

# Additional Material on the Guide on 'enlightened trust'<sup>1</sup>

## Deliverable 8.10

### EnTrust: Enlightened Trust: An Examination of Trust and Distrust in Governance – Conditions, Effects and Remedies

#### Table of Contents

1. Methodological Remarks .....	2
2. Overview of the Determinants of Trust .....	3
3. The Determinants of Trust .....	4
4. Memo on Determinants of Political Trust.....	17
5. Determinants of Trust: Reference List.....	20
6. Overview of the Consequences of Trust .....	30
7. The Consequences of Trust.....	31
8. Memo on Consequences of Political Trust.....	38
9. Consequences of Trust: Reference List .....	39

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<sup>1</sup> This document represents a preliminary version and is currently undergoing a continuous revision process. It may contain inaccuracies or areas in need of refinement.

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## 1. Methodological Remarks

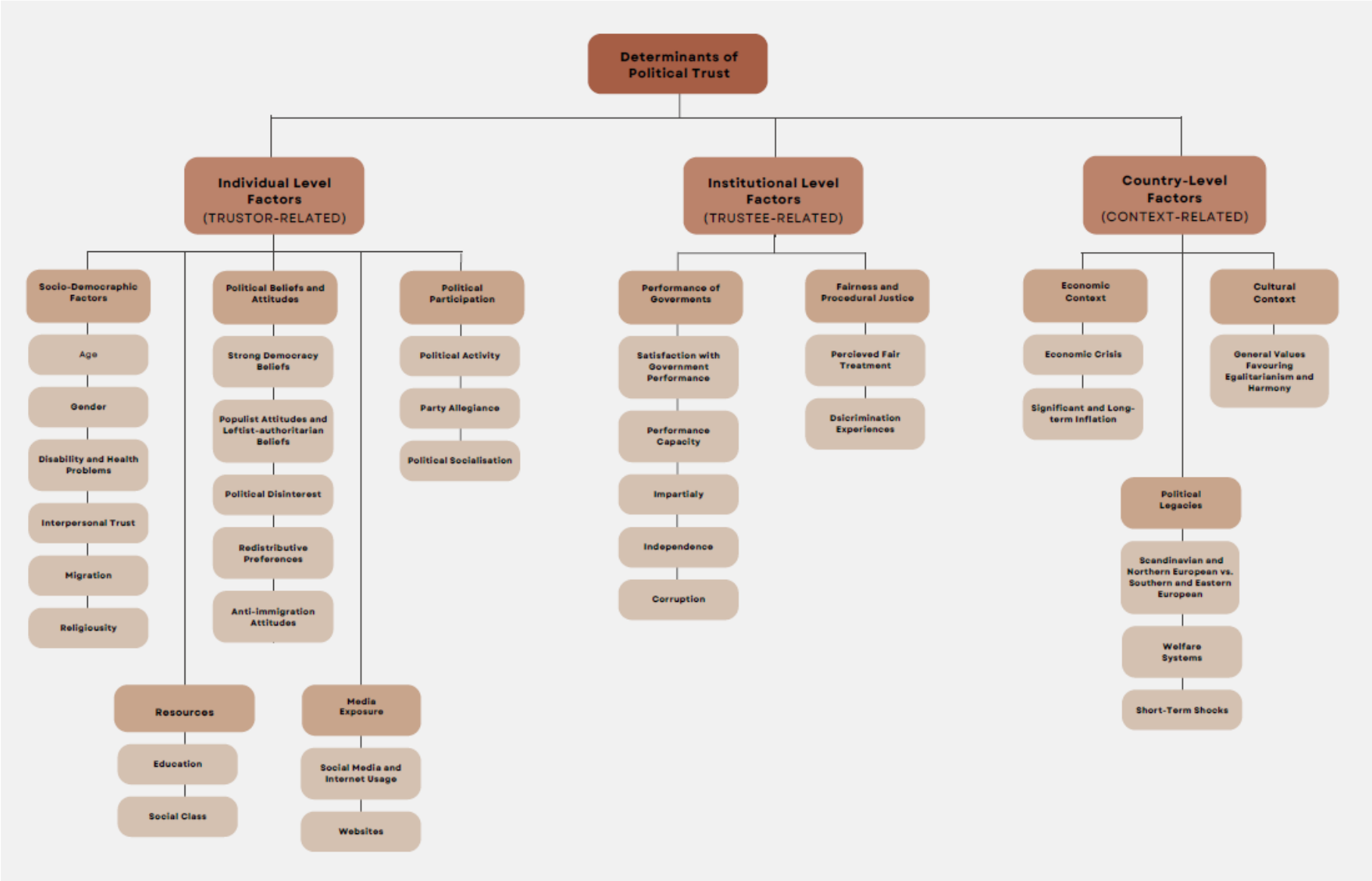
The Guide on 'enlightened trust' is based on an extensive literature review, which adopted a comprehensive methodology to systematically examine empirical studies on political trust. The search strategy utilized a range of academic databases, with primary focus on Google Scholar and the University of Siegen's library, which not only provided access to the local library catalogue but also to the Electronic Journals Library (EZB), which includes both freely accessible and licensed journals. Keywords related to "political trust," its determinants, consequences, and specific countries were combined with Boolean operators (e.g., "trust" AND "Age" AND "Sweden") to broaden the search scope. The publication timeframe was primarily limited to the past ten years, starting from 2013, to capture contemporary insights into political trust.

