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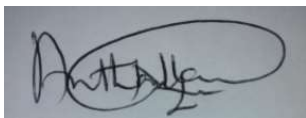
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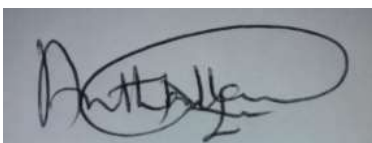
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The Importance of Trust:

What Role Do Low Trust in Government and Health Experts and Agencies Play in the Mitigation of a Global Health Crisis or Pandemic?

BACKGROUND

The idea to write a dissertation based on trust was provoked by the continuing downward trend of trust in government amid a global health crisis (Gallup Inc, 2019; Pew Research, 2014). This is especially true when one considers how pervasive the distrust of government has become (May and Bast,2012), notably at a time when a well-functioning government is greatly needed. This distrust in government could potentially be a hinderance on how the public cooperate with public health advice and mandates given by the government and health experts at the time of a global health crisis or pandemic (Freimuth et al., 2013).

Objective

Having in mind how important and ubiquitous trust is in all levels of human relationships (Raymond, 1988), an examination needed to be done regarding the role that low trust in government plays in the erosion of public support for government initiatives to combat and mitigate any crisis especially the effect of a very dangerous and infectious virus. The hypothesis being forwarded here by this dissertation is that, not only will low trust in government lead to lack of cooperation with government initiatives and programs enacted to slow down the scourge of a virus during a global health crisis but it could also potentially snowball into distrust of institutions and agencies that are connected to government. The above hypothesis therefore helped to frame the research question upon which this paper stands:

The Importance of Trust: What Role Do Low Trust in Government and Health Experts and Agencies Play in the Mitigation of a Global Health Crisis or Pandemic?

The objective of this dissertation is to answer that question by painting a portrait of the nature trust, its evolution over the years and how its rebuilding could help modern society. This is achieved in this dissertation by the review of past and current trust literature, news reports, videos, interviews and results of surveys from trusted pollsters and polling agencies as well as conducting primary survey in the county that I (writer) live.

Research Design and Results

Using a systematic review of trust literature, majority of it based on the medical profession and environment and also results from surveys mostly conducted in Europe, there was a revelation of broad support and acceptance for the hypothesis put forward by this paper. Empirical evidence indicate the power dynamics that is involved in the giving and receiving of trust and also the negative correlation that exist between low trust in government and the resistance to government mandated initiatives to mitigate the effect of any crisis including a pandemic. One comforting revelation that came out of the surveys results of the major survey agencies and also from the primary research conducted by this writer was that trust in doctors, nurses and scientist remains high amongst the general populace and therefore the credibility of these professionals can be leverage to successfully implement programs initiated by a low trust government.

Discussion and Conclusion

It is the desire of the writer of this dissertation that the question posed, the analysis, and conclusions drawn in this paper will move the ball forward in our understanding of the impact the continued decline of public trust in our governments and institutions is having on society as a whole especially in a global health crisis and to add to the urgency of the need to build back trust in government and government institutions before the next pandemic which is inevitable hits us.

INTRODUCTION

In the literature review this paper begins with a detailed conceptual model of trust using health, medicine and medical research as a setting. This setting was deliberately chosen because of the inevitability of trust and vulnerability in the health and medicine environment. The literature review includes critical definitions and distinctions concerning the nature of trust, its components and dimensions, and the way it differs from related concepts and attitudes. It helps the intellectual integrity of this paper that an accurate assertion of the working concepts is important because trust is peppered with an array of subtle contradictions and points of uncertainty, some of which are rarely recognized by scholars and researchers of trust (Hardin 2001). Even though the primary focus of this paper is on trust in government, but the discussion also applies also to trust in in everyday relationship and trust in medical experts, institutions and agencies.

Human beings have existed in small groups throughout history (Raymond, 1988), it is therefore understandable to expect that humans have psychologically developed means that enable them to be "group players" in order to be able to survive. When people with similar belief system congregate as a group, trust is formed. Trust is a major factor in our social life. It takes trust for parents to let their children roam freely in the neighbourhood. Trust basically is a feeling, a uniquely human experience. Trust and reliability are not analogous. When you do what you promised to do, it simply means that you are reliable and it does not necessarily mean people are going to trust you (Pangambam, 2016), even though it helps a bit. There are family and friends who may be unreliable, but we may still trust them (Pangambam, 2016).

Trust as stated earlier is based on a sense of common values and belief systems as well being an integral part of every society. In the literature review section of this paper I show how sociologists, philosophers and social commentators have shown great interest in the concept of trust, its essentiality, and the variety of positions that these scholars have taken over the years. This paper achieve that in so many ways in the literature review section by reviewing the nature of trust, the attitudes and beliefs that influence trust, the connection between trust and vulnerability and its role in the relationship between the trustor and trustee. This paper builds on and contribute to the trust discourse by reviewing trust literature from the belief view point of trust postulated by Gambetta (2000) to Trusting Intentions and Trusting Behaviour advocated by McKnight and Chervany (1969) to the role that "obverse of dependence" played in the conceptualization of trust over the past decades. The power dynamics as far as trust is concerned is addressed in this paper's literature review. Using the doctor-patient relationship as a potent example, this paper postulates that in such a relationship because of the vulnerability of the patient, the patient has no option but to trust the doctor. Also, in the area of medical research the unequal nature of the power dynamics that exist between the researcher and the test-subject was sufficiently proven by the using the "Tuskegee Syphilis Study" conducted by the United States Public Health

Service in Macron Country, Alabama, between 1932 and 1972 as an example. This same research as will be eluded in this paper has been used as a basis of distrust that is shown by people of colour and minorities in their distrust of government and medical experts when it comes to their health matters and even when it comes to vaccines. By the review of several literature on trust this paper proved the reason why the establishment of code of conduct committees to alleviate the occurrence of medical misconduct was needed. As clearly argued by several trust scholars discussed in the literature review, this paper shows that bioethics is the offspring of medical misconduct.

When it comes to trust in government, great effort is made to explain that a part of our ability to trust is based on our perception or our attitude towards the person we trust and this is especially true when it comes to trust in government. One of the most important underpinnings by which legitimate and sustainable political structures can be built has been found to be trust (OECD, 2013). Not just any trust, but trust in government (OECD, 2013). Without trust, there is no social cohesion and security which imparts negatively on the ability of the government to rule and operate without resorting to coercive tactics to administer the rule of law and justice (OECD, 2013). Therefore, nurturing trust between the government and the people is the cheapest and most efficient way to lower the cost of transaction in any socio-economic and political relationship (OECD, 2013). Trust is a multidimensional and multi-layered concept (Uslaner (2002), which in most cases is perceived as a "rational" reaction to trustworthy conduct by others (Putnam, 1993). Trust is lubricant for social life (Putnam, 1993) and it is what brings comfort to social life and the source of all sorts of virtuous things (Uslaner, 2002; Putnam, 1993) - from a readiness to be engaged in community endeavours to greater levels of economic progress and, finally, to being content with government accomplishment to ensuring a more pleasant daily life. (Uslaner, 2002).

