

UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG  
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

**Attitudes Toward the Police Among Swedish and Japanese  
University Students**  
Rebecca Malmborg

Master thesis: 30 hp  
Name of course: Psychology:  
master thesis  
Course code: PX2503  
Fall semester 2021

Supervisor: Sara Landström

# **Attitudes Toward the Police Among Swedish and Japanese University Students**

Rebecca Malmberg

Citizens' attitudes toward the police underlies police legitimacy. The aim of the current study was to investigate Swedish and Japanese university students' attitudes toward the police and how these may differ. The data was collected through a Qualtrics survey, which was sent out to universities, posted on social medias and forums. 99 Swedish and 83 Japanese university students participated in the study. The results showed that regardless of the structural differences between the Swedish and Japanese police, gender and recent police contact, the Swedish and Japanese university students had similar levels of moderately positive attitudes toward the police. The similarities in police contact and cultural understanding of law-abidingness between Sweden and Japan were identified as possible causes for this result.

Police legitimacy is developed from the spectators' attitudes towards them. Positive attitudes toward the police promotes community safety, efficiency in crime prevention and trust in the police to act in legitimate manners (Brå, 2020). But, what makes the police legitimate from the citizens' perspective? Are different ways of handling police work in different countries seen as equally legitimate? To answer these questions, the aim of the current study is to investigate Swedish and Japanese university students' attitudes toward the police and how these may differ. Before turning to the present study, I will give a brief background of how police work is managed in each country and illuminate factors that may contribute to the result of the study at hand. This will be followed by an account of previous research on attitudes toward the police and legitimacy in general and attitudes toward the police in Japan and Sweden in particular.

Sweden and Japan share many societal and cultural similarities. For example, in both cultures punctuality and consensual decision-making is preferred, and individuals tend to have rather unexpressive body languages and to the greatest extent avoid conflict (Meyer, 2014). In addition, group mentality and obedience to authorities and laws are noticeable cultural aspects in both countries, though in Japan it is done actively while in Sweden it is done passively. Hence, Swedes can express opposing opinions about laws and regulations but still be very law-abiding (Fredholm, 1992). However, regarding the police there is one prominent dissimilarity between Sweden and Japan, which concerns how the police authority, and its work is structured. In Japan, there are more than 1 000 police stations, and besides from that, the police operate around 6 300 Koban (i.e., mini-police stations) which serves their designated areas. The function of the Koban is to put the police at arm's reach in crisis as they serve victims that may be too scared to call the police from home, or people that are not sure if their problem is an emergency (NPA, 2019). In contrast to Japan, Sweden has around 280 police stations (Polisen, n.d.), and there is often just one big police station in every city that operates all police work in the whole municipality, and crime reports are mainly made through phone calls (Polisen, 2019a).

Koban police officers' responsibilities are vast and often exceeds traditional police work and law enforcement. The Koban police can be seen handling all kinds of problems, such as

helping people with directions, finding hotel rooms, lending carfare to cash-strapped commuters and even listen to people's marital problems. The Japanese police has been compared with mailmen, not because they do mailmen duties, but because their presence in peoples' everyday life is the same, or sometimes even be more prominent, as the presence of the mailman. It is common to spot police officers walking around in the neighborhood and checking the sights, both in cities and rural areas (Schmidt, 2021). However, despite the prominent police presence, research shows that Japanese people are rarely in contact with the police (i.e., 18% had engaged in police contact the last two years, Tsushima & Hamai, 2015). The Swedish police on the other hand, is much more present in cities and deprived areas (i.e., low socio-economic and criminal influenced areas, Polisen, 2017) than in neighborhoods with low crime rates (Forte, 2019). It is normal to see police officers strolling around in cities centers, while in low crime residential areas it often means that something troublesome is going on (Brå, 2020). There is however a desire in the Swedish police authority to change this and strengthen their local presence both in cities and rural areas (Polisen, 2019b).

Japan is, according to the world peace index, one of the safest countries in the world (Vision of Humanity, 2021), but it is important to mention that even Japan have had problems with severe crimes. A major contributor to criminal activity and organized crime in Japan has been the Yakuza. The Yakuza is a collective name for male-dominated mafia-like organizations. During the 1900 century they engaged in both legal businesses (e.g., running movie studios, night clubs and construction companies) and illegal businesses (e.g., trafficking, distribution of methamphetamine, gambling, and illegal bookmaking), and some Yakuza families even offered bodyguard services. Before the Yakuza Exclusion Ordinances (YEOs) became effective in 2011, which states that all cooperation with the Yakuza is punishable, the Japanese police struggled to keep up with and manage the Yakuza. The YEOs contributed to 26% out of 30% in total of the decrease in yakuza members from 2011 to 2015 (i.e., 93 800 gang members in 2015, Hoshino & Kamada, 2020), followed by an additional 20% reduction from 2015 to 2019 (i.e., 51 900 gang members in 2019, NPA, 2020). Media sources reports that many yakuza members from the lower levels of the hierarchy have moved abroad and continued their businesses in other countries, while the remaining yakuza in Japan has simply gone underground and are pursuing their illegal businesses in the shadows (Newsham, 2020).

