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ARTICLE



Public confidence in the police: tests of instrumental and expressive models in a developing country city

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the effect of instrumental and expressive concerns on public confidence in the police in three different residential areas in Sekondi-Takoradi, Ghana's third largest city. The study was important because of the knowledge vacuum that existed in regard to the empirical validity of the instrumental and expressive theoretical framework within the Ghanaian context. Data for the study was drawn from a baseline survey conducted in three residential areas in the Sekondi-Takoradi metropolis. The findings revealed that instrumental factors played a more significant role in influencing confidence in the police in the Sekondi-Takoradi metropolis compared to expressive factors. More importantly, instrumental factors played a more significant role in influencing confidence in the police at Anaji compared to the other two residential areas used in the study. The paper recommends that there should be more investment in police infrastructure and services to enhance police effectiveness and efficiency. Additionally, the authors also suggest that interventions aimed at improving security at the community level should be guided by periodic safety audits since this will provide a better understanding of the criminogenic problems within these residential settlements.

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Public confidence; policing; fear of crime; collective efficacy; Ghana

Introduction

Literature thus far has illuminated our understanding about the factors that influence public confidence in the police. Some of these factors include crime rates (Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch, 1998; Weitzer, Tuch, & Skogan, 2008), stability in democracy (Morris, 2011), public experiences of corruption (Boateng, 2012, 2015a; Tankebe, 2010), socio-demographics (Ren, Cao, Lovrich, & Gaffney, 2005; Saarikkomäki, 2017) and neighbourhood context (Boateng, 2015b; Ren et al., 2005). In recent times, studies conducted in the UK have also shown that confidence in the police can be accounted for by two main sources. These are the instrumental and expressive sources. Instrumental sources include personal experiences of crime, fear of crime and perceived or actual risk of victimization (Bradford & Myhill, 2015). Expressive sources, on the other hand, include wider social concerns such as community disorder and social cohesion (Jackson & Bradford, 2009; Sargeant & Kochel, 2016).

In Ghana, studies have shown that confidence and trust in the police are influenced by a number of factors which include police effectiveness, procedural fairness and procedural justice (Tankebe, 2008, 2010). However, little is known about the role of instrumental and expressive

concerns on public confidence in the police in Ghana. In addition to the above research gap, extant literature on public confidence in the police in Ghana has focused on citywide survey analysis with little attention given to intra-city level analysis. This gap also demands attention because studies have shown that conditions within residential neighbourhoods or districts are important determinants of criminogenic outcomes, which invariably may influence public opinion about the police (see Frimpong, 2016; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997; Scarborough, Like-Haislip, Novak, Lucas, & Alarid, 2010; Swatt, Varano, Uchida, & Solomon, 2013). The study, therefore, addresses one important question: Do instrumental and expressive concerns influence public confidence in the police in specific residential areas, and which between the two plays a more significant role in residential areas in Ghana?

This study is important for two main reasons. First, it provides an opportunity to assess the practicability of the instrumental and expressive theoretical framework in the Ghanaian context, a departure from the existing literature which tends to focus on the experiences from the global north. Second, by assessing which between the two sources plays a significant role in influencing confidence in the police in residential areas in Ghana, the study will help policy makers in terms of what needs to be done in specific residential areas to enhance confidence in the police i.e. whether the police should enhance security and safety or be involved in wider issues that borders on social stability and social order.

The paper is organized as follows. After the introduction, the next section discusses the conceptual and theoretical basis of the paper. This includes the operationalization of confidence in the police and discussion of both theoretical and empirical studies that have examined the instrumental and expressive theories of public confidence in the police. The literature section also provides a brief discussion of the influence of socio-demographic factors on confidence in the police. Subsequent to this is a brief overview of the Ghana police service, their changing orientation, what opinions the public hold about their operations and the reasons accounting for these public opinions. This is followed by the methods used for collecting the data and study findings while the final part is devoted to discussions and policy implications of the paper.

Theoretical and conceptual overview

Conceptualizing and operationalizing confidence in the police

There has been continual slippage with the use of terms such as confidence, trust and satisfaction to express public opinion about the police (Javid, 2014). Even though these terms are interdependent, there are conceptual distinctions that need to be explicated. According to Stanko (2012, p.321), confidence in the police refers to ‘an overall attitude or orientation that people have towards the police, one that summarizes their assessment of police’ ability to perform the range of different functions that constitute its role and position in society’. Cao and Huo (2001) also refer to confidence in the police as a diffused support for the police as an institution as against specific support for individual police officers. This conceptual meaning of confidence emanates from Easton’s (1965) characterization of diffuse support as the goodwill and esteem people have towards an institution. Confidence in the police is therefore seen as a performance assessment or summary judgement of what the police are doing (Lowe & Innes, 2012). In distinguishing trust in the police from confidence in the police, Bradford and Jackson (2010, p. 1) argue that trust refers to the ‘interpersonal relationship between citizens and police officers’, while confidence refers to a set of attitude towards the police as an institution. Confidence in the police can also be used to represent a set of connected but distinct concepts such as trust (interpersonal relationship between the police and the public), legitimacy (recognition of the power and authority of the police by the public) and cooperation (engagement and consultations between local communities and the police).

