



Trust in the police

Analysing generational differences

Bachelor's thesis Liberal Arts and Sciences

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Abstract

Why certain groups express lower levels of trust towards the police has been of long interest to many scholars. Many factors have been researched, but less is known about the differences between cohorts in the Netherlands. However, as the works of many sociologists show, society changes with the progression of time and the values of the younger generations gradually replace those of the older cohorts. This process of intergenerational value change is due to experiences in a formative period in individuals' life, in which values, including those related to trust are acquired and developed. Moreover, other related mechanisms such as education and a decline in authority might contribute to explaining generational differences in trust in the police. The goal of this research, therefore, is to answer the research question: 'Do younger cohorts in the Netherlands express lower levels of trust towards the police, compared to older cohorts, and what mechanisms can explain this'? To answer this question, the Dutch data of the European Value Study 2017 has been analysed by means of regression analyses. The results show that there is no significant relationship between cohorts and trust in the police. Nonetheless, other mechanisms that affect trust in the police were found. These results raise some new questions about a cultural shift following postmaterialism.

Keywords: cohorts, police, institutional trust, European Value Study, postmaterialism

Acknowledgements

Last summer I read an article of the NOS (2021) about the police interacting with youth in banlieus in France, which sparked my interest. I sent this article to a friend of mine, who replied enthusiastically and suggested that we could write our thesis about youth's trust in the police. Ultimately, we decided that working together on a thesis would be difficult. Nevertheless, I owe the idea of writing about this topic to him. I eventually narrowed the topic down and took a different approach as suggested by my supervisor, which related to a course I had in second year of LAS.

I would like to use this opportunity to thank my supervisor for guiding me through the process of writing a thesis, which is always harder than you expect it to be. I want to thank him for the patience and for the time invested in meetings and feedback. Moreover, I would like to convey my gratitude all of my close friends, for keeping the spirits up and for thinking along in the first phase of this thesis.

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Introduction

The Netherlands was startled by violent events that occurred in the nights of January 23rd until 25th in the year 2021. In several cities across the country, people protested against the corona measures taken by the government. Groups of people went outside at night, vandalized buildings, and set fires in the city centres (NOS, 2021). The protestors' anger was specifically fuelled by the night-time curfew that was installed that weekend. The police and the ME (Dutch "Mobiele Eenheid", similar to SWAT/Mobile Unit) had to intervene harshly and used water cannons and tear gas to break up the crowds of rioters (Euronews, 2021). Remarkably, these riots seemed to be primarily attended by youth (OM, 2021). Many newspapers and also the Public Prosecution Service reported that many of the arrested persons were underaged, or in their early twenties (Arensbergen & Timmermans, 2021; Binnenlandredactie DG, 2021; NOS, 2021; OM, 2021). A study of Davis, Whyde & Langton, showed that youth in the age of 18-24 also have most contact with the police, compared to other age groups (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2018; Davis, Whyde & Langton, 2018).

Negative encounters between youth and the police seem to have increased over the last couple of years, not only during the COVID-19 pandemic. This is in line with violence reports established by the police (Politie, 2021; Sindall, McCarthy & Brunton-Smith, 2017). It could therefore be assumed that younger cohorts have less trust in the police compared to older cohorts. Surprisingly, the Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte said, after these nights in January, that he was not going to 'search for sociological explanations for these outrageous behaviours that were nothing more than criminal behaviour' (Adriaanse & Derix, 2021). He elaborated on his statement later in a political debate and explained that he firmly believed that problems such as rough childhoods or financial problems are no excuse for criminal behaviour and therefore shall be punished (Fortuin, 2021). Nevertheless, keeping a close eye on changing trust in the police, and recognizing possible underlying mechanisms that stimulate distrust, is extremely important.

Research on the relation between the police and citizens - especially the younger citizens - is of great importance for the police to properly approach and interact with citizens. The police need to have mutual bonds of trust with the communities they work with, to maintain public safety and to ensure efficient policing (Schaap, 2018). That is to say, trust in the police is linked to willingness to cooperate with the police (Schaap, 2018; Jackson & Bradford, 2010; Meijer, 2013). People are more likely to call the police for help or report crimes when they indicate a high level of trust (Schaap, 2018). Moreover, strong mutual trust

between the police and citizens strengthens citizens' capacity to initiate action during situations of mild social disturbance in their community and is a significant precondition for police effectiveness overall (Schaap, 2018). With findings from research, policy-makers and executers of these policies can, for instance, come up with initiatives to build trust between young people and police-officers.

Scholars thus far have established a variety of associations at both the individual and aggregate level in answering the issue of what causes trust in the public institutions to fluctuate (Putnam, 2000; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008; Norris, 2011; Ortiz-Ospina & Roser, 2016; Schaap, 2018). Within the field of trust in the police, previous research has primarily looked at age using the life cycle¹ as a guiding framework. More specifically, literature covers adolescent development as an influential phase (IACP, 2015; Piquero et al. 2005; Dirikx et al., 2012; Nivette, Eisner, & Ribeaud, 2020) and focus on previous experiences with the police during adolescence (Borrero, 2001; Meijer, 2015; OJJP, 2018). Even though life-cycle effects might be of influence in shaping trust towards the police, differences between cohorts could also explain trust in the police. According to Bovens & Wille (2008), generational replacement is an important mechanism in explaining attitudes towards institutions. They state that the public's ideals and expectations have changed over the past decades. Postmaterialism has altered the values of today's public (Bovens & Wille, 2008; Inglehart, 1977). So far, in literature, little attention has been paid to the effect of generational differences on trust in the police. Hence, this study aims to explore how differences between cohorts affect trust in the police, which subsequently invokes the notion of intergenerational value change and postmaterialism, accompanied by declining belief in authority and rising education levels. Accordingly, this study seeks to address the following research question:

Do younger cohorts in the Netherlands express lower levels of trust towards the police,

¹ There are three ways in which age can be used to analyse a certain phenomenon. First, as a life-cycle variable, which is biologically determined (Bell & Jones, 2015; Alwin et al., 2006). Individuals age, which means that their attitudes often change as they get older, also dependent on what stage they are in (Bell & Jones, 2015; Alwin et al., 2006). Secondly, Yang's (as cited in Iparraguirre, 2018) definition captures the meaning of a cohort effect well: 'cohort effects reflect different formative experiences resulting from the intersection of individual biographies and macrosocial influences (Yang 2008a , p.18 as cited in Iparraguirre, 2018). The social composition of society as a whole will change as new cohorts replace older cohorts (Bell & Jones, 2015). Thirdly, certain historical events affect an entire population, regardless of their age, and this we call called period effects (Bell & Jones, 2015; American Psychology Association, n.d.). Therefore, life-cycle effects are mostly individual sources of change (Bell & Jones, 2015). On the contrary, period and cohort effects are believed to be due to living in a particular social context. A period effect occurs at a specific time and affects all age groups, whereas a cohort effect is unique to a group born at a specific time (Blanchard, Bunker, & Wachs, 1977). Evidently, age as part of the life-cycle and cohort and period effects are closely related, but the distinction in this study is made in the underlying causal explanations, which will be clarified in the theoretical framework.

compared to older cohorts, and what mechanisms can explain this?

In the first paragraphs of the theoretical framework, the definition of trust will be clarified. Next, several theories related to postmaterialism, that might explain generational differences within trust in the police, will be discussed, and hypotheses will be formulated. This study builds on the data of the Dutch subset of the European Value Study 2017, which will be addressed in the methodology section. Subsequently, the statistical methods utilized to analyse trust in the police will be clarified in the methodology section. By means of linear regression analysis the hypotheses will be tested. Insights resulting from the analyses will be described in the results section. The results are followed by a discussion section that contains the most important findings and its implications.

Theoretical framework

Trust

First and foremost, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by ‘trust’. Georg Simmel (as cited in Möllering, 2001) characterizes trust as ‘one of the most important synthetic forces within society’ (p.318, 1950, as cited in Möllering, 2001) and argues that without the overall trust individuals have in one another, society itself would disintegrate. The reason for this, according to Levi (1998), is that trust encompasses the ability of individuals to take risks when dealing with one another, that trust helps in solving collective issues, and that it encourages people to make choices that go against self-interest. Moreover, Luhmann (1988), argues that trust is an instrument to diminish complexity. Trust helps us to make decisions and behave as though we are sure that certain negative future events are not likely to happen. In times of uncertainty and risk, trust is particularly important when it comes to the intentions, motives, and future behaviour of those on whom we depend (Das & Teng, 2004; ESS, 2011). Trust also implies exposing our weakness, and yet expecting the other party not to exploit it (Schaap 2018; Das & Teng, 2004). This we do on the ground that we expect that other people’s behaviour is, to some degree, predictable (Schaap 2018; Das & Teng, 2004). On the one hand, taking the risk of trusting someone, a certain party or institution may bring about major disappointment but might also result a certain type of benefit. On the other hand, when trust is betrayed, the potential damage will be greater than the profit we seek, and we will regret our decision to trust (Schaap, 2018). If trust is broken, we have the option to refuse to trust in the future.

