

Warmth, competence and trust in government

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Background

The following is a description of how I plan to conduct a data collection. The expected outcome of the data collection is two papers which I here label as study 1 and study 2 respectively. Consequently, the two studies I describe here are not supposed to be incorporated in the same paper, but are two distinct research ideas that built on the same data collection. Throughout the paper I divide the descriptions of study 1 and study 2 in separate sections to underline that I think of them as two independent research ideas. First to give an idea about which research questions I want to study with the data, I give a brief overview of the two research ideas and the initial hypotheses. Next, I introduce my overall research strategy and an overview of the survey I use to collect data. Finally, I go into more detail about the research designs for both studies/research ideas one at a time.

Study 1: Introduction

For decades citizens' trust in government have been declining in the United States. In fact, the level of trust in government institutions has in recent years hit a historic low (Pew 2017). Even though the decline in trust is steepest and clearest in the United States, this tendency is also present in European countries; although not to quite the same extent (Van de Walle, Van Roosbroek, and Bouckaert 2008). This tendency can potentially lead to adverse outcomes for democratic societies and it constitutes one of the biggest challenges facing western democracies (Kettl 2017). Low trust in government is for example related to whether citizens pay taxes voluntarily (Marien and Hooghe 2011), participate in politics and public affairs (e.g., vote) (Nye 1997) or take part in co-production of public services (Van Ryzin 2011).

Due to these practical consequences, scholars have for decades been interested in studying trust in government (e.g, Citrin 1974; Miller 1974; Nye, Zelikow, and King 1997; Hetherington 2005; Van Ryzin 2011; Kettl 2017). Scholars interested in studying the developments in trust in the United States often turn to questions asked in the National Election Studies (NES), even though these particular questions originally were not labelled as measures of trust in government or political trust (Stokes1962). Thus, a lot of discussion in the literature has focused on measurement and what meaning to give to the levels of trust according to the NES items. This discussion, which can be traced back to a seminal debate between Arthur Miller and Jack Citrin (Miller 1974; Citrin 1974; Citrin and Green 1986), essentially focus on "whether the NES items tapped sentiments about current incumbents as opposed to judgements about the system or

regime” (Levi and Stoker 2000). Using Easton’s general framework for system support it is a question about whether the indicators of trust in government measure diffuse support for the political system or specific support for political incumbents (Easton 1965, 1975). Furthermore studies also show empirically that the downward trend in these surveys is evidence of *scepticism* rather than distrust (Cook and Gronke 2005). This is very important questions because the plummeting levels of trust only has implications for a democratic society and pose a threat to the political system as such if the items taps attitudes towards the system and indicate actual distrust (Levi and Stoker 2000)¹.

This uncertainty about how we should interpret the tendency in trust in government measured by the NES items have led to attempts to clarify these measurement issues (e.g., Abramson and Finifter 1981; Citrin and Muste 1999; Levi and Stoker 2000). However, basic questions still remains unanswered. First, the literature mostly focus on the United States but how does the findings travel to other contexts? A study by Parker et al. (2014) suggests that Americans distinguish between state and federal government as well as distinguish trust in government (both at the federal and state level) and trust in the incumbent authorities. But do we find the same dimensions of trust when studying other countries than the United States? This research question does not only speak to the discussion of how Americans interpret the conventional NES trust-in-government items, but also to a broader question about which separate dimensions of trust citizens distinguish between empirically; and importantly whether these separate dimensions can be generalized to other countries. Second, across context different measures of ”trust in government” is used. In European research on trust in government other indicators are used than in American research on this topic. The question is whether it is possible to compare results on trust in government between Europe and the United States when we use different measurements? Do these two different approaches measure the same underlying concept of trust? Third, this discussion of what meaning to give to the measures of trust in government lack focus on how these trust-measures are empirically related to other ’similar concepts’ (e.g., satisfaction or legitimacy) that also try to capture a more general perception of government in a broad sense. The fact that the concept of *trust* is often vaguely defined, measurement-driven (Weatherford 1992) and measured by different indicators point to, that it is not trust as such but rather citizens’ general image of government we want to capture. These ’similar’ concepts are conceptually distinct but can are these distinctions meaningful empirically? In sum study 1 contribute to the literature by clarifying and elaborating the meaning of ”trust in government” by addressing the above-mentioned three groups of research questions.

