

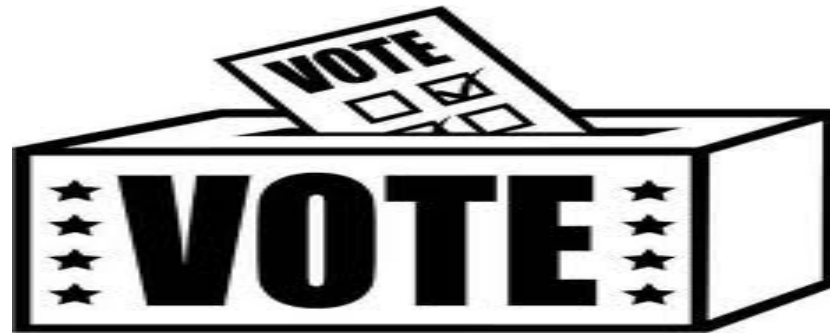
WHAT IS POLITICAL TRUST?

- The belief that the government will deliver services in a fair and equal manner

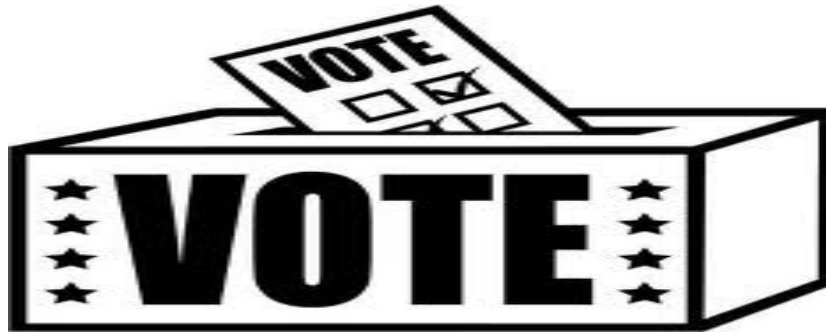
TRUST: WHY IT MATTERS



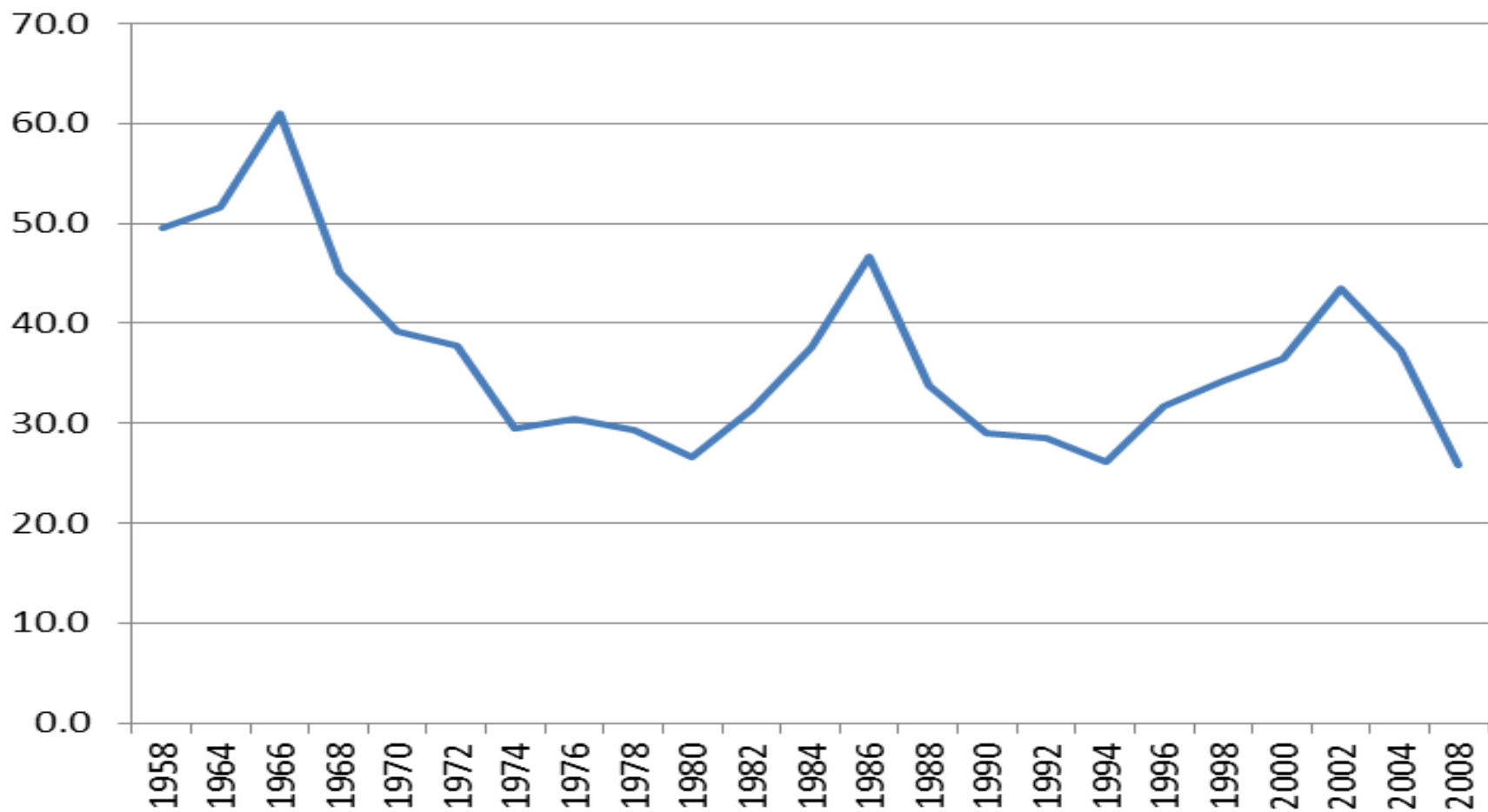
TRUST: WHY IT MATTERS



TRUST: WHY IT MATTERS



Political trust in the U.S.

