



Trust in Police: A Comparative Study of Belgium and The Netherlands

Ozgur Solakoglu¹

Turkish Military Academy, Bakanlıklar, Ankara, Turkey

Abstract

The goal of this study is to present how trust in police follows similar patterns in similar countries: Belgium and The Netherlands, having almost same level of democracy and transparency but different structure of laws enforcements, by examining the impact of effectiveness of the police on public trust in police. The data was drawn from the country files of the European Social Survey (ESS) conducted in 2010. OLS regression was used to analyze the dataset. The results indicated that while Belgium and The Netherlands have different modes of law enforcement; the link between the effectiveness of the police and the publics' trust in police was similar in both countries. The study highlights the importance of examining cultural values such as democracy and transparency in future studies that aim to uncover significant factors influencing public trust in police.

Keywords: Trust, Police, Gendarmerie, Effectiveness of the police, Law enforcement.

Introduction

Since 1935, a growing body of literature has been published concerning the publics' perception of the police (Brown & Benedict, 2002). One of the main reasons for conducting these studies is, undoubtedly the desire to better understand the perceived outcomes of the services provided by the police. In particular, one of the way for being effective to reduce to crime rate needs cooperation with citizens that requires legitimacy which can be measured with confidence and trust in police (Tyler & Fagan, 2008, p.236; Tankebe, 2008). Increasing trust among citizens is hence commonly accepted as a measurement of successful policing.²In other words, effective policing constitutes the cornerstone of efforts to enhance the publics' trust in the police (Goldsmith, 2005). On the other hand, trust as a concept is a highly complicated issue and depends on different dimensions. While the effectiveness of the police has a direct impact on public trust in the police, the prevailing social structure and social organizations/disorganizations, plus various socio-economic factors, level of democracy and transparency of a country, which are not directly tied to police performance, tend to influence public trust (Goldsmith, 2005).

¹ Turkish Military Academy, Bakanlıklar, Ankara, Turkey. Email: ozgursolakoglu@gmail.com

² It is acknowledged that effective policing is related to trust in police. Please see for details: US Department of Justice (2010). Building trust between the police and the citizens they serve. Retrieved from <http://www.theiacp.org/portals/0/pdfs/buildingtrust.pdf>.

To illustrate the relationship between the effectiveness of the police and the public's trust of the police, Belgium and The Netherlands, which have similar democratic values, were used presently as examples, as they are both European Union (EU) members and represent two cornerstone countries of Western culture. In particular, this paper aimed at presenting the impact of the effectiveness of the police on public trust, considering the social and democratic values of each of the studied countries. The main reason for choosing these two countries stems from the fact that they are not only demographically similar, but also have similar democratic values. However, they have different policing structures, which may be related to the overall effectiveness of the police. That is, in Belgium, the police are responsible for internal security in the country. Whereas, in The Netherlands, internal security is provided by two different institutions: the Police and The Royal *Marechaussee*, which is a police force with military status. In this paper, it is argued that although Belgium and The Netherlands have different law enforcement organizations and different organizational structures, the impact of the effectiveness of the police on public trust of the police follows similar patterns, principally due to fact that both countries are European Union members with advanced democratic cultures. Another purpose of this study was to demonstrate that gendarmeries as a part of internal security systems perform in a similar way compared with civilian police forces considering the level of public trust in the specific country. Taking the discussion further, while the gendarmerie used by many European countries³ is part of a military system, they form a police force serving civilian citizens in rural areas, and this study intended to show the effect of such organizational differences on the public trust of the police in the context of a given country. That is, the study investigated whether or not organizational differences of law enforcement in The Netherlands and Belgium would present a different picture as far as illustrating the relationship between the effectiveness of police and public trust in the police even though both countries are culturally similar.

