



# Disentangling Trust and Perceived Trustworthiness

*Towards a more distinguished analysis of trust*

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**Social and Cultural Changes in Cross-National Perspective:  
Values and Modernization,  
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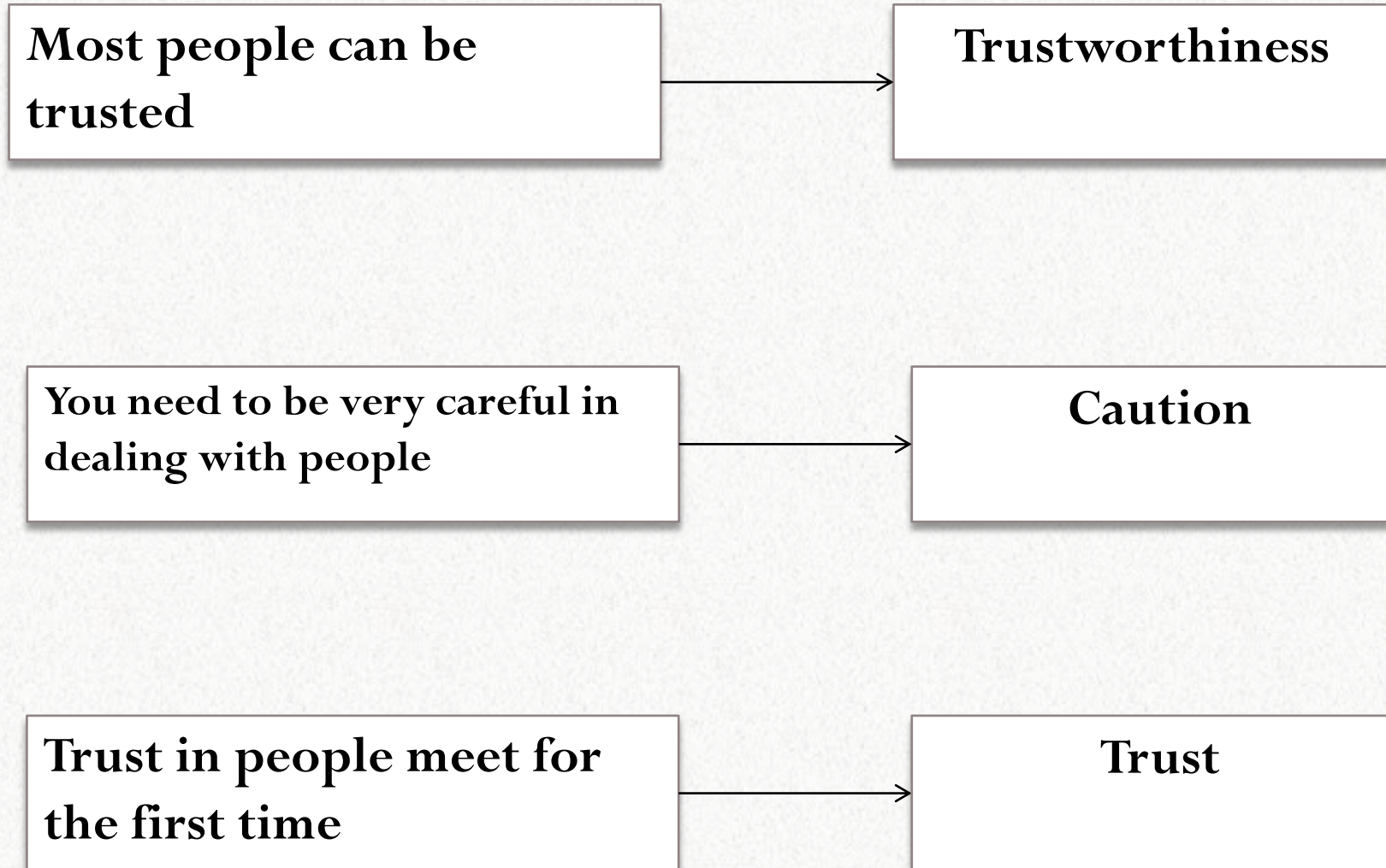
## Key questions

1. Is there a difference between trust and trustworthiness across-countries?
2. Is trust and trustworthiness distinct constructs or they belong to the same dimension?
3. What are the determinants and outcomes of trust and trustworthiness?
4. How it can help in explaining the nature of trust?

## Traditional trust question

Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?

## Generalized trust measures



# Trust and caution among American and Japanese students

(Source: Miller & Mitamura, 2003)

	Japanese	Americans	A-J
Can you trust strangers	4	24	20
Do you feel that you need to be careful with strangers	57	69	12

Americans are more trusting

Americans are more cautious

## Trust questions in the 5<sup>th</sup> round of the World Values Study (2005-2008)

Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?

How much do you trust people meet for the first time?