The origin of Yakuza can be dated back to the Edo period (1603-1868), while in Sweden, organized crimes couldn't be linked to specific groups until the 1970s. Networks of criminally charged individuals of the same ethnical background or criminal orientations started to emerge, but because of the structure of their networks, the crimes they committed were often missed (Brå, 2012). From having been a downward trend of firearm violence in the 1990s, it took a complete turn in 2005 and since then the firearm violence has only increased year by year. In 2020, the mean value of lethal firearm violence in Sweden was 4 in a million people, compared to 1,6 in a million people which was the mean value in Europe (Brå, 2021a). The Swedish police authority points out that Sweden is basically a safe country, but that the development of severe crimes is serious. The police and other related authorities invest a lot of resources to reverse the trend of escalating gang crimes and get to the bottom of it (Polisen, 2019b).

## Attitudes toward the police

Attitude as a concept can be defined as an individual's general opinion, or evaluation of a certain target, and it is oftentimes a stable evaluation of a specific entity that can vary in strength and favorability. Additionally, it tends to guide individuals' responses to certain objects (Schleicher & Watt, 2013). To understand attitudes toward the police, the concept of legitimacy needs to be addressed. Legitimacy can be defined as the belief that an institution, rule, or leader has the right to govern and to be obeyed. When a common consensus about legitimacy is shared by many individuals in the society it can have immense collective effect on the view of an institution, rule, or leader (Hurd, 2021). Legitimacy is of particular importance for the police, as law enforcement is based on voluntary assistance from citizens to maintain public order and safety. When the police are seen as legitimate, citizens are more likely to cooperate and comply to the law (Moule, Burruss, Parry & Fox, 2018). Tyler (1990) stated that legitimacy is an individual's obligation to obey authority, to feel trust and having confidence in the authority to be honest and to act in accordance with the best interest of the citizens. Obligation to the police refers to the internalization that one should obey the police, while trust and confidence is referring to the perception of legal authorities as sincere, valuing citizens' welfare and being reliable to act in ways that benefits the citizens. However, more recent studies argues that obligation might rather be a consequence of legitimacy than a core feature. People can obey authorities because they consider them to be legitimate, but also out of fear or avoiding the consequences of disobedience. In the latter cases, authorities are probably not viewed as legitimate, but the citizens' obligation compel them to obey (Reynolds et al., 2018).

To analyze the incertitude that surrounds the concept of obligation, and further conceptualize legitimacy, Tankebe, Reising and Wang (2016) assessed The Bottom-Tankebe Police Legitimacy Model. Legitimacy, according to this model, is an ongoing exchange between the powerholders (e.g., police officers) and their audience (e.g., citizens); the powerholders make claims, the audience responds, then the powerholders may adjust in accordance with the responses, and so on. It is through this iterative claim-response process that a mutual understanding of what legitimate power means is created between criminal justice agencies and their audience. This dialogue can take different shapes dependent on cultural and societal aspects (Tankebe et al., 2016). The model is based on the notion that legitimacy consists of the following four elements: police lawfulness, distributive fairness, procedural fairness, and police effectiveness. *Police lawfulness* refers to the emphasize on the police as an executor and reinforcer of the law, not a creator of the law. *Distributive fairness* refers to whether police resources are being allocated fairly between groups or individuals with competing needs. Police resources are divided into two subgroups: *concrete resources* refer to those that are observable and quantifiable (e.g., court fines, tickets for traffic offences, and police personnel), and *symbolic resources* refer to those that are not observable or quantifiable (e.g., respect, courtesy, and dignity). *Procedural fairness* refers to the fairness of the selected processes to reach specific outcomes or decisions. *Police effectiveness* refers to the capability of receiving effective results without compromising fairness (Reynolds et al., 2018).

Tankebe et al. (2016) found in their results that the four elements of the Bottom-Tankebe police legitimacy model predicted obligation which they stresses clarifies the notion

that obligation to obey is not a key feature of legitimacy but rather a consequence of it. Even though many researchers mostly agree about what components legitimacy consists of, there are still disagreements regarding the nature of obligation, and there is still no widely accepted model or conceptual definition of legitimacy (Reynolds et al., 2018). For the current study the *attitudes toward the police legitimacy scale* developed by Reynolds and colleagues (2018), was chosen to measure Swedish and Japanese university students' attitudes toward the police. Furthermore, the selection of university students as research sample for the current study is partly due to lack of research regarding attitudes toward the police among young adults and adults in both Sweden and Japan, and partly because the creators of the attitudes toward police legitimacy scale specifically emphasized that their research do not cover that target group (Reynolds et al., 2018). The scale is based on seven components: *bias* (i.e., whether the police is fair and act non-discriminatory), *quality of interpersonal treatment* (i.e., perceptions of police interaction and treatment of others), *trustworthiness* (i.e., confidence in the police to help and to have the citizens' best interests in mind), *motivation* (i.e., perceptions of why the police act as they do), *quality and organizational integrity* (i.e., trust in police departments to hire the best people available, provide adequate training, and maintain high service quality), *community* (i.e., perceptions of the police and community members to engage in meaningful interactions), and *normative alignment* (i.e., the sense of police sharing common values and goals with citizens) (Reynolds et al., 2018). All previous research regarding creating and using the scale has been US based research, where two studies have investigated undue police violence toward African Americans (Green, 2020), and racial and socialization issues among African Americans in regard to the police (April, 2020). The scale has also been used to study barriers to choosing a career as a police officer (Vermeer, 2019), and social media influence on attitudes toward the police (Intravia, Thompson & Pickett, 2020).