Trust on a more institutional level is well captured by Miller and Listhaug’s (1990)

description. According to them, trust represents collective assessments of whether governmental institutions are acting in compliance with existing norms. Citizens' expectations of government include, among other things, that it be truthful, efficient, inclusive, fair, and responsive to the needs of society at that moment, even without constant control (Miller & Listhaug, 1990 ; Levi & Stoker, 2000; Ringeling & Van Sluis, 2011). The primary reasons of distrust in institutions are promise breaking, incompetence, and the animosity of government actors against the people they are supposed to serve, states Levi (1998). Her list corresponds to Nooteboom & Six's (2003) dimensions of trustworthiness: ability, dedication, ethics and benevolence (Goldsmith, 2005). In this respect, attitudes towards institutions are determined by evaluation of the performance of public officials or political leaders that are in office, together with the effectiveness of public policies (Van der Meer & Hakverdian, 2017; Newton & Norris, 2000; Norris, 2011; Goldberg, 2005). Hence, adverse performance regarding partiality, corruption and scandals has a negative effect on institutional trust (Van der Meer & Hakverdian, 2017; Anderson & Tverdova, 2003). Yet, other studies emphasize that the individual's perception of performance, for instance, perceived police effectiveness in handling crime, is more critical for trust, than actual performance rates of police officers. People evaluate subjectively according to the criteria they internalised (Inglehart, 1977; Schaap, 2018; Schoon & Cheng, 2011; Van der Meer & Hakverdian, 2017).

The police have a special position in maintaining citizens' trust in the government, because the police, even more than any other institution, are responsible for symbolically and functionally portraying the legitimate order (Jackson & Gau, 2016; Van der Veer, Van Sluis, Van de Walle & Ringeling, 2013). In other words, the police are the institution that ensures that the interaction between citizens and between society and government operates in a democratic manner (Van der Veer et al., 2013). When something goes wrong, the citizens can still rely on the police and the judiciary. Therefore, the police are not only an object of trust, but also stimulate citizens to have trust in other institutions. As part of the legal system, the police also ensures that trust in other citizens is possible. The police provide, as it were, meta-confidence in society (Van der Veer et al., 2013).

A downside of the unique position just mentioned, is that the police sometimes have to give outcomes that might be detrimental and unsatisfactory to citizens (Schaap 2018; Ringeling & Van Sluis, 2011). The police and the courts work together to arrest, penalize and incarcerate citizens. Even in cases when there is no extreme unpleasant impact during an encounter with the police, the police are not always able to provide a suitable solution for all parties involved. As a result, the options for the police to boost public satisfaction and trust

through delivering desirable outcomes is restricted (Schaap, 2018).

On a more personal level, trust in the police² concerns the predictions people have of police conduct: that officers will carry out the tasks that they are entrusted to do (Jackson & Gau, 2016). Trusting the police means that people believe that the police are there when you need them, that they operate for the right motives, that they are competent and guided by the common good (Van der Veer et al., 2013). As mentioned earlier, trust has to do with risk-taking. Putting one's trust in the police means taking a risk, since the relation between police and citizens is asymmetric. That is to say, as enforcer of the law and defender of security, peace, and public order, the police have monopoly on the lawful use of force (Van der Veer et al., 2013). The police are the state's long arm, having the ability to infringe in the private domain, when necessary (Van der Veer et al., 2013). In the course of an investigation, it might be inevitable to violate citizens' rights enshrined in the constitution (Politie n.d.; Overheid Wettenbank, 2014). A person's liberty may be revoked if he/she is convicted of committing a crime, or one's house can be searched. In some cases, personal belongings are confiscated, a person is observed for a longer time, or video footage is collected via the use of bodycams (Overheid Wettenbank, 2014). Infringement of these fundamental rights is made possible by a combination of legal provisions (Overheid Wettenbank, 2014; Van der Veer et al., 2013).

Yet, the exercise of power in a democratic state is bound by the law; in effect, this creates a justification for trust among citizens: that the police behave in accordance with legal principles (Van der Veer et al., 2013). On a lower risk-taking level, reporting a crime may result in the police making an effort to solve the crime, but it also carries the risk of being mocked, of a violation of professional secrecy, or the risk of negligence of a filed report (Schaap, 2018; GRECO, 2019). Consequently, the decision to report or not to report is based on trust (Schaap, 2018). As citizens, it is impossible to completely opt out of trusting the police, but we can make the decision to stop cooperating with them, lie about information or neglect their requests (Schaap, 2018).

² When trust between youth and the police is discussed in literature, 'legitimacy' and 'trust' are closely related. Nevertheless, they do not precisely mean the same. According to Tyler & Sunshine (2003), legitimacy refers to 'a property of an authority or institution that leads people to feel that that authority or institution is entitled to be deferred to and obeyed' (p. 514). In other words, legitimacy encompasses the rightfulness to power (Jackson & Gau, 2016). Several studies indicate that trust might precede legitimacy (Jackson & Gau, 2016; Meijer, 2013; Ringeling & Van Sluis, 2011). Moreover, there is a convergence between trust and legitimacy in the assessment of an institution's appropriateness. In this regard, scholars consider trust to be 'a normative justifiability of power in the eyes of citizens' (Jackson & Gau, 2016, p.2).

Explaining public trust in the police

In almost all industrialized countries, public trust has been fluctuating over the past decades (Inglehart, 1977; Bovens & Wille, 2008; Schaap, 2018). According to Bovens & Wille (2008), long-term data analysis concludes that the loss of trust is international, structural, and chronic. Many studies examined the underlying factors for declining trust in governmental institutions as well, including declining trust in the police (Inglehart, 1977; Schaap 2018; Van der Veer et al., 2013; Levi & Stoker, 2000; Gormally & Deuchar, 2012; Bovens & Wille, 2008; Putnam, 2000). Van Giels & De Roos (2011) write that police officers on the street are increasingly confronted with an unstable atmosphere in which the old guiding lights no longer provide anything to cling to. It is however not easy to pinpoint the exact causes of decrease of trust in the police since it partly concerns macro-sociological developments (Van Sluis & Ringeling, 2011). One mechanism that can explain social and political transformation in terms of attitudes such as trust towards institutions is *the intergenerational value change* as theorized by Inglehart (1977). The intergenerational value change, as a component of modernization theories, more specifically the rise of postmaterialist values, could be a mechanism that helps to explain disparities in the degree of trust expressed by different birth-cohorts. Other mechanisms that are connected to postmaterialism (see appendix: correlations) that this study is going to investigate, are education and variables measuring authority.

The Silent Revolution

Inglehart (1977) introduced an overarching framework that constitutes several macro-sociological developments, which he together calls ‘The Silent Revolution’. He primarily focuses on trust in the government but adds that declining support applies to other national institutions as well, which the (Dutch) police might be one of. In his works on postmaterialism, ‘The Silent Revolution (1977), ‘Modernization and Postmodernization’ (1997) and ‘Changing Values among Western Publics from 1970 to 2006’ (2008), he attempts to explain value changes in Western countries by generational differences. A theory he elaborates on is the theory of *intergenerational value change*, which is based on ideas already formulated by Abraham Maslow and Karl Mannheim.

In ‘The Silent Revolution’ (1977), Inglehart speaks of a ‘silent’ movement that that proceeded quietly and gradually through the replacement of generations, but profoundly altered political life in the West (Inglehart, 1977). He sheds light on this revolution by explaining two interconnected developments. First, he focuses on the downward trend in

political trust that occurred in most Western countries in the mid-1970's and wrote that even though this decline can partially be attributed to short-term events, it could be a symptom of a long-term transformation as well, that is anchored in the formative experiences of certain generations that gradually succeed another (Inglehart, 1977). Accordingly, this shift in values was caused by socialization of successive birth cohorts in an environment of economic and physical stability, allowing them to reorient their goals away from fundamental economic needs and towards non-material, postmaterial objectives such as freedom of speech and autonomy (Inglehart, 1977; Novy, Smith & Katmak, 2017). Secondly, Inglehart elaborated on the increase in political skills of Western publics, that allowed people to play a larger part in political decisions and made them more demanding of institutional performance.

The transformation from materialist values to postmaterialist values is commonly referred to as *postmaterialism*. The older generations are considered 'materialist' and later generations born after the second world war, 'post-materialist'. Inglehart suggested two parallel processes, that can explain the rise of postmaterialism through an intergenerational value change: the socialization hypothesis, and the scarcity hypothesis (Inglehart, 1977). The socialization hypothesis is the first mechanism that will be discussed.