# Four combinations of trust and trustworthiness

## 1. Trusting the trustworthy (A)

*Most people can be trusted  
Trust in strangers*

## 2. Not trusting the trustworthy (B)

*Most people can be trusted  
Distrust in strangers*

## 3. Trusting the non-trustworthy (C)

*Careful in dealing with people  
Trust in strangers*

## 4. Not trusting the non-trustworthy (D)

*Careful in dealing with people  
Distrust in strangers*

## Four combinations of trust and trustworthiness

**1. Trusting the  
trustworthy  
(A)**

*11.6 %*

**2. Not trusting the  
trustworthy  
(B)**

*14.0 %*

**3. Trusting the  
non-trustworthy  
(C)**

*14.2 %*

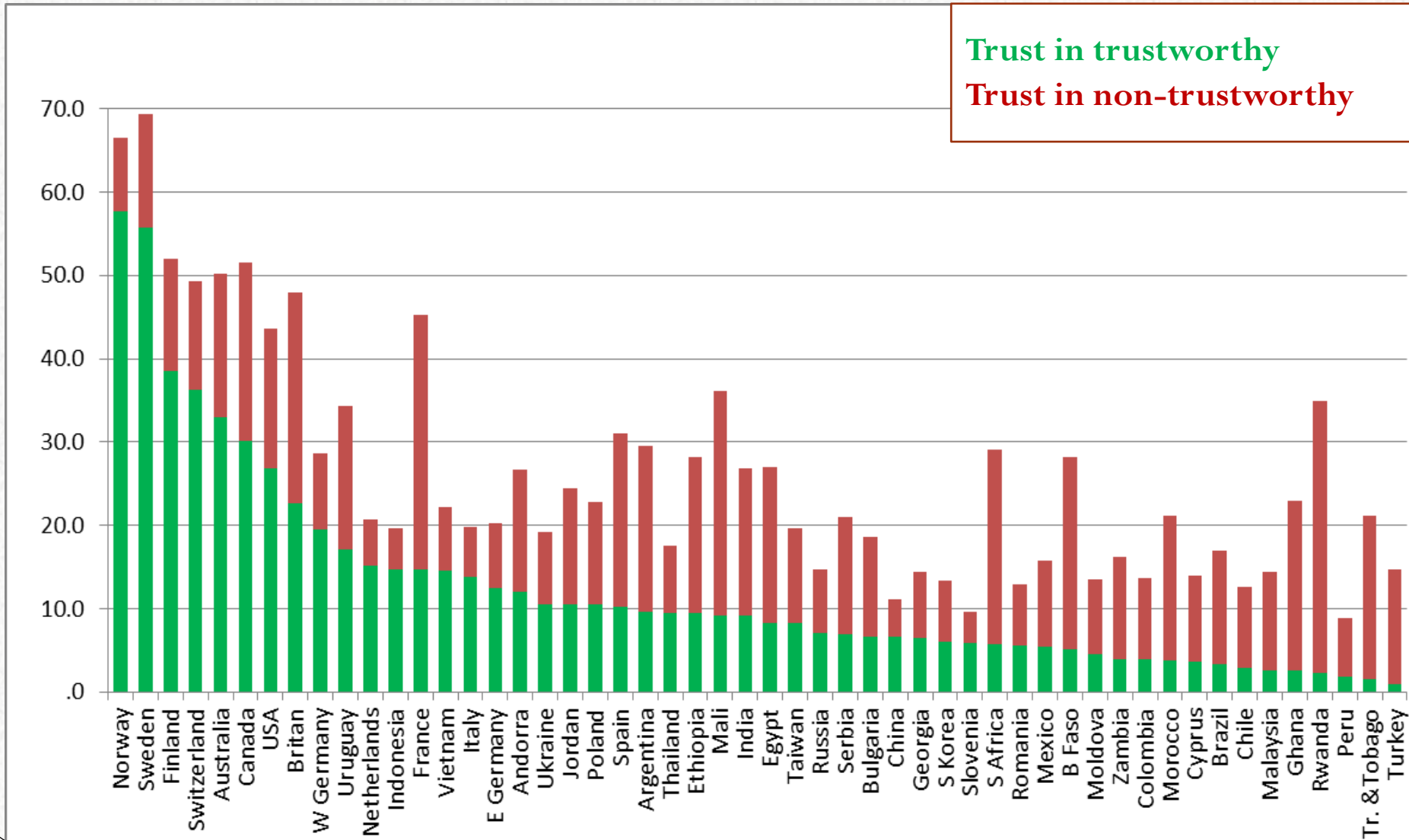
**4. Not trusting the non-  
trustworthy  
(D)**

*60.2 %*



# Distribution of Trust Types

(WVS 5, 2005-2008)

