accountability
  electoral 287–8, 296
  government 463, 500, 519
  as motivating trust in democracies 57
  political efficacy related to 5
  vs representation 274–5
  transparency as precondition for 265
accuracy and norms 176, 182–3, 187
activism
  civil society 56, 60–62, 64
  student 62–4
Africa, corruption and political trust in 309–11
AfroBarometer 309–11, 464, 469–70, 472, 476–80, 485
agenda setting 365–6
agreeableness 146, 149–54, 156
Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) 290
American National Election Studies (ANES) 29, 90–100, 202, 205–7, 260, 262, 303, 377
AmericasBarometer 72, 79, 83–4, 148, 151–3, 380
‘amoral familism’ argument 44, 54, 108
ANOVA 456, 478, 480
Arab Barometer 308–9, 469, 473–4, 476–7, 480, 485
Arab region
  Arab Spring 463, 468–9, 473, 475, 484
  high rates of economic growth 58
  historical challenges to trust in colonial influence 463
  as dominated by distributive states 462
  external threats to state 463, 468–9
  state origins, development and institutional functioning 463–4, 466–7
  low levels of interpersonal trust 55
  militarized interstate dispute variables (MIDs) 480, 482
  monarchies governing emirates in 26
  political trust 2006–11 period 480–81
  avenues for future research 483–4
  comparison with Sub-Saharan Africa 475
  and corruption 308–9
  different patterns of levels in 461
  trends across 469, 473–6
  varied effect of political capacity on 482
political trust assessment
  data and analysis 476–8
  individual-level and macro-level variables 477
  multi-level analysis 477–8
  results 480–83
  social capital in 56, 60–61
  and travel security 263
  tribalism and clanism 54
  younger generations in 59
Asia-Pacific region
  exhibiting great variation in political regimes 488
  political trust
    and corruption 311–13
    individual-level determinants of 500–504
    and regime preference 498–500
    rule of law as significant source of 505
    trends 497–8, 504–5
  political trust assessment
    cases 488–9
    data 489
    measures 490
  political trust levels
    by institution types 490–95, 504
    by regime types 495–7, 504–5
  Southeast Asia
    and civic society activism 56
    Confucianism 54
  Asian Barometer Survey (ABS) 489, 491, 494, 500, 502
attitudinal approach 146, 346
attitudinal change
  difficulty measuring 127–8
  in Latin America 413
attitudinal features of young adults 220, 223
attitudinal patterns, personality influencing 143, 146
attitudinal prerequisites of stable democracy 229
attitudinal study of US Supreme Court 260
attitudinal syndrome, in Western and Southern Europe 419, 423, 432–3, 436
attitudinal trust, measures 133–7, 146, 153–4
authoritarian settings and political trust case studies
China 61–2
Iran 62–4
Morocco 64–5
and civil society 60–61
consequences of 55–7
measuring, and performance paradox 57–9
or predictability 59–60
as relatively understudied field 53
roots of 54–5
significance of field of study 57
stripping of normativity 53, 65–6

Belgian Political Panel Survey (BPPS) 217–18, 221–4
Big Five approach
evidence of effects on political trust 150–53
growth in research on 147–8
trait dimensions 148–50
biology
and personality 143–5
and trust 153–5
brain studies 144, 153–4, 157, 167, 171, 173
Bush, George W. (US President) 22, 45, 154, 205–7, 360

