those who had never been a victim of crime in Sweden, the mean of the confidence was ~4.84 (N = 74; S.D. = 0.688). Conversely, for those who had victimization experience in Sweden, the mean was ~4.20 (N = 13; S.D. = 0.894). It is worth noting that, when analysed alongside other independent variables, victimization did not return significant results as can be seen in Table 4. This can be because respondents might assign different degrees of 'seriousness' to different crimes, or that it typically takes more than one instance of crime for confidence to drop noticeably. To elaborate further on this, a larger sample size would be necessary. Nonetheless, we can still be fairly certain that victimization does have an impact on police confidence as per previous research (Wu, 2012), but we can not say with certainty exactly how this relationship works.

Similarly to the victimization variable, findings regarding negative encounters with the police were also somewhat inconclusive. While having had a negative encounter with the Swedish police was statistically significant (p = 0.009) for the confidence in the Swedish police (as can be seen in Table 7), it did not appear significant when paired with the other variables (as seen in Table 4). In fact, having a negative encounter with Swedish police does not demonstrate a significant relationship in the OLS model.

However, previous research states that negative experiences are likely to affect perceptions (Bradford, 2010). This is in line with the results from our t-tests, which lead us to infer that the number of negative experiences is likely to impact confidence in police, even though the relationship is not fully clear from the findings of this study. Our analysis shows that, for people who had not experienced a negative encounter with the Swedish police, the mean confidence was 4.82 (Lowest = 1 Highest = 6; N = 80; S.D. = 0.712). Whereas for those who had had a negative encounter with Swedish police, the confidence was 4.10 (Lowest = 1 Highest = 6; N = 8; S.D. = 0.894). Similarly, the ANOVA result for the negative encounter variable demonstrates its substantial impacts of confidence in Swedish police. This result is particularly important because it relates to the other communication aspects, such as non-verbal and verbal communication cues, too. As Peterson (2008) claimed, the police tend to set the asymmetrical tone and the face of authority in order to increase the chance of

cooperation. Thus, it is likely that an interaction between the Swedish police and an international student, especially a negative one, will impact how they perceive the Swedish police, as well as their willingness to comply with instructions and/or orders given by the police. In any case, because of the inconclusive results obtained from our survey data, we believe that the relationship between negative encounters and other variables should be a subject of further investigation.

Neighborhood was one of the variables that provided significant results on the international students' confidence in home country police ($p = 0.030$). Indeed, as can be seen in Table 4, measured on a scale between 1 and 6, for a one-unit increase in perceived neighborhood safety, the respondents reported an increase of 0.192 in confidence in their home country police. Practically, this meant that if a respondent considered their neighborhood very safe (i.e., they reported a 6 on neighborhood safety), then they on average had 0.96 more confidence in their home country police. However, it should also be mentioned that this result did not transfer to how international students perceived the Swedish police. Indeed, here the results did not present statistical significance.

These results are supported by previous research, which finds that neighborhood and environmental context has an impact on confidence (Luo et. al., 2021; Payne & Gainey, 2007; Reisig & Parks, 2002). The reason why the neighborhood variable did not affect international students' confidence in the Swedish police could be that, because of the relatively little time spent in Sweden, many international students do not have a grasp on whether their neighborhood is 'good' or 'bad' -- they might not have noticed either over- or under-policing (Ben-Porat, 2008), and/or they might not have a good understanding of the socio-economic background of the people inhabiting the neighborhood. Questions about the amount of time spent in Sweden or the understanding of the socio-economic characteristics of respondents' residential area might help to complement these findings. However, the questionnaire did not include exhaustive questions on the above issues. As such, this study cannot say with full confidence whether there is a relationship between the neighborhood an international student lives in and their confidence in the Swedish police.

Ultimately, the present study attempted to answer the research question:

RQ1: Do gender, ethnicity, nationality, neighborhood and previous encounters with the police affect the level of trust International students have towards the Swedish police and their home country police? If yes, how and to what extent?