According to Han and Yan (2019), trust is a construct of psychological expectation and this paper therefore makes the assertion that when people feel that their voices and votes do not count in the political discourse (Eurobarometer, 2009), it causes a serious erosion in the trust they have for the political system and government including its agencies. Because of the diffusion effect of trust in government (Han and Yan, 2019), any lack of trust shown by people could potentially snowball into lack of cooperation and push back on the part of the citizens towards governmental agents which may inadvertently lead to inefficient execution of public policy, thereby exacerbating social disputes and tensions resulting in social instability. This dissertation therefore reviews the effectiveness of government and medical experts in communicating their agenda in the time of global crisis can put to bed the fears and anxiety of the public.

Freimuth et al., (2013) assertion that the early researchers of communication and persuasion found two aspects of trust - expertness and trustworthiness – especially trustworthiness is reviewed extensively in the literature review by looking at Onora O'Neill's i.e. O'Neill (2013), take on trust and

trustworthiness. Briefly, O'Neill (2013) argued that instead asking in surveys whether a person trust the government or not, the focus should be on the establishment of the trustworthiness of the government and not on an individual's perception of trust in government. This paper also reiterated the fact that for decades at the interpersonal and policy making levels, the importance of trust as a concept in communication has been established but still there is a lot of controversy as to how to measure it (Freimuth et al., 2013). Even though, O'Neill (2013), argued the limitations of using surveys to measure trust, as at the time of writing this dissertation there were no acceptable methods of trust measurement so results from reputable pollsters and polling organizations in Europe and American are used in addition to a snap survey on SurveyMonkey were used to measure trend and level of trust in government over a period of time.

Pulling from peer reviewed research articles and studies that indicate that public attitude towards governmental policies in times of risk and difficulty is negatively impacted when trust is low, this paper hypothesizes that low trust in government leads to diminishing or low support and even resistance towards government policies in times of a global health crisis or pandemic. However, there is good news, because in studying the global and national trust trends it also came to light that as trust in the government and government officials was trending down, trust in doctors, nurses and healthcare workers was trending up, giving hope that in a global health crisis, the public will cooperate with governmental measures to curb the virus if those measures are endorsed by experienced and credible healthcare practitioners.

In conclusion this dissertation adds to the existing literature dealing with trust in two principal ways. Firstly, it offers evidence through the literature review and surveys outlined in it that, with regards to the factors that shape public opinion and support for government policies, mandates, rules and regulations during a global health crisis, the importance of trust cannot be over emphasize.

Secondly, and more broadly, this paper demonstrates that if the right code of ethics and committees are put in place to police researchers as well as research practices, and instead of focusing on building or re-building trust, the emphasis is put of trustworthiness and expertise then the citizen can confidently follow the directives of the governments and their officials without hesitancy during a global crisis or pandemic.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Nature of Trust

According to the OECD (2013), trust can be defined as having a positive opinion about the behaviour of another person or an institution. The OECD (2013) further pointed out that trust is a phenomenon that is subjective, in that is it is displayed in the "eyes of the beholder" what counts particularly to the extent that it influences behaviour.

Though the pivotal role that trust plays in relationships, particularly in medical interactions has been recognised long time ago, systematically, trust has not been analysed or measured till only recently (Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, 2001). According to Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, (2001), lately growing interest is being shown in the role that trust plays in medical interactions between medical experts and consumers/patients as result of the pressures being laid on doctor-patient relationship by managed care and bioethics. With regards to treatment relationships, trust is considered as a universal element that covers ancillary qualities like communication, competency, privacy and satisfaction – when considered individually every one of these elements above is of major importance in treatment relationships (Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, 2001). Even though scholars broadly agree on the significance of trust in human relationships, McKnight and Chervany (1996), claim that there is a lack of shared agreement among scholars on the meaning of trust (Goldberg, 2016; McKnight and Chervany 1996). According to Goldberg (2016), scholars are highly fascinated by the nature, rationality, and ethics of trust. But as the meaning of trust is vigorously discussed, many difficult questions are raised with respect to the various aspects of trust (Goldberg, 2016). According to (Goldberg (2016), a key perception about trust is the Belief View postulated by Gambetta (2000). The Belief View describes trust as the act of relying on another person to accomplish an activity with the belief that the activity would be done with a particular attitude concerning the proposal and that it will be accomplished with the right motives (Goldberg, 2016). Goldberg continued that the violation of such trust can cause not only frustration and disenchantment on behalf of the person making the proposition, but also can trigger a sense of deep of betrayal. Goldberg (2016) stated that if the violation of trust can solicit such a strong emotional reactions from people, then the question could be asked in the ethical dimension; "why do people feel obliged to trust those in authority or those they are related to, when evidence clearly suggests that such authorities or people cannot be trusted completely?" For this question to be effectively answered, the fundamental nature of trust needs to be discussed (Goldberg, 2016). According to Goldberg (2016), the discussion on the meanings or nature of trust could be initiated philosophically by looking at trust from the Attitude perspective.

The Attitude Perspective of Trust

Considering the Attitude perspective, Goldberg (2016) stated that, if trust means, the reliance on someone with the mindset that they will do the right thing and for the right reasons, then the question of our own attitude towards the proposition that the right thing will be done for the right reasons needs to be answered. In his answer to the question regarding the attitude of the trustor towards the trustee, Goldberg (2016) again relied on what Gambetta (2000) called the 'Belief View' in his paper entitled 'Can We Trust Trust?' In this paper Gambetta (2000), quoted the trite observation by Adam Smith (1759) as follows,

['if there is any society among robbers and murderers, they must at least trust … abstain from robbing and murdering each other'] (Goldberg, 2016).

Goldberg (2016) pointed out that, this 'trite' opinion by Gambetta (2000), serves as a reminder to us that for a society to be at all viable, fundamental forms of collaboration are unavoidable, even among robbers and murderers. Using the conclusions from the 'Belief View', Goldberg (2016), asserted that despite the danger of us being disappointed when trust is broken, our attitude towards people or authorities that we trust is based on the belief that these entities will do what is required of them for the right reasons, and therefore this 'Belief View' undergirds our reason to rely on them. But the 'Belief View' as expressed by Gambetta (2000) has come under great scrutiny (Goldberg, 2016). This is because Gambetta's assertion that when trust is broken the elicited response from the giver of trust is mere disappointment (Goldberg, 2016). This assertion has been found to be somewhat flawed by many scholars including the widely cited 1986 paper "Trust and Antitrust" by Annette Baier (Goldberg 2016). According to Goldberg (2016), Annette Baier (1986) opposed the Belief View by stating that the attitude essential to trust could not be based just on the belief that someone can be trusted to do what is right and for the right reasons. Instead, Goldberg (2016) pointed out that Annette Baier (1986) claimed that there is a two-fold problem with the Belief View. The first is that, there is a clear distinction between ordinarily relying on someone and trusting someone (Goldberg, 2016). The second is the inability of the Belief View to clarify the concept of trust violation causing a deep sense of anger or a feeling of betrayal rather than mere disappointment as postulated by Gambetta (2000) (Goldberg, 2016). The assertion that the violation of trust only causes a mere disappointment and not a deep sense of anger and betrayal has led many scholars after Annette Baier (1986) to conclude that the Belief View is fundamentally flawed (Goldberg, 2016). In fact, according to Rich (2018), a clear testament of the inadequacies of the Belief View to fully explain trust and the violation of same, is evidenced by the deep sense of anger and betrayal expressed by many (instead of a mere disappointment) towards governments and financial institutions for their ineptitude and greed that led to the 2008 financial crisis.