1. Obviously, in an accountability-perspective it is also highly important how citizens judge current incumbents (Lenz 2012; Tilley and Hobolt 2011)

Study 1: Hypotheses

Based on current literature it is questionable what the conventional trust-indicators actually measure. Considering the first research question, I expect citizens to distinguish trust in government from other interpretations of the conventional NES-measure. That is, I expect citizens to differentiate between different levels of government (between state/local and national government) and distinguish between trust in government, trust in the incumbent and satisfaction with the performance of the current administration. These expectations are identical to the findings in Parker et al. (2014) and thus the purpose is to replicate these findings. This replication is important due to the extensive debate and lack of consensus about how to interpret the NES-items on trust in government. The hypotheses are furthermore important in a comparative perspective, because they not only speak to how we should interpret the NES-items, but also to a more broader expectation about which dimensions of trust citizens differentiate between empirically. With regard to this broader question, the hypotheses are expected to hold for citizens in general across context. That is, I expect to find the same latent dimensions of trust among both American and Danish citizens.

Regarding the second research question I expect citizens to differentiate between the indicators used in American and European research on trust in government respectively. That is, I do not expect these two approaches to measure the same underlying concept because the European indicators are covering a long list of political institutions while the NES-items might merely reflect trust in national government.

Finally, with regard to the the third research question, I do not have a strong expectation about whether citizens differentiate trust in government from other 'similar concepts' that tap into a more general perception of government in a broad sense. However, I expect that the difference between the NES-items and measures of 'similar concepts' is larger than the difference between the European indicators and measures of 'similar concepts'. This is because the European indicators cover citizens' trust in a long list of political institutions while the NES-items can be expected only to mirror trust in the national government and thus the European indicators are "closer to" a more general perception of government than the NES-items.

Study 2: Introduction

Citizens tend to be in possession of a negative view on public sector organizations; regardless of how they perform (Hvidman and Andersen 2016; Marvel 2016). This bias against the public sector is important to study, because it makes it difficult for citizens to hold the public sector accountable for their performance. If citizens do not recognize

when the public sector performs well, it might lead to resource-constraints and thus possibly change the core design of the public sector on a non-evidence based foundation. Yet, the literature about this stereotypical negative view on public organizations is surprisingly limited (Van de Walle 2004) and it is still very unclear what exactly causes citizens to think of the public sector in negative terms per se. We might, however, find answers to these questions by combining the literature on *bureaucracy bashing* (Garrett et al. 2006) with insights from social psychology. Public sector organizations and its workers are often portrayed stereotypically by our media and politicians as for instance inefficient or lazy. Citizens seem to adopt this negative view in their perception of the public sector (Hvidman and Andersen 2016). At the same time the literature on social psychology argues that people generally form perceptions along two dimensions; warmth (e.g., compassion) and competence (e.g., intelligence) (Fiske et al. 2002; Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick 2007). Given that actors bash the bureaucracy by relating to both competence- and warmth-related traits, the relative influence of competence and warmth becomes important. However, we have little knowledge about whether competence or warmth have the strongest effect on citizens' perception of public sector performance.

Furthermore it is important to test the relative influence of warmth and competence on citizens' trust in government, because the trust-literature also argues that *process* matter at least as much as outcome/results for trust in government. Process indicators do to a high degree overlap with warmth while outcome on the other hand to a large extent overlap with competence. Thus a study of the relative importance of competence and warmth would contribute further to the literature by giving attention to process as a factor in explaining trust in government. However, this literature that compare the effects of outcomes and process is based on observational data and thus we cannot interpret the results causally. To address these research gaps and methodological issues, I turn to a survey-experimental design where I manipulate the public sector and its employees' warmth and competence.

