

# Crime, Social Control & Legitimacy

**Democratization and Legitimacy of Police and Justice:  
Dangerous Transitions?**



Fakulteta za varnostne vede

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1973–2013  
2003–2013



# DEMOCRATIZATION AND LEGITIMACY OF POLICE AND JUSTICE: DANGEROUS TRANSITIONS?

**SYMPOSIUM ON CRIME, SOCIAL CONTROL, AND LEGITIMACY**  
**FACULTY OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND SECURITY, UNIVERSITY OF MARIBOR**  
**LJUBLJANA**  
**23 SEPTEMBER 2013**  
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# Defining and Measuring Legitimacy

## Legitimacy as

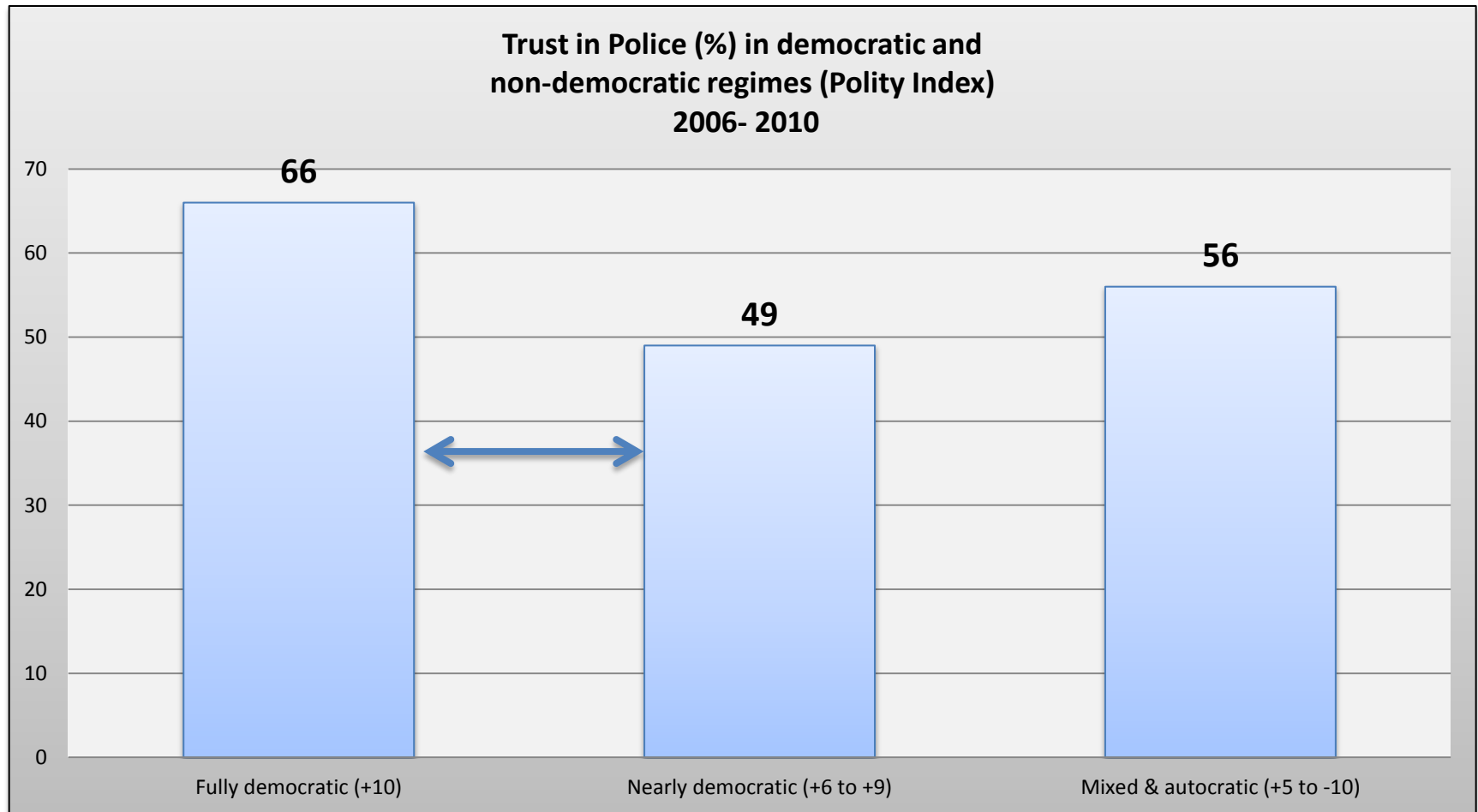
- **process of justification**: motivational and interactive determinants that generate legitimacy
- **outcome as 'justified'**: acceptance of decisions and compliance with rules, trust and confidence in authorities

## Legitimacy as attitudinal outcome

- **Confidence in institutions**: expectations as to the future performance of authorities, of what they are obliged to do, and what is justifiable what they should do, and what can be rightly expected from them.
- **Measurement**: confidence in police and the justice system (World Value Survey; European Social Value Survey/ European Social Survey)

**Start:**

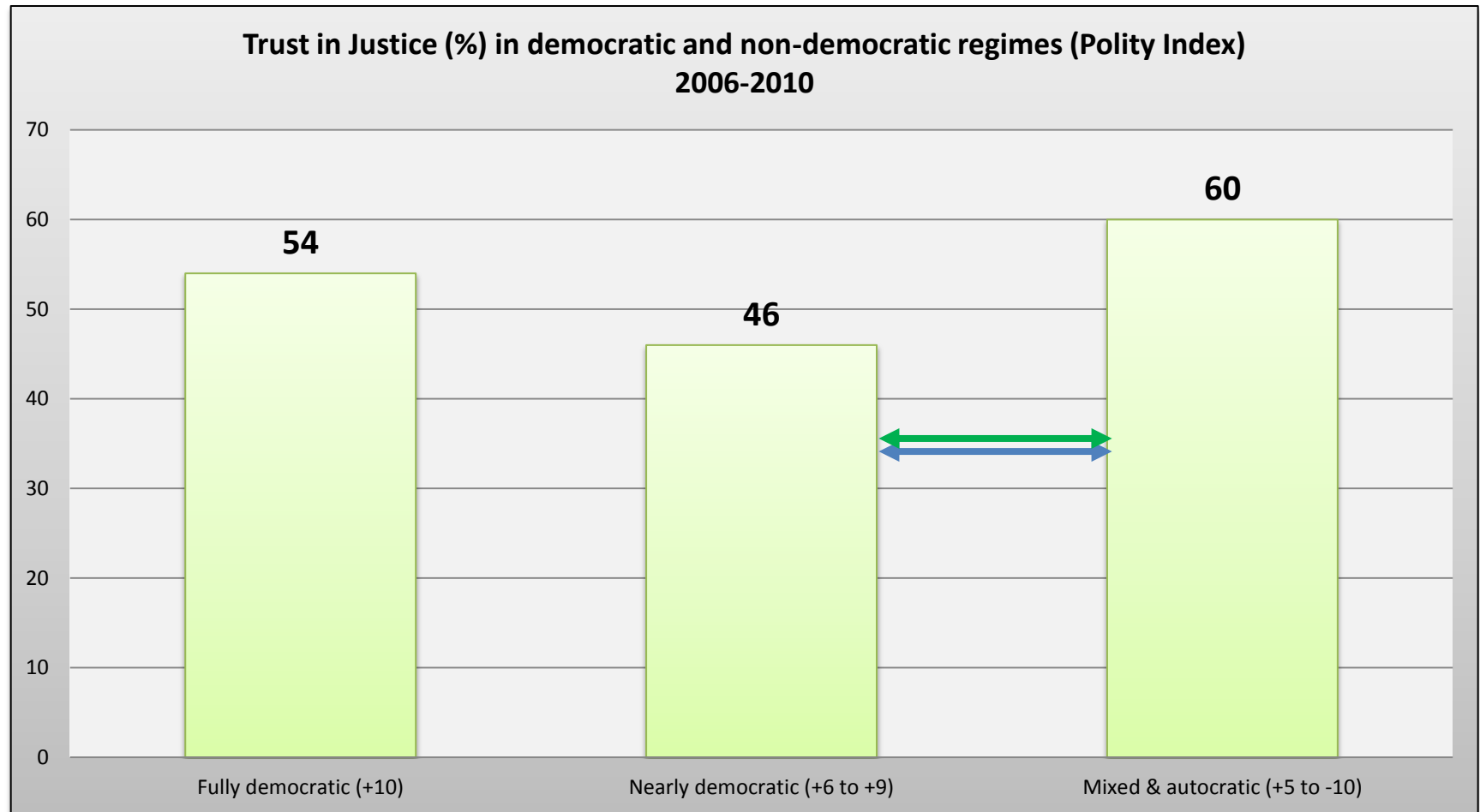
# Police legitimacy in democratic and non-democratic regimes 2006 – 2010 (Polity Index 2004 - 08, global)