The research prioritized empirical studies, aiming to assess the impact of various factors with a particular emphasis on longitudinal data when available. The inclusion criteria encompassed journal articles and book chapters in English that presented empirical data on political trust. High-quality non-academic publications, such as OECD reports, were also considered. In contrast, opinion pieces, purely theoretical papers, and unrelated studies were excluded. The geographical scope was confined to European Union countries, the UK, and EU candidate countries. The burgeoning field of trust research resulted in an initial surplus of articles. Through manual screening of titles and abstracts, this was effectively narrowed down to 384 relevant texts after detailed full-text reviews.

Data collection employed a standardized form for the systematic extraction of critical information from each study, including authors, year of publication, geographical focus, research methodology, and principal findings related to political trust. The analysis of these empirical studies entailed separating determinants, consequences, and threshold events that influence the development of political trust, along with examining the constellations of these factors across different European countries. This approach was chosen to highlight the complexity of social and political factors affecting trust, both in isolation and as contributing elements within broader contexts leading to specific developments.

For the analysis, literature was grouped into three categories for both determinants and consequences of political trust. To elucidate the relationship between political trust and its contributing factors, political trust was broadly classified into three groups: 1) individual-level, 2) institutional-level, and 3) country-level. At each level, several determinants were identified that influence the political trust individuals place in governance. The consequences were examined in terms of 1) political, 2) social, and 3) individual implications. Additionally, threshold events significantly impacting the development of political trust in various countries were analysed. This involved expanding research based on key events identified in the empirical studies previously reviewed, summarizing them into a list of pivotal events. A preference for longitudinal data aimed to understand periods of relatively stable trust punctuated by significant shifts correlated with these threshold events

## 2. Overview of the Determinants of Trust



### 3. The Determinants of Trust

- ◆ The table below illustrates the correlation between the determinants of trust and political trust for the European Union countries, the UK and the candidate countries
- ◆ Longitudinal studies are peach-coloured
- ◆ Some studies are footnoted to fill in details

Determinants of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
<b>Individual-Level Factors (Trustor-Related)</b>	Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dalton, 2005, p.16;</li> <li>• Johnson, 2005, pp.73-79;</li> <li>• Scheidegger &amp; Staerke, 2011, p.174;</li> <li>• Ellinas &amp; Lamprianou, 2014, p.241;</li> <li>• van Erkel &amp; van der Meer, 2016, p.185</li> <li>• Voicu &amp; Tufiş, 2017, p.362</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Schoon &amp; Cheng, 2011, pp.627-628;</li> <li>• Goubin &amp; Hooghe, 2020, p.234;</li> <li>• Dotti Sani &amp; Magistro, 2016, p.257</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Claes et al., 2012, p.214<sup>2</sup>;</li> <li>• Koczanski, 2019, p.24<sup>3</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abdelzadeha et al., 2015, p.269;</li> <li>• van der Brug &amp; van Praag, 2007, p.453</li> </ul>

<sup>2</sup> Political trust differs. The participants have the most trust in the European Parliament and the least trust towards political parties.

<sup>3</sup> Different outcomes in different countries.

Determinants of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marien &amp; Hooghe, 2011, p.276;</li> </ul>			
	<b>Gender: Women</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Schoon &amp; Cheng, 2011, pp.627-628;</li> <li>• Johnson, 2005, pp.73-79;</li> <li>• Hooghe et al., 2015, p.133;</li> <li>• Dotti Sani &amp; Magistro, 2016, p.257;</li> <li>• Krouwel, 2017, p.447</li> <li>• Voicu &amp; Tufiş, 2017, p.362</li> <li>• Marien &amp; Hooghe, 2011, p.276;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scheidegger &amp; Staerkle, 2011, p.174;</li> <li>• van Erkel &amp; van der Meer, 2016, p.185</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dalton, 2005, p.16<sup>4</sup>;</li> <li>• Arpino &amp; Obydenkovavan, 2020, p.409<sup>5</sup>;</li> <li>• Koczanski, 2019, p.24<sup>6</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abdelzadeha et al., 2015, p.269;</li> <li>• Arpino &amp; Obydenkovavan, 2020, p.411;</li> <li>• der Brug &amp; van Praag, 2007, p.453</li> </ul>
	<b>Disability and Health Problems</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mattila, 2022, p.174;</li> <li>• Reher, 2020, p.800;</li> </ul>			

<sup>4</sup> Less trust in the national government and the EU, but no effect on any other institution.

<sup>5</sup> Depends on the type of institution.

<sup>6</sup> Different outcomes in different countries.

Determinants of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mattila &amp; Rapeli, 2018, pp.124-129;</li> <li>• Mattila, 2020, p.59;</li> <li>• Mohseni &amp; Lindström, 2008, pp.30-32</li> </ul>			
	<b>Interpersonal Trust</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ellinas &amp; Lamprianou, 2014, p.241;</li> <li>• Kaase, 1999, p.8;</li> <li>• Spadaro et al., 2020, p.10</li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mishler &amp; Rose, 2001, p.54</li> </ul>
	<b>Migration</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scheidegger &amp; Staerkle, p.174;</li> <li>• Andre, 2014, p.976</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adman &amp; Strömblad, 2015, p.122;</li> <li>• Andre, 2014, p.976</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Koczanski, 2019, p.247;</li> <li>• Maxwell, 2018, pp.44-45<sup>8</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abdelzadeha et al., 2015, p.269</li> </ul>
	<b>Education</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dalton, 2005, p.16;</li> <li>• van der Brug &amp; van Praag, 2007, pp.453-454;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Johnson, 2005, p.76;</li> <li>• Marien &amp; Hooghe, 2011, p.276;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scheidegger &amp; Staerkle, 2011, p.176<sup>9</sup>;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ellinas &amp; Lamprianou, 2014, p.241;</li> <li>• Van Elsas, 2014, p.1168</li> </ul>

<sup>7</sup> Different outcomes in different countries.

