



Panel 25:
**Social cohesion, diversity and
public policies.**

Friday, June 30th 08:15 to 10:15
(Block B 3 - 3)

ICPP, Singapore
28-30 June 2017

Trust in police: effects of religious and national attachment.

**A study of adolescents in France and
Germany.**

The School survey of the “Polis” project.

Sebastian Roché & Dietrich Oberwittler (PIs)

Anina Schwartzenbach, Sandrine Astor

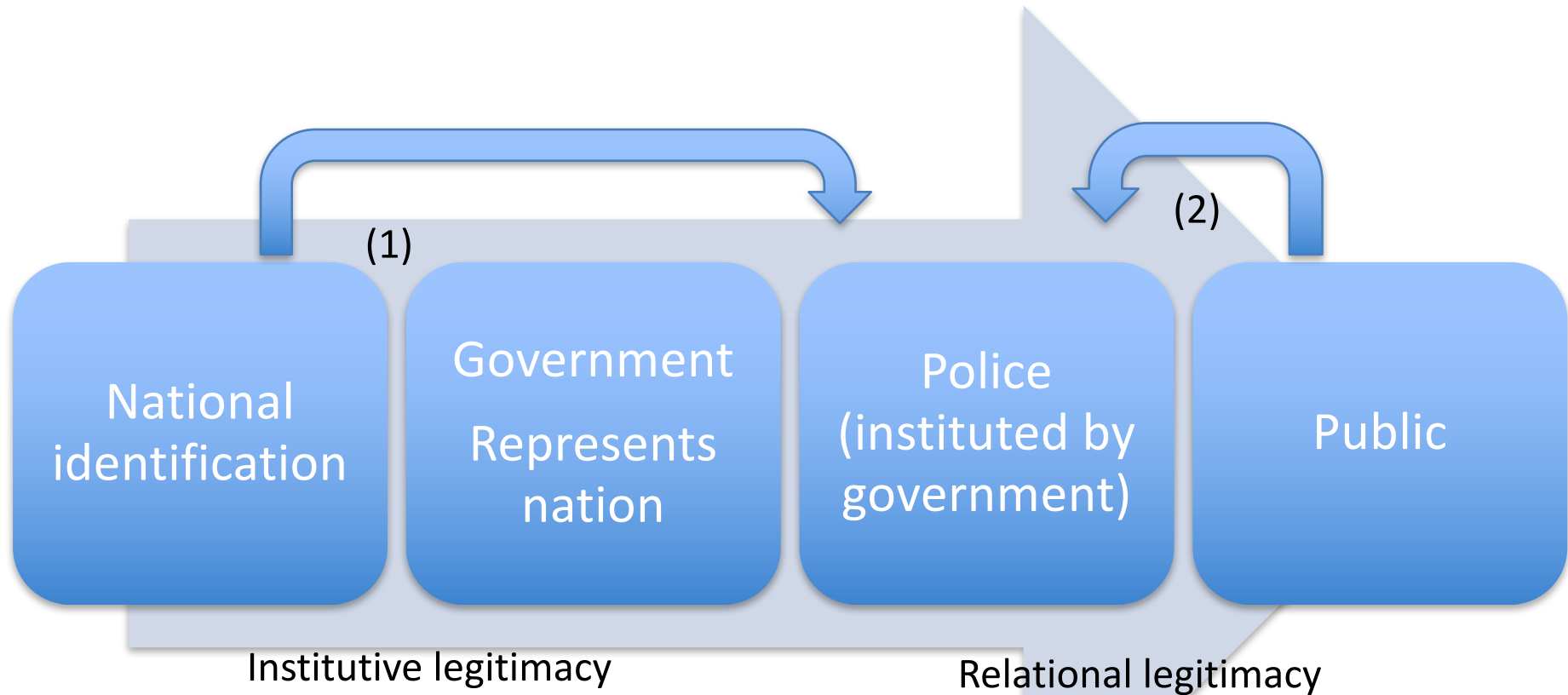
Road map “POLIS” study

- Introduction
- 1/ HYPOTHESES
- 2/ DATA
- 3/ FINDINGS
- 4 / SUMMARY
- 5/ DISCUSSION

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HYPOTHESES

Trust in police



(1) Does the public feel part of the nation ? Identity based legitimacy

(2) Does the public trust the police ? Relational legitimacy

3 ways to think about Attitudes towards the police (ATP)