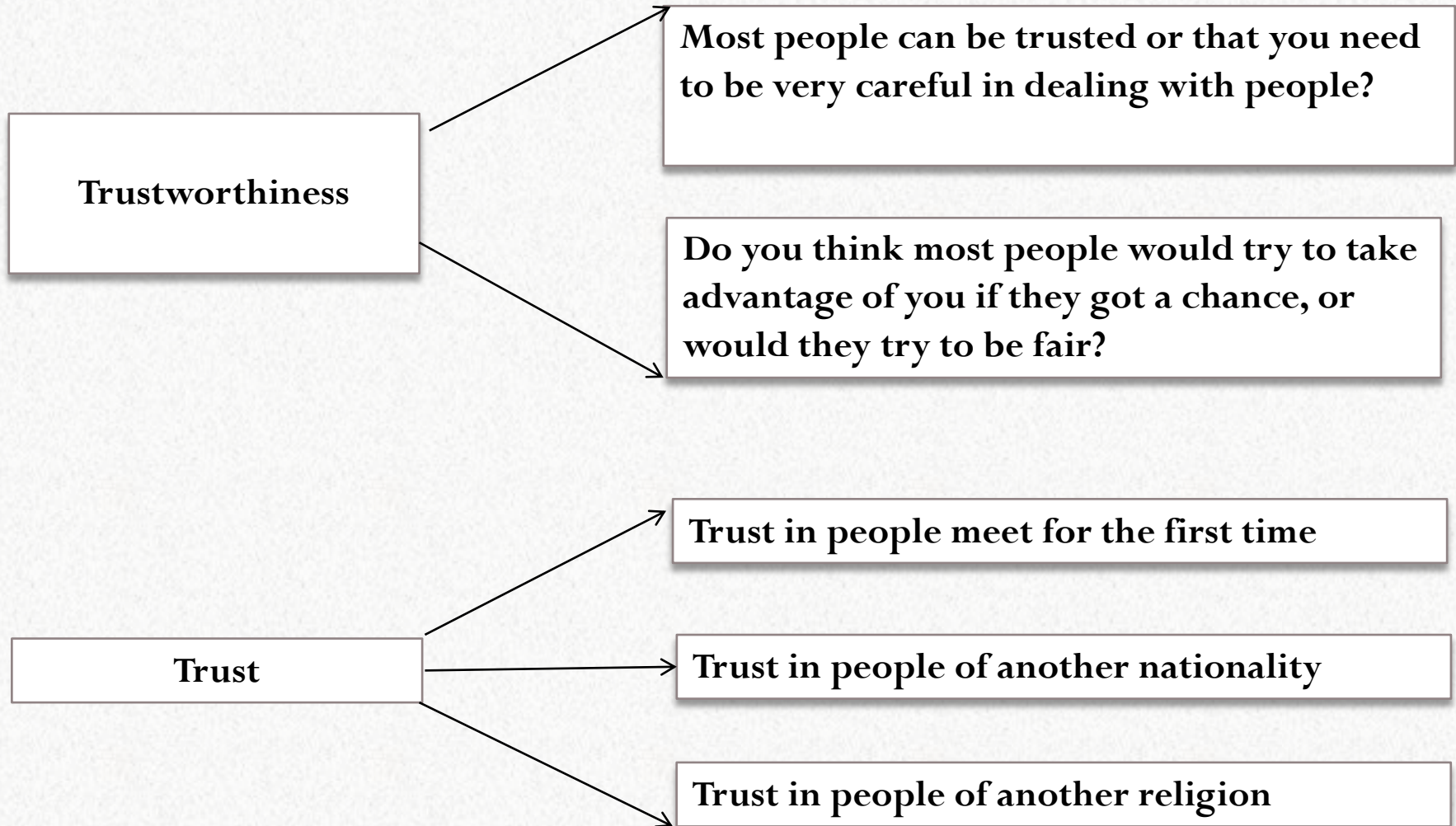


## The share of trusting the non-trustworthy

Rwanda	32.7%
France	30.6%
Mali	26.9%
United Kingdom	25.4%
S Africa	23.4%
Burkina Faso	23.1%
Canada	21.5%
Spain	20.8%
Ghana	20.3%