Canada
call for reform of electoral system 391
cynicism spreading in 391
as multinational state 24
political trust
downward trend in 375, 378–9
genерational change 390
levels relative to total public 388–90
reasons for downward trend in 382–6
value change 390
positive effects for extraversion 157
trust in institutions 356, 380–81
trust in the media 354
vote choice 244, 248, 252
Canadian Election Study (CES) 375, 388–90, 392
Carter, Jimmy (US President) 377, 384–5
Catholicism 54, 408–9, 488
causal relationships
between political trust
and associational activity 341
and education 186–7
and general trust 121, 153
and social capital 349
and social trust 345–6
and voting behaviour 245, 248–50
between trust
and institutions 125–6, 130–31, 137
and norms 214, 217–25
and participation 231, 238–9
causality
and causal mechanism
direction of causality and other qualifiers 346–8
social trust as predictor 345–6
experiments valuable for 126, 128–31
Central and Eastern Europe see Europe
challenger parties
definition 242
functions of
and distrust 243–4
‘tribunician’ 242–4
helping build political mistrust 249–50
political implications for 250–52
voicing distrust by supporting 245–7, 249
China
as authoritarian regime 497
elections in rural 273
generationald attitudes 59
high citizen trust in government 38–9, 58, 86, 490, 505
most populous non-democracy 488
as one-party communist state 26
as one-party socialist state 491
party-controlled military 495
political trust, corruption and inequality 313
preference for political regime 499
social capital and political trust 61–2
student activism 62
trust in institutions 492, 496–7
trust in legislature controlled by dominant
party 491
trust trends 497
Church 381, 447–8, 450–52
citizen dissatisfaction
global, with government 160
in North America 376, 379, 384, 386, 391
potential consequences 6–7
and voting behaviour 243–51, 523
and welfare state 288–9, 293–7
citizen labours 36–7
civic community
concept and measures of 338–9
trust and participation as elements of 231–2
civic culture
aspects of 338–9
concept 229–31, 349
importance for democracy 340
political trust closely intertwined with 338
civil society
activism
assumptions of traditional literature 56
in China 61–2
in Iran 62–4
in Morocco 64–5
and democratic government 340
and trust, in authoritarian context 60–61
cognition
  cognitive ability 165–6
  cognitive puzzle 160
and emotion
  addition of 168
  false dichotomy between 173
  intersection of 171
  political trust avenues to explore 171–2
  influence on political trust 173
  knowledge and political trust 162–5
  and risk assessment 161–2
commercial media 356–7, 366–7
Comparative Fit Index (CFI) 94, 97–100
Comparative Study of Electoral Systems 27, 275
compatible model of associations between
types of trust 107–8, 115–16, 118, 121
compliance 212–17, 224, 263–4, 510–11, 513, 521
conditional model of associations between
types of trust 109–10, 115–16, 118, 121
confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) 93–4, 97–9
consciousness 148–9, 151–2, 156
consolidation
  of Central and Eastern Europe democracy 440–43, 447, 457
  as consequence of political trust in
    authoritarian settings 56–7
  of Latin American democracies 395, 399–400, 413
contestation 26, 61, 490, 495, 504
corruption
  in Asia-Pacific region 495–7, 502–3, 506
  in Central and Eastern Europe 451, 453–6
  as common and visible in China 38
  common reasons for 41
  countries with histories of public service 50
  institutionalized 41, 46
  in Latin America 311–13, 398–9, 410–11, 413
  in national parliament vs EU 76, 78–9
of police 347, 451
and political trust
  in Afrobarometer countries 309–11
  in Arab Barometer countries 308–9
  and education 179–81, 183, 189–90
  higher in democracies with low levels of
    109
  and inequality 295, 302–5
  in Latin America and Asia 311–13
  in transition countries 305–8
  and transparency 266
  undermining, in number of ways 181–2
Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) 80–81, 303–4, 308–9
culturalism 54–5
Daftar-e Tahkim-e Vahdat (DTV) 63–4
democracy
  attitudinal prerequisites of stable 229
  crisis of 1–2, 7, 58
  defining 25–6, 518
  developments, in Latin America 396–7
  institutionalizing distrust 34, 37–9
  legitimacy of 518, 523
  in North America 381–2
  perceived importance of aspects of 519
    representative role of trust and distrust in
      'thin' definition of 25
    stable, as part of civic culture concept 229–31
    and trust, paradox 33–6, 50–51
  democracy-supporting trust
    and democracy-undermining 41–6
  domains of 46–50
  publicity 40–41
  warrant 39–40
democratic consolidation
  in authoritarian settings 56–7
  in Central and Eastern Europe 440–43, 447, 457
  in Latin America 395, 399–400, 413
democratic input institutions
democratic rule 272–4
distinction with macroeconomic output
  270–71, 280–81
  interaction effect of electoral institutions 276
  rules of the game 274–5
democratic performance 25–6, 95–6, 189–90, 231, 518, 520
democratic values 26, 29, 183, 518–19, 522
democratization
  and civil activism 61–3
  and culturalism 54
  in Morocco 64–5
  third-wave 488, 504
  trust as necessary condition for 440
dependencies of trust
  hierarchical approach to 78–9
  non-hierarchical approach 79
  'devolution revolution' 69
distrust
  and abstention 251–2, 515
  addressing 50–51
  in Asia-Pacific region 497
  and challenger parties
    association with 242, 249–51
functions of 243–4
  voicing, by supporting 245–7
consequences of 456
corruption lying at heart of 303, 305
democracies institutionalizing 34, 37–9
  as determinant of political participation 235
dividing citizen labours between trust and 36–7
and education 189–90
engaged 37
explanations for, in post-communist countries 441–3, 453–4
as impetus for participation 340
and inequality 279–80, 305
as inherent to authoritarian settings 55, 57
institutional dysfunction 181
institutions founded on 33
in Latin America 397, 407
and media 45, 163, 353–5, 358, 360, 362–8, 385, 429
paradox of distance 71–2
relationship with postmaterialism 189, 234
and risk-laden policies 200
role in representative democracy 1
spiral of 251
spreading political 376, 381, 453
see also trust