Research on public attitudes toward the Japanese police is scarce. There is one study that has investigated high school students' attitudes toward the police at two different high schools in the Kanto region year 1990 (Tomita, 1991). The study was designed to explore similarities with prior North American studies (Winfrey & Griffiths, 1977; Griffiths & Winfree, 1983), and showed that the Japanese high school students had a more positive attitude toward the police than the participants in the North American studies. However, Tomita points out that there were participants who reported negative experiences of mistreatment by police officers. In contrast to this study, research has shown that Japanese citizens have fewer positive attitudes toward the police in comparison with citizens in the United States (Cao, Stack & Sun, 1998). These findings contrasted the authors' prediction that the Japanese culture that is built on collectivism, order and respect for authorities would lead to a greater confidence towards the police and that the individualistic nature of the United States would lead to less confidence in the police. There are some components of this comparative study which corresponds well with the current study that will investigate Swedish and Japanese university students' attitudes towards the police. The Swedish culture, like the American culture, is individualistic and the Japanese culture is still somewhat more collectivistic than individualistic in nature (Taguchi, 2021). The public trust in the Japanese police has been very high. Yet, due to a series of acts of misconducts and negligence in the murder cases, the Okegawa stalking murder and the Tochigi lunch murder, along with increased crime rate, the trust in the Japanese police declined from 87% in 1995 to 65% in 2004 (i.e., results from an opinion survey published by Yomiuri

Shinbun). However, the trust in the police have somewhat improved since then, due to the efforts made by the Japanese police authority to be more open about their mistakes and correcting their misconducts (Tsushima & Hamai, 2015).

In Sweden, the existing research on attitudes toward the police consists of student essays in criminology and they have been focusing on investigating youths' attitudes of the police (Bánovits & Canow, 200; Andersson, 2008; Beigi Masihi, 2010). All three studies showed interest in the differences in attitudes toward the police among youth of Swedish respectively other ethnic backgrounds. The overall results of these studies shows that Swedish youth have more positive attitudes toward the police than those of foreign background. Though the research on attitudes toward the police in Sweden is scares, the Swedish crime Prevention council conducts annual national security surveys to map, among other things, trust in the judiciary, to improve the work of legal actors such as the police. In the 2021 annual national security survey, results showed that 58 percent of the 74 000 respondents (ages 16-84) expressed great confidence in the police's ways of managing their duties. Furthermore, the results showed that women (62%) had greater confidence in the police than men (54% each, Brå, 2021b).

### **The current study**

The aim of the present study is to investigate similarities and differences in attitudes toward the police among Swedish and Japanese university students. As afore mentioned, Japan has been one of the safest countries in the world for many years (Vision of Humanity, 2020). In addition, statistic shows that Japanese people are generally less worried about crimes than Swedish people are (Numbeo, 2021), which could potentially serve as an indication that Japanese university students may report more positive attitudes toward the police than Swedish university students. On the other hand, a comparative study between America and Japan showed that the American participants were more positive toward the police than the Japanese participants (Cao et al., 1998). Sweden, like America, has a more individualistic culture than Japan (Lernäs, 2013), and the structure of the Swedish and American police are more similar in sense of work responsibilities to be more traditional in nature to one another than they are to the Japanese police (Cao et al., 1998; Polisen, 2020; Schmidt, 2021). Therefore, there is also a possibility that the outcome can be that the Swedish university students report more positive attitudes toward the police than Japanese university students. Considering these contradicting aspects of prior research and statistics, the current study will be exploratory, and I will investigate possible differences between Swedish and Japanese university students' attitudes toward the police unconditionally and without predictions.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

There were 264 participants who took the survey, but 28 were excluded as they did not fill out any information and another 54 participants were excluded due to only completing the demographics questionnaire. Hence, a total of 182 participants, 99 Swedish university students (54%), and 83 Japanese university students (46%), participated in the study. In total there were 122 women (67%, 64 Swedish, 58 Japanese), 56 men (30,8%, 32 Swedish, 24 Japanese), and

4 participants that identified themselves as non-binary or other in the study. Due to the latter groups being too small in numbers, only data from the women and men were used for the comparative analyses. The participants were born between the year 1970 and 2003 ( $M_{year} = 1997$ ,  $SD_{year} = 4.93$ ). Fifty participants (27,5%, 29 Swedish, 21 Japanese) reported that they had been in contact with the police in the last 12 months, whereas 129 participants (70,9%, 68 Swedish, 61 Japanese) stated that they had not been in contact with the police and three participants (1,6%) stated that they did not know if they had been in contact with the police the last 12 months.