# Trust and trustworthiness questions in WVS5



# Justification 1

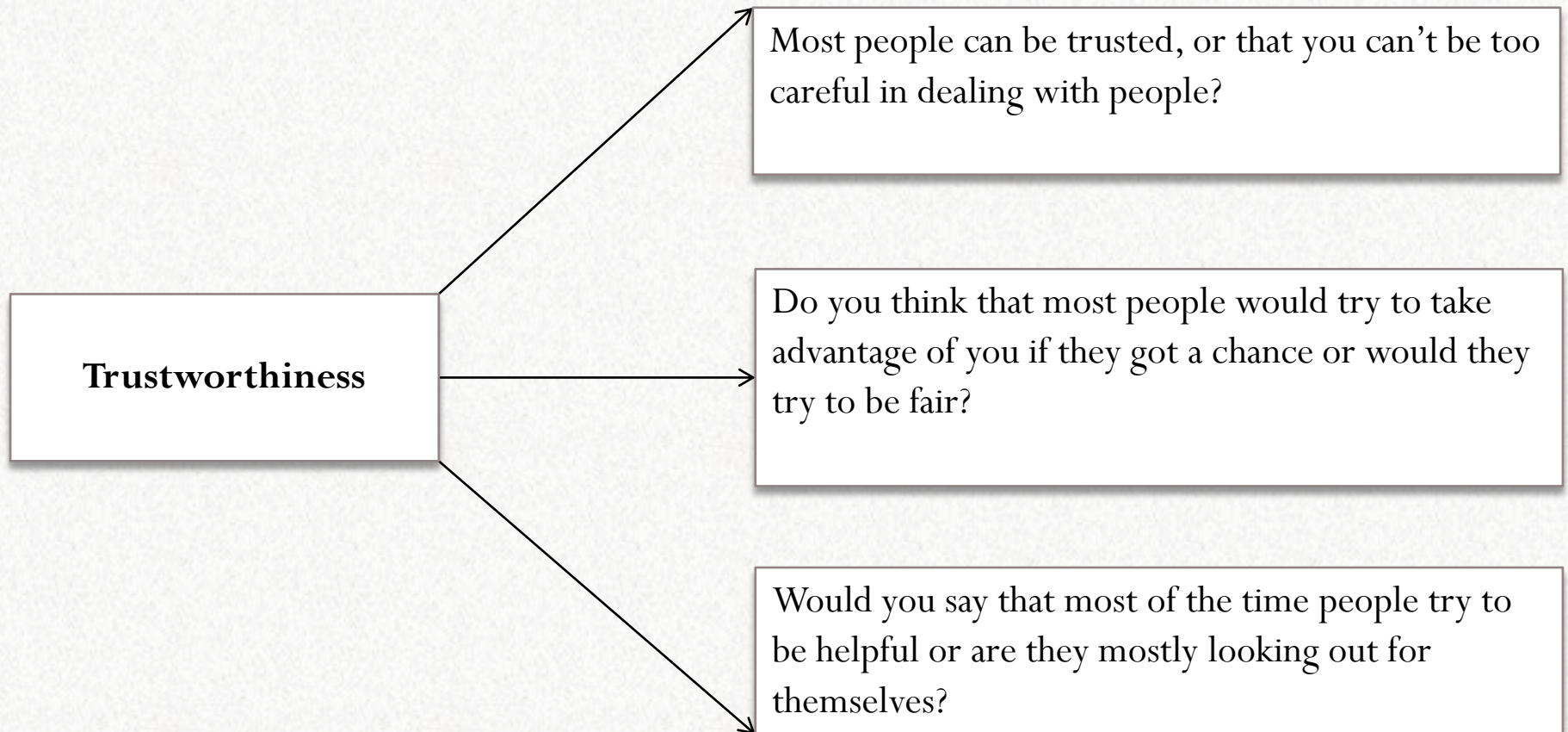
*M. Rosenbergs` s “Faith in people scale”*

1. Some people say that most people can be trusted. Others say you can't be too careful in your dealings with people. How do you feel about it?
2. Would you say that most people are more inclined to help others, or more inclined to look out for themselves?
3. If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you.
4. No one is going to care much what happens to you, when you get right down to it.
5. Human nature is fundamentally co-operative.