Many scholars - Inglehart (1997) and Putnam (2000, as cited in Schoon & Cheng, 2011) including – argue that trust is founded on values and attitudes. According to Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, p.551), 'values are understood as concepts or beliefs about desirable end states or behaviours, that transcend specific situations, guide selection or evaluation of behaviour and events, and are ordered by relative importance'. To some extent, cultural traits, such as values, are transmitted from parents to children and from generation to generation (Schoon & Cheng, 2011; Albenese, De Blasio & Sestito, 2016). These values are learned early in the life-course, primarily because children's views are influenced by early experiences with their parents (Min, Silverstein & Lendon, 2012). In addition, the environment, and circumstances in which one is raised influence one's commitment to certain values over others (Inglehart, 1977; Reeskens et al., 2020).

In this sense, Inglehart refers to socialization processes. The focal thought of socialization is that social standards are received and taken over through exposure to a variety of agents of socialisation, such as parents, siblings, teachers, peers, colleagues, mass-media, and the government (Grusec & Hastings, 2014; Smetana, Robinson, & Rote, 2014).). The more individuals are confronted with certain norms, the more likely they are to embrace, adopt and internalize these norms (Grusec & Hastings, 2014).

Socialization occurs continuously throughout a person's life, but adolescence is a

distinct period since it has some unique characteristics. Adolescence is namely considered a vital stage for the formation of values and identity, during which parents' prevalence seems to fade (Min, Silverstein & Lendon, 2012). Other socialization agents (e.g., friends, teachers, and the internet) are becoming more important. Furthermore, the second decade of a teen's life is a period of tremendous changes, and adolescents do not merely accept learned values anymore: instead, they question and often oppose those that they believe to be improper, unethical, or unconstitutional (Smetana, Robinson, & Rote, 2014), and they develop their own sense of self and ideals (Min et al., 2012). Hence, socialization processes occurring in childhood and adolescence are critical for developing values. This period is often specified as 'the formative period'.

One of the first scholars to look at the concept of a formative period in conjunction with the emergence of generations, was Karl Mannheim (1952). Shortly put, according to Mannheim, people are more sensible to events that happened during their formative years, than later in life. Scholars identify a formative period starting roughly around the age of 15 or 17 to 25 years³. The starting point for the concept of a formative period, is that events and social circumstances occurring during this period, leave a lasting mark on the ways people live their lives - and is therefore formative for value preferences. After these formative years, the sensitivity to new impressions and experiences would decline and the developed value priorities tend to remain stable throughout an adult's life (Mannheim 1952; Pilcher 1994; Inglehart, 1977). Hence, people's value priorities are shaped by their socio-economic situation and conditions that prevailed during their upbringing and socialization period; childhood and early adulthood (Inglehart, 1977). Since successive cohorts experience various formative circumstances, lasting differences between birth cohorts will arise (Herweijer, 2010). The probability of a generation forming a distinct consciousness, leading to a cohort effect, is believed to be determined by the pace of social change (Pilcher, 1994). Alwin et al. (2006, p.22) describe a cohort effect as 'stable differences among birth cohorts as a result of the historical circumstances of their development'.

The second mechanism on which Inglehart bases his theory of intergenerational value change is the scarcity hypothesis. When material and physical stability are in short supply,

³ There is no clear-cut age range when formative years are discussed. According to Mannheim (1952), questioning and reflecting on certain issues arises as personal experimenting with life begins, which starts around the age of 17, but this of course depends on the person. He assumes that at the age around 25, 'a natural view of the world stabilizes' (p.293). However, studies that build on his book 'the problem of generations' often use the age of 15-25 (Pilcher, 1994). Since the EVS only includes respondents of 18 years and older, we take 18 years as a starting point.

people prioritize these materialistic goals; but, when these commodities are plentiful, people prioritize post-materialist goals such as esteem, freedom of choice and belonging (Inglehart, 1977). In this sense, Inglehart builds on Maslow (as cited in Navy, 2020) who already proposed a theory of human motivation. The needs are classified into five levels, starting with the needs with the highest priority towards those with a lower priority: physiological, safety, love, belonging, esteem, and self-realization. When one level of necessities is fulfilled in the chain, the following level of need turns into the central point of motivation for a person. For instance, people suffering from food deficiency (physiological need) should address that issue prior to looking for solid establishment (security need).

As previously stated, Inglehart builds his theory on Maslow's hierarchical organisation of needs and argues that the differences in values result from the rapid economic growth and expansion of the welfare state (Inglehart, 1997). By way of explanation, the possibility of extreme economic hardship, if not outright starvation, has been a significant cause of worry for most people throughout history. The level of economic stability and security experienced by the post-war generation in most industrial countries has led to a steady change from materialistic values to post-materialistic values that prioritise the quality of life and self-expression over economic and physical security (Inglehart, 1997). According to Inglehart's socialization hypothesis, people's basic values are mostly set by the time they enter adulthood and change very little after that. Therefore, one's basic values mirror circumstances that were predominant during the formative years (Inglehart, 1997).

Inglehart reasoned that older cohorts are raised in times in which economic stability and physical safety were not taken for granted. Older cohorts might rely on the police strongly, since they, during their formative years, have experienced the police, as an institution that provided order, physical security, and fought high-crime rates (Raad voor het Openbaar Bestuur, 2011). In this respect, they could express materialist values that emphasize the maintenance or restoration of safety and security. Their expectations of police conduct could have been satisfied in a positive manner during their formative years. On the contrast, the younger cohorts have been raised in economic prosperity and have significantly less to worry about physical safety. These cohorts adhere more strongly to postmaterialist values such as autonomy and freedom, and tend to be more sceptical towards institutions. Inglehart (1999) states that, consequently, "in the short run, economic progress leads to the establishment of new and more exacting criteria by which government performance is measured – and lower levels of respect and confidence in their authorities." As this quote

shows, the younger cohorts demand higher institutional performance. Compared to the older cohorts, they might show less trust in the police. This leads to first hypotheses that:

H₁: Younger cohorts have less trust in the police than older cohorts.

H₂: Younger cohorts have less trust in the police than older cohorts, because they display more postmaterialist values. Postmaterialism is expected to have a negative, mediative effect.

However, one point of criticism on Inglehart's postmaterialism is that he measured the scarcity hypothesis at a macro-level mostly (Novy, Smith & Katrňák, 2017). Inglehart covers a wide range of developments, such as the emergence of post-industrial society, economic progress and the advent of welfare systems capable of providing existential protections to almost all people living in the Western part of the world, which have allowed the postmodern shift (Novy, Smith & Katrňák, 2017). Inglehart (1977) attributes a growing sense of security to economic prosperity on a national level. Is it true, however, that a country's degree of economic growth has a systemic impact on people's existential security (Novy et al., 2017)? Individual feelings concerning security, instead, could be the driving force behind one's postmaterialist orientation or a differing value orientation. Indeed, as of past decades, genuine material need is diminished by both human and technological advancements and welfare state regulations. The Netherland is in many respects a safe country, but existential insecurity is still apparent (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018; Beck, 1992). Certain developments have taken place, which are not discussed by Inglehart's postmaterialism⁴. Despite positive advancements, hazards and other potential challenges have been released resulting from modernization processes in which efficient power grows incredibly fast (Beck, 1992). Beck (1992) calls this a 'paradigm of risk society', and a publication of the Council for Public Administration (ROB) (2011) refers to this paradigm as a 'security paradox'. Western industrial societies might be beyond 'scarcity', but the discussion no longer is about distribution of scarcity, but rather about the risks that today arise from techno-economic developments (ROB, 2011). Furthermore, the national security is increasingly influenced by the international environment because of globalisation (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018). First of all, fear is due to rising threats of terrorism attacks that happened in (neighbouring) countries (Overseas Security Advisory Council, 2020). The 9/11 attacks is the most prevalent

⁴ It should be noted that developments such as migration, technological advancements and their influence on existential insecurity are discussed in later works, inter alia: 'Cosmopolitan Communications: Cultural Diversity in a Globalized World', 'Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse', and 'Xenophobia and in-group solidarity in Iraq: A natural experiment on the impact of insecurity'. This paragraph is a critique devoted to works specifically on the silent revolution, and stresses the importance of safety and security as fundamental needs.

example. Moreover, especially with artificial intelligence on the rise, cyberterrorism can scale up the destructive impact of terrorism attacks (Van der Veer, 2019; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018). In addition, internet enables individuals to interact with anonymity, in a fast and efficient way across continents, to a nearly unlimited audience (UNODC, 2012). Secondly, the Netherlands got involved in foreign affairs and conflicts, with the most obvious example being the downing of the MH17 Boeing in Ukraine (Ministry of Public Affairs, 2018).