The law enforcement structure of Belgium and The Netherlands

The structure of the Belgium police service is a bipartite one; and comprises the Federal Police service and a local police service. The Federal Police are responsible for conducting nationwide special operations as well as providing support to local officers (Europol, 2013). The Netherlands law enforcement service consists of two different services working under two different ministries: the Dutch Police and The Royal Netherland *Marechaussee* (Europol, 2013). Additionally, the police services of both countries are members of the European Union's law enforcement agency (Europol), designed to enhance cooperation among police services of European member countries, which was established in 1991-1998 for purposes of eliminating international crimes in the EU. The Royal Netherland *Marechaussee* is a member of the European Gendarmerie Force founded in 2004 consisting of France, Portugal, The Netherlands, Italy, Romania and Spain, all of which have police forces with a military status.

³ France, Italy, Lithuania, The Netherlands, Romania, Portugal, and Spain. In addition, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Romania, Portugal, and Spain are members of European Gendarmerie Force. Lithuania has a partnership status. On the other hand, Turkey, a candidate country for European Union, has an observer status in the organization.

A concern for the modern nation state is the principal that external and internal security must be separated (Lutterbeck, 2004). However, security oriented policies support the idea that both internal and external security must be considered in a holistic way by using units of police, semi military and military units interactively (Marczuk, 2011). On the other hand, how this debate influences the perception of citizens of the legal system presents a gap in the literature, as most of the studies conducted to date to learn about public trust related to law enforcement have focused on the police, but not on the gendarmerie.

Theoretical Framework

The design of this paper is based on two assumptions. First, the effectiveness of the police has an impact on public trust in police. Second, the perception of the effectiveness of the police is influenced by cultural values. That is, when we measure the perception of effectiveness of the police among citizens, we should consider the role played by cultural factors, as the national character or culture of a people can play a specific role in creating positive or negative perceptions of public trust in any agency within a society (Meisenhelder, 2006). Therefore, two theses, the effectiveness of police and the role of culture, are discussed respectively in this section.

The performance of the police is tied to their response time, their ability to prevent crimes or apprehend offenders, which are all central issues in community policing (Dukes, Portillos & Miles, 2009). It is safe to say that effectiveness in crime control is one of the main underlying principles regarding the duties of the police and the parameters of evaluation of the police by citizens (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). That is, if a police organization is perceived as doing their job in an effective way, the more likely it is that this organization will be trusted by its citizens. In addition, direct or indirect experiences with the police can lead to either positive or negative perceptions of the police (Schafer, Huebner & Bynum, 2003). When citizens have low levels of trust in the police this can result in less civilian collaboration, which itself can lead to unsuccessful community policing as a whole. Therefore, particularly in Western countries, the application of successful community policing as a strategy has been on the rise (Mastrofski, Worden & Snipes, 1995).

While there are different dimensions that can be used to measure the effectiveness of the police, response time when called by victims (Reisig & Parks, 2004), preventing crimes (Brown & Coulter, 1983) and apprehending offenders (Hajek, Giles, Barker, Demirtas-Madran, Pecchioni, & Choi, 2008) are some of the central issues in determining the effectiveness of the police that influence citizens' perceptions of the police. Given this theoretical framework, it was hypothesized that:

- **H₁**: *Those who have higher levels of perception of the police as regards preventing crimes will have a higher level of trust in the police*
- **H₂**: *Those who have higher levels of perception of the police and their ability to apprehend burglars/offenders will have a higher level of trust in the police*
- **H₃**: *Those who have a higher level of perception of the timely arrival of the police at a crime/burglary scene will have a higher level of trust in the police.*