## Justification 2

*Full metric invariance of trustworthiness indicators  
in ESS1 and ESS2*

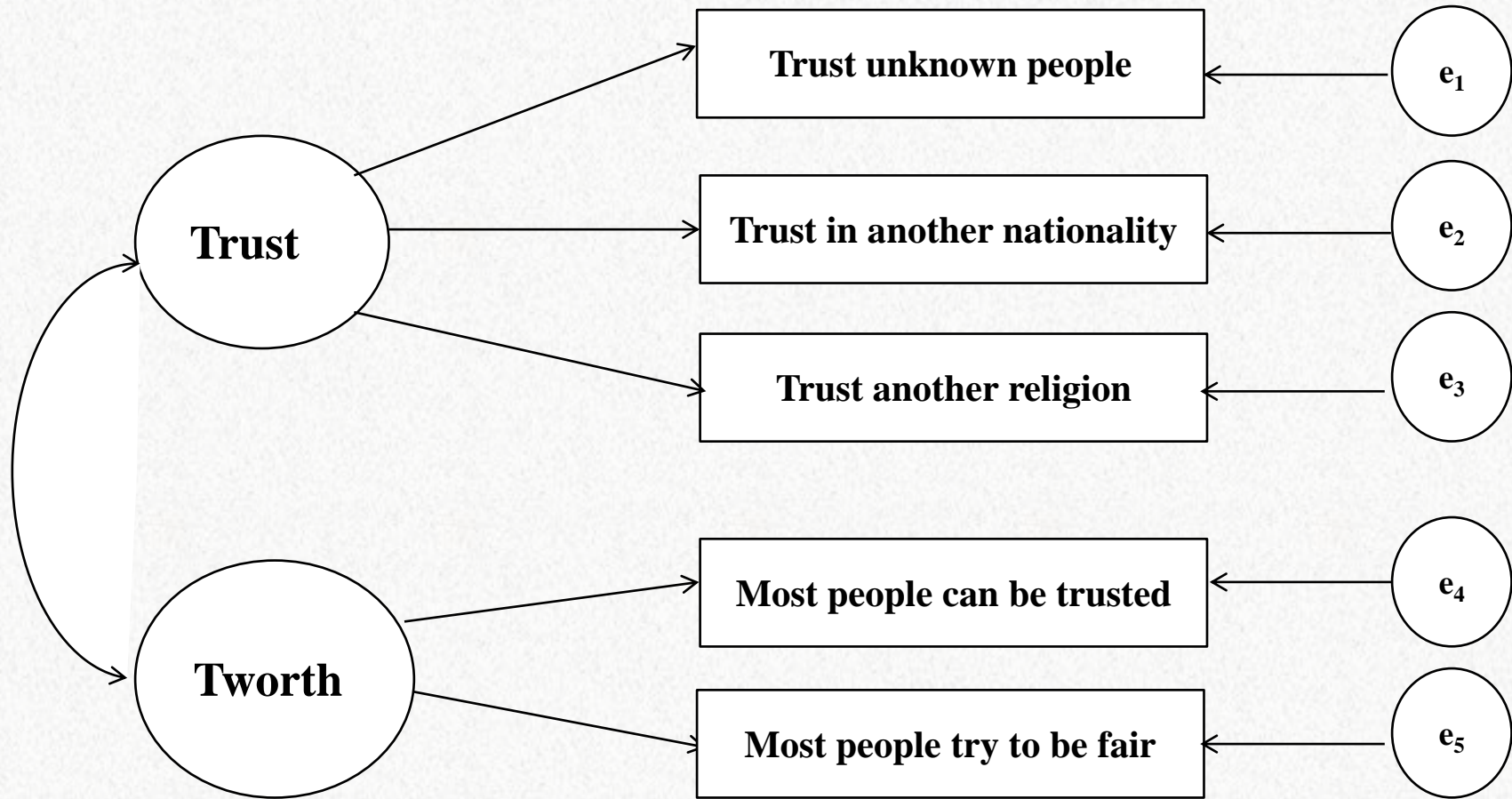
*(Reeskens & Hooghe, 2008 )*



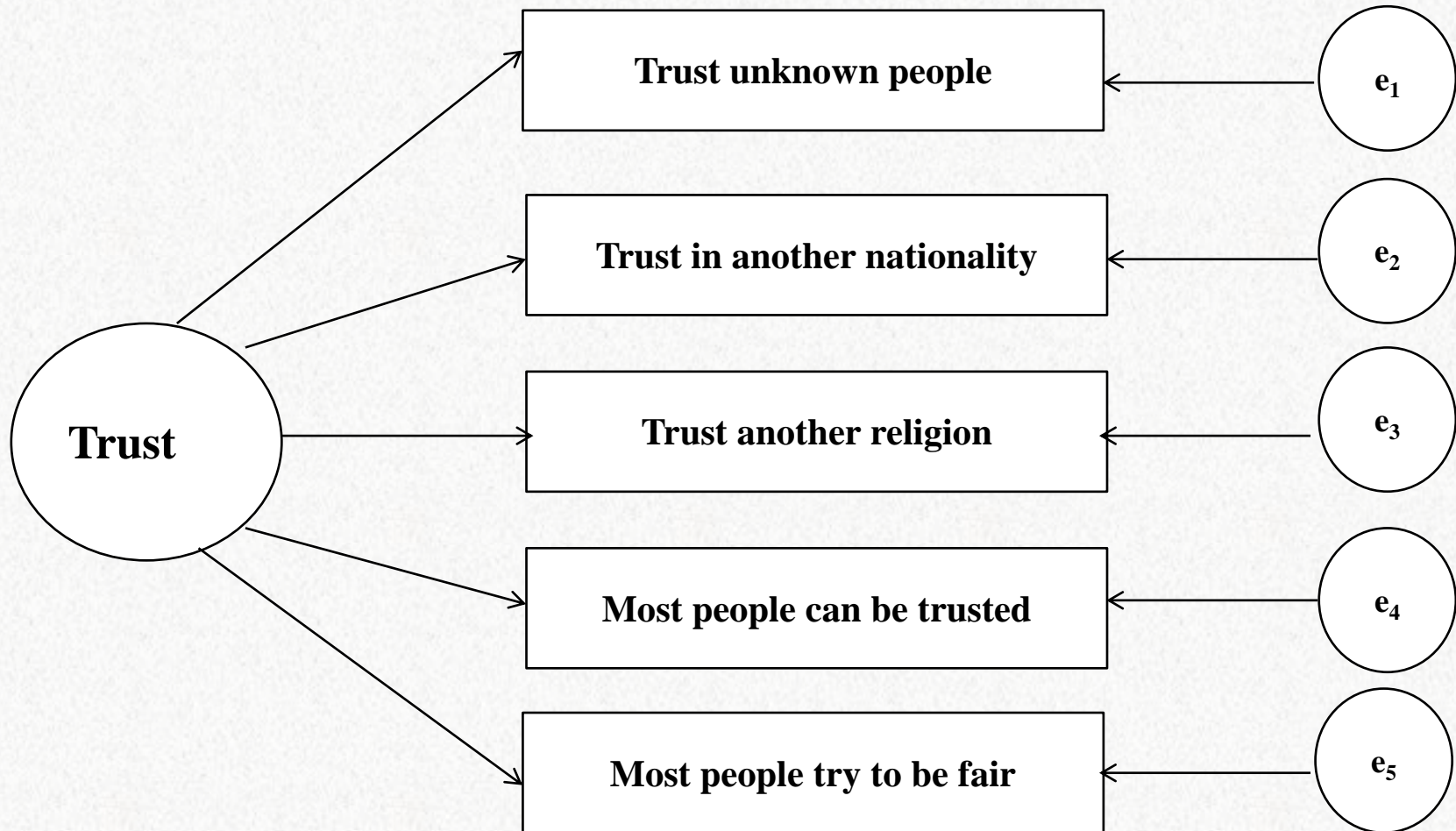
## Method and Strategy

- Confirmatory factor analyses with WLS estimator and missing data
- Two-step strategy:
  - Test of two-dimensionality of trust and trustworthiness (model 1)
  - Test of one-dimensionality of trust and trustworthiness (model 2)
- Pooled and country-specific models