$F(2,72)=7.75, p < .05$ ;  $\longleftrightarrow$  difference significant

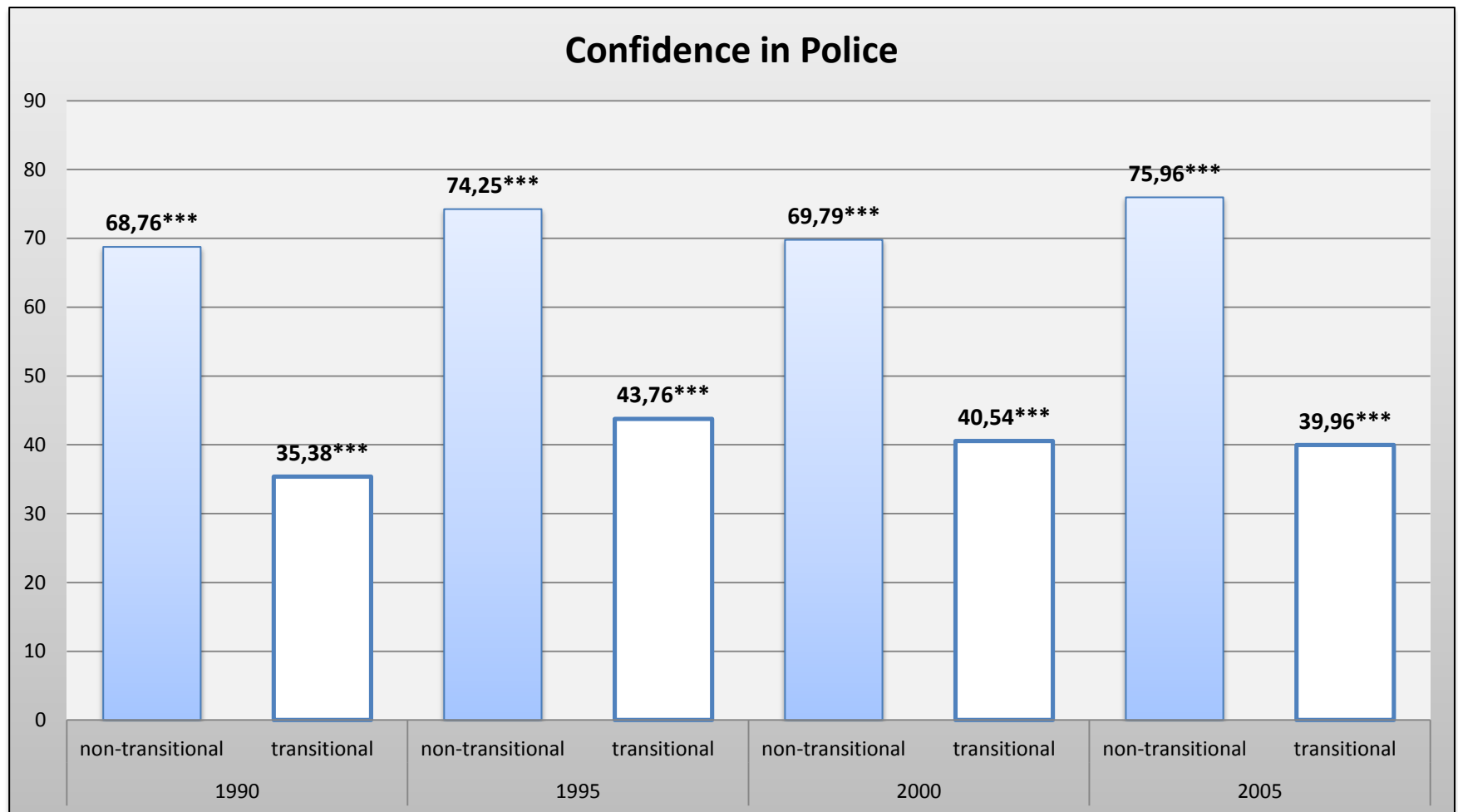
**Start:**

# Justice legitimacy in democratic and non-democratic regimes 2006 – 2010 (Polity Index 2004 - 08, global)



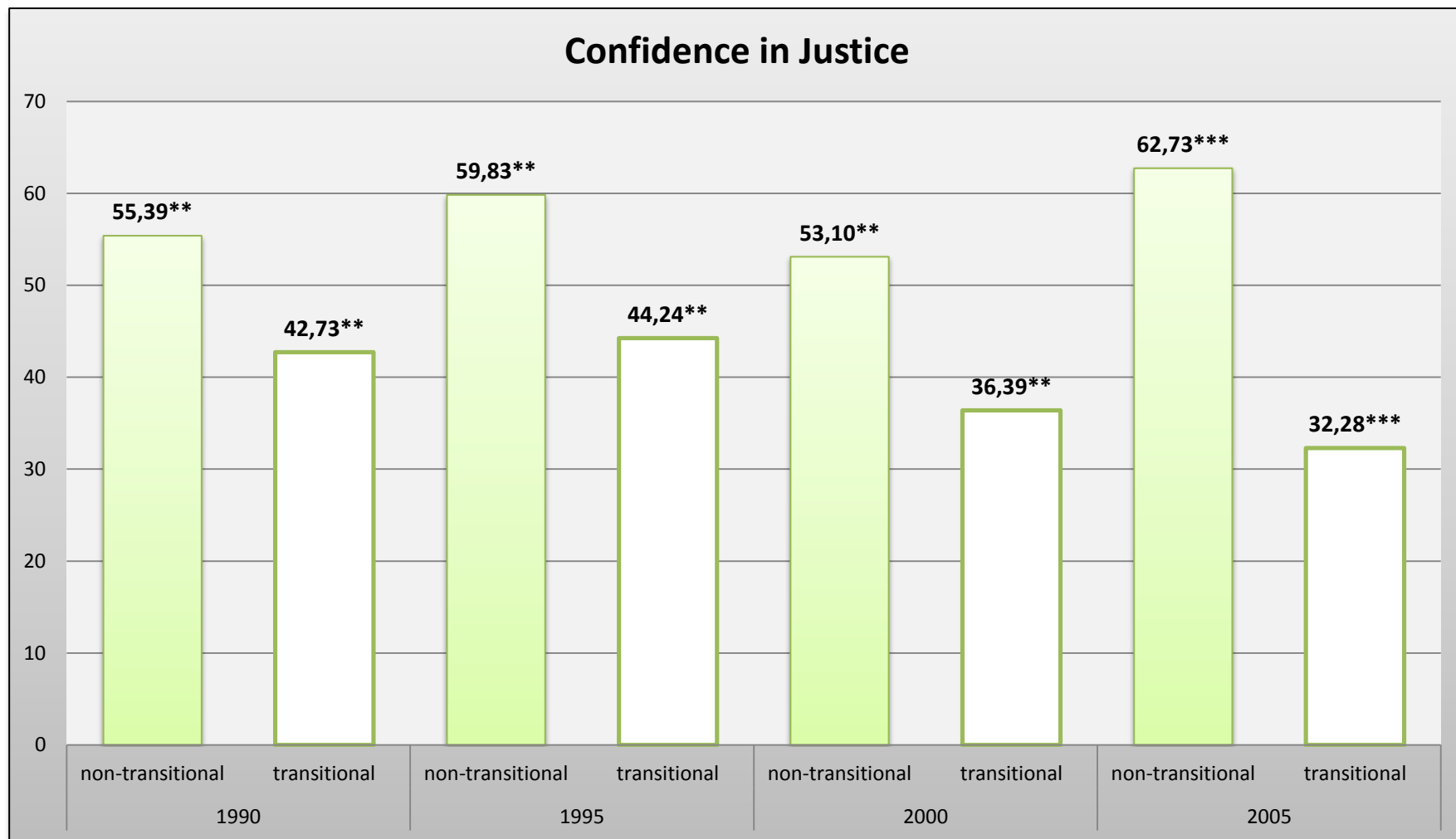
$F(2,71)=3.56, p < .05$ ; difference significance

# Confidence in Police since 1990: Transitional and non-transitional countries



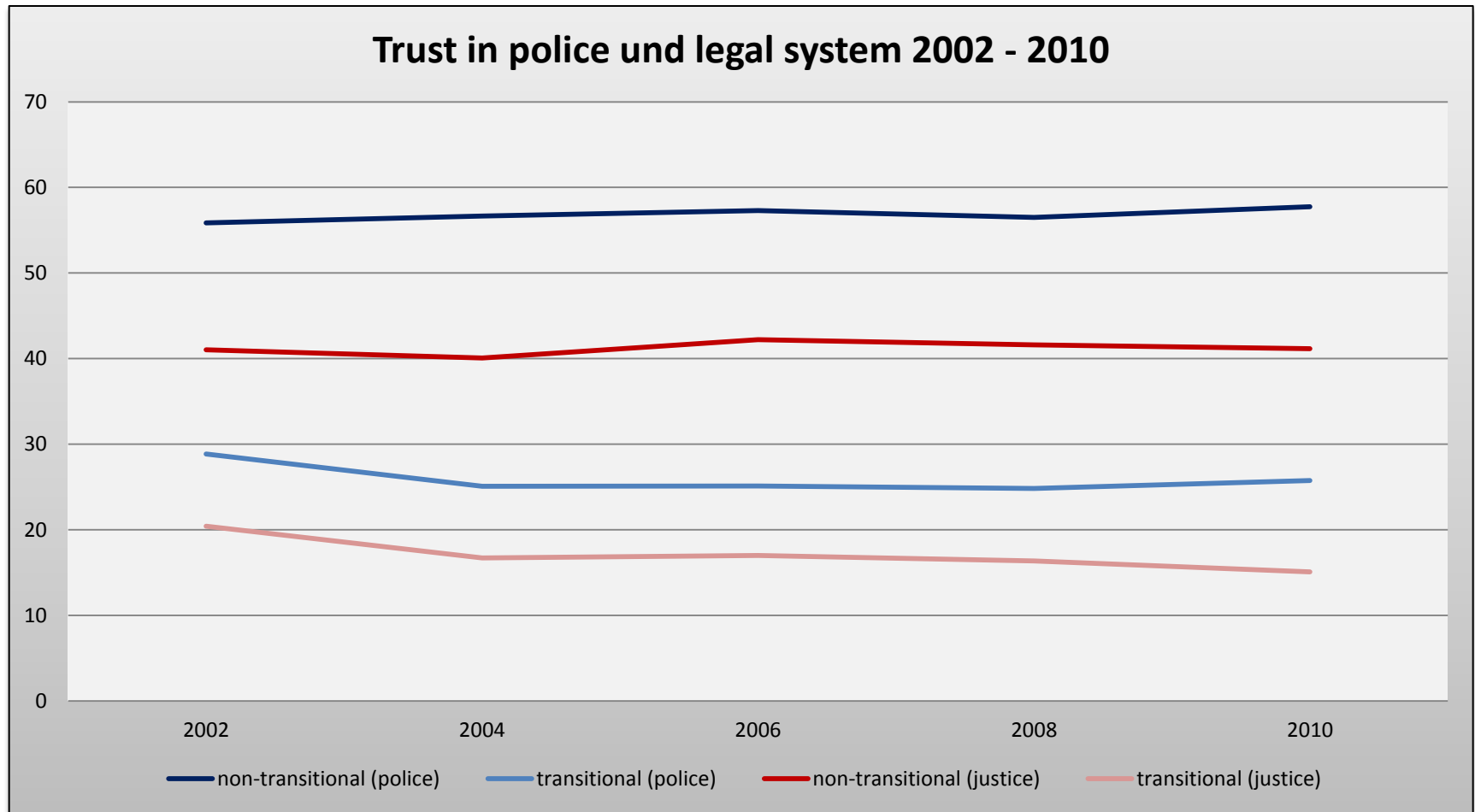
% a great deal/ quite a lot, World Value Survey 1990 - 2005