Trusting Intentions and Trusting Behaviour of Trust

Using the theory of reasoned action postulated by Fishbein & Ajzen (1975), McKnight and Chervany (1996) pointed out that a person's Trusting Belief (belief/attitude) will lead her to develop Trusting Intention, which is demonstrated in a behaviour that is referred to as Trusting Behaviour. The rationale behind this thinking is that if a person has a Trusting Belief towards another person or organisation, there is a willingness (Trusting Intention) to depend on that person or organisation which causes this person to behave in ways that shows their intention to depend (Trusting Behaviour) (McKnight and Chervany, 1996). Trusting Intention requires the idea of depending or relying on another person (McKnight and Chervany, 1996). McKnight and Chervany (1996) supported this statement by pointing out that many researchers including Atwater (1988), Lewis & Weigert (1985) and Scanzoni, (1979) defined trust as a dependence on others. To further make their point McKnight and Chervany, (1996), also stated that another group of researchers including Giffin, (1967), Good (1988), McGregor (1967) and Ring & Van de Ven (1994) characterized trust as reliance on another or their reputation (McKnight and Chervany, 1996). McKnight and Chervany (1996), therefore concluded that the necessity to depend or rely on others creates the willingness on the part of the trust giver to depend or rely on the trustee. Therefore, if there is no necessity for dependence or reliance, the willingness to depend or rely on will not be required (McKnight and Chervany, (1996). The concept of dependence is crucial to trust or Trusting Intention because it is the link between it and power (McKnight and Chervany, 1996). Dependence can be portrayed as the "obverse of power" (McKnight and Chervany, 1996). McKnight and Chervany (1996) pointed out that obverse of power or "obverse of dependence" on the other is a concept that can be traced to the work of Emerson (1962), which portrays the power discrepancies between two individuals. Using the work of Emerson (1962), McKnight and Chervany (1996) explained that if person 'A' depends on person 'B' for a resource, the level of control that 'B' has over the particular resource or product that is valued by A, will be correspondent to the degree of control that 'B' has over 'A' if that resource or product cannot be obtained by 'A' from another source. This kind of asymmetric dependence according to the explanation of McKnight and Chervany (1996) puts the person being depended on in a position of asymmetrical power over the dependent.

In his explanation of dependence from the social exchange perspective, Blau (2007) pointed out that people's conduct are said to be regulated from outside when entities in their environment with power over them call for a behaviour predicated on situations of asymmetric dependence. Johnson Jr (1995) and Redmond (2016) countered that, this kind of relationship is not ideal because the one with lesser power in the relationship regularly engages in destabilising activities whose aim is to lessen the impact of the power differential in these situations of asymmetric dependence and power. To bring stability to such relationships, a restoration of an equitable exchange of rewards or dependence is needed (Redmond, 2016). But this equitable exchange of rewards or dependence is not what is experienced or observed in most real-life situations (McKnight and Chervany, 1996). Since the meaning of Trusting

Intention is the willingness to depend (McKnight and Chervany, 1996), there must be a willingness (Trusting Intention) on the part of the dependent to remain in the situational position of dependence-based power exerted over her for stability to be maintained (McKnight and Chervany, 1996). The writings on trust have documented how important the relationship between trust and power is (McKnight and Chervany, 1996), but identifying what connect trust and power has not been made explicitly clear (McKnight and Chervany, 1996). This is especially so when it comes to the relationship between the consumer/patient and the health expert/doctor (Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, 2001) and between the governed and the government.

Trust and Vulnerability

Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra (2001) pointed out that the link between trust and power is vulnerability. The inseparability of trust and vulnerability is seen especially when it comes to doctor-patient relationship. Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra (2001), noted that trust is not required when vulnerability is absent, and that the potential to trust or distrust increases when risk increases. Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra (2001) postulated that oftentimes vulnerability in close relationships is attributed to the presence of trust, but when it comes to health and medicine, being vulnerable is a basic and inevitable condition and therefore the sequence changes i.e. trust is formed as a result of vulnerability. Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Misra (2001) continued that the extraordinary strength and the resilient nature of the trust seen in patient-doctor relationship is the creation of the overwhelming vulnerability that results from suffering an acute illness and also from the intrusive surgical treatments administered by physicians and healthcare professionals to the patient (Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, 2001). In their journal articles that looked at traditional professions like medicine, law and ministry, Pellegrino, Veatch, and Langan (1991) stated that the fiduciary relationship existing between the patient and the doctor which gave rise to paternalistic and authoritarian ethics, was supposed to have been changed at the emergence of "language rights" to "informed consent". Informed consent put the emphasis on the position of the patient or trustor, so as to ensure that trust is based on the trustworthiness of the trustor and not on paternalistic and authoritarian ethics of the trustee (Pellegrino, Veatch, and Langan, 1991). Contrary to the assertion of the sceptics of the trustworthiness of physicians (trustees), that an increase in vulnerability of the patients (trustors) must generate a corresponding lowering of trust in the trustees by the trustors, (Pellegrino, Veatch, and Langan, 1991), Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra (2001) pointed out that, ironically the opposite is feasible in theory, and also in reality, evidence suggests the opposite is true, i.e. the more need a trustor has for the trustee, the more vulnerable the trustor becomes and the more trust the trustor potentially generates for the trustee. The reverence and near deification of physicians by some patients (Katz, 1984) can be explain by the above-mentioned observation (Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, 2001). Using the medical field as an example, Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, (2001) explained that the inexorableness of trust in the doctor-patient

relationship can also be explained by the need and vulnerability of the trustor as noted above and this declaration according to Pellegrino, Veatch, and Langan (1991), is not an egotistical assertion of the innate trustworthiness of physicians, but rather, it is the psychological acknowledgement of the existence of a vital link between trust and vulnerability brought about by vulnerability generated by sickness and disease. Because of the inherent nature of vulnerability, it is questionable to accept vulnerability as a form of trust (Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, 2001). If trust is not freely bestowed but compelled by the demands of illness then one might question whether trust truly exist in a patient-doctor relationship (Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, 2001). Therefore, distinguishing between the trusting attitudes and trusting behaviours will enable the resolution of the vulnerability problem (Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, 2001). According to Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra (2001), some behaviours could imply the likelihood of trust, however these behaviours in fact do not amount to trust which essentially is an attitude. As a consequence of the behaviour exhibited, one search of treatment could be deemed to possess a certain amount of trust, however that may essentially not be the case (Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, 2001). Although, there is certainly an element of trust that necessitates the acknowledgement of vulnerability, certain people for example seeking treatment might not embrace or show that vulnerability even though that trust related behaviour is expected in their situation. Instead, these people may go into that treatment relationship with suspicion or pessimism that symbolises distrust (Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, 2001). Uslaner (2002) and Mayer, Davis and Schoorman, (1995) agree that trust can by shown merely by positive attitude without employing trusting behaviour. It is essential for the sake of intellectual transparency and empirical accuracy to differentiate between objective manifestation of behaviour and subjective attitude, said Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, (2001).

