



CENTER FOR
ADVANCED
STUDY IN THE
BEHAVIORAL
SCIENCES

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IS LEGITIMACY IN PERIL?

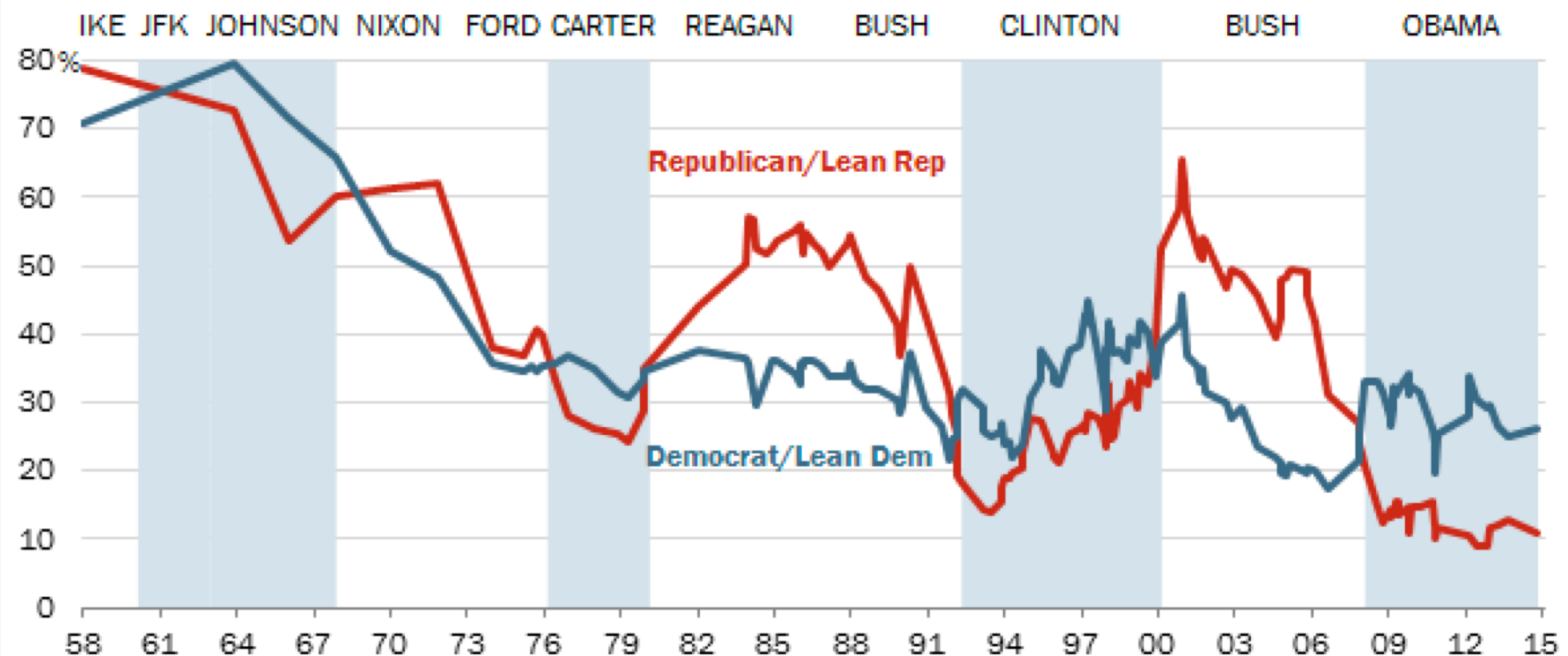






Trust in government by party: 1958-2015

Trust federal government to do what is right just about always/most of the time ...

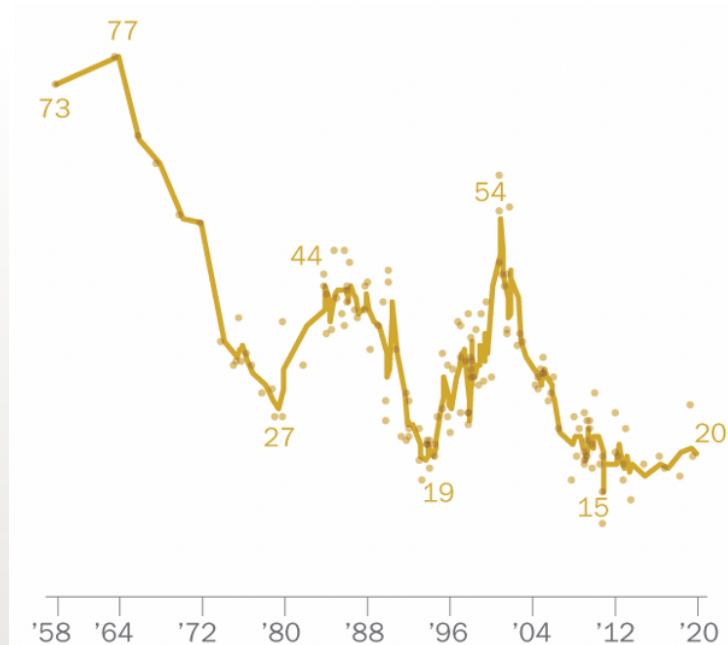


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q15. Trend sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN Polls. From 1976-2014 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average.

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Public trust in federal government near historic lows for more than a decade

% who say they trust the federal government to do what is right just about always/most of the time



Note: From 1976-2020 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020.

Trend sources: Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel (2020), Pew Research Center phone surveys (2019 and earlier), National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN polls.