What is more, it is outstanding that, despite the fact that crime rates in the Netherlands have been declining for several years, people feelings of unsafety have not (Hansen, 2020). Research from the Central Bureau for Statistics (2020) reported that young people have a disproportionately strong sense of insecurity. Strong feelings of unsafety are more strongly expressed by 15-24 years old than 45-64 years old and above. 40% of youth aged 15 to 24 show a general sense of unsafety at times, compared to 23% of those 65 and older (SCP, 2018; CBS, 2020). Returning to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, it is established that safety and security are prominent needs, following physiological needs. The need of safety and security might be growing. Today's threats bring with it a great deal of uncertainty, and feeling of unsafety, that might especially affect younger cohorts being in their formative years (Sieben, Reeskens & Halman, 2019). However, what this exactly means for trust in the police remains unknown.

Education

Returning to Inglehart's research (1997), he noted decreasing levels of trust in several institutions when drawing on the WVS. He observed that trust in the state, civil service, police, church, education system and the media weakened in the United States, in the period of 1981 until 1990 (Inglehart, 1997; Healy and Côté, 2001). According to Inglehart, these patterns can partially be attributed to increased levels of educational achievements, leading to a change in values towards more personal autonomy and less subordination to authority (See fig. 2) (Inglehart, 1997; Healy & Côté, 2001). According to Inglehart (1977), the rapid growth in industrial productivity and the resultant economic affluence had a significant effect on the peoples' living conditions and lifestyles, as exemplified by two major processes (Hosch-Dayican, 2011). The first process is the cognitive mobilization. Inglehart (1977) states that citizens' political participation as of today is shaped by a higher educational levels and easier access to information. The higher educated have developed certain skills they would not have possessed otherwise, that make it easier for them to deal with new ideas and feel less

threatened by new and distant developments. There are informal communication patterns as well, meaning that people's informal social networks consist mainly of people that are on the same educational level, and that they derive information from those networks (1977). Hence, people's cognitive skills developed quickly due to an increase in personal resources including information and education skills. This shift improved people's skills to such a level that the gap once existing between the common citizens and political elites practically vanished. Studies demonstrated that the intergenerational value change, including cognitive mobilization has resulted in a sceptical public (Inglehart, 1999; Dalton, 1999; Hosch-Davican, 2011).

Figure 1

Variables on the system and individual level as presented in The Silent Revolution

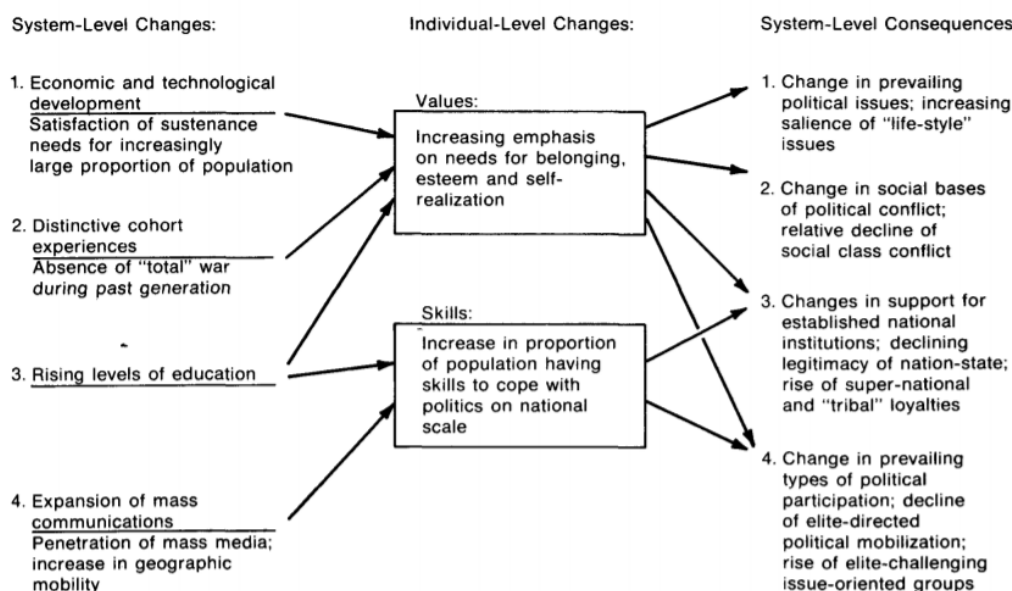


FIGURE 1-1. Overview: The Processes of Change Examined in This Book.

Note. From *The Silent Revolution: Changing values and political styles among Western public* (p.5) by R. Inglehart, 1977, Princeton University Press. Copyright 1977, Princeton University Pres.

Feldman and Newcomb (1969 as mentioned in Inglehart, 1977) reviewed research on the effect of college, and confirmed that higher education has a positive effect on the growth of political awareness and cognitive abilities. College makes students more liberal, less patriarchal, less dogmatic, and more actively engaged with political issues (Feldman and Newcomb, as mentioned in Inglehart, 1977). Furthermore, the education level of the Dutch population has strongly increased throughout the twentieth century. Successive birth cohorts

stay longer in education and attain a higher level of education than their predecessors.

Participation in education in youth and early adulthood determines the course of life; after the formative age years, the level of education will usually not change (Herweijer, 2010). Most studies report a positive effect of education on trust in institutions and the police (Feldman and Newcomb, 1969; Herweijer, 2010; Schaap, 2018; van der Meer & Hakhverdian, 2017; Anderson & Singer, 2008).

However, if we follow this rationale, that the youngest birth cohorts have completed, or are completing higher levels of education more often than older birth cohorts, education could also have a negative effect on trust. Staubli (2017) demonstrates that trust declines when education increases but does not examine why or how. However, it might be that the youngest cohorts that enjoyed a higher education, will have more postmaterial values, and therefore be more critical of police conduct. Several studies can support this assumption partially. Boateng, Lee and Abess (2016) discovered that individuals that are lower education had greater trust in their respective police agencies than those with a higher education, in an analysis including US and South Korean samples. Moreover, individuals that are higher educated tend to be more bothered when institutions lack moral quality than the lower educated (Van der Meer & Hakhverdian, 2017).

With years of education, a set of liberal moral values, such as tolerance and equality, grows (Van der Meer & Hakhverdian, 2017). For example, in contrast with the lower-educated, the higher educated are bound to evaluate more critically their country's regard for human rights (Van der Meer & Hakhverdian, 2017). As a result, the higher educated are more likely to have gained the skills to critically assess political institutions based on clear, objective standards such as performance and procedure rather than on media perceptions (Van der Meer & Hakhverdian, 2017). These liberal moral values might determine attitudes such as trust towards the police, because the literature discussed in the beginning suggested that evaluation of police performance plays a role in determining trust in the police. Furthermore, higher educated persons are more likely to accept and uphold fundamental democratic ideals and beliefs (Van der Meer & Hakhverdian, 2017). This leads to the next hypothesis:

H₃: Younger cohorts have less trust in the police than older cohorts, because they have attained a higher education than older cohorts. Education is expected to have a negative, mediative effect.

Decreasing authority

Another modernisation development that might affect especially the trust of today's youth in

the police is declining belief in authority, that goes hand in hand with processes of individualization and secularization. The cognitive mobilization was accompanied by the trend of individualization, which culminated in a change in citizens' value orientations, as demonstrated by a stronger emphasis on egalitarian freedom ideals and a decreased focus on institutional hierarchies (Hosch-Dayican, 2011). Individualization is a historical and social phenomenon in which independent personal decisions increasingly shape expectations, opinions, attitudes, and behaviour (Hosch-Dayican, 2011). This suggests that people's ideals are gradually turning toward self-actualization, emancipation, and independence. Simultaneously, people become less reliant of traditional institutions that represent authority and hierarchy (Hosch-Dayican, 2011).

The regulations of institutions, including the police conduct, are no longer automatically approved of. 'The discourse of modernity rejects the imposition of a substantive notion of good and right, as ordained by a God' (Wagner, 1994, p.8, as cited in Halman, 1995). Rather, people get to determine themselves what they deem good or wrong. They are more independent in their judgement, operating according to their own rationality, personal values, and desires (Hosch-Dayican, 2011). More and more citizens are developing a self-confident and assertive lifestyle, accompanied by high demands on their public surroundings (Van der Veer et al., 2013). The rise of postmaterialist values has altered citizens attitudes regarding democratic processes, resulting in a more demanding and critical public (Hosch-Dayican, 2011).

