



Matti Vuorensyrjä & Jenita Rauta (eds.)

The Police and the Public

In-Depth Essays Based on
Police Barometer Survey Data, Vol. 2

Police University College Studies 50

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Summary

The Police and the Public. In-Depth Essays Based on Police Barometer Survey Data, Vol. 2

The first volume of *The Police and the Public* was published by the Police University College about a year ago. The second volume—the book at hand—provides three additional scholarly articles on the themata. The articles are based on the Police Barometer Survey (PBS) data from 2022, same as the articles in the first volume.

The PBS is a citizen survey that targets the adult population (15–75) living in mainland Finland. The data are based on stratified random sampling and a combination of web-based and traditional surface mail surveys, and cover topics such as citizens' trust in the operation of the police, legitimacy of the police, personal victimization of the survey respondents, and crime reporting decisions by the respondents. The sample size in 2022 was 8,500, with a fairly good response rate (47.6%, N = 4,044).

From 2022 on, the PBS project has been conducted in cooperation by the Ministry of the Interior (coordination, planning, funding), the Police University College (planning, analysis, reporting), and Statistics Finland (sampling and data gathering processes, data weights). The sampling and data gathering processes as well as the details of data have been comprehensively described in the standard report by the Ministry of the Interior (2023, pp. 31–44), in addition to which each individual article in this book provides the reader with description of their own data subset. We do not, therefore, revisit the data in these introductory notes.

Distrust in the Operation of the Police among Victims of Violent Crime and Sexual Offences

The first essay of the book addresses distrust in the operation of the police among victims of violent crime, sexual harassment, and sexual assault. The first impulse and incentive to the study was formed by the Ministry of the Interior's (2023) earlier findings. According to Ministry's findings, in many cases, for some reason or other, trust in the operation of the police seemed to have been damaged among victims of violent and sexual crimes.

Using the same qualitative data as the Ministry of the Interior (2023), and in-depth content analysis, the authors made an effort to understand the victims. Why, exactly, victims' trust in the operation of the police has been diminished? Are the experiences of disappointment and distrust among victims of violent crime similar to those of victims of sexual offence? If not, what differentiates between the two groups of victims?

These are small "pockets of distrust" in terms of the number of people affected, but the effect size, qualitatively considered, is strong. Of all respondents who answered the open-ended question on trust in the police in the PBS 2022, 31/2,302 (1.3% of the 2,302 respondents who gave their open-ended answers) raised up the issue of sexual offence victimization, and 38/2,302 (1.7%) the issue of violent crime victimization. In almost all of these cases, encounters with the criminal-legal system had been negative in nature, with only a few neutral encounters in the mix. In many of these cases, trust in the police had been seriously damaged.

Two broad categories of propositions were found from the relevant text records. In the authors' vocabulary, the first was "perceived ineffectiveness of the police." The victims thought that they didn't actually get the help they deserved from the police. The case was left uninvestigated and/or uncleared.

The second category had to do with "perceived procedural injustice of the police." In these cases, the victims thought that the behavior of the police in handling the case had been somehow inappropriate; ignoring the victim's side of the story, or disparaging or belittling towards the victim, or blaming the victim her- or himself for the incident.

While both kinds of propositions were detected among both kinds of victims, the ideas related to ineffectiveness of the police (procedural injustice of the police) were more common among victims of violent crime (sexual offence) than among victims of sexual offence (violent crime).

The authors further noticed that there is a common denominator to victims' experiences in both of these two categories of crime, whether they referred to ineffectiveness or to procedural injustice of the police. The experiences had raised profound feelings of injustice among the victims.

Against All Odds: Why Citizens' Trust in the Police Withstood the Aarnio Malfeasance Case?

The Aarnio malfeasance case may well have been the most serious police corruption case in the history of Finland. Detective Chief Inspector Jari Aarnio, formerly the head of the narcotics crime squad of the Helsinki police district, was charged with and convicted for several serious crimes, including aggravated abuse of public office, aggravated fraud, and aggravated acceptance of a bribe. It took ten years to close the series of related cases—the Trevoc case, the barrel case, the Volkan Ünsal case—in district, appeal, and supreme courts, during 2013–2023. The news coverage in the Finnish press was unprecedented. Surprisingly, however, on the basis of Police Barometer Surveys 2007–2020, citizens' trust in the operation of the police changed little or not at all over these years.

The authors of the article aimed at understanding citizens' reasoning around the case, and their logic of trust. Why citizens' trust in the police withstood the Aarnio malfeasance case?

The PBS 2022 data provided a unique opportunity to answer the question. It contained an open-ended question on trust in the police, and there were 183 respondents in the data set who in their open-ended answers to the question on trust raised up the issue of corruption. While 71 of these respondents referred to the Aarnio case (this was the A group of respondents in the analysis), 112 of them referred to “corruption” or “accepting bribes” in general, but not to the Aarnio case in particular (the BC group).

There were two distinct coding assignments in the analysis of the relevant text records. 1. The authors asked, first, whether or not the respondent self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police. 2. They also analyzed the mitigating factors mentioned by the respondents—why (a part of) the respondents in the A and BC groups still considered it rational to trust in the operation of the police?

The results were very different for the two groups of respondents. Self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police was much more common in the A group than in the BC group of respondents. The mitigating factors, and the logic of trust, also differed between the two groups.

Among the members of the A group, the point of departure in the inference was the existence proposition—the idea that there is evidently corruption (v) in the police x ($\exists x: v_x$). For many respondents in the A group, this had been a shocking discovery. It had had a devastating effect on their trust in the police. A part of them, nonetheless, also considered potential mitigating factors. The most common mitigating factor that the respondents in this group (17% of them) referred to, was the idea according to which the Aarnio case is still probably an isolated incident, not something that characterizes the police as a whole.

In the BC group, in contrast, the point of departure in the inference was the idea according to which the level of corruption in Finland in general is low (80% of the respondents in the BC group mentioned the low level of corruption, in one form or another). This was thought to be a comprehensive regularity in the sense that, for all or very nearly all people, in the limit (of all things considered), the probability (p) of corruption may be expected (E) to approach the state of non-existence (zero), or, what comes to the same thing, that the integrity proposition may be expected to cover all people, including the police ($\forall x: E(1-pv_x) \rightarrow 1$).

In fact, in a majority of the BC group's text records, "corruption" and "accepting bribes" were mentioned in a normatively positive sense. The level of corruption in the police may be expected to be low, which means that it will be reasonable to trust in the operation of the police.

Respondents in both groups also referred to a few, additional mitigating factors, which in their view serve to back up trust in the police. Many respondents in the BC group thought that the institutional setting of constitutional democracy, and firm commitment to the laws and to the rule of law in Finland, help to protect legality and legitimacy in the administration and enforcement of the law. Some of the respondents in the A and BC groups also thought that internal supervisory inspection and control in the police probably function as they should, so that cases of corruption will be detected and properly investigated and prosecuted. Some of the respondents in both the A and BC groups had also noticed that, not many aggravated cases of corruption similar to the Aarnio case have come up, or are publicly known.

Deontological Predictors of Citizens' Distrust in the Operation of the Police

The third essay of the book addressed the question of distrust. Over the entire history of the PBS, in 12 distinct cross-sectional studies, 4–9% of the respondents have opted for the negative side of the four-step scale of trust, reporting that they do “not trust a lot,” or trust “hardly at all,” in the operation of the police. The negative band within the full distribution of trust is narrow.

The authors of the essay built a comprehensive statistical model to explain and understand the structure of distrust, arguing that it is important to understand the roots and grounds thereof. How to conceive of distrust in the police, in Finland?

In earlier scholarly literature, perceived procedural justice of the police and perceived police corruption—the core deontological variables in use in the literature—have been among the most important predictors of (lack of) trust in the police. The regularity may or may not apply to Finland.

Finland is a unique case in the sense that it inhabits the upper end of the global scale of the rule of law. This is not a figure of speech, but a consistent empirical finding. Finland has ranked #1 (the highest rule of law index score in the world, when compared to more than 200 other countries) in several of the World Bank's latest rule of law index studies. People in Finland appreciate the law, the rule of law, and the public authorities who administer and enforce the law. The distribution of trust in the police is heavily skewed to the left, and it has an effective upper wall.

What is the predictive power of the deontological variables in such a historical-cultural and statistical setting? Do they still differentiate between those who trust and those who do not trust in the operation of the police?

The authors tested the predictive power of the key deontological variables in the presence of a comprehensive set of other predictors from the PBS 2022 data set. The binary outcome variable of the study compared the respondents who had opted for the negative side of the four-step scale of trust (= 1, ~distrust in the operation of the police) to the respondents who had opted for the positive side of the scale (= 0, ~trust). The logit models of the study consisted of four hierarchically introduced blocks of predictors. These were B1 perceived procedural justice of the police, perceived effectiveness of the police, and

perceived moral alignment with the police, all measured as latent variables, B2 a dichotomous perceived police corruption variable, B3 violent crime victimization and economic crime victimization variables, and B4 all available police-citizen contact variables. Demographic variables were also controlled for in the models.

Perceived procedural justice of the police and perceived police corruption passed the test with flying colors. It was not only that they were statistically significant predictors of distrust in the final models of the study, in the presence of all other statistically significant predictors; by almost any criterion, they were among the most important predictors of distrust. The effect size of perceived procedural justice of the police, and the stability of perceived police corruption in the course of progression of hierarchical modelling, were particularly strong and robust. Simply put, the probability that a person holds distrust in the operation of the police is a positive function of perceived police corruption (+), and a negative function of perceived procedural justice of the police (-).

Several other statistically significant predictors were incorporated into the final models of the study. Perceived effectiveness of the police (-), perceived moral alignment with the police (-), violent crime victimization (+), police contacts in matters of permits and licenses (-) and traffic enforcement (-), the labor market status of the respondent (+ for the unemployed respondents), and, in some models, economic crime victimization (+), were also observed to affect distrust. The final models of the study were able to explain approximately 49% of the of variation in distrust, with a correct model prediction for 99.0% of the zero-category observations (~trust) and for 41.0–42.5% of the one-category observations (~distrust).

Acknowledgements and the Division of Labor

The peer-reviews we received from the three professionals who evaluated this book were markedly different from each other. It may actually be said that they were in direct conflict with each other. Irrespective of this, or, rather, exactly for this reason, we want to warmly thank the peer-reviewers. Feedback will always make it possible to improve the manuscript under investigation and to learn for the future endeavors, but in this particular case we had to deeply deliberate upon the very essence—the significance and purpose—of the manuscript. Thank you!

The first two volumes of *The Police and the Public* have been designed and edited by the two authors in collaboration. The data of Chapter 1 in this book have been analyzed, first independently by both Jenita Rauta and Matti Vuorensyrjä, and then, in the final stage of the analysis, in collaboration by both authors, including the conclusions thereof. The entire text corpus of the book has been written by Matti Vuorensyrjä.

Sammanfattning

Polisen och medborgarna. Fördjupade analyser baserade på material från polisbarometern, Vol. 2

Polisyreshögskolan publicerade den första volymen av verket *The Police and the Public* för ungefär ett år sedan. Den andra volymen – den här boken – innehåller tre ytterligare artiklar i samma ämnesområde som den volym som utkom för ett år sedan. Artiklarna bygger på enkätmaterial från polisbarometerprojektet år 2022, det vill säga på samma material som användes i den första volymen.

Polisbarometerprojektets enkät är en medborgarenkät som riktar sig till den vuxna befolkningen (15–75 år) i Fastlandsfinland. Vid datainsamlingen används ett stratifierat slumpurval och en kombination av webbenkät och traditionell postenkät. Enkäten omfattar en bred helhet av frågor som gäller allt från medborgarnas förtroende för polisens verksamhet och polisens legitimitet till erfarenheter av att bli utsatt för brott och anmälan av brott. Undersökningens sampelstorlek år 2022 var 8500 personer och svarsfrekvensen relativt god (47,6 %, N = 4044).

Från och med 2022 har polisbarometerprojektet genomförts i samarbete mellan Inrikesministeriet (koordination, planering, finansiering), Polisyreshögskolan (planering, analys, rapportering) och Statistikcentralen (datainsamling, sampelmetodik, beräkning av materialets viktkoefficienter). Processerna för datainsamling och urval samt själva materialet beskrivs i detalj i standardrapporten om polisbarometern som Inrikesministeriet publicerat (Ministry of the Interior, 2023, sidorna 31–44). Dessutom beskriver varje enskild artikel i denna bok sitt eget delmaterial som använts i respektive studie. Därför återkommer vi inte till metodbeskrivningen mer ingående i denna inledning.

Misstro som personer som utsatts för vålds- och sexualbrott känner för polisens verksamhet

Den första artikeln i boken behandlar misstro för polisens verksamhet hos personer som utsatts för våldsbrott, sexuella trakasserier eller sexuellt våld. Impulsen och motivet till studien kom från Inrikesministeriets tidigare empiriska observationer (Ministry of the Interior, 2023). Enligt ministeriets observationer hade polisens bemötande av offer för våldsbrott eller sexuella brott i flera fall, av en eller annan orsak, skadat offrets förtroende för polisens verksamhet.

Forskarna ville i sin studie förstå dessa brottsoffer. I analysen användes samma kvalitativa material som Inrikesministeriet använts, samt en hermeneutiskt reflekterande innehållsanalys. Exakt varför hade offrens förtroende för polisens verksamhet minskat? Är upplevelserna av besvikelse och misstro desamma bland personer som utsatts för våldsbrott och bland personer som utsatts för sexualbrott? Om inte, vilka faktorer skiljer dessa två grupper åt?

De "fickor av misstro" som studien inriktats på är små, om man ser till antalet personer som berörs av dem, men den upplevda påverkan ("effect size") i dessa fall är kvalitativt sett stor. Av de respondenter i 2022 års enkät som gav fritextsvar på frågan om förtroende för polisen, tog 31 av 2302 (1,3 % av de totalt 2302 personer som gav fritextsvar) upp temat offer för sexualbrott, och 38 av 2302 (1,7 %) tog upp temat offer för våldsbrott. I nästan samtliga av dessa fall hade mötena med rättsväsendet upplevts som negativa. Endast ett fåtal möten beskrevs som neutrala. I många fall hade förtroendet för polisens verksamhet tagit betydande skada.

I analysen av de textposter som valts ut till studien identifierades två allmänna kategorier av propositioner (påståendesatser). Den första var, enligt författarnas terminologi, "upplevelsen av att polisens verksamhet saknar effektivitet" ("perceived ineffectiveness of the police"). Brottsoffren upplevde att de i praktiken inte fick den hjälp av polisen som de ansåg sig förtjäna. Ärendet lämnades outrett och/eller olöst.

Den andra kategorin av propositioner var "upplevelsen av proceduriell orättvisa från polisens sida" ("perceived procedural injustice of the police"). I dessa fall upplevde brottsoffren att polisens agerande i hanteringen av ärendet på något sätt varit olämpligt: polisen hade ignorerat offrets uppfattning om händelseförloppet, uppträtt nedlåtande eller förringande gentemot offret, eller skuldbelagt offret själv för det inträffade.

I båda grupperna av brottsoffer förekom båda dessa kategorier av propositioner, men tanken att polisens verksamhet saknade effektivitet (att polisen varit proceduriellt orättvis) var vanligare bland våldsbrottsoffer (bland sexualbrottsoffer) än bland sexualbrottsoffer (än bland våldsbrottsoffer).

Det fanns en gemensam nämnare i brottsoffrens erfarenheter i de två grupperna, oavsett om de i sina svar hänvisade till bristande effektivitet i

polisens arbete eller till proceduriell orättvisa. Erfarenheterna hade väckt djupa känslor av orättvisa hos respondenterna.

Mot alla odds. Varför bestod allmänhetens förtroende för polisen Aarnio-fallet?

Härvan av tjänstebrott i fallet Aarnio är möjligen det mest allvarliga fallet av poliskorruption i Finlands historia. Kriminalkommissarie Jari Aarnio, tidigare chef för narkotikaroteln vid Helsingfors polisinrättning, åtalades och dömdes för flera grova brott, bland annat grovt missbruk av tjänsteställning, grovt bedrägeri och grovt tagande av muta. Det tog tio år (2013–2023) att utreda de många fall som hängde samman med härvan—Trevoc-fallet, fallet med tunnan, fallet Volkan Ünsal—i olika rättsinstanser: tingsrätten, hovrätten och högsta domstolen. Den publicitet som härvan fick i finländska medier var utan motstycke. Överraskande nog pekade polisbarometerundersökningarna 2007–2020 på att medborgarnas förtroende för polisens verksamhet förändrades mycket lite eller inte alls under dessa år.

Artikelförfattarnas mål var att förstå medborgarnas sätt att resonera i anslutning till Aarnio-fallet, med andra ord logiken för deras förtroende. Varför bestod allmänhetens förtroende för polisen i fallet Aarnio?

Materialet från polisbarometerundersökningen 2022 gav en unik möjlighet att besvara forskningsfrågan. Undersökningen innehöll en fritextfråga om förtroendet för polisen, och i materialet fanns 183 respondenter som i sina fritextsvar tog upp temat korruption. Av dessa 183 respondenter hänvisade 71 till fallet Aarnio (denna grupp utgjorde grupp A i analysen), och 112 hänvisade till ”korruption” eller ”mottagande av mutor” i allmänna ordalag men inte specifikt till fallet Aarnio (BC-gruppen i analysen).

Vid kodningen av de textposter som var relevanta för temat fanns två separata analytiska uppgifter: 1. För det första analyserades om personen i textposten själv, subjektivt, rapporterade besvikelse över polisens agerande eller ett försvagat förtroende för polisen. 2. Dessutom analyserades de förmildrande faktorer som respondenterna nämnde: varför ansåg en del av respondenterna i grupperna A och BC fortfarande att det är klokt att lita på polisens verksamhet?

Resultaten var mycket olika i de två respondentgrupperna i studien. Självrapporterad minskad tillit eller besvikelse över polisens agerande var

betydligt vanligare i grupp A än i grupp BC. Också de förmildrande faktorer eller omständigheter som respondenterna nämnde, liksom den logik för förtroendet som de uttryckte i sitt resonemang, var olika i de två grupperna.

I A-gruppen var utgångspunkten för resonemanget en existensproposition – tanken att det bevisligen finns korruption (v) i polisväsendet (x) ($\exists x: v_x$). För många personer i A-gruppen var denna insikt chockerande. Den hade haft en förkrossande effekt på deras förtroende för polisen. En del av dem funderade på och bedömde dock olika förmildrande omständigheter. Den vanligaste av de förmildrande faktorer som respondenterna i denna grupp hänvisade till (17 % av respondenterna i gruppen) var tanken att fallet Aarnio trots allt kanske är ett enskilt fall, inte något som kännetecknar polisen som helhet.

I BC-gruppen var utgångspunkten för resonemanget den motsatta. Den utgick från tanken att korruptionen i Finland överlag är mycket liten (80 % av BC-gruppens respondenter nämnde i någon form tanken att korruptionsnivån i Finland är låg). Denna regelbundenhet uppfattades som så heltäckande att sannolikheten (p) för korruption kunde förutsägas (E) närma sig noll som gränsvärde för alla eller nästan alla individer (korruption förekommer inte, “the state of non-existence”), när alla faktorer som påverkar helheten tas i beaktande. Med andra ord, integritetspropositionen kunde förutsägas omfatta i praktiken alla människor, inklusive poliser ($\forall x: E(1-pv_x) \rightarrow 1$).

I största delen av BC-gruppens textposter nämndes ”korruption” och ”mottagande av mutor” i själva verket i en normativt positiv betydelse. Man utgick från att korruption endast förekommer i liten omfattning inom polisen, vilket innebar att det var förnuftigt att ha förtroende för polisens verksamhet.

Respondenter i båda grupperna hänvisade också till några andra mildrande omständigheter som de ansåg stödja förtroendet för polisen. Många respondenter i BC-gruppen ansåg att både den institutionella ramen för den konstitutionella demokratin i Finland och medborgarnas starka engagemang för lagen och legalitetsprincipen i maktutövningen bidrar till att skydda lagligheten och legitimiteten inom förvaltningen och lagövervakningen. Några respondenter i både A- och BC-gruppen påpekade dessutom att den interna kontrollen och tillsynen inom polisen sannolikt fungerar som de ska, så att korruptionsfall upptäcks, utreds och leder till åtal på behörigt sätt. Några respondenter i både A- och BC-gruppen påpekade också att det knappast har

upptäckts eller offentliggjorts några fall av lika allvarlig karaktär som fallet Aarnio.

Medborgarnas misstro för polisens verksamhet: deontologiska förklaringar

Den tredje artikeln i boken tar upp frågan om misstro. Under polisbarometerundersökningarnas historia har det genomförts 12 separata tvärsnittundersökningar, där 4–9 % av respondenterna har valt den negativa sidan på den fyrgradiga förtroendeskalan. De har med andra ord svarat att de litar "ganska lite" eller "mycket lite" på polisens verksamhet. Området för de negativa svaren utgör en smal del av hela fördelningen av förtroende.

Artikelförfattarna ansåg att det är viktigt att förstå bakgrunden och de centrala orsakerna till misstron. I artikeln konstruerades en heltäckande statistisk modell för att förklara och förstå misstrons struktur. Vad ska man egentligen tänka om misstro mot polisen? Hur bör den förstås?

I tidigare vetenskaplig litteratur har medborgarnas upplevelse av polisens proceduriella rättvisa och deras uppfattning om huruvida det finns korruption inom polisen visat sig vara de viktigaste förklarande faktorerna för medborgarnas misstro eller förtroende. Förklarande faktorer av detta slag kallas deontologiska. Det är inte känt om dessa regelbundenheter också gäller i Finlands fall.

Finland är ett unikt fall i den meningen att landet, när genomförandet av legalitetsprincipen i maktutövningen ("the rule of law") granskas, befinner sig i hela den globala fördelningens positiva ytterkant. Detta är inte en metafor utan en regelbunden empirisk observation. Finland har placerat sig i toppen (världens högsta indexvärde för legalitetsprincipen i maktutövning i en jämförelse mellan över 200 länder) i flera av Världsbankens jämförande studier av legalitetsprincipen inom maktutövningen under den senaste tiden. Medborgarna i Finland värdesätter lagen, legalitetsprincipen i maktutövningen och de myndigheter som förvaltar rätten och övervakar dess genomförande. Fördelningen av förtroendet för polisen har en effektiv övre gräns och är kraftigt sned till vänster.

Vilken förklarande kraft har deontologiska variabler i en sådan historiskt-kulturell och statistisk kontext? Kan de fortfarande skilja på dem som har förtroende för polisens verksamhet och dem som saknar det?

Författarna testade deontologiska variabelers förklaringskraft i en modell som innehöll en omfattande uppsättning andra förklarande faktorer från materialet för polisbarometerundersökningen 2022. Den dikotoma variabeln som skulle förklaras i undersökningen delade in respondenterna i två grupper: de som hade valt ett normativt negativt värde på den fyrgradiga förtroendeskalan (= 1, ~misstro mot polisens verksamhet) och de som hade valt ett normativt positivt värde på skalan (= 0, ~förtroende). I studiens logitmodeller ingick fyra block av förklarande variabler som infördes hierarkiskt i modellen. Dessa var block B1, som omfattade upplevelsen av polisens proceduriella rättvisa, upplevelsen av polisens effektivitet och respondentens upplevelse av överensstämmelse mellan sina egna värderingar och polisens värderingar, som alla mättes som latenta variabler; block B2, som omfattade en dikotom variabel som mätte respondenternas bedömning av huruvida det finns korruption inom polisen; block B3, som bestod av två variabler för utsatthet för brott (respondenten hade utsatts för ett eller flera våldsbrott; ett eller flera egendomsbrott); samt block B4, som omfattade alla tillgängliga variabler om medborgarnas kontakter med polisen, uppdelade efter kontakttyp. I studien kontrollerades också samtliga tillgängliga bakgrundsvariabler (demografiska variabler).

De deontologiska variabelerna – upplevelsen av polisens proceduriella rättvisa, bedömningen av huruvida det förekommer korruption inom polisen – kan sägas ha klarat studiens testhet med flaggan i topp. Det var inte bara så att dessa variabler var statistiskt signifikanta förklaringar till misstro i de slutliga modellerna, med alla andra variabler i modellen kontrollerade; det var också så, nästan oavsett vilka kriterier som används, att de var de viktigaste förklarande faktorerna för misstro. Om variabeln som rör proceduriell rättvisa kan man säga att dess effekt var stabil och att effektens styrka var betydande i samtliga hierarkiska modeller som skattades i studien. Variabeln som avsåg korruption inom polisen var likaså en stabil förklaringsfaktor för misstro i alla hierarkiska modeller i studien. Enkelt uttryckt: sannolikheten för att en person inte litar på polisens verksamhet var en positiv funktion (+) av personens bedömning av polisens korruptionsnivå, och en negativ funktion (-) av personens bedömning av polisens proceduriella rättvisa.

De slutliga modellerna innehöll även flera andra statistiskt signifikanta förklarande faktorer. Det observerades att även den upplevda effektiviteten i polisens arbete (-), respondentens upplevelse av överensstämmelse mellan sina egna värderingar och polisens värderingar (-), utsatthet för våldsbrott (+),

kontakt med polisen inom serviceområdet licens- och tillståndsärenden (–), kontakt med polisen inom serviceområdet trafikövervakning (–), respondentens ställning på arbetsmarknaden (+ som koefficient för arbetslösa respondenter) och, i vissa modeller, utsatthet för egendomsbrott (+), förklarade misstro. Med hjälp av de slutliga modellerna kunde cirka 49 % av variationen i misstro förklaras. Modellprognosen var korrekt i cirka 99 % av observationerna i kategori 0 (~förtroende) och i cirka 41,0–42,5 % av observationerna i kategori 1 (~misstro).

Tack och arbetsfördelning

De sakkunniggranskningar som vi fick av de tre experter som bedömde denna bok var mycket olika. Man kan säga att de stod i konflikt med varandra. Trots detta – eller egentligen just därför – vill vi varmt tacka alla forskare som gav sina utlåtanden. Respons hjälper alltid med att förbättra det manuskript som granskas och ger nya lärdomar för framtiden, men i just det här fallet tvingades vi på djupet reflektera över hela manuskriptets betydelse och syfte. Tack!

Bokens författare har tillsammans planerat och redigerat de två första volymerna av *The Police and the Public*. Först analyserade de båda forskarna materialet i kapitel 1 i denna bok oberoende av varandra. Jenita Rauta och Matti Vuorensyrjä analyserade alltså hela materialet var för sig. Därefter, i analysens slutskede, gjorde de en gemensam analys och drog gemensamma slutsatser. Matti Vuorensyrjä har skrivit bokens textkorpus i sin helhet.

Tiivistelmä

Poliisi ja kansalaiset. Poliisibarometriaineistoon perustuvia syventäviä analyyssejä, Vol. 2

Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu julkaisi *The Police and the Public* -teoksen ensimmäisen volyymin noin vuosi sitten. Toinen volyymi – tämä kirja – sisältää kolme lisäartikkelia samasta aihekokonaisuudesta kuin vuosi sitten ilmestynyt kirja. Artikkelit perustuvat poliisibarometriprojektin kyselytutkimusaineistoon vuodelta 2022 eli samaan aineistoon kuin ensimmäisen volyymin artikkelit.

Poliisibarometrihankkeen kyselytutkimus on kansalaiskysely, jonka kohteena on Manner-Suomessa asuva aikuisväestö (15–75). Aineistonkeruussa käytetään ositettua satunnaisotantaa sekä verkkokyselyn ja perinteisen postikyselyn yhdistelmää. Kysely kattaa sisällöllisesti laajan aihekokonaisuuden kansalaisten poliisitoimintaa kohtaan tuntemasta luottamuksesta poliisin legitimitettiin, ja rikoksen kohteeksi joutumisesta rikoksista ilmoittamiseen. Tutkimuksen otoskoko vuonna 2022 oli 8500 ja vastausosuus verrattain hyvä (47,6 %, N = 4044).

Vuodesta 2022 lähtien poliisibarometriprojektin toteutuksesta ovat vastanneet yhteistyössä sisäministeriö (koordinaatio, suunnittelu, rahoitus), Poliisiammattikorkeakoulu (suunnittelu, analyysi, raportointi) sekä Tilastokeskus (tiedonkeruu, otantamenettely, sekä aineiston painokerrointen laskenta). Tiedonkeruun ja otannan prosesseja sekä itse aineistoa on kuvattu yksityiskohtaisesti sisäministeriön julkaisemassa poliisibarometritutkimuksen vakioraportissa (Ministry of the Interior, 2023, ss. 31–44), minkä lisäksi jokainen yksittäinen artikkeli tässä kirjassa kuvaa tutkimuksessa käytetyn oman osa-aineistonsa. Emme tästä syystä palaa tässä johdantotekstissä aineistokuvaukseen tämän lähemmin.

Väkivaltarikosten ja seksuaalirikosten kohteeksi joutuneiden tuntema epäluottamus poliisin toimintaa kohtaan

Kirjan ensimmäinen artikkeli käsittelee epäluottamusta, jota väkivaltarikoksen, seksuaalisen ahdistelun tai seksuaalisen väkivallan kohteeksi joutuneet tuntevat poliisin toimintaa kohtaan. Alkuskäyvä ja motiivi tutkimukselle saatiin sisäministeriön (Ministry of the Interior, 2023) aiemmista empiirisistä havainnoista. Ministeriön havaintojen mukaan poliisin kohtaaminen väkivaltarikoksen tai seksuaalirikoksen uhrina oli useissa tapauksissa vahingoittanut uhrin luottamusta poliisin toimintaa kohtaan, syystä tai toisesta.

Tutkimuksen tekijät pyrkivät omassa tutkimuksessaan ymmärtämään näiden rikosten uhreja. Analyysissa käytettiin samaa laadullista aineistoa kuin sisäministeriö ja hermeneuttisesti reflektiivistä sisällönanalyysia. Miksi, tarkalleen ottaen, uhrien luottamus poliisin toimintaa kohtaan oli vähentynyt? Ovatko pettymyksen ja epäluottamuksen kokemukset samanlaisia väkivaltarikoksen kohteeksi joutuneilla ja seksuaalirikoksen kohteeksi joutuneilla? Jos eivät, mitkä tekijät erottavat näitä kahta eri ryhmää toisistaan?

Tutkimuksen kohteena olevat “epäluottamuksen taskut” ovat pieniä, kun ajatellaan niiden ihmisten määrää, joita nämä asiat koskevat, mutta vaikutuksen voimakkuus näissä tapauksissa on laadullisesti ajateltuna suuri. Niistä kyselytutkimuksen (2022) vastaajista, jotka antoivat oman vastauksensa poliisia kohtaan tunnettua luottamusta koskeneeseen avoimeen kysymykseen, 31/2302 (1,3 % niistä yhteensä 2302 henkilöstä, jotka antoivat avovastauksen) nosti vastauksessaan esiin seksuaalirikoksen uhriksi joutumisen aiheen, ja 38/2302 (1,7 %) väkivaltarikoksen uhriksi joutumisen aiheen. Lähes kaikissa näissä tapauksissa kohtaamiset oikeusjärjestelmän kanssa oli koettu luonteeltaan kielteisiksi. Joukossa oli vain muutama neutraaliksi koettu kohtaaminen. Monissa tapauksissa luottamus poliisin toimintaa kohtaan oli kärsinyt merkittävän vahingon.

Tutkimuksen kohteeksi valikoituneiden tekstitietueiden analyysissa löydettiin kaksi propositioiden (väitelauseiden) yleistä luokkaa. Ensimmäinen näistä oli kirjoittajien terminologian mukaan, “kokemus siitä, että poliisitoiminnalla ei ole vaikuttavuutta” (“perceived ineffectiveness of the police”). Rikoksen uhriksi joutuneet ajattelivat, että he eivät tosiasiasa saaneet poliisilta sellaista apua, jonka he olisivat ansainneet. Juttu jätettiin tutkimatta ja/tai selvittämättä.

Toinen väitelauseiden luokka oli “kokemus poliisin proseduraalisesta epäoikeudenmukaisuudesta” (“perceived procedural injustice of the police”). Näissä tapauksissa rikoksen uhriksi joutuneet ajattelivat, että poliisin käyttäytyminen jutun käsittelyssä oli ollut tavalla tai toisella epäasianmukaista; poliisi oli jättänyt uhrin käsityksen asioiden kulusta huomiotta, tai oli ollut väheksyvä tai alentuva uhria kohtaan, tai oli syyttänyt tapauksesta uhria itseään.