This study gives important causal insights on whether citizens base their perception of public performance and subsequently their trust in government mostly on competence or warmth. Furthermore, this article contributes to a more general discussion between political science and social psychology about whether competence or warmth carries most weight when people form social perceptions (Laustsen and Bor 2017).

Study 2: Hypotheses

Looking at the literature one can come up with two competing expectations. On the one hand, based on literature in political science and public administration, it can be hypothesized that competence are relatively more important than warmth. In public

administration research it is often assumed that the key to restoring trust in government is better results by the public sector and government in general (e.g., Kettl 2005). Also in political science literature competence is thought to carry more weight, for instance when citizens are to make candidate evaluations (e.g., McGraw 2011; Laustsen and Bor 2017). On the other hand evidence from social psychology points to the importance of warmth-related traits. This is theoretically building on evolutionary thinking: when someone encounters an unfamiliar situation the most important thing, in order to survive, is to judge the other's intentions (Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick 2007). Along these lines Tyler (2006) finds evidence for that procedural justice (e.g., lack of bias, honesty) is very important for citizens' evaluations of government. In relation to trust in government, Van Ryzin (2011) shows that process matters at least as much as outcomes when citizens are to judge the trustworthiness of public employees. Thus both the social psychology literature and the literature on process points to that it is not only competence and delivering results that matter for citizens perceptions but also warmth -and process-related traits. However, there is no consensus about whether competence/outcome or warmth/process carries most weight. In sum, we cannot make any clear expectation about the relative importance of competence and warmth.

Overall research strategy and survey-flow

In this article, I draw on both observational and experimental data from Denmark and the United States. To do so I conduct two surveys; one in the United States using Mturk (N=2500) and one in Denmark where respondents are recruited by Yougov (N=1200). Thus, only the Danish part of the sample is representative of the full population. However, I do not think that using a convenience sample (Mturk) affect the validity of my findings, as studies show that treatment effects in Mturk samples can be compared to population-based samples (Mullinix et al. 2015). Generally, I study both American and Danish citizens in order to address the generalizability of the findings.

Figure 1 shows the overall flow of the survey. If we start by looking at the American part of the full sample, I split this sample in two (1600 and 800 respondents respectively). I do so because I am concerned that the treatment I use in study 2 can affect some of the trust-measures and thus bias my results in study 1. For instance, if a respondent receive the high competence/low warmth treatment and subsequently answer differently (compared to receiving no treatment) to some of the following trust-questions, then it might create other results in the analysis - compared to using a survey without the treatment. To address this concern, I split the US-sample in two: the first subset receive treatment and then subsequently answer questions about their perception of public per-

formance and trust in government, while the second subset receive the trust-questions and then subsequently receive the treatment and questions about perception of public sector performance. This allows me to test whether the results in study 1 is affected by the treatment. Thus, I use the US-based sample to test for this potential concern and if it appear to be an issue, I can incorporate it into the Danish survey because I run the US-based survey earlier (in time) than the Danish. If it does not appear to be a concern, the Danish respondents (n=1200) first receive the treatment and then questions about perception of public performance and trust in government (as shown in figure 1). Finally, I include some background/general questions in the survey. Some of these questions are placed in between the trust-measures in order to address potential response bias (as explained further below), while some of these background questions are placed in the first part of the survey, if they are thought to be affected by the treatment. This is important in order to avoid post-treatment bias in analyses of possible heterogeneous effects.