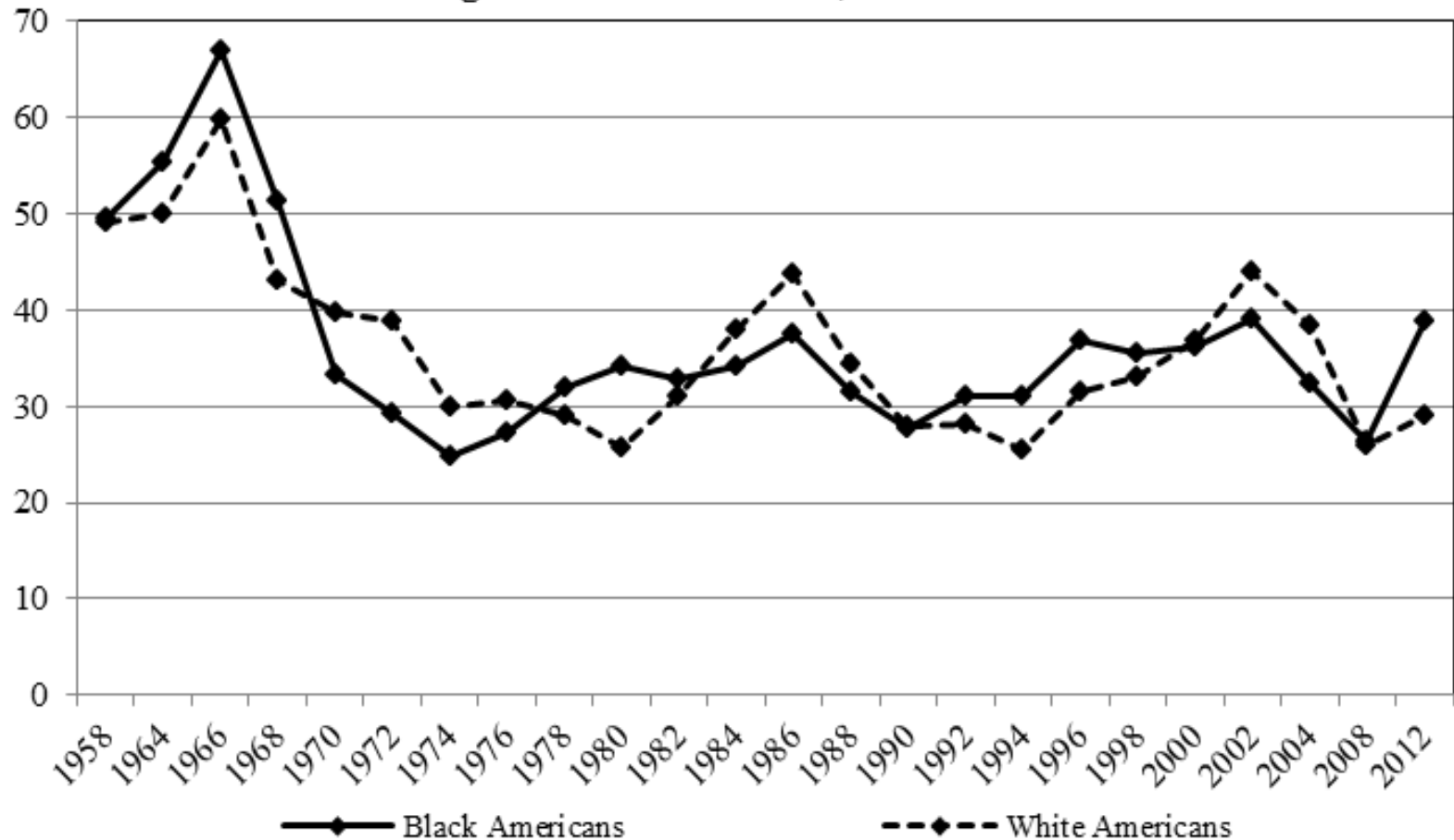


TODAY: RACE AND TRUST

- Standard predictors of trust matter for White but not for Black Americans
- Why?
 - White Americans trust= short term political assessments
 - Black Americans trust= system discontent