Kummassakin rikoksen kohteeksi joutuneiden ryhmässä havaittiin molempia näistä kahdesta eri väitelauseiden luokista, mutta ajatukset siitä, että poliisitoiminnalla ei ole ollut vaikuttavuutta (että poliisi on ollut proseduraalisesti epäoikeudenmukainen), olivat yleisempiä väkivaltarikoksen kohteeksi joutuneiden

joukossa (seksuaalirikoksen kohteeksi joutuneiden joukossa) kuin seksuaalirikoksen kohteeksi joutuneiden joukossa (kuin väkivaltarikoksen kohteeksi joutuneiden joukossa).

Rikoksen uhriksi joutuneiden kokemuksilla oli yksi yhteinen nimittäjä tutkimuksen kahdessa eri ryhmässä, riippumatta siitä, olivatko he vastauksissaan viitanneet poliisitoiminnan vaikuttavuuden puutteeseen vai poliisin proseduraaliseen epäoikeudenmukaisuuteen. Kokemukset olivat herättäneet vastaajien keskuudessa syviä epäoikeudenmukaisuuden tuntemuksia.

Kaikkia todennäköisyyksiä vastaan. Miksi kansalaisten luottamus poliisiin kesti Aarnio-tapauksen?

On hyvin mahdollista, että Aarnion virkarikosvyyhti on vakavin poliisikorruptio-tapaus koko Suomen historiassa. Rikoskomisario Jari Aarnio, Helsingin poliisilaitoksen huumerikosyksikön entinen päällikkö, sai syytteet ja tuomittiin useista vakavista rikoksista, mukaan lukien törkeästä virka-aseman väärinkäyttämisestä, törkeästä petoksesta ja törkeästä lahjuksen ottamisesta. Rikosvyyhtiin kytkettyvien monien eri tapauksen—Trevoc-juttu, tynnyrijuttu, Volkan Ünsalin tapaukseen perustuva juttu—selvittämisessä kului kymmenen vuotta (2013–2023) eri oikeusasteissa, käräjäoikeudessa, hovioikeudessa ja korkeimmassa oikeudessa. Jutun saama julkisuus Suomen tiedotusvälineissä oli ennennäkemättömän suuri. Yllättävää kuitenkin oli, että poliisibarometritutkimusten 2007–2020 perusteella kansalaisten luottamus poliisiin toimintaan muuttui vain vähän tai ei lainkaan näiden vuosien aikana.

Artikkelin kirjoittajien tavoitteena oli ymmärtää kansalaisten päättelyä Aarnio-tapauksen yhteydessä, toisin sanoen luottamuksen logiikkaa heidän ajattelussaan. Miksi kansalaisten luottamus poliisiin kesti Aarnio-tapauksen?

Poliisibarometritutkimuksen 2022 aineisto tarjosi ainutlaatuisen mahdollisuuden vastata tutkimuskysymykseen. Siihen sisältyi poliisia kohtaan tunnettua luottamusta koskeva avoin kysymys, ja aineistossa oli 183 vastaajaa, jotka olivat omissa avovastauksissaan nostaneet esiin korruption aiheen. Näistä yhteensä 183 vastaajasta 71 viittasi Aarnion tapaukseen (näistä vastaajista muodostui tutkimuksen analyysissä A-ryhmä) ja 112 “korruption” tai “lahjusten vastaanottamiseen” yleisesti, mutta ei Aarnion tapaukseen erikseen (analyysin BC-ryhmä).

Aiheen kannalta relevanttien tekstitietueiden koodauksessa oli kaksi toisistaan erillistä analyysitehtävää. 1. Ensimmäisessä analysoitiin, raportoiko henkilö tietueessa itse, subjektiivisesti, pettyneensä poliisin toimintaan tai luottamuksensa heikenneen poliisin toiminnan vuoksi. 2. Lisäksi analysoitiin vastaajien mainitsemia lieventäviä tekijöitä: miksi osa vastaajista A- ja BC-ryhmissä ajatteli silti yhä edelleen, että on järkevää luottaa poliisin toimintaan?

Tulokset olivat hyvin erilaisia tutkimuksen kahdessa eri vastaajaryhmässä. Itse-raportoitu heikentynyt luottamus tai pettymys poliisin toimintaan oli paljon yleisempää A-ryhmässä kuin BC-ryhmässä. Myös ne lieventävät tekijät tai asiat, joita vastaajat mainitsivat, sekä heidän kuvaamansa luottamuksen logiikka, olivat erilaisia näissä kahdessa eri ryhmässä.

A-vastaajaryhmässä päättelyn lähtökohtana oli eksistenssipropositio—ajatus siitä, että poliisissa x on todistetusti korruptiota (v) ($\exists x: v_x$). Monille A-vastaajaryhmän henkilöille tämä oivallus oli ollut shokeeraava. Sillä oli ollut musertava vaikutus heidän poliisia kohtaan tuntemaansa luottamukseen. Osa heistä harkitsi ja arvioi kuitenkin myös lieventäviä tekijöitä. Yleisin niistä lieventävistä tekijöistä, joihin tämän ryhmän vastaajat viittasivat (17 % ryhmän vastaajista), oli ajatus, jonka mukaan Aarnion tapaus on ehkä kuitenkin yksittäistapaus, ei asia, joka luonnehtisi poliisia kokonaisuudessaan.

BC-vastaajaryhmässä päättelyn lähtökohta oli päinvastainen. Se oli ajatus siitä, että korruptio Suomessa on yleisesti ottaen hyvin vähäistä (80 % BC-ryhmän vastaajista mainitsi muodossa tai toisessa ajatuksen siitä, että korruption taso Suomessa on matala). Tämän säännönmukaisuuden ajateltiin olevan sillä tavoin kattavan, että kaikille tai lähes kaikille ihmisille korruption todennäköisyyden (p) voitiin ennakoida (E) raja-arvoltaan lähestyvän nolaa (korruptiota ei ole, "the state of non-existence"), kun kaikki asiakokonaisuuteen vaikuttavat tekijät otetaan huomioon, tai, toisin sanoen, että integriteetti-proposition voitiin ennakoida kattavan käytännössä kaikki ihmiset, mukaan lukien poliisit ($\forall x: E(1-pv_x) \rightarrow 1$).

Valtaosassa BC-ryhmän tekstitietueista "korruptio" ja "lahjonta" mainittiin itse asiassa normatiivisesti myönteisessä merkityksessä. Korruption voitiin olettaa olevan vähäistä poliisissa, mikä tarkoitti, että oli järkeenkäypää luottaa poliisin toimintaan.

Vastaajat molemmissa ryhmissä viittasivat myös muutamiin muihin lieventäviin seikkoihin, joiden he katsoivat tukevan luottamusta poliisiin. Monet vastaajat BC-ryhmässä ajattelivat, että Suomessa sekä perustuslaillisen demokration institutionaalinen kehys että kansalaisten vahva sitoutuminen lakiin ja valvontaan laillisuusperiaatteeseen auttavat suojaamaan hallinnon ja lainvalvonnan laillisuutta ja legitimizeettiä. Muutamat vastaajat sekä A- että BC-ryhmässä ajattelivat myös, että sisäinen valvonta ja tarkastus toimivat todennäköisesti poliisissa niin kuin niiden pitääkin, niin että korruptiotapaukset havaitaan ja että niitä tutkitaan ja niistä nostetaan syytteitä asianmukaisesti. Muutamat vastaajat sekä A- että BC-ryhmässä huomauttivat lisäksi, että Aarnion tapausta vastaavia vakavia juttuja ei ole juurikaan havaittu, eikä ole noussut julkisuuteen.

Kansalaisten epäluottamus poliisin toimintaa kohtaan: deontologiset selittävät tekijät

Kirjan kolmas artikkeli otti käsiteltäväksi kysymyksen epäluottamuksesta. Poliisibarometritutkimuksen historian kuluessa, 12:ssa toisistaan erillisessä poikkileikkaustutkimuksessa, 4–9 % vastaajista on valinnut neliportaisen luottamusasteikon kielteisen puolen; he ovat toisin sanoen vastanneet, että luottavat poliisin toimintaan ”melko vähän” tai ”erittäin vähän”. Kielteisten vastausten alue luottamuksen koko jakaumassa on kapea.

Kolmannen artikkelin kirjoittajat katsoivat, että epäluottamuksen ilmiötaustan ja keskeisten syiden ymmärtäminen on tärkeitä. Artikkelissa rakennettiin kokonaisvaltainen tilastollinen malli, jonka avulla pyrittiin selittämään ja ymmärtämään epäluottamuksen rakennetta. Mitä poliisia kohtaan tunnetusta epäluottamuksesta pitäisi oikeastaan ajatella, miten se pitäisi ymmärtää?

Aiemmassa tieteellisessä tutkimuskirjallisuudessa tärkeimmiksi (epä)luottamusta selittäviksi tekijöiksi ovat osoittautuneet kansalaisten kokemus poliisin proseduraalisesta oikeudenmukaisuudesta sekä heidän kokemuksensa siitä, onko poliisissa korruptiota—niin sanotut deontologiset selittävät tekijät. Ei tiedetä, pätevätkö nämä säännönmukaisuudet myös Suomen tapaukseen.

Suomi on ainutkertainen tapaus siinä mielessä, että kun tarkastellaan vallankäytön laillisuusperiaatteen toteutumista, Suomi sijaitsee koko globaalin jakauman myönteisessä ääripäässä. Tämä ei ole kielikuva, vaan säännönmukainen empiirinen havainto. Suomi on sijoittunut kärkeen (maailman korkein val-

lankäytön laillisuusperiaatteen indeksilukema yli 200 maan vertailussa) useissa Maailmanpankin viimeaikaisissa vallankäytön laillisuusperiaatteeseen kohdistuneissa vertailututkimuksissa. Kansalaiset Suomessa arvostavat lakia, vallankäytön laillisuusperiaatetta ja niitä viranomaisia, jotka hallinnoivat oikeutta ja valvovat sen toteutumista. Poliisia kohtaan tunnetun luottamuksen jakaumalla on efektiivinen yläraja ja se on voimakkaasti vino vasemmalle.

Mikä on deontologisten muuttujien selitysvoima tällaisessa historialliskulttuurisessa ja tilastollisessa asetelmassa? Kykenevätkö ne silti yhä erottelemaan toisistaan ne, jotka luottavat, ja ne, jotka eivät luota, poliisin toimintaan?

Kirjoittajat testasivat deontologisten muuttujien selitysvoimaa mallissa, joka sisälsi kattavan joukon muita selittäviä tekijöitä poliisibarometritutkimuksen 2022 aineistosta. Tutkimuksen dikotominen selitettävä muuttuja jakoi vastaajat kahteen ryhmään; niihin, jotka olivat valinneet normatiivisesti negatiivisen arvon neliportaiselta luottamusasteikolta (= 1, ~epäluottamus poliisin toimintaan), ja niihin, jotka olivat valinneet asteikolta normatiivisesti positiivisen arvon (= 0, ~luottamus). Tutkimuksen logit-malleihin sisältyi neljä hierarkkisessa järjestyksessä malliin tuotua selittävien muuttujien lohkoa. Nämä olivat lohko B1, johon sisältyivät kokemus poliisin proseduraalisesta oikeudenmukaisuudesta, kokemus poliisitoiminnan vaikuttavuudesta, sekä vastaajan kokemus omien arvojensa yhdenmukaisuudesta suhteessa poliisin arvoihin, joita kaikkia mitattiin latentteina muuttujina; lohko B2, johon sisältyi yksi dikotominen muuttuja, jonka avulla mitattiin vastaajien arviota siitä, onko poliisissa korruptiota; lohko B3, johon sisältyi kaksi rikoksen kohteeksi joutumisen muuttujaa (vastaaja oli joutunut yhden tai useamman väkivaltarikoksen kohteeksi; yhden tai useamman omaisuusrikoksen kohteeksi); sekä lohko B4, johon sisältyivät kaikki käytettävissä olleet kansalaisten poliisikontaktimuuttujat kontaktityypeittäin. Tutkimuksessa vakioitiin myös kaikki käytettävissä olleet taustamuuttujat (demografiset muuttujat).

Deontologisten muuttujien – kokemus poliisin proseduraalisesta oikeudenmukaisuudesta, arvio siitä, onko poliisissa korruptiota – voidaan sanoa läpäisseen tutkimuksen testikokonaisuuden liput liehuen. Ei ollut ainoastaan niin, että nämä muuttujat olivat epäluottamuksen tilastollisesti merkitseviä selittäjiä tutkimuksen lopullisissa malleissa, kaikki muut mallissa mukana olleet muuttujat vakioituna; oli myös niin, melkeinpä millä tahansa kriteerillä arvioituna, että ne olivat epäluottamuksen tärkeimpiä selittäjiä. Proseduraalista oikeuden-

mukaisuutta koskevasta muuttujasta voidaan sanoa, että sen vaikutus oli vakaa ja vaikutuksen voimakkuus merkittävän suuri yli kaikkien tutkimuksessa estimoitujen hierarkkisten mallien. Poliisin korruptiota koskeva muuttuja oli niin ikään epäluottamuksen vakaa selittäjä yli tutkimuksen kaikkien hierarkkisten mallien. Yksinkertaisesti sanottuna; todennäköisyys, että henkilö ei luota poliisiin toimintaan, oli hänen poliisin korruptoituneisuutta koskeneen arvionsa positiivinen funktio (+), ja hänen poliisin proseduraalista oikeudenmukaisuutta koskeneen arvionsa negatiivinen funktio (-).

Tutkimuksen lopullisiin malleihin sisältyi useita muitakin tilastollisesti merkitseviä selittäjiä. Havaittiin, että myös poliisitoiminnan koettu vaikuttavuus (-), vastaajan kokemus omien arvojensa yhdenmukaisuudesta suhteessa poliisin arvoihin (-), väkivaltarikoksen kohteeksi joutuminen (+), poliisikontakti lupa-palvelujen palvelualueella (-), poliisikontakti liikennevalvonnan palvelualueella (-), vastaajan työmarkkina-asema (+ työttömien vastaajien kertoimena), ja, joissakin malleissa, omaisuusrikoksen kohteeksi joutuminen (+), selittivät epäluottamusta. Tutkimuksen lopullisten mallien avulla kyettiin selittämään noin 49 % epäluottamuksen vaihtelusta. Malliennuste osui oikeaan noin 99 %:ssa 0-kategorian havainnoista (~luottamus) ja noin 41,0–42,5 %:ssa 1-kategorian havainnoista (~epäluottamus).

Kiitokset ja työnjako

Vertaisarvioinnit, jotka saimme kolmelta tätä kirjaa arvioineelta asiantuntijalta, olivat keskenään hyvin erilaisia. Voidaan sanoa, että ne olivat ristiriitaisia keskenään. Tästä huolimatta, tai oikeastaan juuri tästä syystä, haluamme lämpimästi kiittää kaikkia arvionsa antaneita tutkimuksen ammattilaisia. Palaute auttaa aina parantamaan käsittelyn kohteena olevaa käsikirjoitusta ja oppimaan tulevaisuutta varten jotakin uutta, mutta tässä nimenomaisessa tapauksessa jouduimme syvällisesti pohtimaan koko käsikirjoituksen merkitystä ja tarkoitusta. Kiitos!

Kirjan kirjoittajat ovat yhdessä suunnitelleet ja toimittaneet *The Police and the Public* -teoksen kaksi ensimmäistä volyymia. Pääluvun 1 aineisto tässä kirjassa on analysoitu ensin kummankin tutkijan toimesta riippumattomasti, niin että Jenita Rauta ja Matti Vuorensyrjä analysoivat koko aineiston erikseen, ja sitten, analyysin loppuvaiheessa, yhteisenä analyysinä, päätelmineen. Kirjan tekstin kirjoittamisesta kokonaisuudessaan on vastannut Matti Vuorensyrjä.

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1. Distrust in the Operation of the Police among Victims of Violent Crime, Sexual Harassment, and Sexual Assault

Matti Vuorensyrjä & Jenita Rauta

Abstract

Background and the research questions: On the basis of observations from the Police Barometer Survey (PBS) data from 2022, trust in the operation of the police has been shattered among victims of violent crime, sexual harassment, and sexual assault. The share of people who, in the survey, in their open-ended answers to a question on trust in the operation of the police, brought forth their disappointment, was small in absolute numbers. The “effect size,” however, qualitatively considered, was high: their contacts with the police had often been disagreeable and in many of these cases trust in the police had been severely damaged. The current study aims at understanding these victims. Why, exactly, trust in the police has been diminished in these cases? Are the experiences of disappointment and distrust among victims of violent crime similar to those of victims of sexual offence? If not, what differentiates between the two groups of victims?

Data: The data of the study derive from the PBS conducted in the autumn of 2022. The survey targeted the adult population (15–75) of mainland Finland. The size of the random sample was 8,500, with 47.6% response rate and $N = 4,044$, of whom 2,302 persons answered the open-ended question on trust in the police. The answers to this question constitute the data of this study.

Methods: The study is based on Krippendorff’s alpha (α) coding reliability tests combined with in-depth content analysis.

Findings: There were 38 victims of violent crime (1.7% of 2,302) and 31 victims of sexual offence (1.3%) who wrote about their victimization in the context of trust in the police. The findings from two independent coders were reliable in terms of alpha tests ($\alpha = 0.91; 0.97$). The experiences had been negative, in the main. Two dimensions of disappointment and distrust were discovered in in-depth content analysis. 1. Perceived ineffectiveness. The victims often thought that they didn’t get the help they deserved from the police. The case was left uninvestigated and/or uncleared. 2. Perceived procedural injustice. Several of them also thought that the behavior of the police in handling the case had been inappropriate—ignoring the victim’s side of the story, disparaging or belittling towards the victim, or blaming the victim her- or himself for the incident. Both kinds of experiences raised profound feelings of injustice among the victims. In most cases, it was analytically difficult to differentiate between the two dimensions of disappointment and distrust; the two kinds of trains of thought were closely connected with each other. Yet, ideas related to #1 (#2) were a bit more common among victims of violent crime (sexual offence) than among victims of sexual offence (violent crime).

Limitations: For reasons of data protection (anonymity), the qualitative data could not be combined with other data of the PBS. It was not possible to estimate whether or not the respondents in the qualitative data set represent the respondents in the full data set by the criteria of background variables, and, thus, whether or not the findings are generalizable, as regards the target population.

Keywords: trust in the police, confidence in the police, legitimacy of the police, police–citizen contacts, violent crime, assault, aggravated assault, sexual offence, sexual harassment, sexual assault

1.1 Background and the Research Questions

1.1.1 A Specific Source of Distrust

A specific source of distrust in the operation of the police was detected in the Police Barometer Survey (PBS) 2022 data.¹ The finding originated in the respondents' open-ended answers to the following question.

“Why do you trust or do not trust the operations of Finnish police? Which aspect or aspects most influence trust?”

Several victims of violent and sexual crimes—assault, aggravated assault, bullying, sexual harassment, sexual assault, *etc.*—self-reported that their trust in the operation of the police had been diminished as a result of their victimization, and of the consequent criminal procedure. In some of these cases the feedback came from people close to the victims—their family, their friends, their neighbors, or someone else close to them (Ministry of the Interior, 2023, pp. 69–76).

The prevalence of such signals within the data was not high in absolute numbers, but the “effect size” was high. In many cases, victims' trust in the operation of the police had been severely damaged.

The research questions of the current study are exploratory. Analyzing the PBS 2022 open-ended data, we first sifted the full data set (2,302 text records) to detect and determine those particular text records in which the respondents referred to violent crime or sexual offence victimization. Within the data thus determined, we sought answers to the following, more detailed questions.

Why, exactly, victims' trust in the operation of the police has been diminished in these cases? Are the experiences of disappointment and distrust among victims of violent crime similar to those of victims of sexual offence? If not, what differentiates between the two groups of victims?

The exploratory nature of the analysis does not imply that we wouldn't be in a position to theoretically interpret the findings, or that we wouldn't have sophisticated expectations as to what will be found from the data. In fact, there is a theoretical precision tool for the job.

1.1.2 Theory of Procedural Justice

The theory of procedural justice was originally devised to answer the question of compliance with the law. The scholarly history of the theory can be traced back at least to Thibaut and Walker's book from 1975, Lind and Tyler's book from 1988 (for references, see Tyler & Huo, 2002), and Tyler's book from 1990 (Tyler, 1990/2006).

Tyler's (1990/2006) analysis is a classic by now. The book had no question mark in its head title. Tyler was convinced that his analysis answered the question of *Why People Obey the Law*. The answer was procedural justice in the operation of the key judicial authorities, the courts and the police. Perceived legitimacy of the authorities was secured by the means of procedurally just administration and enforcement of the law. The courts and the police had to be equal and fair for all parties of the criminal procedure. In addition to requirements of strict equality and fairness, it was necessary for the authorities to treat all parties of the procedure with respect and dignity in day-to-day interaction.

Tyler's (1990/2006) core idea was thus that, if the judicial authorities succeed in convincing all parties of the legitimacy of the criminal procedure in the sense depicted in the above, the authorities also, by the same token, gained citizens' voluntary compliance and cooperation. Compliance was a function of legitimacy, and legitimacy was a function of procedural justice.

Tyler's (1990/2006) conclusion was different from the conventional wisdom of the so-called deterrence theory of criminology. The emphasis in the deterrence theory of criminology was on the probability (p) of getting caught times the punishment for the crime (C), compared to opportunities to, and benefits from, crime. Policing was successful if the deterrence created by the judicial authorities succeeded in preventing crimes. This was to be achieved by the means of monitoring and surveillance (affecting p), on the one hand, and tough punishments (affecting C), on the other hand. Administration and enforcement of the law were deemed to be successful if they were effective in this particular sense.

Tyler (1990/2006), and subsequently many others (Tyler, 2001; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, Jackson *et al.*, 2011a; 2011b; 2012; Bradford, 2011; Hough *et al.*, 2013; Hough, 2021, *etc.*), have compared instrumental-teleological

to procedural-deontological antecedents of perceived legitimacy. The former has been usually measured as perceived effectiveness of the police and the courts, and the latter as perceived procedural justice of these authorities. A fair majority of the evidence from empirical studies point towards the importance of perceived procedural justice as the key antecedent of perceived legitimacy and—mediated by legitimacy considerations—of citizens’ voluntary compliance and cooperation with the law and the law enforcement authorities.

Today, the path is often depicted as compliance and cooperation being a function of perceived legitimacy of the judicial authorities, perceived legitimacy being a function of trust in the operation of the authorities, and trust consisting of perceived procedural justice and perceived effectiveness of the authorities (as in, e.g., the Euro-Justis project conducted in 2008–2011; Jackson *et al.*, 2011a; 2011b; 2012; Hough, 2021; Figure 1.1).

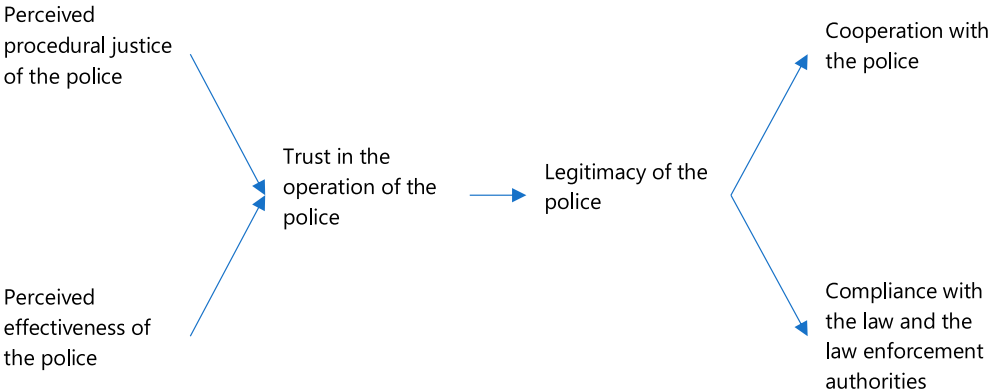


Figure 1.1. Theory of procedural justice: a modern reading

Critique of the theory of procedural justice has been directed mainly against the concept of *legitimacy*.² Difficulties associated with the concept of legitimacy are primarily systemic (macro-level), arising from political theory, and do not affect the validity of the theory as regards the context of day-to-day police-citizen contacts. In down-to-earth practical contexts the theory has turned out to be highly successful. It has been applied to a wide variety of research cases, the results having come out much as expected. Perceived procedural (in) justice supports (damages) trust in the police and the courts, and thus also their legitimacy in the eyes of the citizens (literature review in Chapter 1.2).

The concept of procedural justice has been given a further interpretation, as regards its inner constitution. Tyler himself asked in his 2008 article in *Court Review*, “What is Procedural Justice?” The four factors he mentioned in the paper have been widely accepted and adopted in the scholarly literature. According to Tyler, the inner conceptual components of procedural justice are *trustworthiness, neutrality, respect, and voice*. Judging by the terminology used to depict each of these concepts, they correspond to, and may be conceived of as (Tyler, 2001, pp. 231–232; Tyler, 2008, pp. 30–31; Goodman-Delahunty, 2010, pp. 405–407; Bradford, 2011, p. 348, p. 353, p. 362; Singer, 2012, p. 33; Aborisade, 2023, p. 2):

Trustworthiness: character and motivation of the judicial authorities as trustworthy partners in the criminal procedure; honest, open, sincere, caring and helpful, authentic, genuinely concerned about the wellbeing of the public, and serving the best interests of the public.

Neutrality: full neutrality—fairness and equality—of the judicial authorities and of the criminal procedure; absence of bias, consistency, even-handedness, openness, transparency, principled conduct and decision-making, fact-based decision-making, following correct procedure, correct balance between the rights of the offender and of the victim, taking account of the circumstances surrounding the case, and explaining how the relevant rules are applied.

Respect: respect for the people and their rights in all encounters with the public; dignity, courtesy, politeness, professional conduct, and sensitivity by the judicial authorities; all parties of the procedure having the feeling that their rights are protected, that they are taken seriously, that they gain the attention of judicial authorities, and that their input in the case is valued.

Voice: all parties of the criminal procedure being able to tell their side of the story; being listened to, and being genuinely heard by the judicial authorities; being able to participate, to express one’s viewpoint; to have a voice, to have the feeling of (at least some) control over the process; readiness of the judicial authorities to respond to citizen-clients’ questions, and to act upon their concerns.

The inner conceptual components of procedural justice appear to be overlapping and the logic a bit fuzzy. As whole, however, the procedural justice theory is well suited to anticipate and interpret victims' experiences. The victims may be expected to appreciate trustworthiness of the police, as well as neutrality, respect, and voice in the process.

In this paper the theoretical import of perceived procedural justice will be considered *ex-post* the analysis. The analysis itself was empirically grounded in the sense that the conclusions were data-driven.

1.2 Literature Review

Following search terms were used to find earlier literature on victimization research, in addition to which we proceeded from the known to the unknown sources using the reference lists of relevant studies.

[trust OR confidence OR legitimacy] AND [police OR policing] AND [sexual offence OR sexual offense OR sexual crime OR sexual assault OR violent crime OR assault]

Studies on the effects of sexual offence victimization on trust in the police were more numerous than studies on corresponding effects of violent crime victimization. They were also more consistent in their findings. In almost all cases of sexual offence victimization the crux of the matter had been the procedural justice of the police. The findings on violent crime victimization were mixed. More often than not, however, victims of violent crime seemed to emphasize the effectiveness of the police.

Perceived procedural justice of the police and perceived effectiveness of the police were present in most of the reviewed studies as predictor variables. The outcome variables varied a lot across the studies. In many of them it was the victim's reporting decision, rather than her or his trust in, or conception of the legitimacy of, the police. We decided to keep all of these studies on the radar of our review, including studies on reporting decisions. There are four (2×2) distinct parts to the review, therefore, along the lines of the two different types of victimization (sexual offence victimization; violent crime victimization) and the two different types of outcome variables (trust, confidence, or legitimacy; reporting decision).

The literate reviews in the current book have been written in a detailed and comprehensive manner. The idea is to give support to our two key audiences (the police and the members of the public), who, as a rule, do not have full access to international databases of scholarly literature. A reader who is not interested in the specifics of earlier research—data, methods, core limitations of earlier analyses—may skip the specifics at will, and turn directly to the section that closes up the literature review (1.2.3 Intermediate Summary).

1.2.1 Victims of Sexual Offence

Trust in the Police among Victims of Sexual Offence

In a study based on 36 cases of sexual assault victimization, Johnson (2017) analyzed victims' experiences of the criminal-legal procedure, and the consequences thereof. Her data were a subset of a more comprehensive data collected in a project conducted by the Ottawa Police Service (OPS). OPS's project aimed at improving the response of the police to violence against women.

Participants of the OPS study were recruited in various ways—websites, social media, bulletin boards, *etc.*—during 2014 and 2015 from a mid-sized Canadian city. Eligible participants had to be female, and at least 18 years of age at the time of the study. At the time of the incident, they had been 7–43 years of age. The OPS succeeded in collecting data from 219 women. A wide majority (187) of them participated in the study online, and the rest over the telephone. The instrument consisted of structured questions, but it also gave plenty of room to autonomous, open-ended responses. The subset of the OPS data selected to Johnson's study consisted of 36 cases in which the incident had been reported to the police (Johnson, 2017, pp. 44–45).

Twenty-five (25/36) women had reported the incident to the police themselves. In the rest of the relevant cases (11/36) someone else had reported the incident on their behalf. Among those who reported the incident themselves, the most important reason for reporting had been the need for protection. Interestingly, they searched for protection not only for themselves, but also for other women in danger. Several of them also stated that they wanted the assailant to be held responsible for the crime and to fully recognize the injustice of the deed (Johnson, 2017, p. 47).

Johnson's (2017) primary interest was in the experiences of the victims, especially as regards their contacts and interaction with the first responding police officer, on the one hand, and the detective specialized in sexual offences who took the case from the first responder, on the other hand.

Johnson (2017) detected three distinct topics in her data.

1. The victims invariably suffered from personal trauma.
2. They often encountered disbelief and skepticism in the course of the procedure—neither the first responding police officer nor the specialized detective seemed to believe their story.
3. A common overall feeling among the victims concerning the entire criminal-legal procedure was that of procedural injustice.

Our focus will be on the second and third of these topics (on victims' trauma experiences, see Johnson, 2017, pp. 53–54).

Exactly half (50%) of the victims who had had a follow-up interview with the specialized investigating detective reported that the detective believed their story. Regarding the first responding police officers, the corresponding estimate was 44%. Sceptic officers' interpretation was, for example, that the concept of "rape" had been used "too liberally" by the victim, or that the assailant's story was as credible as that of the victim, or that there was simply not enough evidence to charge the assailant, or that the victim hadn't fought hard enough against the assailant ("a 'real' victim would put up a vigorous fight"). At least two of the victims were reminded of the consequences of lying to the police. A case where two teenage girls had been sexually assaulted in 2003 was simply dropped by the police; the first responding police officer gave no weight to the story of the young victims (Johnson, 2017, pp. 49–53).

Johnson (2017) referred to an interesting pair of findings from the scholarly literature, regarding police officers' skepticism. Studying 891 US police officers, Amy Dellinger Page found in her 2008 study that 50% of the officers estimated that 50% of the complainants were lying when claiming that they had been raped. For 10% of the officers the estimate was higher than this. In reality, according to David Lisak *et al.*'s study from 2010, which covered a 10 year stretch of sexual assault cases, the share of false reports lies somewhere between 2% and 10% (both of these two references by Johnson, 2017, p. 52; see also Stanek

et al., 2023, p. 29, who have subsequently come up with similar empirical evidence, and; McQueen *et al.*, 2021, p. 2, who reported about a prior meta-analysis which arrived at the estimate of 5% of false reporting in sexual assault cases). By implication, there are lots of victim-survivors of sexual assault whose stories are not believed by the criminal-legal system.

Johnson (2017, p. 54) noted that all observations of her study “(...) converge on procedural justice.” If the criminal-legal system takes the victim’s story seriously, if the victim’s side of the story is given the weight it deserves, and if this is done in a respectful and dignified manner, perceived procedural justice and legitimacy of the authorities will be served. Yet, Johnson reported that less than half (44%) of the victims in her sample thought that the specialized detective was considerate of their feelings and thoughts; that s/he made them feel comfortable when telling about the incident; and that s/he explained what will happen in the process, actually answering their questions. Estimates of the conduct of the first responding officer were worse, ranging between 22–36% (Johnson, 2017, p. 55).

According to Aborisade (2021), open-air music festivals constitute a setting in which the probability of sexual harassments and assaults is heightened. Incidents have been reported from Sweden, for example (the Bravalla music festival), California (Coachella), Tasmania, New Zealand (Falls Festival), and India (Holi festivals). In his own study, relying on in-depth interviews, Aborisade interviewed 47 Nigerian women who had been subjected to sexual harassment or assault in One Lagos Fiesta (formerly Lagos Countdown), Calabar Carnival, The Carniriv, or Kaduna Music Festival (*ibidem*, pp. 68–69, p. 78).