As political and moral authority were decollectivized and moved to the individual's responsibility, association membership has diminished, as has affiliation with confessional philosophies (Halman, 1995; Hosch-Dayican, 2011). To illustrate, over the last decades, church attendance declined, and people now comply to different norms. They deviate from traditional norms, resulting in different modern norms in which divorce, abortion and homosexuality are acceptable. Max Weber (as cited in Chua, 2016) wrote that a cultural shift occurred in society from a religion-oriented worldview towards a rational-legal view. This shift is visible in the recent history of legitimacy and trust within the police as well (Ringeling & Van Sluis, 2011).

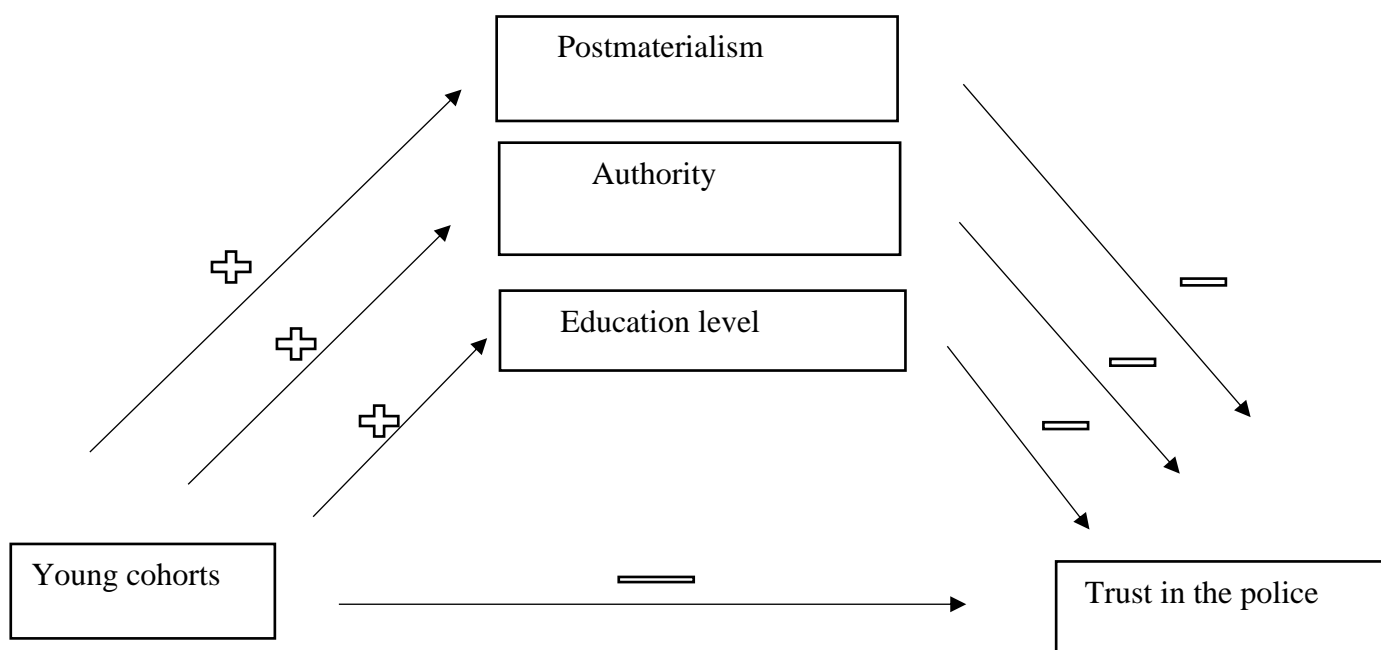
Until the 1960s, legitimacy and authority in the Netherlands were no important matter of debate, and trust was most of the time evidently present in relationships between citizens and the police (Ringeling & Van Sluis, 2011; Schaap, 2018). A legal-rational view prevailed in which the police derive their authority from their position in the political system. However, the legitimacy of the police got increasingly questioned from the 1960s on. The appeal to

legitimacy on the ground of authority became less acceptable. Obedience to the law was inadequate. Instead, the focus shifted towards social importance of police action. Dissatisfaction with the police was mainly about its instrumental conception of task, or the instrumental image of law-enforced police. Because of this conception, the police missed insights into societal changes and did not grow with the communities it served (Ringeling & Van Sluis, 2011). As previously mentioned, for trust, responsive to the needs of society is essential.

Additionally, in ‘The Silent Revolution’, Inglehart (1977) writes that he assumes that one part of the change in values is a decrease in legitimacy of hierarchical authority, religion, and patriotism, that causes trust in institutions to diminish. In ‘Modernization and Postmodernization’ (1997), he continues this line of argument and states that materialists put more confidence in hierarchical institutions - the police, armed forces, and church – than the postmaterialist. He refers to his central theory, that postmaterialists have experienced more insecurity and therefore desire strong institutions. The following hypothesis therefore is:

H₄: Younger cohorts have less trust in the police than older cohorts, because younger cohorts desire strong (hierarchical) authority less than older cohorts. Variables relating to authority are expected to have a negative, mediative effect.

Conceptual scheme (with hypothesized effects)



Methodology

In order to test the hypotheses aforementioned, a quantitative data-analysis by means of a multiple regression analysis, will be applied, building on secondary data. This cross-national data has been collected by the European Value Study, more specifically the survey wave of 2017, which is the most recent published data. The data is based on survey questions, that offers insight into the ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes, and opinions of European citizens. The survey questions serve to gather information about characteristics of the respondents, as well as about a wide range of values (EVS, n.d.).

Sampling of the EVS-2017

The fieldwork for The Netherlands started in Augustus 2017 and ended in February 2018. Important to note is that, traditionally, the EVS has been conducted as a probability-based face-to-face survey that takes about an hour to complete. However, these large-scale population survey methods have been challenged in recent years by declining response rates (Luijkx et al., 2021). For this reason, EVS decided to experiment with use of self-administrated mixed-modes for a couple of countries, including the Netherlands in the survey wave of 2017. A disadvantage of a self-administered mode is that it requires more effort on the part of the responder, so the questionnaire is shortened: a web-based survey will not take longer than 20 minutes (Luijkx et al., 2021).

The methodology of the EVS, as reported on the website, reports that random sampling ensured that the target population is completely covered (EVS, n.d.). The face-to-face survey used a stratified random sample of 1.500 respondents, drawn from the national population registration provide by the Central Bureau of Statics. Ultimately, 686 people took part in this face-to-face survey. The respondents for the Computer Assisted Web Interview (CAWI) survey were gathered via the Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social Sciences (LISS) online panel, overseen by CentERdata. 1722 respondents completed the CAWI-survey and the follow-up survey afterwards. Ultimately, the total number of Dutch respondents in the dataset makes up a number of 2404 (Luijkx et al., 2020).

Description of variables and their measurements

Dependent variable

Confidence in the police (ordinal). This variable is measured by asking the respondents in the questionnaire to rate the confidence they have in each of the institutions showed either at the screen or on paper.. For this analysis, the variable is recoded with the value order reversed, so a higher value indicates a higher level of trust: (1) ‘none at all’, (2)

'not very much', (3) 'quite a lot', (4): 'a great deal'. This makes the interpretation of results more intuitive.

Independent variables

Cohorts (ordinal). The variable of cohorts is based on a recoded variable in the EVS 2017 that calculated respondents' age, based on their year of birth. They are asked: "can you tell me your year of birth, please"? For the cohort-variable, the respondents are divided into cohorts with an interval of ten years:

(1) "18-28", (2) "29-39", (3) "40-50", (4) "51-61", (5) "62-72", (6) "73-83".

Postmaterialism (ordinal). The variable of postmaterialism is a recoded version of two questions in the dataset. These two questions ask: "People sometimes talk about what the aims of this country should be for the next ten years. On this card are listed some of the goals which different people would give top priority. Would you please say which one of these you, yourself, consider the most important?" The respondents have to choose the most important aim, out of the options: (1) maintain order in nation, (2) giving people more say in government decision, (3) fighting rising prices, or (4) protecting freedom of speech. The next question has the same options but asks the respondents to choose a second most important aim. These variables are merged into one, and a 4 item index is constructed by putting people into one of the 4 categories:

(1): materialist (2): materialist-mixed, (3): postmaterialist-mixed, (4): postmaterialist.

Education (ordinal). The questionnaire asked the respondents to indicate the highest educational level they attained on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED one-digit) scale. Respondents their answers ranged from primary until doctoral level. (0): Less than primary, (1): Primary (2): Lower secondary (3): Upper secondary (4): Post-secondary non tertiary (5): Short-cycle tertiary (6): Bachelor or equivalent (7): Master or equivalent..