Trust and Trustworthiness

It is imperative that a distinction is made between the giving of trust and the assessment of the trustworthiness of the trustee (Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, 2001). Although trust is empirically assumed to mean trustworthiness, Hall, Dugan, Zheng and Mishra, (2001) pointed out that, this is not always the case as trust can be placed in undeserving people or institutions by those who are in a vulnerable position. On the other hand, there could also be a failure on the part of the trustor to trust those who deserve to be trusted (O'Neill 2013). So, in the discussion of the link between trust and trustworthiness, O'Neill (2018), pointed out that trust is invaluable when given to agents, institutions and activities that are trustworthy, but destructive when given to an untrustworthy agents, institutions, and activities. O'Neill (2018) further argued that most of the recent work done on trust – especially those done with polling data – which looked broadly at attitudinal responses of trust in relation to institutions, their agents, or activities were devoid of any thought towards the idea of trustworthiness. According O'Neill (2013), what is needed is trustworthiness not more trust and therefore gathering

data only in relation to people's general attitudes concerning trust or distrust but failing to show if these attitudes are well placed or not is of little to no benefit to those who would want to trust or distrust in the future (O'Neill, 2018). To this end i.e. trustworthiness, O'Neill (2013) pointed out that if the question is asked for example, "Do you trust greengrocers? or "Do you trust elementary school teachers?" the logical response should be by asking "To do what?". It is only when the answer to your question is understood that you can for example say, "I trust some of them, but not others". This is so because people in reality seek to differentiate the way they place trust (O'Neill, 2013). Because of the diverse way that people place trust O'Neill (2013) claimed that it actually doesn't make sense to make getting more trust our aim. What our aim must be according to O'Neill (2013), is the placing of trust in the trustworthy and the distrusting of the untrustworthy. This makes the judging of trustworthiness of prime importance because it comes before trust (O'Neill, 2013). If trust is the response to trustworthiness, then what we need more of and therefore what must be judged is trustworthiness (O'Neill, 2013). One contradiction about trustworthiness and trust involves a situation where for example a physician is truthful to a patient about some of the sources of that physician's income, this revelation could potentially weaken the trust that the patient had for the physician even though the physician exhibited a trustworthy behaviour (Goold, 2002). The same effect could occur by the disclosure of a medical error (Goold, 2002). Goold (2002), however pointed out the contradiction here in a situation where a physician who is less transparent and also knowingly engages in an untrustworthy behaviour and yet continues to enjoy the patient's trust and in some cases sees an increase in trust from the patient.

Trust and Bioethics

The prevalence of such contradictions as described above and the decreasing moral integrity in the normally trusted professions like medicine and especially the medical research aspect, resulted in loss of public trust in such publicly esteemed profession (De Vries, 2017). Also, after the Second World War, the authority of physicians in the United States began to decline as a result of their technical competences being more appreciated than their personal integrity (De Vries, 2017). Another factor that also contributed to the erosion of trust was the change in workforce demographics (De Vries, 2017). This altered the trust relationship between the trustee and trustor (De Vries, 2017). When you have a workforce of professionals (e.g. doctors) coming from different communities, different countries and sometimes different ethnic and cultural background, the trust relationship that previously existed when these professionals were recruited from the same communities that the people they serve came from, began to decline (De Vries, 2017). Also, in the 60's and 70's, the massive civil rights movement in the United States and the political upheavals including wars, on the international scene started to defy and challenge established and existing institutions and norms including religion, law, family and medicine (De Vries, 2017). The demographic changes in the medical personnel and the effects of the social

upheavals, created a situation whereby the trusting relationships that were taken for granted now need to be policed by codes of conducts and by ethics committees (De Vries, 2017). In fact, O'Neill (2013) concurs this assertion by De Vries (2017) by pointing out that through the decades different kinds of accountability systems have been built to make it simpler to ascertain the trustworthiness of various institutions and professionals, be it private or public (O'Neill, 2013). The call to have codes of conduct and oversight in medical science research and other professions was given credence by several incidences over the past decades (Post, 1991). Prominent amongst them were the following (1) The actions of the Nazi doctors as revealed during the Nuremberg trials where it was found that the doctors at the Nazi concentration camps were not recruited against their will or pulled by the force of political philosophical exploitation into the deep gulf of torture and moral cruelty that was inflicted on their prisoners, but rather these doctors were themselves deeply involved and committed to the hygienic theories whose origins were found in Social Darwinism (Post, 1991). (2) The 40-year unethical research study popularly known as the "Tuskegee Syphilis Study" conducted by the United States Public Health Service in Macron Country, Alabama, between 1932 and 1972 on three hundred and ninety-nine African-American sharecroppers who had syphilis but were not given treatment because the researchers wanted to study the effects of untreated syphilis in black men (Aslan and Wanamaker, 2018). The methods used in this study have been associated with abuse and maltreatment by the medical researchers (Katz et al., 2008, Aslan and Wanamaker 2018). In fact, bioethics as it is known today is basically the offspring of decades-long abuse and distrust in medicine and medical research (De Vries, 2017). But as pointed out by O'Neill (2013), these systems of accountability that have been put in place to ascertain the trustworthiness and evidence of trustworthiness of institutions and professionals could also have a contrary effect on these institutions and professions because it takes longer to write the required countless of reports and ticking of boxes than it takes to actually do the jobs these individuals and institution have been tasked to accomplish. These accountability systems in many cases have become burdensome and even limit the effectiveness of the people and the institutions they are supposed to help make trustworthy (O'Neill, 2013).

Trust and Social Closure

Because of the ubiquitous nature of Social Closure (Mackert, 2014), the literature review on trust cannot be done without doing a quick literature review on the importance of social closure and its connection to trust and governance. As one of the fundamental terms and ideas in the study of human society, social closure describes the practice of creating boundaries, building identities, and forming communities so as to prevent other groups or individuals from assessing a limited resource by controlling its availability for its own usage (Mackert, 2014). Social closure is pervasive, it is a daily occurrence that can be noticed in virtually every aspect of life and environment in the social world

(Mackert, 2014). Access to private schools, colleges and universities, high social societies, financial institutions and circles, trades and professions, migration and becoming a citizen and eventually formation of nation state and governments are all influenced by social closure (Mackert, 2014). Mackert (2014) again pointed out that, the importance of social closure to the study of trust in human society is not only due to its wide range of forms but its very effect on basic human relationships i.e. "communal" (*Vergemeinschaftung*) and "associative" (*Vergesellschaftung*) and that social closure influences not only national societies, but how regional and global societies are organised. Stokes, (2018) describes social closure as the tool that assist and gives governance its potential to serve as a medium of control over society. Weber (1978) writing in the book "*Economy and Society"* calls it a way to conceptualise power through the process of exclusion. Schmidtke and Ozcurumez, (2008) argued that social closure is at work when it comes to the power of setting laws and standards by nation-states on issues relating to legal and illegal migration. Parkin (1979) calls social closure, the process by which rewards are given by the collective to a limited circle of the eligible by the restriction of access to opportunities and resources. Stokes (2018) gives an example of social closure as when two parents who belonged to a particular group or live a community decide to care for each other's children in the absence of the other mother. This kind of benefit enjoyed by these parents is not available other parents who are not members of the community or a particular clique within the community (Stokes, 2018; Mackert, 2014). According to Stokes (2018), for this kind of social closure to be possible, these parents must give up control or power over their children to the caretaker parent. In other words, for the parents to enjoy these benefits, Stokes (2018) argued, there must be an existence of trust within the community or clique. Social closure therefore makes trust possible in any transaction (Murphy, 1988), as well as making trust possible in a society or group (Parkin, 1979). The levels of governance that are in existence is determined by the unity of objectives that is under pursuit, therefore just as trust makes closure possible, so also does closure makes governance or the institution of government possible (Stokes, 2018).