The aim of Aboride’s (2021) study was to gain insights into the largely unexplored phenomenon. The study was inductive, relying on content analysis in the sense Krippendorff (2013) has defined the method, including intercoder reliability tests in the vein of the methodology. Theoretically, Aborisade referred to Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann’s theory of the spiral of silence, according to which victims of sexual offence remain silent about the incident due to fear of isolation in their own communities (*ibidem*, p. 71, p. 74, pp. 76–77), and found that his observations largely corroborate her theoretical outlook on the reasons for non-reporting (*ibidem*, p. 84).

The participants were called to take part in the study by the means of pamphlets, posters, and social media and other web-based advertisements. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2018 and 2019 either over the phone, as face-to-face interviews, or online with the help of Skype or WhatsApp. Eligible participant had to be female. They had to have been at least 18 years of age at the time of victimization, and music festival attendees in Nigeria, and sexually victimized (sexual harassment, sexual assault) in the festival (Aborisade, 2021, pp. 74–75, p. 77).

The interviewees did not consider verbal sexual harassment as a sexual offence at all. Their stories thus focused on incidents of physical sexual harassment and sexual assault/violence (incidents of verbal harassment were ‘normal’ and ‘countless,’ according to the interviewees). Many of the interviewees had been victimized more than once in music festivals. In total, they recalled 124 such incidents in the course of the interviews (Aborisade, 2021, pp. 78–79).

There were two categories to the experiences. *Sexual harassment* had to do with “(...) touching, slapping, rubbing, pressing, and grabbing sensitive parts of their body such as buttocks, breast, and the vaginal area.” *Sexual assault* victims had been raped. Sixteen (16/47) interviewees had been raped “in or around the [festival] venue” (Aborisade, 2021, pp. 79–80).

All participants of the study self-reported detrimental physical and emotional consequences, yet only 3/47 had sought help from medical or therapeutic professionals. Zero (0/47) participants had reported the incident to the police or to other law enforcement authorities. Two (2/16) rape victims had reported the incident to the music festival management, “but to no avail,” according to Aborisade (2021, pp. 80–81).

The reasons for not reporting the incident to the police were the same for all those who had suffered from sexual harassment. They considered the incident “minor,” or “irrelevant,” and so frequent that the prisons would be “(...) filled up by now.” Hence, even though victims of sexual harassment had been emotionally shaken by the incident, they simply decided to “move on” in life (Aborisade, 2021, p. 81).

Majority of both sexual harassment and sexual assault victims expressed lack of confidence in the police. Sexual assault victims, furthermore, had doubts

about the investigating capacities of the police and were afraid of secondary victimization by the police. This was not necessarily an unlikely prospect. In one of the sexual harassment incidents, when a group of men attacked and harassed a group of five female festival performers (dancers), one of the members of the group of attackers turned out to be a uniformed police officer, “(...) trying hard to dip his fingers into my vaginal area,” and when he didn’t succeed in doing so, as the victim code-named Brenda fought back, the officer “hit me at the lower part of my stomach” and vanished (Aborisade, 2021, pp. 81–82).

Other reasons for non-reporting expressed by the victims coincided with the spiral theory. Victims of sexual assault, in particular, were afraid of isolation and stigmatization in their communities as a result of telling about the incident to their family, their partner, or to the police. They often suffered from self-blame, too, as if the incident had been their own fault: they had, for example, been warned against going to the festival without male company, or they may have had a drink or two during the event, or found “wrong” company from the festival (Aborisade, 2021, pp. 82–84).

McQueen *et al.* (2021) studied the effects of not being believed by the police on perceived (self-reported) personal health of sexual assault victims. Their data were collected from Ontario, Canada, in 2019, with the help of proactive non-random sampling. Potential participants were approached and recruited to the study by the means of Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, and with the help of social service providers who had been informed about the study. Thirty-seven (37) women expressed their interest in the study, of whom 23 were deemed to be eligible. The participants had to be at least 16 years of age, and English-speaking. They also had to have experienced sexual assault, to have reported it to the police with the effect that the police did not believe their story—not only according to their own estimate, but also on the basis of the following eligibility criteria of the study: that the victim was sure that the sexual assault took place, that the victim would have wanted to pursue charges, that the police never laid charges in the case, and that the perpetrator was never taken to court (*ibidem*, pp. 2–3).

The semi-structured interviews of the study were conducted over the telephone or as face-to-face interviews. Methodologically, the study was based on phenomenology and content analysis in the form of the so-called *Colaizzi method* (see McQueen *et al.*, 2021, pp. 3–4).

According to McQueen *et al.* (2021), not being believed by the police led to three detrimental effects among the victim-survivors. These were 1. *Broken expectations*, consisting of *loss of trust in the police* and *secondary victimization* due to defective criminal procedure; 2. *Loss of self*, in the form of the loss of sense of self-worth, self-esteem, self-image, or self-confidence, and; 3. *Cumulative effects on physical and mental health*. Being failed by the criminal-legal system added to the damage caused by the original victimization. In combination, they led to consequences such as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), depression, and increased intake of alcohol or drugs.³

Aborisade (2023) interviewed 27 persons, 21 victims of rape and 6 expert employees working in women's advocacy groups in Lagos, Nigeria, to analyze 1. interaction between the police and victims of rape, 2. the victims' willingness to report the incident and to continue pursuing the case during the criminal procedure, and 3. the effects of the criminal procedure on mental health of the victims. One of the dimensions of interest in the study had to do with the effects of the criminal procedure on perceived legitimacy of the police *ex-post* the procedure.

Theoretically, Aborisade's (2023) study was based on Tyler's (1990/2006) theory of procedural justice, and on its key conceptual components.⁴ Three-coder reliability tests were used in the study to ensure that the data were coded in a reliable manner. Krippendorff's alpha for the coding reliability was 0.91.

Five out of 21 (5/21) rape victims thought that the first contact with the police was promising in the sense that they were encouraged to report the incident and to continue with pursuing their rights. The assessments of the rape victims were based on police officers' facial expressions, their body language displaying (lack of) interest in the case or (lack of) empathy, or on sheer victim-blaming or "slut-shaming," or on police officers' explicitly expressed doubts about the case, or on what they saw as deliberate delays in the process (Aborisade, 2023, p. 7).

Of the 27 cases analyzed in the study 11 were still active at the time of the interviews, whereas 16 had been withdrawn from the process. In 13 out of 16 withdrawn cases, reference was made to the role of the police in the criminal procedure. Some of the experiences were very serious, according to the interviewees. The police officers had, for example, solicited bribes from the victims, lost vital documents of evidence in the course of the process, extorted

the victims, sexually advanced them, and sexually intimidated them (Aborisade, 2023, p. 7).

The experiences affected the victims' confidence in the police and in the judicial system in general. Trust was eroded among those who had had confidence in the police before the incident as well as among those who had had low confidence in the police to begin with (Aborisade, 2023, pp. 7–8).

Victims' experiences affected their physical and mental wellbeing. The reason for seeking justice was that the victims wanted to alleviate the traumatic experiences resulting from the assault. They had expected that the police would take the case, show empathy, dedicate proper investigative resources and intelligence to the case, and provide the victims with protection against future victimization. A fair majority of the victims were disappointed in their expectations. The victims self-reported about severe forms of mental distress, due to failed criminal procedure, including anxiety, depression, personality disorder, and suicidal ideation (Aborisade, 2023, pp. 8–9).

Aborisade (2023, p. 10) concludes that his observations fall in line with the theoretical expectations based on Tyler's theory of procedural justice. Feelings of injustice were often profound. Victims' reactions to these feelings ranged from passive acceptance to code-name Ngozi's solution: "I simply paid some thugs to help me take my revenge. They beat the hell out of the guy and I felt better afterwards (...)"

Johnson *et al.* (2024) analyzed the concept of procedural justice as understood by victims of sexual offence themselves (see also Hohl *et al.*, 2022). Their data derived from 42 victims of sexual offence who participated in support organization -affiliated panel group discussions in England. To secure qualitatively rich and comprehensive coverage of the study, one of the five panel groups targeted specifically male victims, one targeted ethnic minority victims (female), and one targeted victims with learning disabilities and/or autism (female). Of the 43 victims, 28 had reported the incident to the police.

The four key components of procedural justice—trustworthiness, neutrality, voice, and respect—formed the point of departure in Johnson *et al.*'s (2024) study, and were largely confirmed by their panel data. The authors, however, ended up suggesting a few specifications of,⁵ and one important addition to, the list.

Johnson *et al.* (2024, pp. 12–13) added *safety* to the list of constitutive components of procedural justice. This was a real concern for the participants of their study. While some of them told that they knew they were in danger of being killed, some pointed out that what the police had done in the process had put them in greater danger still—the police, for example, having shared victim’s personal information with the suspect. Not being believed by the police was devastating. The victims who felt they were in danger were made to feel that they were not only “annoying,” but “overly anxious,” or even “irrational.”

Reporting Decisions by Victims of Sexual Offence

Struyf (2023) conducted a systematic review of studies that have analyzed reasons for non-reporting among sex workers. The study was based on three different literature search strategies, 1. Searching peer-reviewed literature from 12 different databases; 2. Searching grey literature from the Internet, and; 3. Utilizing reference lists of relevant articles. Struyf detected 2,799 potential articles in total, having first eliminated duplicates. To be eligible to the review, the data of the study had to derive from period of time between 1999 and 2021, the study had to be available in English, the study had to use empirical data on sex workers’ willingness to report their victimization to the police, the participants of the study had to work in actual physical contact with customers, in addition to which the study had to pass certain quality requirements. The participants could be male, female, or transgender.

Title and abstract review reduced the number of potential articles to 46. Full-text review reduced the number to 9 studies, the primary reason for rejecting articles having been that reasons for (non-)reporting among sex workers had not been analyzed in the study (Struyf, 2023, p. 3066).

Four categories of reasons for non-reporting were detected in Struyf’s (2023) review. The first of these was 1. *Fear of punishment*. Contacting the police could lead to a situation in which the victim her- or himself was prosecuted or fined, whether for the reason of their trade (if their status as sex workers in the institutional setting of the country was illegal/unofficial), their use of drugs, their illegal immigrant status, or for some other reason. The second reason was 2. *Fear of maltreatment*. Distrust in the police is usually high among sex workers. They don’t expect to be fairly treated by the police. 2.1. There is the prospect of not been taken seriously at all by the police, or then the police believe the customer’s story, rather than their own story. 2.2. Sex workers also

anticipate that they will experience victim-blaming due to their occupation. 2.3. They are also afraid of police brutality. Findings from Zambia, Mexico, and Australia demonstrate that sex workers' encounters with the police can be unpredictable. Police violence against sex workers has been observed in empirical studies, in addition to which the police have solicited bribes from sex workers. The police have also demanded sexual services from sex workers. Sex workers also suffer from 3. *Fear of exposure*. Many sex workers are protected by their anonymity. They do not want to be exposed as sex workers to their family, their friends, their community, or to the judicial authorities. Eventually, there is the 4. *Fear of impunity*. It makes no sense to report, if nothing can be expected to come out of the process (*ibidem*, pp. 3068–3071).

Using semi-structured interviews and methodologically phenomenological approach, Acquaviva and Gullion (2024) analyzed perceived procedural justice among victims of sexual violence. They analyzed their data to detect and describe expressions of the four key aspects of procedural justice: trustworthiness, neutrality, respect and dignity, and voice. In what follows, we will concentrate on their second research question: "What are the perceptions of procedural justice discussed by survivors of sexual violence who sought for help from the police and survivors who did not seek help from the police?" (*ibidem*, p. 6).

Data collection was implemented with the help of research invitations in various different platforms, Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn, Instagram, Listservs, as well as with the help of flyers delivered in four distinct Crisis Centers in Texas, Florida, and New York. The participants had to be 18 years old, victims of sexual violence, and US residents. The research project succeeded in attracting 55 participants, who were then interviewed either over the phone or online using Zoom. Information was collected on participants' demographic characteristics, victimization experiences, the consequences of victimization, and reporting decisions after the incident. Acquaviva and Gullion's focus in their 2024 study was on the last item on the list (*ibidem*, p. 7).

The component of procedural justice (or injustice) most often mentioned by the victims was *respect and dignity* (38%, 21/55 having mentioned respect and dignity). Half of those who had reported the incident to the police (7/14), and a third of those who hadn't done so (14/41), mentioned respect and dignity. Victims' concerns, whether experienced (reporters) or anticipated (non-

reporters), had to do with victim-blaming, on the one hand, and invasive and—for the victim—often incomprehensible questions in pre-trial investigation. From the reporters the police had asked questions such as, what the victim was wearing, or had she been drinking alcohol, without explaining the reason for these types of questions. Blaming the victim for her victimization, and/or asking invasive questions, were considered as expressions of disrespect (Acquaviva & Gullion, 2024, pp. 10–11).

Trustworthiness had the next highest prevalence (33%, 18/55), mentioned by 4/14 reporters and 14/41 non-reporters. The public track record of the police in general wasn't encouraging in the eyes of the victims, in addition to which some of the victims had negative personal experiences of similar encounters in the past (Acquaviva & Gullion, 2024, pp. 11–13).

Neutrality, or *fairness*, was mentioned by 13/55 (24%) participants, 2/14 of whom were reporters and 11/41 non-reporters. Reference was made to contextual factors such as being drunk, willingly going to perpetrator's house with him, or not fighting against the perpetrator, which—the non-reporters assumed—would have been unfairly used against them (Acquaviva & Gullion, 2024, pp. 13–14).

Approximately 7% (4/55) of the participants of the study mentioned the *voice* component of procedural justice, two of them coming from the group of reporters (2/14) and two from the group of non-reporters (2/41). In both of these two groups the participants would have wanted to be genuinely heard by the police, but were often denied the opportunity to answer the questions in full. Instead, they were rushed forward to next questions on the agenda, the police posing ever new questions to them at few seconds' intervals (Acquaviva & Gullion, 2024, pp. 14–15).

Wieberneit *et al.* (2024) conducted a systematic literature review focusing on the barriers to reporting, to investigating, to prosecuting, and to sentencing in cases of serious sexual offences (rape, sexual assault). The data of their study originated in PsychInfo, MEDLINE, Cochrane Library, Scopus, ProQuest Central, and Web of Science databases, and were supplemented with gray literature search. There were several eligibility criteria to the original studies.⁶ After title and abstract reviews and then full text reviews, 28 relevant articles remained for the final analysis. Of the remaining articles, 15 were methodologically

qualitative and 7 quantitative. The rest of them (6) had employed mixed methods. Participants in the original studies were mostly victimized women (79%), but there were also police officer participants in the studies, and prosecutors, and victim advocates (21%). There was a tendency for the studies to concentrate on the beginning part of the criminal-legal procedure, so that barriers to reporting were analyzed in 16 studies, barriers to investigating in 7 studies, barriers to prosecuting in 5 studies, and barriers to sentencing in 2 studies (Wieberneit *et al.*, 2024, pp. 4–6).

Thirty (30) distinct *barriers to reporting* were mentioned in 15 different studies. The barrier with the highest prevalence was fear of consequences, including “getting in trouble, getting others in trouble, losing someone, own safety,” *etc.* Next items in the list were self-blame, including shame and/or guilt; subjective “minimization and/or denial of the experience,” and; fear of maltreatment by law enforcement authorities, or legal professionals, or other corresponding representatives of the justice system. The authors listed six further barriers to reporting, in addition to the above four factors (see Wieberneit *et al.*, 2024, p. 9).

Barriers to investigation were mentioned in eight original studies. Of the 22 distinct barriers mentioned in the studies, the prevalence of the six most often mentioned barriers were practically the same. They were intoxication at the time of the incident, having a sex worker’s status, and two distinct prior/*ex-ante* biases against the victims, which had to do with ideas according to which “(...) victims fabricate their experiences of sexual victimization,” and “(...) use false complaints to seek attention and/or revenge.” “[I]nconsistencies in the complaint,” and “lack of (...) corroborating evidence” were also on the list (Wieberneit *et al.*, 2024, p. 9).

Six different studies had listed 14 distinct *barriers to prosecuting*. Of these six studies, three referred to lack of hard evidence (DNA) in the case, and the next ones to the following, closely related issues: “lack of (...) corroborating evidence,” “jurors want near certainty,” and “victim not credible” (Wieberneit *et al.*, 2024, p. 9).

Four distinct *barriers to sentencing* were mentioned in two studies, each of which was mentioned only once. They had to do with the perpetrator being the partner or ex-partner of the victim (coded separately in the study); lack of appropriate training of the judicial authorities in cases of the category; and the

court system in general being incompatible with the needs of the victims and their families (Wieberneit *et al.*, 2024, pp. 9–10).

1.2.2 Trust in the Police: Victims of Violent Crime

Trust in the Police among Victims of Violent Crime

Using ordinal logit regression analysis, Berthelot *et al.* (2018) analyzed the effects of personal and vicarious violent crime victimization on several different dimensions of trust in the police and the courts. In the police models of their study, separate from the court models, the outcome variables were *trust in the police in general*, *confidence in crime fighting capacity of the police*, and *confidence in fair treatment of the people by the police*. The data for the study came from the Racial Attitudes Survey conducted in 2013 in Pulasky County, Arkansas.

In the police models of the study, *personal violent crime victimization* was a statistically significant predictor of confidence in crime fighting capacity of the police (–) (reducing confidence, with OR < 1.00), but not of the other two outcome variables. *Vicarious violent crime victimization* was a statistically significant predictor of confidence in crime fighting capacity of the police (–) and trust in the police in general (–), but not of confidence in fair treatment of the people by the police. In other words, while confidence in crime fighting capacity of the police was a function of both personal and vicarious violent crime victimization, and trust in the police in general was a function of vicarious violent crime victimization, confidence in fair treatment of the people by the police was a function of neither of these predictors (Berthelot *et al.*, 2018).

Using Dutch face-to-face interview data from 2015, Koster *et al.* (2020) conducted a study of the experiences of recent victims of economic crime and violent crime. Specifically, the authors were interested in victims' assessments of procedural justice of the police (trustworthiness, neutrality, respect, and voice), effectiveness of the police, and intentions of the victims to cooperate with the police in the future.

Data were collected from people who had been recently victimized and who had reported the crime to The Hague police. They were sent a letter by the police and offered an opportunity to take part in Koster *et al.*'s (2020) study. First, 30 letters were sent to randomly selected victims of the specified crimes,

with a yield of 2 voluntary participants (6.7%), after which another 322 letters were sent to randomly selected victims, with a yield of 30 additional voluntary participants (9.3%). The 32 volunteers had reported 28 distinct crimes to the police. The overlapping cases were from participating couples who had experienced burglary or attempted burglary. By coincidence, exactly 14 out of these 28 crimes, corresponding to 14 interviews, were economic crimes (burglary or attempted burglary), and 14 violent crimes (assault, threat of assault) (*ibidem*, pp. 228–229).

Procedural justice was found to be important for both economic crime and violent crime victims. There was an interesting deviation from the expectation of *neutrality* among some of the victims of violent crime, however, especially among those who had been badly hurt by the offender and were, therefore, deeply involved in the case. They appreciated police officers' empathy in the form of strongly expressed disapproval of not only the chain of the events but also of the offender, as if taking their (the victim's) side in the case. Koster *et al.* also discovered that all victims appreciated the ease of contact with the police and information provided by police, especially timely information on the proceedings of their own case (Koster *et al.*, 2020, pp. 230–231).

Assessments of the effectiveness of the police were different between victims of economic crime and victims of violent crime. Victims of burglary expected to be able to file an insurance claim on the basis of the police report. Not much more than basic investigation was expected from the police. Things were different among those particular victims of burglary who had been deeply touched by the crime, or even outraged because of it. They expected results from the investigation. In this respect, they resembled victims of violent crime. Almost all victims of violent crime expected the police to make the offender understand that what the offender did was wrong and should not, and would not, be tolerated. If the police failed to accomplish this, especially if the case was left uncleared, victims of violent crime felt "(...) abandoned, alienated and excluded" (Koster *et al.*, 2020, p. 232).

Future cooperation with the police was also in danger in cases of violent crime victimization. The victims who thought that they were left alone with the case often thought, also, that they couldn't count on police protection. Among some of the victims of violent crime (12 cases) this led to ideas of vigilantism. Especially young male victims of violent crime—unlike old male victims, or

female victims—appeared to be ready to act on these ideas (*ibidem*, pp. 233–235).

Policy-wise, Koster and colleagues suggested that the police should try to identify those particular victims of violent crime whose feelings of anger and resentment against the offender have been intensified, and to convince these people of their individual value and of their value to their communities, and to take a clear stance against crimes such as the one experienced by the victim. This is particularly important in cases where the crime goes unsolved (Koster *et al.*, 2020, p. 238).

Reporting Decisions by Victims of Violent Crime

Kwak *et al.*'s (2019) study on *the code of the street*—a factor that is supposed to inhibit cooperation with the police in disadvantaged, crime-stricken neighborhoods—offered important insights into violent crime reporting decisions. The code of the street may be understood as an alternative path to safety; alternative, that is, to the criminal-legal system. It is an alternative way of protecting oneself and one's family. It relies on tough and aggressive response to any violation of one's rights to physical or mental integrity, property, *etc.*, not excluding the use of preemptive strikes. People living in neighborhoods characterized by the code of the street may thus be expected to be likelier to leave violent crime unreported, compared to people living in neighborhoods with no such code. They resort to private means of vigilance. "Snitching" is discouraged in these neighborhoods, and the police usually suffer from lack of public trust and support. Kwak *et al.* thus assumed that, "(...) respondents who perceive codes of violence in their communities are less likely to report crime to the police" (*ibidem*, p. 26).

Kwak *et al.* (2019) further assumed that *perceived procedural justice of the police* (measured as *injustice*) and *perceived effectiveness of the police* (measured as *ineffectiveness*), too, affect violent crime reporting decisions. They also incorporated *fear of crime* and *prior victimization, seriousness of the crime* (injury, the use of a weapon), and *ethnic background* variables (Black, other) into their models, along with other variables and controls. The outcome variable was dichotomous: whether (= 1) or not (= 0) the respondent had reported the most recent assault victimization case to the police (*ibidem*, pp. 28–29).

The data of the study were collected from Seattle in 2002–2003 (the Seattle Neighborhoods and Crime Survey, SNCS). Of the 3,759 respondents of the study, 687 respondents self-reported that they had been victims of violent crime during the last two years preceding the survey (“physically attacked, beaten up, or threatened”). This was the data subset analyzed by Kwak *et al.* (2019, p. 28).

In the logit models estimated by Kwak *et al.* (2019), *perceived procedural injustice of the police* reduced (–) the propensity to report violent crime to the police in a statistically significant manner, holding all other variables constant. *Fear of crime* (increasing the propensity, +) and *prior victimization* (–) were also statistically significant predictors of violent crime reporting decisions. *Perceived ineffectiveness of the police* and *perceived code of the street* in one’s own neighborhood were statistically non-significant predictors of violent crime reporting.⁷ Of the situational characteristics of the incident, *use of weapon* and *the victim being injured* in the incident both increased (+) the propensity to report (Kwak *et al.*, 2019, p 31).

Using data from Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW, 2017/2018–2019/2020) and logistic regression analysis, Timukaite and Buil-Gill (2024) analyzed the effect of perceived effectiveness of the police on violent crime reporting (yes = 1, ~reported; no = 0, ~not reported). They controlled for a series of other variables in their final model, including age, gender, ethnic background of the respondent, education, and situational characteristics of the incident. The models also contained survey methodology controls, such as repeated victimization and time (*i.e.*, the survey rounds).

The violent crime categories incorporated into the dichotomous outcome variable were serious wounding, other wounding, common assault, attempted assault, serious wounding with sexual motive, other wounding with sexual motive, robbery, and attempted robbery. Perceived effectiveness of the police was measured with the help of three items, “The police in this area can be relied on to be there when you need them,” “The police in this area are dealing with the things that matter to this community,” and “Taking everything into account I have confidence in the police in this area” (Timukaite & Buil-Gill, 2024, pp. 6–8).

In the final model of the study perceived effectiveness of the police was a statistically non-significant predictor of violent crime reporting. Only gender (+ for female, OR > 1.00), age (+ for 25 years old or older respondents), the victim having been injured in the incident (+), and the offender having used weapon in the incident (+), were statistically significant predictors of violent crime reporting. The predictive power of Timukaite and Buil-Gill's (2024, p. 12) logit models was modest by the criteria of pseudo R^2 s. They ranged between 0.003 and 0.056.

1.2.3 Intermediate Summary

Findings from studies that have addressed sexual offence victimization differ from studies that have analyzed violent crime victimization.

- For victims of sexual harassment and sexual assault, perceived procedural justice of the police is by far the most important factor of trust and legitimacy, and maybe also of their reporting decisions (Johnson, 2017; Aborisade, 2021; 2023; McQueen *et al.*, 2021; Struyf, 2023; Acquaviva & Gullion, 2024; Johnson *et al.*, 2024; Wieberneit *et al.*, 2024; see also Stanek *et al.*, 2023).
- Perceived procedural injustice tends to have other consequences, too, in addition to its effects on trust, legitimacy, and reporting decisions. Considering the various aspects of the concept—skepticism by the police of the victim's side of the story, disrespect for the victim's rights and her/his value as an individual, victim-blaming, and eventual non-response by the police (ignoring/dropping the case)—it has been found to have long-term physical, mental, and behavioral consequences for the victims. These include PTSD, depression, increased alcohol and drug intake, homelessness, repeated subsequent victimization, and suicidal ideation (Johnson, 2017; McQueen *et al.*, 2021; Aborisade, 2023).
- Emotional safety and actual police protection during and after the criminal procedure are important to victims of sexual harassment and assault (Johnson *et al.*, 2024; Wieberneit *et al.*, 2024). Johnson *et al.* (2024) considered *safety* as the fifth inner conceptual component of procedural justice.

Findings from studies that have analyzed violent crime victimization have been mixed. It does appear to be the case, however, that

- Perceived effectiveness of the police is important to victims of violent crime, whether in terms of their trust in the police or their crime reporting decisions. These victims would appear to appreciate proper investigative effort and performance by the police. According to Koster *et al.* (2020), they want to see the police make it absolutely clear to the offender that what s/he did was wrong and must not happen again. They want the crime to be cleared (Berthelot *et al.*, 2018; Koster *et al.*, 2020; see also Lee *et al.*, 2023).
- Kwak *et al.* (2019) observed similar but only a weak connection between perceived ineffectiveness of the police and violent crime reporting. The connection was detected in a specific subset of their research participants, namely among Black minority respondents, but not among other respondents.
- Timukaite and Buil-Gil (2024), using CSEW data, detected no statistically significant dependency between perceived effectiveness of the police and violent crime reporting.

1.3 Data

The data of the study are based on a random sample that targeted active-age population (15–75) living in mainland Finland. The data were collected by Statistics Finland between 1.10.2022 and 14.12.2022 in the Police Barometer Survey (PBS) 2022 project, the central results of which have been reported in the standard report by the Ministry of the Interior (2023). Courtesy of Police University College and the Ministry of the Interior, we have had the opportunity to use these data for further qualitative analysis of the open-ended answers of the study. Of the 4,044 respondents of PBS 2022, 2,302 people answered the open-ended question on trust in the operation of the police (*cit.*). Our interest is in those particular text records in which the respondents referred either to violent crime victimization or sexual offence victimization.

The data and the research setting are unique in the sense that the respondents themselves raised up the issue of victimization in the context of trust (autonomously, spontaneously). In this sense, as far as we are aware of, the study differs from all earlier literature (see Chapter 1.2).

By implication, the incident of victimization must have been very important to these respondents. However, it was not always an incident of personal victimization. Some of the respondents who raised up these issues were family members of the victim, or victim's close relatives, or neighbors, or other persons close to the victim.

It is not possible to give an exact data description of the subset of respondents who took up these issues in the survey in terms of their age, gender, education, *etc.* This is because in the PBS project, for reasons of data protection, the qualitative part of the data was kept strictly separate from the quantitative part of the data. The data subset of the study may suffer from selection bias. In a qualitative analysis this is not necessarily a damaging issue, yet it is something that needs to be considered as a limitation of the study and of its findings.

1.4 Methods

1.4.1 Units of Analysis

The point of departure in the coding reliability tests and in the subsequent in-depth analysis of the relevant text records is the methodology of content analysis as depicted by Krippendorff (2013). The text records as the objects of the analysis are *the sampling units* of the study. A text record is a passage or passages of text written by the respondent as an answer to the open-ended question (*cit.*).

Two coders read through all text records of the data. There were two phases to the coding exercise.

1. Semi-quantitative analysis of prevalence. In the first phase, consisting of two distinct and independent rounds of coding (see Chapter 1.4.2), the coders were after text records where the respondent had referred to violent crime victimization or sexual offence victimization. Whenever such a reference was detected, the record was considered eligible to the final qualitative analysis of the study. The incident referred to, in the record, could have been assault or aggravated assault, threat of an assault, robbery or a threat of robbery, bullying, physical or mental intimidation, sexual harassment, sexual assault, *etc.* All such text records were eligible to in-depth analysis, whether the incident had been

referred to by the victim her- or himself, or by some other party, such as a family member, a relative, or a neighbor. In the final analysis, after reliability testing, we arrived at 38 text records describing violent crime victimization as a factor of trust, and 31 records related to sexual offence victimization (Chapter 1.5.1).

2. In-depth content analysis. The second phase of coding was fully data-driven. First, the two coders, again independently, aimed at identifying propositions *within the text records*. What the respondent had wanted to say in writing her or his passage(s) of text? What, specifically, was (were) her or his proposition(s), concerning victimization and the formation of trust? In this phase of the analysis, one *sampling unit* (text record) could, and often did, contain several different *semantical coding units* (propositions). Secondly, still independently, the coders searched for common themata *across the semantical coding units* they had found. How to conceptualize the categories of propositions, so as to be able to code them across all relevant text records (all individual respondents)?

In the final phase of the analysis, the two coders began to cooperate in the conceptualization exercise. They found that in the independent phases of coding their ideas had converged towards two broad categories of propositions. In the case of one of the coders, say coder i, this had happened at a bit higher level of conceptual aggregation/abstraction than in the case of coder j—or, in other words, in the case of coder j, at a higher level of detail and distinction than in the case of coder i. Both coders, furthermore, found these two broad categories of propositions from both data subsets, *i.e.*, from the sexual offence victimization data subset and from the violent crime victimization data subset. No coding reliability tests were conducted in the final phase of the analysis (in-depth content analysis) (Chapter 1.5.2).

1.4.2 Coding Reliability Tests and Content Analysis

NVivo program was used in the study in coding and handling the data, but not in the final analyses. Technically, in the coding reliability analysis, we followed the lead of Vuorensyrjä and Rauta (2025, pp. 47–50; the shortcut equation 1.3) and Krippendorff (2013, pp. 277–309; consult Krippendorff on the alfa reliability test and on the original, complete mathematics). A few changes were made here to the terminology as well as to the mathematical notations of these two earlier studies.

In this study, two researchers i and j conducted an independent analysis of the records r of the data set. $\{R.ij\}^1$ denotes the set of matched inclusive coding from the first coding round (both coders having independently arrived at the same conclusion, according to which the respondent in the text record referred to a case of violent crime victimization / to a case of sexual offence victimization as a factor of trust in the operation of the police). $\{\neg R.ij\}^1$ denotes matched exclusive coding from the first coding round (both coders agreeing that no such reference could be found from the text record). The mixed sets (no match in coding) are denoted as $\{R.i\}^1$ and $\{R.j\}^1$. In the latter kinds of cases (mixed coding results), only one of the two coders had placed the text record in the set of relevant records.