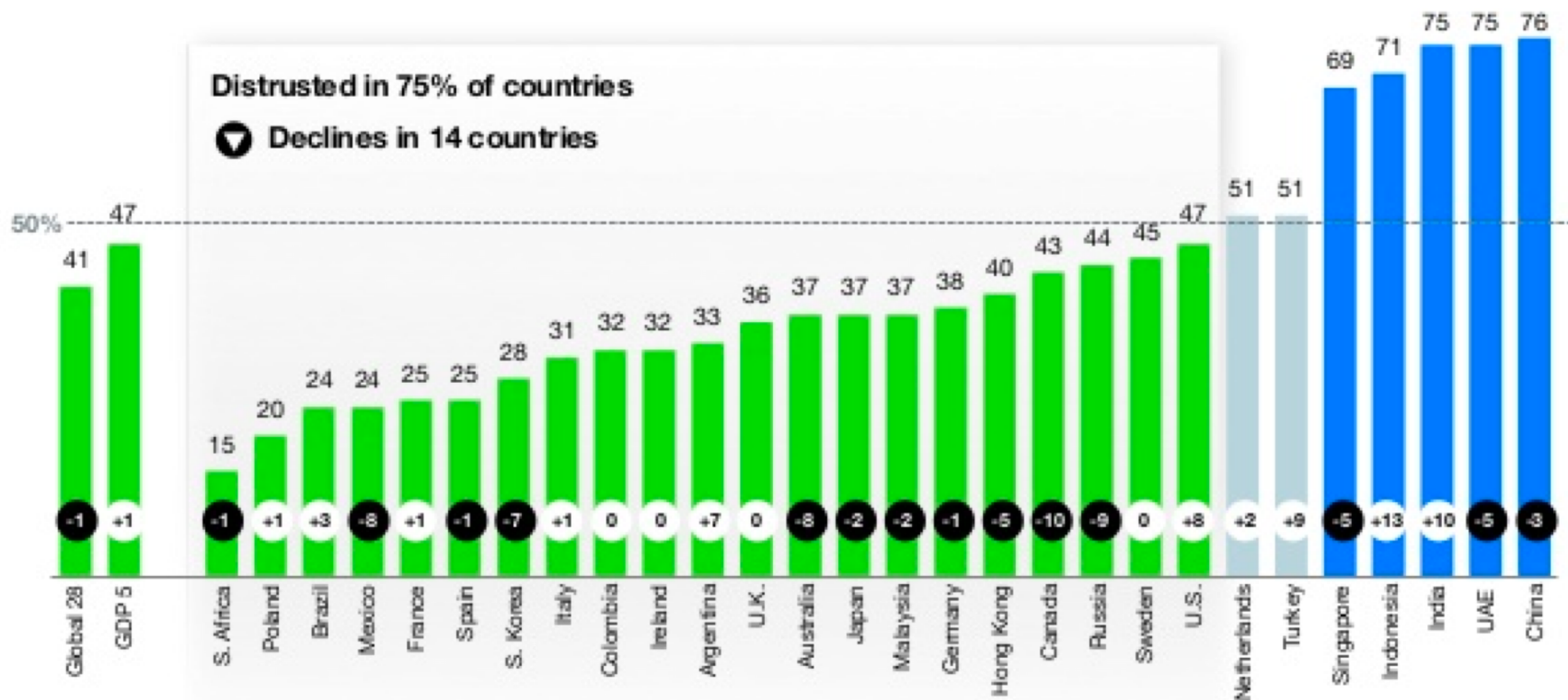
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Trust in Government Further Evaporates