With regard to the operationalization of confidence in the police, opinions have varied among researchers in terms of precise measures that should be used (Javid, 2014; Myhill, Quinton, Bradford, Poole, & Sims, 2011; Stanko & Bradford, 2009). For instance, Tankebe (2010) used trustworthiness, procedural justice and effectiveness as three different concepts to measure confidence in the police. In a related study in the UK, confidence in the police was also found to measure one underlying construct which comprised of concepts such as procedural fairness and value alignment or police understanding of community problems (Bolling, Grant & Sinclair, 2006). Skogan (2009) also used two scales to measure confidence in the police i.e. confidence in police performance and confidence in the professional demeanor of the police. Again in the UK, most scholars have tended to use a single indicator suggested to condense or wrap up different dimensions of confidence in the police. Particular reference can be made to the British Crime Survey (BCS) question of 'How good a job do you think the police in your area are doing'; with response options ranging from excellent to very poor (Jackson & Bradford, 2009, 2010; Myhill et al., 2011; Stanko & Bradford, 2009). Despite the fluidity in the operationalization of confidence in the police among scholars, there are overlaps in the various measures used and these include concepts like trust, effectiveness and procedural fairness.

Confidence in the police: an instrumental and expressive theoretical perspective

It has been urged with justification that public confidence in the police emanates from two main sources (Freiburg, 2001). These sources are instrumental and expressive sources. According to the instrumental theoretical perspective, people's judgement of police effectiveness hinges on the ability of the police to fight crime, reduce fear of crime and improve safety and security in a neighbourhood or society (Jackson & Bradford, 2009; Jackson & Sunshine, 2007; Sun, Hu, Wong, He, & Li, 2013). This perspective is also shared by Skogan (2009) although he refers to it as the accountability model. In explicating this model, Skogan contends that opinion about police performance bothers on issues relating to crime rates, risk of victimization and fear of crime within a neighbourhood. Meanwhile, Jackson and Bradford (2009) argue that, while there could be a linkage between concerns about crime, fear of crime and confidence in the police, fear of crime could be a causal factor of confidence in the police even when holding crime rates constant. This implies that feeling of insecurity is an important issue when it comes to public assessment of police performance.

Empirically, studies from both the western and non-western context have supported the instrumental model of public opinion about the police. For instance in the US, studies have found close relationship between public assessment of police performance and crime rates (Reisig & Parks, 2000; Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch, 1998). In South Korea, Jang and Hwang (2014) also found that worries about crime had a significant effect on confidence in the police, albeit social cohesion and disorder had more effect on confidence in the police as compared to worries about crime. In a similar context, Jang, Joo, and Zhao (2010) found that homicide rates were significantly related to confidence in the police. In a recent study in Turkey, Karakus (2017) also found that instrumental concerns exerted more influence on police legitimacy compared to other factors such as social cohesion, procedural fairness and procedural justice.

In regard to the expressive theoretical perspective, public confidence in the police stems from a much broader social issue than an individual security concern (Girling, Loader, & Sparks, 2000; Jackson, 2004; Jackson, Bradford, Hohl, & Farrall, 2009). Arguing from a neo-Durkheimian position, Jackson and Sunshine (2007) assert that there is a symbolic meaning attached to the police institution and policing in particular. To them, the police convey images of order and stability and therefore the public will always look up to the police to restore declining moral structures and values as well as reconstitute any loss of social control in a neighbourhood. Indeed, this logic is in line with the moral significance of rule-breaking highlighted by Tyler and Boeckmann (1997). According to Jackson et al (2009, p.5), the idea behind the moral significance

of rule-breaking is that beyond ensuring individual safety, the police are judged on the basis of how they are 'addressing the moral consequences of rule-breaking behaviour' in a particular community. This line of inquiry suggests that stable communities with strong social cohesion and absence of disorder is a sign that the police are doing well and therefore are likely to be rated favourably on the confidence scale.

Similar to the instrumental theoretical framework, a number of empirical studies thus far seem to give credence to the expressive theoretical framework. For instance, studies conducted in England and Wales have found that lower levels of trust and confidence in the police are associated with high-level disorder and low-level social cohesion and collective efficacy (Bradford & Jackson, 2010; Jackson & Bradford, 2009; Jackson & Sunshine, 2007; Merry, Power, McManus, & Alison, 2012). Recent studies in China and South Korea have also shown that expressive factors such as perception of social disorder and social cohesion play a more critical role in shaping peoples attitude towards the police (Jang & Hwang, 2014; Sun et al., 2013). Boateng's (2012, 2015b) studies in Ghana also show significant relationship between perceived disorder and public trust in the police.

Further, there have been suggestions that public attitude towards the police may vary depending on the neighbourhood type (Bradford & Myhill, 2015; Brown & Benedict, 2002). Even though Kautt (2011) argues that some of these studies have proceeded without strong theoretical justification, Bradford and Myhill (2015) argue that there are a number of theory-driven studies that provide strong justification that neighbourhood type could shape public attitude towards the police. For instance, studies by Sampson et al. (1997), Sampson (2012) and Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley (2002) have shown that neighbourhood or residential areas significantly influence criminogenic outcomes through the mediating effect of social processes such as collective efficacy. Again, social disorder, an important neighbourhood structural feature, is also known to be a significant predictor of public confidence in the police (Jackson, Bradford, Stanko and Hohl., 2012).

In essence, significant variations are likely to occur across residential neighbourhoods in regard to public confidence in the police. This is because, apart from differences in neighbourhood structural characteristics which are likely to influence public attitude towards the police, there are also differences across neighbourhoods with respect to the type of policing style adopted and level of engagement between residents and the police. For instance, a number of studies have shown that disadvantaged neighbourhoods have been at the receiving end of heavy handed policing methods because of the stereotypical attitude towards these neighbourhoods, which in turn results in incessant confrontation between sections of members of these neighbourhoods and the police, thus reducing confidence in the police (Cao, James, & Francis, 1996; Jackson et al., 2012). Additionally, Perkins (2016) study in York demonstrates that individual perception about the police is significantly influenced by conditions and happenings in their local communities. Based on findings from the above studies regarding the link between neighbourhood type and public attitude towards the police, the authors argue that the role of instrumental and expressive factors in influencing confidence in the police will vary significantly across the various residential areas used in this study.