## **Materials**

The material used for the current study was a Qualtrics survey that consisted of introductory information about the outline of the survey and one's rights as a participant, followed by a demographic questionnaire about education, gender, age, and police contact the last 12 months. After that it proceeded to the *attitudes toward police legitimacy scale* (Reynolds et al., 2018), where the participants answered to 34 statements about attitudes toward the police by using a slider from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Higher scores on the scale indicated positive perceptions of the police as legitimate authority figures (i.e., scores between 1 to 3,5 shows negative attitudes toward the police, while scores between 3,5 to 7 shows positive attitudes toward the police). There were 5 revers-coded items and 29 positive items in total. Example of a reverse-coded item, "Police officers do not communicate well with people.", and a positive item, "I'm not afraid to call the police when I need to." The scale initially included 73 items, but these were reduced to 34 items after the first test study. The Cronbach's alpha of the 24 items in the first study was .984, and in the second, .987 (Reynolds et al., 2018). See Appendix A for a full account of the questionnaire used in the present study in English, Swedish and Japanese.

To obtain data only from the target group, university students, eligibility to participate was decided through the question of "Are you now enrolled at a college/university?", where a "no" excluded the person from participating in the survey. The questionnaire was made available in three different languages: Swedish, Japanese, and English. The introduction and the demographics were translated from Swedish to Japanese and English and the attitudes toward police legitimacy scale was translated from English to Swedish and Japanese. All three versions of the survey were crossed checked for validation. The Japanese translations were revised by Japanese professor at University of Gothenburg, a native Japanese speaker and a Japanese translator, and the Swedish and English versions were revised by a Swedish and English language teacher. A pilot study with 9 participants was executed to assess its performance. All three different language versions of the survey were tested by native speakers and assessed to meet the requirements.

## **Procedure**

The sample size was determined dependent on the current study exploratory nature, and lack of previous research. The minimum level was set at 30 participants in each group (Lumen, n.d.), but the aspiration was to collect as much data as possible within the timeframe of the collection period. The participant recruitment process was established for the data collection to

fulfil the following requirements: have an even distribution of participants in each group and reach a sample size large enough to at least be able to detect patterns and tendencies in the Swedish and Japanese university students' attitudes toward the police. The survey was published and to recruit participants, information in Swedish was posted on Facebook and university platforms, information in English was posted on reddit research tag, on a language exchange application and emailed to exchange students through the University of Gothenburg exchange administration, and Japanese information was sent out to via emails to Japanese universities and posted on Facebook. The survey was active in 4 weeks from October 1<sup>st</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup>, 2021.

### **Ethical considerations**

The ethical guidelines of reliability, honesty, respect, and accountability (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017) were followed throughout the whole research process. All participants were communicated the purpose of the study, and that their participation was anonymous and voluntary. The survey did not entail any sensitive questions, nor was any personal information (e.g., name, social security number, etc.) registered.

### **Results**

The descriptive analysis showed that the mean value of the Swedish university students' attitudes toward the police ( $M = 4.84$ ,  $SD = 1.19$ ) was slightly higher than the Japanese university students' attitudes toward the police ( $M = 4.61$ ,  $SD = 0.83$ ). To assess whether these differences in mean values were significant between the Japanese and Swedish university students, a multiple linear regression analysis was conducted. The results of the analysis showed no collective significant effect between gender, country, police contact and the mean score on the attitude toward police legitimacy scale,  $F(3, 177) = 1.038$ ,  $p = .377$ ,  $R^2 = .018$  (see Table 1).

Table 1

*Multiple linear regression analysis of the mean score on the attitudes toward police legitimacy scale through gender, country, and police contact.*

Predictor	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% <i>CI</i>	
						<i>LL</i>	<i>LU</i>
Gender	.091	.169	.041	.539	.591	-.543	.079
Country	-.232	.158	-.111	-1.472	.143	-.243	.425
Police contact	.138	.164	.063	.838	.403	-.187	.463

*Note.*  $R^2 = .018$  ( $N = 178$ ,  $p = .377$ ).

Furthermore, a factorial ANOVA was then conducted to further investigate whether there could be a significant difference in mean scores on the attitudes toward police legitimacy scale between Swedish and Japanese men and women. The results showed no significant effect between country (Swedish  $M = 4.84$ ,  $SD = 1.19$  vs. Japanese  $M = 4.61$ ,  $SD = .83$ ),  $F(1, 174) = 1.077$ ,  $p = .301$ ,  $\eta^2 = .006$ ; or gender (Women  $M = 4.71$ ,  $SD = .99$  vs. Men  $M = 4.81$ ,  $SD = 1.05$ ),  $F(1,174) = .360$ ,  $p = .550$ ,  $\eta^2 = .002$ . The interaction between country and gender on the



mean score of the attitudes toward police legitimacy scale was not significant,  $F(1, 174) = .609$ ,  $p = .436$ ,  $\eta^2 = .003$ .

## Discussion

Research within the field of attitudes toward the police in Sweden and Japan, has exclusively been focusing on youths' attitudes toward the police and how they differ to youths of other ethnical origins (Tomita, 1991; Bánovits & Canow, 2001; Andersson, 2008; Beigi Masihi, 2010). Comparative research has also investigated Japanese and US citizens' attitudes toward the police (Cao et al., 1998), but no comparative research between Swedish and Japanese individuals exists concerning this matter. Therefore, the present study was conducted with the aim to investigate Swedish and Japanese university students' attitudes towards the police and how they may differ. The result showed that regardless of nationality, gender, recent police contact, and the differences between the Swedish and Japanese police (Polisen, 2017; Polisen, 2019b; Schmidt, 2021), no significant difference between the Swedish and Japanese university students' attitudes toward the police could be found. They reported similar moderately positive attitudes towards the police.