economic crises 292–4, 296, 418, 433, 521–2
economic performance
  citizens seeking from government 313
depressing trust in EU regional authorities 82
  as determinant of political trust in new democracies 442–3, 452, 453
  as dimension of policy performance in Asia 500, 504
effect of perceptions of 388–9, 414, 420
  as most powerful source of political trust in East Asia 505
research on reasons for decline in trust 383
short term, and legitimacy 520–21
use as measures in trust studies 342–3
see also macroeconomic performance
education
  avenues for future research 191
  causal inference 186–7
  and cognitive ability 165
little attention paid to, as explanatory variable of political trust 176–7, 189
norms
  and accuracy 182–3
  transmission of 176–7
preadult experiences and political trust 187–8, 190–91
rationalist evaluation 181–2
relationship with political trust
  as cause or as proxy for 185–9
  as context specific 164, 189
  and corruption 189–90
  unearthing patterns between 177–81
role in development of cognitive ability 165
schools of trust 183–5
value change and political trust 188–9
Egyptian revolt 60
elections 20, 26, 49, 244–5, 272–6, 308–9, 519
electoral institutions
  interaction effect of 276
  proportionality of 276
emotion
  and cognition
    addition of 168
    false dichotomy between 173
    intersection of 171
    political trust avenues to explore 171–2
  few empirical assessments on political trust
  and 167–8
  influence on political trust 173
  and media content 168–9
  positive 169–70
emotional stability 149–50, 152, 156
ethnic diversity
  possibility of undermining political trust 316, 332
  possibility of undermining social cohesion 318
see also immigration
Eurobarometer
  Candidate countries 444–5, 449, 454, 456–7
Europe
  attitudes towards police and courts 215
  Central and Eastern
    after transition from communism 273, 440–42
    consistent patterns of decline 517
during consolidation 442–3
cross-national comparison of political trust levels 445–6
empirical analysis of levels and trends 443–5
explanation of political trust levels 451–5
institutional differences 447–51
political trust and corruption 306–8
strategy to evaluate regime performance 27
as suffering from lack of political trust

trends of political trust over time 446–7, 455–6
country-level trust in national parliament and EU 76
and local authorities 72–4
democracies failing to achieve stability 229
education, corruption and political trust 179–81, 304
elections and referenda 272–4
European Union (EU)
country-level transparency and trust 80
fall in voter turnout in elections 20
globalization effects 386
logic of compensation 85
nationalist reaction against integration of 79
public negativity as biggest problem facing 2
strongest predictor of trust in 80
as supranational political system 69
trust and economic performance 80, 82–3, 85
trust and institutions 84–5
trust in 75–6, 81, 166
Europeanism 78
and immigration
changing context 317
concern about 319–20, 325–7
far-right parties 320–23, 325
generational attitudes 333
as likely to remain ethnically diverse 332–3
national identity constructions 323–30
income inequality 295
‘left turn’ in 413
media and trust 80, 356, 363, 367
multilevel trust in 79–83
no evidence for declining trust in national government, political parties or parliament in democracies of 516–17
perceived importance of aspects of democracy 518–19
political trust measurement scales across 98–100
powers in Sub-Saharan Africa 463–4
strong correlations between social trust and confidence in political institutions 342
sub-state nationalist movements 79
trust in local/regional authorities 82–3
trust in municipality 83–4
trust in national institutions 82
welfare state 286, 288–9, 293
Western and Southern

from ‘bottom up’ to ‘top down’ models of political trust in 419–21

crisis functioning as stress test for 434–5
cross-national differences in political trust in 418, 421–3, 436
cross-national trends in political trust in 424–9
divergent trends and fluctuations 517
experiencing large-scale mass immigration 323, 326–7, 334
explanation of cross-national differences in political trust in 2012 429–31
explanation of recent declining trends in political trust in 431–4
relevance of region for political trust study 418–19
rise of populist parties in 247, 251
study limitations 435–6

European Social Survey (ESS) 4, 86, 90–91, 96–9, 179, 181, 191, 218, 238, 275, 280, 288–9, 293–4, 319–22, 325, 421–4, 426–8, 430–33, 437, 443, 451, 511, 518–19, 521, 523–4

European Values Study (EVS) 90, 280, 293, 334, 356, 421–2, 424, 443–5, 447, 449–50, 454, 456–7, 523

expectations
and outcome gap 164
role of, on political trust 279–80, 282
experimental designs
canonical
investment game 131–5
limited, applying to political trust 126–7
public goods games 129–31
survey experiments 127–9
measurement concerns 135–6
and political trust 125–6
research into media 161–2
role in study of trust 126
unresolved questions 136–7
extraversion 143–4, 149, 151–4, 156–7

far-right parties 319–25, 332
first-order trust 36, 48, 76, 78–9, 85
Fox News effect 367
framing 50, 127, 365–6
Freedom House Index (FHI) 97, 452, 489

General Social Survey (GSS) 28–30, 128, 135–6, 146, 379
genetic studies 144, 153, 155
Global Barometer surveys 26, 311–13
globalization
cosmopolitan identities 25
as reason for decline in trust 386
Index 531

goodwill, legitimacy as reservoir of 512, 520–21
government, trust in
  in North America 377–9, 388–91
  as political trust scale 100
  transparency, definition 265

heuristics
  defining 198–9
  heuristic processing definition 198
  psychology of 198–200
  trust-as-heuristics thesis 200–202
  empirical support for 202–9
hormone studies 144, 154
hostile media effect 360