Based on the review of related literature, two main hypotheses are proposed. The first hypothesis is that there is a significant relationship between instrumental concerns and public confidence in the police. However, this hypothesis is broken down into three sub-hypotheses using specific variables used as instrumental factors in the study. Below are the sub-hypotheses

- Perception of higher crime levels will be significantly and inversely related to confidence in the police.
- Perceived risk of victimization will be significantly and inversely related to confidence in the police
- Increased safety concerns will be significantly and inversely related to confidence in the police.

The second main hypothesis proposed is that there is a significant relationship between expressive factors and public confidence in the police. Similarly, this hypothesis has two sub-hypotheses to account for the variables used for the expressive factors. Below are the sub-hypotheses.

- Perceived social disorder will be significantly and inversely related to confidence in the police.
- Collective efficacy will be significantly and positively related to confidence in the police.

Confidence in the police and socio-demographic factors

The extent of public support for the police vary for different socio-demographic groupings such as age, gender, race, socio-economic status, education and duration of stay in residential area (Ren et al., 2005; Saarikkomäki, 2017). For instance, a study by Cao et al. (1996) in the city of Cincinnati in the US showed that females and older persons expressed higher confidence in the police as compared to males and younger adults. While highlighting the relevance of demographic factors, Cao et al. (1996) emphasize that the extent of the relationship between demographic factors and public confidence in the police may be shaped by the community context. However, it is also important to point out that some of the socio-demographic characteristics which include race, income and education are very connected as they normally coincide with specific ecological or geographic settings (Sampson, 2012; Sampson et al., 2002). It is thus important to interrogate the intra-city differentials of demographic influences on confidence in the police as this will further understanding on confidence in the police from a neighbourhood perspective and also make a case for whether policy aimed at building confidence should be neighbourhood specific.

The Ghana police service: a brief overview

The Ghana Police Service (GPS) is the institution assigned with primary responsibility for ensuring public safety and security as well as maintaining law and order in Ghana. Attempts have been made in recent times to reform the GPS through a reorientation of its role so that it can be more efficient and proactive in its daily operations and also improve on its responsiveness to concerns from the general public (Atuguba, 2007; CHRI, 2007). The necessity of these reforms is attributed to the GPS's past history, which was also a reflection of the exigencies of the country's political history (see Atuguba, 2007; Commonwealth Human Right Initiative (CHRI), 2007; Tankebe, 2009). For instance, colonial style of policing introduced in the Gold Coast (previous name for Ghana prior to independence) in 1831 by the British colonial administration was intended to ensure trade security and the protection of the colonial regime (Commonwealth Human Right Initiative (CHRI), 2007). This meant that the police were extremely militarized, adopting intimidation, repression and bullying as its modus operandi to make people comply with colonial laws (ibid). Following colonial rule, not many changes were witnessed in terms of policing style; at best the only significant change was the appointment of Ghanaians to head the GPS. Post-colonial periods particularly during the period of military government still witnessed police brutalities, unfriendliness, corruption and violence (ibid). Recounting the conduct of the police prior to the 4th Republic in 1993, Atuguba (2007 p.3) notes:

'The 1992 Constitution immediately followed after many years of military rule, including eleven years of continuous military rule under the Government of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) which ended on the 6th of January 1993. During the various periods of military rule, civil liberties were severely circumscribed. The Military and the Police were used as the visible instruments of the State for policing the various and numerous restrictions that were placed on the population and for effecting various rights abuses that were a critical component of the package of military rule'.

In response to both public concern and the need to align its role with the demands of modern democracy, a number of police reforms have been proposed, albeit they are still yet to be fully implemented. For instance, the Archer Commission reforms in 1993 proposed a shift from the traditional policing methods which included excessive use of force, illegal arrest, widespread corruption and failure to respond to complaints, to a state of policing which is accountable to both the law and people, and represents the community it serves (Commonwealth Human Right Initiative (CHRI), 2007). Indeed, the issue of police-community engagement has come up strongly within both policy and academic circles. In view of this, the GPS in August 2011 established the community policing unit, with initial focus on some communities in the Greater Accra region (<http://www.ghananewsagency.org/social/ghana-police-to-launch-community-policing-unit-32090>). This according to the police is to enhance police-public engagement, ensure accountability and improve public safety and security. In addition, a number of police stations and police post have been established in most urban and suburban areas as a way of making the police more visible and accessible (<http://ghananewsagency.org/social/community-policing-is-a-shared-responsibility-dcop-ayim-32326>).

In spite of these efforts, and amidst report from the police that general crime rates have been decreasing (<https://www.ghanaweb.com/Crime-rate-declines-in-Accra-341062>), security and safety concerns about crime continue to be a major issue for most residents in urban communities in Ghana. Ghanaian news media is replete with stories about violent and property crimes in urban communities and this spans high, middle and low-income communities (Owusu, Wrigley-Asante, Oteng-Ababio, & Owusu, 2015). The rising level of insecurity has led to an increase in private security services in high-income communities (Owusu, Owusu, Oteng-Ababio, Wrigley-Asante, & Agyapong, 2016), and vigilante groups in middle and low-income urban communities. More important also, there is a belief among the urban populace that the police are inaccessible to them and also ineffective in addressing their security concerns (Bagson and Owusu, 2016). Indeed, estimates of police to people ratio in Ghana stands at 1:1161 which is below the UN standard of 1:500 (Atuguba, 2007). The problem of access to police personnel and infrastructure is even more acute in low and middle-income areas, a situation that tends to increase residents' vulnerability to crime and fear of crime (Bagson and Owusu, 2016). The above problems together with other negative public experiences with the police including corrupt practices and excessive use of force have marred public perception and opinions about the police (see UNODC 2010).