# Confidence in Justice since 1990: Transitional and non-transitional countries



% a great deal/ quite a lot, World Value Survey 1990 - 2005

# Confidence in police and legal system 2002 – 2010



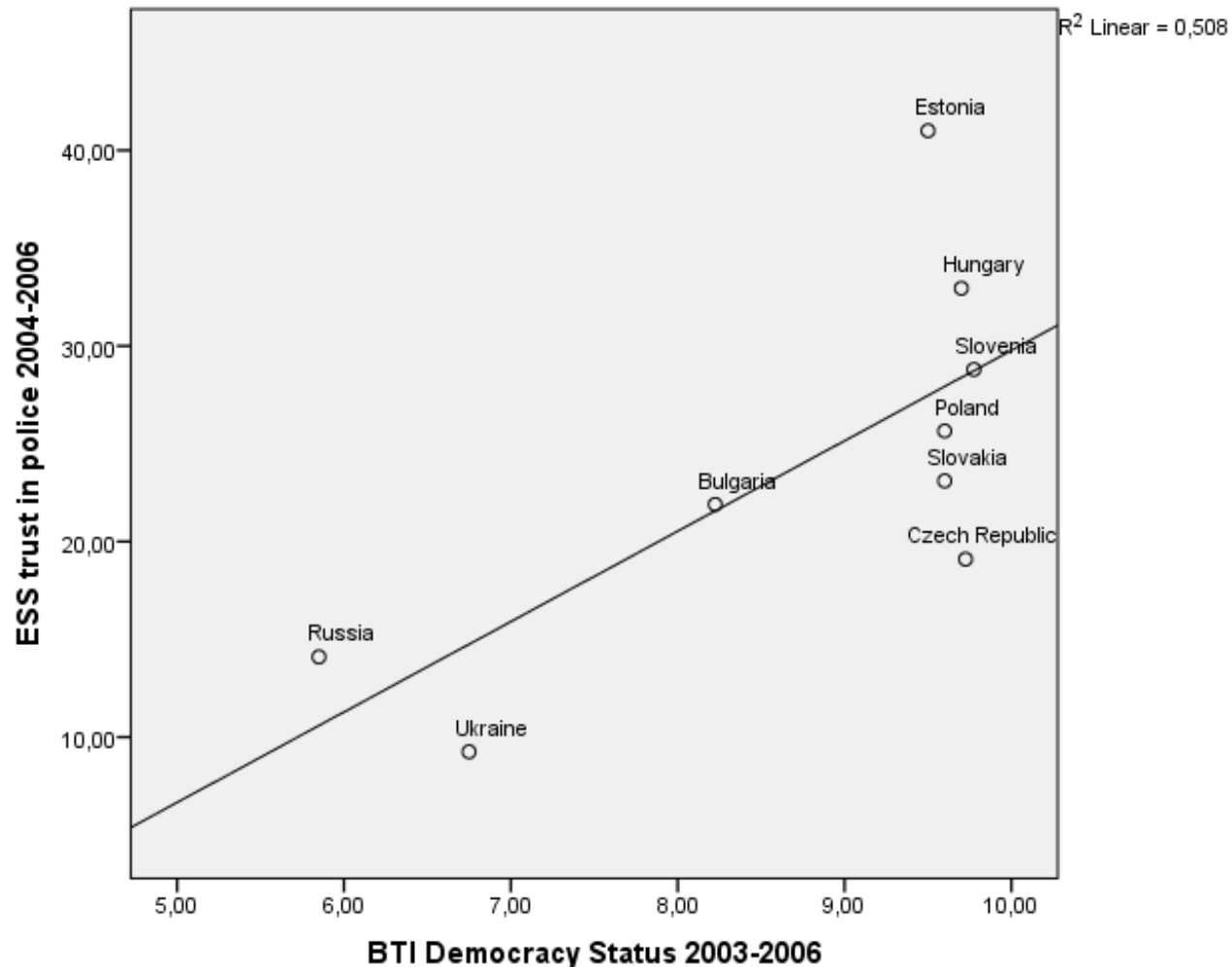
% 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; Bertelsmann Transition Index

# Measuring Transitions: Bertelsmann Transformation Index

## Transition to Democracy – Democracy Status

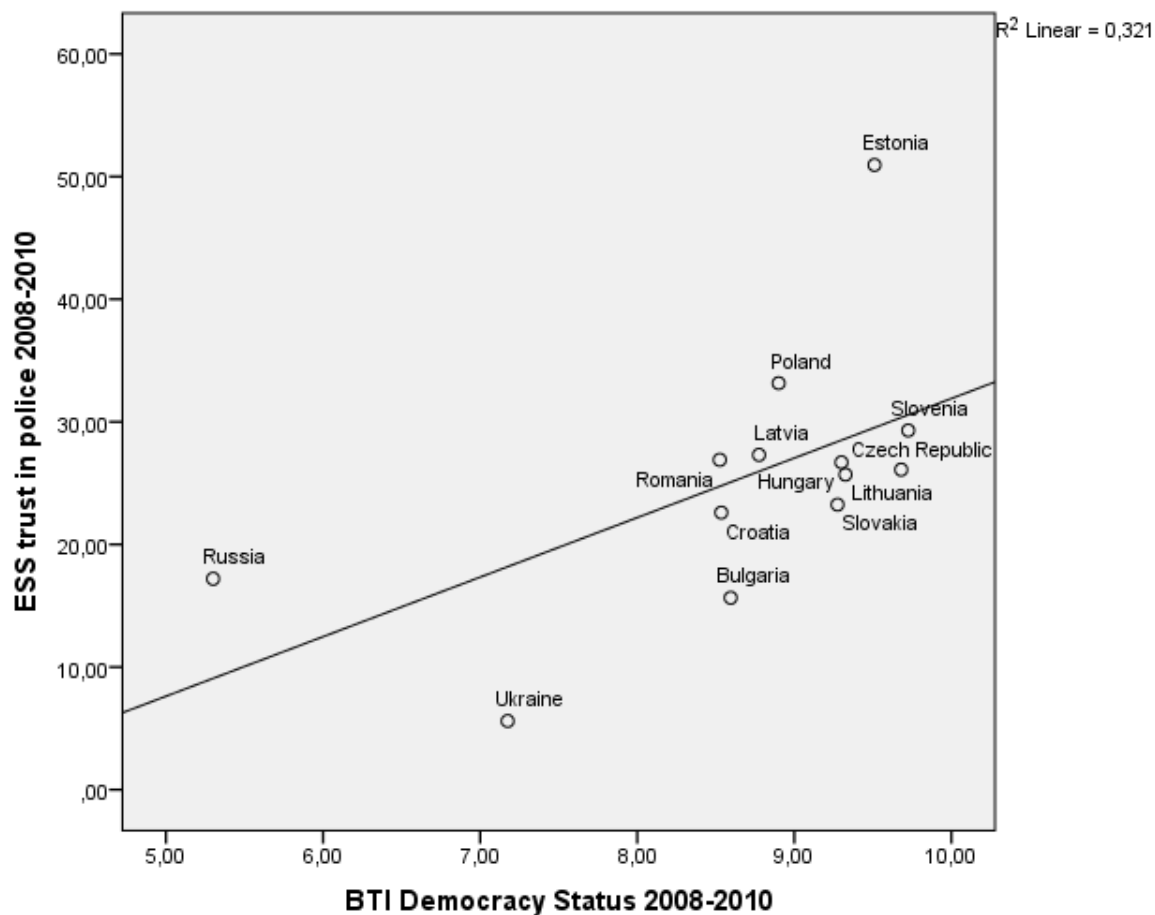
- **Stability of democratic institutions:** Democratic institutions are capable of performing, and they are adequately accepted
- **Rule of Law:** State powers check and balance one another and ensure civil rights
- **Political Participation:** The populace decides who rules, and it has other political freedoms
- **Political and Social Integration:** Stable patterns of representation exist for mediating between society and the state; there is also a consolidated civic culture

# Transitions: Democratic Development and Trust in Police 2004 – 2006



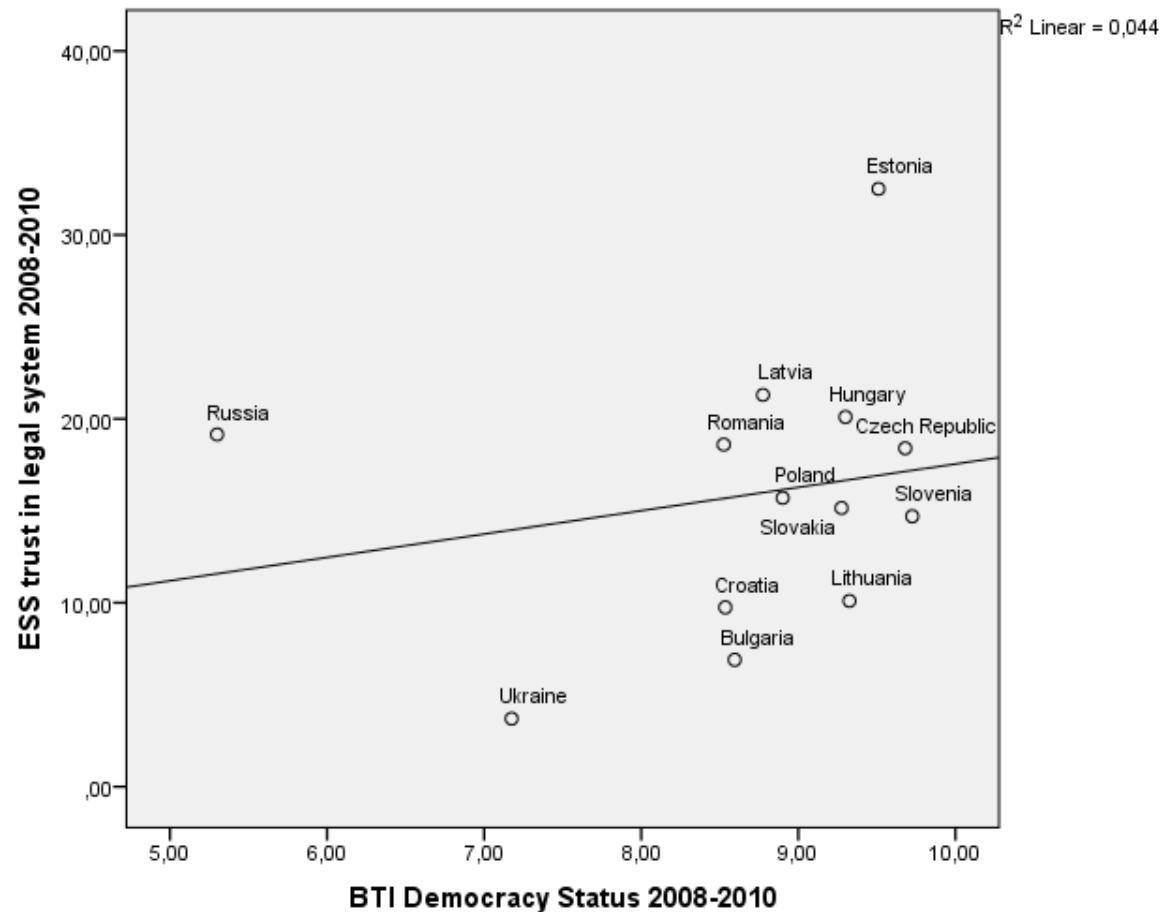
Note:  $R^2=.51$ ;  $p < .05$ ; % 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey ; BTI