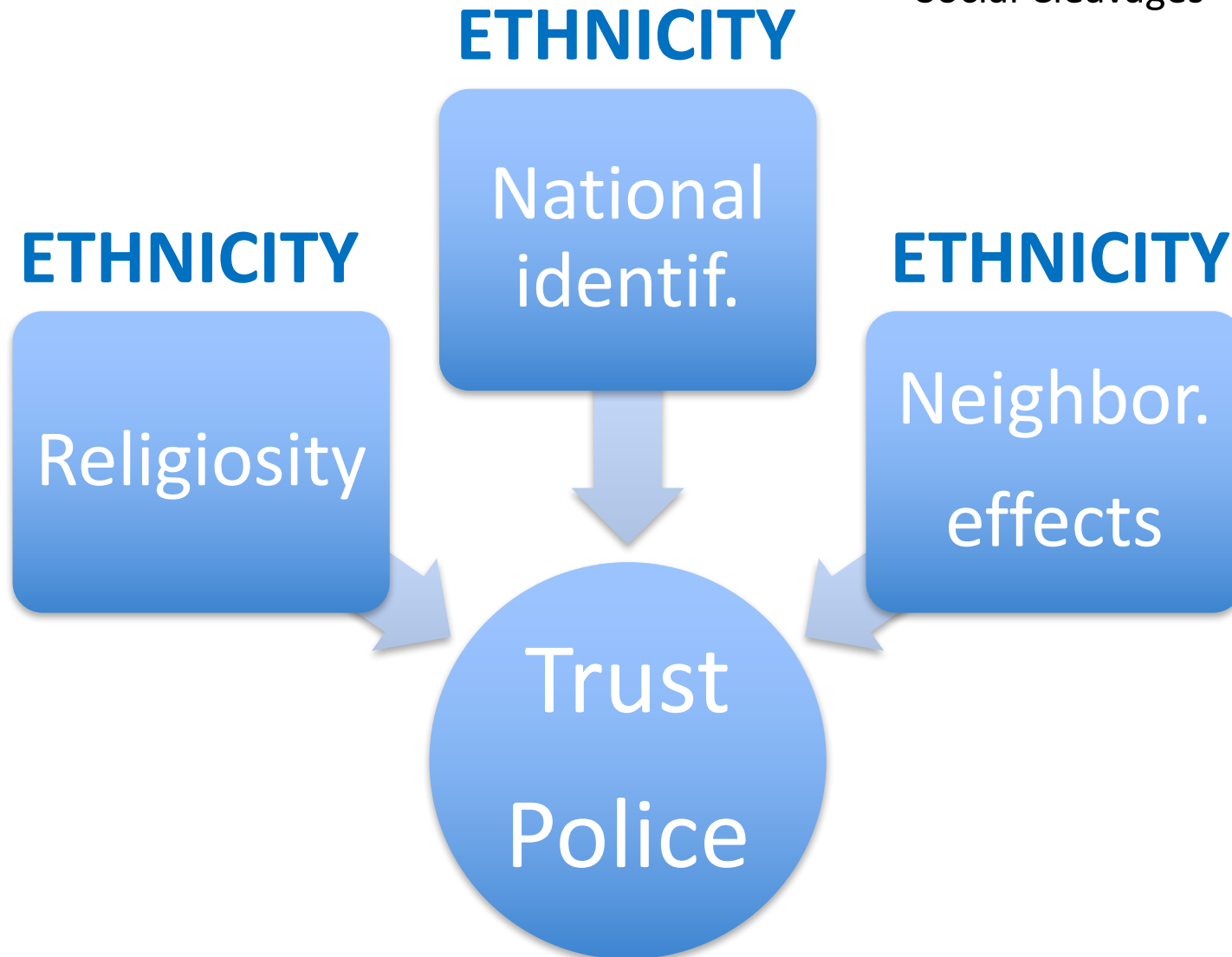
- **Interactions with police** (interactional order):
 - => bias in selection + processes (PJ/ relational model of authority)
- **Local level city structure** (concentrated disadvantages)
- **Society level cleavages** (social/political order): religion, national identification,
 - => a societal model of authority / trust / social cohesion

A closer look at social cleavages

- 1. Police organizations are designed to compel people to obey (whether they like it or not), to conform themselves with the existing political order,
- 2. Police organizations are instituted and directed by “superior authorities” (institutive authorities) that represent “the people”,
- 3. Feelings of attachment to political communities could explain the attribution of trust/ legitimacy to police
- => Ethnicity / religion
- => Socio/ethnic-spatial exclusion

Hypotheses (non interactional causes)

Social Cleavages



2

DATA, MEASUREMENTS



The « POLIS » survey

German-French research

France: Sebastian Roché (team leader), Jacques de
Maillard, Sandrine Astor and colleagues

Allemagne: Dietrich Oberwittler (team leader), Anina
Schwarzenbach and colleagues



2 quite similar countries

Figure 1. Population change in France and Germany, 1800 - 2100

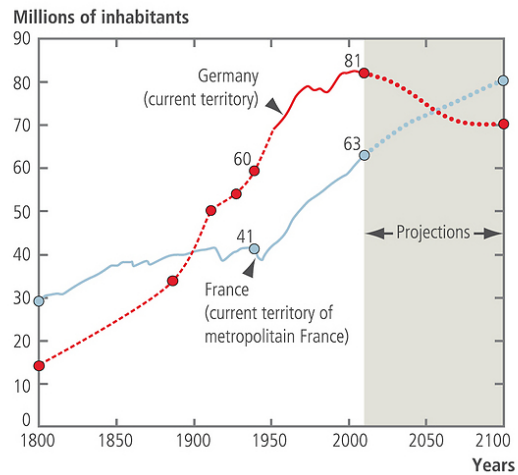
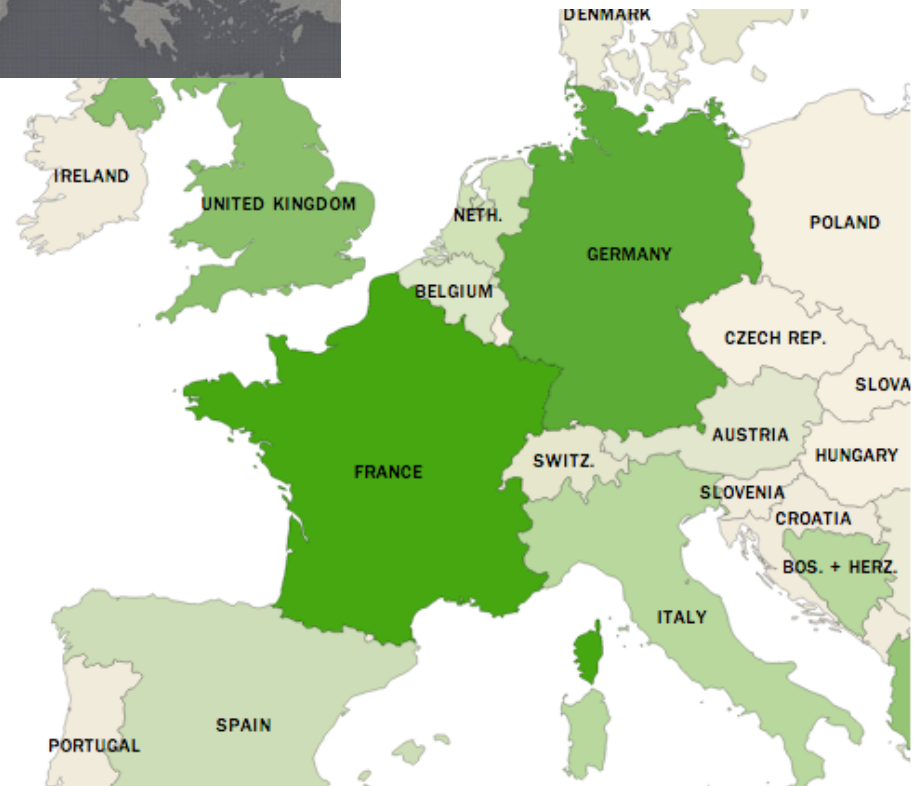


Fig. 1: A look at the past shows how differently the population numbers in Germany and France have developed. Rough estimates of the numbers until 1945 for the territory of Germany today. Sources: INSEE, BIB (Bundesinstitut für Bevoelkerungsforschung), Seastian Kluesener (personal communication), United Nations (protections) [2]