Methodology

Study area

Sekondi-Takoradi is located along the south-western coast of Ghana and doubles as the capital of the Western Region. It is the third largest city in the country with a population of 559,548 (Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), 2012). Sekondi-Takoradi's prominence in Ghana's history is well noted as it became the first harbour city in the country following the establishment of the Takoradi harbour in 1928 (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). This made the city the focal point of Ghana's trade relation with the global market and a commercial center in the country. In recent times, the discovery of offshore oil along the western coast of the country has made it an important destination point for private sector investment, particularly in the oil sector (ibid). Additionally, historical and contemporary social and economic dynamics have had significant impact on residential differentiation and spatial organization of the city (Frimpong, 2016).

Residential areas in Sekondi-Takoradi are basically classified as low, middle and high-income residential areas (STMA, 2010). For this study one residential area in each of the residential classes was selected. New-Takoradi was selected as a low-income residential area. It has a population of about 18,668 and is located close to the Takoradi Harbour. It is characterized by downgraded houses and inadequate and poor social services and infrastructure such as water and toilet

facilities. Anaji has a population of 12,771 and is a suburban residential area in the metropolis. Even though it is characterized by quality housing, the expansion of the settlement creates a problem for city authorities as they are unable to extend vital social services and infrastructure to the area. Chapel Hill on the other hand is a high-income residential area with a population of 8,368. It has relatively good housing facilities and access to basic social services and infrastructure.

The choice of these three residential areas and more importantly the comparison between them was in line with the study's goal, which sought to investigate whether the role of instrumental and expressive factors on confidence in the police varied across residential areas in Ghanaian cities. More importantly, recent studies in Ghana have shown that different socio-economic residential areas have different challenges relating to criminogenic problems, which invariably can influence their perception of the police. For instance, a study by Appiahene-Gyamfi (2007) has shown that assault and violent related offenses were more prevalent in low-income communities, while property related offences such as burglary were common in high-income residential areas. Further, a study by Owusu et al. (2016) also showed that communities of different socio-economic background relied on different methods in addressing criminogenic problems, with low-income areas leveraging on their high level of social cohesion to address community crime problems. The authors were therefore of the opinion that by comparing the three residential areas, the study will contribute to our understanding of the important role of neighbourhood context on confidence in the police.

Sample design and sample size

A multistage sampling procedure was used to sample 510 respondents across the three socio-economic residential areas based on a list of enumeration areas (EAs). The EAs were used as the sampling frame for the study. Moreover the EAs also constituted the primary sampling units (PSUs) for the study. This is because it is the smallest well-defined spatial units for which population and household data are available. The EAs used for this study were obtained from the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) and were the same used in conducting the 2010 population and housing census survey. The secondary sampling units (SSUs) were houses within the EAs, while the ultimate sampling units were household heads found within these houses.

In terms of the sample design, a multistage sampling procedure was adopted. The first stage involved a purposive sampling of residential areas based on peculiar ecological characteristics that classify them under low, middle and high-income residential areas. This selection exercise was guided by the researchers' familiarity with these residential areas which was based on earlier reconnaissance visits and engagement with development planning officers of the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly. As part of the first stage, there was also the selection of EAs for each residential area, with the number of EAs proportional to the population size of each residential area. The second stage involved a systematic sampling of 15 houses within each EA. The final stage was a simple random sampling of household heads¹ from each of the 15 houses systematically sampled for the face to face structured interviews.

With respect to the specific sample sizes, a total of 135 household heads were interviewed from 10 EAs at Anaji. At New-Takoradi a total of 210 household heads were sampled from 14 EAs while at Chapel Hill, 165 household heads were sampled from 11 EAs. The number of EAs used represented the official number of EAs available for the three residential areas. The sample sizes from the various residential areas show a very high response rate (98%). A number of factors accounted for this response rate and included earlier visits to the residential areas to sensitize residents about the survey and engagement with local opinion leaders and Assembly members² who also helped in the sensitization efforts. Additionally, interview sessions were scheduled to times convenient for respondents, especially those from the high and middle-income residential areas. More important also, to improve accuracy and clarity of questions on the questionnaire, training sessions were organized for the enumerators and the questionnaire was also pretested

before the actual survey exercise. This exercise was meant to reduce respondents and survey biases. In all, the survey exercise lasted for a month.

Measures

Dependent variable

In this study public confidence in the police was operationalized taking cognizance of previous studies, particularly those that have conceptualized confidence in the police as a summary judgement of police performance on a number of indicators which include trustworthiness, effectiveness, engagement with community and procedural fairness (Javid, 2014; Tankebe, 2010). Specifically, six variables were used to measure confidence in the police. These variables touched on three key dimensions of confidence i.e. effectiveness, trustworthiness and procedural fairness. The variables include the following: 'The security services arrest criminals within the community promptly', 'They respond in a timely manner', 'They are committed to fighting crime', 'They are trustworthy', 'They treat all citizens equally' and 'They are transparent'. These variables were measured using a four likert item ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. The variables were combined to generate a single measure of confidence in the police. Higher values represented higher confidence levels, while lower values also represented lower confidence. This composite measure was internally consistent (cronbach's $\alpha = .846$).