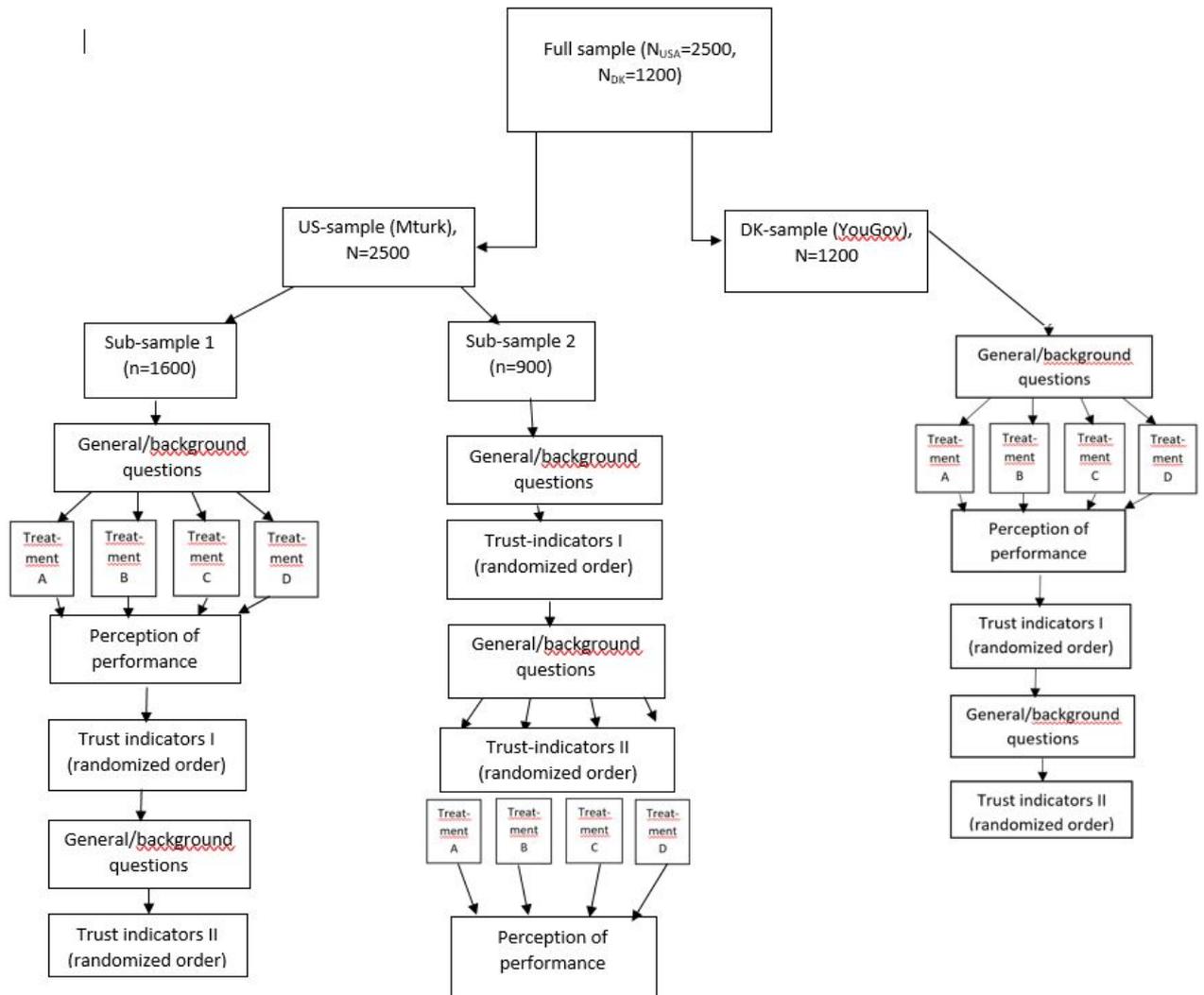


Figure 1. Survey-flow

Study 1: Research design

To address the research questions and test the hypotheses regarding study 1, I need data on citizens' trust in government using standard trust-in-government items, measures of trust in political incumbents, trust in different levels of government as well as indicators of other concepts that also reflect citizens' general image of government and the political system as such. Furthermore, I need to collect data in two different countries in order to address the generalizability and specifically to test whether we find the same distinct dimensions of trust across countries or whether the results depend on context. To do so, I use observational survey data because it is possible to include all these different measures in the same survey among both Danish and American respondents.