Authority (ordinal). A possible decline in the belief in authority is measured by three variables. First, *if rising authority is good or bad*. The respondents are given a scenario: that two changes might take place in the near future in their life. They have to indicate whether they deem it a good, a bad thing, or if they do not mind. The scale is recoded to: (1): bad, (2): neutral, (3): good/

The second variable related to authority is *individualization*. One of the questions in the EVS questionnaire is: "please indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel

you have over the way your life turns out?’ Perceived freedom and control over life is an indicator of individualism⁵ (Veenhoven, 1999). Western people consider control very important. According to Ji, Peng & Nisbett (2000, p.944), ‘they often fail to distinguish between objectively controllable and uncontrollable events, tend to perceive more control than they actually have, and report mistakenly high levels of predictability of events.’

The third variable that measures declining authority is *attendance religious services*. The variable that measures attendance to religious services is used to measure (partial) religiosity. The question here is: ‘how often do you attend religious services’. In the process of recoding, the answer options of the original variable are reversed, so a higher value indicates a more frequent attendance. Thus, the response scale now goes from (1): never, to (7): more than once a week.

Control variables:

Gender (nominal). The respondents are asked to indicate if they are male or female. Male is coded as the reference category, and female receives the value of ‘1’.

Income (ordinal). The income-level of a respondent can be found in the dataset as well. The question that is posed is: ‘Here is a list of incomes and we would like to know in what group your household is, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in. Just give the letter of the group your household falls into, after taxes and other deductions’.

The EVS divided the income level into ten deciles, from low to high. However, there are 400 missing values (See Appendix: table 1g or 2). Therefore, for this study, mean substitution was implemented. Mean substitution replaces missing values of the income variable, with the mean of non-missing cases of income. Subsequently, another variable (*incomemis*) is created to account for the missing values.

Designcontrol (nominal). In the dataset of the European Value Study 2017, a mixed-mode is implemented. In addition to the typical face-to-face survey, several countries, including The Netherland, created a self-administered survey (with mail follow-up question in some situations). Consequently, there should be controlled for a method effect. Respondents that fill in the questionnaire via internet may have a different response behaviour than face-to-face survey. There is a variable that indicates whether the respondent was approached face-to-face or completed the survey via internet, and this is recoded into ‘*designcontrol*’, with 0

⁵ Individualism can be considered a resulting attitude of individualization.

indicating a face-to-face method and 1 referring to the matrix (internet) method. Thus, this variable is created to account for a possible effect of the matrixdesign.

Statistical tests.

As a starting point for this research, the Dutch respondents out of all other respondents are extracted. Subsequently, variables are recoded, and dummies are created. First, the frequencies are counted to prevent a large number of missing values (See frequencies in Appendix). The latter would be problematic as it affects the legitimacy of the inferences drawn from statistical tests. Moreover, a descriptive table is created, to have an overview of the characteristics of the variables in the dataset. Next, two graphical representations are created, to visualize the mean score of different cohorts their trust in the police, and cohorts their mean score of education (See descriptives in Appendix.). After this, the results of Pearson's correlations test are checked to measure the statistical association between variables (See correlations in Appendix).

To test for mediation, regression analysis has to be conducted. Several models are put into the analysis, and the coefficient, r-square and significance of the added variable(s) is checked.

Results

Regression analyses

Table 1a. Bivariate analysis

	Model 1		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
(Constant)			
Cohort (Ref:18-28)	2.676	.051	.000
Cohort 2: 29-39	.045	.067	.501
Cohort 3: 40-50	-.102	.066	.122
Cohort:4 51-61	-.034	.064	.592
Cohort 5: 62-72	-.051	.061	.404

Cohort 6:73-83	.012	.068	.862
R ²	.003		
Dependent variable: Trust Police			
* p < 0.05			
**p < 0.01			

The first independent variable in relation to trust in the police here is 'cohorts'. The unstandardized regression coefficient without considering other variables is positive for cohort 2 (29-39) and cohort 6 (73-83). The coefficient is negative for cohort 3(40-50), cohort 4 (51-61), and cohort 5 (62-72). This already contradicts the expectation that younger cohorts have a lower trust in the police, which is also visible in figure 1 (see Appendix). From this table we can derive that it is likely that there will be no mediation effects because the relation between the independent and dependent variable proves to be insignificant. Hence, in this model hypothesis 1 does not hold. The R-squared value is .003, indicating that the cohorts are not explaining much in the variation of trust in the police.

Table 1b. Model 1 + control variables

	Model 1		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
(Constant)	2.854	.068	.000
Cohort (Ref:18-28)			
Cohort: 29-39	-.026	.067	.700
Cohort: 40-50	-.149	.066	.024 *
Cohort: 51-61	-.068	.063	.281
Cohort: 62-72	-.080	.061	.189
Cohort :73-83	.005	.068	.940

Gender	.014	.033	.677
Income	.019	.007	.003 **
Incomemis	-.293	.045	.000 **
Designcontrol	-.174	.037	.000 **
<hr/>			
R ²	.036		
R ² change	.033		
<hr/>			
Dependent variable: Trust Police			
* p < 0.05			
**p < 0.01			

When the control variables are added, cohort 3 (40-50) turns out to be significant. This means that in this model, cohort 3 has a significant effect on trust in the police. R-squared increases with 0.033, meaning that these variables explain the variance in the dependent variable of trust in the police better than cohorts.

Table 2a. Multiple regression with postmaterialist index

	Model 1		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
(Constant)			
	2.839	.062	.000
Cohort (Ref:18-28)			
Cohort: 29-39	.018	.064	.779
Cohort: 40-50	-.137	.063	.029*
Cohort: 51-61	-.093	.061	.125
Cohort: 62-72	-.095	.059	.105
Cohort :73-83	-.050	.065	.447
Matmixed	-.037	.050	.456
Postmixed	.030	.050	.550
Postmater	-.003	.055	.961

R² 0.006

Dependent variable: Trust Police

* p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

Table 2b. Model 2 + control variables

	Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
(Constant)	2.948	.075	.000
Cohort (Ref:18-28)			
Cohort: 29-39	-.041	.064	.522
Cohort: 40-50	-.178	.063	.005 **
Cohort: 51-61	-.120	.061	.049 *
Cohort: 62-72	-.110	.059	.061
Cohort :73-83	-.050	.065	.443
Matmixed	-.067	.049	.178
Postmixed	-.013	.050	.791
Postmater	-.072	.055	.196
Gender	-.001	.032	.964
Income	.017	.006	.008**
Incomemis	-.216	.044	.000**
Designcontrol	-.155	.036	.000**
R ²	.029		
R ² change	.023		

Dependent variable: Trust Police

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

These results again show that the control variables of income and design control are significant at the alpha level of 0.01 in explaining trust in the police. Remarkably, cohort 3 and cohort 4 are both significant. The R-squared increased with .023, so the control variables explain more in the variance of trust in the police, than solely the postmaterialism categories do. However, postmaterialism seems to have no significant effect on the relationship between cohorts and trust in the police. For this reason, we refute hypothesis 2. R-square is also rather low.

Table 3a. Multiple regression with education

	Model 3		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
(Constant)			
Cohort (Ref:18-28)	2.587	.062	.000
Cohort: 29-39	.015	.066	.820
Cohort: 40-50	-.095	.065	.146
Cohort: 51-61	-.026	.063	.684
Cohort: 62-72	-.032	.061	.597
Cohort :73-83	.049	.069	.472
Education	.043	.008	.000**
R ²	0.015		

Dependent variable: Trust Police

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

The second variable that was expected to explain the relation between cohorts and trust in the police is education. Education is significant at the alpha level of .01. So far, the results established that cohorts have no significant relation with trust in the police. In this table we observe something else: that education has a positive and significant effect on trust in the police. Moreover, R-squared is higher compared to the previous variables (without controls), indicating that education explains a part of the variance in the dependent variable.

Table 3b. Model 3 + control variables

	Model 3		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
(Constant)	2.762	.072	.000
Cohort (Ref:18-28)			
Cohort: 29-39	-.027	.066	.678
Cohort: 40-50	-.125	.065	.055
Cohort: 51-61	-.041	.063	.520
Cohort: 62-72	-.056	.061	.364
Cohort :73-83	.030	.068	.662
Education	.033	.008	.000**
Gender	.006	.033	.851
Income	.009	.007	.180
Incomemis	-.242	.045	.000**
Designcontrol	-.180	.037	.000**

R ²	0.039
R ² change	0.015
Dependent variable: Trust Police	
* p < 0.05	
**p < 0.01	

This model confirms the significant effect of education on trust in the police. Income's p-value increased, but incomemis is still significant, and designcontrol as well. The R-squared value demonstrates a change 0.015, compared to the table 3a. These results are however not in line with hypothesis 3 which expected a negative coefficient and a significant mediation. For this reason, there is no support for hypothesis 3.