identity
  in-group 109
  and independence of trust 77–8
  negative dependency at different levels 79
  politicized 465
  see also national identity
ideology 201–9, 247–8, 406–8, 410–14, 429–30
immigration
  avenues for future research 333–4
  history of 320–23
  national identity constructions 323–7, 332–3
  effect of multiculturalism policies 327–30, 332
perceptions of 316–17
and political trust
  concerns in Europe 319–20
  far-right 320–23
  of immigrants 330–32
  links between 317–19
incompatible model of associations between
  types of trust 108–9, 115, 118, 121
independence of trust 77–8
individual-level determinants of political trust
  in Asia-Pacific region 500–504
inequality
  in Afrobarometer countries 309–11
  in Arab Barometer countries 308–9
  and corruption 302–5
  income 285–6, 294–6, 412–13
  Latin America and Asia 311–13
  and perceptions of leaders 302, 313
  and political trust 279–80, 303–5
  studies on 294–5
  in transition countries 306–8
institutions
  institutional differences, in Central and Eastern Europe 447–51
  institutional position
    within multilevel system 70–72
    and trust, comparative empirical analysis 72–6
  institutionalism 54–5
  institutionalization of distrust 34, 37–9
institutionalism 54–5
institutions
  Canadian trust in 356, 380–81
  causal relationships between trust and
    125–6, 130–31, 137
  China’s trust in 492, 496–7
  confidence in regime 28
  democratic input 270–76, 280–81
  electoral 274, 276, 280
  EU trust in 84–5
  Europe’s trust in national 82
  founded on distrust 33
  North American trust in 379–81
  predictors of trust in government 152
  safeguarding development of generalized
    trust 346
  second-order trust in political 34, 39, 50
  trust based on warrants provided by 45–6
  investment game 131–5
Iran
  rivalry with Iraq 468
  student activism, trust and social capital in
    62–4
item response theory (IRT) 92–4, 96
item step response functions (ISRFs) 112
Juncker, J.-C. 2

knowledge
  and cognitive ability 165–6, 169, 172
  and divisions of labour 36–7, 40
  education’s role in enhancing political
    182–3
  of EU politics 79–81
  of externalities of trust relationships 40–41
  openness related to political 148
  and political trust 162–5
  and priming 365–6
  and risk assessment 161–2
  of trustee motivations 45–6
latent class analysis (LCA) 92, 94, 101–2
Latin America
  Catholicism in 54, 408–9
  disenchantment with democracy 56–7
  and political trust
    analytical perspective 395–6
    avenues for future research 413–14
corruption and 311–13
democratic developments 396–7
empirical results 408–12
historical challenges to 396–9
as interesting setting for studying 395
lower levels of 423, 425
more favourable scenario for 399–400
in municipality 83
research design and measurement 406–7
research findings 412–13
statistical modeling 407–8
trends in 401–6, 412–13, 517
weak states and political personalism 397–9
Latinobarometer 311, 395, 401, 405–7, 410, 412, 414–15
legitimacy
defining 511, 513, 521–2
of democracy 242, 498, 505, 509, 518, 523
impact of institutional trust on 215
input-oriented vs output-oriented 270, 281
measuring people's sense of 518–19
political, importance of 509
and political support
as components of political support 513–15, 521–2
as sources of political support 512–13, 521–2
political trust and political support
assessing contribution to 520
legitimacy unrelated to 511
theoretical relationship between 509–10
and procedural fairness 257, 262
question of decline of 509, 515, 517, 522–3
regime
in Arab region 462–4, 466–7, 481, 484
depending on economic performance 59, 501
political trust as most critical indicator of 462
in Sub-Saharan Africa 462–4, 475, 479–80, 483
as reservoir of goodwill 520–21
of rulers, in Morocco 64–6
as sense of duty 511, 521
of state
citizen acceptance of 19, 21–2, 509
and national identities 24, 316
welfare responsibilities as vehicle for gaining 286
Life in Transition Survey 2 (LiTS 2) 303, 305, 307
long-term utility 510, 512–14, 517, 520, 522
longitudinal design 272, 278–9, 291
macroeconomic output see macroeconomic performance
macroeconomic performance
avenue for future research 280–81
expectations 279–80
and legitimacy 520
perception–performance paradox 278–9
relation to political trust 270, 272, 276–8, 280, 287–8, 291–2, 296
relevance of longitudinal design 278–9
majoritarianism 274–6
malaise theory 362–3, 501
mass media see media
measuring political trust
in Asia-Pacific region 488–90, 506
in authoritarian context 57–9
avenues for future research 101
Big Five measures 150–53, 156
causal relationship with norms 217–24
in Central and Eastern Europe 443–5, 452–3
citizens' political support 514–16, 520
corruption measures 303, 308–11
dimensionality and hierarchy of 112–13, 116–21
emotion and cognition 168–9, 171–2
interpretation issues 29–30
in Latin America 406–12
legitimacy 511, 518, 522
measurement concerns 135–7
measurement equivalence
concept of 91–2
methods to test 92–4
of political trust scales 94–101
sources of bias 92
measuring attitudinal change 127–8
methods of 89–91
multiculturalism policies 329, 334
personality traits in 144–6
position and trust 72
in Sub-Saharan Africa and Arab region 476–82, 485
survey limitations 5, 22, 86, 187
use of Eurobarometer 79–84, 327
use of investment game 131–5
in Western and Southern Europe 429, 431–3, 436
media
avenues for future research 368–9
coverage of government 164
democratic, of public discourse 34, 36, 47–8, 50, 68
and emotion 168–9, 172
exposure
in Asia-Pacific region 501–3, 506
in Sub-Saharan Africa 478
important political significance of 353
knowledge generated by 40, 49, 163, 165
and particularized trust 45
in perceived importance of aspects of
democracy 519
and political trust
difficulties of media effects research 361
effects of, on policy judgments 208–9
experimental research 361–2
Fox News effect and political polarization
367
media malaise 362–3, 501
news and entertainment media 363–5
in North America 385, 388, 390
and partisanship 366
priming, framing and agenda setting
365–6
public service, commercial and mixed
media systems 366–7
widely accepted view 163
question of undermining trust in democratic
government 367–8
tabloid press readers 355, 360–61, 363, 368
trust based on warrants provided by 41,
44–5
trust in
effect on trust in EU 80–82
effect on trust in municipality 83–4
hostile media effect 360
low, declining and mixed patterns 354–6
public service and commercial news
programmes 356–7
reasons for low 357–9
why people watch news sources they do
not trust 360
Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 484
mixed media systems 366–7
Mokken scale analysis
based on pooled data 116–18
by countries 118–20
findings 121–2
hierarchical latent dimensions 112–13
by population subgroups 120
Morocco
corruption and inequality in 308–10
experiencing protests during Arab Spring
473
foreign aid flowing into 466
political trust 474–5
social capital and democratization in 64–5
multiculturalism policies 327–32, 334–5
multilevel government and political trust
avenues for future research 85
in Europe and Latin America 79–84
and institutional position 70–76, 84–5
lack of previous studies on 69–70
relationships at different levels 76–9, 84–5
research limitations 86
multiple group confirmatory factor analysis
(MGFCa) 92
Muslim Brotherhood 60, 466
National Annenberg Election Survey 203–4,
361
national identity
avenues for future research 333–4
as component of political support 23–5
as component of state legitimacy 316
connection with political trust
civic 331
migration as factor in understanding
323–4
positive theory on 323–33
tabular representation 328
constructions
consequences of understandings of 325–7
effect of multiculturalism policies 327–30,
332
far-right and long-term country of
immigration interactions 324–5
far-right popularity, concern about
immigration and political trust 325
long-term country of immigration,
concern about immigration and
political trust 326
shared ancestry, language and culture
325–6
as relevant and powerful to individuals 317
National Survey of Americans’ Views on Taxes
205–6
news
and entertainment media 363–5, 368–9
programmes 356–7, 367, 369
sources 353, 356–7, 360, 365–6, 368
normativity 53, 65–6
norms
and accuracy 182–3
causal relationships with trust
empirical results 220–24
instruments and research strategy 217–20
citizenship 212–13, 224–5, 387–8
institutional 45–6, 48–9, 137
shared
allowing people to trust other citizens 216
as crucial for nation-state functioning 318
trust based on warrants provided by 40,
43–4
and skills 176–7, 182, 184, 186–7, 190
trust and support for
as determinant of trust 216–17