Independent variables

Four variables were used for the instrumental model. These include concerns about safety, perceived likelihood of victimization, perception of crime level within the residential area and prior victimization. It must be noted that concerns about safety and likelihood of victimization have been used in previous studies as fear of crime measures even though these two are known to be distinct concepts (see Frimpong, 2016; Skogan, 2009). For instance, Skogan (1999) notes that concern about safety seeks to measure people's vulnerability to criminal victimization, while likelihood of victimization also measures the possibility and probability of a person getting into a situation that makes him or her a target of criminal victimization. In this study however, the focus is not about the conceptual distinction, rather our position is that both are important measures used for assessing individual sense of safety and security. In terms of specific questions and coding, safety concerns was measured by asking respondents 'How safe they are walking alone at night' and 'how safe they are walking alone during daytime'. These two were four likert item variables ranging from 'very safe' to 'very unsafe'. Both variables were combined to form a single measure of concerns about safety. Higher values represented higher safety concerns and vice versa. This measure was also internally consistent (cronbach's $\alpha = .684$).

Likelihood of criminal victimization was operationalized using a four-item additive scale (cronbach's $\alpha = .863$). Respondents were asked to rate how likely they are of becoming a victim of the following crimes: (1) theft, (2) burglary, (3) robbery and (4) assault. Each item had four response options ranging from 'very unlikely' to 'very likely'. Higher mean values indicated a higher perception of becoming a victim of crimes enumerated above, while lower mean values indicated lower perception of becoming a victim of the four crimes. Perception of crime level was also measured by asking respondents to rate the level of crime incidences in their local area. This was also a five likert scale measure ranging from 'very low' to 'very high'. The last variable was prior victimization. With this, respondents were asked whether they have been victims of crime in their neighbourhoods before. This was a dichotomous variable (i.e. 0 = No, 1 = Yes).

Two variables were used for the expressive model. These included collective efficacy and perceived social disorder. Collective efficacy was a combination of two scales i.e. social cohesion and informal social control (see Sampson et al., 1997). With regards to social cohesion, respondents were asked if (1) 'People in this community are willing to help each other', (2) 'This is a close-knit community', (3) 'People in this community do get along with each other' and (4) 'People in this community can be trusted'. For informal social control, respondents were asked if

they were willing to intervene in situations involving (1) 'youth starting a fight or engaging in verbal exchanges', (2) 'youth skipping schools and loitering about', (3) 'youth showing disrespect to adults' and (4) 'youth engaging in drug usage'. Response options for all items or sub-scales ranged from 1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree. Higher mean values indicated higher levels of collective efficacy and vice versa. This composite measure which included informal social control and social cohesion was internally consistent (cronbach's $\alpha = .747$). Perceived social disorder was a question of whether 'disruption around (i.e. youth hanging around, making noise, vandalizing and fighting) or truancy (kids not being in school when they should) is a problem in the neighbourhood'. This variable had two categories (0 = not a problem, 1 = a problem).

Control variables

Five socio-demographic variables were used as control variables in this study. These variables have been used in earlier studies as correlates of public confidence in the police (Boateng, 2012; Javid, 2014). These variables include age, sex, level of education, level of income and duration of stay in the neighbourhood. Age was a continuous variable, sex was a dichotomous variable (0=Male, 1 = Female). Education had four categories (1 = No schooling 2 = Basic school, 3 = Senior high school (SHS), 4 = Tertiary), income had six categories (0 = 1-500, 1 = 501-1000, 2 = 1,001-1,500 3 = 1,501-2000, 4 = 2,001 = 2,500, 5 = above 2,500) and duration of stay in the neighbourhood was also a continuous variable.

Data analysis

The first stage of the analysis presented the descriptive statistics of the dependent, independent and control variables using their range, mean and standard deviation. More so, Kruskal Wallis H test was performed to assess whether the mean differences of these variables in the various residential areas were statistically significant. The second stage involved a bivariate analysis between the variables. The purpose was to assess the strength, direction and significance of the relationship between the predictor variables and the outcome variable. Again, the bivariate analysis also allowed for an assessment of multicollinearity. The results showed absence of multicollinearity since none of the Pearson correlation coefficient was more than .70. Indeed, the highest Pearson correlation coefficient value was .267. A further check for multicollinearity was performed using the tolerance level of the predictor variables. All tolerance values were above .10, a sign that there was no multicollinearity (see Landau and Everitt, 2004). Lastly, multiple regression analysis was performed to assess the effect of the predictors on confidence in the police in each of the three residential areas. The standardized coefficients and level of significance of the predictors were used in the interpretation of the results.

Results

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 presents results of the descriptive statistics. The mean value for confidence in the police was 21.54 at New-Takoradi (SD = 3.9), 20.61 at Anaji (SD = 4.2) and 23.47 at Chapel Hill (SD = 4.5). However, the Kruskal Wallis H test and Chi-square result shows that the mean values of confidence in the police across the residential areas were not significantly different. Result for sex shows that more females were sampled at New-Takoradi and Anaji with mean values of .64 (SD = .48) and .51 (SD = .50) respectively. With respect to duration of stay in residential areas, the results show significant difference, with New-Takoradi recording the highest average years of about 24.8 (SD = 17.64). This result is not surprising especially when New-Takoradi is one of the indigenous communities in the metropolis. The results also show significant difference across

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of variables.