A secondary and related issue that is relevant to any discussion about police effectiveness is the cultural environment in which the police are operating. In some countries the police are highly regarded by its citizens; this is generally the case in Western

countries where the police are held in high regard compared with Eastern societies where they are not. Much of this is due to the recruitment requirements, and conditions of service and remuneration that the police are subjected to. As an example, in their study related to trust in police, Hajek et al. (2008) compared three different countries: Russia, the United States, and Turkey. The results showed that U.S. citizens had a higher level of respect for and trust in the police compared to other two countries (Lonescu, 2012). The basic explanation for this finding might be that developed countries have lower levels of corruption in comparison with developing or third world countries, and economic development has an effect on corruption (Park & Blenkinsopp, 2011). In addition, the role of transparency in the relationship between trust and government is taken into consideration in the literature (Grimmelikhuijsen, 2012). On the other hand, cross national studies generally compare countries which have different political and economic structures in order to better understand the effect of these variables on trust in public institutions. However, the present study tried to examine whether or not similar countries based feature of democracy, transparency, and lack of significant corruption would present similar results. In 2010, Belgium and The Netherlands had higher levels of transparency scores based on figures produced by the transparency international organization.⁴ According to these results, Belgium and The Netherlands are among the top thirty countries in the ranking list of transparency though most of the Eastern countries are not eligible to enter the ranking list of the top hundred countries (International Transparency Organization, 2013).

Methods

The data used in this study was drawn from the European Social Survey 2010(ESS) Round 5. The ESS is a cross-national survey conducted every two years since 2001. The survey covers the 22 member countries⁵ of the European Union and Norway, Switzerland, the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Israel participate in this survey. The survey questions focus on issues related to the social structure of the country, beliefs and individual perceptions citizens held about their society and its agencies. In addition, the ESS 2010 introduced more variables measuring the perception of citizens of the police and criminal system, compared to the old waves. While the European Social Survey (ESS) 2012 has just been released, considering the questions about criminal systems of countries, the ESS 2010 is the most recent data measuring the topic examined in this study. Therefore, the European Social Survey ESS 2010 data was utilized for this paper⁶. After implementing the design and population weights recommended in the code book (ESS, 2010), the original sample size of Belgium was reduced from 1704 cases to 901 and it was reduced from 1826 to 1364 for The Netherlands.

⁴ Belgium is 22 in the ranking list with 7.1 points in the index of transparency, ranging from 0 to 10. The Netherlands is 7 in the ranking list with 8.8 points in the index. As examples for Eastern countries, Bangladesh is 134, Uzbekistan is 172, and Iran is 176.

⁵ Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and United Kingdom.

⁶ The questions in the data set of the ESS 2010 Belgium were asked to respondents by using the Dutch and French languages. The question in the data set of the ESS 2010 Netherlands was asked with only the Dutch language.

Measurement

Dependent variable

The European Social Survey 2010 contains questions relating to public trust in different institutions such as parliament, the legal system, the police, and political parties. There are several ways to measure public trust in the police: by asking questions to create an index, and taking into consideration existing studies in the literature (Stoutland, 2001). In this survey, the dependent variable, public trust in the police was measured by a single question that asked how much a respondent trusted in the police. The response set consisted of 10 categories ranging from 0 to 10. That is, 0 referred to having no trust in the police and 10 referred to trusting the police completely. Therefore, a higher score indicated a higher level of trust in the police.

Independent and Control variables

In this study, the independent variables measured the effectiveness of the police. Therefore, in the data set, there were 3 questions relating to effectiveness. While an attempt was made to create an index to measure effectiveness of police, the result of the reliability test showed this was not successful. That is, the Cronbach's alpha score (.48) was lower than 0.7. Each variable was thus used separately in the model to provide a better understanding of the influence of the effectiveness of police on the public trust in police. The first independent variable was the effectiveness of police at preventing crimes. The question measured individual experience by asking how successful the police are at preventing crimes in their country. Categories of responses varied from extremely unsuccessful (0) to extremely successful (10). The second independent variable was the effectiveness of the police at apprehending burglars in their country. Values and categories again ranged from extremely unsuccessful (0) to extremely successful (10). The last independent variable was related to the timeliness of the police in getting to crime scenes. The question measured the timeliness of police with the question of “how quickly would police arrive at a violent crime scene near to where respondents lived”. The response set ranged from extremely slowly (0) to extremely quickly (10) (ESS, 2010).