As figure 1 shows, I use data on both American (n=2500) and Danish (n=1200) re-

spondents in this study. I use respondents from two different countries in order to address the generalizability of the results. For reasons I elaborate below, the American survey runs before (in time) the Danish survey. As the questionnaire includes a lot of indicators of trust in government, a major concern is whether subjects actually read and make up their minds about the questions or rather fill out the questions in a routine way. This could for instance lead to low variation between indicators because respondents choose the same answer for the whole battery of questions. Such lack of variation would bias the results. Therefore, as is shown in figure 1, I deal with this concern by not measuring all the trust-questions one after another but rather ask some questions not related to trust in between the trust-indicators. A related concern is that there might be order effects in the sense that a respondents answer on one item affects the same respondents answer on subsequent items. To address this concern I randomize the question order of the trust measures. More specifically, I randomize the order in which respondents are presented with "blocks" of questions. For instance, it is randomized whether subjects are asked about the NES-items or their trust in political institutions first; but the order of the separate NES-questions are not randomized.

Conventional measures of trust in government

Different measures of trust in government are used in the literature; especially there is a difference when we compare approaches in research on the United States and Europe. On the one hand, when studying trust in government among Americans, scholars often use an five-item index based on the National Election Studies. On the other hand outside the United States - and especially in European research on trust in government (e.g., European Social Survey) - respondents are often asked to evaluate how much they trust a long list of different institutions (e.g., government, the parliament, political parties). Also, an alternative indicator for trust in government in a European context is a question about satisfaction with democracy (see table 1 for an overview of the survey questions). These measures are used due to their availability across time (and space in the European approach) but they are at the same time criticised for various reasons. For instance, the NES-items have been criticized for tapping into citizens' trust in incumbent political leaders rather than trust in the regime or for not being able to differentiate between trust in different political institutions (Mishler and Rose 1997). Therefore researchers have sometimes excluded some of the NES-questions that mention "*the people running government*" and some scholars only use a single item asking "How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?" (e.g., Cook and Gronke 2005). Despite these critiques, I use the full standard index because I study what meaning we should give to the conventional trust-measures used by scholars

through time and not only the most recent measures.

Measuring trust in local government, trust in the incumbent and satisfaction with performance

In order to study what the conventional NES-measure of trust in government actually reflect, we need to measure competing interpretations. To do so, I measure citizens' trust in state/local government, trust in the incumbent and citizens' satisfaction with the performance of the current administration. The full wording for all measures/questions are listed in the appendix)

To measure *trust in local/state government* respondents are asked the same questions as in the conventional NES-index, but instead of asking about "government in Washington" subjects are asked about state/local government. By including this trust in state/local government measure, we can test whether citizens distinguish between levels of government in their trust evaluations. At the same time, this will indicate whether the conventional NES-items reflect only trust in the federal government or more general trust in government in a broad sense. This is important because the some of the items in the conventional trust-in-government index implies that we only talk about the federal government and not general system support (Parker, Parker, and Towner 2014). Also in the "2006 American National Election Studies Pilot Report", it is argued that the object of trust in the traditional NES-items is the federal government and does not include state/local government. Thus, it is suggested that one include additional questions that refer directly to state/local government in order to capture trust in local government. On this basis I expect that the NES-items measure trust in the federal government only but to confirm this expectation, we need to test whether citizens distinguish between the NES-items and my measure of trust in state/local government.

