Declines in Perceptions of Fairness and Legitimacy as Precursors of Political Radicalisation in Times of Crisis

Diego Farren & Katrin Brettfeld
University of Hamburg

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Introduction

• **Monitoringsystem und Transferplattform Radikalisierung (MOTRA)**
  “Monitoring System and Transfer Platform Radicalization” (MOTRA) is a research association funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research in Germany. The project was developed for the early detection, prevention and combating of extremism and terrorism over the course of five years (11/2019 - 10/2024).
  ([https://www.motra.info/](https://www.motra.info/))

• **Menschen in Deutschland (MiD)**
  The study Menschen in Deutschland (People in Germany) is a yearly population survey conducted by the University of Hamburg. The survey addresses questions about life in Germany on main topics from society, politics and religion.
  ([https://www.mid.uni-hamburg.de/en/startseite.html](https://www.mid.uni-hamburg.de/en/startseite.html))

• **Data source**
  The data used for this presentation represents the first and second data collections of the MiD survey collected respectively during the second quarter of 2021 and 2022.
  (N₁ = 4 483; participation rate = 23.6) (N₂ = 4 319; participation rate = 20.6)
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Main idea

• To develop a theory of political legitimacy for the explanation of extremist attitudes -inspired by Procedural Justice (PJ) theory-
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Operationalisations

Trust in Social Justice
(collective marginalisation)

Legitimacy
(confidence in institutions)

Extremist attitudes
(democracy acceptance)

Where we live, people like me are …
... disadvantaged regarding receiving social benefits.
... treated disrespectfully by authorities.
... treated unfairly by the police.
Operationalisations

Where we live, people like me are ...
... disadvantaged regarding receiving social benefits.
... treated disrespectfully by authorities.
... treated unfairly by the police.

Mean = 72.9
SD = 24.3
Alpha = .75

*trust in social justice = collective marginalisation inverted
Operationalisations

Trust in Social Justice (collective marginalisation) → Legitimacy (confidence in institutions) → Extremist attitudes (democracy acceptance)

How much confidence do you have in...
... the law courts?
... the police?
... the government?
... the state authorities?
Operationalisations

Trust in Social Justice (collective marginalisation)

Legitimacy (confidence in institutions)

Extremist attitudes (democracy acceptance)

How much confidence do you have in...
... the law courts?
... the police?
... the government?
... the state authorities?

Mean = 58.7
SD = 20.6
Alpha = .81
Operationalisations

- **Trust in Social Justice** (collective marginalisation)
- **Legitimacy** (confidence in institutions)
- **Extremist attitudes** (democracy acceptance)

**Dimension A. Rejection of basic democratic rights**

- Every citizen should have the right to go out and demonstrate for what they believe in.
- Strikes and demonstrations pose a danger to public order and should be banned.
- The freedom of the press in our country must be protected.
- All minorities should have the right to freely express their views.

**Dimension B. Rejection of constitutionalism**

- Those who lose out in an election should not be allowed to criticise the business of government.
- If a government is doing a good job, there is no reason to hold a new election after four years.
- If Parliament makes a decision, it cannot be allowed to be overturned by a court.
- In order to have strong political leadership in Germany, Parliament should have less influence.

**Dimension C. Ideologies of inequality**

- People should not be discriminated against because of their skin colour.
- Women and men should receive equal pay for doing the same work.
- Foreigners should not be treated differently to native citizens regarding allocation of housing.
- Muslims must be allowed to pursue their religion in the same way as Christians, Jews or followers of other religions.
## Operationalisations

### Dimension A. Rejection of basic democratic rights
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Trust in Social Justice (collective marginalisation)

Legitimacy
(confidence in institutions)

Extremist attitudes
(democracy acceptance)

Mean = 81.1
SD = 13.5
Alpha = .76
Hypotheses

• H1: The described relationships (i.e. trust -> legitimacy -> democracy acceptance) apply to the prediction of extremist attitudes

• H2: All individual measures presented (i.e. trust, legitimacy and democracy acceptance) worsen between waves (pre- and in-crisis)

• H3: The influence of trust and legitimacy on democracy acceptance intensifies during times of crisis
Results:
1) Applicability of proposed Model

Reduction in percentage points of *democracy acceptance* for one standard deviation increase in ...

- 1.9 (Total)
- 3.5 (Indirect)
- 2.7 (Direct)

- ...legitimacy
- ...trust

*controls = gender, age (3 categories), region (Bundesland), wave, migration status
Results:
2) General changes between waves

Averages by wave (0-100 scale)

- Democracy acceptance: 56.7 (1st wave), 60.8 (2nd wave)
- Legitimacy: 71.5 (1st wave), 74.7 (2nd wave)
- Trust: 82.0 (1st wave), 80.4 (2nd wave)

Differences in percentage points between waves

- Democracy acceptance: 5.1
- Legitimacy: 3.2
- Trust: 1.6

*controls = gender, age (3 categories), region (Bundesland), migration status
Results:

3) Marginal effect changes between waves

By wave average prediction of *democracy acceptance* for different values of ...

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*controls = gender, age (3 categories), region (Bundesland), migration status*
Conclusions

• **Theory:** The proposed theoretical model may provide key tools to better understand and combat extremism

• **Crisis:** During crises the influence of the evaluation of the authorities on extremism is even stronger

• **Barometer:** Keeping track of the evaluation of the authorities may be an efficient way to inform policies and evaluate interventions
Monitoring System and Transfer Platform Radicalisation

Thank you!!!!