# Transitions: Democratic Development and Trust in Police 2008 – 2010



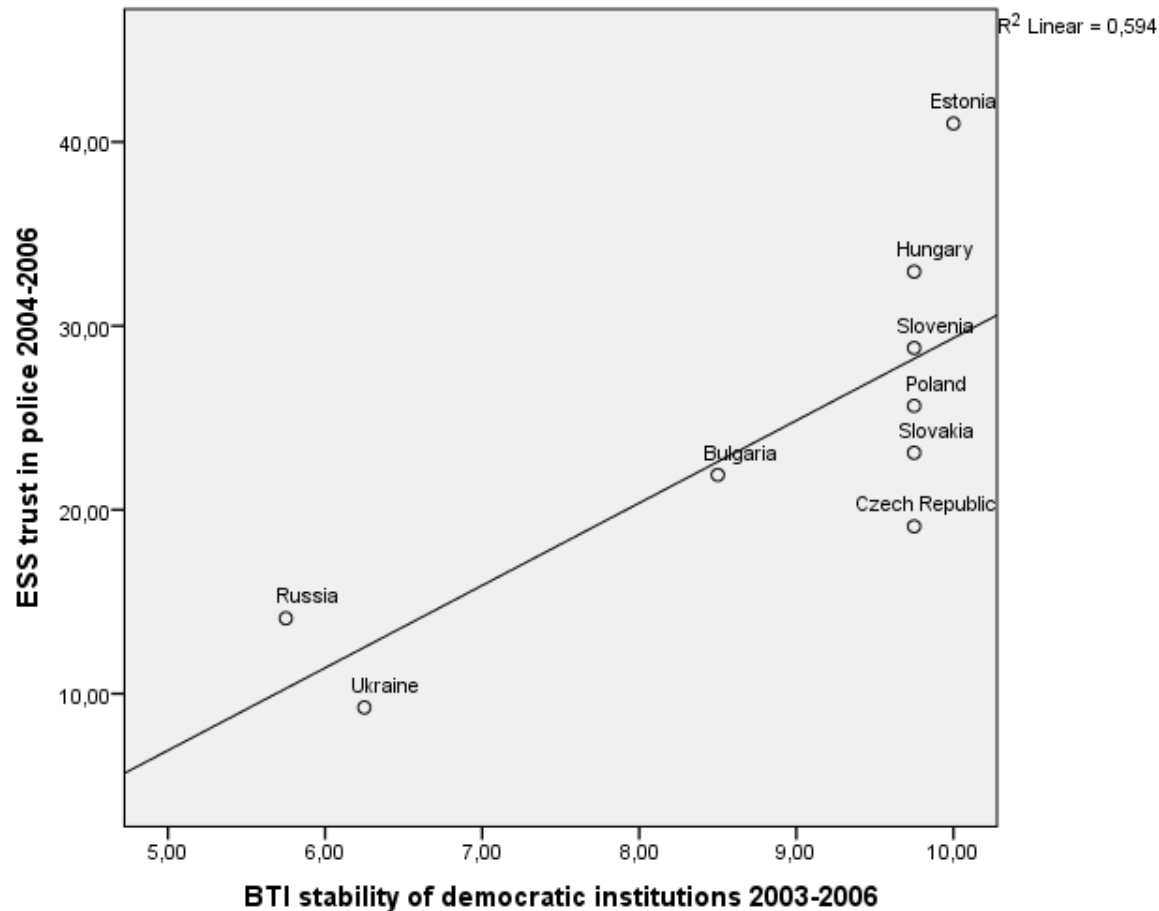
Note:  $R^2=.32$ ;  $p<.05$ ; % 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; BTI

# Transitions: Democratic Development and Trust in Justice 2008 – 2010



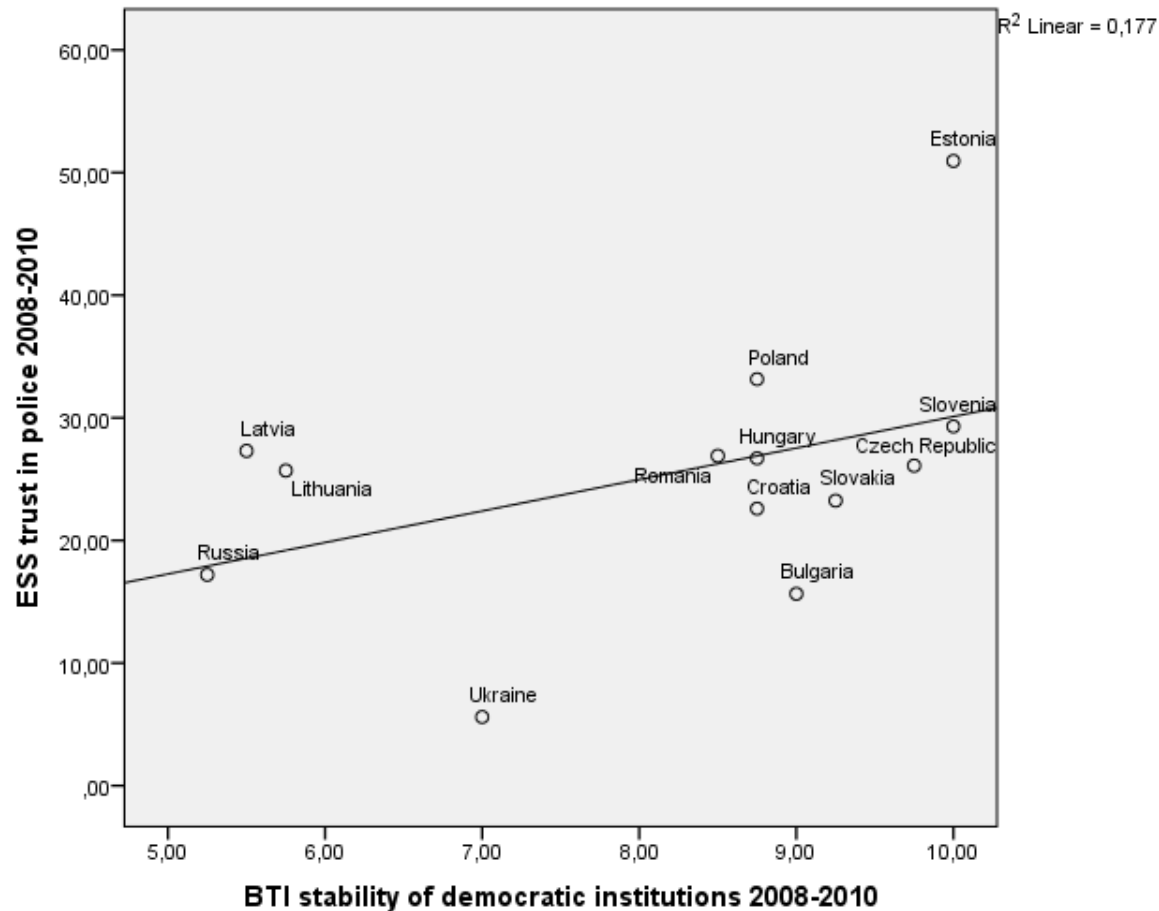
Note:  $R^2=.04$ ;  $p=n.s.$ ; % 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; BTI

# Transitions: Development of Democratic Institutions and Trust in Police 2004 – 2006



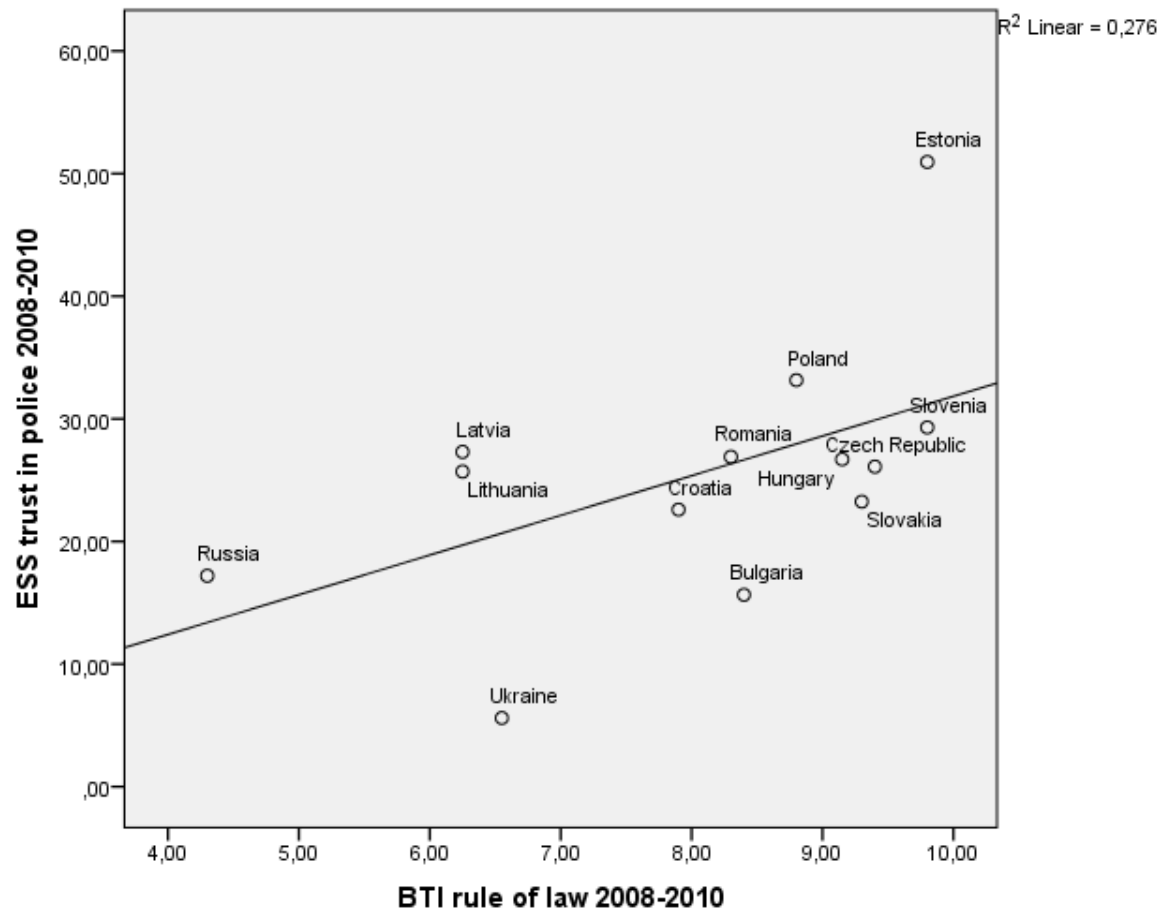
Note:  $R^2=.59$ ;  $p<.05$ ; % 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; BTI