Control variables used in the model were all related to socio demographic variables such as gender, age, income and years of education. Gender was recoded to create a references category (1=male, 0=female). The age variable indicated the calculated age of respondents ranging from 15 to 94. Income was used as standardized measurement indicating house total income of respondents including all sources. The response categories consisted of 10 levels, and the higher level represented a higher income. The last control variable, education, indicated the years of full-time education completed by the respondents.

Results

Descriptive Analysis

Both descriptive and multivariate analysis was carried out after using list wise deletion. After deleting any missing values, the sample size for Belgium became 742 and the sample size Netherlands became 1036. As presented in Table 1, the percentage of females (52%), in the Belgium sample, was slightly higher than the percentage of males (48%). Similarly, the percentage of Dutch males (49%) was slightly lower than the percentages of Dutch females (51%) in the sample. For Belgian adults, the average age of the sample was 43.96

years. For Dutch adults, the average age of the sample was 50.36 years old. On the scale of standardized income ranging from 1 to 10, the mean income of Belgian adults (5.97) was slightly higher than the mean income of Dutch adults (5.65). On average, Belgian adults had 12.7 years of education which is one year lower than the average years of education (13.7) of Dutch adults.

On average, Belgian adults reported a mean of 6.01 points on the scale of trust in the police which ranged from 1 to 10 and Dutch adults reported a mean score of 6.42 points on the same scale. Considering the scale of satisfaction with police at preventing crimes in the country, which ranged from 1 to 5, on average, Belgium adults (5.38) and Dutch adults (5.25) reported similar scores. On average, the score of Belgian adults (4.88) on the scale of satisfaction with police at apprehending house burglars ranged from 1 to 5, and was slightly higher than the score of the Dutch adults (4.6) on the same scale. On the other hand, on average, compared to the score of Dutch adults (6.06), Belgian adults reported a lower score (5.62) on the scale of satisfaction with police arriving in a timely way at a crime/burglary scene near to where respondents lived and this ranged from 1 to 5. Based on a descriptive analysis, it would be said that the Dutch adults presented slightly more trust in their police in comparison with the Belgian adults, and both samples indicated similar score patterns as related to their average responses.

Multivariate Analysis

The results of the OLS regression are presented in Table 2. By using OLS regression, the effect of each of the independent variables on trust in police was predicted, when controlling for other variables. Two models were used to provide more explanatory power for explaining the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable. In this regard, while the effect of the independent variables was predicted in the first model, by introducing the control variables in the second model, the aim was to reduce the standard error of the model, and have higher explanatory power.

In this regard, for Belgian adults, about 18.3 percent of the variation in the dependent variable, trust in police, was explained by its linear relationship with the independent variables. On the other hand, in model 2, about 20.3 percent of the variation in the dependent variable trust in police was explained by its linear relationship with the independent variables and control variables. Thus, including both independent variables and control variables substantially improved the “fit” of the model to the data; and model 2 provided the “best-fitting” model. The other measures of “fit,” and standard error Se, presented similar results. Using the least-squares regression line to predict life satisfaction from the independent variables and control variables resulted in an “average” error of .1798 points. This was an improvement over the “average” error of .1821 points considering model 1.

Furthermore, for Dutch adults, about 18.9 percent of the variation in the dependent variable trust in police was explained by its linear relationship with the independent variables. Similar to Belgian adults, in model 2, about 21.9 percent of the variation in the dependent variable trust in police was explained by its linear relationship with the independent and control variables. Therefore, it is safe say that the second model can be accepted as the best fit model. Based on errors of the models, on average, the second model was a better model with error of 1.574, compared to model 1 with an error rate of 1.603.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations (S.D.), Range of Variables used in the Analysis of the European Social Survey Round 5 (ESS)