This analysis shows that confidence in the police both at home and abroad is a complex issue. Indeed, while many of the variables reported in Table 4 did not present statistically

significant effects, it still suggests that many factors contribute to how our target population perceives police at home and abroad. In fact, as seen in Table 3, international students have significantly more confidence in the Swedish police and this should be examined further. The findings seem to suggest, perhaps logically, that relatively little time spent in a country, combined with a good general reputation of the country as a whole, lead to more favorable perceptions of -- and therefore higher confidence in -- the police. However, it should also be mentioned that it is not apparent from the present study how exactly time plays a factor when it comes to these perceptions. Indeed, while the study did gather data regarding the amount of time spent in Sweden, no conclusive results came from it and were not included in the final models. It stands to reason, however, that there is a relationship between confidence in the Swedish police and time, as more time in Sweden equals more risks to be a victim of crime, and more chances to have bad experiences with the police, but a time-series analysis would be necessary to be able to make such a conclusion (Sindall et al., 2012).

Furthermore, the present study suggests that while the confidence in Swedish police is typically high, the Swedish police should be aware of circumstances that affect the public's confidence in them. Indeed, as can be seen in Table 4, factors such as nationality and ethnicity play a vital role in determining perceptions of and confidence in the police. This echoes previous literature (Staubli, 2017; Brown & Benedict, 2002; Weitzer and Tuch, 2004); on a practical level, it implies that the police need to be aware of circumstances outside of their control when it comes to the public perception of them. It is, seemingly, completely possible for a person to arrive with a fairly negative outlook on the Swedish police without ever having been in contact with an officer or been in the country for very long.

Limitations

This study would have benefitted from having a larger number and more diverse respondents. Consequently, due to the fairly homogenous sample, some of the findings remain inconclusive, and several variables which were expected to have a significant impact on the results had to either be clustered (grouped and re-coded) or excluded from the analysis. For example, while the survey gathered data on age, it was collected in age groups rather than as a continuous variable. Eventually, because the results clustered around two age groups, the variable did not provide additional clarity to the analysis and was discarded from the results. Similarly, nationality data had to be clustered based on continents because of very little number of responses per country. This grouping is not necessarily logical as there are many more factors than simple geography that dictates cultural values and

personal beliefs, but it seemed a fairly harmless grouping to make considering the low response rate.

For the research questions laid out in this study to be properly answered, a higher number of respondents and more time to test different variables through pilot surveys would have been necessary. Furthermore, variables that were not included in the questionnaire for this survey have been proven to be significant previously -- such as individual factors, political leanings (Sun & Wu, 2015), and tolerance for deviance (Jang et al., 2010) -- would also need to be included. Additionally, there is also an argument to be made for time-series analysis as per Sindall et al.'s (2012) suggestion as several findings on the individual level might not translate to the national level.

Conclusion

This paper found some evidence that suggests that international students do have a higher opinion of the Swedish police than they do of the police back in their home countries. Several of the variables found in the existing literature proved to be significant in this study, too. Most notably gender and ethnicity appeared to be significant variables in the models that were tested. Other variables that were expected to have significant effects based on theory, did not do so here as the number of respondents was fairly low. Nonetheless, the study concludes that there is a complex relationship between a wide range of factors and confidence in the police.

The Swedish police have to be aware that understanding intercultural and interpersonal factors, as it relates to people arriving to Sweden from another country, is a continuous process. This study highlights the fact that even though international students have a high level of confidence in the Swedish police at arrival, this confidence needs to be maintained, preferably, by being aware of how communication strategies, behavior and events out of the police's direct control can have a big impact on how international students perceive the Swedish police's efforts.

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Appendix

Questionnaire

Consent form

Dear Participant,

We are students of the Master in Communication programme at the University of Gothenburg. As part of our studies, we are conducting a survey regarding opinions of international students on the police in their home countries and in Sweden. We are asking you to participate in this survey if you are an international student living in Sweden.