# Transitions: Development of Democratic Institutions and Trust in Police 2008 – 2010



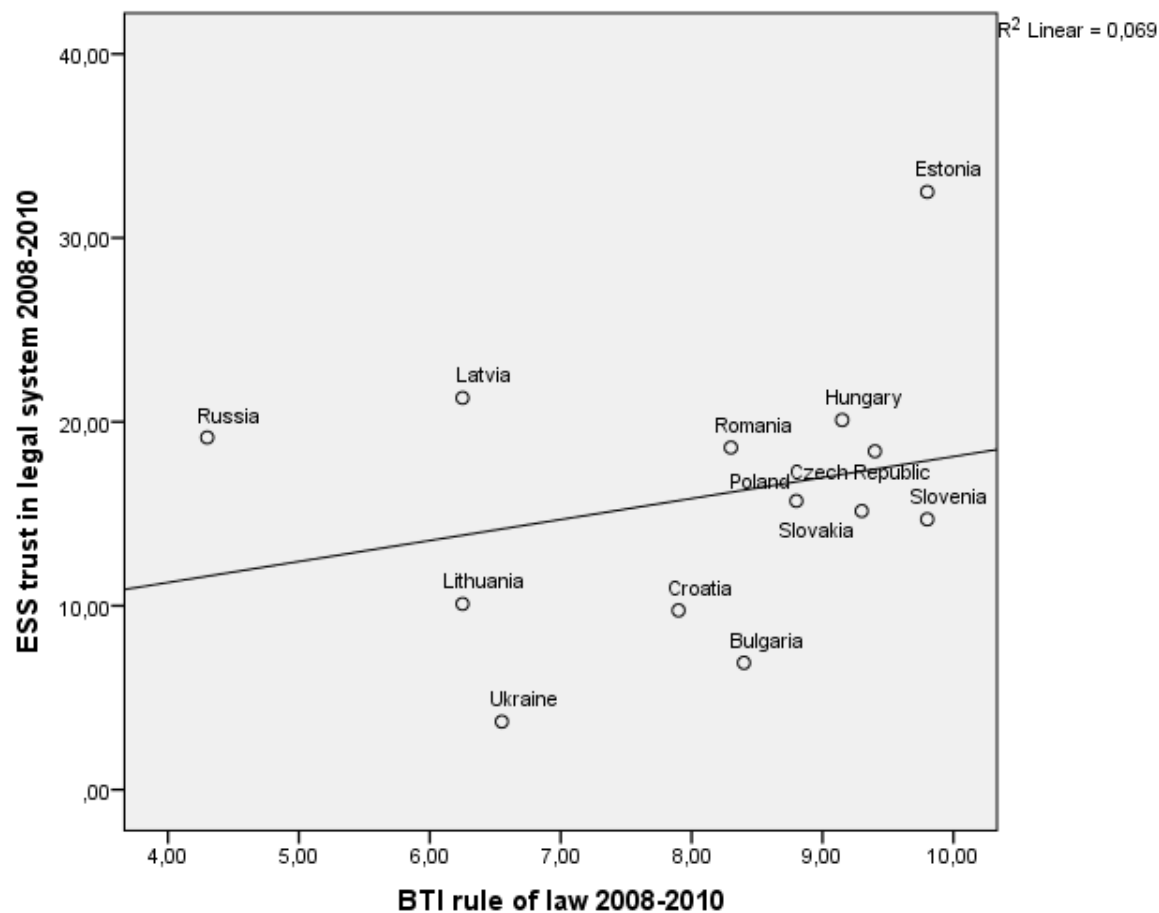
Note:  $R^2=.18$ ;  $p=n.s.$ ; % 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; BTI

# Transitions: Rule of Law Development and Trust in Police 2008 – 2010



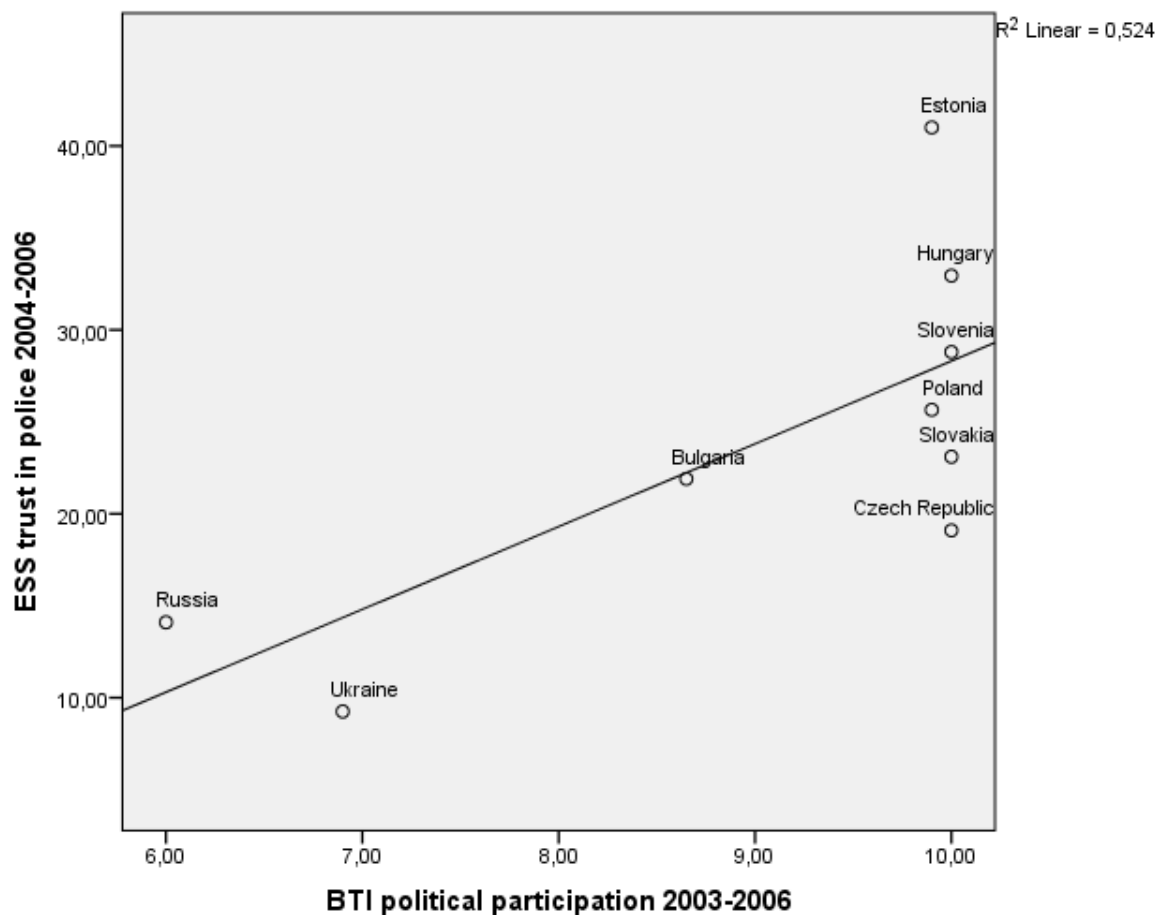
Note:  $R^2=.28$ ;  $p<.10$ ; % 7 – 10 (complete trust); BTI

# Transitions: Rule of Law Development and Trust in Justice 2008 – 2010



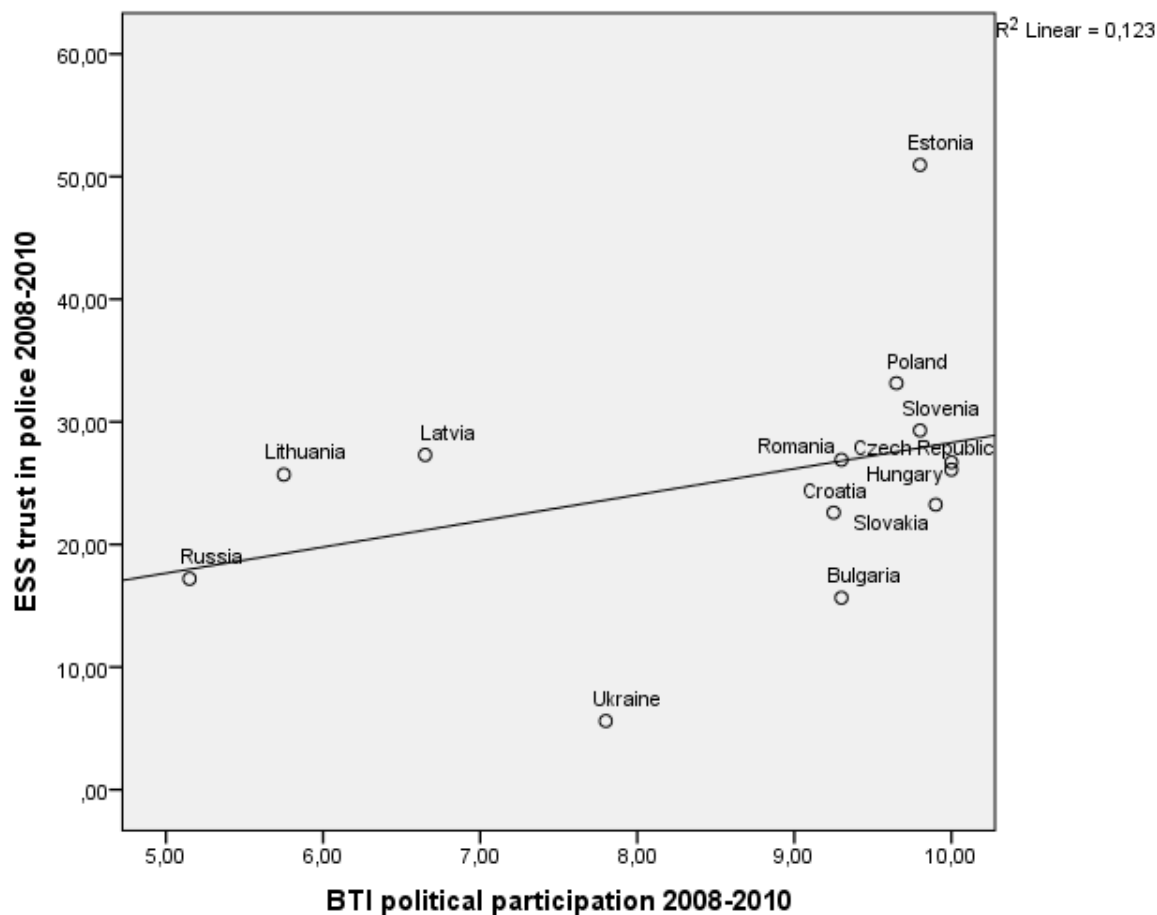
Note:  $R^2=.07$ ;  $p=n.s.$ ; % 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; BTI