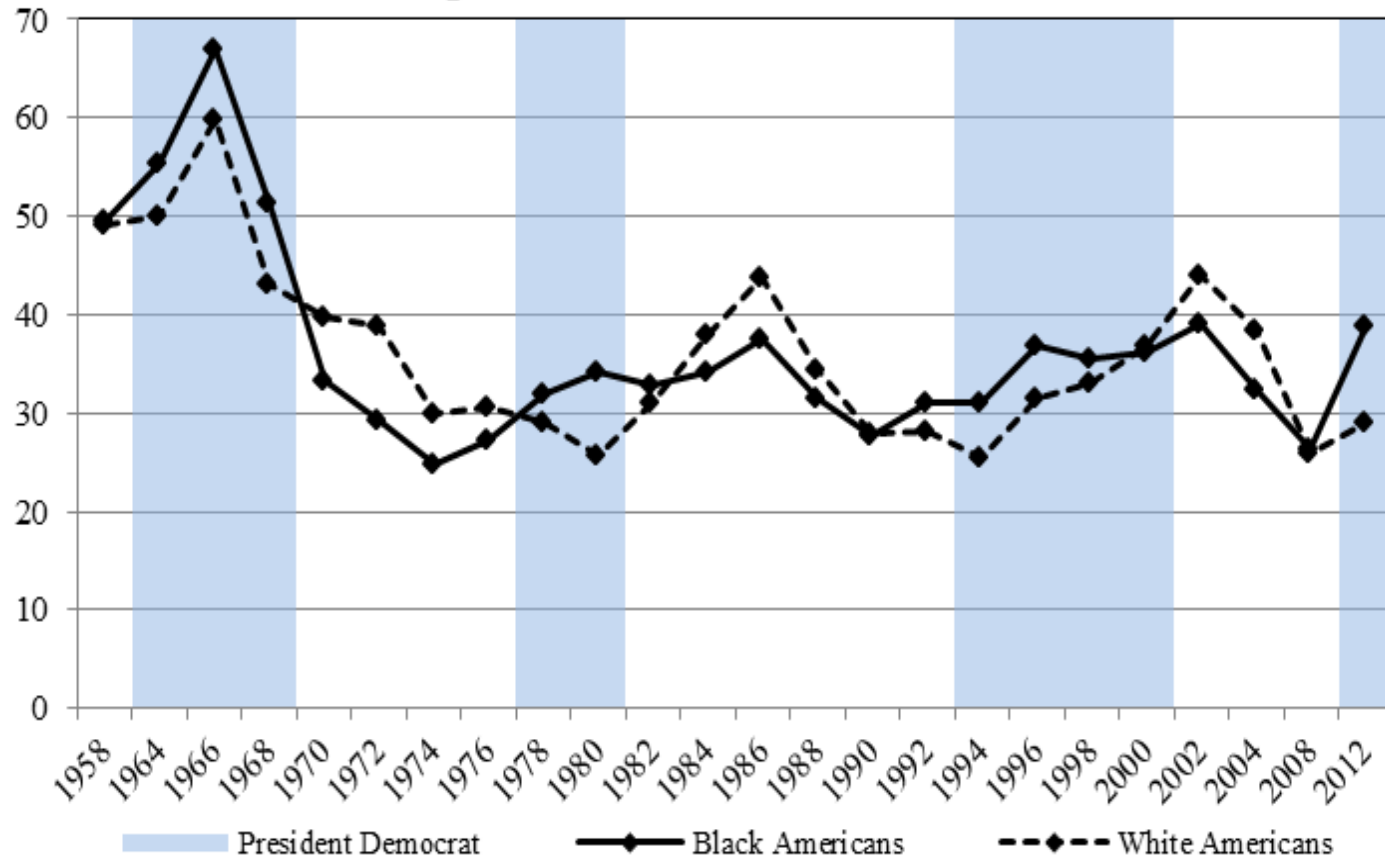
THE PROBLEM: WHY DOES POLITICAL TRUST KEEP SWITCHING?

Figure 2. Political trust, 1958-2012



IT DOES SEEM TO BE ABOUT PARTISANSHIP

Figure 2. Political trust, 1958-2012

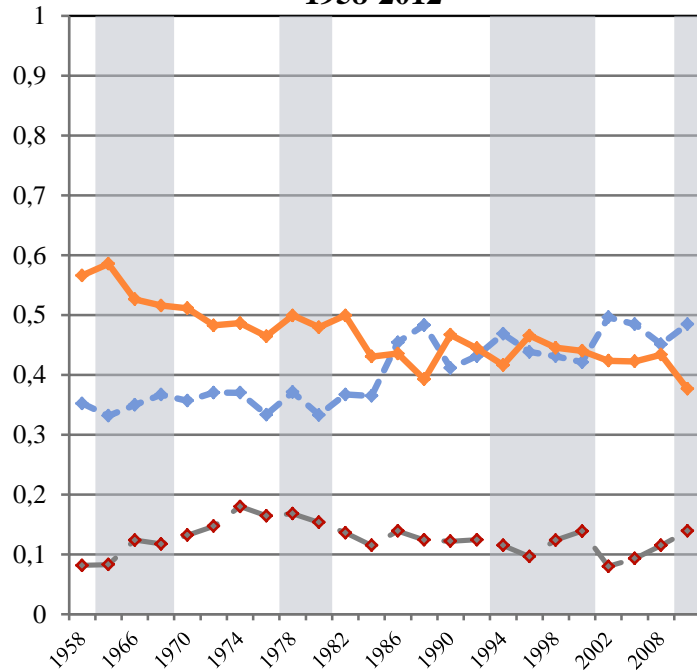


BUT THERE IS ANOTHER ISSUE

- Is this a race effect or a partisanship effect or both?
- Black = Democrat
- Republican = White