This survey will only take about five minutes to complete. You can freely choose to take part or to not take part in this survey. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits for either decision. Even if you agree to participate, you can stop at any time. For the success of the study it is important that you fill in the questionnaire completely and conscientiously. All data is collected anonymously, it cannot be attributed to your person and will be kept strictly confidential.

As the questions might be sensitive in nature, there is some emotional risk associated with taking the questionnaire, especially if you have had traumatic experiences with police previously. Therefore, taking the survey might cause emotional distress to some. If you know that you are sensitive to triggers regarding crime and/or police, we kindly ask you to consider that the questionnaire might cause severe discomfort and that by taking the survey you agree that you understand the associated risks involved. Please remember that there is help available if you are in emotional distress because of a crime that has happened to you,

someone close to you or if you have witnessed a crime happening to someone else (https://www.brottsofferjouren.se/en/).

If you have any questions about this study, please send an email at gusedepa@student.gu.se

Thank you for your participation!

General information

1. Gender
    - Female
    - Male
    - Other
    - Prefer not to say

2. Nationality or Nationalities
   (short answer text)

3. How old are you?
    - Under 18
    - 18 - 24
    - 25 - 34
    - 35 - 45
    - 46 +

4. What is your ethnicity?
    - White
    - Hispanic
    - Northwest Asian
    - East Asian
    - Southeast Asian
    - Black
    - Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
    - American Indian or Alaska Native
    - Prefer not to say
    - Other

5. What degree are you currently pursuing?
    - Bachelor
    - Master
    - PhD
    - Other

6. To the best of your ability enter the year and month you relocated to Sweden? (If you can't remember the day, enter 1 for day)
   (Day, month, year)

This section is about the police in your home country

The following section is intended to examine your relationship with the police from your home country.

Please answer the questions as accurately as possible.

1. Where do you believe your opinion of the police in your home country comes from?
   - Media (News, tv-shows, commercials etc.)
   - Personal experience
   - Friends or relatives experience
   - General reputation
   - Not sure
   - Other

2. If you were the victim of a minor theft (e.g. pickpocketing), how likely would you be to report that crime to your home country's police?
   (Not very likely 1 - very likely 6)

3. If you were the victim of a property crime (e.g. vandalism, burglary, ...), how likely would you be to report that crime to your home country's police?
   (Not very likely 1 - very likely 6)

4. If you were the victim of a violent crime (e.g. assault, robbery, ...), how likely would you be to report that crime to your home country's police?
   (Not very likely 1 - very likely 6)

5. How likely do you think it is that police in your home country do not receive adequate training?
   (Not very likely 1 - very likely 6)

6. If you were to be in contact with the police in your home country, how likely is it that you would be treated fairly and justly?
   (Not very likely 1 - very likely 6)

7. How likely do you think you are to be exposed to crime in the neighborhood of your home country?
   (Not very likely 1 - very likely 6)

8. How many times have you been a victim of a crime in your home country?
   - Never
   - Once

- More than once
- Prefer not to say

9. If yes to the previous question, then what type of crime?
    - Theft
    - Property crime
    - Violent crime
    - Other
    - Prefer not to say

10. How many times have you had negative encounters with the police in your home country?
    - Never
    - Once
    - More than once
    - Prefer not to say

11. If yes to the previous question, then in what capacity?
    - As a victim
    - As a suspect
    - As a witness
    - Other
    - Prefer not so say

12. How many times have you had postive encounters with the police in your home country?
    - Never
    - Once
    - More than once
    - Prefer not to say

13. If yes to the previous question, then in what capacity?
    - As a victim
    - As a suspect
    - As a witness
    - Other
    - Prefer not so say

This section is about the police in Sweden

The following section is intended to examine your relationship with the Swedish police.

Please answer the questions as accurately as possible.