“Polis” (2011): specificities

- Not national averages of adult population but
- => city based surveys (4): n=22.000.
- => adolescents: more tense relations with police,
- => precise minority representation (**random samples of classes in schools**)
- => precise “neighborhood level” measures (**geocoding of addresses**)

Dependent variable: Construct of **attitudes toward the police**

- Scale: strongly agree – agree – disagree – strongly disagree
- Items

The police protect adolescents

One should in any case follow the instructions of the police

Overall the police can be trusted

positive items

The police disrespect adolescents

Even if having a serious problem, I would never contact the police

If adolescents protest violently and with riots against the police, I would join them

The police treat foreigners worse than natives

negative items

Religion, religiosity & national identification

- **Religion:** ethnicity works as a proxy for religion (Turkish > 90 % Muslim, Maghrebian > 90% Muslim)
- **Religiosity: How important is religion in your life?**
- **National identification: Generally speaking, do you feel as a German [French] or as a member of your group of origin?**
- **I feel ...** completely German [French] – more German [French] – divided – more as member of group of origin – completely as member of group of origin

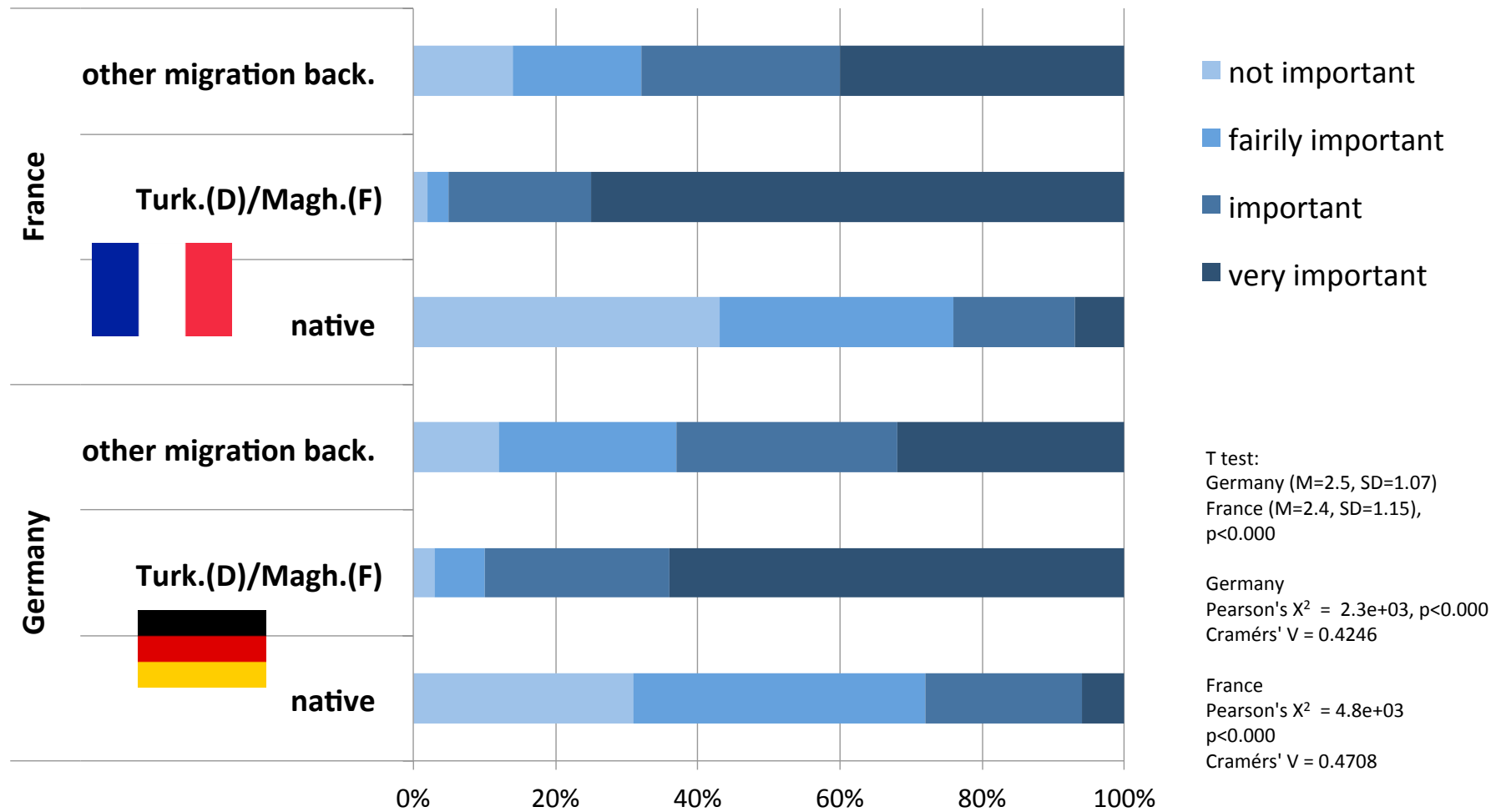
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POLIS FINDINGS