There can be several possible reasons for why the Swedish and Japanese university students reported similar levels of moderately positive attitudes towards the police. One such possible reason concerns the similar levels of police contact between the Swedish and Japanese university students. There were fewer participants who had been in contact with the police in the last 12 months than those who had not been in contact with the police. Tsushima and Hamai (2015) stated that even though there is a high police presence in Japan, there are few people who get in contact with the police in their everyday life as they seldom need it, which corresponds with what the result of the current study exhibits. Another possible explanation to the result concerns the cultural norm of obeying authorities and laws. According to Fredholm (1992), both in Swedish and Japanese culture are law-abidingness and authoritative obedience culturally established norms. Research on attitudes toward the police states that obedience to authority and law is the consequence of individuals' perceptions of the police to be legitimate and that police legitimacy (i.e., perceived right to rule, Hurd, 2021) derives from people's positive attitudes toward the police (Tankebe et al., 2016). Hence, this mutual cultural understanding of the importance of being law-abiding, might have also influenced the similarities in attitudes toward the police between the Swedish and Japanese university students.

## Limitations and future directions

There are some limitations and recommendations for future research that were identified along the way of the research process. Regarding the current study and the circumstances surrounding covid-19, the most plausible option was to collect data through an online survey. This research method has however shortcomings in terms of lack of control, non-response bias and social desirability bias. In terms of lack of control, there were control variables such as university and education information, but since no university registration certificate was requested, the risk remains that non-eligible people participated. In addition, the lack of control implies a risk for unanticipated confounding variables that may have influenced the participants' scores on the attitudes toward police legitimacy scale, such as living situation, place of residence, income, family, and religion. Non-response bias refers to when individuals

that choose not to participate or who drops out before the completion of the survey are systematically different from those who participated (Prince, 2012). In the current study, more women than men chose to participate, which may have affected the results. In retrospect, a more targeted sample recruitment and the offering of participation compensation could have been carried out to even out the gender distribution and decrease the risk of the non-response bias. Social desirability bias refers to a response pattern derived from the participant's wish to conform to what is believed to be socially desirable among others (Johnson & Van de Vijver, 2003). Whether any participant answered to the survey in a social desirability kind of fashion is unknown, but it was explicitly stated in the survey information that one should validate each statement based on one's personal opinions.

Concerning the survey used in the current study, it was created in Swedish and then translated into Japanese and English. Hence, the Japanese participants had to manually change the language from Swedish to Japanese themselves. This may, at least in part, explain the difficulties in recruitment and the relatively high number of dropouts. Another aspect that could further explain the number of dropouts is the translation of the attitudes toward police legitimacy scale (Reynolds et al., 2018). The scale originates from the USA and cultural differences in understanding the scale have previously not been taken into consideration. Some of the statements in the 34-item scale may have been interpreted in different ways by different participants (see Appendix A). For example, item 31 "Most police officers define right and wrong the same way that I do" and 34 "The police and I have many values and beliefs in common" may be difficult for participants to answer if they feel uncertain about what values and beliefs the police stand for. In addition, item 9 "I'm not afraid to call the police when I need to" could cause problems in Japan, as most Japanese people prefer to go to the Koban, rather than to call the police to report crimes (Schmidt, 2021). Hence, to fully understand attitudes towards the police in different cultures, I encourage future researchers to carefully edit the scale to fit different countries and cultures. I would also recommend investigating attitudes toward the police among a broader spectrum of individuals of different ages and genders in society, to see whether the non-significant differences in attitudes toward the police among the Swedish and Japanese university students are also prevalent for other citizens. In the present study, most participants belonged to one and same age group, specifically individuals born between 1998 and 2001, which led to the decision to not investigate differences in attitudes toward police between different age groups.

## **Conclusion**

Before the current study, there was no comparative research within the field of legal psychology between Sweden and Japan, specifically not in the research area of attitudes toward the police. Citizens' attitudes towards the police are directly related to the legitimacy of the police and the police need to be seen as legitimate to be able to do their job. The Swedish and Japanese university students' attitudes toward the police were investigated through the attitudes toward police legitimacy scale, and the result showed that they hold a similar level of moderately positive attitudes toward the police. However, there is much that is still unknown, such as the effect of gender, age, and police presence on attitudes toward the police among Swedish and Japanese university students. It is also uncertain whether this result resonates as well with other individuals in the society as with the participants, and if it shows this is the

case, what more similarities between Sweden and Japan could be responsible for such result. Continued research on attitudes toward the police is important to improve the police's work and strengthen the relationship between police-citizens. The citizens' willingness to help the police is critical for auspiciously preventing crimes and creating a safe society. Likewise, it is important to continue comparative research on attitudes towards the police between nations in terms of broadening one's understanding of what citizens validate and to spectate what other police authorities in other countries have done to successfully manage their police duties to improve citizens' attitudes towards the police.