Variables	New-Takoradi (N = 210)			Anaji (N = 135)			Chapel Hill (N = 165)			Kruskal Wallis
	Range	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD	
Confidence in the police	9–30	21.54	3.9	10–32	20.61	4.2	8–33	23.47	4.5	4.719
Age	17–85	41.90	16.36	18–73	43.90	14.59	18–82	41.81	16.2	3.757
Sex	0–1	.64	.48	0–1	.51	.50	0–1	.49	.50	9.372**
Education	1–4	1.8	.68	1–4	2.8	1.01	1–4	3.0	.92	112.878***
Income	1–6	1.69	1.02	1–6	3.02	1.39	1–6	3.90	1.47	103.174***
Duration of stay	1–70	24.82	17.64	1–31	7.62	6.53	1–50	11.29	9.8	134.407***
Likelihood of victimization	7–28	15.48	5.57	5–28	18.71	6.98	6–28	14.9	4.47	9.662**
Safety concerns	2–8	3.16	.74	2–6	3.14	.87	2–6	3.0	1.1	35.847**
Perception of crime	1–5	2.54	1.07	1–5	2.50	1.06	1–5	1.6	.87	61.950***
Prior victimization	0–1	.43	.49	0–1	.51	.49	0–1	.40	.49	.078
Perceived social disorder	0–1	.64	.48	0–1	.14	.35	0–1	.11	.32	6.223*
Collective efficacy	7–22	17.36	2.05	6–25	13.3	2.90	6–25	12.86	.29	10.811**

Notes: *p < 0.05 **p < 0.01 ***p < 0.001

residential areas in regard to perceived risk of victimization, which was highest at Anaji with a mean value of 18.71 (SD = 6.98). Mean values for perception of crime were 2.54 (SD = 1.07), 2.50 (SD = 1.06) and 1.6 (SD = .87) for New-Takoradi, Anaji and Chapel Hill respectively. The Kruskal Wallis H test and Chi-square result shows statistically significant difference across the residential areas, thus it can be assumed that residents at Chapel Hill perceived lower levels of crime compared to the other residential area. With respect to collective efficacy, the results showed a statistically significant difference, suggesting that there are higher levels of collective efficacy in, New-Takoradi, compared to the other residential areas.

Bivariate relationship

Table 2 is a correlation matrix of all variables used in this study. A number of significant relationships were found between the predictors and confidence in the police. With respect to the instrumental model factors, the result shows a significant and inverse relationship between perceived likelihood of victimization and confidence in the police (r = -.221 p < .01). Similarly, perception of crime had a significant and inverse relationship with confidence in the police (r = -.149 p < .01). The results showed a significant and inverse relationship between prior victimization and confidence in the police

Table 2. Bivariate relationship among variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Confidence in the police	1											
Age	.136*	1										
Sex (Female = 1)	-.009	-.031	1									
Education	-.017	-.079	-.202**	1								
Income	.033	-.019	-.085*	.317**	1							
Duration of stay	-.190*	.308**	.076	.318**	-.086**	1						
Likelihood of victimization	-.221**	.144**	-.002	.013	-.030	-.008	1					
Safety concerns	-.099	.020	-.134**	-.092*	-.078**	.150*	-.080	1				
Perception of crime	-.149**	-.048	.059	-.146**	-.129**	.108*	-.099*	-.127**	1			
Prior victimization (Yes = 1)	-.174**	.001	.031	-.063	-.020	.003	.169**	-.137**	-.134**	1		
Perceived social disorder (a problem = 1)	-.065	-.055	.075	-.211**	-.138**	.283*	.052	.075	.267**	-.009	1	
Collective efficacy	-.043	.008	.104**	.035	.167**	-.083	.130**	.183**	-.012	-.013	.057	1

Notes: *p < 0.05 **p < 0.01

($r = -.174$ $p < .01$). None of the expressive factors were significantly related to confidence in the police. In regard to demographic factors, age and duration of stay in neighbourhood significantly related to confidence in the police. The next section shows results for the relationship between predictors and confidence in the police at the residential area level.

Multivariate analysis

Table 3 presents results of the multiple regression analysis. The control variables were included in the analysis because of their strong influence on confidence in the police. Thus, the inclusion of the control variables allowed the researchers to assess the relative effect of the instrumental and expressive variables on confidence in the police in the three residential areas. The results show a higher R^2 value for Anaji (.398) compared to New-Takoradi (.291) and Chapel Hill (.279), suggesting that the model for Anaji accounted for a relatively larger variance in confidence in the police compared to the other residential areas.

Further, results in Table 3 show differences across the three residential areas in regard to the level of significance of the relationship between instrumental factors and confidence in the police. For instance, perceived likelihood of victimization was significantly and inversely related to confidence in the police at New-Takoradi ($\beta = -.093$ $p < .01$), Anaji ($\beta = -.162$ $p < .001$) and Chapel Hill ($\beta = -.098$ $p < .05$). In other words, in all three residential areas, residents' confidence in the police reduces significantly as their perception of becoming victims of crime increases. Concerns about safety was significantly and inversely related to confidence in the police at New-Takoradi ($\beta = -.087$ $p < .05$) and Anaji ($\beta = -.104$ $p < .01$). In other words, at New-Takoradi and Anaji, residents' confidence in the police decreases as their concerns about their safety increases. Perception of crime was significantly and inversely related to confidence in the police at Anaji ($\beta = -.078$ $p < .05$), while prior victimization was also significantly related to confidence in the police at Anaji ($\beta = -.199$ $p < .01$). Again, the above results suggest that at Anaji, as perception of crime increases, confidence in the police decreases. Similarly in the same location, residents who have had victimization experiences were less likely to have confidence in the police.