<sup>8</sup> First-generation migrants' trust level is higher than natives and second-generation migrants.

<sup>9</sup> The authors discovered that a higher level of education, together with the lack of material risk, is positively correlated with political trust.

Determinants of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hooghe et al., 2015, pp.132-133;</li> <li>• Arpino &amp; Obydenkovavan, 2020, p.409;</li> <li>• Hooghe et al., 2017, p.226;</li> <li>• van Erkel &amp; van der Meer, 2016, p.185;</li> <li>• Goubin &amp; Hooghe, 2020, p.242;</li> <li>• Dennison et al., 2020, p.7;</li> <li>• Krouwel et al., 2017, p.447</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ugur-Cinar et al., 2020, pp.790-794<sup>10</sup></li> </ul>	
	<b>Social Class</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Schoon &amp; Cheng, 2011, p.628;</li> <li>• Claes et al., 2012, p.214;</li> <li>• Clench-Aas &amp; Holte, 2021, p.9;</li> <li>• van Elsas, 2014, p.232;</li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Johnson, 2005, p.76;</li> <li>• Hooghe et al., 2015, pp.132-133</li> </ul>

<sup>10</sup> Meritocratic countries experience a positive correlation, whereas corrupted countries are negatively correlated.

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Determinants of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dotti Sani &amp; Magistro, 2016, p.257</li> </ul>			
	<b>Religiosity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hooghe et al., 2014, p.133;</li> <li>Koczanski, 2019, p.13;</li> <li>Goubin &amp; Hooghe, 2020, p.234</li> <li>Marien &amp; Hooghe, 2011, p.276;</li> </ul>			
	<b>Strong Democracy Beliefs</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hooghe et al., 2017, pp.222-226</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Christensen, 2019, pp.177-178<sup>11</sup>;</li> <li>Kołczyńska, 2020, pp.11-14<sup>12</sup>;</li> <li>Mauk, 2020a, p.370<sup>13</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Arpino &amp; Obydenkova, 2020, p.405</li> </ul>
	<b>Populist Attitudes and Leftist-</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Marlene Mauk, 2020, p.54;</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kołczyńska, 2023, p.1248<sup>14</sup>;</li> </ul>	

<sup>11</sup> The author includes citizens' initiatives to the link between political trust and direct democracy beliefs.

<sup>12</sup> Europe and worldwide. Democratic value orientation only has an impact on political trust if the perception of political quality in the country is taken into consideration.

<sup>13</sup> A global study. Democratic value orientation only has an impact on political trust if the perception of political quality in the country is taken into consideration.

<sup>14</sup> The text states that the political trust of populist voters varies between populist parties in the opposition and the government.



Determinants of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
	<b>Authoritarian Beliefs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Goubin &amp; Hooghe, 2020, p.234</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hajdinjak, 2020, p.414</li> </ul>	
	<b>Political Disinterest</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Claes et al., 2012, p.215;</li> <li>Ariely, 2015a, pp.445-448;</li> <li>Dotti Sani &amp; Magistro, 2016, p.255</li> <li>Voicu &amp; Tufiş, 2017, p.362</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bäck &amp; Kestilä, 2009, pp.186-187</li> </ul>		
	<b>Redistribute Preferences</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Goubin &amp; Kumlin, 2022, p.600;</li> <li>Goubin &amp; Hooghe, 2020, p.234</li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Svallfors, 1999, p.259;</li> <li>Edlund, 2003, pp.360-361</li> </ul>
	<b>Anti-Immigration Attitudes</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Alnassan, 2023, p.25</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Brosius et al., 2019, pp.456-458;</li> <li>Nathaniel &amp; Jacobsen, 2020, p.24</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Verboord et al., 2023, p.17;</li> <li>Simon, 2023, p.14<sup>15</sup>;</li> <li>Dennison, 2020, p.7<sup>16</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>McLaren, 2017, p.392;</li> <li>Jeannet, 2020, pp.220-222</li> </ul>

<sup>15</sup> Anti-immigrant people's political trust increases when harsh political against immigrants are made.

<sup>16</sup> For conservatives, the more they dislike immigrants, the less they trust in politicians.

Determinants of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Voicu &amp; Tufiş, 2017, p.364<sup>17</sup></li> </ul>	
	<b>Political Activity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mattila, 2020, p.59;</li> <li>Andre, 2014, p.979</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Braun &amp; Hutter, 2014, p.160</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hooghe &amp; Marien, 2013, p.145<sup>18</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bäck &amp; Kestilä, 2009, p.186</li> </ul>
	<b>Party-Allegiance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cole et al., 2018, p.17</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Söderlund &amp; Kestilä-Kekkonen, 2009, p.176</li> </ul>		
	<b>Political Socialisation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Voicu &amp; Tufiş, 2017, p.362</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Claes et al., 2012, p.218</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Schoon &amp; Cheng, 2011, pp.627-628<sup>19</sup></li> </ul>	
	<b>Social Media and Internet Usage</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Claes et al., 2012, p.218;</li> <li>Kiratli, 2023, p.11</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Verboord et al., 2023, p.14-15</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ceron, 2015, p.495<sup>20</sup></li> </ul>	
	<b>Websites</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Verboord et al., 2023, pp.14-15;</li> <li>Ceron, 2015, p.495;</li> <li>Khan, 2019, p.6</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Moeller &amp; de Vreese, 2013, p.314</li> </ul>	

<sup>17</sup> “Those coming from more performing countries are likely to be more critical towards the political system in the host society”.

<sup>18</sup> Political trust is associated positively with institutionalized political participation but negatively with non-institutionalized forms of political participation.