In addition to measuring trust in federal and state/local government, it is important to measure trust in *the incumbent* to study whether citizens think about current individual incumbents when answering the NES-questions. More generally, it allows me to test whether citizens distinguish between trust in federal government and the incumbent as well as distinguish between trust in state/local government and the incumbent. To capture citizens' attitudes towards the incumbent, I use the same survey items as Parker et. al (2014, 91). More specifically, I ask subjects about to which extent political leaders: generally can be trusted to do the right thing, appear to be honest, use their position for personal gain and keep their campaign promises. These four items are used in order to reflect citizens' perception of whether incumbent politicians is taking advantage of their position for personal benefits or they try to do the right thing and be responsive to citizen

demands. I do not specify which political leaders respondents should think of in order to ensure that subjects' attention is directed at their general trust in political leaders. If I mention a specific political incumbent as a point of reference, the answer might be based on whether the respondent share partisanship with the given politician (Taber and Lodge 2006), and thus not measure the general trust in the incumbent politicians.

Finally, I measure citizens' assessment of incumbent job performance because it has been suggested in the literature that trust in government and evaluation of incumbent performance reflect the same concept (Citrin 1974; Citrin and Green 1986). I ask respondents about how they would evaluate the performance of the current administration over the last 12 months with regard to [1] the economy and [2] overall performance. I ask specifically to the performance of the economy, because a large literature on economic voting (e.g., Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier 2007) have demonstrated that economic factors strongly affect citizens' view of the incumbent.

Additional measures of citizens' perception of government

In order to further test how to interpret the conventional trust-measures, I measure a range of similar concepts that have been used in the literature to capture what citizens think of government. I use the following concepts: confidence in political institutions (e.g., used in the World Value Survey), political support (in the political community, authorities and regime)(Easton 1965, 1975), political efficacy (Miller et. al 1979, Iyengar 1980), satisfaction with government and public services (e.g., Van Ryzin2013, VanRyzin et. al 2004), trust in civil servants (Van Ryzin 2011) and legitimacy (e.g., Gilley 2006). In addition, I include two questions that ask about the respondent's *general image* and *general perception* of government. (see the appendix for the wording for all questions) I include these two measures to empirically validate whether the trust in government-questions simply capture our general perception and/or image of government rather than trust as such.

Including the above-mentioned additional measures allows me to test whether the conventional trust-in-government measures used in the literature can be empirically disentangled from these additional measures. That is, do we as citizens empirically distinguish between for instance trust in government and legitimacy? Or are all these indicators empirically measuring the same underlying concept?

How to make sense of the word 'government'?

There is, obviously, a problem with asking European (in this case Danish) respondents about trust in *government* using the NES items. There is simply no word in the Danish

language that have the same meaning as *government* has in American English. One way to go about this challenge would be to explain carefully what is meant by *government* before the Danish respondents are asked the NES trust in government-questions. However, this approach might be flawed because my explanation of what is meant by the term 'government' might be different from the way it is interpreted by Americans in general. It might for instance be a problem if Americans when answering these questions, say, only think of the national government and I have told the Danish respondents that they should think of both national government and the public sector (because the term 'government' also can have a broader meaning in American English than 'government of the day').

To overcome (or at least accommodate) this practical challenge, I ask respondents in the US-based survey how they interpret the term "government". More specifically, I end the survey among American respondents by asking them to think back on the questions they were asked earlier about how much of the time you can trust the "government" to do what is right, then respondents are asked to indicate on 1-5 scale to what extent they thought of: central government, state government, politicians, parliament, public organizations and the public administration. I then use the answers to develop a translation of the term "government", that I subsequently use in the Danish survey. In this way, I try to ensure that I can compare results across countries. In practice this means that I run the US-based survey before I run the survey in Denmark.

Empirical strategy/plan for analysis

In this section I give a brief introduction to my empirical strategy and how I intend to test my expectations. Overall, I use factor analysis to examine the dimensionality of the measures. This technique allow me to study patterns in the data and find latent variables in my dataset.