Trust in Government and Major Health Institutions

Hardin (1998) in his essay "Trust in Government" argued the point that society gives up power to the governors with tacit trust that the power will be used for preservation of their property and general good of society. Easton (1965) in his paper entitled "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems" described trust in government as the citizen's confidence in the activities of a "government to do the right thing and what is recognized as fair". But what is fair and right here depends largely on how similar the views of the general populace are on what is fair and right and also on how well the general population see the functions of the government (Van de Walle and Bouckaert, 2003). However, because of the distinct nature of the public's preferences, what is right, and fair varies from person to person

(OECD, 2013). Therefore, in order to evaluate what controls the citizen's trust in government, comparisons need to be made between the citizens' viewpoints on the workings of government and the citizens' own viewpoints (OECD, 2013). Also, drivers of the public's perception must be pinpointed and given attention, since it is the perceived performance of the government that is under consideration and not the actual (OECD, 2013). These drivers of public perceptions are crucial as they eventually determine how much the public trust the government (OECD, 2013).

According to the OECD (2013), the ability of the government to execute policies, regulations and programs essentially hinges on reciprocal trust between the government, the established institutions and the general public. Without reciprocity of trust it becomes challenging for any government to garner backing from institutions, markets and the general public with respect to needed changes, especially where those changes comes with temporal sacrifices or cost at the beginning when the future benefit is not seen (OECD, 2013; Bouckaert, 2012). Therefore, the pervasiveness of the distrust in government (May and Bast,2012) and continuing trend of declining interest of the public in the democratic process particularly in western democracies are worrying especially in crisis situations like natural disasters, pandemics, economic strife or political instability (OECD, 2013). According reporting in Eurobarometer (2009) the enthusiasm of European voters towards elections as well as voter turnout have been on the downward trend. The only exception was the 2019 European elections where the presence of right-wing parties caused an increase in voter turnout (Leininger and Meijers, 2020). The OECD, (2013) pointed out that crisis puts the spotlight on the fundamental tasks of public authority and governance, and Hardin (1998) argued that if trust in government is lacking then in a crisis situation the tendency of the general public to obey the regulations and ordinances of the government cannot be relied on especially if there is no fear of severe reprisal from the government.

The level of success attained by government in persuading the public to follow its rules and mandates during a public health crisis depends on the level of trust the public has in government (Freimuth et al., 2013). Freimuth et al., (2013) further stated that the lack or declining of trust in government frequently become an impediment to public cooperation of mandates from the government during a public health crisis. The deplorable conduct of governments and elected /unelected officials during past public health crisis and pandemics e.g. the 1918 Influenza pandemic and H1N1 pandemic, and the current crisis have actually increased public distrust in government (Barry, 2004; Brockell, 2020,). Trust in government especially amongst minorities and low-income communities has been historically low partly due past discrimination and inequity (Tryer, 2020; Freimuth et al., 2013). Nan et al., (2018), argued that current research has found that when it comes to trusting government or doctors, more parents of teenagers trust doctors "a lot" more than the government, but in the same research only few parents trust health experts attached to the government or major institutions no matter what their qualification or experience might be. This is seen in the decline in trust in major health institutions and bodies (Yaqub, Castle-Clarke, Sevdalis and Chataway, 2014) and is major contribution to the suspicion of institutions

linked vaccination causing the hesitancy of a substantial part of the public to accept the science behind vaccines (Yaqub, Castle-Clarke, Sevdalis and Chataway, 2014; Heller, 2016). The poor handling of health crises and pandemics in the past and leadership crisis has resulted in the downward spiralling of trust in public agencies like the mission-driven World Health Organisation (W.H.O.). According to Tufekci (2020) it is the failure on the part of the W.H.O. to take notice of the information coming out Hong Kong and Taiwan and also the report about whistle-blower doctors being intimidated in Wuhan that in part expedited the spread of the COVID-19 virus and the resulted lack of trust in the organisation. This dropping of the ball by the W.H.O. led to calls by some to defund the agency (Tufekci, 2020; Joseph and Branswell, 2020). Tompkins, (2020) also pointed out that, the confusing and changing guidelines about asymptomatic spread of the COVID-19 virus and wearing of mask have added to the credibility issues of the W.H.O. Therefore the effort to re-build trust and trustworthiness in government and major health institutions through bioethics (Dove and Özdemir, 2015; Heller, 2016; Scher and Kozlowska, 2018) is crucial because as pointed out by Freimuth et al., (2013), the speed at which government and major health institutions are able to disseminate health information and the adherence to these regulations by the public has a major effect on the spread of viruses and mortality rate in a pandemic or global health crisis. As Reynolds and Quinn, (2008, pp.13S-17S) puts it:

"Crisis and emergency risk communication that can ameliorate negative outcomes from a pandemic include disseminating accurate information in a timely and transparent way, describing what is known and unknown, and providing concrete recommendations for behaviour"

Reynolds and Quinn (2008) also argued that in the early stages of a global health crisis or pandemic, there is a considerable worry and fear but they begin to be diminished as government and international health agencies to give information that helps the public expand its knowledge will help cause a decline in the public's view of how severe is the virus. Quinn et al., (2013) reiterated that when government officials follow the words of the government with relevant behaviour, they are able to provoke the public to model the required conduct during the mitigation of a global health crisis.

METHODOLOGY

Rational behind the Methodology

In this research, a Systematic Review was used in the literature review to methodically and in stages review and synthesise published and sometimes evolving literature and data on trust. Munn et al., (2018), as well as Aromataris and Pearson (2014), defined systematic review, also called "research synthesis", as a style of synthesizing research outcomes whose goal is to supply a thorough and impartial synthesis of several relevant surveys or studies on one paper or document. Munn et al., (2018) continued that the research synthesis is conducted by a review group or individuals whose aim is to recognise and recover relevant global data or evidence regarding a specific question or set of questions and to evaluate and process the results of the search to enlighten common practice or behaviour, and sometimes to effect policy, and in certain cases trigger additional research. The reason for choosing systematic review in addition to the "traditional" or "narrative" form of literature review in this dissertation was to try as much as possible to remove any inherent bias and to reduce systematic error (Aromataris and Pearson, 2014). Traditional literature reviews, though beneficial, have key shortcomings in advising decision making in real life situations (Aromataris and Pearson, 2014). Traditional literature reviews are largely subjective and depend heavily on the author's understanding and expertise and offer a restricted, instead of comprehensive address of a subject (Aromataris and Pearson, 2014). Even though useful at illustrating a topic and substratum concepts and notions, traditional literature reviews if conducted with no established methodology are hard to replicate, thereby putting their conclusions firmly on the perceptions of the writers (Aromataris and Pearson, 2014).