Percent trust in government, and change from 2016 to 2017

■ Distrust ■ Neutral ■ Trust

● - ● + Y-to-Y Change

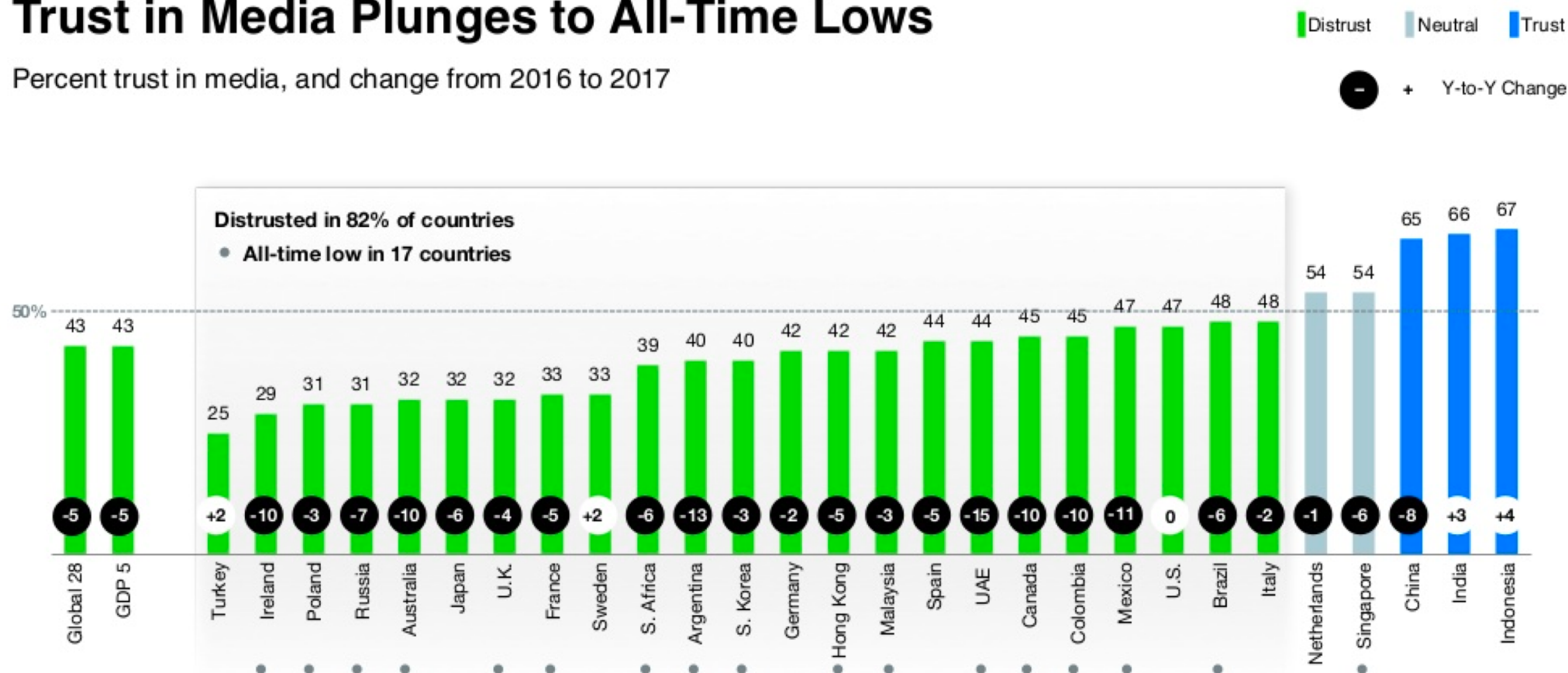


Source: 2017 Edelman Trust Barometer Q11-620. [TRACKING] [GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL] Below is a list of institutions. For each one, please indicate how much you trust that institution to do what is right using a nine-point scale where one means that you "do not trust them at all" and nine means that you "trust them a great deal." (Top 4 Box, Trust) General Population, 28-country global total.

GDP 5 = U.S., China, Japan, Germany, U.K.

Trust in Media Plunges to All-Time Lows

Percent trust in media, and change from 2016 to 2017



Source: 2017 Edelman Trust Barometer Q11-620. [TRACKING] [MEDIA IN GENERAL] Below is a list of institutions. For each one, please indicate how much you trust that institution to do what is right using a nine-point scale where one means that you "do not trust them at all" and nine means that you "trust them a great deal." (Top 4 Box, Trust) General Population, 28-country global total.

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And important collaborations with Audrey Sacks and Tom Tyler

VIRTUOUS CIRCLE OF GOVERNANCE

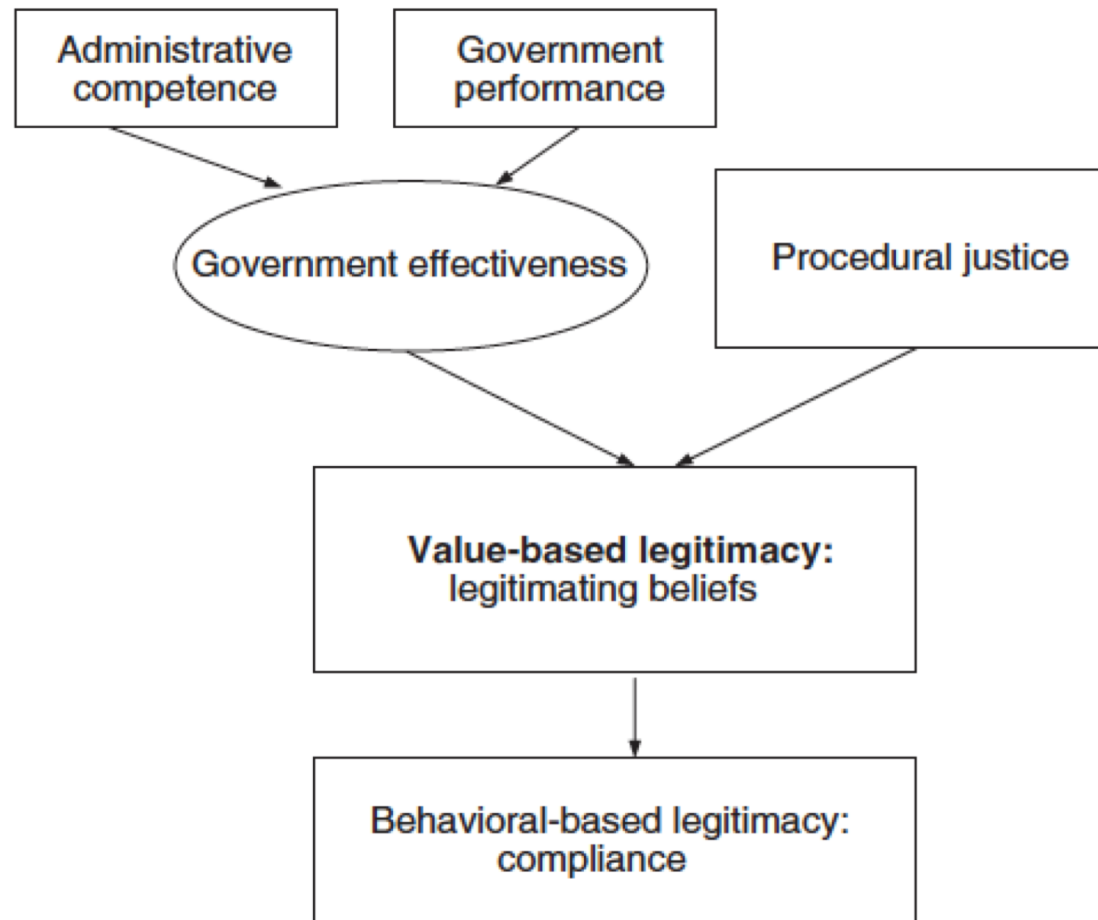


Figure 1 An illustration of our theoretical framework. We model legitimacy as a sense of obligation or willingness to obey authorities (value-based legitimacy) that then translates into actual compliance with governmental regulations and laws (behavioral-based legitimacy).