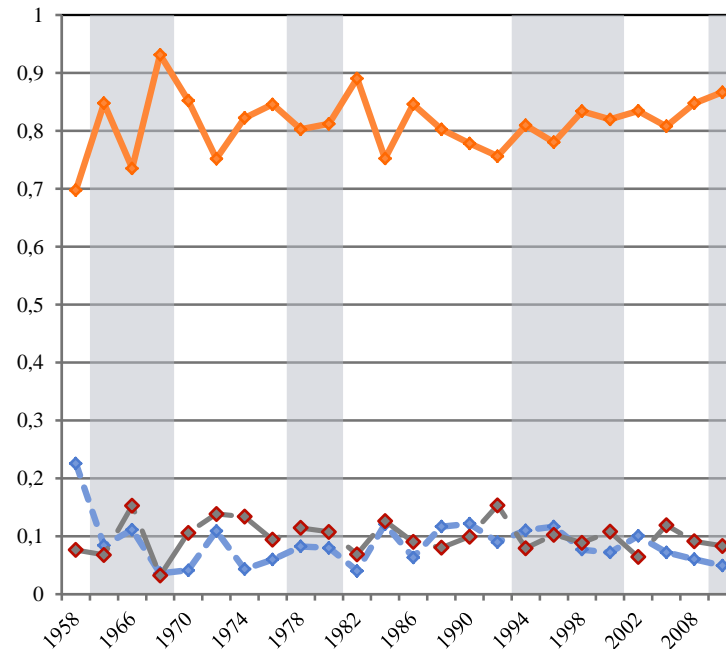
TRENDS IN PARTISANSHIP, 1958-2012

Figure 2. Party ID, White Americans, 1958-2012



- President Democrat
- Republican
- Independent
- Democrat

Figure 3. Party ID, Black Americans, 1958-2012



- President Democrat
- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent

OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE MODEL:

- Data:

- 1958 to 2012 American National Election Studies data



DEPENDENT VARIABLE= POLITICAL TRUST

- Trust in the federal government to do what is right
- The government is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves vs. run for the benefit of all people
- People in the government waste a lot of money we pay in taxes
- Quite a few people running the government are crooked

THE PRESIDENTIAL THERMOMETER

- 0 (Cold) to 100 (Warm)



OTHER VARIABLES

- Policy evaluations
- Economic evaluations

METHODS

- Mixed models with individuals as level 1 and time as level 2
- Level 2 represents the trend in trust
- Variance operating as % of trend explained