Therefore, using the systematic review approach an identification was made of the peer reviewed English language journal articles, research papers, online books and newspaper reports on trust, trust issues and the nature of trust using search engines like ResearchGate, NCBI, PubMed/PubMed Central, ScienceDirect, Infotopia, Google Scholar and ordinary Google search. The following key topics and words were used in the search; Trust as a Concept In General, Trust In Government, Bioethics, Doctor-Patient Trust Relationship, Trust In A Pandemic, Trust In Vaccines, Trust in Minority Communities, Trust In Science And Medicine, Trust Perceptions, Trust Attitudes, Trust Intentions and many more (Yaqub, Castle-Clarke, Sevdalis and Chataway, 2014). Snowballing was used when well written papers are found as well as expert knowledge of trust literature (Yaqub, Castle-Clarke, Sevdalis and Chataway, 2014). Google searches were utilised, and criteria of exclusion used to whittle down the search results for detailed review as shown in figure 1.

The articles reviewed included a variety of attitudes towards doctor- patient trust relationships and these were reflected in the literature review as well as the questionnaires used in the survey conducted

on SurveyMonkey. Also, reasons for the trusting relationship that exist between health care practitioners and patients noted and will be discussed in the analysis.

Screening out irrelevant and duplicates 328 search results were left.	Initial search yielded, 625 search returns on the following sites • Researchgate • NCBI • PubMed/PMC • Semantic Scholar • Google Scholar
	297 search results were then reviewed using their abstracts
Full paper review used to eliminate 42 irrelevant/unavailable papers/journal articles and books	Only observed (empirical) journals, articles, reports and papers were selected for complete review of text. These were 95
	Total published and unpublished papers, peer reviewed journal articles, news reports, talks used for final literature review (n = 53)

Upon abstract review 202 search result were excluded for being too far wide of the subject of trust

(Yaqub, Castle-Clarke, Sevdalis and Chataway, 2014)

In all 1218 results including published and unpublished papers, journal articles, reports, ebooks, newspaper reports and video talks were originally retrieved for the literature review. Because trust is so widely studied and is so pervasive in society, the exclusion criteria (Yaqub, Castle-Clarke, Sevdalis and Chataway, 2014) with respect to the year the paper or book was published was stretched back all the way to the early 1970's. A review for relevant titles and names, overview and abstract of studies/papers dating back from the 1970's yielded 75 papers (this is after other exclusion criteria have already been applied to the initial 625 results in Figure 1).

Out of the 75 results, 13 were largely irrelevant or too wide a scope for this dissertation, and 9 were inaccessible leaving 53 papers for full-text review. Quality of text material criteria was not utilised because the 53 remaining results passed earlier standards set by being a peer-reviewed paper, report or study. These remaining papers were used in the literature review discussing topics ranging from the nature of trust to declining trust in government.

In addition to the above-mentioned 53 papers used in the literature review, research data and survey results on trust trends in Europe, America were retrieved from trusted websites like Eurobarometer, Gallup, Edelman Trust Barometer, Our World in Data, Welcome Global Monitor, PEW, OECD and

Ipsos MRBI including a short survey by the author of this dissertation on SurveyMonkey to help crystallise or answer the research question posed,

"The Importance of Trust: What Role Do Low Trust in Government and Health Experts/Agencies play in the mitigation of a Global Health Crisis or Pandemic?"

This is because the level of trust the public have in government is positively related to the level of cooperation or adherence to government mandates during a global health crisis (Freimuth et al., 2013). Also, the surveys used or inferred from the above-mentioned websites were quantitative surveys including the primary research conductor by this writer on SurveyMonkey rather than qualitative survey because government works not by the subservience of the entire population but by the submission of enough of the population (Hardin,1998). Hardin (1998) argued that this allows government to concentrate its limited resources to bring the rest of the population under control or subjugation (Hardin,1998). Also polls or surveys are the approach utilise in most trust studies to collect data (O'Neill, 2013), hence the reason for their usage in this paper.

Approach to Measurements and Limitations of Measurements

There is a certain amount of bias that is inherent in Surveys and interviews because it is difficult to find contributors who are able and willing and have both the time and resources to take part (Wright, 2005). Also measuring trust is laden with a lot of difficulties as trust is built in most cases on the "eyes of the beholder" i.e. perceptions (OECD, 2013). This difficulty is experienced at the country level, but it is doubly challenging when one considers it at the international level (OECD, 2013). As trust signifies an optimistic or positive view of government, it is mainly assessed by perception surveys (OECD, 2013). Citizens, organisations and firms, or specialists are asked if they have trust or confidence in government or government institutions. Regular survey questions asked surrounds people's satisfaction with government agencies and services like policing, education, and healthcare, even though these types of questions are to a certain extent distinct concept when compared to trust.

Data on citizens trust in government are captured by numerous international surveys but there are some limitations (OECD, 2013). For its analysis the World Gallup Poll supposedly collect data from all over the world (Data Catalog, 2020), but when it comes to Europe it only collect data in the 34 OECD countries and not all the 51 countries and territories in Europe (OECD,2013), yet though, these polls are conducted on regular basis so as to capture the effect on trust in government made by any global event (OECD, 2013). For its part, the World Values Survey has been conducting these surveys the longest, but their dataset is so fragmented that data is available only for multiple year cycles with the current cycle being 2005 – 2007 (OECD, 2013). Even though the Eurobarometer run by the European Union offers datasets that are the most consistent, it only covers 23 OECD member countries (OECD, 2013). On its part the Edelman Trust barometer offers time series only for a limited section of the

populace (sampling benchmarks comprises of household income and college educated in the upper quartile) (OECD, 2013).

According to the OECD (2013), because international surveys were intended to offer cross-country assessments, their queries estimating trust in government are dependent upon uncertainty and they are frequently confined to the respondent's understanding as no meaning of the term government is generally given. The OECD (2013) continued that different international surveys uses analogous techniques as far as testing is concerned, yet there is a divergence as far as question design is concerned. For example, distinctions between an inquiry on confidence and an inquiry on trust in government are graded on response scales that are different. Likewise, regarding different measurements of trust that could help make comparisons e.g. trust in financial institutions, national parliament, religious institutions, politicians, public services such as health care and education, civil servants, international organisations, and businesses.

The OECD (2013) pointed out that the shortcomings of international surveys or surveys in general make it hard to obtain an in-depth comprehension of how trust in government by citizens is changing as time goes on and what impacts levels of trust in government across OECD nations and elsewhere in the world are having. The pervasiveness of cultural influences on people's attitude towards public institutions make it particularly difficult to compare trust in government strictly across country lines (OECD, 2013).

With regards to the survey on conducted on SurveyMonkey, the major limitation was financial. The financial constraints limited me to only use the free version of SurveyMonkey which allows only 100 respondents or sample size and access only to 40 responses collected. There is a possibility that these limitations could negatively affect the results of the primary survey.

Ethical Considerations

As there were no face to face interviews conducted in the dissertation no consent forms were sent out. However, all the respondents were made aware as to the purpose of the survey conducted on the SurveyMonkey website before through an email. Also, no personal details were requested prior to answering the survey questions and the survey was set up in such manner that any the respondents can skip a question they are uncomfortable with.

