

# The Criminology of Electoral Justice: Analysing Voter Behaviour and Democratic Assertion in the Success of Emerging Political Parties

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## Abstract

This article examines the intersection of political criminology and electoral democracy through the lens of Tamilaga Vettri Kazhagam's (TVK) emergence as a significant political force in Tamil Nadu, India. Drawing on frameworks from criminological theory including social control theory, strain theory, institutional anomie, and labelling theory, this study analyses how voter behaviour constitutes an active instrument of democratic justice. The article argues that electoral mandates are not merely political events but acts of normative assertion by citizenries who deploy the ballot as a mechanism for correcting perceived institutional failures, redistributive injustice, and democratic deficit. The analysis situates TVK's rise within a broader theoretical framework of "democratic criminology," which conceptualizes entrenched political power as a form of systemic deviance against which electorates respond through organized civic action. The study contributes to an underexplored area in political criminology the sociology of electoral insurgency and offers implications for the study of emerging political parties in postcolonial democratic contexts.

**Keywords:** Political criminology, Electoral justice, Democratic legitimacy, voter behaviour, Institutional anomie, Democratic assertion

## 1. Introduction

The sociology of crime and the sociology of democracy have long occupied parallel but rarely intersecting intellectual universes. Criminology concerns itself with deviance, social control, norm violation and the institutional mechanisms that govern them. Democratic theory concerns itself with legitimacy, representation, consent and the structures through which political will is expressed. Yet at the point where citizens confront a political order experienced as unjust, exclusionary or captured by vested interests, these two disciplines meet in productive tension.

Political criminology a field that applies criminological frameworks to the analysis of state power, political corruption and organized civic resistance has gained renewed importance in the twenty-first century, particularly in democracies where the line between legitimate governance and the organized misuse of institutional authority has become dangerously blurred. In this context, the emergence of new political parties especially those that successfully mobilize disillusioned, marginalized or historically subordinated constituencies represents a rich site of criminological inquiry.

Tamilaga Vettri Kazhagam (TVK), the political party founded by actor-turned-politician Vijay in Tamil Nadu, India, offers precisely such a site. Its emergence as a credible electoral force buoyed by mass youth mobilization, anti-establishment sentiment and a discourse of social justice raises fundamental questions about the conditions under which citizens withdraw legitimacy from entrenched political actors and invest it in new political formations. This article asks: what does criminological theory tell us about the voter as an agent of democratic justice? and what does TVK's success reveal about the deeper dynamics of political deviance, institutional failure and normative electoral correction?

## **2. Theoretical Foundations: Political Criminology and the Sociology of Electoral Behaviour**

### **2.1 Political Criminology as a Discipline**

Political criminology is broadly defined as the application of criminological theories and methods to the study of political behaviour, political institutions, and the relationship between state power and norm violation (Ross, 2012; Rothe & Friedrichs, 2015). Unlike mainstream criminology, which has historically focused on street crime and individual deviance, political criminology attends to elite deviance, state crime, corruption, and the mechanisms through which political actors evade accountability while maintaining formal legitimacy.

A central preoccupation of political criminology is the concept of "crimes of the powerful" a term associated with Pearce (1976) and later developed by Tombs and Whyte (2015) which refers to harms perpetrated by state actors, political elites, and corporations that are structurally invisible or insulated from criminal sanction. In democratic contexts, crimes of the powerful include electoral manipulation, patronage politics, the criminalization of political opposition, and the diversion of public resources for private gain. These forms of institutional deviance corrode democratic legitimacy from within while maintaining the formal appearances of lawful governance.

### **2.2 Strain Theory and Political Discontent**

Robert Merton's (1938) strain theory offers one of the most powerful frameworks for understanding political discontent. Merton argued that crime and deviance arise when there is a disjuncture between culturally endorsed goals (wealth, success, social mobility) and the legitimate institutional means available to achieve them. Individuals who experience this strain may respond through innovation (pursuing goals by illegitimate means), retreatism (withdrawing from goal-seeking altogether), or rebellion (rejecting both the goals and the means and substituting alternative ones).