3.1

- **RELIGIOSITY and ETHNIC BACKGROUND**
- **INTERACTION EFFECTS: ETHNICITY AND RELIGIOUS / NATIONAL IDENTITY on ATP**

Religiosity and ethnic background

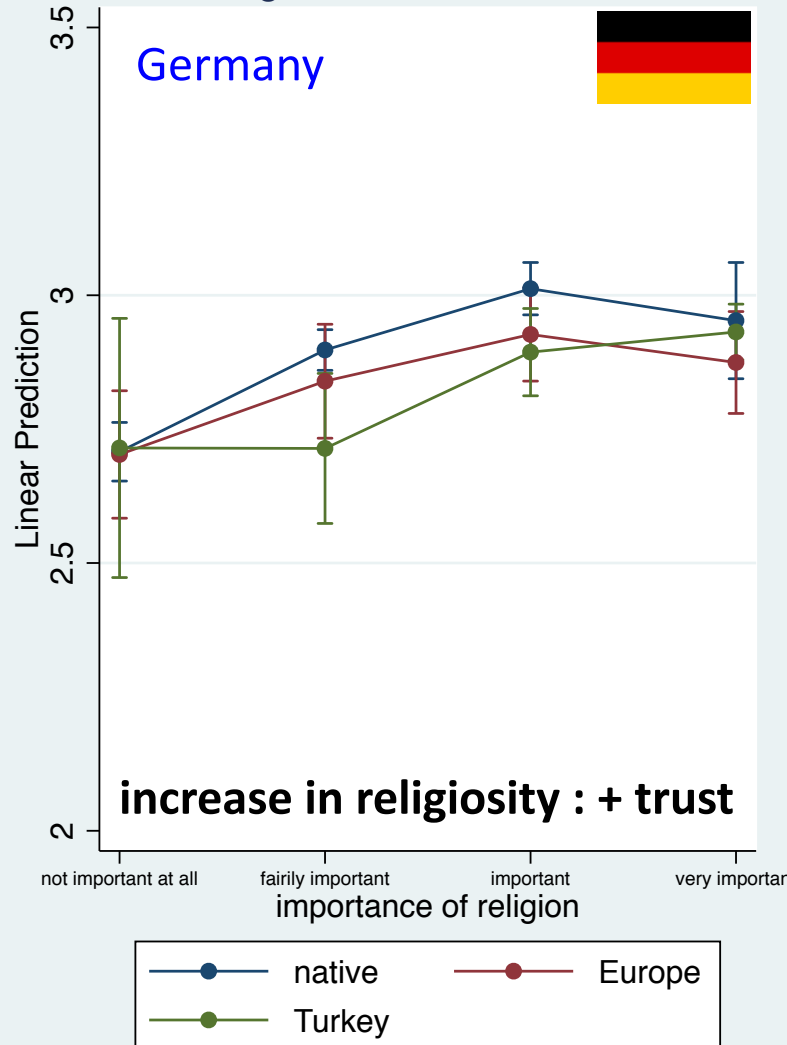


Demography in France / EU (geography)

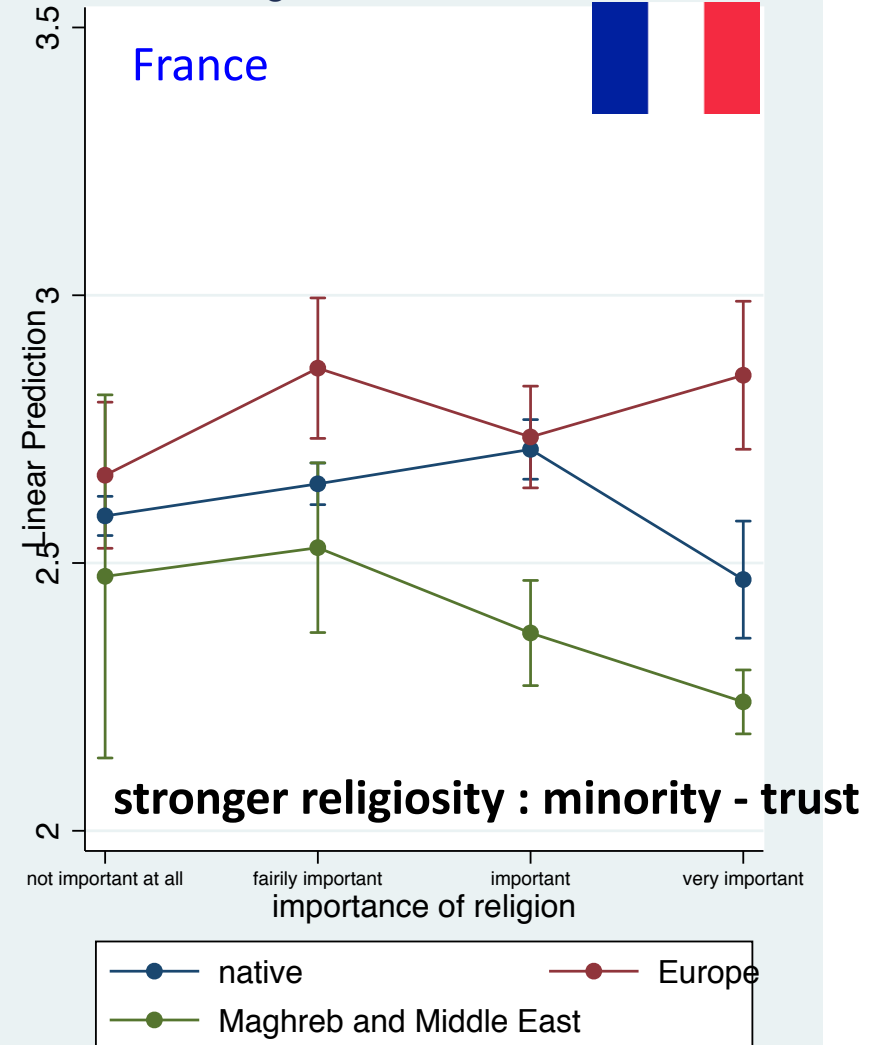
- “94% of Muslims declared in 2008 and aged 18-50 are immigrants or children of immigrants” (Tribalat, INED),
- 63% of Muslims aged 18-50 are residing in 3 regions: Paris, Marseille and Rhône-Alpes (Grenoble and Lyon).
- In 5% most deprived neighborhoods (IRIS), Muslims represent 37% of the population (against 8% on average in France).

ATP : religiosity*ethnicity controlling for socio-demographic variables

Predictive Margins of ethnic2 with 95% CIs



Predictive Margins of ethnic2 with 95% CIs



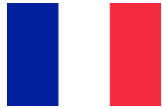
Summary of the interaction: religiosity * ethnicity