SURVEY RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Eurobarometer Survey

Data Interpretations and Analysis

In the "Future of Europe" survey conducted in 2011 by Eurobarometer to gauge the trust of Europeans in the political system, only one-third agreed that said they believe that their voices count in the European political system (Eurobarometer, 2011). The same number (33%) feel that this is the case Europe-wide, and just above half of the people (52%) agreed that their voices count in their own EU country (Eurobarometer, 2011). The graphic results are shown in **Figure 1** on **Appendix One.**

Does My Voice Count in The EU – A Detailed Result by Country

The belief that 'my voice counts in the EU' is considered by over 50% of the Danish people (i.e. 61%), Belgium and the Netherlands both have gone up to 55% from the last time the survey was held (Eurobarometer, 2011). In Sweden more than half of people believe their voice count in the EU (i.e. 52%). Majority of Germans believe their views count (47%) same as in Malta (47%) (Eurobarometer, 2011). On the contrary, one in six of the citizens in the Czech Republic (14%), Greece (15%) and Italy (16%), all quite low numbers, believe their views count in the EU (Eurobarometer, 2011). The low numbers registered in Italy and Greece is very telling and suggestive of the negative feelings that Europeans have towards the union. A table showing the rest of the survey results is shown in **Figure 2** on **Appendix One**.

Does My Voice Count in My Own Country? – A Detail Results by Country

At the national level it was observed that EU citizens expressed significant variations in opinion. The notion 'does my voice counts in (MY COUNTRY)' gets almost undivided support in Denmark and Sweden, at 96% and 89% respectively, whilst extensive agreement is also seen in the Netherlands and Finland at 81% each. In 14 Member States overall, this is seen as the majority opinion. On the contrary, in Greece (15%), Lithuania (16%) and Italy (18%), less than a fifth of the citizens agree (Eurobarometer, 2011). The detailed results by country is shown in **Figure 3** on **Appendix One.**

The Opinion Gap

Europeans see a significant difference between the public view and leadership decisions. There is strong agreement with the argument that these days there is a massive difference between public opinion and political leaders' decisions (Eurobarometer, 2011).

According to Eurobarometer, (2011), 89% agree (51% 'totally agree', 38% 'tend to agree') while only 8% disagree11. Please see chart on Appendix One, Figure 4 and 5.

Gallup World Poll Survey as Presented by the OECD

Data interpretation and Analysis

The latest data obtainable for OECD countries shows that when people are asked about their trust/confidence in the national government, their responses vary significantly across countries, with an average of well below 50% (OECD, 2013). Please see graph in **Figure 6 on Appendix Two**.

Meaning that, less than half the people from OECD countries said they have confidence in their national government when asked in a survey. When averaged nationally Switzerland and Greece had 80% and 12% respectively. The spread within this range does not seem to reflect living conditions, GDP per capita rates or growth speed. Considering spread of data on the graph again, countries like South Korea and Japan, which are relatively affluent scored below the OECD average whilst Turkey which less affluent scored above the OECD average, meaning that confidence in government may react much more to cultural influences, changing attitudes and political developments and not to long-term economic trends or absolute living standards. In countries that experienced a political, fiscal or economic crisis during the period of the survey, i.e. Greece, Slovenia, Ireland, Spain, Belgium and Portugal, there was a greater drop in trust in government.

From the data gathered from the survey it can be noted that on average, trust in government is comparable to trust on two major institutions i.e. financial institutions/banks and media. But then again substantial differences are noticed across different OECD nations as shown in Figure 7 and Figure 8 on Appendix Two. In general, trust in banks and financial institutions is marginally higher (43%) than that of government (40%) as shown in Figure 7 on Appendix Two.

It is worthwhile to note that countries like Canada, Poland, Finland, Norway, Mexico, Australia and Japan which were least affected by the financial crisis in 2008 had a higher level of trust in their banks and financial institutions (see Figure 7 on Appendix Two). On the other hand, countries like Ireland, Spain and Italy which were severely hit by the financial crisis, government enjoyed a higher trust than the financial institutions and banks (see Figure 7 on Appendix Two). Ireland, Spain, and Portugal in 2010 had a considerably higher trust in the media than trust in government – while trust was substantially low in Sweden, the Netherlands, Turkey, and Luxembourg (see Figure 8 on Appendix Two).

Data Interpretation, Analysis and Discussion

The Ipsos MORI Veracity Index is the oldest-moving poll on trust in professions in Britain (Ipsos.com, 2019). They have consistently been running surveys since 1983. When 1,020 British adults aged 15 and above were interviewed face to face between 18th and 27th October 2019 about the truthfulness of major professions, overwhelming majority of the interviewees chose nurses (95%) and doctors (93%) as their number one and two choices for the most trustworthy. At the same time, they put government ministers (17%) and politicians (14%) as two of the least trustworthy professionals Figures 9 and 10 on Appendix 3. When trust trend for politicians and government ministers was run from 1983 to 2019 (Figure 11), it was noticed that these two professions have consistently been considered untrustworthy by the public with their highest trustworthy score coming in late 1990s for politicians (23%) and early 2000s for government minister (25%).

As indicated in the introduction, these continuous low trustworthy numbers for politicians and government ministers in all three surveys analysed in this section is very alarming especially in a pandemic, but the Ipsos survey gives some comfort, in that the high trust ratings not for nurses and doctors only but also for scientist indicates that in a pandemic if the government could effectively leverage the trustworthiness of the scientist, doctors and nurses, then their mandates and policies will be followed by the citizens of the nation.

PEW Survey on Views of Government

Data Interpretation and Analysis

Pew Research Centre has been conducting surveys for the past sixteen years on a variety of subjects in America. During that time, they have been recording the gradual decline in trust in government over the years. Their recent survey indicates a record low in trust in the American government just as the case is in the OECD countries in Europe (Pew Research, 2014). Just 24% of the people they surveyed trust the government in Washington to do what they promised to do. A lot more (75%) trust the government only occasionally or never (Figure 12 on Appendix Four). Combined with low levels of trust, what is most telling is that majority of Americans (81%) are frustrated or angry at the federal government, while only 17% say they feel fundamentally satisfied with the government.

<div align="center">**SurveyMonkey Survey**</div>

Data Interpretation and Analysis

To test whether the survey results outlined above still hold true in the current global health crisis, a quick survey was conducted on SurveyMonkey using 100 respondents ranging in age between 21 and 72 years living in Dublin City and North County Dublin general area. Respondents were asked to answer questions ranging from their trust in science, the healthcare workers (doctors and nurses), government to vaccines. Forty out of the hundred responded. The graphical analysis of the survey is shown Appendix Five below. The survey was set up in a way that it can be completed within two minutes. Ironically the results in this quick survey mirrored those that were seen in the previous surveys discussed already in this paper. When asked "At what level do you trust the national government" and huge 78% had low to moderate trust in the government (Figure 14 on Appendix Five). Trust in science and medical experts ranked quite high, at 76% each. Even though, the respondents showed low trust in government, when it came to trusting the information given by government during this pandemic the 78% said they trusted the information given by the government during the current pandemic (Figure 18 on Appendix Five). As in the Ipsos survey an overwhelming number of the respondent have high trust in doctors and nurses.