Applied to electoral politics, strain theory illuminates the conditions under which citizens reject the established political order. When democratic systems promise equal representation, distributive justice and accountable governance but deliver instead patronage networks, caste-based exclusion, dynastic entrenchment and policy capture by dominant interest's citizens experience a form of democratic strain. The promised outcomes of democratic participation (equitable development, voice, dignity) are structurally inaccessible through conventional political channels. Under these conditions, electoral rebellion the mass withdrawal of political legitimacy from established parties and its investment in new formations becomes the citizen's analogue to Merton's "rebellion" mode of adaptation.

### **2.3 Social Control Theory and Political Bonds**

Travis Hirschi's (1969) social control theory argues that individuals are bound to conformity through four social bonds: attachment, commitment, involvement and belief. When these bonds are weakened, deviance becomes more likely not because individuals are driven to deviate, but because the bonds that prevent deviation have eroded.

In the electoral context, control theory offers a counter-intuitive insight: the political deviance that matters are not the citizen's withdrawal from established parties, but rather the entrenched political system's failure to sustain legitimate bonds with its citizenry. When attachment (emotional identification with a party's values), commitment (investment in the party's institutional mission), involvement (active participation in democratic processes) and belief (faith in the system's fairness) all attenuate as they have for large segments of Tamil Nadu's electorate the result is not apathy but displacement: citizens transfer their bonds to new political formations that appear capable of restoring the normative coherence of democratic life.

#### **2.4 Institutional Anomie Theory**

Messner and Rosenfeld's (1994) institutional anomie theory extends Durkheim's concept of anomie the breakdown of social norms to the institutional level. They argue that in societies where market logic dominates all other institutional domains (family, education, polity) the normative framework governing collective life breaks down, producing elevated crime rates and social dysfunction. The corrective, in their account, lies in reinstating the balance between economic and non-economic institutional domains.

Applied to electoral politics, institutional anomie theory diagnoses a condition in which the logic of political economy money, electoral manipulation, caste arithmetic and patronage has overwhelmed the normative foundations of democratic governance. When political institutions are colonized by economic interests, the democratic contract that binds citizens to the state deteriorates. Electoral insurgencies like TVK's can be understood as normative correctives: attempts by constituencies to reimpose non-economic values justice, dignity, transparency, youth aspiration upon a political order that has been captured by anomic forces.

#### **2.5 Labelling Theory and the Criminalization of Political Alternatives**

Howard Becker's (1963) labelling theory argues that deviance is not an intrinsic property of acts but a consequence of the successful application of labels by those with the power to do so. Moral entrepreneurs define the boundaries of acceptable behaviour and those who transgress these boundaries are labelled deviant a label that shapes both their subsequent behaviour and their social reception.

In electoral politics, labelling operates through the machinery of establishment discourse. Emerging political parties especially those that challenge entrenched power structures are routinely labelled "dangerous," "populist," "anti-national," or "inexperienced" by the political establishments they threaten. This labelling serves to delegitimize political alternatives before they can demonstrate their capabilities. The criminological insight here is that the very act of labelling reveals the fragility of the established order: moral entrepreneurs invest their labelling authority most intensively when they feel most threatened. The ferocity with which established Tamil Nadu parties attacked TVK and Vijay is itself evidence of the degree to which TVK's emergence disrupted existing political arrangements.

### **3. Structural Conditions: Tamil Nadu's Political Landscape and the Preconditions for TVK's Rise**

#### **3.1 The Legacy of Dravidian Politics**

Tamil Nadu's political history is inseparable from the Dravidian movement the broad cultural and political mobilization, beginning in the early twentieth century, against Brahminical social hierarchy, Sanskrit hegemony and northern political domination. The Dravidian movement produced two dominant political formations: the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and the All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK). For over six decades, Tamil Nadu's politics has been effectively a duopoly between these two parties, with power alternating between them in a pattern so regular as to approach institutional predictability.

This political duopoly has been sustained by several structural mechanisms: the deployment of welfare schemes as patronage instruments, the cultivation of caste alliances, the personalization of party authority around charismatic leaders (M. Karunanidhi for DMK, J. Jayalalithaa for AIADMK), and the use of media ecosystems controlled by or aligned with political establishments. Corruption, both in the form of electoral malpractice and the diversion of public resources has been a persistent feature of governance across both formations, documented extensively in anti-corruption investigations, judicial inquiries and journalism.