Table 4a. Multiple regression with authority variables

Model 4			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>P</i>
(Constant)			
	2.444	.105	.000
Cohort (Ref:18-28)			
Cohort: 29-39	.034	.061	.581
Cohort: 40-50	-.077	.061	.206
Cohort: 51-61	-.057	.059	.327
Cohort: 62-72	-.089	.057	.115
Cohort :73-83	-.058	.063	.356
Risingauthority	.039	.032	.223
Individualization	.037	.009	.000 **
Religiousattendance	.023	.008	.005 **

R ²	.014
----------------	------

Dependent variable: Trust Police

* p < 0.05

**p < 0.01

In this table, the results demonstrate that ‘risingauthority’, which measures whether respondent consider rising authority desirable, has a regression coefficient of .039. This value is positive, and follows the rationale that, if significant, the respondents that consider rising authority desirable, have a higher trust in the police. However, this result is not significant and therefore this variable does not contribute to explaining the level of trust in the police.

The second variable that is linked to authority, ‘individualization’, is significant at the alpha level of 0.01, but diverges from the expectation that individualization negatively affects trust in the police. The third variable, ‘attendance to religious services’ has regression coefficient of .023 and is significant at the same alpha-level. This confirms the assumption that increasing attendance to religious services, leads a higher trust in the police.

Furthermore, at first glaze we observe that income is close, but not significant at the alpha level of 0.05. Yet, when the missing values are added, this variable shows significance at the alpha level of 0.01. This means that the level of income also contributes to explaining trust in the police.

Table 4b. Multiple regression with authority variables + control variables

Model 4			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
(Constant)	2.543	.113	.000
Cohort (Ref:18-28)			
Cohort: 29-39	-.009	.062	.883
Cohort: 40-50	-.111	.062	.072
Cohort: 51-61	-.080	.059	.176
Cohort: 62-72	-.103	.057	.073
Cohort :73-83	-.058	.063	.357
Risingauthority	.033	.032	.300
Individualization	.031	.009	.001**
Religiousattendance	.023	.008	.006**
Gender	.025	.031	.420
Newincome	.012	.006	.047 *
Incomemis	-.133	.043	.002**
Designcontrol	-.122	.034	.000**
R ²	.026		
R ² change	.012		
Dependent variable: Trust Police			
* p < 0.05			
**p <0.01			

This model shows that individualization and religious attendance are still significant, even after the control variables are put into the model. The control variables are here significant as well and have been consistently significant in each model. Yet, there is no support for hypothesis 4; it was established earlier in hypothesis 1 that younger cohort do not

express less trust than older cohorts. Moreover, the variables related to authority: rising authority and individualization, even though significant, do not have negative effect. The variable of religious service attendance reveals a negative effect when the values are reversed (See Appendix: other tables), but does not mediate. Hence, the final hypothesis is refuted.

In the table below, there is an encompassing view of the role of the different variables. Model 1 consist of only the main independent variable. For model 2 and 3, the other expected 'third' (independent) variables were added.

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
(Constant)								
Cohort (Ref:18-28)	2.854	.068	2.948	.075	2.762	.072	2.543	0.113
Cohort: 29-39	-.026	.067	-.041	.064	-.027	.066	-.009	.062
Cohort: 40-50	-.149	.066	-.178**	.063	-.125	.065	-.111	.062
Cohort: 51-61	-.068	.063	-.120*	.061	-.041	.063	-.080	.059
Cohort: 62-72	-.080	.061	-.110	.059	-.056	.061	-.103	.057
Cohort :73-83	.005	.068	-.050	.065	.030	.068	-.058	.063
Matmixed	-	-	-.067	.049	-	-	-	-
Postmixed	-	-	-.013	.050	-	-	-	-
Postmater	-	-	-.072	.055	-	-	-	-
Education	-	-	-	-	.033**	.008	-	-
Risingauthority	-	-	-	-	-	-	.033	.032
Individualization	-	-	-	-	-	-	.031**	.009
Religiousattendance	-	-	-	-	-	-	.023**	.008
Gender	.014	.033	-.001	.032	.006	.033	.025	.031
Newincome	.019	.007	.017**	.006	.009	.007	.012	.006
Incomemis	-.293	.045	-.216**	.044	-.242	.045**	-.133**	.043
Designcontrol	-.174	.037	-.155**	.036	-.180	.037**	-.122**	.034
R ²	.036		.029		.039		.026	

Dependent variable: trust in the police

*p <.05 ** p <.01,

Discussion

The research question throughout this study was: *Do younger cohorts express lower levels of trust towards the police, compared to older cohorts, and what mechanisms can explain this?* After close examination by means of regression analyses, we come to the conclusion that differences between cohorts have no significant effect on trust in the police. Inglehart theorized that changes towards postmaterialist values occur through generational replacement, but the data of the EVS 2017 does not confirm a generational change towards postmaterialism value-pattern at all (see appendix). These sets of analyses reject the hypotheses suggesting a mediating effect of postmaterialism, education, authority, individualization, religiosity. In contrast, education, religious attendance and individualization - and income and the matrix design as control variables - seem to have a direct/separate relationship to trust in the police. Moreover, the results showed that the strength of the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable is low, so all the variables tested, collectively, do not explain much of the variance in the dependent variable 'trust in the police'.

An implication of this study is that the results challenge existing theories on postmaterialism. The findings raise the question whether there is a new cultural shift occurring, affecting trust in institutions such as the police as well. The results might point at a more recent cultural shift occurring, called 'the cultural backlash' (Norris & Inglehart, 2019). According to Norris & Inglehart (2019), the cultural transformation, over the last decades, is now reaching a 'tipping point'. Post-industrial countries arrived at the point where predominant views are replaced by socially-liberal norms. Consequently, the conservative groups in society have come to feel alienated in their own societies, because they lost their cultural hegemony (Norris & Inglehart, 2019). Furthermore, the economic inequality gap appears to increase (Inglehart & Norris, 2019). Those at the top are accumulating more and more wealth, whereas the majority of people have experienced a declining income and unstable job security, next to being confronted with large incoming immigrants flows.

Another possibility that might explain some of the results, is that modernization theories do not hold for trust in the police as a separate institution. As mentioned in the beginning of theoretical framework, the police have a special position in society (Van der

Veer et al., 2013; Schaap, 2018; Jackson & Gau, 2016). The police can be considered a distinct institution, since it has a different, maybe more direct relationship with citizens than political parties, the army, or the judiciary (Rothstein & Stolle, 2008). Future research could distinguish several institutions and compare them.

It is plausible that the generalisability of results and inferences are subject to certain limitations. First of all, certain limitations of the dataset impacted this study, foremost the age of the population that is measured by the EVS. Persons in the age from 18 to 82 are included, but this leaves out the cohort older than 82, whom might be extra materialist as t this group's formative years were during the Second World War (Inglehart, 1977). This link would have been of great interest. An entire chapter of Schaap's (2018) book concentrates on the ways the Second World War damaged citizens' trust in the police.

Secondly, a large body of literature described the difference between legitimacy, trust, and confidence (Luhmann, 1988; Schaap, 2018; Jackson & Bradford 2010; Cao, 2015; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Jackson & Gau, 2016) but the data of the EVS does not make this distinction, so trust in the police is measured by just one only question: how much confidence do you have in the police? This might affect the validity of this study. As discussed in the beginning of the theoretical framework, trust is a complex concept. On the one hand, trust has certain personal features, and refers to an individual's belief that police officers will act in accordance with their roles and responsibilities, and satisfy the individual's expectations (Bradford & Jackson, 2010). On the other hand, trust relies on the rather abstract assessment of performance of the police as an institution, and negative results such as corruption or scandals negatively affect trust in the police (Van der Meer & Hakverdian; Bradford & Jackson, 2010). A further study with more focus on these dimensions of trust is therefore suggested.

Thirdly, the data stems from cross-sectional research from 2017. Despite the EVS being a representative repeated research programme, it cannot easily capture changes over a shorter period of time. Another form of longitudinal research is necessary to research robust (non)- associations between generational value change and attitudes of trust towards the police in the Netherlands. Up to today, longitudinal research on trust in the police in the Netherlands is rare. Even more important is to mention that this study relied on data that was collected in 2017-2018, which is almost three years ago. A new wave will be published in 2026. Hence, in future investigations, it might be possible to use more recent data.

Next to the suggestion just highlighted, another recommendation for further research is to examine the effects of other variables that might be of interest when looking at generational differences within trust in the police. There are variables that the EVS dataset does not contain, even though they might have been of interest. For example, the ways in which (young) people rate police performance and effectiveness is widely researched, as well as the influence of social media on perceptions of the police (Van Kapel et al., 2018). These studies however do not concentrate on differences between cohorts. Future research could examine the effect of social media perceptions, since the youngest generations grow up in a digital age. Furthermore, the impact of COVID-19 restrictions and the harsh performance of the police, on people's perception of the police would be a fruitful area for further work. In particular for the youngest cohorts that are in their formative years. As alluded to in the introduction, it is important to keep a close eye on changing attitudes towards the police, especially in times of crisis.