Table 3. Mixed model showing political trust by race, 1958-2012

	Black Americans					White Americans				
	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.7	3.8	3.9	3.10
Intercept	34.40 ***	20.41 ***	25.03 ***	25.93 ***	24.99 ***	34.92 ***	24.84 ***	26.32 ***	25.32 ***	25.52 ***
<i>Individual-level</i>										
<i>Partisanship</i>										
Democrat	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Republican	9.17 ***	7.22 ***	6.25 ***	--	--	0.82 **	0.97 ***	-0.06	--	--
Independents	-1.02	-0.52	-0.78	--	--	-2.46 ***	-1.68 ***	-2.04 ***	--	--
<i>Performance evaluations</i>										
<i>Incumbents</i>										
Presidential thermometer		--	0.16 ***	--	0.16 ***		--	0.17 ***	--	0.17 ***
Congress "poor job"					--			--		--
Congress "fair job"		5.84 ***	5.29 ***	5.81 ***	5.30 ***		5.08 ***	4.85 ***	5.14 ***	4.84 ***
Congress "good job"		10.46 ***	9.49 ***	10.47 ***	9.50 ***		9.31 ***	8.74 ***	9.37 ***	8.73 ***
<i>Policy satisfaction</i>										
<i>Jobs and income</i>										
Satisfied		--	--	--	--		--	--	--	--
Gvt. should do more to help		-0.64	-0.50	-0.65	-0.51		0.02	0.31	0.06	0.31
Individuals on their own		-0.62	-0.63	-0.58	-0.63		-0.51	-0.28	-0.37	-0.29
<i>Defense spending</i>										
Satisfied		--	--	--	--		--	--	--	--
Increase spending		-1.98 *	-1.57	-1.94 *	-1.57		-1.29 *	-0.80	-1.24 *	-0.80
Decrease spending		0.91	0.68	0.89	0.67		0.49	0.47	0.55	0.47
<i>Aid to minorities/Blacks</i>										
Satisfied		--	--	--	--		--	--	--	--
Gvt. should help		0.47	0.81	0.49	0.81		1.14 *	1.45 **	1.17 *	1.45 **
Minorities help themselves		1.16	1.34	1.20	1.34		-2.69 ***	-2.26 ***	-2.59 ***	-2.27 ***
<i>Economic assessments</i>										
National economy "worse"		--	--	--	--		--	--	--	--
National economy "same"		2.96 *	2.52 *	2.92 *	2.52 #		3.32 ***	2.59 ***	3.21 ***	2.59 ***
National economy "better"		6.17 ***	5.14 ***	6.07 ***	5.14 ***		5.48 ***	3.66 ***	5.00 ***	3.66 ***
Personal economy "worse"		--	--	--	--		--	--	--	--
Personal economy "same"		3.91 ***	3.09 **	3.92 ***	3.09 **		4.34	3.58 ***	4.24	3.58 ***
Personal economy "better"		3.88 ***	3.01 **	3.87 ***	3.01 **		4.90	3.82 ***	4.68	3.82 ***
<i>Demographics</i>										
Education		-1.10 ***	-1.07 ***	-1.10 ***	-1.06 ***		0.71 ***	0.78 ***	0.72 ***	0.78 ***
Age		0.03	0.01	0.03	0.01		-0.02 *	-0.03 ***	-0.02 *	-0.03 ***
Southern residence		3.15 ***	2.51 ***	3.17 ***	2.52 ***		-1.08 ***	-1.21 ***	-0.96 ***	-1.22 ***
<i>Democratic President</i>										
<i>Winning and losing (cross-level)</i>										
Democrat and Democrat President				--	--				--	--
Democrat and Republican President				-5.77 *	0.01				-1.90	0.80
Republican and Republican President				3.55	6.61 #				2.20	0.64
Independent and Republican President				-5.51 #	-1.00				-1.78	-0.85
Republican and Democrat President				3.58 #	5.63 **				-3.93 ***	0.09
Independent and Democrat President				-1.84	-0.37				-4.65 ***	-2.63 ***
<i>Variance Components</i>										
	56.31 **	41.07	44.40 **	40.35	44.33 **	54.26 ***	46.05	43.49	45.46	43.48 **
	479.12 ***	439.46	425.63 ***	439.02	425.71 ***	512.32 ***	479.09	459.06	475.60	459.05 ***
% level 2	10.52	8.55	9.45	8.42	9.43	9.58	8.77	8.65	8.72	8.65
BIC	55623	55072	54892	55058	54886	324125	321738	320239	321472	320234

Note. Standard errors and year random intercepts not shown to save space. ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, #p<.10. 1966 omitted. Presidential thermometer specified as random across years in model for White Americans

SUMMARY OF KEY RESULTS

- Incumbent: = for Black and White Americans
- Policy preferences = for Black and White Americans
- Economic evaluations = for Black and White Americans

BUT INCUMBENT EVALUATIONS MATTER AT DIFFERENT TIMES

Fig 16. Presidential thermometer, White Ams.