<sup>19</sup> “Attitudes toward institutions and the political system appear to be shaped by both early experiences within the family and school contexts as well as later experiences in the economic system” (p.627).

<sup>20</sup> This study states a positive correlation between political trust and news media but a negative correlation between political trust and social media (p.495).

Determinants of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
Institutional Features (Trustee-Related)	Satisfaction With Government Performance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hobolt, 2012, pp.100-101;</li> <li>• Whiteley et al., 2010, pp.742-744;</li> <li>• Quaranta &amp; Martini, 2017, pp.676-677;</li> <li>• Weber et al., pp.401-402;</li> <li>• Slomczynski &amp; Janicka, 2009, pp.26;</li> <li>• Dotti Sani &amp; Magistro, 2016, p.255;</li> <li>• Mueller, 2009, p.162</li> <li>• Lühiste, 2006, p.493</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kestilä-Kekkonen &amp; Söderlund, 2017, p.122;</li> <li>• Xenidis, 2018, p.444</li> </ul>	
	Performance Capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Torcal &amp; Christmann, 2021, pp.10-11;</li> <li>• Kestilä-Kekkonen</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Schnaudt &amp; Popa, 2023, p.54;</li> <li>• OECD, 2017, pp.15-25, 27-46, 47-65, 67-85, 105-124, 153-158</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Van de Walle et al., 2002, pp.8-9</li> </ul>

Determinants of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• &amp; Sűderlund, 2015, p.155;</li> <li>• Van de Walle &amp; Migchelbrink, 2022, pp.21-22</li> <li>• Lűhiste, 2006, p.493</li> </ul>			
	<b>Impartiality</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Van de Walle &amp; Migchelbrink, 2022, pp.21-22;</li> <li>• Lo Iacono, 2019, p.9</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abdelzadeha et al., 2015, p.269<sup>21</sup>;</li> <li>• Suziki &amp; Demircioglu, 2019, pp.755-757;</li> <li>• Persson et al., 2017, p.110;</li> <li>• Hough et al., 2013, p.306</li> </ul>	
	<b>Independence</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Garoupa &amp; Magalhaes, 2021, p.706;</li> <li>• Magalhães &amp; Garoupa, 2023, p.19</li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wonka &amp; Rittberger, 2010, p.745;</li> <li>• Ritleng, 2016, pp. 83-124, 125-179, 180-205, 206-228;</li> </ul>

<sup>21</sup> There is a difference between young people with previous encounters with authority and those without such encounters. The exact wording was not “impartiality” but “procedural fairness”.

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		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Groenleer, 2009, p.371;</li> <li>• Bűrd, 2022, p.208</li> </ul>
	<b>Corruption</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arpino &amp; Obydenkovavan, 2020, p.412;</li> <li>• Torcal &amp; Christmann, 2021, pp.10-11;</li> <li>• Van de Walle &amp; Migchelbrink, 2022, pp.21-22;</li> <li>• Pellegata &amp; Memoli, 2016, p.409;</li> <li>• Melios, 2020, p.17;</li> <li>• Mishler &amp; Rose, 2001, p.48;</li> <li>• van der Meer &amp; Hakhverdian, 2017, p.97;</li> <li>• Goubin &amp; Hooghe, 2020, p.234;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Van Elsas et al., 2020, p.960;</li> <li>• Bolleyer &amp; Smirnova, 2017, p.1235</li> </ul>	

Determinants of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lühiste, 2006, p.493</li> </ul>		
	<b>Perceived Fair Treatment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lo Iacono, 2019, p.9;</li> <li>Hough et al., 2013, p.24;</li> <li>Kluegel &amp; Mason, 2004, p.825</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Goubin &amp; Hooghe, 2020, p.232</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>OECD, 2017, pp.15-25, 27-46, 47-65, 67-85, 105-124, 153-158</li> <li>Grimes, 2006, p.306</li> </ul>	
	<b>Discrimination Experiences</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Röder &amp; Mühlau, 2011, p.551;</li> <li>Kamali, 2011, pp. 301-310;</li> <li>Kantola &amp; Nousiainen, 2012, pp.33-58</li> <li>Xenidis, 2018, p.33;</li> <li>Kamali, 2009, pp. 37-62, 63-232, 233-267, 268-290</li> <li>Wrench, 2011, pp.1715-1730;</li> <li>Salentin, 2007, p.49</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Jeong, 2016, pp.221-222;</li> <li>Oskooii, 2018, p.884;</li> <li>Röder &amp; Mühlau, 2012, p.383;</li> </ul>	

Determinants of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
Country-Level Determinants (Context-Related)	Economic Crisis		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arpino &amp; Obydenkovavan, 2020, p.412;</li> <li>• Liesch, 2016, p.17-18;</li> <li>• Hooghe &amp; Okolikj, 2020, pp.894-987;</li> <li>• Quaranta et al., 2021, p.167;</li> <li>• Hooghe et al., 2017, p.225</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dotti Sani &amp; Magistro, 2016, pp.253-254;</li> <li>• Koczanski, 2019, p.35<sup>22</sup></li> </ul>	
	Significant and Long-Term Inflation		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• van der Crujsena et al., 2023, p.16;</li> <li>• Roth et al., 2022, p.205;</li> <li>• Mishler &amp; Rose, 2001, p.52</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• van Erkel &amp; van der Meer, 2016, p.193</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Liotti &amp; Musella, 2016, p.12;</li> <li>• Charalambous &amp; Kanol, 2015, p.14</li> </ul>
	Scandinavian and Northern European (+) vs. Southern		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Torcal, 2017, pp.7-8;</li> <li>• Marien &amp; Hooghe, 2011, p.276;</li> </ul>		

<sup>22</sup> Different outcomes in different countries.