### **3.2 The Democratic Deficit and Youth Alienation**

Despite Tamil Nadu's relative developmental achievement compared to other Indian states higher literacy rates, more developed industrial infrastructure, stronger health outcomes significant segments of the population, particularly youth, have experienced acute democratic strain. Youth unemployment and underemployment remain persistent, despite Tamil Nadu's economic growth. Educational institutions produce graduates who find themselves structurally blocked from meaningful economic participation. The sense that political connections, caste affiliation and financial resources determine life outcomes more than merit or democratic participation generates deep cynicism about the political process.

Youth alienation from established political formations has been documented in successive election surveys, where young Tamil voters have reported declining partisan identification with both DMK and AIADMK, increasing dissatisfaction with dynastic politics and growing demand for political alternatives that address issues of economic justice, dignity and transparency. This cohort constitutes both the demographic core of TVK's support base and a textbook case of Merton's democratic strain a generation that accepts the cultural premises of democratic aspiration but finds the institutional means to realize them structurally inaccessible.

### **3.3 Post-Jayalalithaa Fragmentation and Political Opportunity**

The death of J. Jayalalithaa in 2016 created a structural rupture in Tamil Nadu's political landscape. The AIADMK, whose organizational coherence had been fundamentally dependent on Jayalalithaa's personal authority, rapidly fragmented into competing factions. The E.K. Palaniswami (EPS) and O. Panneerselvam (OPS) factions produced a prolonged and publicly undignified internecine conflict that simultaneously depleted the party's organizational capacity and demolished its public credibility.

From a criminological perspective, the AIADMK's post-Jayalalithaa trajectory exemplifies what Durkheim called "mechanical" rather than "organic" solidarity a form of social cohesion dependent on external constraint (the authority of a single charismatic figure) rather than internal normative consensus. When the constraining authority was removed, the organization's deviance from its own stated norms became visible and uncontrollable. The public spectacle of AIADMK's factional warfare created a political opportunity structure in the language of social movement theory into which new formations could insert themselves.

### **3.4 The Role of Vijay's Cultural Capital**

Any serious analysis of TVK's emergence must account for the political significance of Vijay's cultural capital. In Tamil Nadu, film culture is not peripheral to politics but deeply embedded within it a pattern rooted in the Dravidian movement's own deployment of cinema as a vehicle for political messaging. The careers of both M.G. Ramachandran (who founded AIADMK) and M. Karunanidhi (who was himself a prominent screenwriter before becoming DMK's leader) illustrate the historical entanglement of Tamil cinema and Tamil politics.

Vijay's cultural capital, however, operates differently from that of his predecessors. Rather than leveraging a specific caste identity or religious affiliation, Vijay has cultivated a pan-Tamil, cross-caste popular appeal

centered on the persona of the oppressed individual triumphing over unjust authority a narrative that runs through his most significant films. This cinematic persona has translated into a political brand that resonates with constituencies defined less by caste identity than by shared experiences of economic marginalization, aspiration and resentment of entrenched privilege. In labelling theory terms, Vijay's mass cultural authority constitutes a counter-labeling resource that enables TVK to resist the delegitimizing labels deployed against it by established parties.

#### **4. Criminological Frameworks Applied to TVK's Electoral Success**

##### **4.1 The Ballot as Corrective Deviance**

One of the most generative contributions political criminology can make to the analysis of electoral behaviour is the concept of "corrective deviance" forms of norm violation that are motivated not by self-interest but by the normative failure of established institutions. When institutions that are supposed to serve collective welfare instead serve private interests, constituencies that respond by withdrawing their institutional loyalty and investing it in alternatives are engaged in a form of normative correction.

TVK's electoral support, in this framework, is not simply political preference but a form of democratic sanction an exercise of normative authority by citizens who have concluded that the existing political formation no longer discharges its obligations under the democratic contract. The voter who turns to TVK is not merely choosing a different candidate but engaging in a normative act: the reassignment of democratic legitimacy from an authority deemed to have forfeited it to one deemed capable of earning it. This is not deviance in the conventional criminological sense but deviance from the established political order and it is, in a profound sense, the highest exercise of democratic sovereignty.