	Belgium Adults, 2010, (N=742),				Dutch Adults, 2010, (N=1036)			
Variables	Mean	S.D	Min	Max	Mean	S.D	Min	Max
<i>Dependent Variable</i>								
Trust in Police	6.01	2.01	0	10	6.42	1.78	0	10
<i>Independent variables</i>								
Police at preventing crimes	5.38	1.84	0	1	5.25	1.65	0	1
Police at apprehending house burglars	4.88	1.97	1	5	4.6	1.74	1	5
Arriving at a crime/burglary scene near to where you live promptly	5.62	2.28	1	5	6.06	1.95	1	5
<i>Control Variables</i>								
Age	43.96	17.91	15	94	50.36	16.43	15	94
Gender (Male=1, Female=0)	0.48		0	1	0.49		0	1
Income	5.97	2.43	1	10	5.65	2.68	1	10
Education	12.74	2.34	1	45	13.71	4.37	1	35

Table 2. Estimates of OLS Regression Models Predicting the Impact of Police Effectiveness on Trust in Police, Belgian and Dutch adults, in 2010.

Variables	Belgium (N=742)		Netherlands(N=1036)	
	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	(SE)	β	(SE)
<i>Independent variables</i>				
Police at preventing crimes	.275*** (0.047)	0.251	.265*** (0.037)	0.245 (0.036)
Police at apprehending house burglars	.092* (0.044)	0.09	.073* (0.034)	0.073 (0.034)
Arriving at a crime/burglary scene near to where you live promptly	0.179*** (0.031)	0.203	0.219*** (0.027)	0.24 (0.027)
<i>Control Variables</i>				
Age	-	-	-0.067	-
Gender (Male=1, Female=0)	-	-	0.017	-
Income	-	-	0.074	-
Education	-	-	0.76	-
Constant	3.069*** (0.236)	-	3.364*** (0.201)	1.800*** (0.323)
R ²	0.186		0.192	0.225
Adjusted R ²	0.183		0.189	0.219
S _e	1.821		1.603	1.574
Model F	56.201		81.6	42.51

P<0.05* P<0.01** P<0.001*** (One -Tail Test)

As seen in Table 2, for Belgian adults, based on model 1, satisfaction with police at preventing crimes ($b=-.275$, $p<.0001$), satisfaction with police at apprehending house burglars ($b=-.92$, $p<.05$), satisfaction with arriving at crime/burglary scene near to where respondents live in a timely way ($b=.179$, $p<.0001$) had statistically significant effects on trust in police, all else being equal. Introducing control variables in the second model, all independent variables became statistically significant predictors for trust in police, holding the control variables constant. To provide more details about the results of model 2, which is the best fitting model, among Belgian adults, on average, for an additional level of the satisfaction with police at preventing crimes, the level of trust in police was predicted to decrease by 0.279 points, all else being equal ($b=-.279$, $p<.0001$). Among Belgian adults, on average, trust in police was predicted to increase by .104 points for each additional level on satisfaction with police in apprehending house burglars, holding all other variables constant ($b=.104$, $p<.05$). Among Belgian adults, on average, trust in police was predicted to increase by .171 points for each additional level of satisfaction with the police arriving at a crime/burglary scene near to where respondents lived in a timely way, controlling for all other variables ($b=.171$, $p<.001$). Regarding the control variables, age and gender had no statistically significant effect on trust in police. On the other hand, income and years of education had a significant and positive effect on trust in police.

For Dutch adults, similar to Belgian adults, in the first model, satisfaction with police at preventing crimes ($b=-.265$, $p<.0001$), satisfaction with police at apprehending house burglars ($b=-.73$, $p<.05$), and satisfaction with arriving at the crime/burglary scene near to where respondents lived in a timely way ($b=.219$, $p<.0001$) had statistically significant and positive effects on trust in the police, all else being equal. Taking the control variables into account, the independent variables were still significant predictors of the dependent variable. Based on the second model, among Dutch adults, each additional level of satisfaction with the level of trust in police was predicted to decrease by 0.265 points, all else being equal ($b=-.279$, $p<.0001$). Among Dutch adults, on average, trust in police was predicted to increase by .087 points for each additional level of satisfaction with police at apprehending house burglars, holding all other variables constant ($b=.087$, $p<.05$). Among Dutch adults, on average, trust in police was predicted to increase by .210 points for each additional level of satisfaction with police arriving at a crime/burglary scene near to where respondents live in a timely way, controlling for all other variables ($b=.210$, $p<.001$). Regarding the control variables, all the variables except gender had a statistically significant effect on trust in police.