## References

- Andersson, J. (2008). *Ungdomars attityder till polisen* [Youths' attitudes toward the police]. Bachelor's thesis, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg.
- April, K. (2020). *Let's "Talk" About the Police: The Role of Race and Intergenerational Transmission on Police Legitimacy Attitudes in the Legal Socialization of Youth*. Doctoral thesis, Drexel University, Philadelphia.
- Bánovits, E., & Canow, I. (2001). *Ungdomars attityd till polisen: En jämförelse mellan ungdomar med svensk respektive utländsk bakgrund* [Youth's attitudes toward the police: A comparison between youth with Swedish respectively foreign background]. Bachelor's thesis, Stockholm University, Stockholm.
- Beigi Masihi, S. (2010). *Attityder till polisen hos pojkar i Rinkeby: En kvalitativ studie om hur attityderna kan förstås* [Attitudes toward the police among boys in Rinkeby: A qualitative study of how the attitudes can be understood]. Bachelor's thesis, Stockholm University, Stockholm.
- Brå. (2012). *Brottsutvecklingen i Sverige 2008–2011, Rapport 2012:13* [Crime trends in Sweden 2008–2011] (Rapport: 2012:13). Brottsförebyggande rådet, Stockholm.
- Brå. (2020). *Samverkan i lokalt brottsförebyggande arbete* [Collaboration in local crime prevention work]. Brottsförebyggande rådet, Stockholm.
- Brå. (2021a). *Dödligt skjutvapenvåld i Sverige och andra europeiska länder: En jämförande studie av nivåer, trender och våldsmetoder, Rapport 2021:8* [Lethal firearm violence in Sweden and other European countries: A comparative study of levels, trends, and methods of violence]. Brottsförebyggande rådet, Stockholm.
- Brå. (2021b). *Nationella trygghetsundersökningen 2021: om utsatthet, otrygghet och förtroende* [National security survey: about vulnerability, insecurity and trust] (Rapport: 2021:11). Brottsförebyggande rådet, Stockholm.
- Cao, L., Stack, S., & Sun, Y. (1998). Public attitudes toward the police: A comparative study between Japan and America. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 26(4), 279-289. [http://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2352\(98\)00015-4](http://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2352(98)00015-4)
- Forte. (2019). *Brist på tillit gör polisen maktlös* [Lack of trust makes the police powerless]. Forskningsrådet för hälsa, arbetsliv och välfärd. *Forte Magasin 1*, 12–18.
- Fredholm, M. (1992). Vikings and Samurai: Cultural and Economic similarities between the Japanese and the Swedes. *EPR Occasional Papers No 1*, 1-7.
- Green, D. (2020). *Undue Police Violence Towards African Americans: A Quantitative Analysis of Professional Counselors*. Doctoral thesis, James Madison University, Virginia.
- Griffith, C. T., & Winfree, L. T. (1983). Attitudes toward the Police: Comparison of Canadian and American Adolescent. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 6(2), 127-141.

- Hoshino, T., & Kamada, T. (2020). Third-party policing approaches against organized Crime: An evaluation of Yakuza exclusion ordinances. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 37(2021), 791-811. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-020-09466-6>
- Hurd, I. (2021). Legitimacy. In *Encyclopedia Princetoniensis*. <https://pesd.princeton.edu/node/516>
- Intravia, J., Thompson, A. J., & Pickett, J. T. (2020). Net legitimacy: Internet and social media exposure and attitudes toward the police. *Sociological Spectrum*, 40(1), 58–80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02732173.2020.1720554>
- Johnson, T. P., & van de Vijver, F. J. R. (2003). Social desirability in cross-cultural research. In J. A. Harkness, F. J. R. van de Vijver, & P. P. Mohler (Eds.), *Cross-Cultural Survey Methods* (pp. 195-204). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Interscience.
- Lernäs, C.-J. (2013). *Affärskulturella skillnader på en globaliserad marknad: En studie kring affärskulturella skillnader mellan Sverige och Japan* [Cultural differences in business on a globalized market: A study on the cultural differences in business between Sweden and Japan]. Bachelor's thesis, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, Uppsala.
- Lumen (n.d.). *Hypothesis Testing: Two Samples*. Lumen Learning. <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-statistics/chapter/hypothesis-testing-two-samples/>
- Meyer, E. (2014). *The Culture Map: Breaking Through the Invisible Boundaries of Global Business* (1<sup>st</sup> ed.). PublicAffairs New York, New York.
- Moule, R. K., Jr., Burruss, G. W., Parry, M. M., & Fox, B. (2018). Assessing the Direct and Indirect Effects of Legitimacy on Public Empowerment of Police: A Study on Public Support for Police Militarization in America. *Law and society review*, 53(1), 77-107. <http://doi.org/10.1111/lasr.12379>
- Newsham, G. (2020). Yakuza alive, well and still kicking in Japan: Organized crimes is deeply involved in finance, politics, bureaucracy, and legitimate commerce in Japan. *Asia Times*, December 3, 2020.
- NPA. (2019). Police of Japan [Pamphlet]. National Police Agency. [https://www.npa.go.jp/english/Police\\_of\\_Japan/2020/poj2020\\_full.pdf](https://www.npa.go.jp/english/Police_of_Japan/2020/poj2020_full.pdf)
- NPA. (2020). *Reiwa 2-nen ni okeru soshiki hanzai no jousei* [The situation of organized crime in the second year of reiwa]. Keisatsushou soshiki hanzai taisaku-bu [National Police Agency Organized Crime Countermeasures Department]. <https://www.npa.go.jp/publications/statistics/kikakubunseki/index.html>
- Numbeo. (2021). *Crime comparison between Sweden and Japan*. [https://www.numbeo.com/crime/compare\\_countries\\_result.jsp?country1=Japan&country2=Sweden](https://www.numbeo.com/crime/compare_countries_result.jsp?country1=Japan&country2=Sweden)
- Polisen. (n.d.). *Hitta polisstation* [Find police station]. <https://polisen.se/kontakt/polisstationer/>
- Polisen. (2017). Utsatta områden: social ordning, kriminell struktur och utmaningar för polisen [Deprived areas: social order, criminal structure and challenges for the police]. Nationella operativa avdelningen, Underrättelseenheten, Stockholm.
- Polisen. (2019a). *Sprängningar och skjutningar – polisens arbete* [Explosions and shootings – the work of the police]. <https://polisen.se/om-polisen/polisens-arbete/sprangningar-och-skjutningar/>
- Polisen. (2019b). *Uppdrag och mål* [Missions and goals]. <https://polisen.se/om-polisen/uppdrag-och-mal/>
- Polisen. (2020). *Polisycket* [The police profession]. <https://polisen.se/om-polisen/bli-polis/polisycket/>