GERMANY



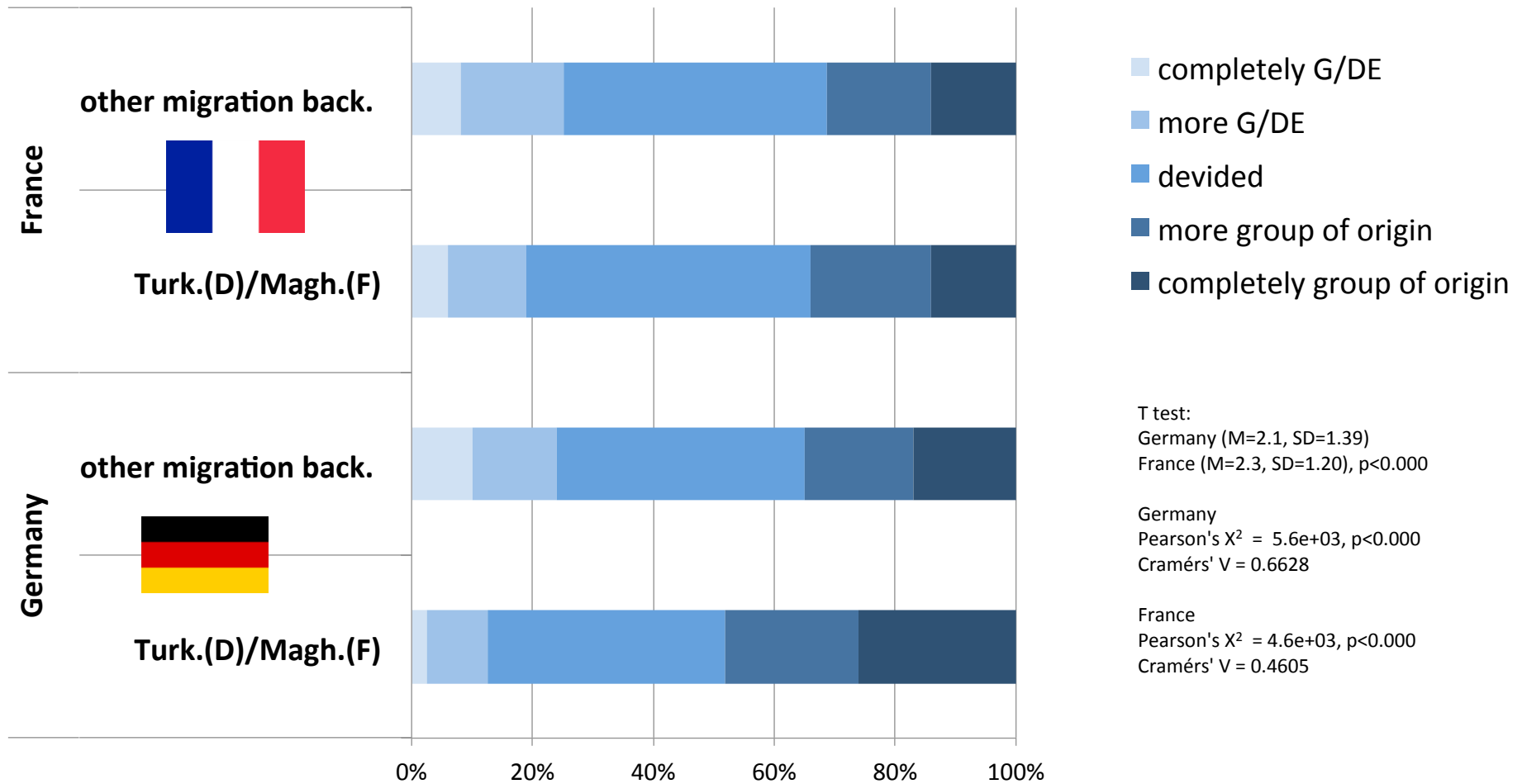
- among **all ethnic groups** : stronger **religiosity** has a **positive effect** on ATP (*significant positive “main” effect of religiosity*)
- No difference across ethnic groups

FRANCE

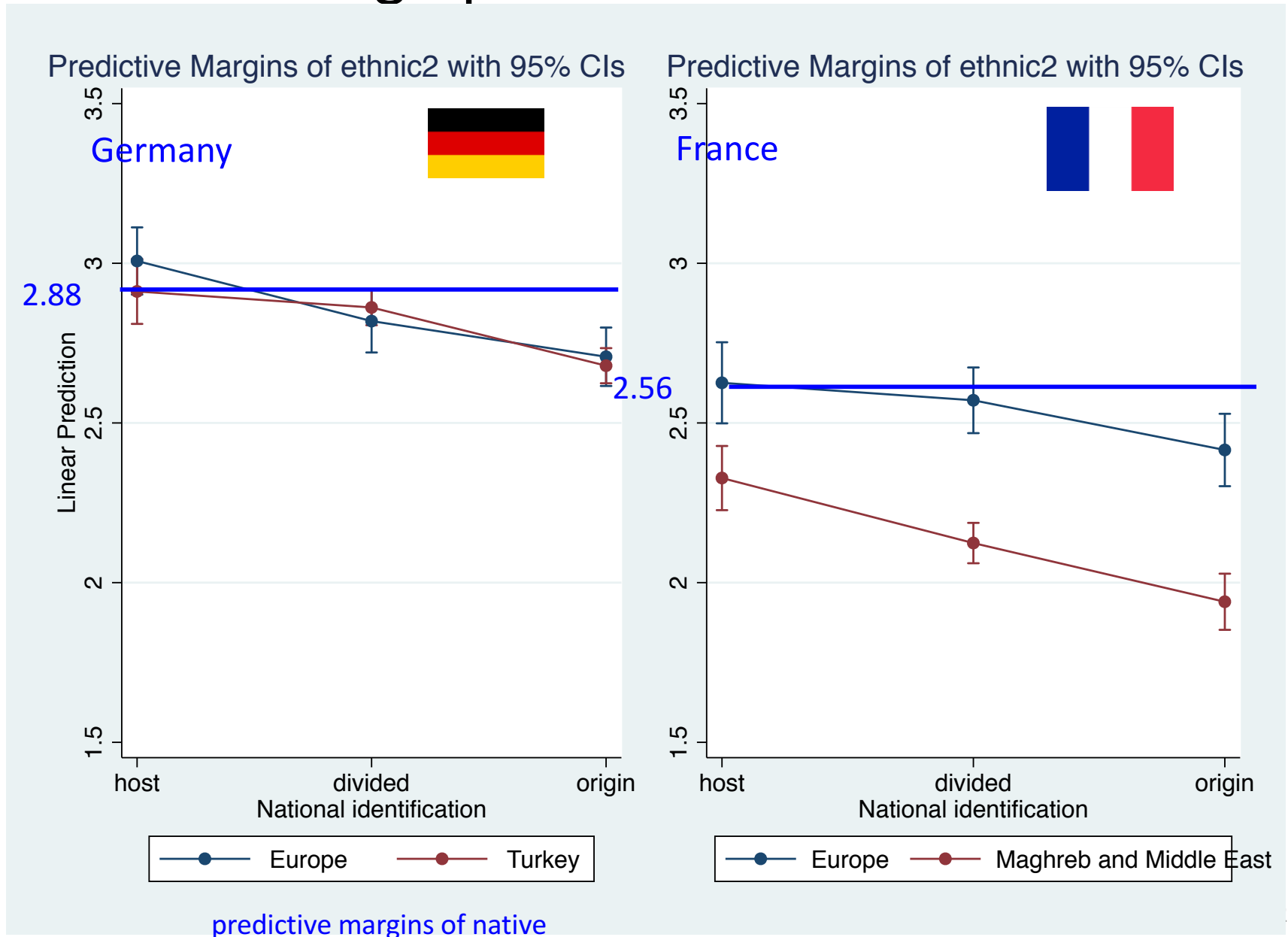


- for Maghrebians: **stronger religiosity** has a **negative effect** on ATP (*significant interaction effect*)
- for other ethnic groups: **No effect** (natives) or **curvilinear** effect of religiosity on attitudes toward police (*significant negative “main” effect of religiosity*)