First, I test whether, as expected, I find two latent dimensions when using the items related to the NES-measure of trust in government and the measure of trust in state/local government. Second, I examine the expectation about the distinction between trust in the incumbent and trust in government by running a factor analysis with these items. To test whether the NES-items merely reflect satisfaction with the performance of the current administration, I conduct a factor analysis with the conventional NES-items and the measure of satisfaction with performance. Taken together, these three factor analyses allows me to test whether I can replicate the findings from Parker et al. (2014) and thus conclude what meaning to give to the NES-items. However, I make these three factor analyses separately for Danish and American respondents in order to test the generalizability of the findings. To test whether the findings are similar in the two

countries, it is important to use exactly the same measures; thus I also use the NES-items among Danish respondents. This is not to test how Danish respondents interpret the NES-items but rather to study whether we find the same latent dimensions of trust across context.

To examine the second research question about whether the American and European approach to measuring trust in government are empirically different, I conduct a factor analysis with the items from these two measures. This allows me to examine whether these two measurement models reflect the same underlying concept and thus whether we can compare results across different measurement techniques.

Finally to study the third research question, I exploratively include both the items from two conventional measures of trust in government and indicators of the earlier mentioned 'similar' concepts. In this way, I can see how the items are correlated and thus test whether all the items measure the same latent concept.

	Survey question	Response categories
NES I	How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?	Just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, never
NES II	Is the government run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or for the benefit of all the people?	Government run by a few big interests, government run for the benefit of all
NES III	How much do people in government waste tax money?	A lot of money, some of it, don't waste very much
NES IV	How many people running the government are crooked?	Quite a few, not very many, hardly any
NES V	Do you feel that almost all of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing, or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they are doing?	People running government are smart, quite a few don't seem to know what they are doing
EU I	Do you tend to trust or not to trust the legal system?	Tend to trust, tend not to trust
EU II	Do you tend to trust or not to trust the political parties?	Tend to trust, tend not to trust
EU III	Do you tend to trust or not to trust the national government?	Tend to trust, tend not to trust
EU IV	Do you tend to trust or not to trust the national parliament?	Tend to trust, tend not to trust

Table 1. Overview of traditional survey-questions measuring trust

	Survey question	Response categories
EU V	Do you tend to trust or not to trust the local public authorities?	Tend to trust, tend not to trust
EU VI	Do you tend to trust or not to trust politicians?	Tend to trust, tend not to trust
EU VII	Do you tend to trust or not to trust the public administration?	Tend to trust, tend not to trust
EU VIII	Do you tend to trust or not to trust the European Union?	Tend to trust, tend not to trust
EU IX	Do you tend to trust or not to trust the police?	Tend to trust, tend not to trust
EU X	On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [country]?	0-10 scale (0=extremely dissatisfied, 10=extremely satisfied)

Study II: Research design

The purpose of study II is to test the relative influence of warmth and competence on citizens' evaluation of public sector performance and subsequently their trust in government. That is, does it matter most to citizens that the public sector and public employees are competent and deliver results or is it more important that public organizations have the right intentions and focus on the process. This study is testing the two competing hypotheses using survey-experimental data.

For this study I conduct a 2 (high/low competence) x 2 (high/low warmth) factorial experiment. More specifically, I develop 4 different vignettes that describes a public sector organization where I manipulate both competence and warmth. Importantly, by manipulating both competence and warmth and randomly assign subjects to one of the four vignettes, I can test the *causal* effect of warmth and competence. Thus this research design addresses important limitations of previous studies based on observational data. The experimental material is a fictitious newspaper article. In order to mimic the real world, the context of the article is a debate about more or less privatization of the pub-

lic sector, which is an ongoing discussion in both Denmark and the United States. The respondents are asked to imagine that the article appeared in a national newspaper. Competence is manipulated by referring to both the school as an government institution and the school's employees in terms of their efficiency, intelligence and knowledge. Warmth is on the other hand referred to in terms of benevolence, fairness and honesty. These manipulations of competence and warmth built on both the social psychology literature (e.g., Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick 2007) and the literature on process (e.g., Van Ryzin 2011) in order to study exactly the effect of these concepts. More specifically, the words I use in the experimental manipulations are chosen because they resemble the attributes linked to competence/results and warmth/process in the literature.