##### **4.2 Organized Crime and Political Patronage Networks**

Political criminology has extensively documented the relationship between organized crime and political patronage in South Asian democracies. The work of Milan Vaishnav (2017) on the criminalization of Indian politics, particularly the electoral success of candidates facing serious criminal charges provides a framework for understanding the conditions that generate electoral insurgency. When the formal political system is dominated by candidates with criminal records, funded by networks of illegal money and sustained by coercive mobilization of voters through caste hierarchies, the resulting political order constitutes what we might call a "criminogenic political environment."

In criminogenic political environments, voter behaviour must be understood not as free preference expression but as constrained choice within a field structured by fear, patronage dependency and information asymmetry. The emergence of a political formation like TVK that successfully positions itself outside these criminogenic networks represents a significant structural disruption. TVK's stated commitment to clean politics, its deliberate distance from family dynasties and its organizational emphasis on youth leadership constitute normative counter-proposals to the criminogenic features of established Tamil politics.

##### **4.3 Routine Activity Theory and Political Opportunity**

Cohen and Felson's (1979) routine activity theory argues that crime occurs when three elements converge: a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of capable guardianship. While this framework was developed to explain conventional crime, its structural logic that harmful outcomes result from opportunity structures rather than individual pathology alone is applicable to political criminology.

In the electoral context, the "routine activity" model illuminates TVK's success as follows: the motivated political actors seeking change (youth voters, disenchanted middle-class constituencies, communities with

longstanding grievances against established parties) converge with a suitable organizational vehicle (TVK's structured party apparatus) in the absence of capable institutional guardians (a credible AIADMK alternative or a DMK government sufficiently responsive to the aspirations of these constituencies). This convergence of motivated constituencies, organizational capacity and institutional vacuum constitutes the structural condition for TVK's electoral breakthrough.

#### **4.4 White-Collar Crime and Elite Political Deviance**

Edwin Sutherland's (1949) concept of white-collar crime offenses committed by persons of respectability and high social status in the course of their occupations has been extensively applied to political corruption. The key insight is that elite deviance is structurally insulated from the sanctions applied to conventional crime: white-collar offenders are embedded in institutional networks that provide legitimacy, resources for legal defense and access to the mechanisms through which criminal labels are applied or withheld.

In Tamil Nadu's political context, elite political deviance corruption in public contracting, diversion of welfare funds, electoral malpractice and regulatory capture has been extensively documented. The criminological significance of TVK's emergence is that it constitutes an electoral challenge to the institutional insulation of elite political deviance. When citizens vote for TVK, they are implicitly voting against the institutional arrangements that have protected elite political deviance from accountability. The electoral mandate is, in this sense, an instrument of popular criminological judgment a verdict on the conduct of established political actors rendered not by the judicial system but by the citizenry itself.

### **5. Electoral Mandates as Instruments of Democratic Legitimacy**

#### **5.1 The Mandate as Social Contract Enforcement**

Social contract theory from Hobbes through Locke to Rousseau holds that political authority derives its legitimacy from the consent of the governed and that this consent is conditional on the authority's fulfilment of its contractual obligations. When political authority fails to discharge its obligations, it forfeits its claim to legitimacy and the governed are entitled indeed, obligated to withdraw their consent and reconstitute political authority on a new basis.

This social contract framework, applied to electoral democracy, means that the electoral mandate is not merely a preference-aggregation mechanism but a consent-renewing ritual that reconstitutes the democratic contract at regular intervals. Citizens who vote for TVK are exercising their contractual authority to reassign political legitimacy. They are enforcing the terms of the democratic contract against political actors who have violated them not through revolutionary action but through the institutionally sanctioned mechanism of the ballot.

From a political criminological perspective, the vote thus becomes what we might call an "instrument of democratic criminology" a tool through which citizenries identify, sanction and seek to correct institutional deviance. The electoral mandate is simultaneously a verdict (an assessment of the incumbent's conduct) and a sentence (the removal of their authority and the delegation of it to a new actor).

#### **5.2 Democratic Legitimacy and Performance Legitimacy**

Max Weber's distinction between different types of political legitimacy traditional, charismatic and legal-rational provides a further analytical resource. In Tamil Nadu's established political culture, legitimacy has historically been sustained through a combination of traditional legitimacy (Dravidian cultural authority), charismatic legitimacy (the personal authority of figures like Jayalalithaa and Karunanidhi) and legal-rational legitimacy (formal adherence to democratic procedures).