# Model 1



## Model 2





## Results for pooled WVS5 data-set

	Model 1 (two factors)	Model 2 (one factor)
Chi-Square	3606.271	6118.372
Degrees of freedom	4	5
P-value	0.000	0.000
Chi/df	901.567	1223.674
RMSEA	0.111 (108-0.114)	0.129 (0.126-0.132)
CFI	0.989	0.981
TLI	0.973	0.963
WRMR	8.754	12.661

## Results for country-specific models

model 1 (two factors)	model 2 (one factor)
Good model fit in 2 countries*	Good model fit in 17 countries
Correlations between latent variables from 0.3 to 0.6 in 21 country	In 2 of 17 countries factor loadings of “most” are insignificant  In 9 of 17 countries factor loading of "most" are lower than 0.3  In 6 of 17 countries factor loadings are between 0.3 and 0.4

\*China, S Korea

# Determinants of Trust and Perceived Trustworthiness

- Factors considered

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## *Personal / Individual*

Personality	Schwartz Values
Socio-Demographics	Gender
	Age
	Highest Level of obtained Education
	Household Income (in income quintiles)
Well-Being	Life Satisfaction (from 1 = dissatisfied to 10 = satisfied)

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## *Community / Social Embeddedness*

Civic Involvement	Association Membership
	Participation in Elite-Challenging Actions
Religious belonging	Religious Denomination

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## *Societal*

Institutional Trust	Av. Confidence (Police, Courts, Parties, Gov. and Parl.)
Societal Characteristics	Level of Development (Human Development Index)
	Level of Democracy (Average FH/Polity score)
	Ethnic Fractionalization (from Alesina et al. 2003)

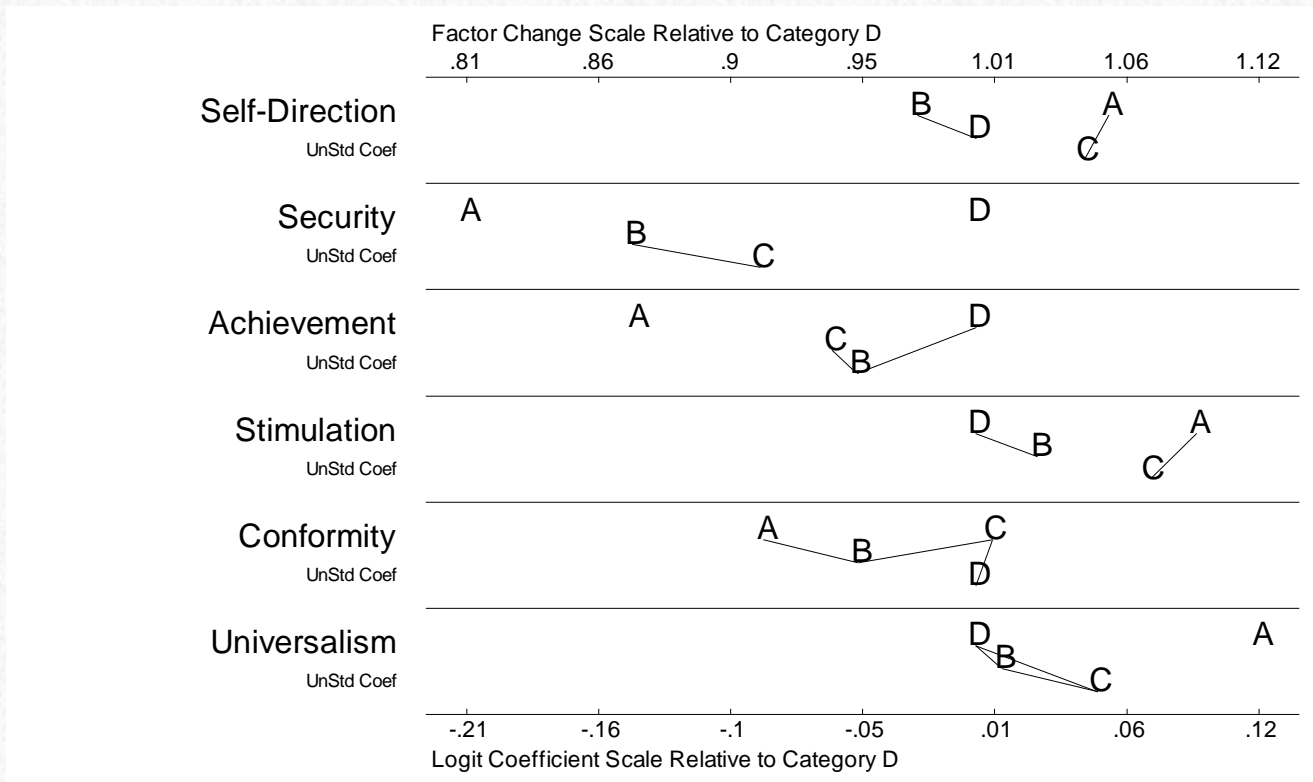
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# Determinants of Trust and Perceived Trustworthiness