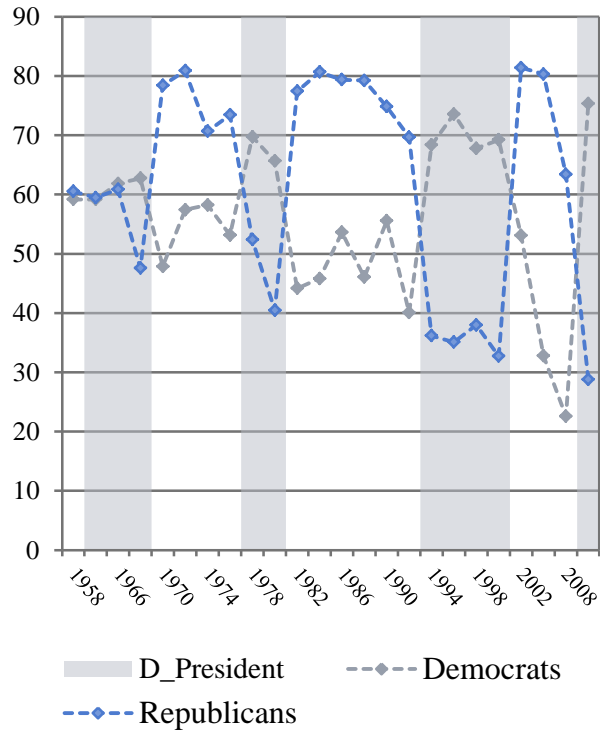
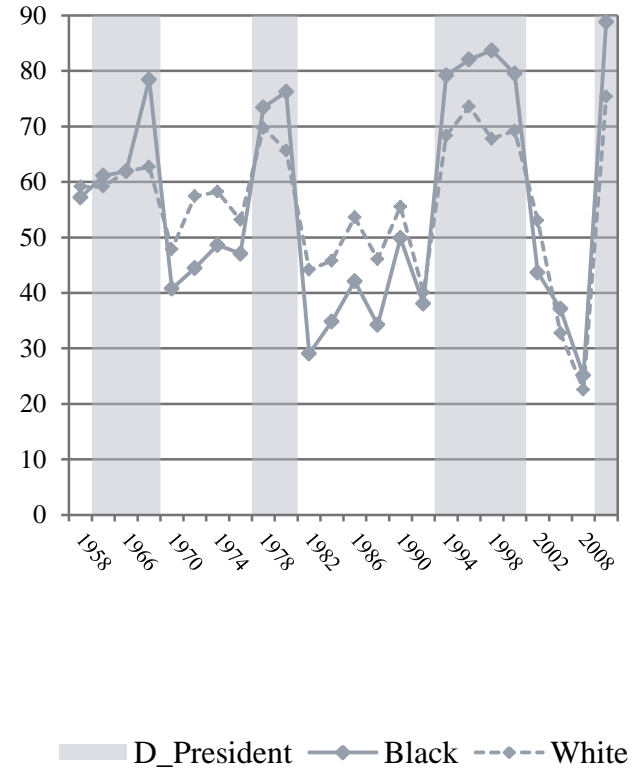


Fig. 18. Presidential thermometer, Democrats



SUMMARY OF KEY RESULTS:

- Who is most trusting? Black Republicans
- Who is least trusting?
- Black Democrats (under Republican Presidents)
White Independents (under Democratic Presidents)

CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR TRUST SCHOLARS

- Theoretical models of political trust:
- Trust = short-term evaluations across race
- System discontent?
 - White Americans = Independents
 - Black Americans = concentration in the Democratic party

CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR COMPARATIVE SOCIAL RESEARCH

- What's new?

Time: model the trend as primary outcome

Subgroup differences: country-level averages =
the dominant group trend

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

- Race and institutional confidence using the U.S. General Social Survey
 - extend beyond Black and White
 - confidence in media, schools, business, science

Ethnicity/race and general and political trust with the World Values Survey



Thank you

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