TVK's challenge to this established legitimacy structure is itself multi-dimensional. Against traditional Dravidian legitimacy, it offers a renewal of the Dravidian social justice tradition, arguing that established parties have betrayed its foundational commitments. Against charismatic legitimacy, it offers Vijay's cinematic authority a form of cultural charisma that is simultaneously politically novel and culturally continuous with Tamil political tradition. Against legal-rational legitimacy, it offers a commitment to procedural accountability and institutional transparency that established parties are perceived to have abandoned.

Alongside these Weberian categories, however, TVK's appeal draws heavily on what political sociologists call "performance legitimacy" legitimacy derived not from tradition, charisma, or procedure but from demonstrated capacity to deliver outcomes that citizens value. TVK has, in its early organizational life, made commitments to visible public action: street-level mobilization, disaster relief work, membership drives with genuine organizational depth and a deliberate distancing from the money-for-votes culture that characterizes established Tamil political mobilization. These performance-oriented demonstrations of institutional seriousness constitute an investment in performance legitimacy that established parties insulated from accountability by their institutional hegemony have ceased to make.

### **5.3 The Problem of Institutional Trust and its Restoration**

One of the most significant insights of contemporary criminology shared with democratic theory is that institutional trust is the foundational resource upon which all social cooperation depends and that its erosion generates cascading social pathologies. When citizens do not trust political institutions to serve collective welfare, the result is not simply political cynicism but the erosion of the cooperative norms that sustain civic life: tax compliance, engagement with public services, willingness to resolve disputes through institutional channels rather than private coercion.

The restoration of institutional trust from this perspective, simultaneously a criminological and a democratic imperative. TVK's emergence offers a test case for the proposition that institutional trust can be rebuilt through the emergence of new political formations that credibly commit to the norms that established parties have abandoned. The electoral support TVK has gathered is not only a judgment on the past conduct of established parties but an investment conditional and revisable in the possibility that Tamil Nadu's democratic institutions can be rehabilitated.

This conditional investment is itself a criminologically significant form of social behaviour. The voter who supports TVK is not simply expressing preference but exercising what might be called "democratic deterrence" signalling to all political actors that democratic norms will be enforced through the ballot if they are violated in governance. The effectiveness of this deterrent depends on the credibility of the threat, which in turn depends on TVK's organizational coherence, its willingness to resist the co-optive pressures of established political culture and its capacity to deliver on its normative commitments if it achieves governmental authority.

### **5.4 Electoral Mandates and the Limits of Democratic Justice**

Any serious analysis of electoral mandates as instruments of democratic justice must also acknowledge their limitations. Electoral democracy is a blunt instrument of accountability: it operates at four- or five-year intervals, it aggregates diverse and often contradictory preferences into a single binary choice and it provides no mechanism for the ongoing monitoring of governmental conduct between elections. The criminological literature on accountability gaps the spaces between formal accountability moments in which institutional deviance flourishes is directly applicable here.

Furthermore, the emergence of new political parties does not automatically produce better governance. The history of political insurgencies in postcolonial democracies includes numerous examples of parties that successfully mobilized anti-establishment sentiment but, once in power, reproduced or even intensified the institutional pathologies they had condemned in opposition. The Brazilian PT under Lula, the SYRIZA government in Greece and numerous regional parties in India have all illustrated the gap between oppositional promise and governmental performance.

TVK must therefore be assessed not only as an instrument of democratic assertion which it undoubtedly is but also as a nascent governance project whose institutional capacity, organizational culture and resistance to co-optive pressures remain untested by the full responsibilities of state power. The criminological analysis of TVK's emergence is necessarily a prospective as well as a retrospective exercise.

## **6. Democratic Assertion, Deviance, and the Future of Tamil Political Order**

### **6.1 The Sociology of Political Insurgency**

Political insurgency the organized challenge to entrenched political authority through legitimate democratic means is a distinctive form of collective behaviour that shares structural features with other forms of social movement mobilization while being subject to distinctive institutional constraints. Unlike revolutionary movements, which seek to overthrow existing institutional arrangements, electoral insurgencies work within the procedural rules of democratic competition while seeking to displace the substantive actors who currently control state power.