More so, Table 3 shows that none of the expressive model variables was significantly related to confidence in the police at Anaji and Chapel Hill. For New-Takoradi, the results indicate that perceived social disorder was significantly and inversely related to confidence in the police ($\beta = -.079$ $p < .05$). Put differently, at New-Takoradi, residents who perceived social disorder to be a problem in the residential area were more likely to have less confidence in the police. Regarding the socio-demographic factors, the results indicate that age and duration of stay in residential area

Table 3. Regression of confidence in the police on independent and control variables.

Predictor variables	New-Takoradi (N = 210)			Anaji (N = 135)			Chapel Hill (N = 165)		
	B	β	SE	B	β	SE	B	β	SE
Likelihood of victimization	-.188**	-.093	.044	-.173***	-.162	.045	-.023*	-.098	.095
Safety concerns	-.205*	-.087	.159	-.445**	-.104	.168	-.143	-.035	.320
Perception of crime	-.249	-.055	.171	-.128*	-.078	.199	-.351	-.068	.421
Prior victimization (yes = 1)	-.545	-.060	.374	-.897**	-.099	.375	-1.328	-.130	.745
Perceived social disorder (a problem = 1)	-.049*	-.079	.427	-.302	-.030	.413	-.169	-.014	.916
Collective efficacy	.381	.024	.074	.057	.035	.074	.320	.090	.148
Age	.030**	.110	.013	.011	.033	.012	.013	.040	.022
Sex (Female = 1)	.388	.037	.377	.811	.041	.276	.915	.093	.731
Level of education	.074	.024	.108	.457	.046	.124	-.379*	-.119	.240
Income level	-.514	-.103	.176	-.468**	-.131	.143	-.581*	-.171	.258
Duration	.073*	.073	.086	.087	.061	.219	.125*	.116	.049
R^2	.291			.398			.279		

Notes: * $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, β standardized coefficient, B is unstandardized coefficient and SE is standard error

were significant predictors of confidence in the police at New-Takoradi. Level of income significantly predicted confidence in the police at Anaji, while level of education, level of income and duration of stay in residential area were significant predictors of confidence in the police at Chapel Hill.

Discussion

Findings from the study shows that in urban residential areas in Ghana, confidence in the police is to a larger extent accounted for by instrumental factors compared to expressive factors. This finding resonates with other similar studies that have shown that criminogenic concerns such as fear of crime significantly erode public confidence in the police (Jang & Hwang, 2014; Karakus, 2017). An important insight that can be drawn from the current study is that general levels of insecurity is important in people's judgement about police performance in Ghana since most people look to the police for their protection (Skogan, 2009). In addition to this, findings from the study also suggest that irrespective of the informal arrangement by residents in addressing crime and other neighbourhood level problems, it is important if this is complemented with formal arrangements such as police crime control arrangements.

The study also shows significant variations in regard to the influential role of instrumental factors on confidence in the police in the various residential areas. This finding thus corroborates views expressed by Brown and Benedict (2002) and Bradford and Myhill (2015) that neighbourhood type can be a differentiating factor when it comes to public attitude towards the police. More important also, the varied role played by the instrumental factors in the various residential areas suggests that the sub-hypotheses which stated that there is a significant relationship between the various instrumental factors and confidence in the police can be accepted in some and all residential areas. For instance, the hypothesis that increased safety concerns reduce confidence in the police is accepted in the case of New-Takoradi and Anaji. The hypothesis that perception of crime reduces confidence in the police is accepted in the case of Anaji. Lastly, the hypothesis that perceived likelihood of criminal victimization reduces confidence in the police is accepted in all three residential areas.

Further, it should be indicated that the role of instrumental factors in reducing confidence in the police can be understood within the context of the general characteristics of these residential areas and safety and security concerns in the country in general. For instance, Anaji, which is a suburban residential area in Sekondi-Takoradi has experienced significant sprawl in recent times. One key factor accounting for this has been the high demand for land for residential development following the discovery of off-shore oil within the Takoradi enclave (Obeng-Odoom, Elhadary, & Jang, 2014). The challenge here is, most of these developments have gone ahead of planning and therefore infrastructure developments such as street lights and police stations are either absent or inadequate to serve the increasing population in this settlement (Owusu & Oteng-Ababio, 2015; Owusu, 2016). This situation increases residents' feelings of insecurity especially when it makes residents attractive targets of criminal victimization, especially property victimization. Indeed, results from the descriptive statistics indicate a high perceived risk of victimization (i.e. theft, burglary, armed robbery and assault) at Anaji compared to the other residential areas. In the case of Chapel Hill, this linkage is attributed to the fact that it is a high-income residential area and therefore residents are concerned about personal and property victimization. However, the closeness of the community to the Takoradi Divisional Police Command and the presence of infrastructure such as street lights and better layouts tend to reduce vulnerability to criminal victimization as compared to Anaji.

In addition to the above, recent surveys and studies conducted in Ghana have shown rising concerns about safety and security in urban communities. For instance, a recent victims' survey conducted in the four largest cities in Ghana showed that about 47 percent of residents responded that they were at risk of becoming victims of burglary offences (UNODC, 2010).

Again, studies by Owusu et al (2015, 2016) have also revealed the increasing fear of crime problem in urban communities in Ghana. This problem is attributed to the rising levels of crime and the inability of the police to live up to their mandate of protecting lives and property. For instance, according to the Ghana Police Service, just about 1,433 vehicles were available for use in its Regions, Districts, Divisions and Posts, all numbering about 960 (SITU, 2014). Even with this, about 21 percent of these vehicles were broken down (SITU (Statistical and Information Technology Unit), 2014). These and many other structural problems significantly affect police response to calls from residents and thus reduce the confidence the general public have in them.