On a more practical note, it would be interesting to research whether education can increase a positive effect on trust in the police in practice. If that is the case, schools could work together with police, since literature showed that youth have more contact with the police compared to children and adults and suggested that encounters with the police also shape attitudes towards the police (OJJDP, 2018; Davis, Whyde & Langton, 2018).

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Appendix

Frequencies

Table 1a. Trust police

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	1 a great deal	245	10,2
	2 quite a lot	1481	61,6
	3 not very much	563	23,4
	4 none at all	66	2,7
	Total	2355	98,0
Missing	-2 no answer	5	,2
	-1 dont know	44	1,8
	Total	49	2,0
Total		2404	100,0

Table 1b. Cohort

V226 year of birth respondent
(Q64)

N	Valid	2404
	Missing	0

Table 1c. Education

v243_ISCED_1 educational level
respondent: ISCED-code one digit
(Q81)

N	Valid	2369
	Missing	35

Table 1d. Gender

v225 sex respondent (Q63)

N	Valid	2404
	Missing	0

Table 1e. Religious service attendance

v54 how often attend religious services

(Q15)

N	Valid	2388
	Missing	16

Table 1f. Authority

v114 good/bad: greater respect

for authority (Q37B)

N	Valid	2286
	Missing	118

Table 1g. Incomev261 households total net
income (Q98) (standardized)

N	Valid	2004
	Missing	400

Table 1h. Newincome

Newincome (recoded variable)

N	Valid	2004
	Missing	400

Table 1i: Individualismv38 how much control
over your life (Q9)

N	Valid	2373
	Missing	31

Descriptives

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Trust in the police	2399	0.00	4.00	2.7391	.82006
Cohort	2404	1.00	6.00	3.7221	1.56459
Education	2389	.00	8.00	4.0678	2.13892
Rising authority	2286	1.00	3.00	1.9374	.47339
Individualization	2374	0.00	10.00	7.0333	1.78305
Religious attendance	2388	1.00	7.00	2.3677	1.88385
Gender	2404	0.00	0.00	.5341	.49894
Income	2004	1.00	10	5.74	2.820
Designcontrol	2404	0.00	1.00	.7146	.45168

Figure 1. Graphical representation of the mean-score per cohort for trust in the police

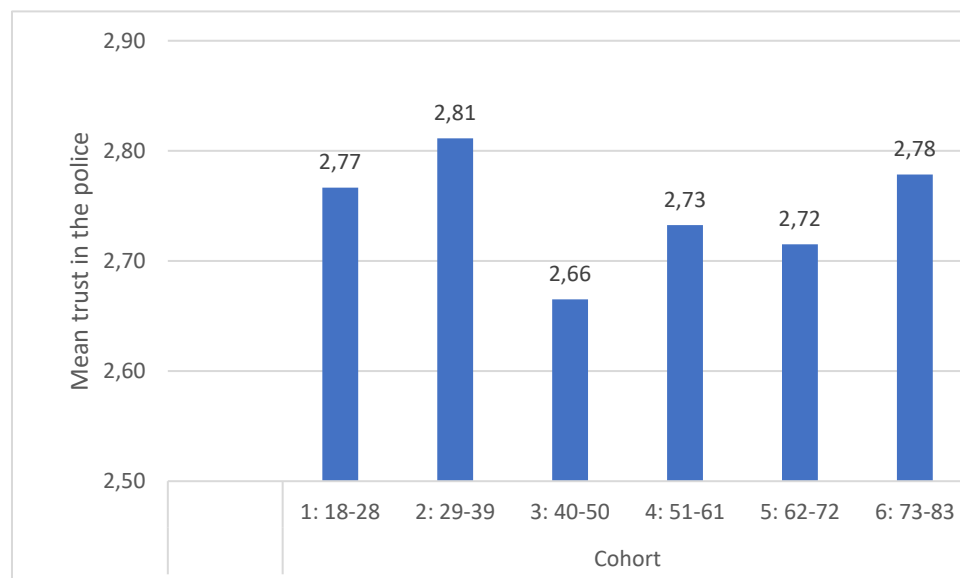
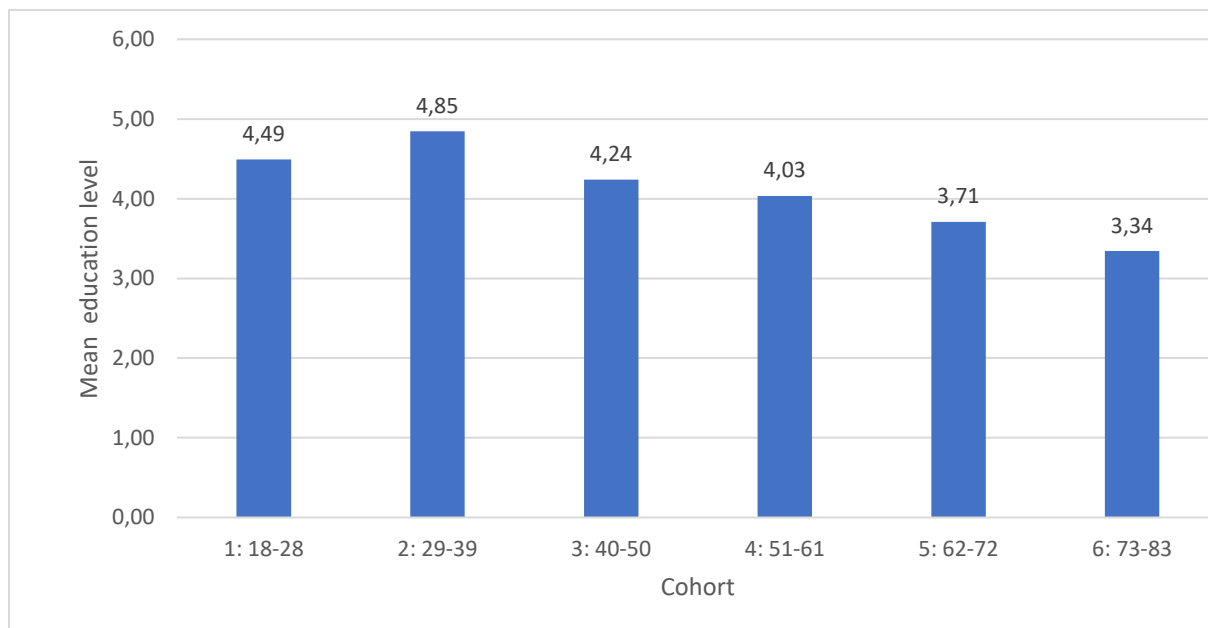


Figure 2. Graphical representation of the mean-score per cohort for education level



Correlations

Table 1

		Education	
Pearson Correlation	Postmat	Correlation	.178**
		Coefficient	
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
		N	2389

** P < 0.01 level

There is positive, significant correlation between education and the postmaterialism index. Regarding the strength of this correlation, there is a low degree of correlation, because the coefficient is .178.

Table 2

		Postmat	
Pearson Correlation	Cohort	Correlation	-.030
		Coefficient	
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.142
		N	2321

In this table, we observe a negative correlation coefficient between cohort and postmaterialism. It is however not insignificant.

Table 3

		Postmat	Rising authority	Religiousattendance	Individualization
Pearson Correlation	Postmat	1	.007	.077**	-.107**
			.726	.000	.000
		2321	2234	2314	2306

** P < 0.01 level

In order to examine the correlation between postmaterialism index with variables that are connected to authority, these variables are put into a correlations table with Pearson correlation coefficients. Firstly, as visible here, there is a very small coefficient for the correlation between postmaterialism and rising authority (.007).

Secondly, there is a positive, significant correlation (.077) between postmaterialism and religious attendance. The coefficient is however smaller than 0.1 and is therefore considered very low.

Thirdly, the row of postmaterialism and individualization demonstrate a negative and significant correlation (-.107). This coefficient is very low as well.

Other tables

Table 1. Regression with religious attendance reversed (original v54)

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>P</i>
(Constant)	2.941	.082	.000
Cohort (Ref:18-28)			
Cohort: 29-39	-.009	.062	.883
Cohort: 40-50	-.111	.062	.072
Cohort: 51-61	-.080	.059	.176
Cohort: 62-72	-.103	.057	.073
Cohort :73-83	-.058	.063	.357
Risingauthority	.033	.032	.300
Individualization	-.023	.008	.006**
ReligiousattendanceRV	.031	.009	.001**
Gender	.025	.031	.420
Income	.012	.006	.047*
Incomemis	-.133	.043	.002**
Designcontrol	-.122	.034	.000**
R²	.026		

Dependent variable: Trust Police

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