QUESTIONS

- What creates the circle?
- What breaks the circle? (or prevents it being created in first place)
- How do we build or reestablish the virtuous circle

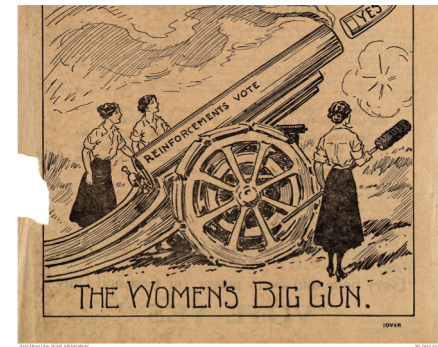
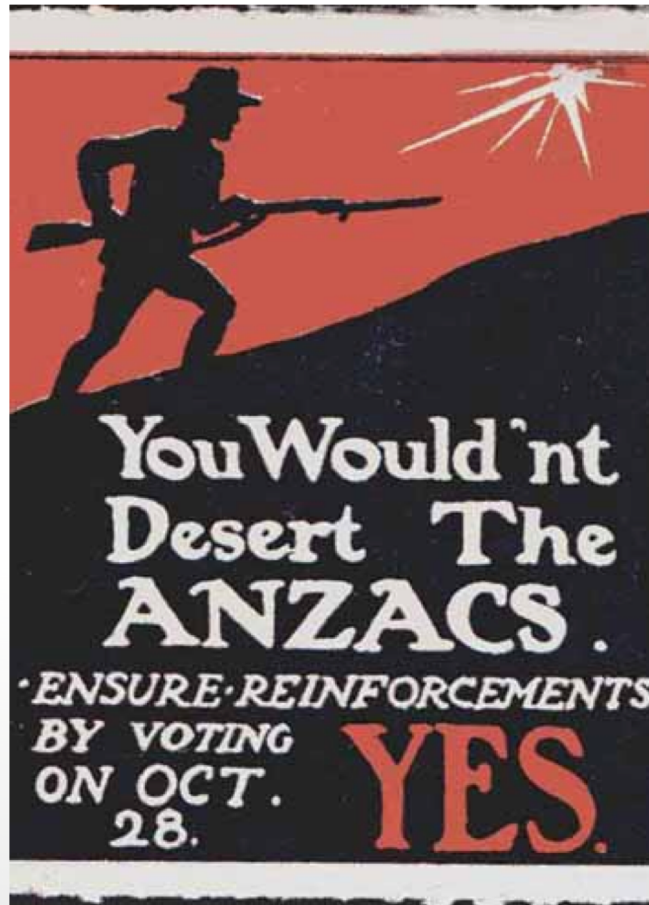
WHAT MY WORK SUGGESTS

BELIEFS AND BEHAVIOR: KEY CONCEPTS

- Quasi-voluntary compliance
- Contingent consent
- Trustworthy government
- Leadership
- Legitimizing beliefs
- Community of fate
- Moral political economy

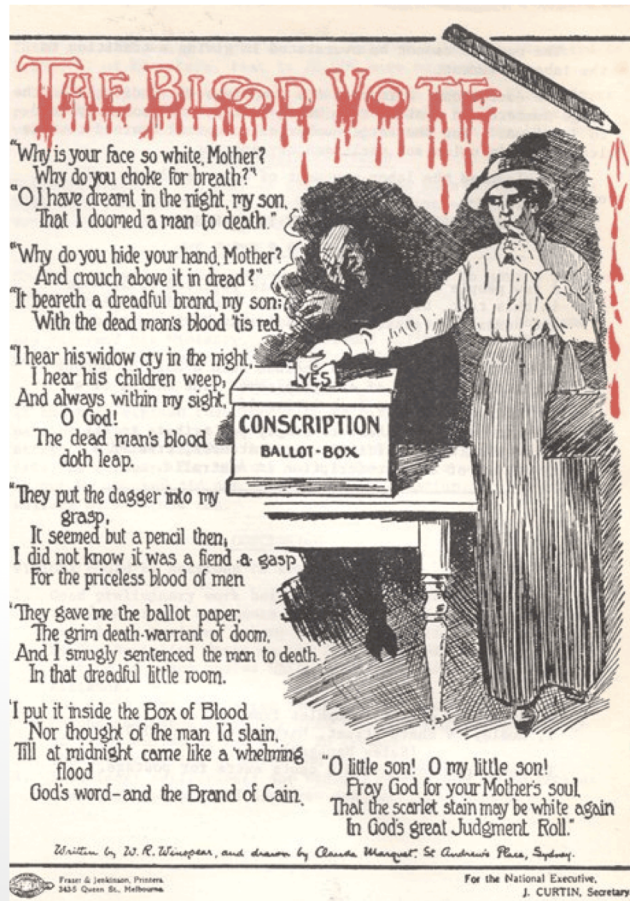
PRO CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN IN WWI AUSTRALIA