For the expressive factors, the results show that with the exception of New-Takoradi, none of the expressive factors significantly influenced confidence in the police at Anaji and Chapel. Even for New-Takoradi, the results indicate that only perceived disorder significantly influence confidence in the police. In other words, residents who considered social disorder as a problem in the residential area were likely to have less confidence in the police. This finding corroborates a similar study in Ghana which showed that high-level disorder reduces trust in the police (see Boateng, 2012). In addition to the above, the peculiar challenges and other structural issues at New-Takoradi also provides further understanding on this linkage. Indeed, New-Takoradi over the past decades has been battling with a number of social problems ranging from high unemployment, lack of basic infrastructure and services and social disorganization. Oteng-Ababio (2016) notes that job insecurity and unemployment at New-Takoradi have plunged a lot of the youth into illicit drug crime, prostitution and petty theft. This problem has even worsened over the years as a result of the lack of a police post in the community to handle crime cases and maintain law and order. Thus, the apparent social decline coupled with inaccessible police service has reduced confidence in the police at New-Takoradi.

Quite apart from the instrumental and expressive factors, the results indicate that demographic factors are also important in determining confidence in the police. For instance, the results show that younger people were more likely to have less confidence in the police at New-Takoradi. Again, residents who have stayed longer at Chapel Hill and New-Takoradi were more likely to have confidence in the police. Moreover, residents with higher incomes at Chapel Hill and Anaji were less likely to have confidence in the police. At New-Takoradi for instance, altercations between the youth and the police are quite common and have received media attention for some time now (see stories in <http://dailyguideafrica.com/demo-hits-new-takoradi-roads/>; <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/New-Takoradi-youth-take-over-road-169564>). Such encounters between the police and the youth are among reasons why younger adults in this community have less confidence in the police (see Cao et al., 1996; Dai & Jiang, 2016). The results for income is quite perplexing as it seems to be at variance with other studies (see Jackson et al., 2009). A possible reason that can be given to this finding is that as income of residents in Anaji and Chapel Hill increases and they acquire more possession, they feel vulnerable to criminal victimization, especially property related victimization. These concerns are further heightened due to the ineffectiveness of the police whose present operations do not assure them of their safety and security. Indeed, a manifestation of loss of confidence in the police in many high and middle income residential areas has been the adoption of sophisticated security gadgets and the use of private security companies. For duration of stay, it is also suggested that people who have stayed longer in a community have a better understanding of the security situation in that community and therefore are in a better position to make more informed and fair judgement about the police. For new residents, they are likely to be more cautious and concerned about their personal security and therefore this may negatively affect their judgement about the effectiveness of the police.

Conclusion

This paper aimed at examining the relative effect of instrumental and expressive concerns on public confidence in the police in three different socio-economic residential areas in Sekondi-Takoradi, a major city in Ghana. The paper was significant for two main reasons. First, it sought to examine the validity of the instrumental and expressive theoretical framework within the Ghanaian urban context. Second, it sought to guide policy makers on what needs to be done to enhance confidence in the police at the local or community level. In other words, should policy be aimed at addressing either instrumental or expressive concerns, and in what community? The findings of the study showed that instrumental factors were significantly related to confidence in the police compared to expressive factors in the Sekondi-Takoradi metropolis. Further, there were variations across communities in regard to the significant role played by instrumental factors on confidence in the police. The paper concludes that instrumental concerns are what residents considered most when it comes to confidence in the police in residential areas in the Sekondi-Takoradi metropolis. More important also, the study showed that the extent of instrumental concerns in the residential areas were contingent on the peculiar criminogenic problems existing in the residential area. The case of Anaji, a middle-income residential area corroborates the above point. The findings, therefore, supports our earlier position that the influential role of instrumental and expressive factors on confidence in the police will vary significantly across the residential areas due to differences in security and local crime problems.

One challenge of the study that needs to be acknowledged was the measurement of perceived disorder. The study used dichotomous response options which seem to be inconsistent with other studies that measured perceived disorder using an additive scale that tapped into various dimensions of perceived disorder including social and physical disorder (see Gibson et al., 2002; Swatt et al., 2013). Despite this limitation, the study provides useful insights for policy and future research. In regard to the former, the study highlights the need for the police to be more effective and responsive to the community in which they serve. One way that the police can address the security problem in most communities will be to embark on community safety audits with community members. This will help in the identification of specific crimes for which people fear, prevalent crimes in the residential areas, locations where crimes are likely to occur and also social groups vulnerable to specific crimes. This exercise can reduce the fear of crime and any associated risk of criminal victimization since the confidence problem is more of an insecurity problem. In addition to this, we recommend periodic police patrol and investment in police infrastructure and service in communities, especially those facing serious criminogenic problems in order to improve police effectiveness and efficiency. Concerning the latter, we recommend replication of this study in other cities in Ghana and in Africa. This will provide a basis to make firm conclusion about the role of instrumental and expressive factors on confidence in the police in Ghana and in other African countries. Further, we recommend that future studies should investigate the relative effects of instrumental and expressive concerns on the different dimensions or indicators of confidence in the police. For instance, it will be interesting to know which aspect of confidence in the police i.e. effectiveness, trust or community engagement is influenced most by instrumental and expressive concerns. This will enrich discussions on confidence in the police by providing knowledge about how instrumental and expressive factors relate to specific aspects of confidence in the police at the community level.

Notes

1. In most societies in Ghana, the household head is normally the male head of the family or household. However for this study, females who happen to be marriage partners of the male head of the household were sampled for the face to face structured interview in the absence of the male head at the time of the survey.

2. An Assemblyman or Assemblywoman is a representative of the local community (i.e. electoral area) in the local governing unit which may be a District, Municipal or Metropolitan Assembly depending on the population size.

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