National identification and ethnic background – minority groups only



ATP : national identification*ethnicity controlling for socio-demographic variables



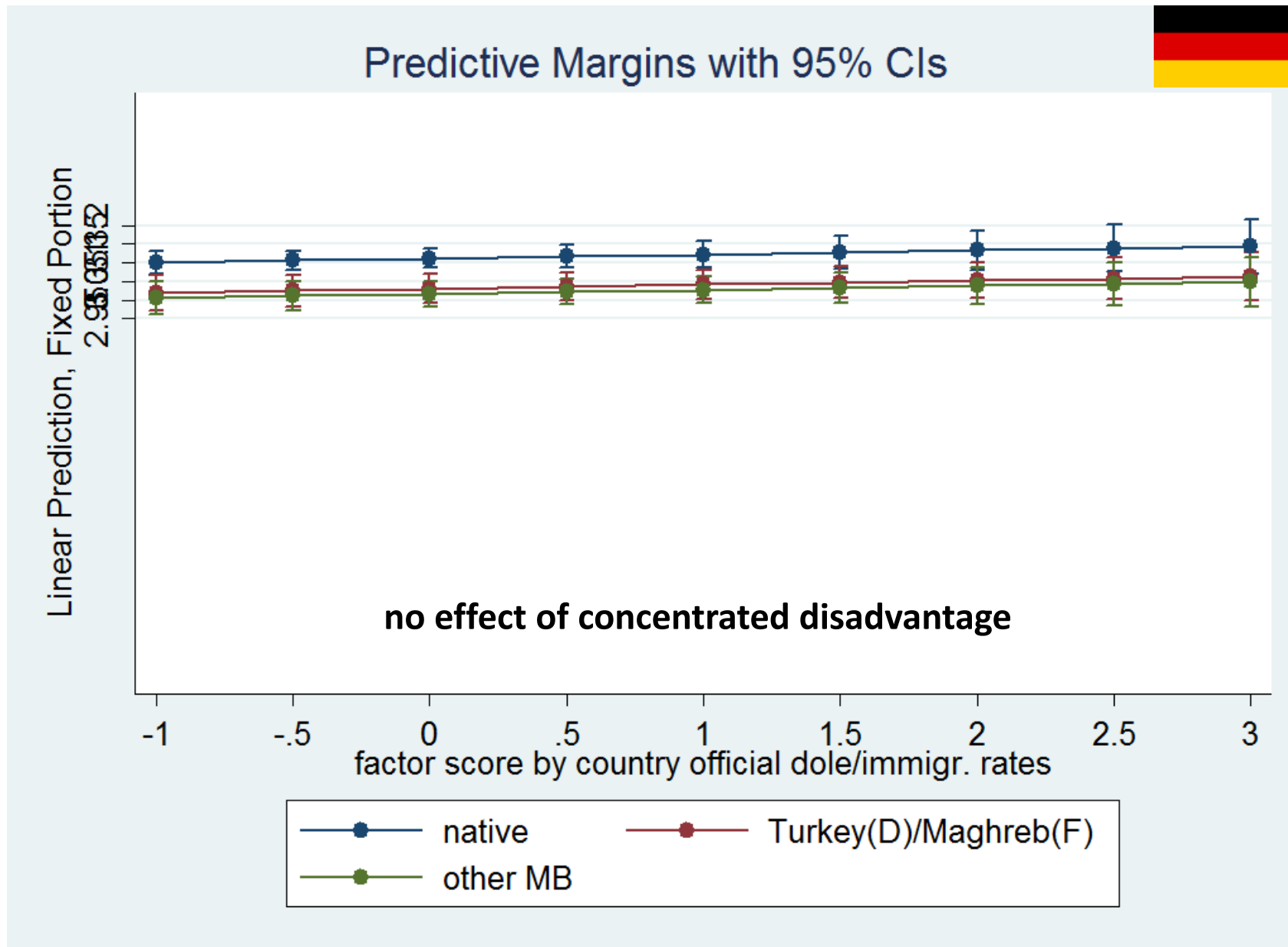
Summary on the interaction national identification * ethnicity

- In **Germany and France**, minority youths that feel very close to their group of origin have more negative ATP than native youth (*significant “main” effect*),  
- BUT:
- **In Germany:** no difference between 2 minority groups, 
- In **France**, Religiosity has a stronger effect on ATP for Maghrebian youths (*significant interaction effect*) 