Sonja Zmerli and Tom W.G. van der Meer - 9781782545118
Downloaded from Elgar Online at 12/06/2021 12:45:08PM
via free access
trust and norms as functional equivalents 214–15
trust as determinant of norms 215, 220
trust as ‘moral value’ 213–14
and values of democracy 512–13, 515, 520–21
North America
and political trust
and democracy 381–2
empirical evidence on 391
in government 375–9, 388–91
in institutions 379–81
trends over time 376–82
research on reasons for decline in trust
economic performance 383
explanation for trends 387–91
globalization 386
media 385
performance 382
performance on other issues 384
scandals 384–5
social capital 386
value change 387

Obama, Barack (US President) 22, 28, 154, 199, 207–8, 390
office-holders
approval of incumbent, as component of
political support 23–4, 28–30
institutional trust, and sanctions 46
political support for, generalized and specific 21
responsiveness to citizens 5
scepticism of 36
vertical trust in 34
offices
holding public trust, trust in 34, 48
institutions defining normatively 45–6
openness
as Big Five trait dimension 148, 150–54
as individual-level determinant of political trust 500, 502–3, 506
participation
pragmatist approaches to
cost of civic culture 229–31
social capital 231–2
democratic, requiring second-order trust
decision 36
generalized trust defocusing 51
as investment 309–10
liberal democracies characterized by 26
and national identity 325, 327–9, 332–3
recent findings on trust as determinant of 235–7
role of political trust in early political 232–5
in Sub-Saharan Africa 477–8
and trust
as antecedent of political participation
232–7
avenues for future research 238–9
brief history of 228
divisions of labour between 35, 37, 39, 46, 50
lack of research on impact between 228–9, 237–8
null or static relationship 245, 251–2
and voluntary associations 339–40
partisanship 366
perception–performance paradox 278–9
performance
paradox of, in authoritarian context 57–9
and perception paradox 278–9
research on reasons for decline in trust 382, 384
see also economic performance;
macroeconomic performance; political performance
personality
avenues for future research 155
Big Five approach and political trust 147–54
and biology 143–5, 154–5
country variations 152–3, 157
as encompassing more than just traits 155
and generalized trust 145–7, 154–5
persuasion 38, 201, 248–9, 251, 367
policy context, impact in normal times 294–6
political cynicism 5, 19, 189, 191, 363, 385, 390
political efficacy 5, 79–80, 237, 273, 291, 443
political mistrust 1, 5, 245, 247, 249
political parties
challenger parties 242–7, 249–52
in hierarchy of political support 514–15
as important element of democracy 380, 519
populist parties 247–8, 250–52
‘tribunician’ function of 242–4
trust in
in Asia-Pacific region 490–92, 494–6, 498, 504
assessment of 97
in Central and Eastern Europe 443, 450, 452, 457
as indicator to measure political trust
96–100, 110
in Latin America 401–5, 407–8, 412–14
in North America 380–81, 387, 392
overall findings 72, 516–17, 522
in Western and Southern Europe 421–3, 426–8, 430, 433
Index 535