Discussion and Conclusion

By using random samples from two Western nations, Belgium and The Netherlands, this study examined the role of law enforcement structure, by considering the relationship between police effectiveness and trust in the police. One of the main findings was that while the structures of law enforcement belonging to Belgium and The Netherlands are dramatically different from each other, the degree of police effectiveness had a similar influence on trust in the police in both countries. In examining the results of the multivariate analyses, the three independent variables measuring the perception of the effectiveness of the police yielded similar effects in the best fit models of both countries. It is safe to say that the present three hypotheses emphasizing the relationship between perceived effectiveness of the police and trust in the police was supported. In addition, the best fit models of the two countries produced very close outputs, and the results also

supported the present culture based hypothesis. Although there was no hypothesis for socio demographic variables in the present study, the results showed that there were no gender variations in the trust factor. It can be noted that while age is a significant predictor only in The Netherlands, the effect is quite small. For income, a higher income causes a higher trust in the police, which is meaningful as richer people may hold better positions in society and have better relationships with the police. In addition, education was also a significant predictor and had a positive relationship with trust in the police in both countries.

Taking all the results into consideration, this study emphasizes the role of cultural values, meaning that as discussed in the theoretical section, Western values influence the perception of trust, a vital factor in efforts to understand whether or not the police are doing their job well. This point is important, as there have been debates on the role of the gendarmerie with regard and its legal status. In other words, the gendarmerie is not only a part of the internal security system, but is also a part of the army. However, countries, some of which are developed and highly democratic such as France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal have gendarmerie organizations. They are eager to keep this internal security structure as the flexibility of the gendarmerie in internal security and peacekeeping operations in or out of a country provides considerable advantages (Hovens, 1997). In sum, rather than the structure of law enforcement, democratic values, and transparency, play a specific role in understanding factors that influence trust in police. Therefore, it can be argued that cross-national studies based on trust in the police should cover cultural perceptions rather than focusing solely on the structure of the law enforcement processes.

In the same vein, this study also provides information regarding the practical implementation of police forces in developing and third world countries. Rather than changing the structure of law enforcement, the first aim of enhancing trust among citizens should be based on the political structure of a country. Without fighting corruption and providing transparency, the effect of the structural change on the trust among citizens will be limited.

Despite the strengths of the present study, such as having a random and representative sample, the study has some weaknesses. First, considering that the study is not a multi-level study, it is hard to measure the effect of corruption and the transparency index of the countries in question on trust in the police. Moreover, the questions examined only measured perceptions belonging to the citizens. It is also possible to examine the effect of policing by using case numbers solved and specific measurements indicating job performance. Second, while the European Social Survey provides useful questions regarding social beliefs about crimes, the police and law courts, the questions related to law enforcement only cover police issues, but not gendarmerie issues. That is to say, questions specifically asking the public about their perceptions of the police may not be perceived the same way in different countries. For example, in The Netherlands, The Royal *Marechaussee* is called by a different name rather than being called “police”. In the code book, the questions related to the police are asked by using the term “de politie” meaning “the police”. Therefore, whether citizens living in The Netherlands answered the question by considering only the police or both the police and the Royal *Marechaussee* is not clear. Instead of using the term, “the police,” “the use of the term law enforcement” would cover both the police and The Royal *Marechaussee*.