- Empirical Analysis
  - Pooled individual-level analysis across a sample of 52,068 individuals from 45 countries (using WVS data)
  - Categorical variable capturing combination between perception about the trustworthiness of others (most people can be trusted vs. cannot be too careful) and trust in unknown people (somewhat/very much vs. not very much/not at all) as DV
  - Estimation: Multinomial Logistic Regression
    - Allowing for country clustered error terms
    - Combination D – i.e. you cannot be too careful, low trust in unknown people – as base outcome

# Determinants of Trust and Perceived Trustworthiness

- Multinomial Logistic Regression Results – Values



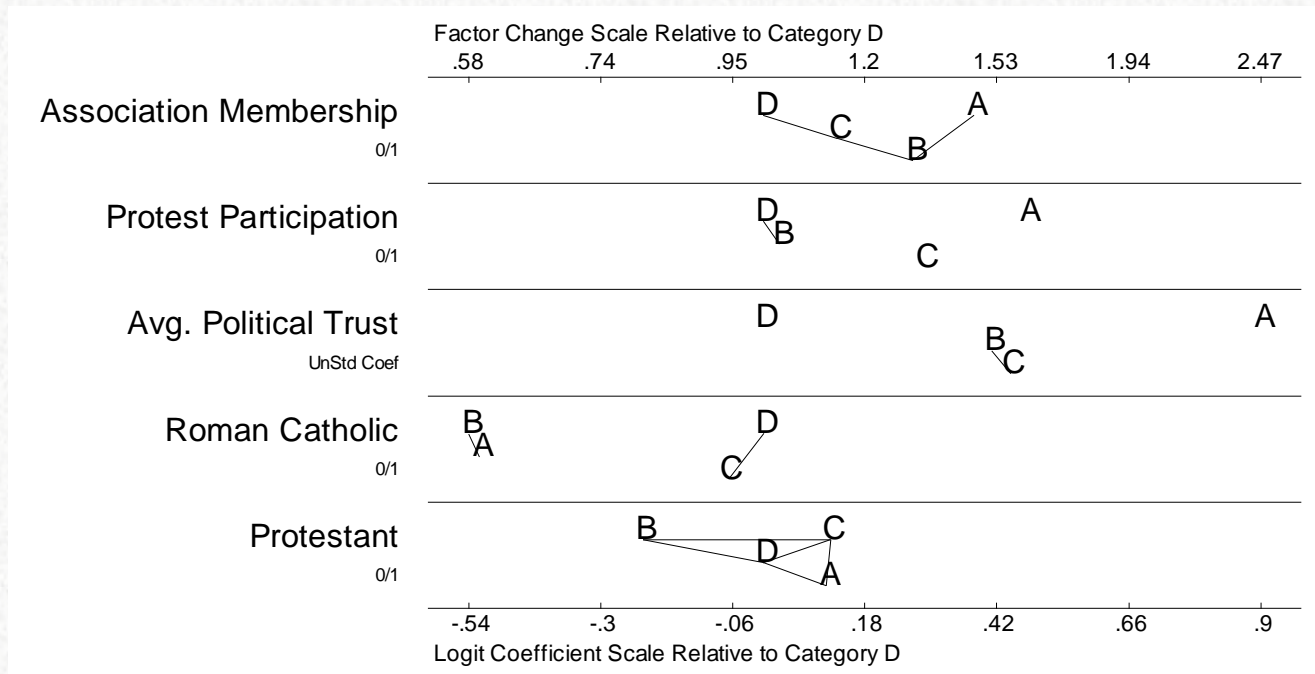
*A = most people can be trusted, trust in strangers; B = most people can be trusted, low trust in strangers; C = you cannot be too careful, trust in strangers; D = you cannot be too careful, low trust in strangers (D as base outcome).*

*Odds ratios on upper, coefficients on lower axis. Odds ratios on upper, coefficients on lower axis.*

*Missing connection between individual types indicate significant differences at 5% significance level.*

# Determinants of Trust and Perceived Trustworthiness

- Multinomial Logistic Regression Results – Social Environment



A = most people can be trusted, trust in strangers; B = most people can be trusted, low trust in strangers; C = you cannot be too careful, trust in strangers; D = you cannot be too careful, low trust in strangers (D as base outcome).

Odds ratios on upper, coefficients on lower axis.