APPEALS TO WOMEN &
NATIONALISM



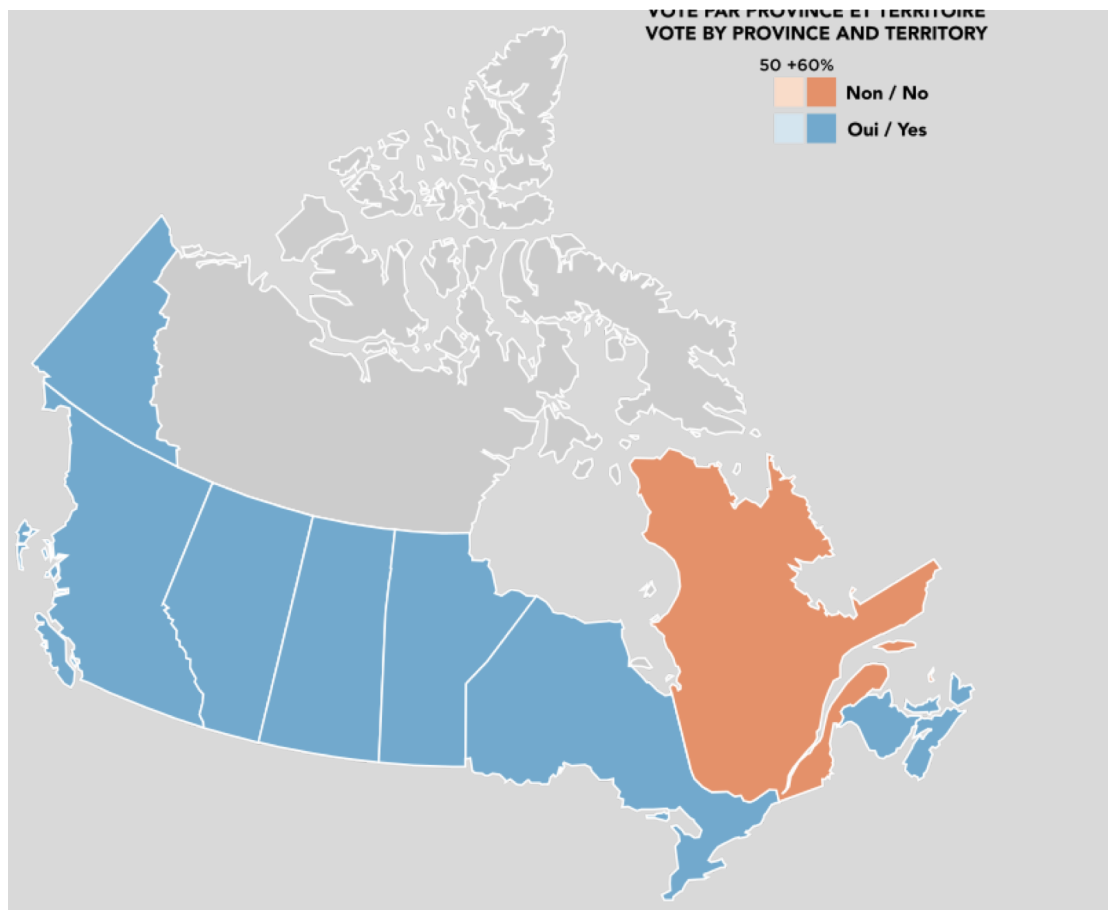
AUSTRALIAN ANTI- CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

A CLASS VOTE



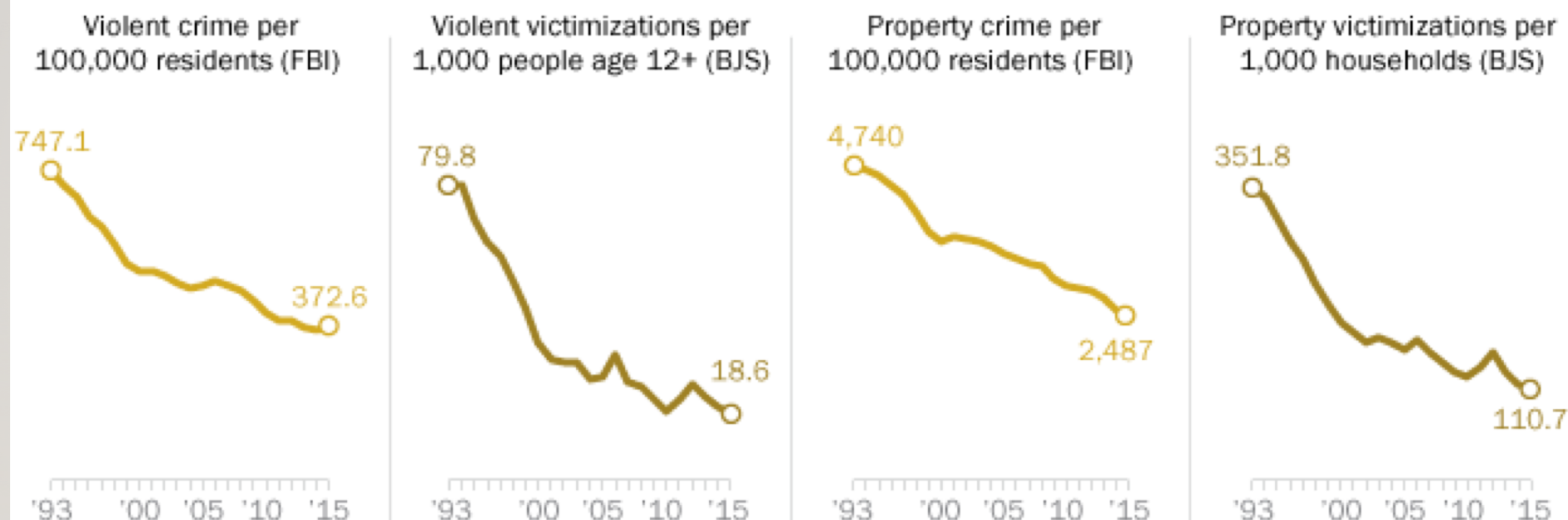
CANADIAN CONSCRIPTION VOTE, 1943

LANGUAGE/RELIGIOUS
SPLIT



Crime rates have fallen since the early 1990s

Trends in violent crime and property crime, 1993-2015



Note: FBI figures include reported crimes only. BJS figures include unreported and reported crimes. 2006 BJS estimates are not comparable with other years due to methodological changes.