1. Where do you believe your opinion of the Swedish police comes from?
    - Media (News, tv-shows, commercials etc.)

- Personal experience
- Friends or relatives experience
- General reputation
- Not sure
- Other

2. If you were the victim of a minor theft (e.g. pickpocketing), how likely would you be to report that crime to the Swedish police?
   (Not very likely 1 - very likely 6)

3. If you were the victim of a property crime (e.g. vandalism, burglary, ...), how likely would you be to report that crime to the Swedish police?
   (Not very likely 1 - very likely 6)

4. If you were the victim of a violent crime (e.g. assault, robbery, ...), how likely would you be to report that crimeto the Swedish police?
   (Not very likely 1 - very likely 6)

5. How likely do you think it is that police in Sweden do not receive adequate training?
   (Not very likely 1 - very likely 6)

6. If you were to be in contact with the police in Sweden, how likely is it that you would be treated fairly and justly?
   (Not very likely 1 - very likely 6)

7. How likely do you think you are to be exposed to crime in the neighborhood you reside in Sweden?
   (Not very likely 1 - very likely 6)

8. How many times have you been a victim of a crime in Sweden?
   - Never
   - Once
   - More than once
   - Prefer not to say

9. If yes to the previous question, then what type of crime?
   - Theft
   - Property crime
   - Violent crime
   - Other
   - Prefer not to say

10. How many times have you had negative encounters with the police in Sweden?
    - Never
    - Once
    - More than once
    - Prefer not to say

11. If yes to the previous question, then in what capacity?
    - As a victim
    - As a suspect
    - As a witness
    - Other
    - Prefer not so say

12. How many times have you had positive encounters with the police in Sweden?
    - Never
    - Once
    - More than once
    - Prefer not to say

13. If yes to the previous question, then in what capacity?
    - As a victim
    - As a suspect
    - As a witness
    - Other
    - Prefer not so say

Thank you for participating!

The survey you have participated in has been constructed to cross-culturally measure factors that contribute to confidence in police for international students. If you wish to be updated about the progress of the project, please put your email below.

If you have any additional thoughts about the topic, or feel like the survey failed to address something that you feel is important, please write a short message below. Otherwise, please submit the survey.

Thank you for your time.

Additional information
(Long answer text)

If you'd like to receive an update on our findings, enter your email below. Otherwise, press the submit button below, and thank you for your time!
(Short answer text)

Appendix - SPSS & Stata tables

Confidence in Sweden police & home country police between gender groups

	Gender		
	Male	Female	Sig. (2-tailed)
Confidence in Sweden police	4.421	5.008	.000
	(.734)	(.666)	
Confidence in home country police	3.631	4.504	.000
	(1.055)	(1.040)	
N	38	50	

Note * p < 0.05,** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001; S.D. is shown in the bracket

Table 5

The Independent-sample T-test was conducted on the confidence in Swedish and home country police. The data was divided into two conditions: Male (N=38), Female (N=50). As shown in the table, the mean of confidence in both Sweden and home country police for the male was 4.421 and 3.361; in terms of females, the figure was 5.008 for Swedish police and 4.504 for home country police. There were significant main effects of gender in both confidence in the Swedish police and home country police, and the p-values were both < 0.001.

Does victimization experience in Sweden affect the confidence in Swedish police

	Victimization in Sweden		
	Never	Once	Sig.
Confidence in Sweden police	4.843	4.200**	0.004
	(.688)	(.894)	
N	74	13	

Note * p < 0.05,** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001; S.D. is shown in the bracket

Table 6

The independent-sample T-test was conducted on the confidence in Swedish police. The data was divided into two conditions by whether having victimization in Sweden: Never (N=74), Once (N=13). As shown in table 6, the mean of confidence for those who never had victimization experience in Sweden was 4.843; in contrast, those who had once victimization experience in Sweden was 4.200. The table exemplified significant effects of victimization experience in Sweden in confidence in the Swedish police, and the p-value was 0.004.