# Transitions: Political Participation and Trust in Police 2004 – 2006



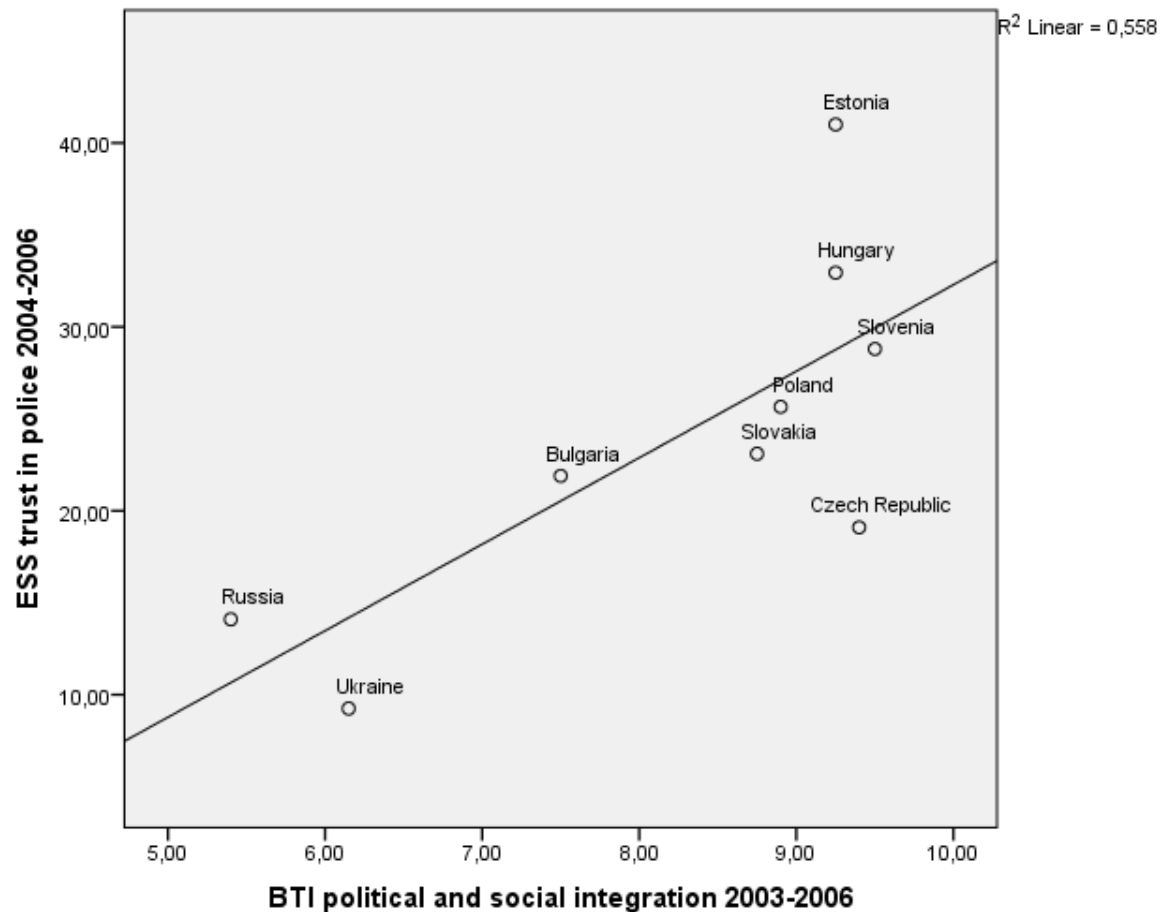
Note:  $R^2=.52$ ;  $p < .05$ ; % 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; BTI

# Transitions: Political Participation and Trust in Police 2008 – 2010



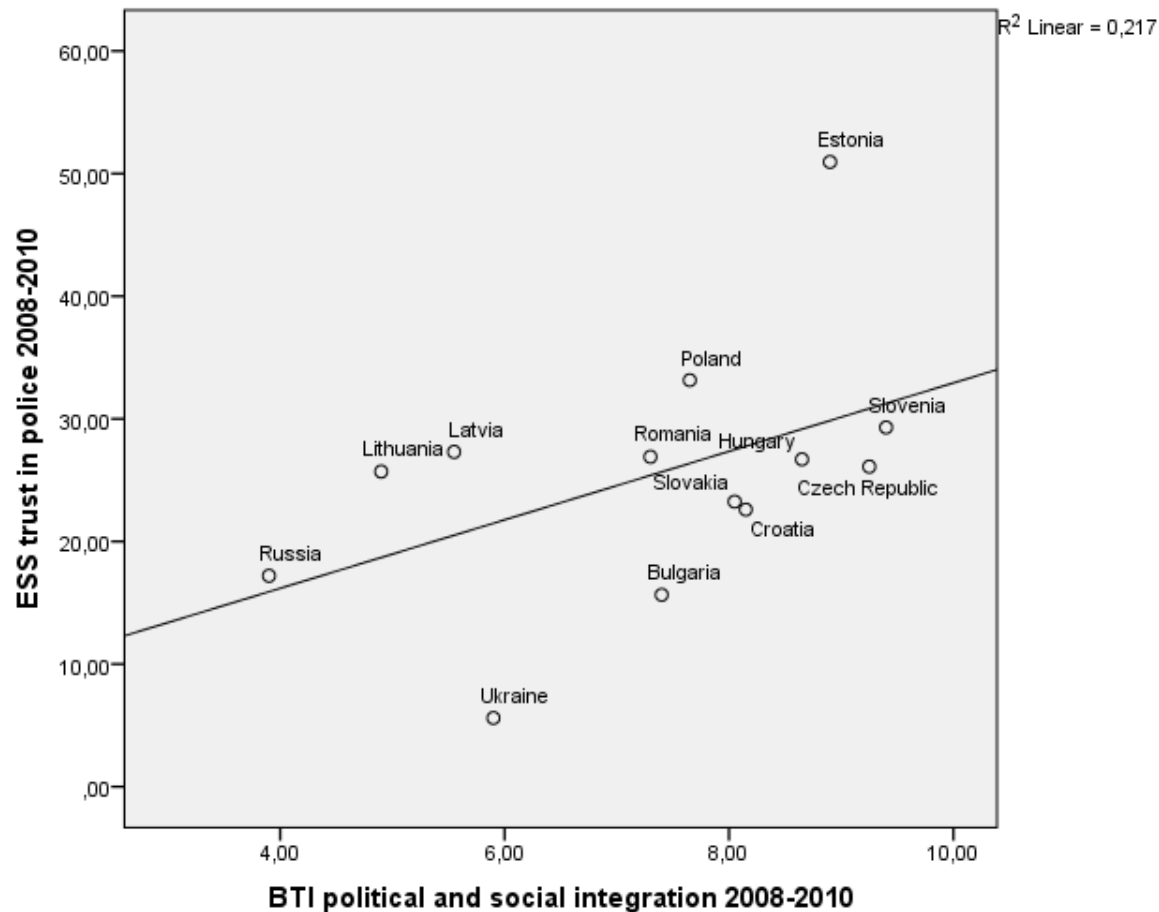
Note:  $R^2=.12$ ;  $p=n.s.$ ; % 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; BTI

# Transitions: Political and Social Integration and Trust in Police 2004 – 2006



Note:  $R^2=.56$ ;  $p < .05$ ; % 7 – 10 (complete trust); BTI

# Transitions: Political and Social Integration and Trust in Police 2008 – 2010



Note:  $R^2 = .22$ ;  $p < .10$ ; % 7 – 10 (complete trust); BTI

# Affecting Legitimacy:

## Efficiency, Fairness and State Repression/ Violence

**Efficiency of police and criminal justice system:** successful in combating crime violent crime

□ Proxy: **Homicide Rate**

**Fairness:** Fairness and impartiality of decision making :

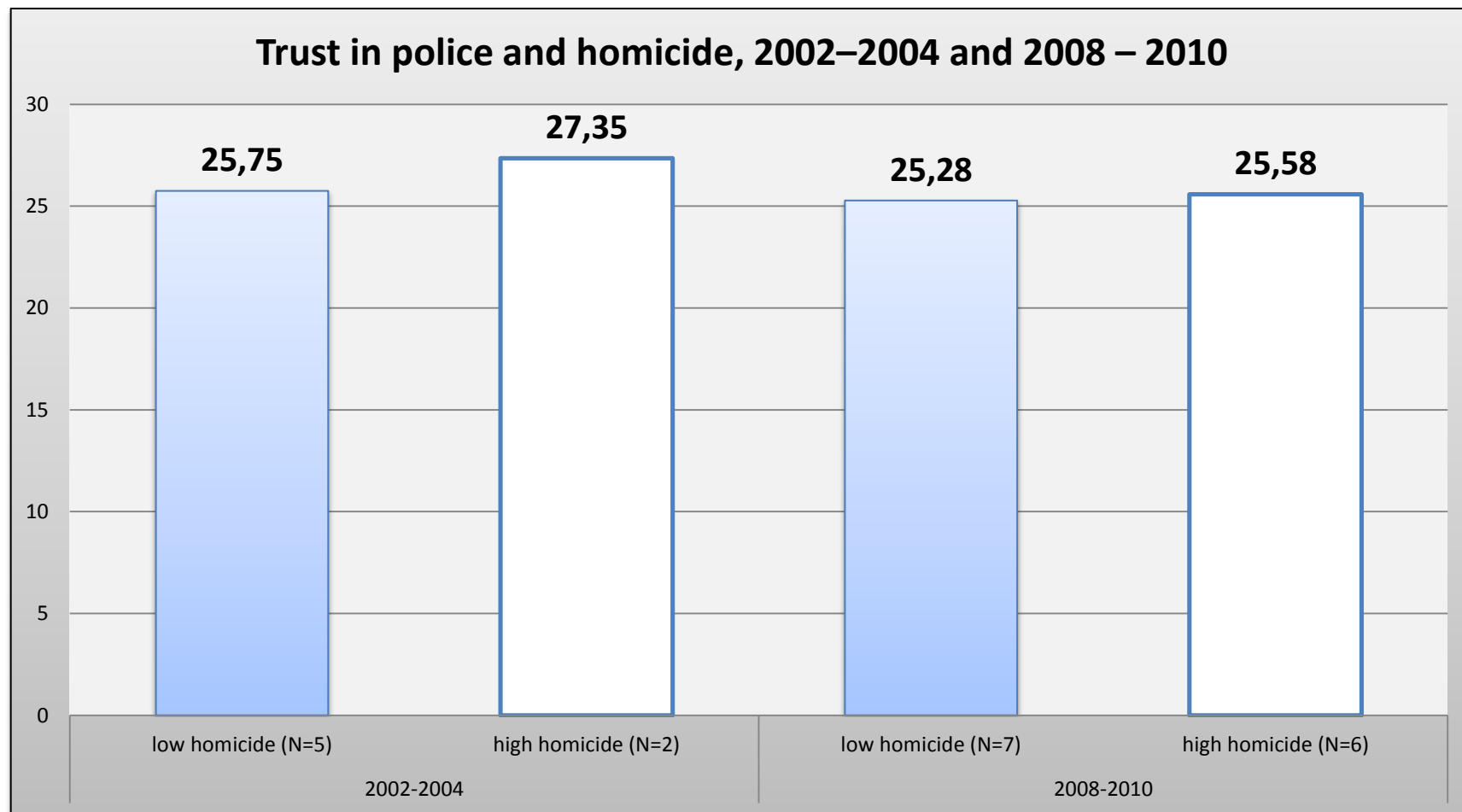
□ Proxy: **Control of Corruption** - Corruption Perception Index (Transparency International)

**Repression and coercion:** use of repressive and coercive measures by the state/ government

□ Proxy: **Political Terror Scale** (US State Department Country Reports and Amnesty International, combined) : State-sanctioned / unlawful killings, disappearances, torture and political imprisonment.