Source: FBI, Bureau of Justice Statistics

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Public perception of crime rate at odds with reality

% saying there is more crime in the U.S. than a year ago



Violent crimes per 1,000 persons ages 12 and older



Note: 2006 BJS estimates are not comparable with those in other years.

Source: Gallup, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

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1. Trust of government the result of an interaction between citizens and governments about something particular
2. Government trustworthiness often multi-dimensional—can be trustworthy in some regards and not others
3. Citizen perceptions affected by other things than reality
4. **Behavioral measures better than surveys**

TRUST OF GOVERNMENT

- Depends on **government behavior**. Is it **TRUSTWORTHY**? That is are institutional and accountability arrangements in place that assure
 - government delivering what it promises and does so competently
 - government inhibiting free riding
 - government fair, not discriminatory. Is it treating folks the same or differently?
- Depends as well on **citizen perception**

WHAT CHANGES CITIZEN PERCEPTIONS?

- Beliefs about how the world works
- Beliefs about what government should do—the moral economy (Thatcher/Regan shift). Ideology and values—and they change
- Often disconnected from what's actually happening
 - E.g. law and order

IMPORTANT NUANCES

- No one/no government trustworthy to everyone on every dimension
- Distinction between government and politicians
 - A general decline in popularity of politicians both in general and as an honorable pursuit
- Citizens generally lack historical memory

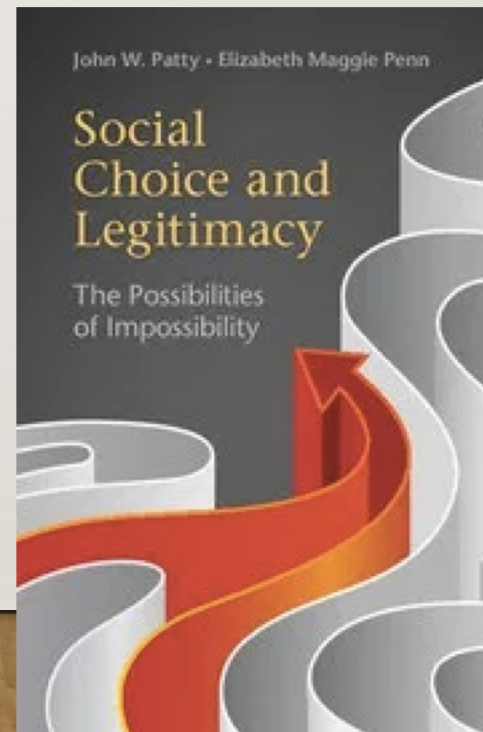
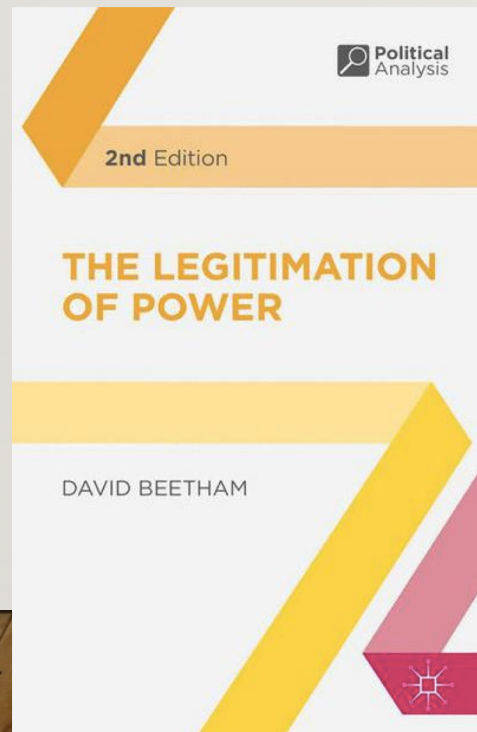
ESTABLISHING LEGITIMACY