political personalism 397–9
political polarization 367, 503
political processes, second-order trust in 48–9
political scepticism 1, 5, 19, 380–81, 387, 392
political support
  components 22–4
  approval of incumbent office-holders 28–30
  approval of regime principles and values 25–6
  confidence in regime institutions 28
  evaluations of regime performance 27
  national identities 24–5
  concept of 19–20, 512–13
  definition 512
  explaining country differences in
democratic or macroeconomic
  performance 520
democratic values 518–19
  legitimacy as reservoir of goodwill 520–21
  long-term interests 520
  rationale for 517
  hierarchy of 514–15
  legitimacy and political trust 509–15, 521–3
  levels of 21–2
  political trust
    comprising two most specific levels of 24
    as most specific expression of 30
political trust
  in authoritarian settings
    and civil society 60–61
    consequences of 55–7
    measuring 57–9
    predictability or trust 59–60
    roots of 54–5
    significance of field of study 57
  cognitive bases of 160–66, 171–3
  comprising two most specific levels of
  political support 24
  concern with 1–3
  and corruption
    in countries 305–13
    and inequality 302–5
  definitions 4–5, 60, 161, 167, 280, 510, 512–13
  and democratic input institutions 272–6, 280–81
  as determinant of vote choice 243–8
  as double edged sword 53
  and education
    accuracy and norms 182–3
    avenues for future research 191
  as cause or proxy 185–9
  effect of changes over time 190
  implications 189–90
  rationalist evaluation 181–2
  relationship between, as context-specific 189
  role of pre-adult socialization 190–91
  schools of trust 183–5
  unearthing patterns between 177–81
ethnic diversity
  concerns 332–3
  and immigration 317–23
  national identity constructions 323–30
  trust of immigrants 330–32
  evaluative nature of
    benchmarks 272
    effects, explanations and conditions 271–2
    trust as relationship between subject and
    object 271
  in experimental designs
    measurement concerns 135–6
    role of experiments in study of 126
    three canonical 126–35
    unresolved questions 136–7
    as fundamentally relational and situational 4
    as heuristic 200–209
    and immigration 317–23
    legitimacy and political support 509–15, 521–3
    links with personality traits 147–55
    and macroeconomic performance 276–81, 287–8, 291–2, 296
    and media 361–7
    as most specific expression of political
    support 30
    and multilevel government
      avenues for future research 85
      institutional position 70–76, 84–5
      relationship at different levels of 76–9, 84–5
      research limitations 86
    and national identity constructions 323–34
    objects of 104–21
    origins of and developments in
    causes and correlates 7–8
    consequences 8
    structural or cyclical crisis of 6–7
    and participation
      as antecedent of political 232–7
      avenues for future research 238–9
      complexity of relationship 228–9, 237–8
      culturalist approaches to 229–32
      and procedural fairness 260–62
      process effects on 266–7
      relation to social trust

Sonja Zmerli and Tom W.G. van der Meer - 9781782545118
Downloaded from Elgar Online at 12/06/2021 12:45:08PM
via free access
asymmetrical nature of 120–21
causality and causal mechanism 345–8
compatible model 107–8, 121
conditional model 109–10, 121
data, cases and methods 110–13
distribution among democratic societies 113–16
incompatible model 108–9, 121
Mokken scale analysis 116–21
previous research findings 104–7
strength of 341–5
study limitations 121
trust research revival 122
role in representative democracy 1
and role of emotions 167–73
scales
political trust and its cross-national comparability 96–101, 342
support for political regimes 94–6
trust in government 100
social capital and civic culture 338–41, 348–9
and transparency 265–6
underlying concept of 4–5
and vote relationship
exogeneity of 248–50
political implications of 250–52
trust as determinant of vote choice 243–8
and welfare state
avenue for future research 297
bringing performance back in 287, 296–7
credit claiming 297