In the second coding round the coders analyzed only the cases that were differently categorized in the first coding round, *i.e.*, the disagreement record sets $\{R.i\}^1$ and $\{R.j\}^1$, but not the agreement record sets. This meant that the agreement rates in the second coding round (2) were necessarily higher (the disagreement rates lower) than the agreement rates (the disagreement rates) in the first coding round (1).

$$\{\neg R.ij\}^2 \geq \{\neg R.ij\}^1$$

$$\{R.ij\}^2 \geq \{R.ij\}^1$$

$$\{R.i\}^2 \leq \{R.i\}^1$$

$$\{R.j\}^2 \leq \{R.j\}^1 \tag{1.1}$$

The asymmetry in the research design also meant that coding reliability rates from the second coding round, measured as Krippendorff's alfas (${}_c\alpha$), could only increase or stay the same, compared to coding reliability rates from the first coding round (on the computation of the alfa, see Krippendorff, 2013, pp. 277–309).

$${}_c\alpha^2 \geq {}_c\alpha^1 \tag{1.2}$$

As a measure of coding reliability, Krippendorff’s alfa compares the number of exact coding matches between two or more coders to all logically possible alternatives that the coders may arrive at. *If* the coding assignment is binary in nature (1; 0), and *if* it is possible to exhaustively code all records in the data set (fully coded data), $c\alpha$ can be computed as follows.⁸

$$c\alpha = 1 - (RK - 1) \frac{\sum_{r=1}^R \left(\frac{b_0 b_1}{K-1} \right)_r}{B_0 B_1} \quad (1.3)$$

where

R is the number of records r under analysis

K is the number of coders

b_0 is the number of binary zero (0) codes for a given record

b_1 is the number of binary one (1) codes for a given record

B_0 is the number of binary zero (0) codes in the analysis in total

B_1 is the number of binary one (1) codes in the analysis in total (the shortcut equation in 1.3 by Vuorensyrjä & Rauta, 2025, p. 49; consult the original complete analysis of $c\alpha$ by Krippendorff, 2013, pp. 277–309).

The acceptable level of coding reliability suggested by Krippendorff (2013, pp. 324–328) is $c\alpha > 0.80$.

1.5 Findings

1.5.1 Prevalence

Table 1.1 gives the results from the semi-quantitative prevalence analyses and the coding reliability tests of the study. The coding criteria here differed from the coding criteria of the standard report by the Ministry of the Interior (2023), yet the order of magnitude as regards the prevalence estimates seems to be approximately the same.

In the Ministry’s report it was estimated that in 1.1% of all records ($N = 2,302$) reference was made to a topic related to violent crime victimization, “Cases of assault are not addressed [by the police], belittling or inappropriate attitude towards assault victims” (*ibidem*, p. 73). Correspondingly, in approximately 1.5%

of all text records respondents had referred to “Sexual offence investigation, belittling or inappropriate attitude towards victims of sexual offence” (*ibidem*, p. 73).

Note that, while in the case of assaults, the Ministry of the Interior (2023) mentioned two different dimensions contributing to distrust (cases left unattended or uncleared; attitude towards the victims), in the case of sexual offence victimization the code consisted of one dimension only (attitude towards the victims). This, too, would seem to correspond to the findings of the current study (Chapter 1.5.2).

The prevalence analyses passed the coding reliability tests (> 0.80). The final reliability estimates were 0.91 (violent crime victimization) and 0.97 (sexual offence victimization) (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Respondents who referred to violent crime victimization or sexual offence victimization in the context of trust: prevalence and coding reliability results

Reference to Violent crime victimization	... Sexual offence victimization
First coding round		
$\{R_{.ij}\}^1$	27	30
$\{R_{.i}\}^1 + \{R_{.j}\}^1$	20	4
$\{\neg R_{.ij}\}^1$	2,255	2,268
α^1	0.725	0.937
Second coding round		
$\{R_{.ij}\}^2$	38	31
$\{R_{.i}\}^2 + \{R_{.j}\}^2$	7	2
$\{\neg R_{.ij}\}^2$	2,257	2,269
α^2	0.914	0.968
$\{R_{.ij}\}^2 / (N = 2,302)$	1.7%	1.3%

1.5.2 Propositions

The most wide-ranging and probably also the most important finding from the analysis was that, in almost all relevant text records, the experiences had been negative. No positive experiences were reported, and there were only a few records with normatively neutral bend in the mix.

The two broad propositional categories that the coders arrived at, in the analysis, were:

1. Inappropriate, disparaging, belittling, or otherwise disrespectful or unfair behavior of the police in cases of violent crime victimization / sexual offence victimization.
2. Violent crimes, assaults, cases of domestic violence, partner / ex-partner violence cases, sexual assaults, sexual harassment cases, cases of sexual intimidation, are neglected / left uninvestigated / uncleared.

For the sake of brevity of expression, we will call (1) “perceived procedural injustice,” and (2) “perceived ineffectiveness.”

It was often difficult to differentiate between these two dimensions within a given text record. They were subtly interconnected with each other. This is probably not a coincidence, for a common emotional factor was detected in the background of both of these two dimensions. This was the feeling of injustice. Reference to (1) perceived procedural injustice was, however, slightly more common among the respondents who referred to sexual offence victimization, and reference to (2) perceived ineffectiveness among those who referred to violent crime victimization.

Sexual Offence Victimization

According to our estimates, 22/31 (71%) of the respondents who raised up the issue of sexual offence victimization in their open-ended answers referred to perceived procedural injustice of the police as one of the key factors contributing to distrust, *i.e.*, to inappropriate, disparaging, belittling, or otherwise disrespectful or unfair behavior of the police in cases of sexual offence.

The *respect and dignity* component of perceived procedural justice was particularly important for victims of sexual offence (disrespect or undignified treatment, in the case of perceived procedural injustice), but the idea of *fairness* was also present in many of these responses (unfairness).

“I think that the good reputation of the Finnish police has been eroding in recent years. Appropriations of the police have contracted, which makes it difficult for them to clear crimes. The crimes that have been revealed within the police, too, and racism, gnaw at my trust. Disparaging attitude towards sexual offence victims, also, and blaming the victim, create a wretched image of the police.”

“(…) The way the police talk about hate crimes and sexual offences and tackles these crimes is disrespectful, with a tendency to blame the victim.”

“Police officers, too, are only human, but in Finland they thoroughly check the backgrounds of police officers, and officers get a good education for the profession. Older police officers seem to have developed a cynical attitude towards the occupation, and as a client I have often been treated in a disagreeable manner due to my appearance. At the age of [X] I fell victim to sexual offence and to my mind the police acted in an indifferent manner in the case.”

“I don’t trust in the ability of the police to help victims of sexual offences, based on my own experiences, and the experiences of my closest. I do trust that in cases of emergency the police will be there, but I don’t trust that they would treat me with respect. I still think of the police as a sort of “boys’ club,” though I do know that there are also female police officers.”

There were also those who referred to *perceived ineffectiveness* of the police, 7/31 (23%) according to our estimates, *i.e.*, people who thought that cases of sexual offence are neglected / left uninvestigated / uncleared.

“Based on my own experiences, I don’t believe that the police do actually intervene in sexual harassment as actively as they should. In other matters I trust in the police and I believe that they assist people when they need help.”

“The way cases are processed affects trust. It appears that cases of domestic violence and sexual offences, for example, are difficult [to the police]. I generally trust in the police, but not in these cases. Investigation takes so much time that cases are barred by the statute of limitation before the legal proceedings.”

“Things are rather ok in Finland. I don’t think that police officers here are corrupted, unlike in other parts of the world. Partner and ex-partner violence are problems here, of which many people remain silent. There have been many cases of rape among my acquaintances, but these are cases that remain unsolved. As a female, my experience is that our society is dangerous.”

In two of the above-mentioned records (2/22; 2/7), perceived procedural injustice and perceived ineffectiveness of the police were both present as intimately interwoven streams of ideas.

“(…) [The officer] pressed me not to bring charges against the perpetrator neglected the fact that I was the one who had been beaten it’s common knowledge that the police never do a shit’s worth to help victims of sexual offences and blame the victim.”

“My trust in the police weakens every single time when a sexual offence goes unsolved, when victims of domestic violence are left without protection, and when a hate crime is not given a proper consideration.”

There were eight (8) propositions in the data set in which the respondents referred to other than the two broad categories of propositions depicted in the above. In addition to 1. general expressions of distrust in the police in cases of sexual offences, respondents referred to 2. the idea according to which the police are reluctant to investigate cases where the perpetrators are immigrants, due to fear of being accused of racism or ethnic profiling, and to 3. the idea according to which the laws are inadequate in the sense that the police have no means of responding to sexual offence victimization as effectively as they should.

Violent Crime Victimization

Respondents who raised up the issue of violent crime victimization in their open-ended answers were more likely to refer to perceived ineffectiveness of the police than to perceived procedural injustice of the police. In twenty-eight (28/38) (74%) of these records reference was made to perceived ineffectiveness of the police as a factor that contributes to distrust. The experience here was that violent crimes are neglected, or go uninvestigated / uncleared.

“Disturbing behavior of intoxicated people is not being addressed in [a town], and ordinary people end up being afraid of / keeping distance from certain groups youngsters due to threat of violence and robbery. Drug dealing goes on in some of the schools, either by the pupils themselves or by a dealer coming from outside (...)”

“I do trust in situations where things are done as if on “an assembly line.” As, for example, when they control speeding in traffic enforcement, or when they do vehicle checkups. Trust is being eroded in cases where individuals need protection. Nothing can be done before something happens. The victim suffers and [her/his] psychic load keeps on growing. The police ought to come and be visible in schools and in other educational institutions!”

“Cases where children and young people are bullied should be more seriously addressed and someone should intervene. I don’t personally believe that these kinds of cases are actually solved by any authority.”

“I have had no need for the police in my civilian life. Nowadays, at my work in emergency and rescue services in sparsely populated area, you cannot get the police rapidly to the scene, never mind the fact that threat of violence has been secularly increasing. I cannot trust that the police arrive to the scene when one needs help during one of our assignments, when a client, for example, goes berserk in the target address or on-the-go in the ambulance. In assignments involving deceased persons, also, one has to wait for hours [for the police]”

In 20/38 (53%) records, reference was made to perceived procedural injustice of the police—to inappropriate, disparaging, belittling, or otherwise disrespectful or unfair behavior of the police in cases of violent crime victimization.

“That I was ousted from my home as a victim of assault, instead of the perpetrator. This, among other things.”

“My own experiences as a plaintiff have been disagreeable. When I ended up victim of an assault, one of the police officers showed empathy, but the other one was unemphatic and made me actually feel worse. When the window of my car was broken, the police came, just noticing that, “there’s this kind of vandalism around.” It seemed that the case was of no interest to the police. I never heard of them again. And so on.”

In thirteen (13/20) of the above-mentioned records (13/28; 13/20) both dimensions—perceived procedural injustice and perceived ineffectiveness of the police—were present.

“A lot of time has passed since my own case, but I don’t trust because, at the time that I would have needed help the most (a case of domestic violence), I was told by a representative of the authorities with marked indifference that the police won’t come until you’re in a coffin!! I’ve suffered from life-long traumas for all I had to go through, so why would I trust, after all this??”

“I don’t trust in the manner in which crimes are dealt with. Assaults are belittled and the victim gets the blame. Cases are not being seriously addressed, nor do the police bother to take cases into the process, especially if young persons are involved even when the cases are serious. This only provokes the perpetrator to go on, as [the perpetrator] suffers no sanctions at all. Trust in the operation of the police has gone.”

“I don’t trust, the police have an impudent attitude even in ordinary day-to-day encounters. Petty crimes are being controlled for, but quite often many of the more serious crimes go unsolved. Especially the way crimes against individuals’ right to physical and mental integrity are dealt with, is blatantly substandard. Cases of narcotics crime, also, tend to go uncleared.”

In addition to perceived ineffectiveness and perceived procedural injustice of the police, seven (7) other types of propositions were detected in the data. The ideas were similar to those associated with sexual offence victimization. The respondents thought that 1. violent crimes tend to go uninvestigated and/or

uncleared in immigrant families, and the perpetrators unpunished, and that; 2. the laws are inadequate in the sense that the police have no proper legal means of responding to violent crime victimization, not at least as effectively as they should.

1.6 Conclusions, Limitations, and Discussion

1.6.1 Conclusions

According to the standard PBS report by the Ministry of the Interior (2023), the most important functions of the police from the point of view of the citizens are the ones in which the police protect individual citizens from serious violations of their right to physical and mental integrity, including protection from violent crimes and sexual offences. Perceived failure of the police to accomplish this (to protect individual citizens from physical or mental harm), especially in personally experienced incidents, constitutes a factor that damages individuals' trust in the operation of the police.

The prevalence of the effect in the population is not large in absolute numbers. However, on the basis of the analysis of the current study, the “effect size,” qualitatively considered, is strong. The people affected by such experiences may have a “wretched image of the police.” Their “trust in the operation of the police [may have] gone.” They may ask, “why would I trust, after all this??”

The weight of perceived ineffectiveness vis-à-vis perceived procedural injustice of the police seemed to be slightly different for victims of violent crime, compared to victims of sexual offence. Among victims of sexual offence, the emphasis was on perceived procedural injustice, whereas among victims of violent crime it was on perceived ineffectiveness of the police.

The difference between the two categories of victims was not razor sharp in this respect. It actually seemed to be the case that, for both kinds of victims, perceived procedural injustice and perceived ineffectiveness had a common emotional denominator—the feeling of injustice.

1.6.2 Limitations

The study is not analytically nor empirically unproblematic, yet, along with its limitations, it has some distinct strengths. The data set is unique, as has already been noted. We were in a position to analyze a data set in which the respondents had autonomously raised up the topic of sexual offence or violent crime victimization in the context of trust in the police. We are not aware of other scholarly studies that would have addressed self-reported effects of victimization on trust in such a setting.

The analyses of prevalence were reliable on the basis of Krippendorff's coding reliability tests (alfas). Moreover, in their in-depth content analyses of the relevant text records, the two coders of the study independently arrived at approximately the same consensual conclusions. Their semi-quantitative and qualitative conclusions, furthermore, came rather close to those of the Ministry of the Interior (2023). The conclusions closely correspond also to the conclusions from earlier scholarly literature.

No conclusions can be drawn, however, as regards the representativeness of the findings. For reasons of data protection, the qualitative data could not be combined with the other data of the PBS 2022. From the point of view of our study this meant that it was not possible to estimate whether or not the respondents in the restricted data subset of this study correspond to the respondents in the full data set by the criteria of background variables. The findings of the study cannot be generalized to the target population of the PBS.

1.6.3 Discussion

Finland ranks high in comparative analyses of trust in the police (European Social Survey, ESS, 2023). The same applies to global rule of law comparison studies, and to the Global Freedom Score (GFS) study, in which the experts of Freedom House analyse citizens' political rights and civil liberties around the world (World Bank, 2025; Freedom House, 2025). It has actually been suggested that a part, perhaps even a major part, of citizens' trust in the police originate in broad, macro-level differences between different countries, not in the way the police treat people in day-to-day interaction, or how effective they are considered to be (Kääriäinen, 2018, p. 296). But, as Kääriäinen (*ibidem*) also notes, contacts between the police and their citizen-clients still retain their importance, much in the vein of the theory of procedural justice.

There are situations in which the operation of the police is decisive. The way the police handle victims of violent and sexual crimes, and investigate their cases, belong to the set of critically important opportunities to build up and further improve citizens' trust in the police.

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2. Against All Odds: Why Citizens' Trust in the Police Withstood the Aarnio Malfeasance Case?

Matti Vuorensyrjä

Abstract

Background and the research questions: The Aarnio malfeasance case was made public in 2013. It remained on the agenda of the district and appeal courts and thus also of the press for more than a decade. The case was serious in the extreme. Detective Chief Inspector Aarnio, the leader of the narcotics crime squad of the Helsinki police district, was eventually convicted for several crimes such as aggravated abuse of public office, aggravated fraud, and aggravated acceptance of a bribe. Citizens' trust in the police, however, changed little or not at all over these years. In the current study we analyze the logic of the respondents who, in a survey, in their answers to an open-ended question on trust in the police, raised up either the issue of corruption in the police in general, or the Aarnio case in particular. How do these respondents depict their own reasoning around the case, and their logic of trust? Why citizens' trust in the police withstood the Aarnio malfeasance case?

Data: The Police Barometer Survey (PBS) 2022 targeted the adult population (15–75) of mainland Finland. The size of the random sample was 8,500, with a good response rate (47.6%, N = 4,044). The open-ended question on trust in the police was answered by 2,302 respondents, of whom 183 persons referred either to corruption in the police in general (112 persons) or to the Aarnio case (71) in particular, or both. These 183 text records constitute the data of the study.

Methods: The data were analyzed with the help of content analysis, the analysis of argumentation, and formal logical analysis. The coding unit in the analysis was the propositional logic of trust as exposed by the respondents in their answers.

Findings: Findings were different for the group of respondents who referred to the Aarnio case (the A group), compared to those who referred to corruption or accepting bribes in the police in general, but not to the Aarnio case (the BC group). Self-reported disappointment or distrust in the police was much more common in the A group than in the BC group of respondents. The mitigating factors mentioned by the respondents—why the respondent still might consider it rational to trust in the police—were also different for the two groups. In the A group the point of departure in the inference was *the existence proposition*: there is evidently corruption in the police. For many respondents in the A group, this had been a shocking discovery, with a detrimental effect on trust. A part of them, however, still thought that the Aarnio case was probably an isolated incident, not something that characterizes the police as a whole. People in the BC group looked at the issue from exactly the opposite logical angle. The point of departure in their inference was *the universal integrity proposition*. A full 80% of them referred to the idea according to which corruption in Finland in general is rare. Hence, they also thought that, all things considered, people in Finland, including public authorities and institutions, and the police, may be expected to be uncorrupted and worthy of trust.

Limitations: It was not possible to confirm the representativeness of the data subset under analysis against the full data set, nor against the sampling framework of the PBS (population), as the open-ended qualitative data of the study could not be merged into the full data set of the PBS.

Keywords: trust, legitimacy, police, scandals, corruption, bribing, the Aarnio case, rationality

2.1 Background and the Research Questions

2.1.1 Background

When Kääriäinen *et al.* (2016) wrote their early analysis of the effects of the Aarnio malfeasance case on citizens' trust in the police, the case had been on the agenda of the press for three years, with varying intensity. Their data covered the first nine weeks after the case had been made public. The storyline gained wide publicity for a reason. It had to do with several serious charges against Detective Chief Inspector Jari Aarnio, the (now former) head of the narcotics crime squad of the Helsinki police district.

As of our writing this article, the case has been on the agenda of the press for eleven years. Judging by the flow of newspaper and magazine articles, books written by journalists, and search engine results from *Google Trends* ("Jari Aarnio," 2004–2024, Finland), public interest in the case has continued from 2013 to this day. In citizens' mindscape, the case is weighty.

The main reason for the continued interest in the case has been the accumulation of serious charges against Aarnio over the years, and thus also recurrent stream of stories in the press. Charges against Aarnio have been many, and they have been serious, ranging from registration offence, aggravated abuse of public office, aggravated fraud, and aggravated acceptance of a bribe, to murder-related omission in the line of duty.

The earliest major charge had to do with the so-called *Trevoc case*. Aarnio was charged with and convicted for favoring Trevoc in a procurement process, a company which provided law enforcement agencies with surveillance and tracking devices, and in which Aarnio himself had a significant stake.⁹

Next, Aarnio was charged with and convicted for aggravated drug offence in the so-called *barrel case*. According to the charge, Aarnio had a role, maybe a leading role, in a ring of criminals that had smuggled hundreds of kilos of hashish in blue hard-plastic barrels from Netherlands into Finland.¹⁰

Yet another major case against Aarnio was the *Volkan Ünsal murder case*, a crime that took place in Helsinki in 2003, in relation to which Aarnio was charged with a serious omission in the line of duty: not preventing the murder.¹¹ The charge

was based on Criminal Code, Chapter 3, Section 3.2, according to which “An omission is punishable (...) if the offender has neglected to prevent the causing of a consequence that accords with the statutory definition, even though he or she had had a special legal duty to prevent the causing of the consequence.”

In 2020, the Helsinki district court gave condemnatory decision to Aarnio in the case (*i.e.*, for not preventing the murder of Volkan Ünsal), but in 2022 the appeal court overturned the conviction, thus releasing Aarnio from charges. In 2023 the supreme court refused to take the case (Supreme Court, 2023), which meant that the decision by the appeal court stayed valid (not guilty).

We do not go any deeper into the case in this study. Suffice it to say that opinions about what had really happened, and thus about the verdicts, still vary widely. The case has been very difficult for basically four reasons.

1. The Helsinki police district’s narcotics crime squad made extensive use of unregistered informants under Aarnio. The strategy was successful. The squad was one of the most effective teams in the police in terms of performance measurement and management. Being an informant in narcotics crime is, of course, dead serious. The squad had to carefully protect their informants, and all information involved. They used well-covered person-to-person contacts, the squad continuously changed the set of mobile phones and prepaid subscriptions they used, and information flows both within the squad and across its boundaries were limited. The number of detectives who had full knowledge of the informants and of the operations of the squad was strictly contained. For this reason, at first at least, detectives of the Helsinki police district’s narcotics crime squad systematically refused to answer many of the questions presented to them in pre-trial investigation, in order to be able to protect their informants (Passi & Reinboth, 2017; Lahtonen & Jussinniemi, 2022). Or did they protect themselves, or the head of the squad, Aarnio?
2. The key witnesses in the case—the informants, whose names were revealed by the court in the course of the criminal procedure, against the will of the squad—have been unreliable in the sense that the concept of *reliability* is used in statistics: their stories have not stayed the same over time. The stories told by the witnesses have been different in court—where they have been primarily

non-condemnatory—compared to stories they told in pre-trial investigation—where the stories were primarily condemnatory (Aarnio & Hänninen, 2017; Passi & Reinboth, 2017; Lahtonen & Jussinniemi, 2022). Were they truthful in court? Or did they tell the truth in pre-trial investigations?

3. Significant sums of money were involved in the case, and they were all in cash. No proper explanation as to their origin was provided by Aarnio, nor by anybody else (Passi & Reinboth, 2017, pp. 263–283; Tamminen, 2019, pp. 101–109; pp. 141–145; see also Aarnio & Hänninen, 2017, pp. 285–301). It proved to be difficult, therefore, if not impossible, to follow the money in the case.
4. Relationships between the Helsinki police district’s narcotics crime squad and some of the detectives of the National Bureau of Investigation (the NBI) had been notoriously hostile for decades, long before the Aarnio case. It was the NBI, nonetheless, that took the charge in the investigation of the case. The quality of investigation has been questioned in many different respects, and in one occasion at least such doubts led to a condemnatory verdict against one of the detectives of the NBI (Kääriäinen *et al.*, 2016, p. 82; Aarnio & Hänninen, 2017; Passi & Reinboth, 2017, pp. 223–228, and *passim*; Lahtonen & Jussinniemi, 2022). Were the NBI detectives objective and fair? Or were they biased against Aarnio in criminal investigation?

Aarnio was convicted for 13 years in prison in total. He has now served his time and is a free man. During his time in prison, Aarnio did several different kinds of voluntary jobs. He, for example, on his own initiative, renovated several different accommodation rooms (common, private) of the prison premises (Lahtonen & Jussinniemi, 2022).

The primary interest of the current study is not in the details of the case. It is in the reasoning of the citizens. Why was it that citizens’ trust in the police withstood the Aarnio malfeasance case? For this is, evidently, what happened.

The proportion of those who thought that corruption within the police is fairly likely, or very likely, increased in the PBSs from approximately 27% to 42%, between 2012 and 2014. And, as noted, the Aarnio case was made public in 2013 (Figure 2.1, the yellow schedule; for a detailed account of the time series, see Figure 2.2). In terms of simple non-parametric test between these two

survey years, the change in perceived corruption was statistically significant (Mann-Whitney U-test, $z = -7.360$, $p < .001$, $N = 1,920$, $r = -0.17$, unweighted data).

The survey respondents' trust in the operation of the police also changed between 2012 and 2014 in a statistically significant manner, but by a much narrower margin of error and weaker effect size (Mann-Whitney U-test, $z = -2.082$, $p < .05$, $N = 2,024$, $r = -0.05$, unweighted data). The changes took place within the positive end of the scale, not across the negative-positive boundary of the four-step scale of trust. Hence, in 2014, approximately 92% of the respondents self-reported that they trust "a lot" or "quite a lot" in the operation of the police, exactly the same as in 2012.

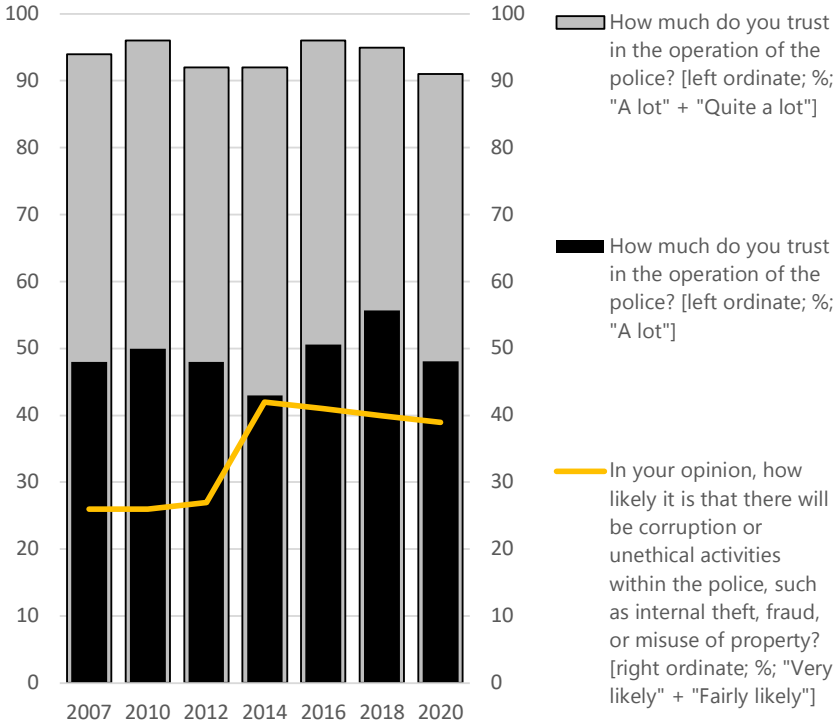


Figure 2.1. Trust in the operation of the police and estimates of the likelihood of corruption within the police, Police Barometer Surveys, 2007–2020

In your opinion, how likely is it that there will be corruption or unethical activities within the police, such as internal theft, fraud, or misuse of property? (%)

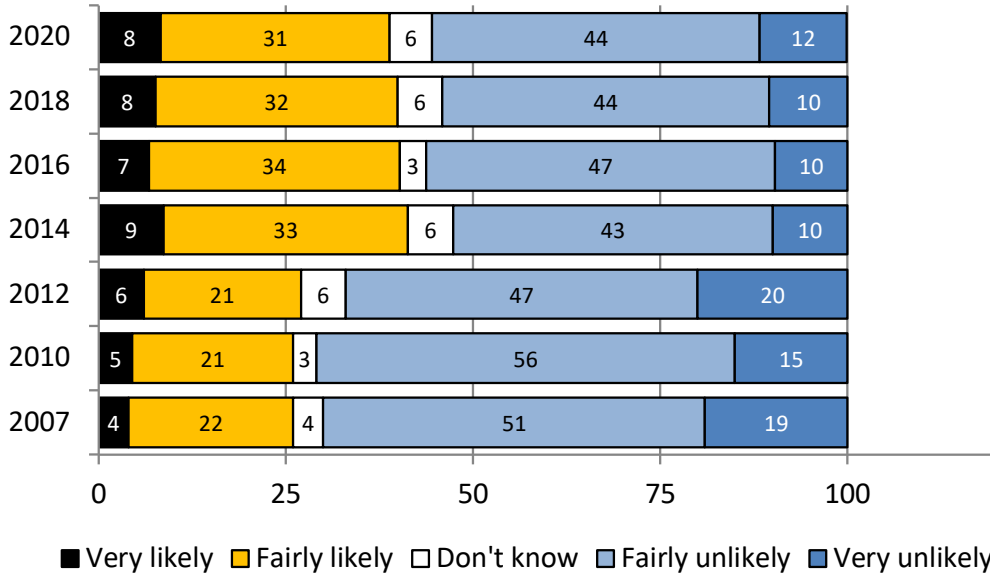


Figure 2.2. Citizens' estimates of the likelihood of corruption within the police, Police Barometer Surveys, 2007–2020

2.1.2 Research questions

In earlier scholarly research, attempts at explaining and understanding the effects of similar scandals and cases of corruption on citizens' trust in the operation of the police have been based on quantitative data, in the main (survey data, register-based comparative databases, follow-up measures of case-related press coverage, *etc.*). Here the analysis is based on qualitative data—answers to an open-ended question on trust in the operation of the police contained in the PBS 2022 data set. How do the respondents who spontaneously raised up the issue of corruption in the context trust in the police formulate their own logic of trust? The data are unique in kind, and the study has only a few if any antecedents in earlier literature (*cf.* Gerber & Mendelson, 2008; Faull, 2010).

The research question of the study is exploratory.

Why citizens' trust in the police withstood the Aarnio malfeasance case?
How do the respondents of the PBS depict their own reasoning around the case, and their logic of trust?

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 Search Terms

The following search terms were used to find peer-reviewed journal articles on the themata.

[trust OR confidence] AND [police OR policing] AND [Aarnio OR scandal OR corrup*tion OR brib*ing]

Our review, below, will follow the key dividing line in the literature. The findings from longitudinal within-country studies have been different from the findings from cross-sectional comparative studies. Our focus is on the former kinds of analyses. We will briefly review them both, however, for the reason that comparing the former kinds of studies to the latter, is revealing.

A few studies, such as Faull's (2010) analysis of corruption in South African police force (a one-off within-country study), fall in-between these two categories. In our review, these studies are placed in the category of within-country studies.

The literate review here has been written in an exceptionally detailed and comprehensive manner. A reader who is not interested in the specifics of earlier research—data, methods, core limitations of earlier analyses—may skip the specifics at will, and turn directly to the section that closes up the review (2.2.4 Intermediate Summary).

2.2.2 Scandals, Corruption, and Trust in the Police: Longitudinal Within-Country Studies

Gerber and Mendelson (2008) analyzed the prevalence of police violence and police corruption in Russia, and how citizens' experiences of police misconduct affect their perceptions of the police, including their confidence in the police. The data of the study derive from six different surveys conducted by VTsIOM and Levada research institutions in 2002–2004, three of which were national, and three provincial surveys (Kaluga and Ryazan; Perm and Sverdlovsk; Rostov and Stavropol). The authors also collected focus group data from 9 groups in the provincial capitals with the help of St. Petersburg's Center for Independent Social Research.

Abuse and corruption were at a high level. While 8.6% of the respondents reported that they themselves or their family members had experienced police physical abuse during the last 2–3 years, 9.4% reported that they or their family members had experience police corruption over the same stretch of time. Trust in the police, for its part, was modest. Three percent (3%) of the respondents answered that they have “complete confidence” in the police, and a further 23% that they have “some confidence” in the police. The rest of the respondents opted for “not much confidence” (36%), “none at all” (29%), and “hard to say” (*i.e.*, don't know, 9%) (Gerber & Mendelson, 2008, pp. 16–17, pp. 23–25).

Gerber and Mendelson's (2008) findings from the focus group discussions fall in line with the general statistics. Stories concerned with police brutality were many. The focus group participants told, for example, about an acquaintance of one of the study participants who was so badly abused by the police that he suffered permanent brain injury; about a case in which the police had handcuffed a homeless person to a pole and then bludgeoned the person in the kidneys; and about a case in which the police kept on beating a person until there was but “a puddle of blood.” The authors noticed that the stories told in the focus groups provoked “no surprise or outrage” among the other study participants, probably for the reason that the incidents depicted were “fairly quotidian” for most people in the groups (*ibidem*, p. 32). Experiences of police corruption had also been common among the focus group participants. Several of them had been shaken down by police officers. There was also a story about a case of harassment of a victim by the police, which just went on and on for the reason that the suspect in the case had paid the police. There

were also several stories about police thefts, including cases in which the police just straightforwardly mugged people, “taking whatever they could” from them (*ibidem*, pp. 31–33).

In Gerber and Meldenson’s (2008, p. 30) ordinal logit models, both police violence and police corruption predictor variables had a statistically significant negative effect on trust in the police, holding background variables constant in the models. The authors concluded that, even in a context plagued by extreme forms of police misconduct (“predatory policing”, in the authors’ vocabulary), where people are used to police brutality, individuals’ personal experiences affect their trust in the police.

Andrew Faull (2010, pp. 33–34) from the Institute for Security Studies (ISS, South Africa) analyzed the way South Africans from different communities conceive of police corruption in the country, and whether or not this affects their trust in the police. The data for the study came from 15 focus group discussions conducted by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) in Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban. The findings are not generalizable to the population. The sample was selective in the sense that it targeted certain groups of citizens: the participants had to be at least 18 years old, they had to have had a contact with the police in the preceding year, and at least half of the participants were to have a personal experience of (something they subjectively considered) an incident of police corruption.

Nine (9) questions were presented by the moderators to the participants, one of which was “Do you trust the police generally?” [a. Why/why not; b. What would make you trust the police more?] There were also explicit questions on corruption, such as, “Have you, or anyone you know, ever experienced police corruption?” [a. What happened? b. Did you do anything about it?] (Faull, 2010, p. 34).