- Prince, M. (2012). Epidemiology. In P. Wright, M. Phelan & J. Stern (Eds.), *Core Psychiatry* (3rd ed., pp. 115-128). <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-7020-3397-1.00009-4>.
- Reynolds, J. J., Estrada-Reynolds, V., & Nunez, N. (2018). Development and Validation of the Attitudes Towards Police Legitimacy Scale. *Law and Human Behavior, 42*(2), 119-134. <https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000281>
- Schleicher, D. J., & Watt, J. D. (2013). *Attitudes*. <https://www-oxfordbibliographies-com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/view/document/obo-9780199846740/obo-9780199846740-0003.xml>
- Schmidt, R. (2021). *Walking the beat in Japan, a "heaven for cops"*. CBS News, June 6, 2021. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/walking-the-beat-in-japan-a-heaven-for-cops/>
- Taguchi, R. (2021). Collectivism in Japan: How it is Impeding Japan's Growth and Future. *Anglesjournal*. Retrieved December 15, 2021, from <https://anglesjournal.org/2021/05/14/collectivism-in-japan-how-it-is-impeding-japans-growth-and-future-renka-taguchi/>
- Tankebe, J., Reisig, M. D., & Wang, X. (2016). A Multidimensional Model of Police Legitimacy: A Cross-Cultural Assessment. *Law and Human Behavior, 40*(1), 11-22. <https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000153>
- Tomita, N. (1991). Keisatsu ni taisuru kokosei no taido: Hokubei ni okeru kettei inshi ni kansuru shokenkyu to no hikaku o chushin to shite [High school students' attitudes toward the police: focusing on comparisons with studies on determinants in North America]. *Japanese Association of Sociological Criminology, 16*, 108-122. [https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/jjscrim/16/0/16\\_KJ00001702856/\\_pdf](https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/jjscrim/16/0/16_KJ00001702856/_pdf)
- Tsushima, M., & Hamai, K. (2015). Public Cooperation with the Police in Japan: Testing the Legitimacy Model. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 3*(2), 212-228. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986214568836>
- Tyler, T. R. (1990). *Why people obey the law*. Princeton university press, New Jersey.
- Vermeer, S.-J. (2019). *An Examination of the Reasons for and Barriers to Choosing a Career as a Police Officer*. Master's thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, Tennessee.
- Vetenskapsrådet. (2017). *God forskningssed* [Good research practice] (Rapport 2017). Vetenskapsrådet, Stockholm.
- Vision of Humanity. (2021). *Global Peace Index*. Institute for Economic and Peace. <https://www.visionofhumanity.org/maps/#/>
- Winfrey, J. F., & Griffiths, C. T. (1977). The Determinants of Adolescent Attitudes toward the Police: A Survey of High School Students. In T. N. Ferdinand (Ed.), *Juvenile Delinquency: Little Brother Grows Up* (1<sup>st</sup> ed., p. 77-99). SAGE publications, University of Michigan, Michigan.

## Appendix A

### Attitudes toward police legitimacy scale

The following 34-items were each rated by the participant through choosing a value on the Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