3.2

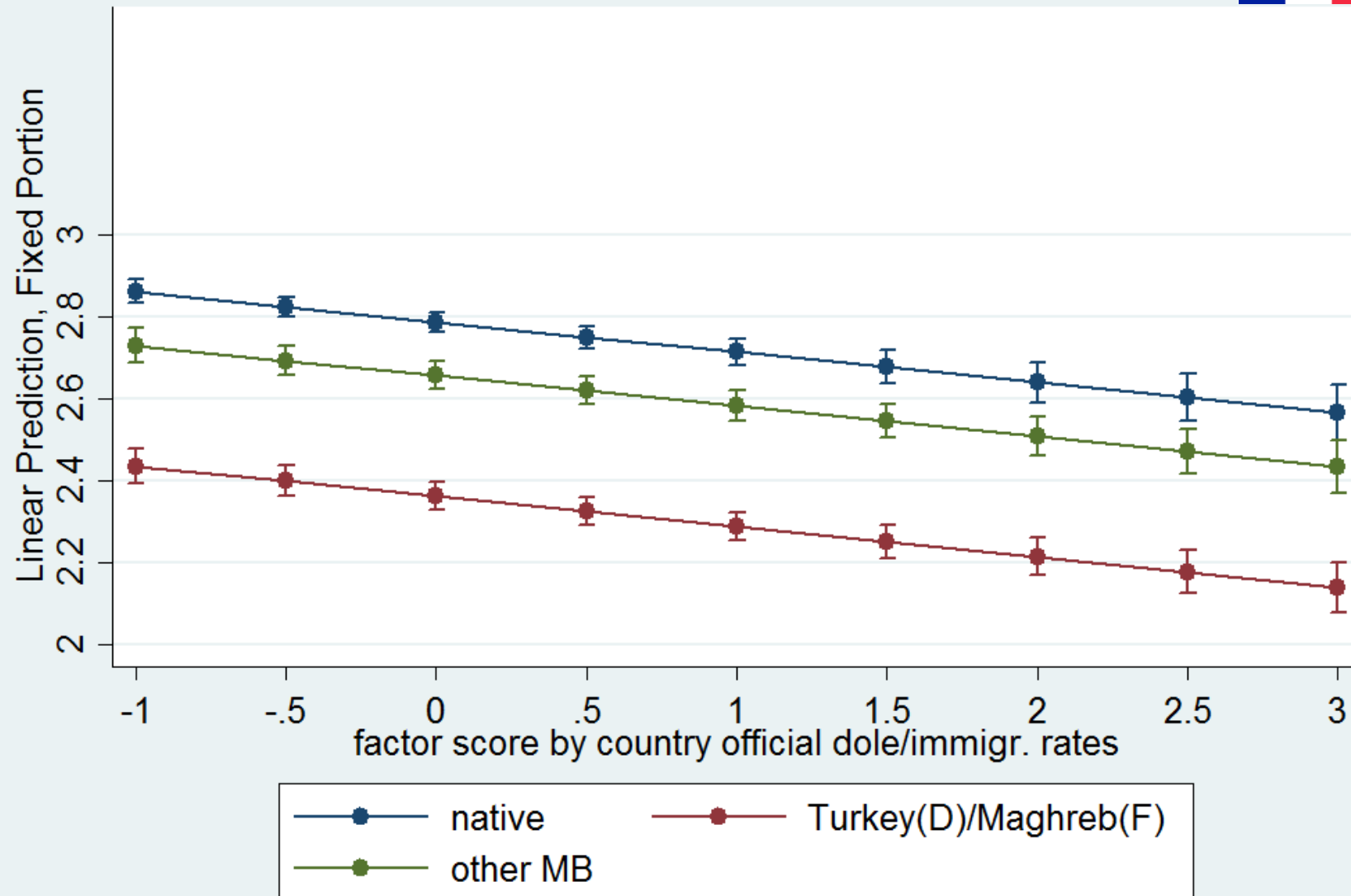
NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECTS

(full) multilevel regression model – predicted effect of concentrated disadvantage on ATP (DE)



(full) multilevel regression model – predicted effect of concentrated disadvantage on positive ATP (FR)


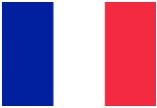

Predictive Margins with 95% CIs



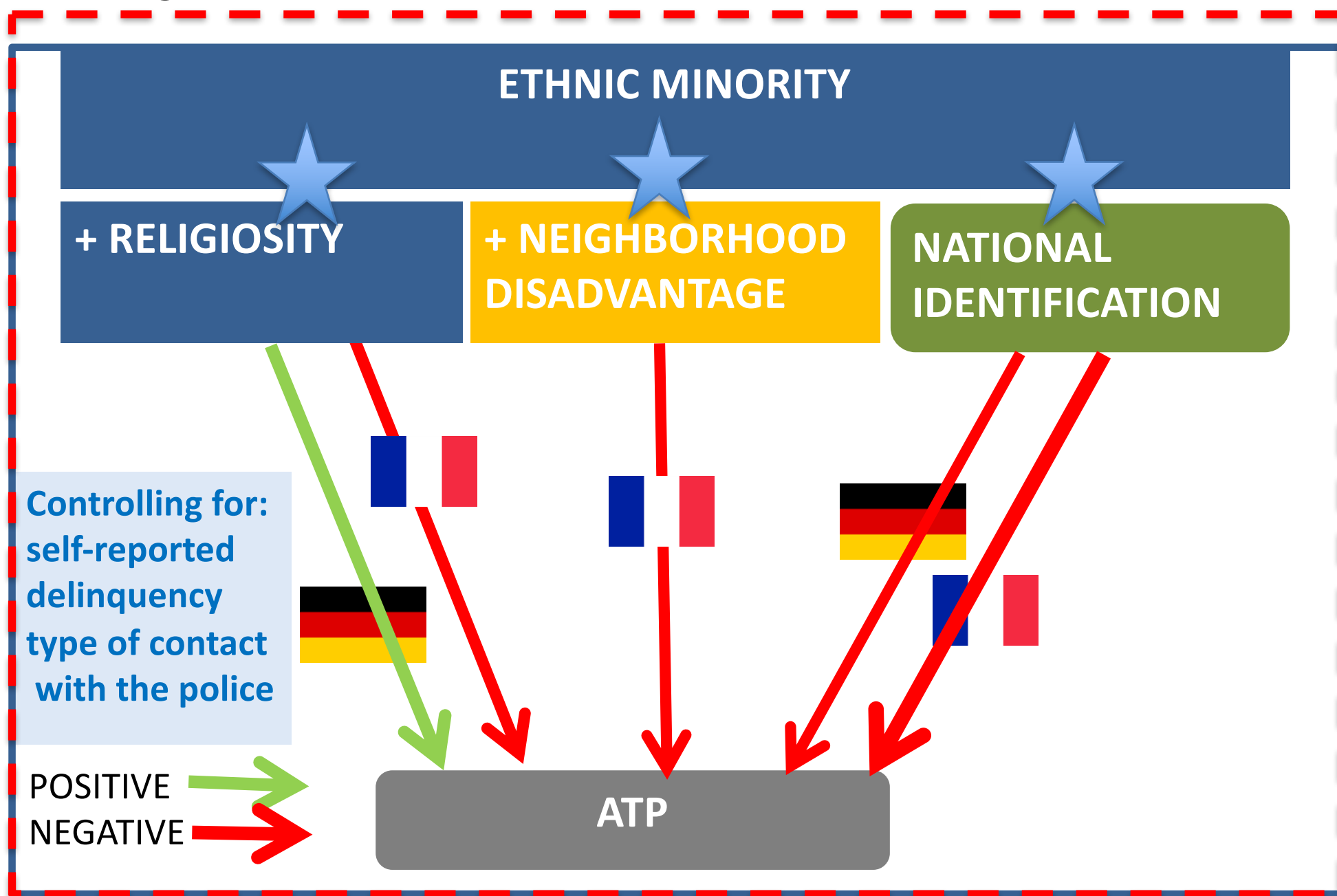
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SUMMARY