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Determinants of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
	<b>and Eastern European (-)</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• van Erkel &amp; van der Meer, 2016, p.184;</li> <li>• Kostadinova &amp; Giurcanu, 2015, pp.805-806;</li> <li>• Mattila &amp; Rapeli, 2018, pp.128-129;</li> <li>• Zahariadis et al, 2023, p.61</li> </ul>		
	<b>Welfare Systems</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mattila &amp; Rapeli, 2018, pp.128-129;</li> </ul>			
	<b>Short-Term ,Shocks' (i.e., Terrorist Attacks, Scandals)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dinesen &amp; Jæger, 2013, p.925</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Close et al., 2022, pp.17-18;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flatøy, 2019, p.120;</li> <li>• van Elsas et al., 2020, pp.956-957</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Doosje et al., 2018, pp.4-5</li> </ul>



## 4. Memo on Determinants of Political Trust

**Memo 1 (Political Ideologies: Right-wing vs. Left-wing):** Arpino and Obydenkova (2020, pp. 409-411), Hooghe et al. (2017, p. 222), van Erkel and van der Meer (2015, p.185) and Krouwel et al. (2017, p.447) have discovered that right-wing people voters have more political trust than left-wing voters. However, Cole et al. (2018, pp.17-18) have a different finding: “The effect is variable across institutions, and does not suggest a consistent pattern in which right or left is associated with more or less trust in particular government bodies. Typically, those who are more right wing tend to be less trusting of central government than centrists or left wingers. One notable stand out group is those who identify themselves as ‘very left wing’; this group is significantly less likely to trust any political institution than other left-wingers, and is particularly distrustful of regional authorities”.

**Memo 2 (Unemployment):** Arpino and Obydenkova (2020, pp. 409-411) found that unemployed people trust less than employed people, which correlates with the study of van Erkel and van der Meer (2015, p.185), where it is stated that “citizens are significantly more trustful when the within-country level of unemployment is lower than average and when economic growth is higher”.

**Memo 3 (Town Size):** Johnson (2005, pp.76-78) found no straightforward connection between political trust and the influence of town size.

**Memo 4 (Migrants):** According to Koczanski (2019, p.33), migrants have less interpersonal trust than others. The study of Mügge et al. (2021, pp. 409-412) about Turkish migrants in the Netherlands. The study notes that the higher educated Turkish migrants in the Netherlands are, the less trusting they are in Turkish politics and the more trusting they are in Dutch politics.

**Memo 5 (Migration Policies):** McLaren (2017, p. 392) found “no evidence that policies towards newcomers are themselves undermining political trust”.

**Memo 6 (Anti-immigration attitude and spoken language in Switzerland):** Scheidegger & Staerkle (2011, p.174) discovered that French-speaking respondents trust less than German-speaking respondents in Switzerland. Moreover, “[t]he German-speaking participants were thus more preoccupied by immigration than the French-speaking participants, who were more worried about urban violence and security issues”.

**Memo 7 (School motivation):** Schoon and Cheng (2011, p.629) revealed that school motivation positively correlates with political trust instead of educational qualifications. In other words, the more school motivation one has, the more s/he trusts in political institutions.

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**Memo 8 (Political socialisation in terms of education and political discussion):** Hooghe et al. (2015, p.133) uncover that “[t]he father’s level of education and discussing politics with parents also positively affect political trust”.

**Memo 9 (Inflation):** The abstract of van Erkel and van der Meer’s study states that inflation influences political trust, while the conclusion says the following: “The effects of the inflation rate and the budget deficit are the least consistent: these effects only become apparent once we control for influential cases in our analyses – that is, the extreme experiences of the Irish people after the start of the Great Recession. The inconsistent effect of inflation is particularly noteworthy as it runs in an unexpected direction whenever it is significant: if anything, high inflation rates stimulate rather than damage political trust. Moreover, the size of these effects hinges on the point of reference – that is, to a longitudinal average or to the direct past.” (2016, p.193)

**Memo 10 (Terror Attacks):** Dinesen and Jæger’s research notes that there is a short period of time when institutional trust increases after a terror attack (2013, pp. 921-925).

**Memo 11 (Locality):** In Cole et al.’s (2018, pp. 16-17) study, which focuses on France, there is a discussion of trust in relation to locality in which the authors state that those who live in Paris have the most political trust compared to other regions.

**Memo 12 (Northern European/Nordic countries vs. Eastern and South European countries):** The studies done by Marien and Hooghe (2011), van Erkel and van der Meer (2015), Torcal (2017) and Kostadinova and Giurcanu (2015) do not use the word “correlation” but still state that political trust in Northern European/Nordic countries is higher than in Eastern and South European countries. Their data is from the Eurobarometer (1999-2011), European Social Survey (2012) and European Values Survey (1999-2001). Hence, below you can find the links to the 2020 version of the European Social Survey:

- Trust in your country’s parliament: <https://ess-search.nsd.no/en/variable/938de8fc-dc87-4127-8f3f-5231365e675b>
- Trust in the legal system: <https://ess-search.nsd.no/en/variable/a6e8e600-4187-4c6b-bc21-5e80815a69e6>
- Trust in the police: <https://ess-search.nsd.no/en/variable/23725077-a780-4544-aff2-81e85ed7e44d>
- Trust in politicians: <https://ess-search.nsd.no/en/variable/d654fc72-eddf-46b7-b284-e861bf3d68c3>
- Trust in political parties: <https://ess-search.nsd.no/en/variable/0fe7b6f1-9126-4517-95e7-4f1336d32cb9>
- Trust in the European parliament: <https://ess-search.nsd.no/en/variable/0fe7b6f1-9126-4517-95e7-4f1336d32cb9>
- Trust in the United Nations: <https://ess-search.nsd.no/en/variable/4351373e-faf2-4048-8213-2b5bc703cc0e>
- Trust in scientists: <https://ess-search.nsd.no/en/variable/559d6d90-6c58-489d-a0bf-df0cefae43a7>

**Memo 13 (Individuals’ economic situation vs Country’s economic situation):** The results of Flatøy’s study reveal that there is a negative correlation but that the correlation varies between different institutions (2019, p.120)

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**Memo 14 (Progressive-liberal value):** Verboord et al. (2023, p.13) uncover that “[c]itizens with more progressive–liberal value orientations display more institutional trust”.