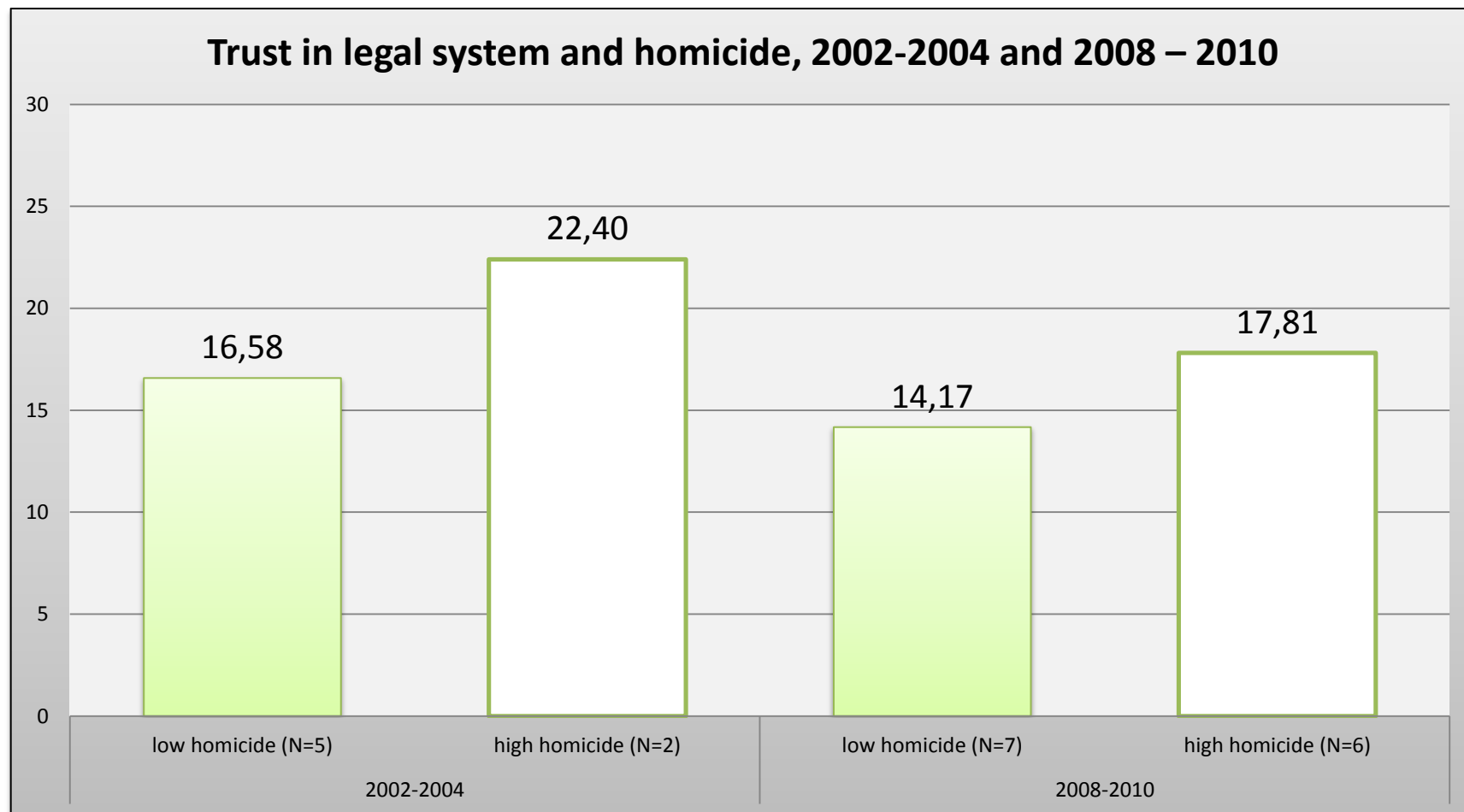
**High/Low** = above/ below the median

# European Transition Countries: Efficiency and Trust in Police 2002/04 and 2008/10



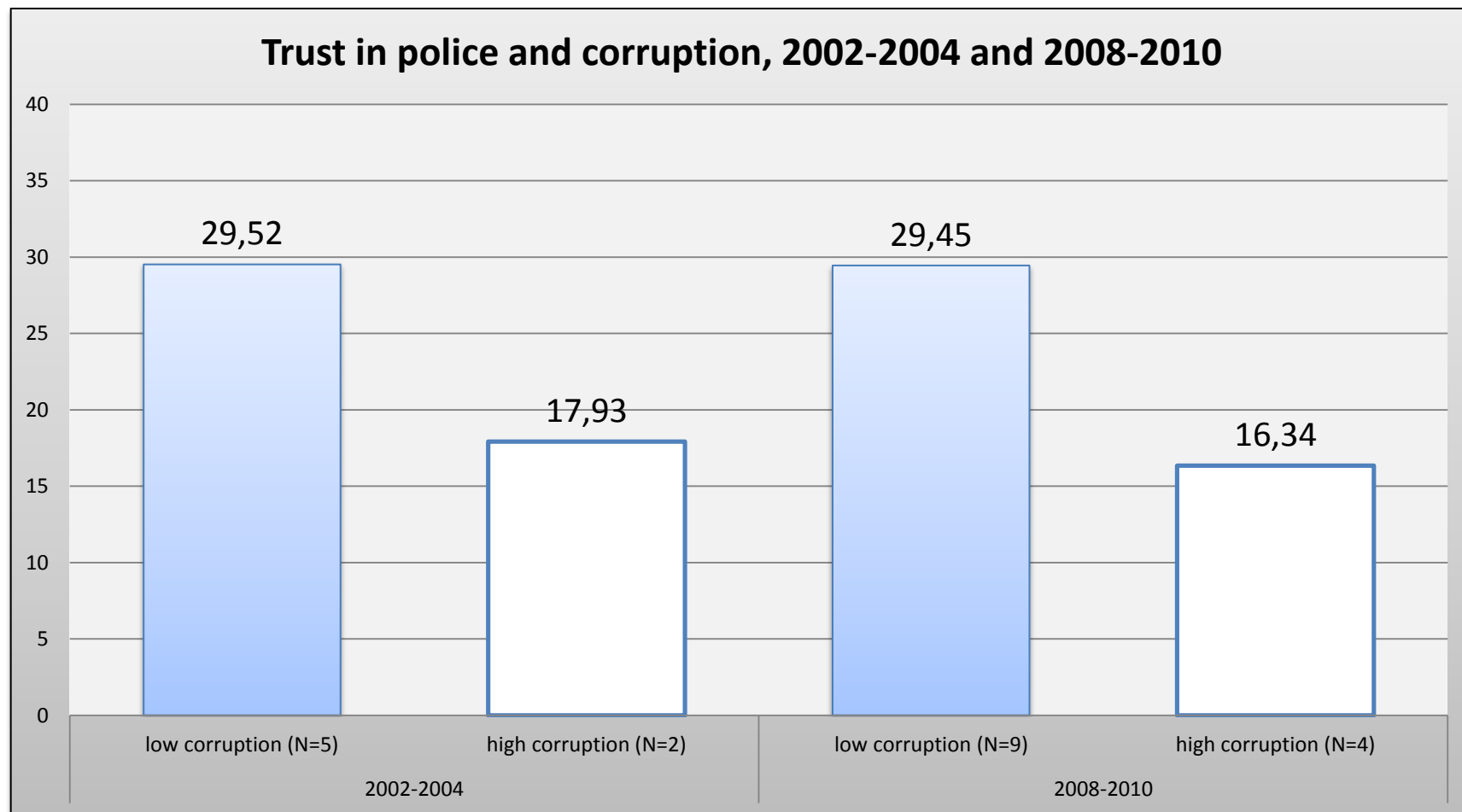
% 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; WHO:  
Homicide data

# European Transition Countries: Efficiency and Trust in Justice 2002/04 and 2008/10



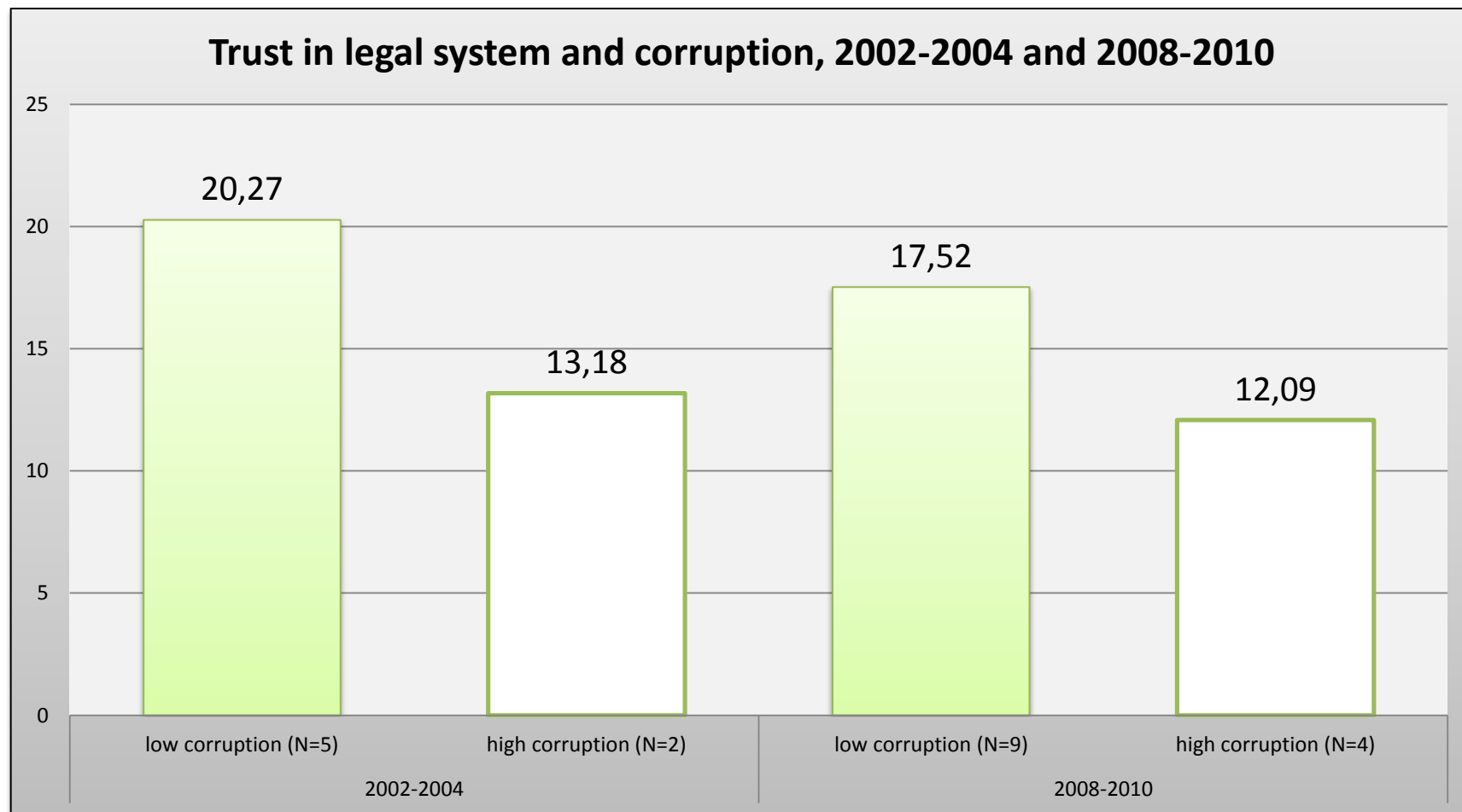
% 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; WHO:  
Homicide