	English	Swedish	Japanese
1	Police officers usually make fair decisions when enforcing laws.	Poliser fattar vanligtvis rättvisa beslut när de tillämpar lagen.	警察官は通常、法を執行する際に公正な決定を下す。
2	Police officers usually have a reason when they stop or arrest people.	Poliser har vanligtvis en anledning till att stoppa eller arrestera personer.	警察官は通常、人を止めたり逮捕したりするとき理由がある。
3	Police do their best to be fair to everyone.	Polisen gör sitt bästa för att vara rättvisa mot alla.	警察は、誰にでも公平であるために最善を尽くす。
4	Police officers treat people with respect.	Poliser behandlar människor med respekt.	警察官は敬意を持って人を扱う。
5	Police officers do not communicate well with people.	Poliser kommunicerar dåligt med människor.	警察官は人とのコミュニケーションが上手ではない。
6	The presence of police makes me feel safe.	Polisens närvaro får mig att känna mig trygg.	警察が存在するので安心だ。
7	Police officers are generally not kind.	Poliser är generellt sett inte vänliga.	警察官は一般的に親切ではない。
8	If I have a problem, I feel confident that the police can help me solve it.	Om jag har ett problem känner jag mig trygg i att polisen kommer att hjälpa mig lösa det.	私に問題が起きた場合、警察が問題解決の手助けをしてくれると確信している。
9	I'm not afraid to call the police when I need to.	Jag är inte rädd för att ringa till polisen när jag behöver det.	必要な時に警察を呼ぶことを怖いと思わない。
10	People should trust the police to help.	Människor bör lita på att polisen hjälper dem.	人は、警察が助けてくれると信頼すべきだ。
11	I feel that police officers are willing to listen to me when I come into contact with them.	Jag känner att poliser är villiga att lyssna på mig när jag kontaktar dem.	私に問題が発生し、警察官に連絡した場合、警察が問題解決の手助けをしてくれると確信している。
12	I do not believe what police officers tell me.	Jag tror inte på vad poliser säger till mig.	警察官の言うことを信じない。
13	I can rely on police officers to ensure my safety.	Jag kan lita på att poliser säkerställer min säkerhet.	私は自分の安全を確保するために警察官に頼ることができる。

14	I do not feel relieved to see police officers when I am out in the community.	Jag känner mig inte lättad av att se poliser när jag är ute i samhället.	外出中に警察官を見かけても安心しない。
15	Police officers desire justice.	Poliser strävar efter rättvisa.	警察官は正義を望んでいます。
16	People become police officers to serve their communities.	Människor blir poliser för att tjäna sitt samhälle.	人は、地域社会に奉仕するために警察官になる。
17	The explanations that police officers give for a stop are typically unreasonable.	Förklaringar som poliser ger för att stanna någon är vanligtvis inte rimliga.	警察官が人を止める際の説明は、概して合理的ではない。
18	Police officers take their duty to protect and serve seriously.	Poliser tar sin plikt att skydda och tjäna på allvar.	警察官は、保護し奉仕するという彼らの義務を真剣に受け止めている。
19	People become police officers to help others.	Människor blir poliser för att hjälpa andra.	人は他人を助けるために警察官になる。
20	People become police officers because they want to maintain order.	Människor blir poliser för att de vill upprätthålla ordning.	人は、秩序を維持したいと思って警察官になる。
21	Law enforcement agencies hire the best people available.	Brottsbekämpande myndigheter anställer de bästa tillgängliga personerna.	法執行機関が雇用するのは、雇用可能な最高の人員だ。
22	People should be confident that police officers are only there to help.	Människor bör lita på att poliser bara är där för att hjälpa.	人は、警察官が人を助けるためにいるのだと確信すべきだ。
23	Police officers are held to higher standards than regular citizens.	Det sätts högre förväntningar på poliser än övriga medborgare.	警察官は一般市民よりも高い水準に保たれている。
24	For the most part, police do a good job maintaining order in society.	För det mesta gör polisen ett bra jobb med att upprätthålla ordningen i samhället.	ほとんどの場合、警察は社会秩序をうまく維持している。
25	Police officers are respected by the communities they serve.	Poliser är respekterade i de områden de tjänar i.	警察官は所轄の地域社会から尊敬されています。
26	Police officers' interactions with others makes me feel like they are part of my community.	Polisers interaktioner med andra får mig att känna att de är en del av mitt närområde.	警察官と他の人々とのやりとりにより、警察官が私の地域社会の一員であるように感じられる。
27	Police officers' goals are to protect the community.	Polisers mål är att skydda omgivningen.	警察官の目標は、地域社会を守ることだ。
28	Police officers are a welcomed presence at community events.	Poliser är en välkommen närvaro på lokala evenemang.	地域のイベントで警察官がその場にいてくれると助かる。

29	My community is a better place because of the police.	Mitt område är en bättre plats tack vare polisen.	私の地域社会は警察のおかげでより良い場所になっている。
30	Most police officers care about the communities they work in.	De flesta poliser bryr sig om de områden de arbetar i.	ほとんどの警察官は自分の働いている地域社会を気にかけている。
31	Most police officers define right and wrong the same way that I do.	De flesta poliser definierar rätt och fel på samma sätt som jag gör.	ほとんどの警察官は私と同じように善悪を定義している。
32	Police officers uphold values that are important to me.	Poliser står för värderingar som är viktiga för mig.	警察官は私にとって重要な価値観を支持している。
33	The police usually act in ways consistent with my ideas about what is right and wrong.	Polisen agerar vanligtvis på ett sätt som överensstämmer med mina tankar om vad som är rätt och fel.	警察は通常、何が正しくて何が間違っているかについての私の考えと一致する方法で行動する。
34	The police and I have many values and beliefs in common.	Polisen och jag har många gemensamma värderingar och övertygelser.	警察と私は多くの価値観と信念を共有している。