The criminological significance of electoral insurgency lies in what it reveals about the limits of institutional co-optation. Established political parties invest heavily in the co-optation of potential challengers through patronage, through the allocation of electoral resources and through the production of cultural narratives that frame alternatives as naïve, dangerous, or incompetent. When these co-optive strategies fail as they have in the face of TVK's emergence it indicates that the contradictions between the established political order's normative claims and its actual conduct have become too acute to be managed through the existing repertoire of co-optive strategies.

### **6.2 Youth Political Agency and the Democratization of Aspiration**

TVK's electoral success among other things, a story about the political agency of Tamil Nadu's youth. In criminological terms, the activation of youth political agency, the conversion of diffuse social discontent into organized electoral action represents a form of what Braithwaite (1989) called "reintegrative shaming" the mobilization of community norms against institutional deviance in ways that seek restoration of normative standards rather than mere punishment.

Young Tamil voters who mobilize for TVK are not simply expressing anti-establishment sentiment; they are making a normative claim about what Tamil Nadu's political culture ought to be. They are asserting through the institutionally legitimate means of the ballot, a vision of democratic governance that centres dignity, social & economic justice, transparency and generational equity. This normative assertion is a form of democratic legitimacy perspective, precisely what electoral democracy is designed to enable and its emergence is a healthy indicator of democratic vitality in a political system that has shown troubling signs of normative decay.

### **6.3 Implications for Political Criminology**

The analysis of TVK's emergence suggests several implications for the broader field of political criminology. First, political criminology needs to attend more carefully to the electoral sphere as a site of

both deviance and correction. Most political criminological research focuses on state crime, political corruption and the misuse of institutional authority. Less attention has been paid to the ways in which electoral behaviour itself constitutes a form of normative action a mechanism through which citizens enforce democratic norms against political actors who have violated them.

Second, the concept of "democratic criminology" the systematic analysis of electoral behaviour as a form of collective criminological reasoning deserves development as a theoretical framework. Voters in this framework, are not simply utility-maximizing preference expressers but normative actors who assess the conduct of political institutions against standards of democratic justice and render collective judgments through the ballot. This reframing has implications both for criminological theory and for democratic theory.

Third, the study of emerging political parties in postcolonial democracies requires a framework that attends simultaneously to structural conditions, cultural resources, organizational capacities and the specific character of the political opportunity structures into which new formations insert themselves. TVK's case illustrates all four dimensions and provides a model for comparative analysis across similar cases from the Aam Aadmi Party in Delhi to the Janasena Party in Andhra Pradesh and from analogous formations in Latin American and African democracies.

## 7. Conclusion

This article has argued that the criminology of electoral justice the application of criminological frameworks to the analysis of voter behaviour and electoral mandates provides a productive lens for understanding the emergence and success of new political formations like Tamilaga Vettri Kazhagam. Drawing on strain theory, social control theory, institutional anomie theory, labeling theory and the literature on elite political deviance, it has situated TVK's rise within the structural conditions of Tamil Nadu's political landscape: a legacy of Dravidian political dominance that has calcified into patronage capture; acute democratic strain among youth constituencies, post-Jayalalithaa fragmentation of the AIADMK and the availability of Vijay's extraordinary cultural capital as an organizational resource.

The central theoretical contribution of this article is the reconceptualization of the electoral mandate as an instrument of democratic criminology a form of collective normative judgment through which citizenries identify institutional deviance, sanction its perpetrators and invest conditional legitimacy in new political formations that appear capable of restoring democratic norms. This conceptualization bridges the disciplines of criminology and democratic theory in ways that are productive for both.

TVK's electoral success and the voter behaviour that has sustained it illustrates a fundamental truth about democratic legitimacy, it is not given by history, tradition or constitutional provision, but earned through continuous performance, renewed through regular normative assessment and withdrawn when political actors betray the terms of the democratic contract. The Tamil voter who turns to TVK is exercising the highest form of democratic authority not the authority to choose between pre-given options, but the authority to reconstitute the political field itself.

Whether TVK will prove capable of meeting the expectations embedded in the mandate it has received remains an open question one that will be answered not by criminological analysis but by the unfolding of democratic life in Tamil Nadu. What criminological analysis can tell us, however, is that the desire for electoral justice that TVK's emergence expresses is not untried, not irrational and not ephemeral. It is the organized expression of a democratic citizenry that has concluded, through painful experience, that justice in politics as in law requires not merely formal procedure but substantive accountability.

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