# European Transition Countries: Fairness and Trust in Police 2002/04 and 2008/10



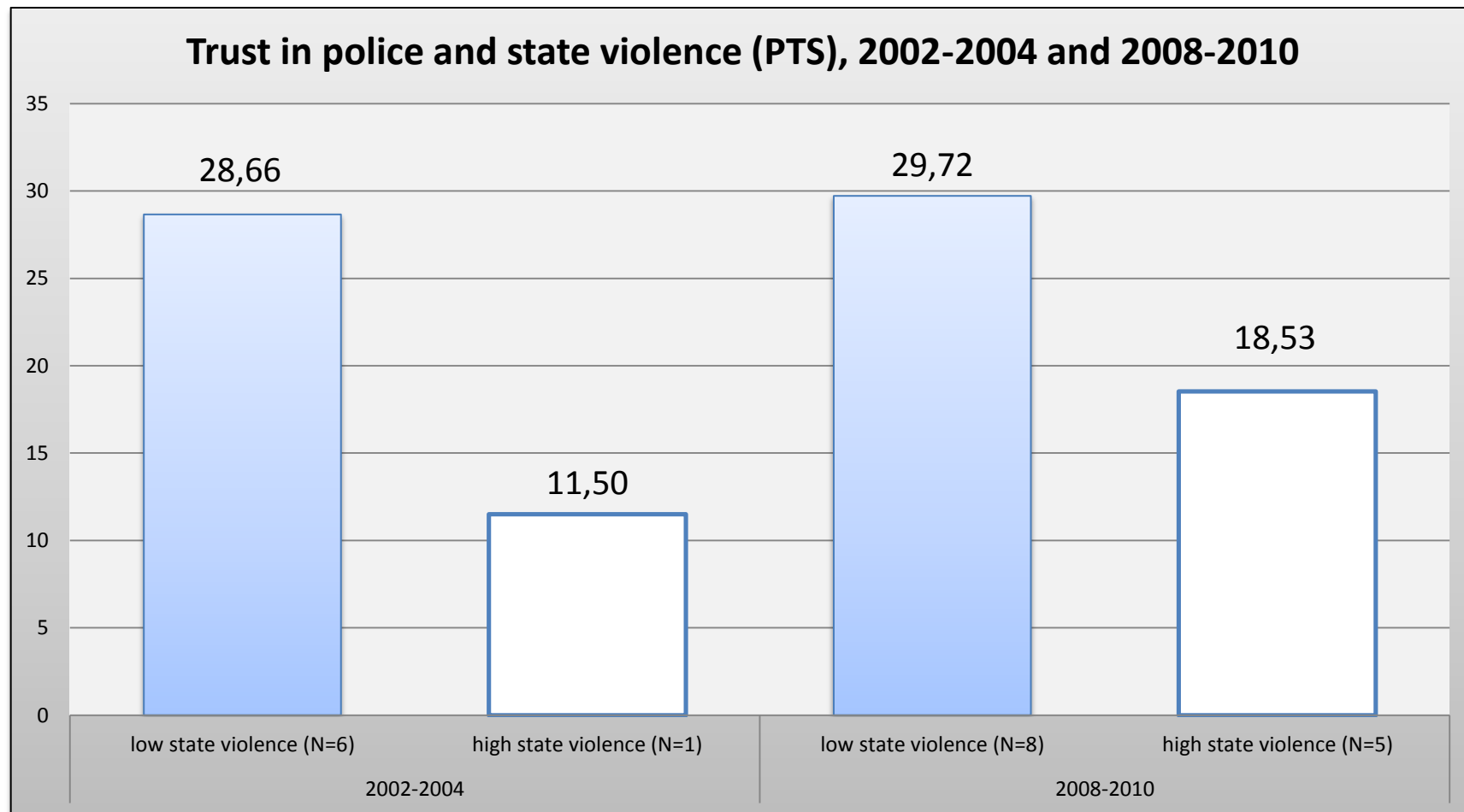
% 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; Corruption Perception Index,  
Transparency International

# European Transition Countries: Fairness and Trust in Justice 2002/04 and 2008/10



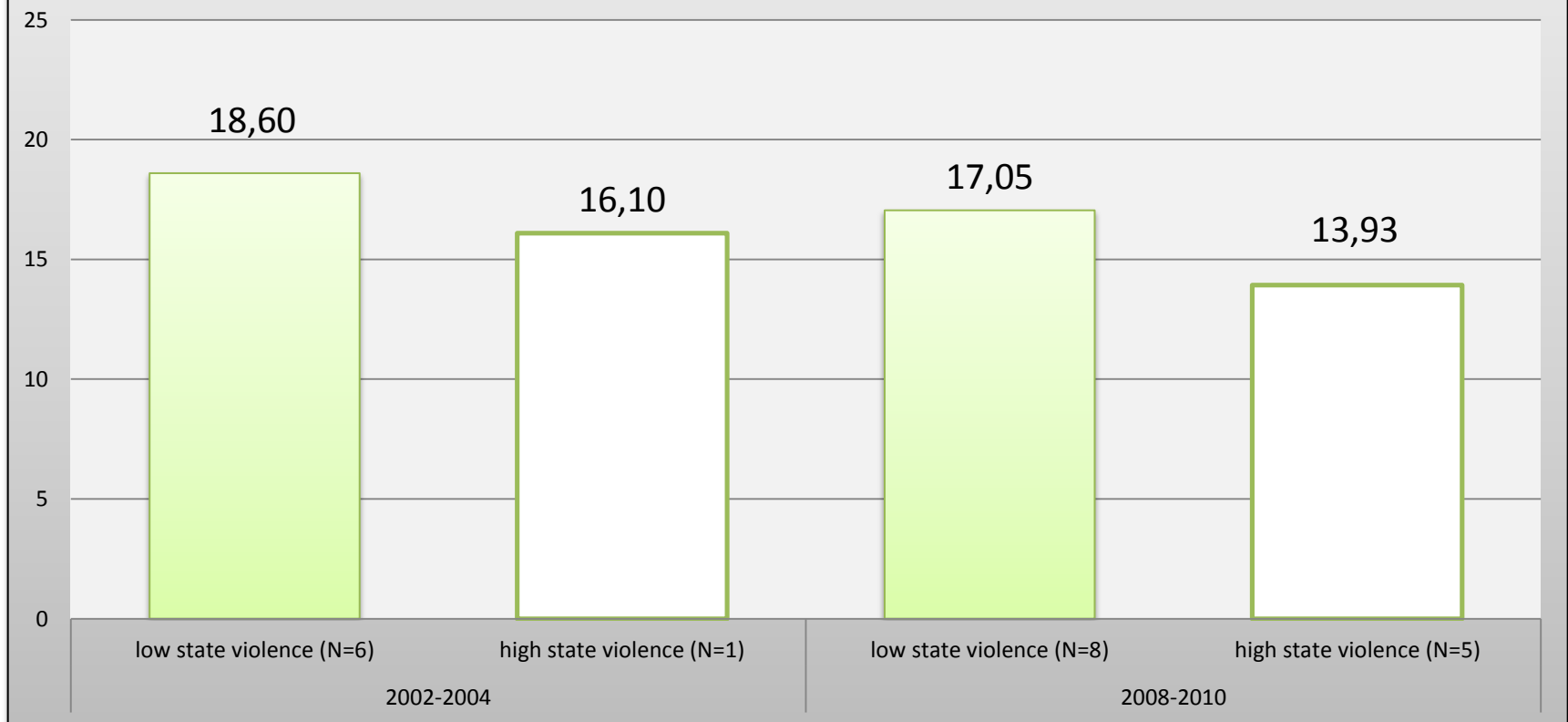
% 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; Corruption Perception Index,  
Transparency International

# European Transition Countries: Repression/ State Violence and Trust in Police 2002/04 and 2008/10



% 7 – 10 (complete trust); European Social Survey; Political Terror Scale

## Trust in legal system and state violence (PTS), 2002-2004 and 2008-2010



% 7 – 10 (complete trust); Political Terror Scale

- 
- I thank Stephanie Moldenhauer, University of Osnabrück for Data collection, analysis and graphic design

# Countries

## Non-transitional Countries

Austria (AUS)  
Belgium (BEG)  
Denmark (DEN)  
Finland (FIN)  
France (FRA)  
Germany (GER)  
Greece (GRE)  
Iceland (ICE)  
Ireland (IRE)  
Italy (ITA)  
Luxembourg (LUX)  
Malta (MAT)  
Netherlands (NET)  
Norway (NOR)  
Portugal (POR)  
Spain (ESP)  
Sweden (SWE)  
Switzerland (CH)  
United Kingdom (UK)

N=19

## Transitional Countries

Albania (ALB)  
Belarus (BEL)  
Bulgaria (BUL)  
Croatia (CRO)  
Czech Republic (CZR)  
Estonia (EST)  
Georgia (GEO)  
Hungary (HUN)  
Kyrgyzstan (KYR)  
Latvia (LAT)  
Lithuania (LIT)  
Moldova (MOL)  
Poland (POL)  
Romania (ROM)  
Russia (RUS)  
Slovakia (SLK)  
Slovenia (SLV)  
Ukraine (UKR)

N=18

# Classification of countries

## Polity Index 2004 – 2008

Country	Polity 04-08
<b>Albania</b>	Nearly democratic
<b>Austria</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Belarus</b>	Autocratic
<b>Belgium</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Bulgaria</b>	Nearly democratic
<b>Croatia</b>	Nearly democratic
<b>Czech Republ</b>	Nearly democratic
<b>Denmark</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Estonia</b>	Nearly democratic
<b>Finland</b>	Fully democratic
<b>France</b>	Nearly democratic
<b>Georgia</b>	Nearly democratic

Country	Polity 04-08
<b>Germany</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Greece</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Hungary</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Iceland</b>	
<b>Ireland</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Czech Republic</b>	Nearly democratic
<b>Italy</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Latvia</b>	Nearly democratic
<b>Lithuania</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Luxembourg</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Malta</b>	
<b>Moldova</b>	Nearly democratic

Country	Polity 04-08
<b>Netherlands</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Norway</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Poland</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Portugal</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Romania</b>	Nearly democratic
<b>Russia</b>	Nearly democratic
<b>Slovakia</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Slovenia</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Spain</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Sweden</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Switzerland</b>	Fully democratic
<b>Ukraine</b>	Nearly democratic
<b>United Kingdom</b>	Fully democratic