crisis and retrenchment 291–4, 296
impact of policy context in normal times 294–7
infrequent research connections between 285
performance evaluations 287–9
personal experiences 289–91
see also measuring political trust; trust; individual countries and regions
populism
definition 247
distrustful 45
Latin American politics shaped by 395
in Venezuela and Zimbabwe 26
populist parties 247–8, 250–52
Prais-Winsten regression 453
predictability 59–60, 216–17, 225, 259, 475–6
priming 50, 127, 251, 273, 365–6
principal–agent relationships 36–7
procedural fairness
conceptualizing procedures 257–9
importance of 258–9
perceived 256–7, 260–63, 266–7
and political trust 260–62
process effects on political trust 266–7
transparency and political trust 265–6
understanding procedural assessments 262–5
process effects on political trust 266–7
professionals and experts, trust in 34, 47–8
projection 248–9, 291
proportional representation (PR) systems 50, 263, 274
proportionalism 274–6
psychology of heuristics 198–200
public goods games 129–31
public service media 356–7, 366–7
publicity 40–42, 47–9
rainmaker effect 108, 342, 367
rationality 77–8
Reagan, Ronald (US President) 375, 377
Rechtsstaat Democracy 518–20, 522–3
reciprocity 136, 233, 388–9, 363
referenda 262–4, 272–4
regime preference, in Asia-Pacific region 498–500
regimes
approval of incumbent office-holders 28–30
approval of principles and values, as component of political support 25–6
confidence in institutions of, as component of political support 28
evaluations of performance, as component of political support 27
support for political, as political trust scale 94–6
types of, in Asia-Pacific region
data 489
levels of trust 495–7, 504–5
measures 490
trends of trust 497–8
representation
vs accountability 274–5
trust in actors of 423, 426–34
use of traditional mechanisms of 436
winner–loser thesis of 501, 503
representatives, selective trust in 34–5, 38, 49–50
retrenchment
citizen returns for 297
and crisis 291–6, 431
as hampering generalized political trust 296–7
as likely to occur in incremental and hard-to-detect fashion 288
slow processes of 285–6
risk assessment
affective reactions’ role in 172
and cognition 161–2
  knowledge’s association with 162–5
risk-laden policies 200–201, 209
root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) 94, 97–9
scandals 2, 7, 13, 21–2, 44, 161, 163, 293, 358, 375, 377–8, 384–5, 387, 391, 501
schools of trust 183–5
Schumpeter, J.A. 25
second-order trust 48–9, 78–9
selective trust 34–5, 38, 49–50
single member plurality (SMP) systems 50
social capital
  associated trust for 43
  beneficial conditions for 346
  in China 61–2
  and civic community 231–2
  definition 7, 214, 231
  generalized trust connection 47
generation, role of state as source of 346–7
in Iran 62–4
in Morocco 64–5
as multifaceted concept 338
in North America 386, 390
origins of approach 339
and political trust
  in authoritarian settings 53, 55–7, 61, 65–6
  nature of relationship 348–9
  regional 340
relation to civil society activism 60–61
role of voluntary associations 339–41, 345
thesis 501, 503
trust and norms 214–15, 220
trust involved in ‘bad’ 40
social security
  and bribery 307–8
  as distributive policy 201, 203
  government spending on 203–5, 305
  privatization 202, 206–7
Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) 290
social trust
  in Asia-Pacific region 503
  of Belgian youngsters 218
correlations with media 364–5, 367
direct 41–2
during economic crisis 107
  essence of civic spirit as 341
in Latin America 83–4
linkages with participation 229, 237
measuring 343–4, 348
particular and general 105, 107–10, 113–16, 118, 120–21
relation to political trust
  asymmetrical nature of 120–21
  avenue for future research 349
case selection 111–12
compatible model 107–8, 121
conditional model 109–10, 121
data 110–11
direct or indirect 348
direction of causality and other qualifiers 346–8
distribution among democratic societies 113–16
hierarchical latent dimensions 112–13
incompatible model 108–9, 121
Mokken scale analysis 112–13, 116–21
previous research findings 104–7
and social capital thesis 501
social trust as predictor 345–6
strength of 341–5
study limitations 121
trust research revival 122
and voluntary associations 341, 349
relations with citizenship norms 221–4
in Western and Southern Europe 429, 433–4, 436
socialization
  agents of 176–7, 184, 187, 191
culturalist argument 59
failure to change trust judgments 504
parental 176–7, 187–8
political 176, 184, 187, 239, 437
pre-adult 183, 185, 187–8, 190–91
schools and colleges as sites of 176, 185, 191
transmission model of 187–8
cpy
society, generalized trust in 47
  student activism 62–4
Sub-Saharan Africa
  assessment of political trust
    avenues for future research 483–4
data and analysis 476–8
  individual-level and macro-level variables 477
  multi-level analysis 477–8
  results 478–80, 483
corruption and political trust in 309–11
Gini index 397
historical challenges to trust in
  external threats to state 467–8
  regime legitimacy at heart of challenges in 462–3, 483
state origins, development and
  institutional functioning 463–5
militarized interstate dispute variables (MIDs) 478–9, 482
political trust
Handbook on political trust