Max Weber



Fritz Scharpf



VIRTUOUS CIRCLE OF GOVERNANCE

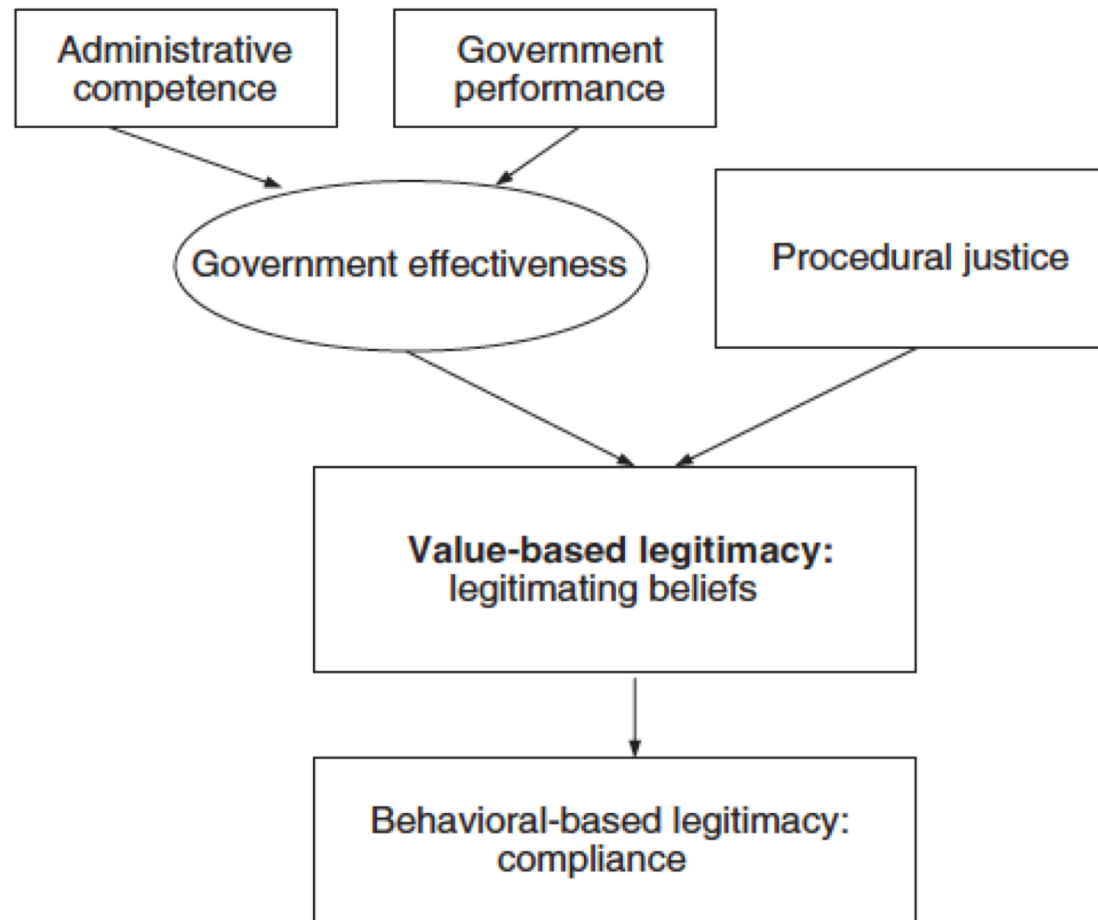


Figure 1 An illustration of our theoretical framework. We model legitimacy as a sense of obligation or willingness to obey authorities (value-based legitimacy) that then translates into actual compliance with governmental regulations and laws (behavioral-based legitimacy).