A major concern with regard to test the relative influence of competence and warmth using a experimental design is that it is hard to manipulate competence and warmth to the same degree. That is, it could easily be the case that respondents react more powerful to the warmth-treatment (compared to the competence-treatment) because the warmth-treatment in itself is stronger. In other words, the difference between high and low warmth might be larger than the difference between high and low competence. Therefore I plan to make a manipulation check where I ask respondents to rate the public sector on both warmth and competence. If the manipulation checks shows an imbalance, I run an analysis where I use respondents' standardized perception of warmth and competence respectively (i.e., the manipulation checks) as independent variables. This makes it possible to compare the effects of similar relative differences in competence and warmth on the dependent variables.

Experimental manipulations

Below I provide the full texts from the experimental manipulations. All parts that differ between experimental conditions are marked with **bold font**.

The public sector provides many services to ordinary citizens. However, both among politicians and citizens there is a discussion of whether public or private organizations should provide these services. We look more into this debate about privatization of public schools in the light of a new independent report about the public sector in general system made by experts on the area. The report concludes the following in the executive summary:

Manipulation of competence

- Public sector organizations are in general **very efficient/not very efficient** when it comes to lowering costs. **A lot of/a few public** organizations applied for

additional grants in consequence of overspending and bad handling of the initial budget.

- A comprehensive survey of public employees from all over the country was made as a part of the report. It was conducted to test public employees' intelligence and knowledge, and it showed that employees in the public sector **should improve their skills significantly to keep up with increasing demands/have the skills necessary to keep up with increasing demands**

Manipulation of warmth

- The report concludes that public employees - across all areas in the public sector - **genuinely care about citizens' interests/are sometimes more interested in doing good for themselves than serving the citizens.**
- Based on interviews with citizens public sector workers can in general be described as **helpful and good natured/at times unconcerned** when delivering the public service. Furthermore, **almost no one/some** citizens report dishonesty by public officials in the sense that the treatment they get depends on who they know and their social status.

After having read the assigned experimental condition the dependent variable is measured. First, respondents indicate how they perceive the performance of the public sector on a 1-5 scale (1=very good, 5=very bad). Second, I measure subjects' trust in government, and the exact measure depends on the results from study 1.

Appendix

In the appendix I list the wordings for the questions I use in study 1.

Political efficacy

- People like me have no say about what the government does
- Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on
- Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things
- I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think

- Generally speaking, those we elect to Congress in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly
- Parties are only interested in people's vote but not in their opinions

Confidence in institutions I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all?

- The Police
- The courts
- The government (in your nation's capital)
- Political parties
- Parliament
- The civil service
- The European Union

Trust in civil servants

- Most civil servants can be trusted to do what is best for the country (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree)

Satisfaction

- How satisfied are you with the performance of your local authority's overall services?
- How satisfied are you with the city government's performance?
- How satisfied are you with the performance national government?
- How satisfied are you with the performance of government in general?

Political support

- - How proud are you to be a citizen of this country?
- - Of course we all hope that there will not be another war, but if it were to come to that, would you be willing to fight for your country?

- - Would you say it is very good, good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad to have a democratic system?
- - Could you please tell me if you agree strongly, agree, disagree or disagree strongly that democracy may have many problems but it's better than any other form of government?
- People have different views about the system for governing this country. Here is a scale for rating how well things are going: (1) means very bad and (10) means very good. Where on this scale would you put the political system as it is today?
- How satisfied are you with how the people in national office are handling the country's affairs?
- I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: The parliament, the government in (capital city)
- On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in your country?