Does victimization experience in home country affect the confidence in Home country police (ANOVA)

	Never	Once	More than once	F	Sig.
Confidence in Home country police	4.543	4.243	3.400	9.842***	.000
	(1.134)	(1.019)	(1.128)		

Note * p < 0.05,** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001; S.D. is shown in the bracket

Table 7

The one-way, between groups analysis of variance, was conducted on the confidence in home country police. The data were divided by the respondent's victimization experience into the three different groups based on their victimization in their home country: Never, Once, More than once. The statistic showed that the home country's different victimization experience significantly affected the confidence in home country police. (p-value < 0.001).

Does negative encounter in Sweden affect the confidence in Swedish police

	Negative encounter in Sweden		
	Never	Yes	Sig. (2-tailed)
Confidence in Sweden police	4.820	4.100**	0.009
	(.712)	(.868)	
N	80	8	

Note * p < 0.05,** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001; S.D. is shown in the bracket

Table 8

The independent-sample T-test was conducted on the confidence in Swedish police. The data was divided by whether respondents had negative encounters in Sweden: Never (N=80), Yes (N=8). As shown in table 8, the mean of confidence for those who never had a negative encounter in Sweden was 4.820; in contrast, those who had once victimization experience in Sweden was 4.100. There were significant effects of victimization in Sweden in confidence in the Swedish police, and the p-value was 0.009.

Does negative encounter in home country affect the confidence in home country police

	Never	Once	More than once	F	Sig.
Confidence in home country police	4.543	4.243	3.400	9.842***	.000
	(.967)	(1.134)	(1.019)		

Note * p < 0.05,** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001; S.D. shows in the bracket

Table 9

The one-way, between groups analysis of variance, was conducted on the confidence in home country police. The data were divided by the respondent's negative encounter experience into the three different groups based on their experience in their home country: Never, Once, More than once. The statistic showed that the home country's different negative encounter experience significantly affected the confidence in home country police. (F= 9.842***,p-value < 0.001).

The confidence in Swedish police & Home country police between the ethnicity (ANOVA)

	White	Hispanic	East Asian	Southeast Asian	Black	Other	F	Sig.
Confidence in Swedish police	4.890	4.250	4.909	4.366	4.711	4.675	1.441	.218
	(.723)	(.640)	(.806)	(.771)	(.837)	(.631)		
Confidence in Home country police	4.704	2.850	4.727	3.016	3.177	3.500	14.110***	.000
	(.800)	(.574)	(.627)	(1.234)	(.827)	(.828)		

Note * p < 0.05,** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001; S.D. Is shown in the bracket

Table 10

The one-way, between groups analysis of variance was conducted on the confidence in Swedish and home country police. The data were divided by the respondent's ethnicity into the six different groups: White, Hispanic, East Asian, Southeast Asian, Black, Other. The statistic showed that ethnicity had a significant effect on the confidence in home country police. (p-value < 0.001), while there was no indication of a significant effect on confidence in Swedish police (p-value =0.218).

The confidence in Swedish police & Home country police between the continents (ANOVA)

	Europe	Asia	Africa	NorthAmerica	SouthAmerica	F	Sig.
Confidence in Swedish police	4.756	4.700	5.000	4.333	4.840	.482	.749
	(.743)	(.772)	(.709)	(1.101)	(.792)		
Confidence in Home country police	4.476	3.863	3.375	3.866	3.160	3.768**	.007
	(.978)	(1.287)	(.851)	(1.270)	(.952)		

Note * p < 0.05,** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001; S.D. shows in the bracket

Table 11

The one-way, between groups analysis of variance with five different continents, was conducted on the confidence in Swedish and home country police. The data were divided by the respondent's nationality, we then re-coded it into different groups of continents. The five different groups can be listed out as Europe, Asia, African, North America, and South America. The statistics indicated that people coming from different continents had a significant effect on the confidence in home country police. (F= 3.768**,p-value = 0.007), while there was no indication of a significant effect on confidence in Swedish police (F= 0.482, p-value =0.749).

```
. reg Swedcon female victimSwed i.continent i.ethnicity NegEncSwed SwedSafety
```