An overwhelming majority of the participants said that they do not trust in the police. The core reasons for distrust mentioned by the participants had to do with their own personal experiences of contacts with the police. Not all police contacts had been disagreeable—occasionally, positive encounters with the police were mentioned in the focus groups, and these encounters had had a positive impact on trust—but, by a wide margin, most encounters with the police had been negative. The participants talked about poor and/or

unprofessional services, such as inappropriate or lacking response (“They make a joke out of your problem”). They also talked about arbitrary arrests, and about downright police corruption and crimes committed by the police, such as thefts and cases of sexual harassment by the police (Faull, 2010, pp. 35–36, p. 38).

Experiences of petty bribery were common, police officers at roadblocks demanding “cool drink,” *i.e.*, money to ignore petty offences, but there were also experiences of serious cases of corruption and bribery: officers looking away in cases of domestic violence in exchange for money; detectives lying to magistrate, claiming that there is lack of evidence in exchange for money; officers asking for favors in return for not closing down illegal restaurants, *etc.* The participants further talked about cases where the police had humiliated people who had been incapable paying them, and there were stories about the police having been involved in robbery: robbing foreign nationals, robbing taxi passengers who had been involved in an accident, and even stories about the police having taken valuables from people who had been deceased in car accidents, and one story about the police having tortured a potential witness (Faull, 2010, pp. 36–38).

Faull’s study was a one-off focus group study at a single point in time, but the experiences of the participants had been accumulating over a longer period of time, and they derived from a wide variety of settings in South Africa—from rural areas to inner cities to informal settlements in three major cities of the country. In this sense, there is representativeness to Faull’s findings. According to Faull’s (2010, p. 39) own interpretation, “The data illustrated the damaging effects of criminal and unprofessional police conduct on civilian trust in police” (see also Tankebe’s 2010 analysis of the situation in Ghana; and Bello’s 2021 analysis of the situation in Pretoria, South Africa).

In a methodologically historical study, Johansen (2011) analyzed police misconduct in London and Berlin in the late 19th and early 20th century, particularly the way the various police scandals were managed by the police in London, on the one hand, and in Berlin, on the other hand. While the Berlin Schutzmannschaft may be said to have lost their battle over public’s trust in the police, the London Metropolitan police succeeded in protecting their image of integrity in the eyes of the citizens. Both police forces were accused of police violence, and of illegal practices, including perjury, and even of corruption at some point over the period of time. How did the London Metropolitan police succeed in the feat, while the Berliners did not?

According to Johansen (2011, p. 62), one of the decisive factors that distinguished the London Metropolitan police from their German counterparts was their engagement to “(...) legitimate policing (deontology), which modern scholars have identified as central to popular acceptance of policing.” Not that the British would have been perfectly clean. But even in cases where they got caught by the press, they systematically based their response to the principles of legitimacy of a liberal democratic regime (or, as the author notices, they “made an effort to appear trustworthy,” *ibidem*). Specifically, in moral terms, they always sided with the public and the liberal democratic principles, admitting that a given type of act of misconduct was reprehensible. At the same time, however, it was suggested by the police management that perhaps the accused individual bobby had not, after all, done the deed he was accused of. And then, if denial would not do, it was noted that the case will be investigated and, if necessary, prosecuted. In reality, though, what the police did was that they “carefully control[ed] and shape[d the] investigation” (*ibidem*, p. 65). The strategy was not necessarily feather white, not at least as described by Johansen, but it was wily, and it worked.

The Berlin Schutzmannschaft were traditionally known for their “rudeness and violence” (Johansen, 2011, p. 67), and it appears that they didn’t back up much, if at all, when faced with cases of police misconduct. Their two key lines of defense seemed to be denial, on the one hand, and legality, on the other hand. Criticism was stamped and canceled as an attack against the honor and integrity of the entire collective, the police as well as the Prussian state itself (*ibidem*, p. 67). It was further claimed, in at least two separate occasions, by two different Ministers of the Interior, that if police brutality took place within the technical limits of the law, it was to be deemed as necessary (*ibidem*, p. 68). Hence, what the members of the public got under these circumstances—even if there were attempts to tackle the problems within the police also in Berlin—was a “mixed message,” at best (*ibidem*, p. 69, p. 76, and *passim*).

Ruiz Vásquez (2013) analyzed corruption and trust in the police in Colombia using a wide variety of data sources. The data used in the study included literary sources (news stories), five different survey databases (Latinobarómetro, Iberoobarómetro, Global Corruption Barometer, Corruption Perception Index, and World Values Survey), 20 interviews of police officers of varying ranks, data from a study period during which researchers accompanied Bogotá police department teams in their nightshifts, and data from informal observation of the police during the night to discover cases of corruption.

The period Ruiz Vásquez (2013) primarily concentrated on, the 1990s and 2000s, were corruption-ridden in Colombia. Among many other things, the author referred to 1. a practice of returning drugs seized by the police back to drug dealers in exchange for money, or selling the seized drugs on the streets themselves. He also referred to 2. police officers providing drug cartels with information, so that the latter could avoid getting caught in police operations; 3. squandering international funds meant to be used for the war on drugs; 4. embezzlement of national budget funds; 5. corruption in procurement processes of the police (gear, construction sites and projects, *etc.*); 6. brutal criminal acts that had taken place in the police premises and that had gone uncleared; 7. police officers taking part in bank raiding, in car hijacking, in burglary, and in kidnapping; 8. wide-spread favoritism and nepotism within the police; 9. several incidents of human rights violations, including aggravated cases of social cleansing; and; 10. day-to-day corruption on the beat as, for example, when police officers approach civilian population—ordinary passers-by or DUIs in roadblocks, grocers, restaurateurs, pub owners—in order to receive unauthorized benefits (Vásquez, 2013, pp. 405–409).

In international comparative perspective, confidence in the police in Colombia is not among the highest in the world, but it is not among the lowest either. In fact, in the Latin American context, Colombia seems to be performing rather well. Confidence in the police in Colombia was at a higher level during the period under analysis than confidence in Venezuela, Brazil, Mexico, Peru, and Argentina. “Surprisingly, although corruption in the Colombian police is presumably a generalized phenomenon, the police force is still one of the most appreciated institutions among Colombians.” (Ruiz Vásquez, 2013, p. 414; see also p. 400, p. 403, p. 405).

Ruiz Vásquez (2013, p. 410) ascribes the apparently surprising finding to two distinct factors:

1. Persistent image management by the police, the management claiming that, even though there have been a few bad apples in the police, the police in the aggregate can be relied upon, and;
2. The alternatives to the police that the citizens have in Colombia—the drug cartels, and of the paramilitary guerilla groups.

Hence, as noted by Ruiz Vásquez, Colombians have not been against the presence of the police in their own neighborhoods—they have actually preferred this (see also Sabet’s 2013 analysis of the situation in Mexico and Nalla & Nam’s 2021 analysis of the situation in India).

Thomassen *et al.* (2013) analyzed trust in the police in Norway before and after the terror attacks of 2011. In July 22nd 2011, a right-wing extremist, acting alone, first detonated a car bomb outside government buildings in Oslo, killing eight persons, and then, two hours later, impersonating a police officer, attacked youth camp organized by Labor Party in the Utøya Island off Oslo shore, killing 69 persons. The police were criticized for their slow response (it took more than an hour for the threat to be eliminated from the first emergency call from Utøya, and 40 minutes from the moment the first armed patrol arrived at the mainland shore opposite to the Island), and for a few specific failures during the emergency operation. A report by an independent Commission released in August 2012 confirmed some of the main points of criticism, referring not only to the response time, but also to problems of coordination, communication, and leadership (*ibidem*, pp. 80–81).

Four cross-sectional surveys by the means of telephone interviews, each of which targeted 1,000 respondents, were conducted in the study during the year after the attacks (two surveys in 2011, and two surveys in 2012). The last survey was conducted after the publication of the Commission’s report, in September 2012. A four-step scale question on trust in the police was adopted from the Norwegian Citizen Survey (“To what degree do you trust the police?”), in addition to which the second and the fourth surveys in the series contained three dimensions from the trust and legitimacy inventories of the European Social Survey 2010 (ESS round 5): perceived effectiveness of the police; perceived procedural justice of the police; and perceived moral alignment with the police (all three dimensions consisting of three distinct indicator variables) (Thomassen *et al.*, 2013, pp. 82–83).

Compared to the *ex-ante* level of trust in the Norwegian Citizen Surveys (2008–2010), trust in the police increased by five percentage points in the first survey conducted in the study in August 2011 (86% to 91%, the percentages referring to the proportion of respondents who opted for the positive side of the four-step scale of trust). Thereafter, the share gradually returned to the *ex-ante* level of trust, so that, in the last survey of the study, it was 83%. Overall, changes

in trust in the police among the citizens were minor, and they were positive in nature, rather than negative. Perceived effectiveness of the police, perceived procedural justice of the police, and perceived moral alignment with the police, moreover, all experienced a slight increase from the level *ex-ante* the attacks to the level *ex-post* the report by the independent Commission.

Thomassen *et al.*'s (2013, p. 85) interpretation of the unexpected increase in trust in the police after the attacks was that, this was a “rally around the flag” in Norway; “People come together and express their support for the victims and for state institutions (...)” in times of emergency. Something similar seems to have happened in the US after the 9/11 attacks (*ibidem*, p. 81).

In both cases, the effects of the terror attacks on trust, on the one hand, and on civic engagement, on the other hand (in the analysis by Sander & Putnam, 2010),¹² proved to be temporary. The same appears to apply to negative idiosyncratic impacts on trust such as the ones that have been caused by police brutality and misconduct in the US, and the ones that have been caused by the police scandals in Ireland (Hamilton & Black, 2023, p. 48, more about these scandals, below; see also Figure 2.1 in section 2.1.1 of this article). The effect sizes of negative impacts may be higher than the effect sizes of positive impacts, but it appears that they both imply short-term, temporary changes in trust in the police (Thomassen *et al.*, 2013, pp. 81–82).

Semukhina and Reynolds (2014) analyzed the effects of perceived corruption on trust in the police in Russia using structural equation modeling (SEM). The reason for the authors' interest in the question was the persistently low confidence in the police among Russians. Indeed, in 35 distinct survey measurements conducted during 1989–2010, trust in the operation of the police had never exceeded 50% among the participating individuals (*ibidem*, pp. 161–162).

Semukhina and Reynolds's (2014) data were collected in 2008 from the city of Volgograd, with a mixture of quota and random sampling techniques. Their final model was capable of explaining 57% of the variation in trust, with *the abuse latent variable* as the most powerful predictor in the model (standardized coefficient in the model was $\beta = -0.771$), *the bribery latent variable* having been the second-most important predictor ($\beta = -0.314$). The abuse factor consisted of three indicator variables: abuse in the use of force, intimidation and threats

(threat of a further investigation, threat of an arrest), and sheer neglect of duties by the police (*ibidem*, p. 167, p.173, p. 177).

Corruption has a long tradition in Russia (Semukhina & Reynolds, 2014, pp. 158–160). During the Soviet era, corruption had its grounds in socialism—in the centralized collective economy. Without a proper system of relative weights of value (output price signals for goods and services; input price signals for labor and capital machinery and equipment), *i.e.*, without the signaling mechanism of the market, wrong allocational decisions and thus serious shortages constituted a permanent feature of the political economy. Corruption was a way to alleviate the continuous misallocation of goods, services, and factors of production in the economy—the ever-present shortages (Castells, 1998, p. 20; Semukhina & Reynolds, 2014, p. 164).

After the Soviet era, police corruption took a predatory turn not only in the sense that the primary duty of the police appeared to be the abuse of ordinary citizens for the police agencies' own benefit (Gerber & Mendelson, 2008, pp. 4–5), but also in the sense that the police abused collective and economic elites for the benefit of other, competing elites (including, sometimes, for the benefit of organized crime; Semukhina & Reynolds, 2014, pp. 158–160, p. 165, and *passim*). Perhaps for this particular reason the latent abuse variable, not the latent bribery variable, was the most powerful predictor of trust in the authors' SEM model.

Kääriäinen *et al.* (2016) were the first to analyze the effects of the Aarnio malfeasance case on citizens' trust in the police in Finland. Their two data sources—follow-up data on the media coverage of the case compiled using the Meltwater News software; and four computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATIs) conducted by Taloustutkimus Oy, a market research company conducting national surveys (N = 3,010 in the four surveys combined; two surveys having been conducted during the last few weeks of 2013, and two surveys in the early 2014)—covered the first nine weeks after the initial media uproar. The authors were also able to compare their own findings to findings from the Finnish subsets of the European Social Survey rounds conducted in 2010 and 2012. The ESSs incorporated a similar but not exactly the same question on trust as the one Kääriäinen and colleagues used in their four targeted surveys (Kääriäinen *et al.*, 2016, p. 77; ESS5; ESS6, <https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/data-portal>). The methodology of the study, furthermore, was different

from that of the ESSs (computer-assisted personal interviews, or CAPIs, in the ESSs), so, strictly speaking, there was no comparability between the two lines of surveys.

Analyzing the six different surveys, Kääriäinen *et al.* (2016) found that the Aarnio case had little or no effect on citizens' trust in the police in Finland. The effect, if any, was slightly on the positive side. Kääriäinen *et al.* (2016, p. 83) thus concluded that, apparently, "It takes more than a few negative events (...)," even when associated with "(...) massive media exposure[,] to reduce trust in the police. Trust might be easier to lose than to win on the individual level [Skogan, 2006; cited by Kääriäinen *et al.*], but it seems to be rather durable as a country-level phenomenon."

Onyango (2022) analyzed traffic police corruption at police checkpoints in Kenya. The study contained no trust variables, yet it is of interest to us as a description of an established equilibrium of corruption—in Kenyan roads, in this particular case.

Onyango's (2022) data were collected during 2014–2015, and the method of the study may be described as participant observation (on-the-go, mainly with truck and service vehicle operators and traffic police officers). The focus was on the analysis of the patterns of interaction between motorists and police officers at roadblocks and checkpoints. According to Onyango, corruption is widespread in the roads of Kenya. The code of conduct in the roads (of motorists, of traffic police officers) is locked up in a decision-making setting that presupposes bribery. The motorists gain by avoiding punishments and sometimes systematically circumventing traffic regulations and by being on right terms with the local police. Occasionally, indeed, they described police officers soliciting little or no bribes as "difficult to deal with," still acknowledging that the police are but "thieves in uniform" (Onyango, 2022, p. 318, p. 319). The police officers, for their part, saw the PSV (Public Service Vehicle) and truck operators as "crooked and violent individuals" (*ibidem*), yet preyed on them for personal and institutional benefits.

Some "good apples" remained, but in the aggregate all people were playing the same well-established game. New police officers and new motorists were quick to learn the rules of the game (Onyango, 2022, p. 324).

Hamilton and Black (2023) analyzed time series data from the European Social Surveys, the World Values Surveys, the European Values Studies, and the Garda Public Attitude Surveys, in trying to make sense of the reasons for the continued high level of trust in the police (Garda Síochána) in Ireland, even over a period of time the authors called an “avalanche of scandals.”

Trust in the police survived two distinct waves of scandals in Ireland, 1. the police corruption case in Donegal in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and the consequent Tribunal of Inquiry reports in 2004–2008, and; 2. the whistleblower scandals from 2012 on. The former of the cases had to do with mistreatment and false arrests, for example, and harassment, and hoax bomb ‘finds’ orchestrated by the police, whereas the latter involved the failure to investigate serious crimes committed in the Cavan-Monaghan area (among other things; Hamilton & Black, 2023, pp. 1473–1474).

Hamilton and Black (2023) found that, even though trust in the police remained at a high level over the period of time, if and in so far as one considers the share of respondents who opted for the positive side of the scale in various surveys, there were some real changes within the positive sides of the scales. If the focus of analytical attention will be zoomed to changes that took place within the positive side of the scales, the indicators the authors employed *did* detect the scandals. And yet, resembling the findings from the PBSs and from Thomassen *et al.*'s (2013) study, the impacts in Ireland proved to be temporary (Hamilton & Black, 2023, p. 48).

While admitting that the themata are very complex, the authors attributed the continued, “strikingly and stubbornly high” trust in the police among the Irish to two distinct cultural-historical factors characterizing the Garda.

- Garda Síochána, during the years it was established, was closely associated with the Irish War of Independence—a struggle close to the Irish soul. The image of the Garda was very positive from the very beginning. They were “Irish in thought and action,” in the words of the first Commissioner of the Garda.
- They were also local from the very first, expressing and operating “policing in and with the communities” (Hamilton & Black, 2023, pp. 1466–1467).

2.2.3 Scandals, Corruption, and Trust in the Police: Cross-Sectional Comparative Studies

Kääriäinen (2007) analyzed citizens' trust in the police in 16 European countries using multilevel modeling, and data from 1. ESS 2004 (the individual-level variables in Kääriäinen's multilevel model), 2.a. the Corruption Perception Index 2004, and 2.b. the Eurostat data on the ratio of the security expenditure¹³ to GDP from year 2003 (the country-level variables).

In the model estimated by Kääriäinen (2007) the country-level variables proved to be much more powerful predictors of trust in the police than the individual-level variables. In view of the country-level variables, perceived corruption proved to be much more powerful predictor of trust than the expenditure ratio variable. Simply put, Kääriäinen found that the lower the level of perceived corruption in the country, and the lower the expenditure ratio under analysis, the higher the citizens' trust in the police.

The estimates came out largely as expected by Kääriäinen. The core function of the law enforcement authorities is, after all, to enforce the laws—the commonly agreed upon rules of the polity. In this capacity, the law enforcement authorities themselves, and also the government in general, have to be strictly objective and equally fair for all individual citizens. Corruption in government—defined as “the misuse of public office for private gain”—is the exact opposite of objectivity and fairness. Trust in the judicial system, including trust in the police, can be expected to be eroded (to be enhanced) as a function of large-scale, widely recognized practice of corruption in government (absence of corruption in government) (Kääriäinen, 2007, p. 413, p. 428; see also Clausen *et al.*'s 2011 comparative analysis based on the Gallup World Poll).

Thomassen (2013) analyzed the effects of perceived country-level corruption on trust in the police in a comparative study of 50 countries around the world. The data of the study derived from many different sources, and were very comprehensive. In addition to trust in the police (data from the World Values Survey), and perceived corruption (Corruption Perception Index), Thomassen considered and held constant in estimation the homicide rate (World Health Organization), the level of development of the country using the UN Human Development Index, inequality (the World Bank Gini-coefficient), ethnic fragmentation (from the 2003 study conducted by Alesina *et al.*, as cited by

Thomassen, 2013), the state of civil liberties in the country (the civil liberty score devised by Freedom House), interpersonal trust (the World Values Survey), and trust in government (a composite index from the World Values Survey).

Using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analysis, Thomassen reported standardized as well as unstandardized parameter estimates from an all-inclusive model (all predictors simultaneously incorporated into the model). Perceived corruption (standardized parameter coefficient $\beta = -0.554$; growth in perceived corruption reducing trust in the police), trust in government (+0.466), and homicide rate (-0.265), but none of the other predictors, were statistically significant predictors of trust in the police (Thomassen, 2013, appendix Table 3). The findings were intelligible, according to Thomassen, as perceived corruption is a direct violation of perceived procedural justice, which, for its part, is intimately connected to trust in judicial authorities and in the judicial system in general.

Using multi-level modeling, Jang *et al.* (2015) analyzed the effects of several individual- and country-level variables on confidence in the police. The individual-level data for the extensive international comparison study were derived from the World Values Surveys 2005/2006. Country-level corruption data were obtained from the World Governance Indicators database, country-specific homicide rates from the UN International Homicide Data, country-specific Gini coefficients from the World Income Inequality Database, and country-specific degree of democracy from the Polity IV project database (*ibidem*, p. 558).

Confidence in the police was measured as a binary variable, an aggregate across the negative (0) and the positive (1) parts of the original four-step scale of confidence. Five content variables proved to be statistically significant predictors of confidence in the police in the final multi-level model estimated by Jang *et al.* (2015). These were 1. the respondent's personal propensity to commit a crime (-, OR < 1.00); 2. the perceived level of democracy in governing the country (+, OR > 1.00); 3. the respondent's confidence in the government (+); 4. the homicide rate of the country (-), and; 5. the level of corruption in the country (-). Simply and graphically put, the higher the personal propensity to commit crime, the homicide rate in the country, and the level of corruption in the country, the lower the confidence in the police. Correspondingly, the higher the perceived level of democracy in governing the country, and the higher the respondent's trust in the government, the higher the confidence in the police (*ibidem*, p. 564).

Jang *et al.*'s (2015) statistically non-significant findings were surprising, and thus of interest. The country-level measures of democracy (from the Polity IV database) and inequality (the Gini coefficient) weren't statistically significant predictors of confidence in the police. The findings on the Gini coefficient were to be expected, as they were similar to those of Thomassen (2013), but the findings on the country-level democracy variable were difficult to explain and understand as this is a properly deontological macro-variable. Jang *et al.*'s (2015, p. 565) own intimation as regards the statistical non-significance of the country-level democracy variable was that the homicide rate, which may function as proxy for fear of crime and corruption, would explain not only confidence in the police but also (somehow) the level democracy.

Relying on John Rawls's (1971) theory of justice, and applying multi-level logit model to World Values Survey (WVS) data from 2005–2008, Morris (2015) analyzed confidence in the police around the world (53 countries, 70,959 respondents). Her interpretation of Rawls' theory was that, while legitimacy in Rawls's theory of justice was firmly connected to the deontological (procedural) side of the equation, legitimacy can be expected to suffer if the allocation of outcomes is driven too far away from an equitable distribution (from what is considered fair) (Morris, 2015, pp. 417–418). Morris's macro-level findings on the effects of government corruption on confidence in the police are of particular interest from the viewpoint of the current study.

Morris (2015) assumed that, on the macro-level, confidence in the police would be a positive function of the level and the stability of democracy (measured separately with the help of Freedom House's political rights score and World Bank's Database of Political Institutions). She further assumed that the level and the stability of democracy would back up confidence in the police among ethnic minority groups—particularly, that is, among the groups that usually suffer the most from political economic inequality. Government corruption, also measured in the study as a macro-level variable (Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index CPI), was assumed to decrease people's confidence in the police (Morris, 2015).

The outcome variable of the study was based on the WVS's confidence in the police measure, a four-step scale variable that Morris (2015) transformed into binary outcome variable along the lines of the positive and negative parts of the scale.

Holding several individual- and country-level variables constant, Morris (2015) found that, of the country-level macro variables, only government corruption and ethnic diversity (measured using Fearon’s measure of ethnic fractionalization from 2003; as cited by Morris) were statistically significant predictors of confidence in the police. Both of these predictors had a negative effect on confidence. In other words, the more government corruption and ethnic diversity there was in a country, the lower was the level of confidence in the police. Neither the level nor the stability of democracy exercised a statistically significant effect on confidence in the police. Morris’s results didn’t support the democracy × ethnic minority interaction effect either, which meant that of the H1-hypotheses of her study only the government corruption hypothesis stood the test.¹⁴

2.2.4 Intermediate Summary

Three closely related conclusions may be pointed out on the basis of earlier literature.

- There is strong within-country stability over time in trust in the police and in the judicial system in general—even over times of major scandals, as revealed by the within-country studies by Thomassen *et al.* (2013), Kääriäinen *et al.* (2016), Hamilton and Black (2023), and by ourselves (Figures 2.1 and 2.2). There is “strikingly and stubbornly high” trust in the police in Norway, Finland, and Ireland, “against all odds,” “no matter what” (consider also the findings from Johansen’s 2011 and Onyango’s 2022 studies).
- There is strong between-country variation in trust in the police and in the judicial system in general. The same applies to cultures of acceptance of day-to-day corruption / soliciting bribes (Kääriäinen, 2007; Clausen *et al.*, 2011; Thomassen, 2013; Jang *et al.*, 2015; and Morris, 2015, as quantitative analyses; consider also Mendelson & Gerber, 2008; Faull, 2010; Ruiz Vásquez, 2013; and the findings on exhibit in section 2.5 of this study, as qualitative analyses).
- Micro-level deontological variables—perceived police corruption, perceived police brutality, perceived procedural justice of the police—have survived as statistically significant predictors of trust in the police in within-country and between-country (multi-level) analyses alike.

This is a comprehensively systematical finding. The effect sizes vary, from country to country, and from context to context, but the regularity appears to be absent from no corner of the world (Kääriäinen, 2007; Gerber & Mendelson, 2008; Tankebe, 2010; Clausen *et al.*, 2011; Johansen, 2011; Sabet, 2013; Thomassen, 2013; Semukhina & Reynolds, 2014; Jang *et al.*, 2015; Morris, 2015; Bello, 2021; Nalla & Nam, 2021; on mixed and somewhat peculiar findings,¹⁵ however, *cf.* also Boateng *et al.*, 2022).

The findings suggest that, while there are country-specific factors that function in the background of the phenomena of trust and legitimacy, as if we were looking at a large country-specific canvas in the background of each distinctly different painting of trust and legitimacy (contributing to within-country stability, and to differences between different countries), the micro-level deontological factors of trust still matter everywhere, in one form or another, for practically all people.¹⁶

2.3 Data

The respondents were asked the following open-ended question on trust in the operation of the police in the PBS 2022.

“Why do you trust or do not trust the operations of Finnish police? Which aspect or aspects most influence trust?”

Well over half of the respondents (56.9%; 2,302/4,044) answered the question.

The text records of these data were first screened with the help of key search terms (“Aarnio,” “korrup*,” “corrup*,” “lahj*,” “muto*,” “muta*,” “brib*”). Then, as a checkup, so as not to lose relevant records, all records were read by a human reader.

The topic had obviously been of importance to the respondents, as 183/2,302 (7.9%) eligible records were detected in the data. In 71 of these records reference was made to the Aarnio malfeasance case (the A group in the study), and in 112 records to the phenomena of corruption or accepting bribes in the police in general, but not to the Aarnio case (the BC group).

Of the 71 respondents in the A group, 62 persons explicitly mentioned “the Aarnio case.” The remaining 9 records were included in the analysis on the basis of indirect inference. In two (2) of these records the respondents mentioned “the Pasila man,” a code name associated with the case, supposedly referring to Aarnio himself. In two (2) records, furthermore, reference was made to “leading police officers investigating narcotics crime,” who had been “involved in dealing narcotics themselves.” In five (5) records the point of reference was “drug dealing by,” or “shocking news concerning,” “the (Helsinki) narcotics crime squad.”

Nine (9) persons in the A group referred also to “corrupt*tion” or “brib*ing” in general, in addition to mentioning the Aarnio case. These records were included in the A group of respondents in the study.

The data were split along these lines in the analysis ($183 = 71 + 112$). In other words, the A and BC groups were treated separately in all analyses of the study.

2.4 Methods

The data were analyzed by the means of content analysis, the analysis of the uses of arguments, or “practical argumentation,” and formal logical analysis (Krippendorf, 2013; Allwood *et al.*, 1980; Toulmin, 1958/1995).

The text records of the data constituted the sampling units of the analysis. The way of determining the set of relevant records was based on the criteria of search terms (listed above). In addition to this, a human reader read all text records in the full data set (2,302 records) to detect cases where the respondent might have referred to the Aarnio case without actually mentioning “Aarnio,” or to corruption or accepting bribes without actually mentioning “corrupt*tion” or “brib*es” (on the concept of sampling unit, see Krippendorf, 2013, pp. 99–100).

Respondent’s propositional logic of trust, her or his way of reasoning on trust in the operation of the police, conditioned by potential police corruption and other factors, constituted the hermeneutical target of the coding assignment. Different types of propositional logic detected in the data subset thus constituted the coding units of the analysis (Krippendorf, 2013, pp. 100–101).

The coding assignment was divided into two parts. Considering the propositions as expressed by the participants of the study, it was asked,

1. Did the respondent express disappointment or diminished trust in the police, in the text record?
2. What, if any, were the mitigating factors expressed by the respondent? *I.e.*, why the respondent still considered it rational to trust in the police, irrespective of the Aarnio case or of corruption in general?

Results from the second coding assignment were overlapping in the sense that there may have been several coding units per one sampling unit. The respondent may have referred to several different mitigating factors, or to no mitigating factors at all. Hence, in the analysis of the mitigating factors, though not in the analysis of self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police (in which case the coding was strictly dichotomous and exhaustive), the number of coding units was necessarily the same or higher (\geq) than the number of sampling units.

In addition to prevalence of different types of propositions within the data, we analyzed the inner (formal, practical) logic in the answers, including the links between the results from the two distinct coding assignments. The primary object of the analysis was to understand the logic of the respondents' arguments. The analysis was based on Krippendorff's (2013) way of depicting the key elements of content analysis, on the one hand, and on a mix of analysis of practical argumentation and formal logical analysis, on the other hand (Allwood *et al.*, 1980; Toulmin, 1958/1995).

2.5 Findings

2.5.1 The Prevalence and the Structure of the Arguments

Prevalence

Table 2.1 presents group-specific findings on the prevalence of self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police among those who referred to the Aarnio case (the A group) and those who referred to corruption or accepting bribes in the police in general (the BC group). It also shows the prevalence of the mitigating factors mentioned by the respondents in the two groups.

Approximately 89% of those who referred to the Aarnio case self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police. In the BC group of respondents, the rate was 18%. The difference between the two groups was large here. The same applied to the mitigating factors—factors backing up the idea according to which it still might make sense to trust in the operation of the police. They were very different for the two groups.

These are but first impressions from the empirical observations, yet, in a more detailed analysis, they proved to be well grounded: the respondents in the two groups approached the logic of trust, conditioned by potential corruption, from exactly the opposite logical angles. We will return to this issue in a short while.

The following propositions were the three most common mitigating factors mentioned by the respondents in the A group.

- a) The Aarnio case is probably an isolated incident, not something that characterizes the police as a whole (mentioned by 17% of the respondents in the A group).
- b) Not many (similar) aggravated cases of corruption have surfaced / come up / are publicly known (10%).
- c) Internal supervisory inspection and control of the police can be expected to cover such incidents, so that cases of corruption will be revealed and prosecuted (7%).

In the BC group, by far the most common mitigating factor was proposition (d). In fact, for a wide majority of respondents in the BC group, this was the very the point of departure of their inference. They thought that,

- d) The level of corruption in Finland is low, and that this applies also to the police in the sense that the police, too, as a rule, can be expected to be uncorrupted (80%).

Closely related to this, several of the respondents in the BC group referred to one or several of the fact(s), according to which

- e) Finland fares well in comparative perspective, whether in view of the level of corruption, the state of the rule of law in Finland, or law-abiding behavior of the citizens in general (19%).

Some (2%) of the respondents in the BC group even referred to international comparative studies and statistics showing that the level of corruption in Finland is low.

Table 2.1. Self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police and perceived mitigating factors in the A and BC groups of respondents

The A group		The BC group	
Self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police	89%	Self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police	18%
Single, isolated incident(s), not characterizing the police as a whole	17%	Low level of corruption in Finland in general. The police, too, as a rule, can be expected to be uncorrupted	80%
Not many (similar) aggravated cases of corruption have surfaced / come up / are publicly known	10%	In view of corruption / accepting bribes, rule of law, and law-abiding behavior in general, Finland fares well in comparative perspective	19%
Internal supervisory inspection and control of the police. Cases of corruption can be expected to be revealed and properly prosecuted	7%	Long and demanding police education	8%
Long and demanding police education	6%	Single, isolated incident(s), not characterizing the police as a whole	5%
Low level of corruption in Finland in general. The police, too, as a rule, can be expected to be uncorrupted	4%	Internal supervisory inspection and control of the police. Cases of corruption can be expected to be revealed and properly prosecuted	5%
Comparative research / statistics shows that the level of corruption / accepting bribes in Finland is low	0%	Not many (similar) aggravated cases of corruption have surfaced / come up / are publicly known	3%
In view of corruption / accepting bribes, rule of law, and law-abiding behavior in general, Finland fares well in comparative perspective	0%	Comparative research / statistics shows that the level of corruption / accepting bribes in Finland is low	2%
N (the group)	71		112

In the next few sections, we will take a closer look at the above-mentioned five mitigating factors (a–e).

Components of the Logic of Trust in the A group

Of the 71 respondents in the A group, 63 persons (89%) self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police. Of those who referred to *none* of the four mitigating factors mentioned in Figure 2.3 (a–d; the three most important mitigating factors for the respondents in the A group, and the single most important mitigating factor for the respondents in the BC group), the share was 96%. Of those who referred to *some* (one, or more) of the four mitigating factors, the share was 63% (Figure 2.3).