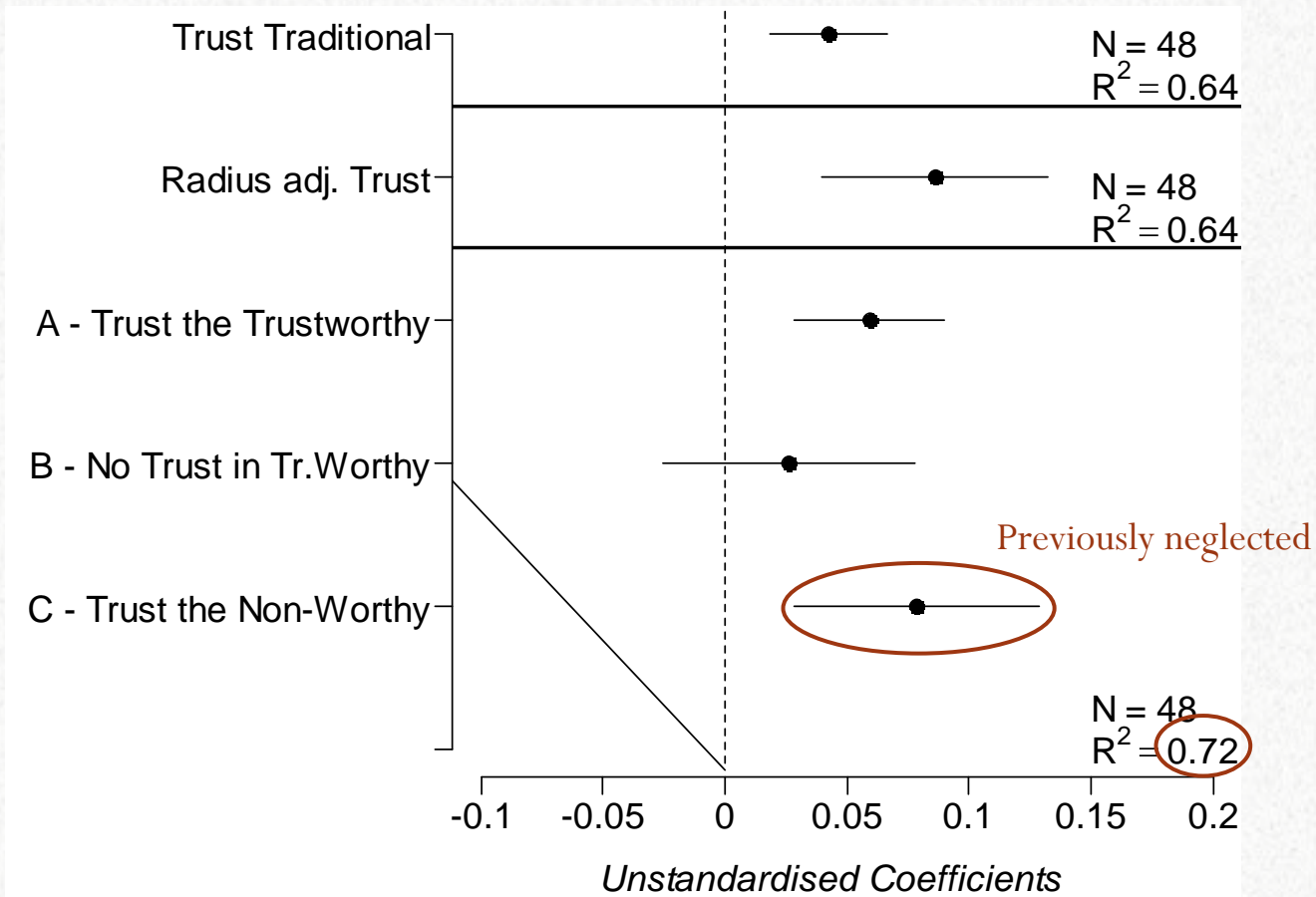
Missing connection between individual types indicate significant differences at 5% significance level

# Societal Relevance

- Societal Relevance of different combinations between trust in strangers and perceptions about trustworthiness of others
  - ➔ Phenomenon that attracted considerable attention - **Corruption**
- Expectations:
  - High levels of trust and honesty should lead to adherence to existing norms
    - ➔ *high trust* combined with *high trustworthiness* is related to *lower corruption*
  - If perception of trustworthiness of others is expression of trust in close contacts instead of generalized others, people rather adhere to group obligations than universal norms ➔ *low outward trust* is not related to *lower corruption*
  - If people are willing to *trust unknown* people despite *doubts about the integrity* of others, they might still adhere to existing norms ➔ connected to *lower corruption*
- Analysis:
  - Cross-country OLS regressions across 48 countries
  - Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index as DV
  - Percentage of respondents in individual trust types as IVs
  - HDI and average Freedom House/Polity measure as controls

# Societal Relevance

- Types of Trust and Corruption - Empirical Results



Graph shows OLS regression coefficients with 95% confidence intervals. All three models control for HDI and an average Freedom House/Polity score.



# Summary and Future Steps

## ● Main Findings

- Perceptions about trustworthiness of others and trust in strangers do not necessarily match perfectly; differences between countries exist
- Different factors drive peoples' judgments about trustworthiness of others and their decision to trust persons they meet for the first time
- While a narrow focus in perceptions of others does not appear to be connected to more beneficial outcomes for society (in terms of lower corruption), higher trust in strangers, are found related to lower levels of corruption, even if people remain cautious about the trustworthiness of others

## ● Next Steps

- Deepen discussion of typology and further specify individual types
- Investigate cross-country differences in distribution of trust types and their determinants by employing multi-level approach and put focus on country factors
- Extend analysis on societal impacts to other societal phenomena associated with trust

**Definitions of trust**  
(source: Stolle, 2002)

**Strategic or rational accounts**  
(Hardin, Yamagishi, Gambetta, Coleman)

**Identity or group-based accounts**  
(Tajfel, Turner)

**Moral accounts**  
(Uslaner, Fukuyama)