**Memo 15 (Having a partner or kids):** Dotti Sani and Magistro (2016, p.255) found that people with a partner and kids are more trusting than individuals without kids and/or a partner.

**Memo 16 (Political activity on social media):** Koivula et al.’s study on Finland (2021, p.67) discovered that low political trust increases political activity on social media among non-voters.

**Memo 17 (Populist supporters and their location):** Hajdinjak (2020, p.412) notes that “populist supporters exhibit higher levels of political trust than do other voters, at least in countries where populist parties reign supreme”.

**Memo 18 (News consumption and election periods):** Strömbäck et al. (2016, pp.101-102) found a positive correlation between political trust and total news consumption and political trust and election periods.

**Memo 19 (Trust in civil servants):** Houston et al. (2016, p.1208) state a positive correlation between political trust and trust in civil servants.

**Memo 20 (Internet’s speed in relation to social media):** Kiratli (2023, p.9) found a link between the speed of the Internet when using social media and political trust: “In regions with higher broadband access, each unit increase in social media use leads to lower trust in the EU. Similarly, in these regions, those who receive information about the EU from social media and trust social media become less trusting of the EU”.

**Memo 21 (Law Compliance):** Marien & Hooghe (2011, p.267) found out that “respondents with low levels of political trust are significantly more likely to accept illegal behaviour such as tax fraud than respondents with high levels of political trust”.

**Memo 22 (Media autonomy and trust in media):** Ariely states that “[c]ountries with higher levels of media autonomy exhibited a weaker relation between trust in the press and political trust” (2015b, p.361).

## 5. Determinants of Trust: Reference List

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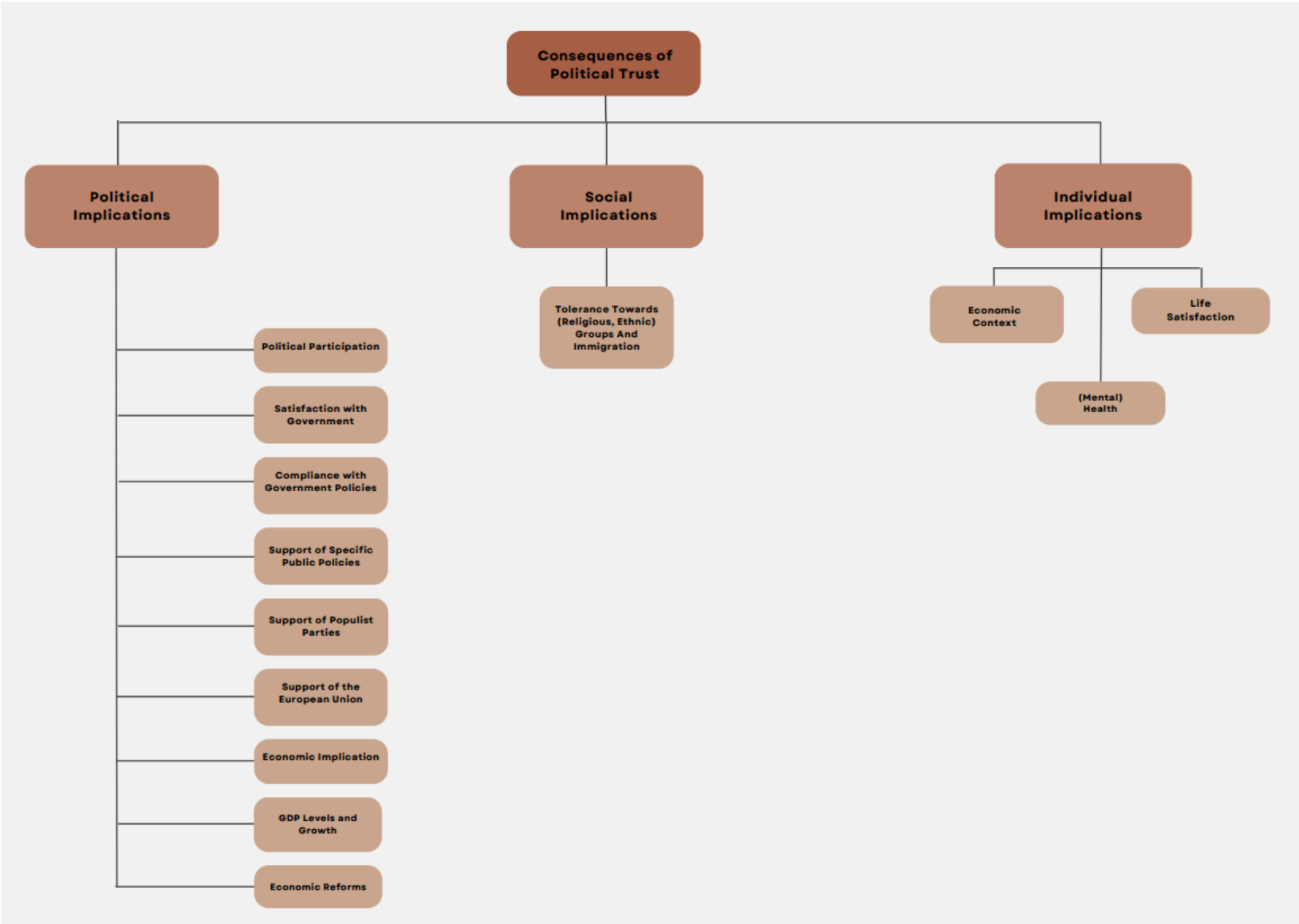
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## 6. Overview of the Consequences of Trust