As regards the structural connections within the set of mitigating factors in the A group—pairwise connectedness in the sense that a pair of mitigating factors was mentioned in one and the same record—they were observed to be the strongest between factors (a) and (b),

$$\left(\frac{(a \cap b)}{(a \cup b)} \mid A\right) \approx 0.46,$$

or 46% of all records where either (a) or (b) or both were mentioned, and the weakest between (a) and (c) (approx. 0.06 or 6%) (Figure 2.3).

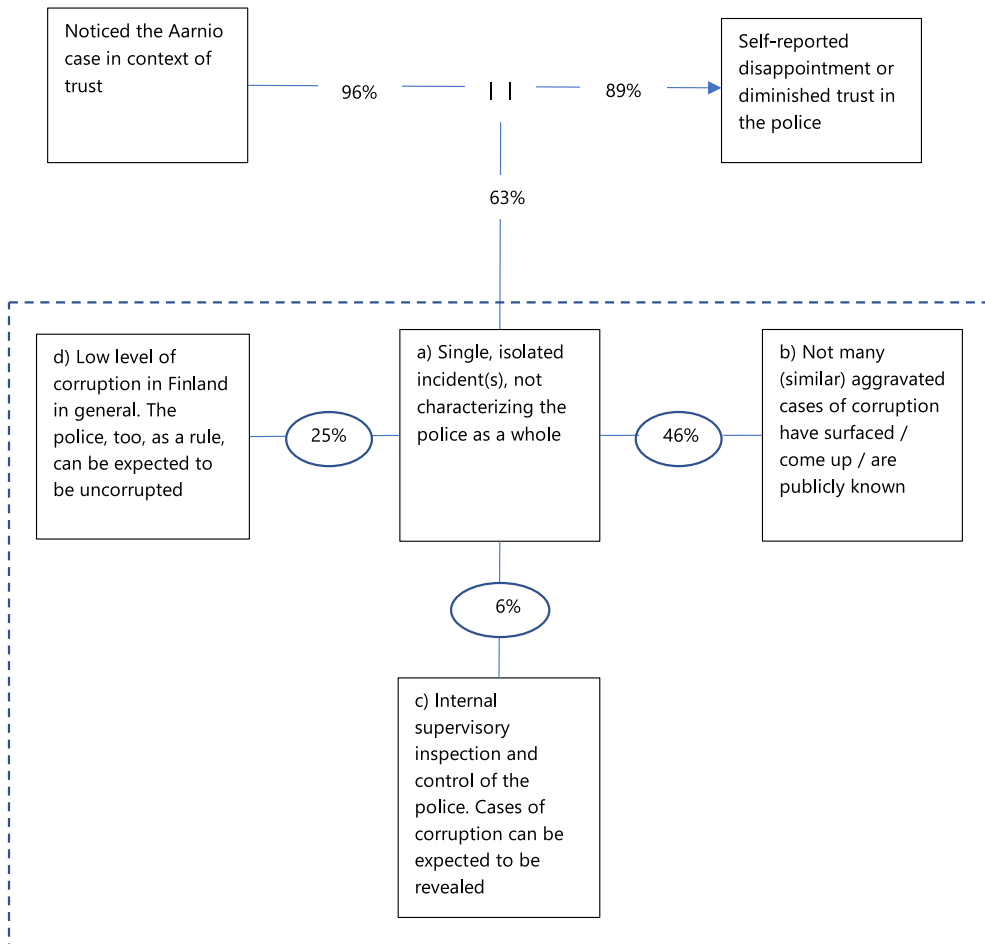


Figure 2.3. Components of the logic of trust: respondents who referred to the Aarnio case in the context of trust

Components of the Logic of Trust in the BC group

Of the 112 respondents in the BC group, 20 persons (18%) self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police. Of those who referred to *none* of the three mitigating factors mentioned in Figure 2.4 (a, d, and e), the share was 81%. Of those who referred to *some* (one or more) of the three mitigating factors, the share was 3% (Figure 2.4).

Structural connections within the set of mitigating factors in the BC group were

$$\left(\frac{dne}{dUe}\right) \Big|_{BC} \approx 0.21,$$

or 21%, between (d) and (e), and 0.06 or 6% between (d) and (a).

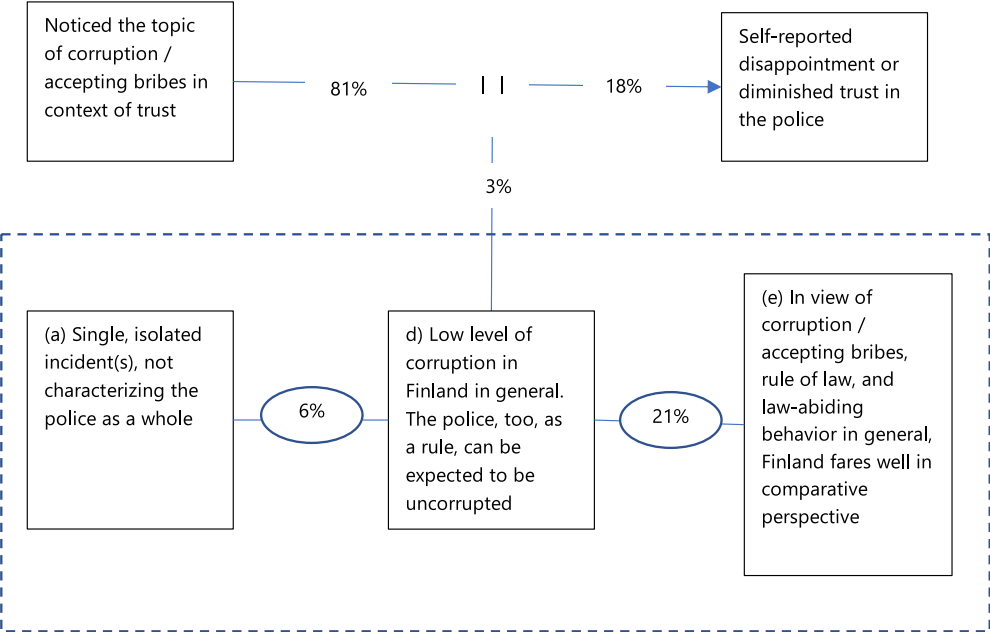


Figure 2.4. Components of the logic of trust: respondents who referred to corruption, or accepting bribes in the police, or both, in the context of trust

Where is the Logic?

The findings on the components of the logic of trust are very different between the two groups. How to conceive of the profound difference?

The propositional logic is coherent and consistent for both of these two groups. It’s just that, the point of departure in the inference—the “data” and “warrant” in Toulmin’s (1958/1995) vocabulary—is different for the respondents in the BC group, compared to the respondents in the A group.

In the A group, the point of departure in the inference seems to have been the existence proposition, according to which there is evidently corruption (v) in the police (x), $\exists x: v_x$. This seemed to be an unavoidable fact and a shocking discovery for many respondents in the A group. It had a direct detrimental effect on their trust in the police.

The respondents in the BC group approached the question from exactly the opposite logical angle. The point of departure in their inference seems to have been the idea according to which the level of corruption in Finland in general is low. Many of them thought that this is a comprehensive regularity in the sense that, for all or very nearly all people, in the limit (of all things considered), the probability (p) of corruption may be expected (E) to approach the state of non-existence (zero), or, what comes to the same thing, that the integrity proposition may be expected to cover all people, including public authorities and institutions, and the police ($\forall x: E(1-pv_x) \rightarrow 1$).

In fact, in a wide majority of cases in the BC group, “corrupt*tion” and “accepting brib*es” were mentioned in a normatively positive sense and tone. The level of corruption in the police may be expected to be low, which means that it is reasonable to trust in the operation of the police.

There is obviously much more to practical argumentation than the formal logical core of the inference. Not only the point of departure, but also the other components of the chain of the arguments, and thus also the entire analytical setting of the inference, were different in different text records of the data (for different individuals). In other words, the conclusions invariably contained “analytic” and “substantial” elements, in terms of Toulmin (1958/1995, p. 125) (were not tautological).

2.5.2 A Detailed Look at the Propositions

Findings from content analysis will be reported separately for the A and BC groups. The focus is on the five most important mitigating factors referred to, by the respondents (a–e). We will also consider the ideas of respondents who did not refer to any of the mitigating factors.

In each case, the quote will be accompanied by the coding decision on self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police (S-RDT), which

was non-overlapping and exhaustive in the analysis. Each text record was placed either in the $S\text{-RDT} = 1$ category (an expression of disappointment or diminished trust in the police) or in the $S\text{-RDT} = 0$ category (no such expression detected). A few, very difficult borderline cases were met in the analysis, in this respect. Measurement error is bound to remain in the estimates, and thus also in the conclusions.

The A Group, No Mitigating Factors (MF)

(MF = 0). There were many respondents who referred to the Aarnio case, but not to any mitigating factor. Almost all of these people self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police.

“Trust and confidence tumble down when one finds that there are police officers in high positions who are involved in dealing drugs and so on, and who deny hard evidence. If they, furthermore, are released from charges, trust will be = 0” ($S\text{-RDT} = 1$)

“I trust in the police. Although the J. Aarnio case momentarily changed that. How could this be possible, and how could it be that this had been going on for so long time? Creepy case, how many Aarnios there are, in the police?” ($S\text{-RDT} = 1$)

“I have trusted in the police before, but incidents like the Aarnio case function as a reminder that the police are human, too, and that they have a certain propensity to commit crimes. And this is very serious, and unfortunate, from the point of view of the citizens.” ($S\text{-RDT} = 1$)

“The Aarnio case had a major effect on trust, so I don’t trust! I still do trust, however, in the police officers on the beat [kenttäpoliiseihin].” ($S\text{-RDT} = 1$)

The A Group, Mitigating Factors

a) Every sixth respondent in the A group (17%) thought that the Aarnio case was probably an isolated incident, not characterizing the police as a whole.

“I think that the Aarnio case is an isolated incident. Nothing similar has come up, as far as I know. I trust in the Finnish police, I don’t generalize from isolated incidents. If anything, such cases show that the police are only human.” ($S\text{-RDT} = 0$)

“I trust in the police because they have to pass strict security clearances to enter the occupation. My trust has been shaken occasionally by isolated incidents, as, for example, when police officers commit a drug crime or a rape. The Aarnio case must not happen again.” (S-RDT = 1)

“The police officers I know are trustworthy and their professionalism is admirable. The Aarnio case, of course, as an example, momentarily eroded my trust in the police. Perhaps, however, the “rotten fish” in the pool are isolated cases, and will eventually get caught.” (S-RDT = 1)

b) Ten percent (10%) of the respondents in the A group noticed that, not many aggravated cases of corruption similar to the Aarnio case have surfaced (or “come up,” or “are publicly known”).

“I have few if any reasons not to trust (Aarnio & co exception to the rule). If the police would act wrongfully (corruption *etc.*), a larger number of police officers would have been burned. So, I also trust that internal control and inspection function as they should. As I have understood, police education takes longer in Finland than in other comparable countries, so this, too, helps to root out weaker material from the police.” (S-RDT = 0)

“Cases of corruption have been evidently rare. There are probably very few ‘Jari Aarnios’ in the police.” (S-RDT = 0)

c) A further seven percent (7%) thought that internal supervisory inspection and control of the police can be expected to cover cases of corruption, so that they will be revealed and properly prosecuted.

“I do trust, because I haven’t personally experienced nor have I heard about cases in which the police would have acted wrongfully. Distrust is primarily based on cases such as the Aarnio case, and the idea according to which the police protect their own. In the big picture, however, I don’t see a problem here, and I trust that internal control and inspection in the police root out most of the problems. (...)” (S-RDT = 1)

Sixteen (16/71) persons (23%) in total, in the A group, referred to one or more of these three mitigating factors. Ten (10) of them (approx. 63%) self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police (the same proportion with

or without the d-factor, which speaks for the separateness of the logic of trust between the A- and BC-groups).

The BC Group, No Mitigating Factors (MF)

(MF = 0). Approximately 18% of the respondents in the BC group expressed disappointment or diminished trust in the police. The share was much higher among those who referred neither to the d- nor to the e-factor (81%).

“I have for a long time trusted the police, and I still do, due to the history of the police. The police have been a highly appreciated institution for decades and they have served the citizens in an exemplary manner. Nowadays, corruption and other kinds of misconduct smear the image of the police and trust in the police among the people. I do not want the police to end up in a situation in which, say, they are as corrupted as the police in the United States.” (S-RDT = 1)

“Personally, I trust in the operation of the police due to my own experiences, which have always been positive. Still, I do not have full confidence in their operation, for I believe that there is no such thing as corrupt-free organization. And, quite irrespective of the system of education, and inspection protocols, there is always the possibility of there being “bad apples” in the individual level.” (S-RDT = 1)

“Several cases of misconduct by the public authorities are known, many cases of corruption / fraud / economic crime are being neglected if the sum does not exceed 500 thousand euros, all this has damaged the reputation and credibility of the police.” (S-RDT = 1)

The BC group, Mitigating Factors

d) A fair majority of the respondents who referred to “corruption” or “accepting bribes,” but not to the Aarnio case, did this in a normatively positive sense. They thought that the level of corruption in Finland in general is low, and that the police, too, as a rule, can be expected to be uncorrupted (80 % of the respondents in the BC group referred to the idea, in one form or another).

The respondents considered a whole range of other, related ideas in this context, from their own personal experiences to the established democracy in Finland to firm commitment to the laws and to the rule of law in the country, and to the long Finnish tradition of governmental transparency.

“Corruption in Finland in general is at a very low level and this applies also to the police. This is truly essential from the point of view of how trust builds up. The exceptions to this rule that have gained publicity in the press are but a drop in the ocean and do not, fortunately, characterize the entire profession.” (S-RDT = 0)

“The level of corruption in Finland is low. The police officers I’ve met have been just and fair.” (S-RDT = 0)

“I do trust! The democratic way of organizing society is the best, things are running smoothly and corruption is also at its lowest level then, and the system can stand even a hard scrutiny.” (S-RDT = 0)

“Finland has a long tradition of transparency in the operation of the authorities, and this is one of the weightiest grounds for my trust. As I have understood, Finland is among the least corrupted countries in the world. Citizens’ trust in the police and in other authorities has been strong for decades. The good schooling system in Finland affects trust at the level of the entire nation.” (S-RDT = 0)

“Low level of corruption, the rule of law, democracy.” (S-RDT = 0)

e) Closely related to the above-depicted topic, 19% of the respondents in the BC group thought that Finland fares well in international comparative perspective in view of the level of corruption and related issues such as the rule of law.

“The police are on citizens’ side in Finland and the level of corruption is low compared to other European countries. The police have a good reputation in Finland.” (S-RDT = 0)

“Having lived in [another country] for years I can say that I trust in the Finnish police officers much more because I believe that there aren’t so many violent or corrupted police officers here. I am partly [a minority group] and I do know that some police officers in Finland do not treat us in as fair and equal manner as other people.” (S-RDT = 0)

“Several different statistics have shown that the Finnish police are one of the least corrupted police forces in the world, which is why I trust in the

police. My own experiences of contacts with the police have also been largely positive, which is another reason to trust in the police. Both statistics and my own experiences affect trust.” (S-RDT = 0)

Ninety-one (91/112) respondents (approx. 81%) in total, in the BC group, referred either to d- or e-factor or both. Three (approx. 3%) of these 91 persons self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police (the same proportion with or without the a-factor; which, again, speaks for the separateness of the logic of trust between the A and BC groups).

2.6 Conclusions, Limitations, and Discussion

2.6.1 Conclusions

The research question of the study was exploratory.

Why citizens’ trust in the police withstood the Aarnio malfeasance case?
How do the respondents of the PBS depict their own reasoning around the case, and their logic of trust?

The data of the study came from the PBS 2022; more specifically, from the respondents who in their open-ended answers to a question on trust in the police referred to the Aarnio malfeasance case or to corruption in the police in general.

The first, basic conclusion from the study is that corruption *is* an issue when people consider whether or not to trust in the operation of the police. No less than 7.9% (183/2,302) of those who answered the open-ended question raised up the issue of corruption in the context of trust.

The BC group of respondents, corresponding to approximately 4.9% of all those who answered the open-ended question (112/2,302), referred to corruption in the context of trust, but not, specifically, to the Aarnio case. For a majority of respondents in this group the reason to refer to corruption was normatively positive. The idea was that the level of corruption in Finland in general is low, and that the same, as a rule, may be expected to apply to the police.

Some of the respondents in the BC group referred to comparative assessments of police corruption, either to their own personal experiences from around the world, or to international comparison studies and statistics concerned with corruption and the rule of law in different countries. Relatively few respondents in the BC group (20/112) self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police.

The A group of respondents, 71/2,302 individuals (3.1%), referred to the Aarnio case in the context of trust in the police. Most of them (63/71) self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police. Many of these respondents thought that the case was very serious, and reprehensible in the extreme. They wouldn't have thought that such a case was possible in the Finnish police, and they hoped that it will not recur.

Even in the A group, however, a part of the respondents referred to mitigating factors in support of the idea that it might still make sense to trust in the police. The three most common mitigating factors mentioned by the respondents in the A group were closely connected to each other. They thought that the Aarnio case was probably an isolated incident, not characterizing the police as a whole. Some of them noticed that few, if any, similar cases of police corruption have emerged over the years, while a couple of them thought that internal control and inspection in the police probably function as they should: cases of corruption will be discovered and properly investigated and prosecuted.

A brief note on what we did *not* find in the study remains to be made. There were 183 respondents in the set of relevant text records. All of them raised up the topic of corruption in the context of trust. Yet, except for the Aarnio case, no other publicly known cases of police corruption were mentioned by these respondents. Some of them did refer to perceived excessive use of force by the police, whether in public demonstrations (in the radical green "Elokapina" demonstrations), or in cases where the police had handled defenseless intoxicated people, or in cases where people had died in jail conditions. There were also two text records in which the respondents reported that they themselves had personally witnessed something they considered police corruption (a cartel, and a potentially inappropriate process of procurement). But that sums it up. The simplest explanation for these observations is that the respondents were aware of no other cases of police corruption, neither privately nor on the basis of news coverage.

2.6.2 Limitations

The open-ended data of the study could not be merged into the full data set of the PBS, for reasons of data protection. Statistics Finland, the data collection partner of the PBS project, protects respondents' anonymity by the means of separating the qualitative part of the data from their quantitative parts, including the background variables. Representativeness of the data subset analyzed in this study could not be confirmed against the full data set, nor against the sampling framework of the PBS. The findings are not generalizable.

This is not a major obstacle from the point of view of the study. The focus was not on the prevalence of different categories of the logic of trust as such, but on making sense of the respondents' logic of trust in the presence of potential corruption.

Another key limitation of the study was that there was only one analyst among the authors of the article who had access to the data. Hence, it was not possible to test the coding reliability of the content analysis (Krippendorff, 2013, pp. 267–328). The first phase of the analysis was simple and straightforward and thus very likely reliable. It was based on data screening with the help key search terms. A limited set of search terms did the job, by far the most important of them having been “Aarnio,” “corrup*,” and “korrup*.”

The mitigating factors discovered in the second phase of the analysis were semantically and even syntactically rather homogeneous, and also closely connected in content to each other in within-group (A, BC) analyses. The only exception to the rule was the S-RDT categorization, where there were a few very difficult boundary cases—whether or not the respondent self-reported disappointment or diminished trust in the police. Measurement error probably remains in the empirical conclusions, in this respect.

2.6.3 Discussion

The Higher Dimension

The passages quoted from the Finnish survey respondents are strikingly different from the passages quoted by Gerber and Mendelson (2008, Russian focus group participants) and by Faull (2010, South African focus group participants). Predatory policing and police brutality were observed to be

quotidian in Russia, and police corruption and soliciting bribes in South Africa. You couldn't possibly place the quotes of our study to the Russian, South African, Colombian, Mexican, or Brazilian contexts, though they could have originated in the Norwegian or Irish contexts.

How to conceive of the profound country-specific differences? The intermediate conclusions from the review of earlier scholarly literature, with which our own findings quite obviously accord, provide us with an intimation of the answer to this question. There is strong within-country stability and strong between-country variation in trust, legitimacy, and perceived corruption. The predictive power of micro-level deontological variables is strong and robust in within-country and between-country (multi-level) analyses alike.

Kääriäinen (2018) detected the same regularities in trust in between-country comparison studies as we did, yet remained indecisive as to the exact theoretical reason for the variation. He clearly identified the need for a theory.

“The theoretical literature explains public trust in the police by actions of the police: how efficient, fair or helpful the police are perceived to be. This is an important and understandable assumption. But beyond that, especially if we wish to understand why public trust in the police varies so greatly from one society to another, we (...) need to identify complementary factors related to the differences between societies.” (Kääriäinen, 2018, p. 296).

The candidates for the job include equality as a teleological concept, and deontological factors such as generalized trust and the rule of law (*ibidem*). We believe that the answer to this question will be found from the same gross dimension as the answers to micro-level differences in trust. The scholarly search needs to be extended from deontological micro-factors—perceived procedural justice of the police, perceived police corruption—to deontological macro-factors: the cultural significance of rules and good conduct, and the institutional significance of the laws, the rule of law, and the system of constitutional liberal democracy as a whole.

Dynamic Rationality

An interesting further finding emerged from the semi-quantitative and qualitative analyses of this study. In the bulk of individual cases analyzed in the study, the respondents seemed to exhibit what we call “dynamic rationality”

in their trying to sort out an intelligent answer to the open-ended question of the survey. They understood that they encounter significant unknowns in trying to answer the question, especially when considering the probability of corruption in the police, *i.e.*, in trying to figure out the prevalence of cases such as the Aarnio case or corruption more widely in the police, and the significance of such cases from the point of view of their own personal confidence in the police.

The feat is difficult even for professional analysts of corruption, due to the very nature of the phenomenon. People involved in corruption have an incentive to cover up the case, and corruption-infected security authorities can be expected to have better than average opportunities to do so.

The respondents' solution was not *satisficing*—settling for what is good enough in the decision-making situation—in the sense that Simon (1957, pp. 204–205, and *passim*) defined the concept. They did not to commit to any apparent *heuristic error of judgement* either, in the sense that such errors and biases have been depicted in behavioral economics (Kahneman *et al.* (eds.), 1982; Gilovich *et al.* (eds.), 2002). They weren't even at the mercy of the imagery of the media, as has often been suggested by criminologists.¹⁷ Quite to the contrary: they critically reflected the common knowledge and the storylines they were provided with by the journalists.

What the respondents actually did was that they tried to expand the cognitive sphere they were in control of—what they knew about the phenomenon; the state of affairs as it could be reasonably depicted. This they accomplished by the means of findings from many different sources of information, and by the means of their own logical inference and conclusions thereof. In other words, their individual rationality, in their trying to sort out the answer to the question, was dynamic.

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3. Deontological Predictors of Citizens' Distrust in the Operation of the Police

Matti Vuorensyrjä

Abstract

Background and the research questions: Over the years, in the Police Barometer Surveys (PBSs), 4–9% of the respondents have opted for the negative side of the four-step scale of trust. They “do not trust a lot,” or trust “hardly at all,” in the police. This is a narrow band in the full distribution of the variable. At the same time, it appears to be something persistent, not growing, but not contracting either. In this study we build a comprehensive statistical model to explain and to understand distrust in the police.

In earlier research, micro-level deontological variables—perceived procedural justice of the police, perceived police corruption—have been among the strongest and most consistent predictors of trust in the police. Finland, however, may be a unique case in this respect. It has consistently ranked #1 in international rule of law comparison studies. This is a context in which a vast majority of population follow not only the prescriptions of the law but also the established informal codes of human conduct, and in which people firmly trust in public authorities. The distribution of trust in the police is heavily skewed to the left, and it has an effective upper wall. What is the predictive power of the deontological variables in such a setting? Do they still differentiate between those who trust in the police, and those who don't? What other variables there are, to predict distrust?

Data: The data of the study come from the PBS conducted in the autumn of 2022. The survey targeted the adult population (15–75) of mainland Finland. The size of the random sample was 8,500, with 47.6% response rate and $N = 4,044$. The outcome variable (OV) of the study is dichotomous. It captures respondents' distrust in the operation of the police (response in the negative part of the four-step scale of trust = 1, in the positive part = 0). Maximum feasible number of predictor variables (PVs) are used in the study. They include perceived moral alignment with the police, perceived procedural justice of the police, perceived effectiveness of the police, a dichotomous perceived police corruption variable, plus all available police-citizen contact variables, victimization variables, and demographic variables.

Methods: The models of the study were based on hierarchical logistic regression analyses. Three latent PVs in the logit models were based on factor scores. The factor scores were estimated with the help of an Exploratory Factor Analysis (maximum likelihood estimation, oblique rotation).

Findings: The key deontological PVs were statistically significant predictors of distrust in all models estimated in the study. In fact, they were among the most powerful predictors of distrust. Based on the pseudo R^2 's, the final models of the study were capable of explaining a half (approx. 49%) of the variation in distrust.

Limitations: The data are cross-sectional. This restricts the conclusions that can be drawn from the study. The factor scores were based on MNAR (Missing Not at Random) data. Missing values in the EFA were imputed with the help of the means method.

Keywords: Trust in the police, confidence in the police, legitimacy of the police, perceived procedural justice of the police, perceived effectiveness of the police, perceived moral alignment with the police, perceived police corruption, victimization, victims of violent crime, victims of economic crime, police-public contacts, traffic enforcement, permits and licenses services

3.1 Background and the Research Questions

The importance of deontological factors of legitimacy has been recognized in political theory from John Locke (1690/1924/1991) to Kenneth Arrow (1951), Friedrich Hayek (1960/1993), John Rawls (1971), and beyond. *The rule of law*, in particular, forms the essence of governmental legitimacy in constitutional liberal democracies. In police studies and criminology, Tom R. Tyler (1990/2006; 2001; 2008; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), and subsequently many others, including the writers of the influential *Euro-Justis* project (2008–2011; Jackson *et al.*, 2011a; 2011b; 2012; 2013; Hough *et al.*, 2013; Hough, 2021, *etc.*), have accepted and adopted the basics of deontological philosophy as *the theory of procedural justice*.

The point of departure in Tyler’s (1990/2006; see also Tyler & Huo, 2002; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003) thinking was the law, or, more specifically, *procedural justice* in the administration of the law. The idea was that it will be necessary for the administration of the law to be procedurally just for all parties involved. All parties are entitled to *equal and fair* treatment in the process. They are entitled to be heard in the process by the respective authorities—to have a *voice*—and to be treated with *respect and dignity*. Procedural justice, more than anything else, according to Tyler, is the factor that secures *trust* in the courts and in the police, and the legitimacy of these authorities, and thus also citizens’ cooperation with the judicial system.

The current study tests the predictive power of deontological variables—perceived procedural justice of the police, and perceived police corruption—in a rather unique context: in the upper end of the global scale of the rule of law. In recent years, Finland has consistently ranked #1 in the World Bank’s (2025) international rule of law comparison study, with more than 200 other countries included in the study. The same applies to the Global Freedom Score (GFS) estimates by Freedom House (2025). In the latest 2024 study, Finland was the only country in the world that reached the maximum score (100 pts.) in the two core dimensions of the GFS: political rights (with a weight of 40 pts.) and civil liberties (60 pts.).

Within-country studies confirm the findings. People follow the prescriptions of the law rather closely in Finland, and have profound respect for the principle of the rule of law, in addition to which they have relatively strong and robust trust

in the key judicial authorities: the police, the courts, and the judicial system in general. Over the years, from 2001 to 2022, 91–96% of the respondents in the biennial Police Barometer Surveys (PBSs) have reported that they trust “a lot” or “quite a lot” in the operation of the police. Only 4–9% of the respondents have opted for the negative side of the four-step scale of trust (“not a lot,” “hardly at all”) (Ministry of the Interior, 2023, p. 49).

Using hierarchical logistic regression analyses and the PBS data from 2022, this study analyzes the respondents who opt for the negative side of the four-step scale of trust in the police (= 1 in the logit analysis) vis-à-vis those who opt for the positive side (= 0). What is the structure distrust in the Finnish context? Specifically, do the deontological variables retain their explanatory power in the context of heavily skewed distribution of trust, a distribution with an effective upper wall? Do these variables still differentiate between people who trust in the operation of the police, and those who don't? Are there other variables, along with the deontological predictors, that enable us to explain and understand the composition of distrust?

On the basis of earlier scholarly literature (Chapter 3.2), there can be expected to be several other variables that are closely associated with trust, including violent crime victimization, sexual offence victimization, perceived effectiveness of the police, and citizens' recent police contacts. We will test all available victimization variables, police-citizen contact variables and demographic variables in the logit models of the study, and incorporate all statistically significant predictors into its final models.

Deontological micro-level variables (individual-level variables) do not suffice to explain trust in the police in full, not even when combined with a comprehensive set of other micro-level variables. It appears that there is a deontological macro-dimension to trust and legitimacy (country-level variables, country-level differences), of which we are still largely unaware (Kääriäinen, 2018; Dreier & Lake, 2019). We will return to this issue in the conclusion and discussion section of the paper.

This much taken for granted, micro-level deontological variables have survived in almost all earlier analyses as statistically significant predictors of trust in the operation of the police, irrespective of the kinds of data or methods that have been used in the analyses, or of the place or time of the analyses. Multi-level

models incorporating both micro- and macro-level deontological variables form no exception to the rule. Micro-level deontological variables have stood the test. On the basis of theoretical work conducted in the field (Tyler, 1990/2006 and others), and in political theory (Locke 1690/1924/1991 and others), it will be assumed that this will be the case also in the current study, even in the presence of several other powerful predictors of trust.

H1-1: Perceived Procedural Justice of the Police	Distrust in the operation of the police is a negative (-) function of perceived procedural justice of the police, holding all other variables constant (perceived police corruption variable, demographic variables, police-citizen contact variables, victimization variables, perceived moral alignment and perceived police effectiveness factors)
H1-2: Perceived Police Corruption	Distrust in the operation of the police is a positive (+) function of perceived police corruption, holding all other variables constant (perceived procedural justice factor, demographic variables, police-citizen contact variables, victimization variables, perceived moral alignment and perceived police effectiveness factors)

All available background variables were also controlled for in the logit models. These include gender, age, education, yearly gross earnings, and labor market status of the respondent. The assumption (not a theoretically driven hypothesis) here was that none of the background variables exhibits statistically significant effect on distrust. For all except one of the background variables, this, indeed, proved to be the case.

3.2 Literature Review

The literature review here concentrates on the effects of perceived procedural justice of the police on trust and distrust. The authors of Chapter 2 have conducted a comprehensive, closely related review on the effects of perceived police corruption on trust in the police, so we do not touch this particular aspect of deontology here. Suffice it to say that perceived police corruption certainly stands the test in both within-country analyses and between-country comparison studies. It is intimately connected to trust, confidence, and legitimacy, and well deserves its own B₂ predictor block in our logit model.

Perceived procedural justice of the police assumed a position at the center of the scholarly stage 35 years ago, with the publication of Tyler's (1990/2006) classic. Research literature on procedural justice is extensive in police studies and criminology. Using the following search terms (below), and restricting

the finds to peer-reviewed journal articles only, yields 1,707 hits in the comprehensive set of databases available to us. Even after relevance-sorting within the aggregate review results, the number of items remains vast.

[procedural justice] AND [police OR policing] AND [trust OR confidence OR legitimacy]

Overall, the scholarly literature seems to support—even strongly support—the procedural justice hypothesis. More than twenty years ago already, Tyler (2003, p. 283) noted that confirming evidence is “considerable” in the associated literature.

In this review we will, therefore, concentrate on reviews and meta-analyses conducted in the field. We will also review a few, selected individual studies that have somehow deviated from the common lines of inquiry (methodologically, for example, or in view of their findings). The latter include experimental and longitudinal studies such as the ones conducted by Mazerolle *et al.* (2013a), and Pina-Sánchez and Brunton-Smith (2020), critical studies in the vein of Dreier and Lake (2019) and Zmerli (2022), and exceptionally insightful analyses such as Laird and Charman’s (2023) study on procedural justice in the Finnish police.

The literate review has been written in a rather detailed and comprehensive manner, exactly as the reviews in the other chapters of this book. A reader who is not interested in the specifics of earlier research—data, methods, core limitations of earlier analyses—may skip the specifics, and turn directly to the section that closes up the review (3.2.3 Intermediate Summary).

3.2.1 Reviews and Meta-Analyses

Mazerolle *et al.* (2013b) conducted a systematic literature review and meta-analysis to study the effects of police-led procedural justice interventions on several different outcomes of policing. The outcome measures considered in the analysis were (*ibidem*, pp. 251–252):

- Perceived legitimacy of the police,
- Perceived procedural justice of the police (“procedural fairness,” in terms of the authors),

- Cooperation with the police,
- Compliance with the police,
- Trust/confidence in the police, and
- Satisfaction with the operation of the police, including perceived effectiveness of the police.