Changes in Accepting Gov't Right to Make People Pay Taxes

0 0.1 0.2 0.3 0.4 0.5

Overall Perceptions of Gov't

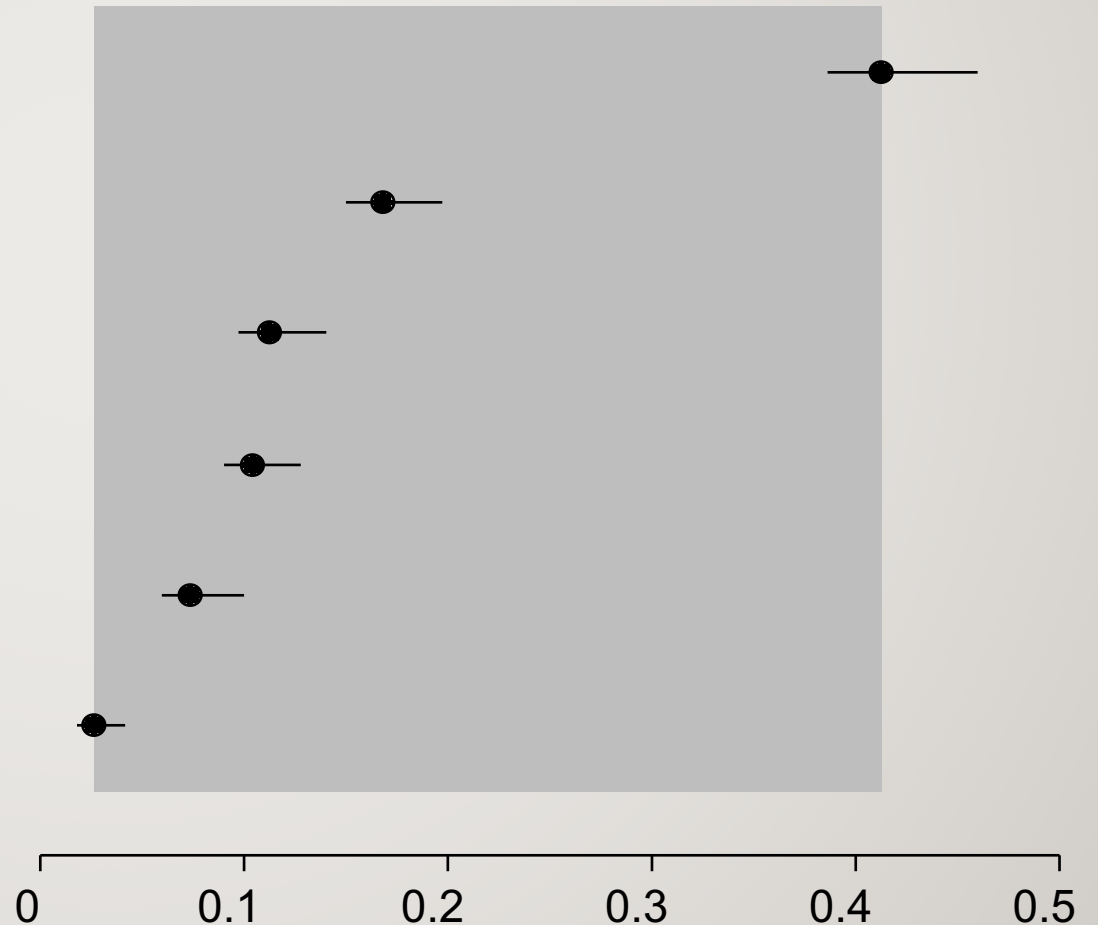
Gov't Meeting Fiscal Contract

Gov't Detection and Enforcement

Fairness Gov't Procedures

Gov't Honesty

Food Security



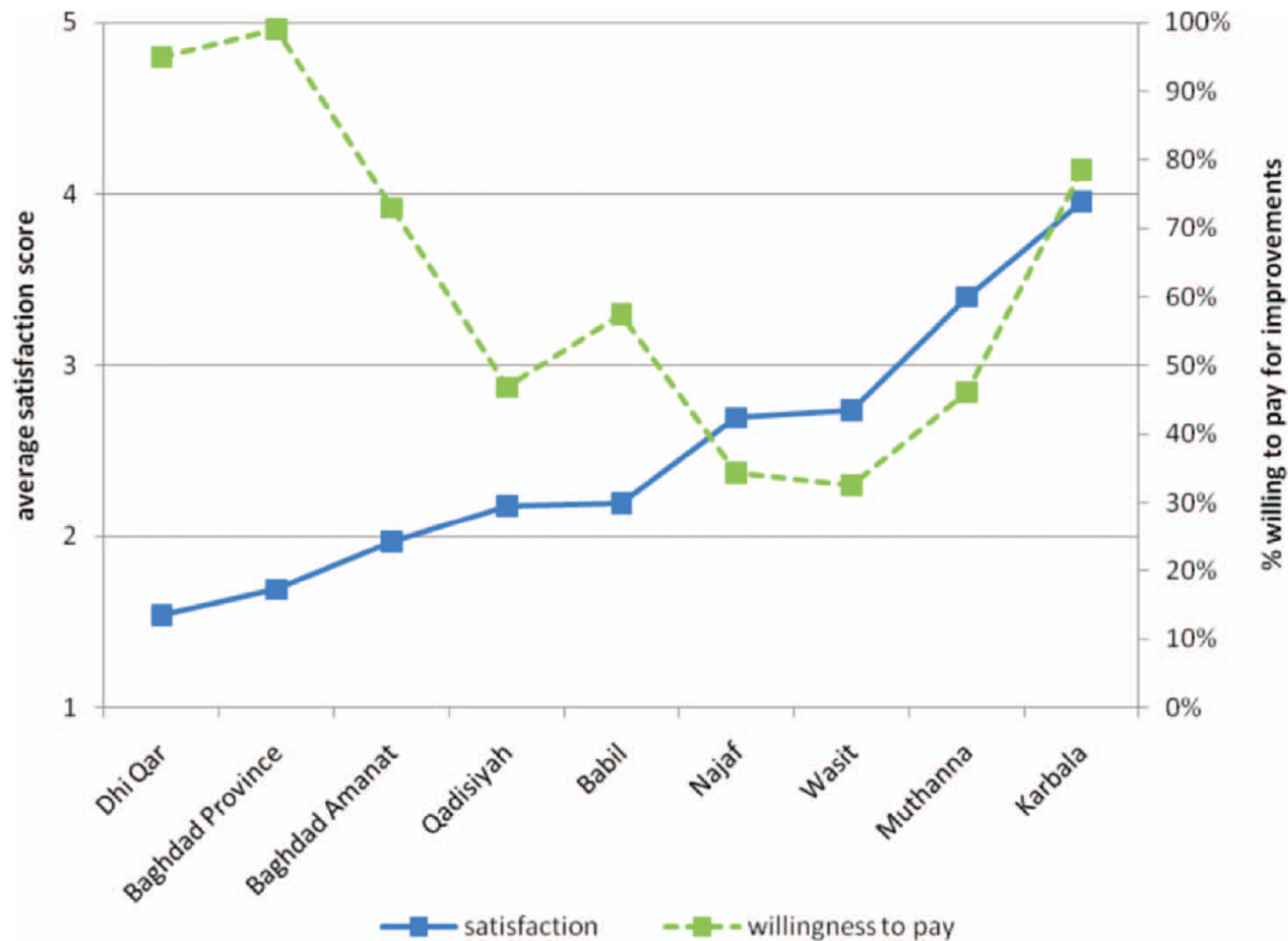


Figure 2: Satisfaction with continuity of water services and willingness to pay for improvements

Note: 1 = very unsatisfied, 2 = unsatisfied, 3 = somewhat satisfied, 4 = satisfied, 5 = very satisfied.

A LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT

- Appeals to widely accepted justifications for selection and maintenance of government
- Upholds values around which there is considerable consensus
- May or may not be a trustworthy government, e.g. theocracy, autocracy. But I suspect a trustworthy government a condition for a legitimate democratic government
- Needs and feeds a **MORAL POLITICAL ECONOMY**: the reciprocal obligations among citizens, governments, firms, workers, NGOs, religious institutions, etc.

COMPLIANCE AS AN INDICATOR

1. If an individual believes government is untrustworthy and illegitimate, she will comply only if coerced.
2. If an individual believes government is trustworthy, she will comply if she believes government will ensure others comply.
3. If an individual believes government is trustworthy and legitimate, she will comply without coercion and without assurance of others complying.

(But how to tell when compliance is for one reason or another?)

CONCLUSION

- Trustworthiness of government contingent on
 - Amount, quality, and fairness of goods and services supplied
 - Expectations that are met
 - Accountability (at least for democracies)
- Legitimacy fragile
 - Trustworthiness perhaps a necessary but not always a sufficient condition
 - Shared values —regularly reaffirmed and reestablished
 - Multiple forms and sources of breakdown
 - Regime vs. leader
 - Divisions in population
- **Both trustworthiness and legitimacy most likely in an accepted moral political economy**

THE EFFECTS OF
GOOD
GOVERNMENT:
NO WALLS, HIGH
SECURITY, HUMAN
FLOURISHING