## 7. The Consequences of Trust

- ◆ The table below illustrates the correlation between the consequences of trust and political trust for the European Union countries, the UK and the candidate countries
- ◆ Longitudinal studies are peach-coloured
- ◆ Some studies are footnoted to fill in details

Consequences of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
Political implications	Political Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Christensen, 2018 (p.585)<sup>23</sup>;</li> <li>• Eder &amp; Katsanidou, 2015 (p.97)</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Braun &amp; Hutter, 2014 (pp.158-159)<sup>24</sup>;</li> <li>• Bäck &amp; Christensen, 2016 (p.186)<sup>25</sup></li> <li>• Carstens, 2023 (p.304)<sup>26</sup></li> </ul>	

<sup>23</sup> Case Study: Finland. The research investigated the relationship together with political knowledge. Political trust had a positive correlation with direct democracy initiatives, but together with political knowledge, the effect is even higher (p.586).

<sup>24</sup> Distrust specifically encourages extra representative action in more closed systems.

<sup>25</sup> The researchers uncovered that “an individual with the highest score of generalized trust is 37% more likely to vote than an individual with the lowest level of generalized trust”. However, a high level of aggregate generalised trust makes an individual less likely to vote (p.186)

<sup>26</sup> Positive when activities directly related to the electoral process and the functioning of political institutions and negatively with other non-institutionalised forms of political participation. In short, “people who trust their political institutions choose to express their opinion through voting (for mainstream parties), and people with low political trust are more inclined to use alternative forms of participation, such as protests”.

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Consequences of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
	<b>Satisfaction with Government</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Davidovic &amp; Harring, 2020 (pp.5-6);</li> <li>• Quaranta et al., 2021 (pp.167-169)<sup>27</sup>;</li> <li>• Busemeyer, 2022 (pp.400-403)</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Weber et al., 2017 (pp. 399, 401)<sup>28</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Albrecht, 2017 (p.396)<sup>29</sup></li> </ul>
	<b>Compliance with Government Policies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marien &amp; Werner, 2019 (p.83)<sup>30</sup>;</li> <li>• Bargain &amp; Aminjonov, 2020 (p.5)<sup>31</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kestilä-Kekkonen et al., 2022 (p.434)<sup>33</sup></li> </ul>		

<sup>27</sup> Southern European countries (Greece, Spain, Italy, Portugal). Younger people were less satisfied with government performance, which resulted in lower levels of political trust (p.167).

<sup>28</sup> The UK, France and Germany. “The results indicate that this reciprocal relationship [between trust in politicians and satisfaction with government] can be confirmed for the German and British samples, whereas in the French sample, satisfaction with government was related to trust in politicians but not vice versa” (p.401).

<sup>29</sup> Ten minor disasters in Europe, listed on page 389, were selected based on the criteria on pages 387-388. The author discovered that “political trust is largely unaffected by disasters in general” (p.396).

<sup>30</sup> 25 European countries + Russia and Israel. The authors claim that the individual’s perception of fair treatment is positively associated with institutional trust, making such individuals less permissive regarding law-breaking and more willing to cooperate with political institutions (p.83).

<sup>31</sup> Such correlation was conveyed through the mobility of citizens at the time of COVID-19. The mobility of citizens in high-trust regions decreased more than in other regions (p.5)

<sup>33</sup> Case Study: Finland between 2017-2020. Also, “citizens’ compliance with COVID-19 recommendations was directly linked to political trust but depended also on the interaction between competence and trust” (p.424).



Consequences of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Carstens, 2023 (p.304)<sup>32</sup></li> </ul>			
	<b>Support of Specific Public Policies (e.g., Welfare or Environmental, Immigration)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ehrke et al., 2023 (p.85);</li> <li>• Berning &amp; Ziller, 2017 (pp.208-209)<sup>34</sup>;</li> <li>• Sipinen et al., 2019 (pp.474-475);</li> <li>• Van der Linden, 2017 (pp.2,9);</li> <li>• Macdonald &amp; Cornacchione, 2023 (p.498)<sup>35</sup>;</li> <li>• Davidovic &amp; Haring, 2020 (pp.5-6)<sup>36</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gabriel &amp; Trűdinger, 2011 (p.434)<sup>37</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Khodenko, 2013 (p.24)</li> </ul>	

<sup>32</sup> Paying taxes and avoiding illegal behaviour.

<sup>34</sup> Immigration

<sup>35</sup> Immigration

<sup>36</sup> Climate change. Citizens support all three policies (taxes, subsidies, and bans), but they support for taxes more than subsidies and bans (pp.5-6). Moreover, “respondents in Sweden, Finland, Norway, and Iceland are, on average, more supportive of a climate tax than respondents in Poland, Spain, France, and Portugal” (p.5).

<sup>37</sup> Germany; policies on retirement pensions, family aid and healthcare.