The types of interventions used in the experiments could have been community policing interventions, increased beat policing or visibility, school policing initiatives, or some other similar interventions. The only requirement for the interventions in the original studies was that they had to have aimed at improving the dialogue between the police and their citizen-clients by the means of enhancing citizens' experience of procedural justice, or some of its inner components: the police being *trustworthy* in the eyes of the citizens, exhibiting *fairness and equality* in their operation, showing *respect and dignity* for all individual citizens, and/or giving authentic *voice* to the clients in the course of the criminal procedure (Mazerolle *et al.*, 2013b, p. 251).

Mazerolle *et al.* (2013b, p. 250) used an already existing literature database. It had been collected earlier on in a project by the National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA). Studies in this literature database had been conducted during 1980–2007. Eligible original studies had to be experimental (randomized) or quasi-experimental (time series, *ex-ante–ex-post* design, or corresponding), the effect size had to be detectable on the basis of reporting of the study, and the reporting language had to be English. Published as well as unpublished studies were eligible.

In the first phase of the review, 963 studies on procedural justice of the police or legitimacy of the police were detected, of which 163 dealt with police-led interventions directed at improving policing. Of these 163 studies, 94 fulfilled the requirement of an experimental study type and outcome-orientation (instead of process-orientation). Of the remaining 94 studies, 28 also fulfilled the requirements in the sense that they concentrated on individual respondents' perceptions, and on outcome variables of interest (Mazerolle *et al.*, 2013b, p. 255).

Mazerolle *et al.* (2013b) reported all results as odds ratios (ORs). If the original study had reported findings on a continuous outcome scale, the authors first computed standardized mean difference or *d* effect size, and then converted it to an odds ratio (for further details, see *ibidem*, p. 259).

In their final analysis, Mazerolle *et al.* (2013b, pp. 259–260) combined some of the outcome measures of the original studies to single constructs, due to low number of eligible studies in some of the outcome categories. Satisfaction with the police, confidence in the police, and perceived effectiveness of the police were treated as a single outcome category. Cooperation with the police and compliance with the police were also treated as a combined category.

Within the set of studies analyzed by Mazerolle *et al.* (2013b, pp. 260–264), seven (7) estimates (coming from 4 different studies) had focused on *perceived legitimacy*. The weighted mean OR based on the 7 effect sizes was 1.58, *i.e.*, in favor of the interventions (> 1.00), but not statistically significant in terms of the 95% confidence interval criterion (*, CI95% being used as the standard). Legitimacy was an exception. For all other outcome variables, the ORs were in the expected direction (> 1.00) and the findings were statistically significant. Meta-analysis of the *perceived procedural justice* outcome variable was based on 14 estimates of effect sizes from 6 different studies, with weighted mean OR of 1.47 (OR = 1.47*, studies = 6, estimates = 14). For the combined *compliance and cooperation* outcome variable the corresponding results were (OR = 1.62*, studies = 5, estimates = 8), and for the combined *satisfaction and confidence* outcome variable (OR = 1.62*, studies = 15, estimates = 29).

It thus appears that enhancing genuine dialogue between the police and the public along the lines of the theory of procedural justice contributes to successful policing. Or, as concluded by Mazerolle *et al.* (2013b, p. 265), “a little bit of being nice (...)” in police-citizen contacts and in policing in general “(...) goes a long way.”

Yet, legitimacy, as established, was an exception to the rule. It differed from the other outcome variables in that the findings from the meta-analysis, even though in the expected direction, were not statistically significant. This was due to relatively high variance in the estimates from the original studies. This is a common finding. There is great variation not only in measures of legitimacy, but also in concepts of legitimacy (Mazerolle *et al.*, 2013b, p. 252).

Donner *et al.* (2015) reviewed scholarly literature to analyze the effects of perceived procedural justice on several key outcome variables. The review covered studies on perceived procedural justice in two different contexts, 1. in the context of police-citizen contacts, and 2. in the context of police

organizational decision-making (*i.e.*, within the police organization). The review thus covered outcome variables such as [1] legitimacy of the police, trust in the police, confidence in the police, perceived effectiveness of the police, willingness to cooperate with the police, satisfaction with the police, and; [2] job satisfaction, organizational commitment, career commitment, exhaustion, and so on. The focus in the current review will be on the former kinds of findings from Donner and colleagues' paper.

Donner *et al.* (2015) made use of the leading databases, primarily EBSCOHost, PsychInfo, SAGE Full Text Collection, and Criminal Justice Abstracts. They found more than a hundred potentially relevant research articles, of which they selected 46 matched articles for detailed analysis. Of the 46 relevant studies, 28 were conducted in the context of police-citizen contacts, and 18 in the context of police organizational decision-making.

The reviewed studies gave “overwhelming” support, according to Donner *et al.* (2015, p. 167), to the procedural justice hypothesis. Furthermore, the results were the same irrespective of the outcome variable, whether perceived legitimacy of the police, trust in the police, satisfaction with the police, or overall assessments of the police. The predictive power of perceived procedural justice further extended to a few, less commonly analyzed outcome variables, such as non-support for vigilantism and confidence in the criminal-legal system in general (*ibidem*, p. 155, pp. 156–160, p. 167).

Donner and colleagues referred to an interesting finding from earlier research, when discussing the policy implications of their review. The finding originated in an Israeli study conducted by Zamir and Harpaz in 2014 (as cited by Donner *et al.*, 2015, p. 155, p. 161, p. 172). Zamir and Harpaz found that police leaders' expectations regarding successful policing strategies were exactly the opposite to propositions of the procedural justice theory. The idea among police leaders was that the factor that will secure perceived legitimacy of the police is effective crime control, rather than correct procedural conduct. Donner *et al.* suggest that, if and in so far as this will lead to aggressive strategies in policing, such as rough measures of order maintenance and zero tolerance policing, the ideas will be counter-productive. Perceived procedural justice weakens under aggressive policing. This will lead to the erosion of perceived legitimacy of the police (*ibidem*, p. 161).

Using univariate random effects models and generalized least squares (GLS) path regression models in meta-analysis, Walters and Bolger (2019) analyzed the focal path that has been pointed out by the theory of procedural justice: the path from *perceived procedural justice* to *perceived legitimacy* to *compliance*. The data consisted of studies published between 1990 (*ex-post* the publication of Tyler, 1990/2006) and 2018. As regards the eligible studies, the authors required that; at least two out of the three central variables of their meta-analysis were included in the original study; one or several of the core judicial authorities (police, courts, correctional institutions, tax authorities) were among the authorities analyzed in the study; either intentional or actual compliance was assessed in the study; and correlations between the key variables were available from the study (on the 14 databases used by Walters & Bolger, see *ibidem*, p. 345). The authors arrived at 64 relevant studies, providing them with 95 samples and 196 distinct effect size estimates.

All three pooled correlations analyzed by Walters and Bolger (2019) were statistically significant. The mean effect size estimates from the random effect models were 0.47 (procedural justice–legitimacy), 0.14 (legitimacy–compliance), and 0.10 (procedural justice–compliance). Findings from the GLS-based path regression models were similar to those of the univariate random effect models, except for the finding according to which the third path, from procedural justice to compliance, was statistically non-significant by the 95% confidence interval criterion. The non-significance finding was detected when the analysis was restricted to longitudinal original studies, not, however, in unrestricted analysis. In unrestricted analysis, when analyzing cross-sectional as well as longitudinal original studies, all paths were statistically significant (*ibidem*, p. 355).

Chan *et al.* (2023) conducted a meta-analysis that focused on the relationships between *perceived procedural justice*, *perceived legitimacy*, and people's *identity* in terms of the intensity of the research participants' subjective identification with the wider community of their respective polities, whether the object of identification in the original study had been *the country*, *the nation*, *the cultural group represented by the majority and by the police*, or some other superordinate group of people. Using data from Scopus, Web of Science, and ProQuest, and findings from grey literature, they arrived at 1,665 potentially relevant studies. They screened these studies by the criteria of topic, method, measures, language (English), and the availability of the full text, and arrived at 123 relevant studies, containing information on 159 distinct samples. The authors

expected to observe, and actually encountered, significant heterogeneity within the set of original studies under analysis, so they used random effects models throughout the study (univariate random effects meta-analysis, on the one hand, and two-stage Structural Equation Model or SEM -based meta-analysis, on the other hand; *ibidem*, pp. 10–12).

Chan *et al.* (2023) preferred to use zero-order correlation coefficients from the original studies in their own analysis. When r 's were unavailable, the authors transformed other measures such as betas into comparable correlation coefficients (for a detailed account on the methods, see *ibidem*, p. 10). Correlations between procedural justice and legitimacy (procedural justice and identity; identity and legitimacy) could be had from 152 samples (from 26 samples; from 22 samples). According to their findings, pooled correlations between both procedural justice and legitimacy ($p < .001$) and identity and legitimacy ($p < .001$) were statistically significant (*ibidem*, pp.12–15).

In addition to direct effects, Chan *et al.* (2023) further tested the exact role of the identity variable in the model: whether it had a *moderating* or a *mediating* role in the relationship between procedural justice and legitimacy. They found no evidence on the moderating role of identity (*i.e.*, no empirical evidence on the proposition according to which the effect of procedural justice on legitimacy would have been moderated, or somehow altered, by the identity variable, see *ibidem*, p. 14). Things were different with respect to its role as a mediator.

In the SEM estimated by Chan *et al.* (2023; based on 19 studies, for which all three variables were available), all pairwise paths were statistically significant. The authors tested the mediation model in the statistical setting of SEM, and found that the model had a good fit to the observed matrix. While the estimated mediation path in the model ran from *perceived procedural justice* → *identity* → *perceived legitimacy*, the direct paths ran from *perceived procedural justice* → *perceived legitimacy* and from *identity* → *perceived legitimacy*. The mediation path was relatively weak (in corresponding order, $0.311 \times 0.250 = 0.078$), but statistically significant by the 95% confidence interval criterion (*ibidem*, p. 14). All paths in the SEM (direct and indirect), as established, were statistically significant, yet perceived procedural justice proved to be the most powerful predictor of perceived legitimacy. Identity, too, however, quite interestingly, seemed to play an independent role, both directly and as a mediator. The indirect path wasn't strong, but it was statistically significant. Along with the

direct paths of the model, this indirect path suggested that perceived procedural justice supports identification, and identification leads to perceived legitimacy (Chan *et al.*, 2023, p. 17, and *passim*).

3.2.2 Selected Experimental, Longitudinal, and Critical Studies

Using experimental data from traffic enforcement encounters between the police and motorists (breathalyzer tests) in combination with a subsequent survey to two distinct groups of participants (experimental and control groups), Mazerolle *et al.* (2013a) tested the effect of *procedurally just conduct by the police* (based on a script, experimental group) vs. *standard conduct by the police* (control group) on *perceived procedural justice of the police, as regards the traffic enforcement encounter with the police*.

The data for the randomized field trial conducted by Mazerolle *et al.* (2013a) derived from Queensland Community Engagement Trial, Australia. In the case of the experimental group, the police officers followed a scripted procedure. All inner conceptual components of procedurally just conduct were written into the script (trustworthiness, neutrality, voice, respect), in one form or another. The control group was not treated bad in any way. In their case, the police officers just followed the standard procedure. A total of 22,985 survey questionnaires were delivered to motorists after the treatment, of which 2,746 complete/usable responses were returned to the researchers (1,097 from the experimental group, 1,649 from the control group) (Mazerolle *et al.*, 2013a, pp. 40–43).

Using structural equation modeling (SEM, CFA-based path regression model), Mazerolle *et al.* (2013a) tested also several other paths beyond the primary model: the path from the participants' assessment of procedural justice in the specific traffic enforcement encounter to *perceived procedural justice of the police in general* (not related to the specific encounter), and, further, from the two procedural justice concepts (specific, general) to *perceived legitimacy of the police*, and from perceived procedural justice (general) and perceived legitimacy to *satisfaction with the police* and to *cooperation with the police*. They also tested whether or not it was possible to predict cooperation with the police using the satisfaction with the police variable.

Equations in (3.1) provide the reader with a compact representation of the rather complicated structure of the path regression model estimated by Mazerolle *et*

al. (2013a). Only the statistically significant findings from their model are on exhibit in (3.1). Small changes have been made to Mazerolle and colleagues' (2013, p. 50) terminology, and the CFA components of Mazerolle *et al.*'s model are excluded from the bare bone representation of (3.1). All item variable loadings of the latent variables and the β -vector coefficients are also missing from the presentation. The presentation here, however, exactly corresponds to the statistically significant findings from their model.

$$C = f(L)$$

$$S = g(L; PG)$$

$$L = h(PG; PS)$$

$$PG = i(PS)$$

$$PS = j(E) \tag{3.1}$$

where

C = Cooperation with the police, observed;

S = Satisfaction with the police, observed;

L = Perceived legitimacy of the police, latent;

PG = Perceived procedural justice of the police (general), latent;

PS = Perceived procedural justice of the police (specific), latent;

E = Experiment: experimental group compared to control group.

The path from perceived procedural justice (general) to cooperation with the police, also estimated as a part of their model, was statistically non-significant and thus not incorporated into (3.1). The same was true for the path from satisfaction with the police to cooperation with the police. The path was not statistically significant, and thus not on exhibit in (3.1). In other words, Mazerolle *et al.* tested $C = f(L; PG; S)$, in which both PG and S turned out to be statistically non-significant predictors of cooperation with the police (see Mazerolle *et al.*, 2013a, p. 50).

As demonstrated by equation (3.1), the results came out largely as hypothesized (Mazerolle *et al.*, 2013a, p. 39). The experiment had a statistically significant positive (+) effect on perceived procedural justice (specific), which, for its part, affected perceived procedural justice (general) (+), with subsequent statistically significant effects on perceived legitimacy of the police (+), on satisfaction with the police (+), and on willingness to cooperate with the police (+). The path from perceived procedural justice of the police (general) to cooperation with the police was statistically non-significant, yet perceived legitimacy of the police mediated the corresponding indirect effect as a perfect mediator. Mazerolle *et al.* thus concluded, in line with the theory of procedural justice, that even a single, brief, procedurally just contact with the police may have several distinct beneficial consequences in terms of perceived legitimacy of the police, cooperation with the police, and satisfaction with the police (*ibidem*, p. 57).

Making use of Afrobarometer 2014/2015 data from sub-Saharan Africa and ordinal logistic regression analysis, Dreier and Lake (2019) analyzed the effects of contacts with the police and the courts on trust in, and legitimacy of, these authorities. Contrary to the established procedural justice literature, Dreier and Lake argued that, while contact experiences may affect trust in the respective judicial authorities, they should not be expected to affect perceived legitimacy. *De facto* performance of the courts and the police differs conceptually from *de jure* status of these authorities as arbiters of the law. Citizens' trust in the police and in the courts may well be eroded as a result of poor performance of the authorities, leaving, however, citizens' legitimacy considerations intact.

People can be expected to understand the conceptual difference between trust and legitimacy. This is especially important to understand in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, according to Dreier and Lake (2019, p. 1210), to avoid the—still quite common—misconception, according to which the principle of the rule of law is something totally alien to African countries.

The court performance variable in Dreier and Lake's (2019, p. 1199) study was a compound measure that considered several different barriers to getting help from the legal system: inability to pay for the costs of the legal procedure, inability to understand the legal procedure, inaccessibility of legal counsel, not genuinely having a voice in the process, and experiencing long delays in the handling of the case. The police performance variable measured respondents' experiences of the ease vs. the difficulty of getting police assistance. Trust in the respective authorities was measured as a single four-step scale variable.

Perceived legitimacy of the respective authorities was measured as a five-step scale assessment of their legitimacy (“The courts have the right to make decisions that people always have to abide by,” “The police always have the right to make people obey the law”). In addition to these core variables, the authors held constant many other variables, and carefully considered and tested possible endogeneity effects in and selection bias errors of their models.

The main hypothesis of Dreier and Lake’s (2019) study stood the test in both models (the final police model, the final court model). While negative experiences with the police (in the police models) and the courts (in the court models) had statistically significant negative effects on trust, no such effects on perceived legitimacy were detected, holding all other variables constant (Dreier & Lake, 2019, pp. 1205–1206). What’s more, Dreier and Lake (2019, pp. 1205–1206) found no evidence, or weak evidence only (depending on the model), on the mediating role of trust. In other words, trust didn’t seem to function as a mediator between contact experiences and legitimacy—a finding in direct conflict with the assertion common in the procedural justice literature.

The question Dreier and Lake (2019, p. 1209) posed for further research in the concluding section of their article was critically important. If not for the reason of their experience-based trust in the courts and in the police, why, then, people believe that the courts and the police have the right to function as arbiters and enforcers of the law? How to explain and understand legitimacy?

Pina-Sánchez and Brunton-Smith (2020) used panel data to analyze the causal connections between perceived procedural justice and perceived legitimacy, on the one hand, and the effects of individual heterogeneity and third factors on these two key variables, on the other. Methodologically, the study was based on cross-lagged panel models. The approach differed from practically all other research conducted in the field in the sense that, in their model, perceived procedural justice from the prior period of time ($t-1$) predicted perceived legitimacy in the current period (t), and, in the same model, taking account of the possibility of reverse causality, perceived legitimacy from the prior period ($t-1$) predicted perceived procedural justice in the current period (t). This was not all there was to their model. Additionally, still in the same model, the authors tested stability effects in the sense that perceived legitimacy (perceived procedural justice) from the prior period $t-1$ predicted perceived legitimacy (perceived procedural justice) in the current period t . Finally, the model held

constant also the cross-sectional contemporary effects, *i.e.*, perceived legitimacy (perceived procedural justice) from the current period t predicting perceived procedural justice (perceived legitimacy) of the current period t .

The panel data used in the study were based on seven different waves of Pathways to Desistance project data from 2000 to 2006. Young offenders (14–17 years of age) from Philadelphia and Maricopa County were interviewed repeatedly, during the first three years at 6 months intervals, and then at one-year intervals. Of the 1,354 offenders who began in the study 1,134 finished it in the sense that they provided complete data for the project. Pina-Sánchez and Brunton-Smith selected a restricted set of core indicators for their study (from a wider set of variables), which covered the essentials of perceived procedural justice and perceived legitimacy (Pina-Sánchez & Brunton-Smith, 2020, p. 381, p. 392). Their choices were not all unproblematic here.¹⁸

Pina-Sánchez and Brunton-Smith's (2020) findings from their final panel models were surprising in the light of practically all earlier research. They found little or no evidence on their first hypothesis, according to which perceived procedural justice ($t-1$) predicts perceived legitimacy (t). In only one wave out of six waves of cross-lagged estimates, and with one predictor variable only (the voice variable used in the study; 1/12 of all estimates), the effect of perceived procedural justice ($t-1$) on perceived legitimacy (t) was statistically significant and in the expected direction (*ibidem*, p. 386). The hypothesis that suggested reverse causality, from perceived legitimacy ($t-1$) to perceived procedural justice (t), was also rejected by the panel model. Again, only one out of twelve estimates (1/12) was statistically significant and in the expected direction, and again the result was obtained from a model that used the voice variable.

Contrary to these observations, Pina-Sánchez and Brunton-Smith (2020) discovered strong stability effects over time for both of their key variables, *i.e.*, a strong variable-specific predictive power from period $t-1$ to t . In addition to this, they found strong residual correlation between the two variables. The latter finding suggests "(...) the presence of time-invariant third common causes (...)" (*ibidem*, p. 385). In other words, there would appear to be a third factor (or factors) that predicts (predict) both perceived procedural justice and perceived legitimacy.

Using the ESS (European Social Survey) 2010 data from 24 European liberal democracies, and various sources of other macro-level data, and multi-level modeling techniques (both OLS and ordinal regression multi-level models), Zmerli (2022) analyzed the effects of individual- and country-level variables on five distinct outcome variable (OV) constructs of perceived police performance. These were *perceived political dependence of the police* (whether or not the police are unduly influenced by political decision-makers), perceived integrity of the police (*the perceived police corruption* variable of the ESS, whether or not the police accept bribes), perceived impartiality of the police and respect for the citizens (*the perceived procedural justice of the police* variables of the ESS), citizens' *trust in the police* (the trust variable of the ESS), and perceived effectiveness of the police (*perceived performance of the police*, whether or not they are doing a good job). Individual-level predictor variables (PVs) consisted of a series of other variables, including background variables, personal value variables, and of a prior police contact variable.

The core idea of the study was to analyze the contribution of the country-level (macro) PVs, which, as a comprehensive institutional setting of individual assessments, were expected to affect the OVs. In accordance with her causal (macro) hypotheses, Zmerli (2022, p. 348) used the Quality of Government (QOG) Standard dataset and the World bank database (rule of law, control of corruption) from the period of time before the ESS 2010. The country-level PVs included, among other variables, the rule of law variable, control of corruption variable, trust between citizens in general (here: generalized trust variable), Gini coefficient, regime durability variable, *etc.* (*ibidem*, p. 348, and Zmerli's appendix in p. 375).

Of the many important findings from Zmerli's (2022) study, we will only refer to findings related to the country-level effects, and to interaction effects between the police contact variable and the country-level macro variables. For methodological reasons, the country-level macro variables were separately tested in the multilevel models—*i.e.*, not in full combination. The effects of these variables proved to be stronger and more consistent than those of individual-level variables.

The effects on the OVs were statistically significant in all five OV-specific models for the following country-level PVs: the rule of law, control of corruption, generalized trust, and GDP per capita. In four out of five models, the duration

of democracy variable was also statistically significant. Graphically put, while *commitment to the principle of the rule of law*, *control of corruption*, *generalized trust among the citizens*, and *high GDP per capita*, all had negative (–) effects on *perceived political dependence of the police* and *perceived police corruption*, these same four country-level PVs had positive (+) effects on *perceived procedural justice of the police*, *trust in the police*, and *perceived performance of the police* (Tables 2 and 3 in Zmerli, 2022, pp. 353–355).

The police contact variable had statistically significant cross-level effects (interaction effects) with the generalized trust variable in three models (in predicting perceived political dependence of the police, perceived police corruption, and perceived performance of the police), and with the rule of law variable in one model (in predicting perceived police corruption). The very interesting interpretation here was that, normatively negative effects of police contacts on the OVs ease up along with improving levels of generalized trust and the rule of law (Zmerli, 2022, pp. 353–355, p. 357, p. 365).

Many of the important findings that were provided by Zmerli's (2022) study were not touched upon here in our brief review. Perhaps the most important of these other findings was the one that Zmerli herself raised up as a concluding remark to the abstract of her study. She noticed that, policies that address procedural justice and police legitimacy at the level of police-citizen contacts only, overlooking the macro factors associated with the wider institutional settings of the country, are likely to prove less than optimal (*ibidem*, p. 341, abstract).

Analyzing police officer survey data combined with data from three focus group interviews of police officers, Laird and Charman (2023) offered several important insights into the way procedurally just policing is implemented in Finland. The authors detected clear signs of procedurally just policing in their data, yet they also noted that procedural justice in the Finnish way of policing does not appear to result from any conscious plan or design. It is more like an “accidental” feature of Finnish policing. According to Laird and Charman, its foundations lie in several different historical-cultural, legal, and operational factors of the Finnish police and the Finnish civil society (*ibidem*, abstract, and pp. 25–27).

The aim of Laird and Charman's (2023) study was to analyze the way police officers in Finland perceive their own work, and their own role in operation, and whether or not their ideas could be connected to the ideas of procedural justice. A semi-structured survey was made available to police officers via the Intranet of the police. The response rate was poor (5%, N = 352), and the data probably biased due to the data gathering methodology, yet the data contained a qualitatively rich open-ended set of text records. Three focus groups were formed, furthermore, to supplement the survey data, two of which were arranged in the Metropolitan Helsinki area, and one in a regional police district in southern Finland (*ibidem*, pp. 20–21).

The focus group participants' assessments of what constitutes *justice* were divergent. While a part of the participating police officers seemed to be after proper sentences for the perpetrators, and were professionally disappointed if they weren't coming, other officers emphasized the constitutional division of work between governmental and judicial powers, the police and the courts, the principle here having been that, "(...) the sentence is a matter for the courts. It is not our concern[,] and that "[J]udges judge, but they can only judge the information they are given" (Laird & Charman, 2023, p. 21).

The participants clearly recognized the authority that the uniform and the rights associated with the occupation of a police officer provide them with (Laird & Charman, 2023, p. 22). Yet their conception of their own role in the judicial system, and of their role in the community and in the wider polity effectively downplayed formal authority. This may have been the single most important finding from the Laird and Charman study, as, indeed, they themselves noted (*ibidem*, p. 27). The police officers considered themselves no different from other citizens; "(...) rather than seeing themselves as a group apart from the general public, the participants report seeing themselves as members of the public that they are serving" (*ibidem*, p. 26). It was not only that the police officers considered themselves plain ordinary citizens, among other citizens; they also clearly and explicitly understood their role as public servants (*ibidem*, p. 27).

Following Rothstein and Uslaner's theoretical work from 2005, Laird and Charman (2023, p. 19) noted that one of the underlying reasons for the observations, resembling scholarly findings from other Nordic countries, could be the lack of steep vertical hierarchies in these societies. In the Nordic countries, furthermore, lack of steep hierarchies combines with active civil societies and generally honest governments that are committed to the principle of the rule of law.¹⁹

3.2.3 Intermediate Summary

Evidence from reviews and meta-analyses as well as from individual studies seems to support the procedural justice theory.

- Meta-analytical and experimental studies alike point towards statistically significant dependency between perceived procedural justice of the police and trust/confidence in the police (Mazerolle *et al.*; 2013b; Donner *et al.*, 2015; Dreier & Lake, 2019).
- Findings on the relationship between perceived procedural justice and perceived legitimacy of the police are mixed. While many studies would seem to corroborate the dependency (Mazerolle *et al.*, 2013a; Donner *et al.*, 2015; Walters & Bolger, 2019; and Chan *et al.*, 2023), there are studies that have found no such connection (Mazerolle *et al.*, 2013b; Dreier & Lake, 2019; and Pina-Sánchez & Burton-Smith, 2020). This may have to do with the concepts and measures of legitimacy that have been used in different studies, where there has been no consistency. Our intuition is that there is something wrong with the concept of legitimacy as depicted in earlier literature. The divergence may also derive from methodological issues that plague cross-sectional studies. Findings supporting the no-connection conclusion (H₀-hypothesis) have often been obtained from experimental and longitudinal type of studies.
- Finally, it seems that macro-level deontological variables such as control of corruption and commitment to the principle of the rule of law contribute to trust and legitimacy, along with micro-level deontological variables (Zmerli, 2022; see also Kääriäinen, 2018).

3.3 Data

The data of the study are described in Tables 3.1 and 3.2. Due to random sampling techniques and data weights computed by Statistics Finland, the data may be expected to correspond to the target population by the criteria of gender and age. Furthermore, being based on a random sample and a relatively good response rate (47.6%), the data probably correspond to the population fairly well also in terms of the other background variables. This is not to say that the data are unproblematic,²⁰ but they are by far the best available data for the purposes of the current study. The number of missing values within the data, as one may also note, is relatively small.

Table 3.1. Descriptive statistics: background variables

Variables	Percentages (%)
Gender	
Female	49.8%
Male	50.2%
N (missing)	4,011 (33)
Age	
–29	21.7%
30–49	33.9%
50–64	25.5%
65–	19.0%
N (missing)	4,044 (0)
Labor market status	
Employed	58.4%
Unemployed	4.6%
Not in the labor force	37.0%
N (missing)	3,950 (94)
Education	
Primary	20.4%
Secondary	45.1%
Tertiary	34.5%
N (missing)	3,903 (141)
Yearly gross income	
≤ 10 000 €	14.8%
10 001–25 000 €	27.2%
25 001–50 000 €	39.9%
> 50 000 €	18.1%
N (missing)	3,775 (269)

The same does not apply to all content variables. One question in particular (one item in one of the latent variables) proved to be difficult to assess for the respondents; “When dealing with people in Finland, how often would

you say the police generally explain their decisions and actions when asked to do so?" There were only 2,636 valid answers (1,408 missing) to this question in the data set (unweighted). Yet, as we wanted to incorporate the item into the latent variable of perceived procedural justice along with two other item variables, we decided to impute the missing values as a part of the EFA. This was legitimate also for the reason that the EFA target data were MNAR (Missing Not at Random). Details of the EFA are shown in appendix A1.

Table 3.2. Descriptive statistics: content variables*

Variables	Percentages (%) and central tendency estimates (mean, median, mode)
Trust in the operation of the police	
"A lot," or "quite a lot"	91.7%
"Not a lot," or "hardly at all"	8.3%
N (missing)	3,854 (190)
Perceived police corruption	
"Fairly unlikely" or "very unlikely"	68.7%
"Very likely" or "fairly likely"	31.3%
N (missing)	3,249 (795)
Victimization over lifetime	
Σ ([Burglary or attempted burglary], [Theft of property], [Damage to property], [Car theft or attempted car theft]), range 0–4	Mean = 0.91 Median = 1.0 Mode = 0.0
N (missing)	3,835 (209)
Σ ([Assault], [Armed threat], [Sexual harassment or violence]), range 0–3	Mean = 0.37 Median = 0.0 Mode = 0.0
N (missing)	3,873 (171)
Contact with the police in the last 12 months regarding the following matters	
Traffic surveillance, a traffic offence, or an accident ["Yes"]	8.3%
Permits/licenses ["Yes"]	25.4%
N (missing)	3,928 (116)

* On the latent variables (factor score computation), see appendix A1.

3.4 Methods

3.4.1 The Factor Scores

Three predictor variables in the logit models were based on factor scores estimated with the help of an EFA. Maximum likelihood (ML) and oblique rotation (Promax, $\kappa = 4$) methods were used in the EFA. We tested other estimation and rotation methods, but ended up using ML and Promax. The goodness of fit index for the final EFA gave the factor model a pass, showing relatively good fit ($\chi^2(df) = 12.28(7)$, $p = .092$).

The data under analysis in the EFA were MNAR (Missing Not at Random). The bulk of missing values were related to the p3 item variable, which, however, we wanted to keep onboard (“When dealing with people in Finland, how often would you say the police generally explain their decisions and actions when asked to do so?” [1-4]). For many respondents this proved to be a difficult question to assess and answer. In this particular item variable, furthermore, there was an alternative in the scale that could not be meaningfully placed to the ordinal Likert scale (“No one ever asks the police to explain their decisions and actions”), and that had to be treated as a missing value in the analysis. For these reasons, the missing values were imputed with the help of the means method. We also tested multiple imputation method, but opted for the much simpler and straightforward means method. The means method secures full independency between the related items (it keeps p3 independent of the other items). The downside is that it gives the factor score a slight centripetal tendency (bias) towards the factor mean (zero), with a corresponding effect on standard deviations and standard errors.

3.4.2 Hierarchical Logistic Regression Analysis

The study is based on hierarchical binary logistic regression analyses. Each model predicts the probability p of a binary state of affairs y_i . In the current study, this is the probability that the individual respondent belongs to the group of people who opted for the negative side of the scale of trust $p(y_i)$. The probability that the individual belongs to the group of people who opted for the positive side of the scale is the inverse of this probability, $1-p(y_i)$.

In any logit analysis, the concept of *the odds* captures the ratio of $p(y_i)$ to $1-p(y_i)$.

$$\frac{p(y_i)}{1-p(y_i)} \quad (3.2)$$

The primary interest in the analysis is in *the odds ratio*, which is a measure of change in the odds. The odds ratio answers the question of, what happens to the odds when a predictor variable (PV) increases one unit in its own scale? *I.e.*, what happens to the odds, if, for example, we proceed from the group of respondents who consider police corruption “unlikely” (coded 0) to the group of those who consider it “likely” (coded 1)?

Multivariate binary logistic regression analysis is a systematic way of modeling the impact of a given predictor variable on changes in the odds, holding all other predictors constant. In hierarchical logistic regression analysis, the odds, measured in proportional scale, are linearly dependent on several blocks of predictor variable vectors. The blocks of PVs are introduced into the model hierarchically, one block at a time. The blocks introduced later on complement and potentially change the structure and the predictive power of the blocks introduced earlier on.

$$\ln \left(\frac{p(y_i)}{1-p(y_i)} \right) = b_0 + (b_k X_{ki} | B_s). \quad (3.3)$$

X_k is a vector of k predictive variables from block B_s , s running from $s = 1...4$ in the case of the models of this study, with $i = 1...n$ individuals in the model. The first block B_1 consists of three latent variables, perceived procedural justice of the police, perceived effectiveness of the police, and perceived moral alignment with the police, the second block B_2 of one variable, perceived police corruption, the third block B_3 of two lifetime victimization variables, the first of which measures economic crime victimization (the person has experienced anything from zero to four different types of economic crime as a victim over her or his lifetime) and the second of which measures violent crime victimization (anything from zero to three different types of violent crime as a victim over lifetime), the fourth block B_4 of two variables capturing the respondent’s recent (during the last 12 months) contacts with the police, either in the context of traffic enforcement or in the context of permits and licenses services, and the

last block B_4 of demographic variables, of which only the labor market status of the respondent turned out to be statistically significant, and, thus, deserved to be incorporated into the final model. The e -term (below) is the base of natural logarithm.