1999–2009 period 478–80, 483
avenues for future research 483–4
comparison with Arab region 475
different patterns of levels in 461
primary state level factors influencing 462
trends in 469–73
varied effect of political capacity on 482
as predominantly comprised of extractive
states 462
uneven economic development indicator 309
systematic processing, definition 198
systems support see political support
tax cuts 202, 205–6
terrorist attacks 170, 377–8
Tocqueville, A. de 215, 339–40, 349
transition countries 295, 305–8
transparency
in Asia-Pacific region 503
and citizen trust in institutions 75–6
democracy fostering 400
government
definition 265
influencing political trust levels 169
and political trust 265–6
in sense of publicity 48–9
and trust, in EU 80–81
Transparency International (TI) 80, 303, 306, 453
trust
addressing deficits in 50–51
associative 41, 43
attitudinal measures of 127–8, 135–7, 146, 153–4
based on
interpersonal warrants 42
warrants provided by institutions 45–6
warrants provided by media 44–5
warrants provided by other persons 43
warrants provided by shared norms 43–4
and biology 153–4
defining 33, 91, 105, 259, 271
democracies institutionalizing distrust 34, 37–9
and democracy, paradox 33–6, 50–51
democracy-supporting
and democracy-undermining 41–6
domains 46–50
publicity 40–41
warrant 39–40
direct protective 41–3
dividing citizen labours between distrust and 36–7
as element of civic community 231–2
generalized
across groups in Netherlands 101
behavioral and attitudinal measures of 135–6
and causal flow from social to political trust 346, 349
in compatible model 107–8
in conditional model 109–10
distribution among democratic societies 113–16
as facet of agreeableness 156
as ‘horizontal’ among individuals 34
in incompatible model 108–9
institutions safeguarding development of 346
link with inequality and corruption 302
as measure of civic community 338–9
mediated by shared norms 43–4
as modestly related to political trust 153–5
national identity requiring high level of 316
and personality 145–7, 154
as predictor of political trust 145
and public goods games 129–30
relationship with particularized trust 42, 105, 120–21
research on biological basis of 153–4
in society 47
in government
access to information influencing 266
and American National Election Studies 260, 303
in Asian regions with high social trust 348
in Central and Eastern Europe 457
declining, amongst advanced industrial
democracies 376
effect of consumer confidence 277, 420
few survey experiments conducted on 128
Index 170
institutions, predictors of 152
in Latin America 402, 404
in North America 375, 377–9, 382, 384–5, 388–91
as political trust scale 100
and role of thinking and feeling 173
in Sub-Saharan Africa and Arab region 461, 467, 476, 478, 480, 485
use of investment game to measure level of 131
institutional 41, 46, 85, 167, 215, 398
in media 354–60
mediated protective 41, 43
as ‘moral value’ 79, 214, 216
and norms
avenues for future research 225
compliance 213–14
exploring causal relationships between 217–24
as functional equivalents 214–15
study limitations 225
support for norms as determinant of trust 216–17
trust as determinant of norms 215, 220
in offices holding public trust 48
as part of civic culture concept 229–31
particularized
aligned to investment game 131–5
assumed to be found in small, rural and isolated communities 104, 108–9, 120
in compatible model 107–8
in conditional model 109–10
definition 105
distribution among democratic societies 113–16
effect of visual media on 45
forms of, failing democracy 35, 41, 44
as holding together criminal conspiracies and corrupt exchanges 40
in incompatible model 108–9
post-war Italian political system 43
and PR systems 50
relation with generalized trust 42, 105, 120–21
US system of campaign finance 46
in professionals and experts 34, 47–8
public
Carter’s efforts to restore 384–5
causes of low levels of 59
concern over draining of 19
in news media 354–60, 367–8
objects of political trust eliciting 106
perceived corruption decreasing 399
and regime performance 505
trust in offices holding 34, 36–7, 47–8
warrants 36
relationships of 106–10
second-order
decisions 36
vs first-order 78–9
in political institutions 34, 39, 50
in political processes 48–9
selective, in representatives 41–2, 105–6
see also political trust
trust syndrome 78–80, 84
twin studies 144, 153
unemployment 59, 162, 277–80, 285, 292–6, 307–8, 322, 324, 452, 454
value change
in Canada 390
decreasing trust linked to 391
in education 188–9
generational 333, 395
motivational basis of political protest 233–4
in North America 387
voluntary associations 339–41, 349
voting behaviour
political trust as determinant of vote choice
trust and functions of challenger parties 243–4
political trust and populist parties 247–8
voicing distrust by supporting challenger party 245–7
of politically distrustful citizens 242
relationship between trust and vote
level of exogeneity 248–50
political implications 250–52
warrants
for elected representatives 49
interpersonal 42
missing 48, 50
preventative 48–9
provided by institutions 36, 45–6
provided by media 44–5
provided by other persons 43
provided by shared norms 43–4
for public trust 48
social 47
and trust relationships 39–40
Watergate scandal 13, 28, 375, 377–8, 385, 387
welfare state
avenue for future research 297
call to bring performance back in 287, 296–7
changing, impact on political trust 297
crisis, retrenchment and political trust 291–4
impact of policy context in normal times 294–6
normative support for 286
performance evaluations 287–9
personal experiences 289–91
slow retrenchment processes 285–6
study aims and limitations 286–7
trends in 286
variables working in opposite way to those of macroeconomic performance 296
Western and Southern Europe see Europe
women’s movement 65, 233, 381