Findings (1/2) :

1. Minority ethnic group → less supportive of the police= YES
2. Weak identification with national society → less supportive of the police=YES
3. Minority denomination → less supportive of the police= not 
4. Strong religiosity stands for the sharing of conservative values → more supportive of the police= not 
5. Most disadvantaged neighborhood of cities → less supportive of the police, not 

Findings: interaction effects (2/2)



5

DISCUSSION

Discussion

- Societies are organized along fault lines
- Ethnicity, Religiosity and economic status are such lines
- Their effect (direction) and importance (intensity) vary across countries
- France is more divided than Germany
- => shouldn't cleavages also explain trust in the police?

Cleavages

- Societies are split along one or more lines rooted in structural transformations that are triggered by large-scale processes
- “**cleavages**” are the society’s fault lines along which:
 - - space is used,
 - - sense of solidarity develops,
 - - political attitudes form,
- **Religion** regarded as 1 of the 2 major cleavages by political scientists (since Semour Lipset & Stein Rokkan, 1967)
- Religion intersects much with ethnicity in Europe

Ethnicity

a marker of group boundaries

Small
effect



Large
effect



Religiosity

a marker of group boundaries

Integrative
effect



Separation
effect



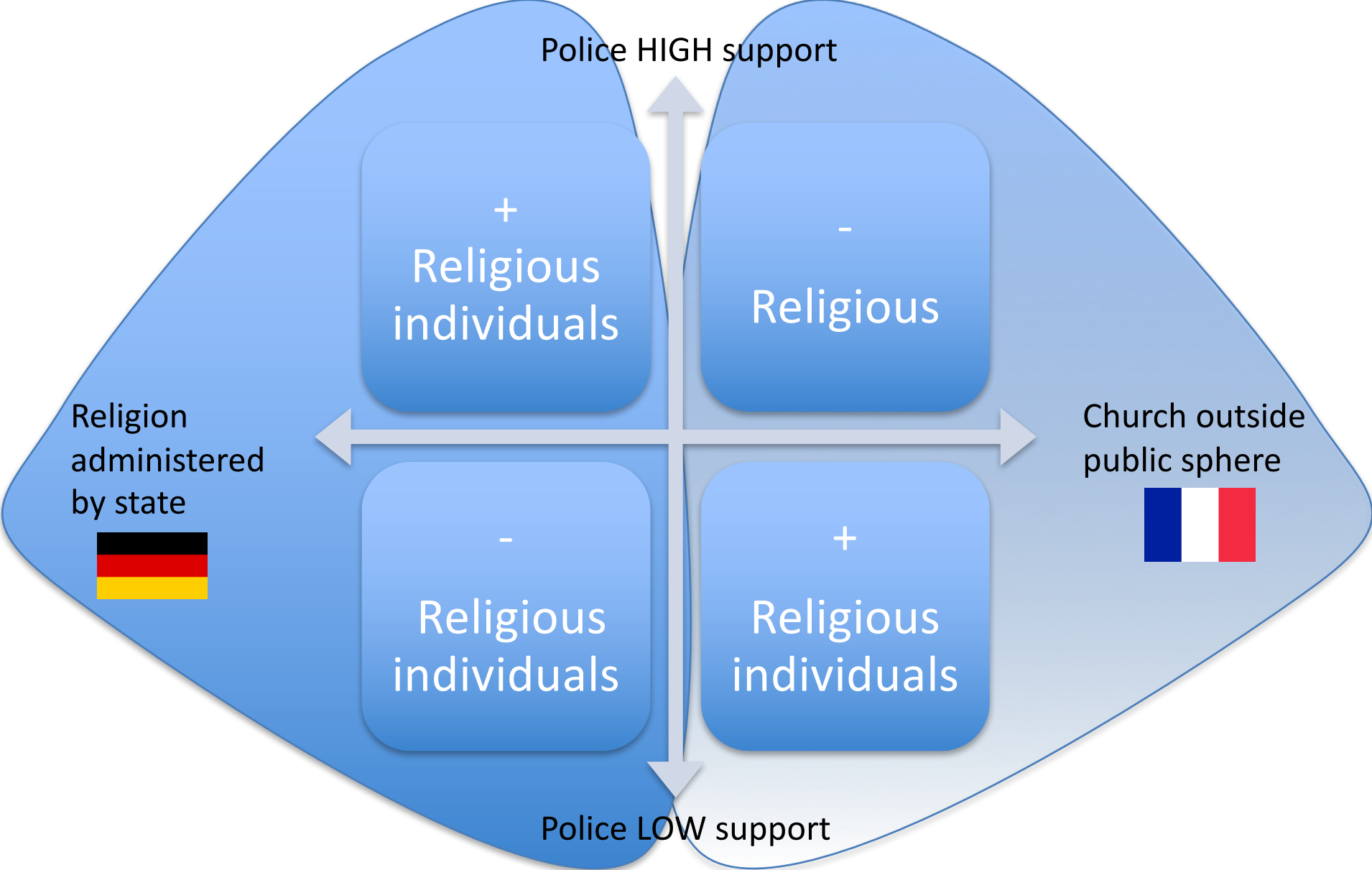
Denomination/ religiousness no pre-determined effect in itself, but in relation to religion as cleavage in a given society

Group loyalty and religion

- Atheist group vs religious groups
- Various religious denominations



National framing effect of religiosity



National framing effect: identity as cleavage?

- Germany and France are secular societies, but secularism has a different history in each of them
- Secularism is more strict in France.
- Meaning of religiosity is dependent on the framing effect of nation-state (Muslim religious minority is more reluctant to embrace nation in France than in Germany).
- National framing effect might explain lack of neighborhood effect (concentration of poverty=religious concentration) in Germany.

THANK YOU