In sum, the present study provides an example of the use of a comparative approach to examine the link between citizen trust in the police force and cultural values. The study specifically suggests researchers should try to examine cultural values in their efforts to better understand factors affecting public trust in regards to law enforcement or public satisfaction with prevailing law enforcement processes. Further studies, employing a multi-level approach and examining more countries may yield more accurate results in the context of other studies that focus on public trust in law enforcements. Finally, there is a need for more specific research to understand the performance of the gendarmerie and the perception by the citizens of their performance. Specific questions could be added to the European Social Survey to see whether or not the structure of the gendarmerie provides the same, better or fewer services than those provided by the police.

References

- Brown, B. & Benedict, W. R. (2002). Perceptions of the police: Past findings, methodological issues, conceptual issues and policy implications. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 25(3), 543-580.
- Brown, K. & Coulter, P. B. (1983). Subjective and objective measures of police service delivery. *Public Administration Review*, 43(1), 50-58.
- Dukes, R. L., Portillos, E. & Miles, M. (2009) Models of satisfaction with police service. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 32(2), 297-318.
- Department of Justice, (2010). Building trust between the police and the citizens they serve. Retrieved from <http://www.theiacp.org/portals/0/pdfs/buildingtrust.pdf>.
- ESS, (2010). European Social Survey. Retrieved from http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/methodology/ESS_weighting_data.pdf.
- Europol (2013). Retrieved from www.europol.europa.eu/content/memberpage/belgium-185.
- Goldsmith, A. (2005). Police reform and the problem of trust. *Theoretical Criminology*, 9(4), 443-470.
- Grimmelikhuijsen, S. (2012). Linking transparency, knowledge and citizen trust in government: an experiment. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 78(1), 50-73.
- Hajek, C., Giles, H., Barker, V., Demirtas-Madran, A., Pecchioni, L., & Choi, C. (2008). Perceptions of trust, compliance, and officer accommodation in police-civilian intergroup encounters: A Russian, Turkish, and American cross-national analysis. *Russian Journal of Communication*, 1, 127-248.
- Hovens, H. (1997). Towards understanding the potential of gendarmeries. *Gendarmeries*, 44(1), 9.
- International Transparency Organization (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2010/results>.
- Marczuk, K. P. (2011). A contemporary internal security concept and its implications for gendarmerie-type forces. *Gendarmeries*, 69.
- Lonescu, L. (2012). Democracy and political corruption. *Economics, Management, and Financial Markets*, 2, 173-178.
- Lutterbeck, D. (2004). Between police and military the new security agenda and the rise of gendarmeries, *Cooperation and Conflict*, 39(1), 45-68.
- Mastrofski, S. D., Worden, R. E., & Snipes, J. B. (1995). Law enforcement in a time of community policing. *Criminology*, 33(4), 539-563.

- Meisenhelder, T. (2006). From character to habitus in sociology. *The Social Science Journal*, 43(1), 55-66.
- Park, H., & Blenkinsopp, J. (2011). The roles of transparency and trust in the relationship between corruption and citizen satisfaction. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 77(2), 254-274.
- Reisig, M. D. & Parks, R. B. (2004). Can community policing help the truly disadvantaged? *Crime & Delinquency*, 50(2), 139-167.
- Schafer, J. A., Huebner, B. M., & Bynum, T. S. (2003). Citizen perceptions of police services: Race, neighborhood context, and community policing. *Police Quarterly*, 6(4), 440-468.
- Stoutland, S. E. (2001). The multiple dimensions of trust in resident/police relations in Boston. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 38(3), 226-256.
- Tankebe, J. (2008). Police effectiveness and police trustworthiness in Ghana: An empirical appraisal. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 8(2), 185-202.
- Tyler, T. R., & Fagan, J. (2008). Legitimacy and cooperation: Why do people help the police fight crime in their communities. *Ohio St. J. Crim. L.*, 6, 231.
- Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. A. (2005). Determinants of public satisfaction with the police. *Police Quarterly*, 8(3), 279-297.
- Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. A. (2002). Perceptions of racial profiling: race, class, and personal experience. *Criminology*, 40(2), 435-456.