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Consequences of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
	Support of Populist Parties		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ehrke et al., 2023 (pp.85-89);</li> <li>Berning &amp; Ziller, 2017 (pp.208-209);</li> <li>Inglehart &amp; Norris, 2016 (p.27);</li> <li>Geurkink et al., 2020 (p.259);</li> <li>Thielmann &amp; Hilbig, 2023 (pp.1, 12)</li> <li>Algan et al., 2017 (p. 369)</li> <li>Fieschi &amp; Heywood, 2004 (pp.295,305)<sup>38</sup></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vitale &amp; Girard, 2022 (p.558)</li> </ul>	Rooduijn, 2018 (p.362)
	Support of EU		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ehrke et al., 2023 (pp.85-89);</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Algan et al., 2017 (p. 369)</li> <li>Harteveld et al., 2013 (p.15)</li> </ul>	

<sup>38</sup> Distrust is relevant for traditional right-wing populism, but not other forms.

Consequences of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
	Economic Implications				
	GDP Level and Growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Horváth, 2013 (p.782);</li> <li>• Bjørnskov &amp; Méon, 2013 (pp.652-663);</li> <li>• Volland, 2010 (pp.2, 22-24);</li> <li>• Grimalda &amp; Mittone, 2011 (p. 273);</li> <li>• Storonyanska et al., 2022 (pp.4-12);</li> <li>• Graafland, 2020 (p.281)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lopes et al., 2017 (pp.2,5-7)<sup>39</sup></li> </ul>	Roth, 2022a (p.155)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Roth, 2022b (p.86);</li> <li>• Pervaiz &amp; Chaudhary, 2018 (pp.921-922);</li> <li>• Paldam, 2007 (p.347)</li> </ul>
	Economic Reforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leibrecht &amp; Pitlik, 2014 (p.16);</li> <li>• Bischoff et al., 2022 (p.8-15)</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Storonyanska et al., 2022 (p.12);</li> <li>• Berggren et al., 2016 (p.13);</li> </ul>	

<sup>39</sup> Specifically talks about growth democratic, high trust systems.

Consequences of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bützer et al., 2013 (p.236)</li> </ul>	
<b>Social implications</b>	<b>Tolerance Towards (Religious, Ethnic) Groups and Immigration</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sipinen et al., 2019 (pp.474-475);</li> <li>Halapuu et al., 2013 (p.584);</li> <li>Alnassan, 2023 (p.37);</li> <li>Paas &amp; Halapuu, 2012 (pp.13-14);</li> <li>Hooghe &amp; Wilkenfeld, 2008 (p.164)</li> </ul>			
<b>Individual implications</b>	<b>Subjective Well-Being</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Paolini et al., 2020 (p.5657);</li> <li>Hudson, 2006 (p.58);</li> <li>Neira et al., 2019 (p.2563)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Glatz &amp; Schwerdtfeger, 2022 (pp.1341-1342)</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Glatz &amp; Eder, 2020 (p.433)</li> </ul>
	<b>Life Satisfaction</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Baltatescu, 2009 (p.16);</li> </ul>			

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Consequences of Trust		Correlation			
		Positive Correlation	Negative Correlation	Situation-Dependent	No Correlation
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prada &amp; Roman, 2021 (p.30);</li> <li>• Boelhouwer, 2020 (p.27);</li> <li>• Habibov et al., 2022 (p.403);</li> <li>• Lee, 2022 (p.17)</li> </ul>			
	<b>(Mental Health)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Graafland, 2020 (p.282);</li> <li>• Pervaiz &amp; Chaudhary, 2018 (p.922);</li> <li>• Lee, 2022 (p.17)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Choi et al., 2023 (p.142);</li> <li>• Mohseni &amp; Lindström, 2008 (p.440)</li> </ul>		

## 8. Memo on Consequences of Political Trust

**Memo 1 (Institutional Trust rather than Political Trust):** In the studies of Marien and Werner (2019), Hudson (2006), Glatz and Eder (2020), Lee (2022), Glatz and Schwerdtfeger (2022) and Halapuu et al. (2013) such consequences were associated with institutional trust rather than political trust. [#136=] Marien and Werner (2019, p.83) put the reason as the following: “[...] the collective perception of fair treatment by all citizens in a country, as well as an individual’s perception of fair police treatment, is strongly associated with institutional trust”.

**Memo 2 (General Trust Focus):** Sipinen et al. (2019, pp.474-475) deals with general trust instead of political trust.

**Memo 3 (Geographical Pattern):** Marien and Werner state that there is a geographical pattern to the relationship between individual-level treatment perceptions and institutional trust, meaning in the Northern European countries, the link is stronger than in Southern and Eastern European countries, the only exception being Russia (2019, p.85).

**Memo 4 (Concern and Trust):** Lalot et al.’s study, which concentrated on Italy and France at the time of the COVID-19 outbreak, pointed out the correlation between political trust, concern and law compliance. When compliance was low, either political trust or concern was low. Similarly, when compliance was high, either concern or political trust was high (2022, p.114).

**Memo 5 (A Review Study on Compliance):** Devine et al. (2020, pp. 278-279) did a review on political trust at the time of COVID-19. Their conclusion on compliance was the following: “Compliance is greater in those with higher trust, but this may be conditional on trust in those who deliver the orders rather than trust in general”. The studies included in this part were “*Han Q, Zheng B, Cristea M, et al. (2020) Trust in Government and Its Associations with Health Behaviour and Prosocial Behaviour During the COVID-19 Pandemic. PsyArXiv. Epub ahead of print 29 June. DOI: 10.31234/osf.io/p5gns*” and “*Olsen AL and Hjorth F (2020) Willingness to Distance in the COVID-19. OSF Preprints. Available at: <https://osf.io/xpwg2/>”.*

**Memo 6 (Electoral Turnout):** Carstens (2023, p.305) highlights that high political trust results in high electoral turnout.

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