In the final models of the study, age, gender, the level of education, and the yearly gross income category of the respondent were statistically non-significant predictors of distrust. The same was true for all police contact variables (except for the two contact variables contained in block B_4 of the final model), and for all victimization variables (other than the ones contained in B_3). All of these variables were incorporated into the preliminary logit models tested in the study, but none of them predicted distrust in the operation of the police in a statistically significant manner in the presence of the other variables (*i.e.*, in the final constellation).

We will report the odds ratios (ORs), or the exponential forms of predictor-specific coefficients b_k , from the models.

$$EXP(b_k) \equiv e^{b_k} \equiv OR_k. \quad (3.4)$$

The no-effect standard of reference, in this case, is $e^{b_k} = 1.00$. In other words, if predictor x_k has no effect on the outcome variable, its coefficient may be expected to be found from the neighborhood of zero ($b_k \approx 0.00$), and the corresponding odds ratio from the neighborhood of one ($e^{b_k} \approx 1.00$).

All logit models of the study were estimated with the help of backward stepwise likelihood ratio (LR) logistic regression analyses. Hence, when the last block of any hierarchical construct entered the model, the estimation was based on backward stepwise LR procedure, so that all predictor variables that were not statistically significant predictors of the outcome variable were eliminated from the model on the basis of the LR criterion. We will also report the Wald-probability estimates for all predictors in the models, but the Wald-probabilities were not used in deciding whether or not to incorporate a given predictor into the model. These decisions were based on the LR criterion.

3.5 Findings

The final models M1 and M2 of the study are reported in Table 3.3. In appendix A2, Tables A2.1 and A2.2, we report four other logit models M3–M6 showing the block-specific details of the progression of our modeling.

The final models of the study get almost all cases correct in the trust-category (= 0, percentage correct 99.0%), and a fair proportion also in the distrust-category (= 1, percentage correct 41.9–42.5%). Overall, on the basis of the Nagelkerke pseudo R^2 s, the models were capable of explaining approximately 48–49 % of the variation in distrust. Model 5 in appendix Table A2.2 shows that the bulk of the predictive power of the final models may be attributed to block B₁. It gets 99.0% of the trust-category (39.2% of the distrust-category) observations correct, with Nagelkerke pseudo R^2 slightly below 46%.

The latent variables in block B₁, perceived moral alignment with the police, perceived procedural justice of the police, and perceived effectiveness of the police, are all statistically significant predictors of distrust in the operation of the police. Graphically put: the higher the values of these variables, the lower the probability to distrust in the operation of the police (ORs ranging between 0.385–0.501).

Introducing perceived police corruption into the model causes interesting changes in the structure of the model. It affects the perceived moral alignment and perceived effectiveness variables, reducing their coefficients (ORs). The coefficient (OR) of perceived procedural justice stays practically put. There are variables, however, that are capable of capturing some of the predictive power of perceived procedural justice. We will shortly return to these issues.

Perceived police corruption is a statistically significant predictor of distrust in the operation of the police. A high subjective probability assessment of police corruption (likely, rather than unlikely) increases the likelihood that the respondent distrusts in the operation of the police (ORs consistently on the order of 2.392–2.399, see also appendix Tables A2.1 and A2.2). The findings correspond to findings from earlier scholarly literature. They also correspond to findings from Chapter 2 in this book.

Table 3.3. Distrust in the operation of the police: hierarchical logistic regression models M1–M2^(a)

	M1: content variables, ORs	M2: key content variables, and labor market status, ORs
Intercept	0.015***	0.014***
Block 1: Latent variables		
Perceived moral alignment with the police	0.488***	0.501***
Perceived procedural justice of the police	0.399***	0.385***
Perceived effectiveness of the police	0.485***	0.492***
Block 2: Perceived police corruption, binary		
Likely	2.399***	2.392***
Unlikely	1.000	1.000
Block 3: Victimization over lifetime		
B3a: Economic crime victimization Σ [burglary or attempt thereof, theft of property, damage to property, car theft or attempt thereof]	1.165	1.101
B3b: Violent crime victimization Σ [assault, armed threat, sexual harassment or violence]	1.398**	1.421**
Block 4: Contact with the police in the last 12 months		
B4a: traffic surveillance, a traffic offence, or an accident		
Yes	0.497*	
No	1.000	
B4b: permits / licenses		
Yes	0.628*	
No	1.000	
Block 4: Labor market status		(p = .042)
Employed (paid employment, entrepreneurs, etc.)		1.000
Unemployed		1.813
Outside the labor force (full-time students, pensioners, people on parental leave, etc.)		0.777
χ^2 (df), p, full model	726.406(8) p < .001	698.252(8) p < .001
Nagelkerke R ² , full model	0.489	0.483
Hosmer-Lemeshow, p, full model	0.472	0.124
Percentage correct [1 = scale negative], full model	41.9%	42.5%
Percentage correct [0 = scale positive], full model	99.0%	99.0%
B1: Nagelkerke R ²	0.457	0.452
B2: Δ Nagelkerke R ²	+0.018	+0.018
B3: Δ Nagelkerke R ²	+0.008	+0.009
B4: Δ Nagelkerke R ²	+0.006	+0.004
n/N	3,082/4,044	3,042/4,044

^(a) 1 (0) = response in the negative (positive) section of the 4-step trust scale

*** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05

Victimization over lifetime, especially violent crime victimization (Σ [assault, armed threat, sexual harassment or violence], ORs 1.398–1.421), but also economic crime victimization (Σ [burglary or attempt of burglary, theft of property, damage to property, car theft or attempt of car theft], ORs 1.101–1.165), increases the probability to distrust in the operation of the police. The latter, though not a statistically significant predictor of distrust by the Wald-statistics criterion, is statistically significant by the LR-criterion, and was, thus, incorporated into the models. Interestingly, the coefficient (OR) of perceived procedural justice contracts when violent crime victimization variable is introduced into the model (0.359 to 0.395; M4 to M3). The same thing happened earlier on in the modelling process, when perceived effectiveness of the police was introduced into the model (0.277 to 0.354; M6 to M5). Perceived procedural justice of the police seems to share some of its variance in predicting distrust with violent crime victimization and perceived effectiveness of the police variables—not an implausible proposition in the light of the findings from Chapter 1 of this book. Why not, however, with the only other deontological predictor in the model, perceived police corruption, which, functionally, would seem to be but an inverse of perceived procedural justice of the police (as a crude violation of procedural justice of the police)?

Police corruption, quite unlike procedural justice of the police (as measured in the PBS: whether or not the police treat people with respect, and in a fair and impartial manner, and explain their decisions to citizen-clients), is a serious violation of the law. It operates in another, much deeper and much more serious level of flawed integrity than procedural injustice of the police.

Why, then, if this is the case, the predictive power of perceived police corruption is more modest than that of perceived procedural justice? This may be a measurement issue,²¹ but it may also be related to the regularities depicted in Chapter 2 of this book. According to the authors of Chapter 2, for a majority of the citizens the mindscape would appear to be such that, even though there has evidently been corruption in the police (the existence proposition), the revealed cases of police corruption may still be expected to be isolated incidents, not something that characterizes the police as a whole. The contrary—the universal integrity proposition—is more likely to be true.

The only statistically significant police-citizen contact findings we came across in testing the contact variables of the PBS were statistically negative (*i.e.*,

normatively positive = reducing the likelihood to distrust in the operation of the police). If the respondent had had a contact with the police during the last 12 months in a matter of permits and licenses services, or in a matter of traffic enforcement operations of the police (traffic surveillance, traffic offence, traffic accident), her/his probability to distrust in the operation of the police was reduced. The ORs were on the order of 0.497 (traffic enforcement contact) and 0.628 (permits and licenses services contact).

Labor market status was the only statistically significant background variable. Unemployed respondents seem to have a higher propensity than others (employed respondents, respondents outside the labor force) to distrust in the operation of the police (OR 1.813, when compared to the baseline of employed respondents). The model incorporating labor market status (M2) was the final model we used in appendix A2, when analyzing the progression of our modeling. Hence, it may be seen that incorporating labor market status into the model affects little or not at all the other variables in the model, except for the violent crime victimization variable, which slightly contracts with the introduction of the labor market status variable into the model (from 1.470 to 1.421; M3 to M2).

As a final remark, note that it is possible to compute expected probabilities ($0 \leq p \leq 1$) for different kinds of respondents with the help of the model coefficients.²² Note, also, that these are only rough and inexact estimates. Nevertheless, using the estimated coefficients (b_0, b_k) from model M1 it may be said that, in this model environment, the expected probability of a person with mean values in all predictors to distrust in the operation of the police is approximately $\hat{p} = 1.8\%$. If, however, *ceteris paribus*, s/he considers police corruption to be likely, rather than unlikely, the expected probability is $\hat{p} = 4.1\%$. If, in addition to this, *ceteris paribus*, her/his estimate of the procedural justice of the police is one standard deviation 0.877 (two standard deviations 1.754) below the average (zero, for factor scores), the expected probability is $\hat{p} = 8.8\%$ ($\hat{p} = 17.8\%$).

3.6 Conclusions, Limitations, and Discussion

3.6.1 Conclusions

No causal conclusions can be drawn from the study, due to the cross-sectional nature of the data. The findings do suggest, however, that there is a firm statistically significant dependency between the micro-level deontological variables and distrust in the operation of the police. Perceived moral alignment with the police and perceived effectiveness of the police were also statistically significant predictors of distrust. In combination, these four variables were capable of predicting slightly less than 48% of the variation in distrust (M4, Nagelkerke R^2).

The findings correspond to findings from earlier scholarly literature, and to the hypotheses of this study. In the final models of this paper, perceived procedural justice of the police, perceived moral alignment with the police, and perceived effectiveness of the police all decrease the likelihood that the respondent distrusts in the operation of the police. Perceived police corruption affects in the opposite direction: the likelihood that the respondent distrusts in the operation of the police is increased.

The other statistically significant predictors in the final models were victimization over lifetime (economic crime victimization, violent crime victimization; both of which increase the likelihood that the respondent distrusts in the operation of the police), contact with the police during the last 12 months (permits and licenses contact, traffic enforcement contact; both of which decrease the likelihood that the respondent distrusts in the operation of the police), and the labor market status of the respondent (unemployment status of the respondent at the time of the survey, compared to the baseline of employed respondents, increases the likelihood that the respondent distrusts in the operation of the police).

3.6.2 Limitations

As noted in the above, no causal conclusions can be drawn from the study, due to the cross-sectional nature of the data. Moreover, as one single instrument only was employed in data acquisition process of the PBS project, the findings may suffer from instrument-specific biases (the so-called “common method variance”).

The number of observations was sufficient for all logit analyses of the study, except for the combination of the police contact variables and the labor market status variable, which could not be incorporated into the same model. These two predictors were separately incorporated into the final models of this study (M1, M2).

There was no evidence of multicollinearity in the logit models of the study, based on collinearity statistics (VIF). The same applies to potential non-linearity concerns: linearity tests gave green light to all continuous predictors of the models. Hosmer-Lemeshow test rejected the one-block model M5 (see the appendix), but only by a small margin (Hosmer-Lemeshow, $p = 0.037$, model M5). The Hosmer-Lemeshow contingency table (not shown in the appendix), however, suggests that there is fairly constant linearity in the expected/observed ratio of numbers of cases by deciles (as depicted in the scatter diagram), with, however, some variation between the different deciles *within* the range from the lowest to the highest decile.

The latent variables used in the study passed the scale reliability tests in terms of both, the item variable tests (Cronbach alphas) and factor score variances (on display in appendix table A1). The MNAR (Missing Not at Random) problem encountered in the EFA of this study was dealt with the help of imputation. We tested different methods of imputation, eventually opting for the simple means method, which we considered to be neutral enough from the point of view of the findings of the study in that it kept the problematic p3 item independent of the other items in the model.

3.6.3 Discussion

The models of the study offer a comprehensive outlook upon distrust in the police in Finland. The analysis in the current study concentrated on the micro-level deontological variables, which passed the test of statistical significance in the presence of all other variables. Perceived effectiveness of the police and perceived moral alignment with the police, also, have a role to play in the creation of trust. Violent crime victimization (assaults, sexual offences, armed threats) seems to be of importance, too, in this respect.

Perceived effectiveness of the police and violent crime victimization, but not perceived police corruption, shared some of their variance with perceived

procedural justice of the police as predictors of distrust. Returning to the original data, it, indeed, appears to be the case that, perceived procedural justice of the police and perceived effectiveness of the police have both been eroded among assault victims, and victims of sexual offence (lifetime victimization).²³ So, even though citizens' distrust in the operation of the police is often associated with the core deontological variables (in theory, in empirical analysis), and rightly so, specific teleological and deontological × teleological considerations would also appear to make a difference.

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Appendix A1

Table A1.1 Exploratory factor analysis^(b)

	F1	F2	F3	h ²
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The police stand up for values that are important to people like me ^(a)	0.926	−0.058	−0.011	0.792
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The police generally have the same sense of right and wrong as I do ^(a)	0.815	−0.001	−0.025	0.650
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I generally support how the police usually act ^(a)	0.723	0.108	0.042	0.652
Based on what you have heard or your own experience, how often would you say the police generally treat people in Finland with respect?	−0.019	0.812	−0.047	0.615
About how often would you say that the police make fair and impartial decisions in the cases they deal with?	0.003	0.766	−0.010	0.583
When dealing with people in Finland, how often would you say the police generally explain their decisions and actions when asked to do so?	0.048	0.508	0.102	0.343
How successful do you think the police are at <u>catching</u> people who commit house burglaries in Finland?	−0.047	−0.048	0.919	0.787
How successful do you think the police are at <u>preventing</u> crimes in Finland where violence is used or threatened?	0.059	0.077	0.653	0.508
VAR(F)	.850	.769	.744	
Goodness of fit test χ^2 (df), p				12,28(7), .092
Residual correlations > .05				None
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy				0.801
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity, p				< .001
N (missing)				3,871 (173)

Maximum likelihood estimation, Promax ($\kappa = 4$)

Missing values replaced for each variable with variable mean

Factor scores computed using the regression method

^(a) Item inverted, so that arithmetically high values are normatively high, thus corresponding to the other variables

^(b) The inventories used in the EFA were originally developed by the Euro-Justis project (2008–2011) and employed in the fifth round of the European Social Survey in 2010. The PBS project has asked for, and received, a permission to use these inventories in Police Barometer Surveys.

Table A1.2 Factor correlation matrix

	F1	F2	F3
F1: perceived moral alignment with the police	1.000		
F2: perceived procedural justice of the police	0.587	1.000	
F3: perceived effectiveness of the police	0.343	0.393	1.000

Table A1.3 Zero-order pairwise item correlations

	Mean	SD	e1	e2	p1	p2	p3	m1	m2	m3
e1	6.64	1.98	1.000							
e2	6.21	2.13	0.674	1.000						
p1	3.36	0.62	0.287	0.215	1.000					
p2	3.32	0.62	0.317	0.249	0.654	1.000				
p3	3.05	0.75	0.337	0.318	0.520	0.528	1.000			
m1	4.06	0.80	0.267	0.202	0.369	0.405	0.372	1.000		
m2	4.11	0.82	0.302	0.223	0.384	0.416	0.375	0.737	1.000	
m3	4.21	0.76	0.329	0.272	0.458	0.447	0.397	0.665	0.724	1.000

e1 – “How successful do you think the police are at preventing crimes in Finland where violence is used or threatened?” [0-10]

e2 – “How successful do you think the police are at catching people who commit house burglaries in Finland?” [0-10]

p1 – “Based on what you have heard or your own experience, how often would you say the police generally treat people in Finland with respect?” [1-4]

p2 – “About how often would you say that the police make fair and impartial decisions in the cases they deal with?” [1-4]

p3 – “When dealing with people in Finland, how often would you say the police generally explain their decisions and actions when asked to do so?” [1-4]

m1* – “The police generally have the same sense of right and wrong as I do” [1-5]

m2* – “The police stand up for values that are important to people like me” [1-5]

m3* – “I generally support how the police usually act” [1-5]

* Item inverted, so that arithmetically high values are normatively high, thus corresponding to the other variables

Appendix A2

Table A2.1. Distrust in the operation of the police: hierarchical logistic regression models M2–M3 showing the details of the progression of modeling^(a)

	M2: key content variables, and labor market status, ORs	M3: key content variables, three-block model, ORs
Intercept	0.014***	0.015***
Block 1: Latent variables		
Perceived moral alignment with the police	0.501***	0.507***
Perceived procedural justice of the police	0.385***	0.395***
Perceived effectiveness of the police	0.492***	0.482***
Block 2: Perceived police corruption, binary		
Likely	2.392***	2.432***
Unlikely	1.000	1.000
Block 3: Victimization over lifetime		
B3a: Economic crime victimization Σ [burglary or attempt thereof, theft of property, damage to property, car theft or attempt thereof]	1,101	n.s.
B3b: Violent crime victimization Σ [assault, armed threat, sexual harassment or violence]	1.421**	1.470***
Block 4: Labor market status	(p = .042)	
Employed (paid employment, entrepreneurs, etc.)	1.000	
Unemployed	1.813	
Outside the labor force (full-time students, pensioners, people on parental leave, etc.)	0.777	
χ^2 (df), p, full model	698.252(8) p < .001	715.549(5) p < .001
Nagelkerke R ²	0.483	0.481
Hosmer-Lemeshow, p	0.124	0.298
Percentage correct [1 = scale negative], full model	42.5%	41.6%
Percentage correct [0 = scale positive], full model	99.0%	99.0%
n/N	3,042/4,044	3,091/4,044

^(a) 1 (0) = response in the negative (positive) section of the 4-step trust scale

*** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05

n.s. not statistically significant by the LR criterion

Table A2.2. Distrust in the operation of the police: hierarchical logistic regression models M4–M6 showing the details of the progression of modeling^(a)

	M4: content variables, two-block model, ORs	M5: content variables, one-block model, ORs	M6: content variables, one-block model without F3, ORs
Intercept	0.019***	0.026***	0.033***
Block 1: Latent variables			
Perceived moral alignment with the police	0.509***	0.460***	0.452***
Perceived procedural justice of the police	0.359***	0.354***	0.278***
Perceived effectiveness of the police	0.494***	0.437***	
Block 2: Perceived police corruption, binary			
Likely	2.351***		
Unlikely	1.000		
χ^2 (df), p	756.049(4) p < .001	858.012(3) p < .001	758.029(2) p < .001
Nagelkerke R ²	0.476	0.459	0.410
Hosmer-Lemeshow, p	0.091	0.037	0.222
Percentage correct [1 = scale negative]	40.7%	39.2%	35.4%
Percentage correct [0 = scale positive]	98.9%	99.0%	98.8%
n/N	3,216/4,044	3,854/4,044	3,854/4,044

^(a) 1 (0) = response in the negative (positive) section of the 4-step trust scale
*** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05

Endnotes

Chapter 1

- ¹ Ministry of the Interior, 2023, pp. 69–76.
- ² The authoritarian undercurrent of the theory originates in Max Weber’s scholarly work, as mediated by Beetham’s (1991) theory of the legitimation of power, and is highly problematic from the point of view of the political theories of constitutional liberal democracy. *Legitimacy* in constitutional liberal democracies is based on individual freedom (individual choices) and the rule of law (collective choices). “Obedience” at the center of the conceptual stage is downright wrong, when analyzing legitimacy in constitutional liberal democracies (Vuorensyrjä, 2023, pp. 57–68; anticipated by Sunshine & Tyler, 2003, p. 520, p. 535; see also Kääriäinen, 2018, p. 296, and Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012; 2021).
- ³
 1. *Broken expectations*. The victims had been seeking help and protection from the police with the expectation that the police would investigate the case. Incongruence between the victims’ expectations and the reality hit them hard. They expected that their report would be taken in, that the incident would be investigated, and the police would then, at some point in time, call back. They weren’t believed and they understood that the police would not investigate the case. This, according to McQueen *et al.* (2021), led to *loss of trust in the police*. It was not only that the police did not believe their story; one of the participants recalled that the police officer actually laughed at her when she told him that she had been assaulted by a stranger. From another participant the investigating police officer had asked whether she had “just done it,” but then afterwards regretted it. One of the study participants, a sex worker, was drugged and left hogtied on the street, and yet was not believed by the police. The experience had some specific consequences later on in her life. It was not easy for her to report incidents to the police, thereafter. She actually took two years of heavy beating from her partner before finally reporting his repeated assaults (*ibidem*, pp. 4–5). *Feelings of secondary victimization*, also reported by the participants, are easy to understand against such a narrative background. Not being believed by the authorities who are supposed to be there to help people, and to protect them, adds to the trauma over and above the sexual assault experience (*ibidem*, p. 5).
 2. *Loss of self*. According to McQueen *et al.* (2021), the chain of events affected the victims’ image of themselves, and of the value of their life. They felt “guilty,” of “being liars,” “dismissed,” “having done something wrong,” and so on. One of the participants of the study said that, after the procedure, she swept herself under the carpet, exactly as the police had done (*ibidem*, pp. 5–6).
 3. *Cumulative effects on physical and mental health*. McQueen and colleagues noted that it was sometimes difficult for the participants to distinguish between the long-term effects of the incident (sexual assault) and the effects of not being believed by the police. Nevertheless, irrespective of the exact source of the consequent difficulties in life, the participants reported about several physical, mental, and life consequences of the ordeal, such as depression, increased alcohol or drug intake, homelessness, renewed (subsequent) victimization, attempts at committing suicide, and so on. Some of them did explicitly state that the worst thing in the entire series of events was not being believed by the police—that it “(...) probably affected [her] the worst” (McQueen, 2021, p. 6).
- ⁴ According to Aborisade (2023, p. 2):
 - All parties of the criminal procedure should be able see the judicial authorities responsible for the procedure as *trustworthy* partners in the sense that the authorities are authentic and sincere in their attempts to do what’s right.

- The criminal procedure should be *neutral*, so that all of its parties are equally and fairly treated in the procedure, irrespective of their gender, age, affluence, ethnic background or other descriptive characteristics.
 - All parties of the criminal procedure should be treated with *respect and dignity*, acknowledging their human rights and individual value.
 - All parties should have *a voice* in the criminal procedure not only in the sense that they will be heard by the respective authorities but also in the sense that, what they have to say, will be genuinely considered and properly acted upon.
- ⁵ In analyzing *trustworthiness*, the authors noted that, in addition to distrust raised by police-citizen contacts (experienced, specific), pre-existing distrust in the operation of the police should also be addressed (perceived, general). Johnson *et al.* detected problems in both of these aspects of trustworthiness. The panel group participants reported on observations of inconsistency and incompetency in investigations—the police, for example, having lost intimate photographs of the victim. The participants also referred to profound barriers to trust created by prior publicized cases of failed sexual offence investigations (Johnson *et al.*, 2024, pp. 13–14).
- Neutrality* was conceptualized as the requirements of *equity and fairness* of the criminal procedure by the panel group members. Neutrality as fact-based objectivity was not enough, according to the participants. One participant's comment (code-name Rhia) suggests that, in victims' view, the balance is not quite right as things stand. She noticed that there is no other crime in which the victim will regularly end up being investigated her- or himself (Johnson *et al.*, 2024, pp. 9–10).
- Voice* was defined as the victim being heard in the process, and the police actually responding to what the victim had to say. The victim's voice had to count. It was also important for the victim to be properly informed of the criminal procedure, including information on one's own choices in the course of the process (Johnson *et al.*, 2024, pp. 10–12).
- The *respect and dignity* dimension was not primarily understood in terms of empathy by the participants, but in terms of their rights (the rights of the victim). It was important to understand the seriousness of the crime, including the seriousness of the associated violation of privacy, and to *recognize* (a key term, according to Johnson and colleagues, with respect to the dimension of respect and dignity) the victims' full human rights and value as an individual. Not being taken seriously, not being believed, being treated only as a source of evidence, were all failures to recognize the full individual value of the victim (Johnson *et al.*, 2024, pp. 8–9).
- ⁶ The object of the study had to be rape or sexual assault (excluding sexual harassment), the study had to deal with one or several phase(s) of criminal procedure, quantitative as well as qualitative data in the original study were acceptable, the participants of eligible studies had to be adult (at least 18 years old), there had to be female participants in the study, the data had to originate in a Western country, the full text of the study had to be available in English or German, and it was necessary for the study to have been published between 2013 and 2023 (August the 3rd) (Wieberneit *et al.*, 2024, p. 3).
- ⁷ N.B., though, that Kwak *et al.*'s (2019) models contained several interaction terms, resulting in a few, very important findings. Specifically, the probability estimate (p) of the interaction term between *the perceived code of the street* × *fear of crime* (= 1) was found to be near the boundary of statistical significance (.05 < p < .10). The effect was negative (–), with, however, a very interesting twist and interpretation. When differentiating between low, medium, and high levels of the perceived code of the street, Kwak and colleagues discovered that the effect was non-linear. Fear of crime had a positive effect (+) on violent crime reporting at the *medium* level of perceived code of the street, but not at either the *low* or the *high* level of perceived code of the street. Apparently, then, at levels other than the *medium* level

of the code of the street, people had some other means of coping with increasing fear of crime—other than reporting violent crime victimization to the police. Also, the interaction term between *the perceived code of the street* × *Black* (= 1) was statistically significant and negative (–). Among the Black minority respondents, the stronger the code of the street was considered to be, the less there was willingness to report violent crime incidents to the police. No such effect was traceable among other respondents (Kwak *et al.*, 2019, p. 31, more comprehensively, pp. 30–33).

- ⁸ Vuorensyrjä & Rauta, 2025, p. 49; their equation differs from the way of computing the alfa in the original, so it is advisable to consult also Krippendorf, 2013, pp. 277–309, in full.

Chapter 2

- ⁹ The Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE) news: “Ex-narcotics cop Aarnio charged in corruption case” <https://yle.fi/a/3-7620960>, “Ex-cop Aarnio gets prison sentence in first corruption verdict” <https://yle.fi/a/3-8037619>.
- ¹⁰ The Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE) news: “Ex-police officers charged with aggravated perjury in Aarnio drug trial” <https://yle.fi/a/3-11987386>, “Supreme Court denies appeal to convicted ex-drug cop Jari Aarnio” <https://yle.fi/a/3-11103729>.
- ¹¹ The Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE) news: “Convicted ex-Helsinki cop Jari Aarnio suspected of homicide” <https://yle.fi/a/3-10300106>.
- ¹² The Sander and Putnam (2010) study Thomassen *et al.* (2013) referred to, is interesting in its own right. Sander and Putnam reported that, after the 9/11 terror attacks, civic engagement, which had been on gradual decline in the US for more than 30 years, experienced a sudden revival in the early 2000s, especially among young people. This was reflected in heightened interest in politics, as well as in increased voluntary work engagement. The authors were worried, however, about the diverging trends in civic engagement among the disadvantaged vis-à-vis the privileged Millennials (thence the “split,” in the authors’ vocabulary, Sander & Putnam, 2010, pp. 10–13, pp. 13–15).
- ¹³ Expenditure on the police, the judicial and correctional systems, and the fire and rescue services.
- ¹⁴ Morris (2015, pp. 423–427) deliberated upon measurement issues in a rather extensive manner, in trying to understand why the rest of her hypotheses turned sour. She, nonetheless, considered her theoretical work on Rawls’s theory of justice as fairness as a valuable contribution, and as a starting point for further scholarly work. No corresponding work had been conducted in the field, according to Morris (*ibidem*, p. 427): “Previous studies on confidence in the police have lacked a theoretical basis for the development of hypotheses and statistical models.”
- ¹⁵ The frequency of murders in the respondent’s neighborhood, for example, had a positive effect on perceived judicial fairness in their 2016/2017 AmericasBarometer survey data, whereas bribe solicitation had no statistically significant effect on perceived institutional legitimacy, and so on (Boateng *et al.*, 2022, p. 612, and *passim*).
- ¹⁶ Deontological micro-factors, such as perceived procedural justice of the police, or perceived police corruption, are well known within the discipline. Deontological macro-factors are a bit of a mystery. Kääriäinen (2007; 2018) has searched for the answer to the macro-level puzzle not only from *the allocation of public expenditure* (schooling and education, health care, and redistribution of income vis-à-vis other expenditure), but also from *the principle of the rule of law*, and from *generalized trust* between all individual citizens. Our intimation is that the key differentiating macro-factors will be found from the set of *deontological factors*, corresponding to findings from micro-level analyses, where perceived procedural justice has turned out to be the key antecedent of trust.

¹⁷ Kääriäinen, 2007, p. 430; Kääriäinen *et al.*, 2016, pp. 71–72, and *passim*. What these studies usually ignore, concentrating on police-citizen contacts as reported in victimization studies (the data of which almost always derive from the last 12 months) is that, according to the PBS which measures victimization over lifetime, some 65% of adult population have ended up being victims of crime during their lifetime. If, as suggested by the PBSs, approximately a half of them have reported the crimes to the police, then a third (65% × 50%) of the population may be expected to have had genuine police contacts over lifetime. The proportion multiplies as stories are told and experiences are shared between individuals. These people have good grounds for first-hand assessment of the operation of the police. Why would these people and their friends and relatives be at the mercy of the imagery created by the press?

Chapter 3

¹⁸ This could actually be considered a definitive weakness in their study. The variables Pina-Sánchez and Burton-Smith (2020) used in the study covered 1. a marginal aspect of the voice component of procedural justice, and a limited set of background variable-specific aspects of perceived equality of the police (gender, age, ethnic background, neighborhood) as procedural justice, and; 2. normative account of cooperation with the police, combined with a few aspects of general appreciation of the police, as legitimacy (*ibidem*, p. 392).

¹⁹ All of which are signs of strong liberal democracies—polities committed to the idea according to which individual citizens, irrespective of their background, or of the role they play in the wider community, are exactly equal and exactly as valuable as sources of the rules common to the polity (as sources of the law), and as subjects of the polity and of its rules (before the law).

²⁰ In the standard report of PBS 2022, the researchers commented upon the representativeness of the data as follows (Ministry of the Interior, 2023, p. 43, in Finnish, translation by –M.V.):

“Even if the sample coverage would be perfect, and even if we knew that the data corresponds to the target population by some specific criteria such as age, gender, or geographical area, the data could still be biased due to systematicity in non-response rates. There may be—it is very likely that there are—factors other than the above-mentioned criteria, which systematically differentiate between respondents and non-respondents and which cannot be controlled for by the means of statistical methods. This is a constraint, however, that is not characteristic of the PBS only, but of all non-experimental studies.

It is very nearly certain that disadvantaged people who live in the margins of the society are underrepresented in the data, or are missing from the data altogether. These people include the homeless, for example, and the addicts, and people suffering from problems associated with mental health. Many other factors, too, such as individual’s personality, the current state of affairs in the life of an individual, or individual’s level of general activity in life, which changes over lifetime, may systematically affect the individual’s ability or her/his propensity to respond, and thus bias the data and the findings.”

²¹ Dichotomous / binary vs. continuous / latent variable measurement.

²² Solving for $p(y_i)$ in (3.3) gives

$$p(y_i) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-(b_0 + (b_k X_{ki} | B_s))}}$$

²³ On the basis of t-tests, not assuming equality of variances. However, as the factor distributions are non-normal on the basis of Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of normality, there is uncertainty to these conclusions.

The Police and the Public. In-Depth Essays Based on Police Barometer Survey Data, Vol. 2

The second volume of *The Police and the Public* introduces three new in-depth essays on the relationships between the police and the public. All three studies are based on the Police Barometer Survey (PBS) 2022 data. From the PBS 2022 sweep on, the survey has been based on random sampling methodology. The sample has been drawn from the database of the Digital and Population Data Services Agency of Finland, and prepared for the analysis by Statistics Finland. The data have exceptionally robust statistical grounds.

The three essays of the book provide unique new perspectives on 1. distrust in the operation of the police among victims of violent crime, sexual harassment, and sexual assault; 2. the question of why, against all odds, citizens' trust in the operation of the police withstood the Aarnio malfeasance case, and; 3. the power of the key deontological variables—perceived procedural justice of the police, perceived police corruption—to predict distrust in the operation of the police, holding constant a comprehensive set of other predictors.

The articles of the book offer valuable reading to scholars and students in the fields of police studies and criminology, and to policy analysts of the police.