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs	=	88
				F(13, 74)	=	3.08
Model	17.5289861	13	1.34838354	Prob > F	=	0.0011
Residual	32.4305594	74	.438250803	R-squared	=	0.3509
				Adj R-squared	=	0.2368
Total	49.9595455	87	.574247649	Root MSE	=	.66201

Swedcon	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
female	.5523902	.1523434	3.63	0.001	.2488393	.855941
victimSwedrec	-.2375301	.2310576	-1.03	0.307	-.6979224	.2228622
continent						
Asia	.3940046	.366297	1.08	0.286	-.3358582	1.123867
South America	.422583	.3760704	1.12	0.265	-.3267537	1.17192
Africa	.889457	.4503266	1.98	0.052	-.0078384	1.786752
North America	.4541547	.5635257	0.81	0.423	-.6686948	1.577004
ethnicity						
Southeast A..	-.7112419	.4229908	-1.68	0.097	-1.554069	.1315856
Black	-.6042896	.4638724	-1.30	0.197	-1.528575	.3199962
East Asian	-.1817112	.3935401	-0.46	0.646	-.965857	.6024347
Hispanic	-.9390407	.4690776	-2.00	0.049	-1.873698	-.0043832
Other	-.4096922	.2830245	-1.45	0.152	-.9736309	.1542464
NegEncSwed	-.2733991	.259285	-1.05	0.295	-.7900357	.2432375
SwedSafety	.0647424	.0586322	1.10	0.273	-.0520847	.1815696
_cons	4.246687	.3086891	13.76	0.000	3.631611	4.861764

Table 12

```
. reg Hccon female victimHC i.continent i.ethnicity NegEncHC HCSafety
```

Source	SS	df	MS		
Model	67.6267694	13	5.20205918	Number of obs	= 88
Residual	44.841867	74	.605971176	F(13, 74)	= 8.58
				Prob > F	= 0.0000
Total	112.468636	87	1.29274295	R-squared	= 0.6013
				Adj R-squared	= 0.5313
				Root MSE	= .77844

Hccon	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
female	.6105713	.1816528	3.36	0.001	.2486201	.9725224
victimHCrec	.0043309	.4275449	0.01	0.992	-.8475709	.8562327
continent						
Asia	.5553112	.4353163	1.28	0.206	-.3120755	1.422698
South America	-.24669	.4679676	-0.53	0.600	-1.179136	.6857557
Africa	.5249347	.5022327	1.05	0.299	-.4757858	1.525655
North America	1.086965	.6534282	1.66	0.100	-.2150196	2.388949
ethnicity						
Southeast A..	-1.906236	.5029683	-3.79	0.000	-2.908422	-.9040494
Black	-1.241063	.5112726	-2.43	0.018	-2.259796	-.2223303
East Asian	-.3621125	.4666855	-0.78	0.440	-1.292004	.5677786
Hispanic	-.8190052	.5754582	-1.42	0.159	-1.965631	.3276203
Other	-.9537322	.334524	-2.85	0.006	-1.620286	-.2871784
NegEncHC	-.174316	.2778625	-0.63	0.532	-.7279691	.3793372
HCSafety	.1922041	.0867	2.22	0.030	.0194507	.3649575
_cons	3.421018	.515286	6.64	0.000	2.394288	4.447747

Table 13

Paired t test

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf.	Interval]
Swedcon	88	4.747727	.0807808	.7577913	4.587167	4.908288
Hccon	88	4.111364	.1212034	1.136989	3.870459	4.352268
diff	88	.6363636	.1011711	.9490687	.4352752	.8374521

```
    mean(diff) = mean(Swedcon - Hccon)                        t =   6.2900
Ho: mean(diff) = 0                         degrees of freedom =       87

Ha: mean(diff) < 0           Ha: mean(diff) != 0           Ha: mean(diff) > 0
Pr(T < t) = 1.0000         Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0000          Pr(T > t) = 0.0000
```

Table 14