<div align="center">**CONCLUSION**</div>

In this dissertation through the literature review the importance and the ubiquitous nature of trust has been emphasized. Also, the power dynamics involved in the trusting relationship between the trustor and the trustee has been discussed and the vulnerability of the person giving the trust has been highlighted. Through the literature review the relationship between trusting intentions and trusting behaviour was clarified making it determine why people put their trust in professionals and institutions. I also discussed the nature of trust based on the belief view theory, it effects and its deficiency in capturing the breaking of trust effectively. I also discussed the role trust and social closure play in governance and why we need governance. The need of bioethics in research was also justified albeit the burden it places on the caregiver. Leading to the discussion on trust in government, the difference in trust and trustworthiness was clarified. Throughout this paper the importance and effects of trust and trustworthiness on government was clearly stated and the consequences of ignoring trust when governing were shown. The snowballing effect of lack of trust on other was governmental agencies was amply discussed and stated. Through surveys and polls the decline of trust in government over several decades has been highlighted and its negative effects on the implementation of government policy and mandates during a global health crisis amply discussed. While discussions about trust and specifically trust in government remain fluid, I believe that the issues discussed and raised in this paper regarding the subject would be taken up and discussed further by scholars, so that it might affect the behaviour of people in government and cause a freeze in the downward trend of trust in government

and maybe in the future years when a survey done on trust we will trust in government trending upwards.

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Eurobarometer Graphics

Graphical representations of the survey "Does my voice count in the European Union" and "Does my voice count in my own country"

Figure 1

QA25.1. Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree.

My voice counts in the EU

Tend to agree · Tend to disagree · Don't know
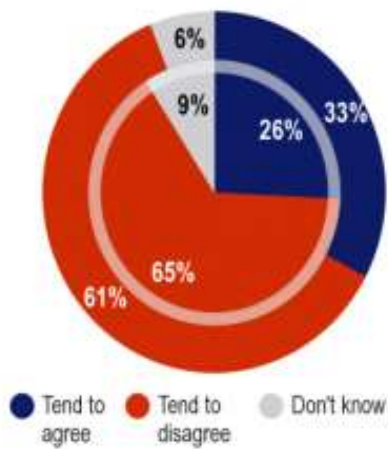
Inner pie : EB76 Aut.2011
Outer pie : EB76.4 Dec. 2011 · EU27

QA25.2. Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree.

My voice counts in (OUR COUNTRY)

Tend to agree · Tend to disagree · Don't know
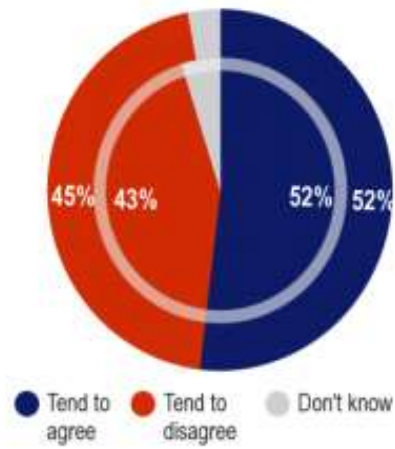
Inner pie : EB74 Aut.2010
Outer pie : EB76.4 Dec. 2011 · EU27

Figure 2

QA25.1 Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or disagree.

My voice counts in the EU

		Tend to agree		Tend to disagree		Don't know	
		EB76.4	Evolution Dec.2011 - Aut.2011	EB76.4	Evolution Dec.2011 - Aut.2011	EB76.4	Evolution Dec.2011 - Aut.2011
	EU27	33%	+7	61%	-4	6%	-3
	DK	61%	+8	37%	-4	2%	-4
	BE	55%	+12	44%	-10	1%	-2
	NL	55%	+13	43%	-10	2%	-3
	SE	52%	+10	46%	-9	2%	-1
	LU	48%	+7	49%	-6	3%	-1
	DE	47%	+11	44%	-12	9%	+1
	MT	47%	+9	44%	-3	9%	-6
	FR	45%	+11	51%	-8	4%	-3
	SI	43%	+12	54%	-9	3%	-3
	FI	43%	+8	56%	-7	1%	-1
	PL	41%	+9	54%	-6	5%	-3
	HU	38%	+2	58%	-1	4%	-1
	SK	37%	+8	60%	-8	3%	=
	AT	31%	+6	64%	-6	5%	=
	IE	30%	+8	65%	-3	5%	-5
	BG	27%	+7	58%	-5	15%	-2
	ES	27%	+3	68%	-1	5%	-2
	PT	27%	+5	69%	+1	4%	-6
	LV	25%	+13	72%	-10	3%	-3
	LT	25%	+6	66%	-2	9%	-4
	CY	24%	=	71%	+3	5%	-3
	RO	23%	+5	69%	+5	8%	-10
	EE	22%	+6	75%	-4	3%	-2
	UK	22%	+6	75%	-2	3%	-4
	IT	16%	+3	75%	+4	9%	-7
	EL	15%	+3	84%	-2	1%	-1
	CZ	14%	+1	84%	-1	2%	=

Figure 3

QA25.2 Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree.
My voice counts in (OUR COUNTRY)

		Tend to agree		Tend to disagree		Don't know	
		EB76.4	Evolution Dec.2011 - Aut.2010	EB76.4	Evolution Dec.2011 - Aut.2010	EB76.4	Evolution Dec.2011 - Aut.2010
	EU27	52%	=	45%	+2	3%	-2
	DK	96%	+3	4%	-2	0%	-1
	SE	89%	-2	10%	+2	1%	=
	NL	81%	=	19%	+2	0%	-2
	FI	81%	+4	18%	-4	1%	=
	FR	74%	+1	25%	+1	1%	-2
	SI	72%	+8	27%	-7	1%	-1
	DE	70%	+4	26%	-4	4%	=
	AT	66%	-4	32%	+4	2%	=
	LU	65%	-7	33%	+7	2%	=
	BE	62%	+1	37%	=	1%	-1
	PL	59%	-1	37%	+2	4%	-1
	MT	55%	+10	37%	-6	8%	-4
	EE	53%	-3	46%	+4	1%	-1
	SK	52%	+2	46%	-2	2%	=
	UK	46%	+1	53%	+2	1%	-3
	ES	45%	-5	52%	+9	3%	-4
	IE	41%	+3	54%	+2	5%	-5
	HU	41%	-8	57%	+10	2%	-2
	BG	37%	+5	54%	-2	9%	-3
	PT	35%	-2	63%	+8	2%	-6
	LV	32%	+8	66%	-7	2%	-1
	CZ	31%	=	67%	+2	2%	-2
	CY	31%	-12	67%	+16	2%	-4
	RO	29%	+11	65%	-4	6%	-7
	IT	18%	-7	77%	+12	5%	-5
	LT	16%	+1	79%	+2	5%	-3
	EL	15%	-8	84%	+8	1%	=

The opinion Gap Graphics

Europeans see a significant difference between the public view and leadership decisions.

QA23.2. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

Nowadays, there is a big gap between the people's opinion and the decisions taken by the political leaders

Figure 4

8%

51%

38%

Totally agree   Tend to agree   Total 'Disagree'   Don't know

EU27
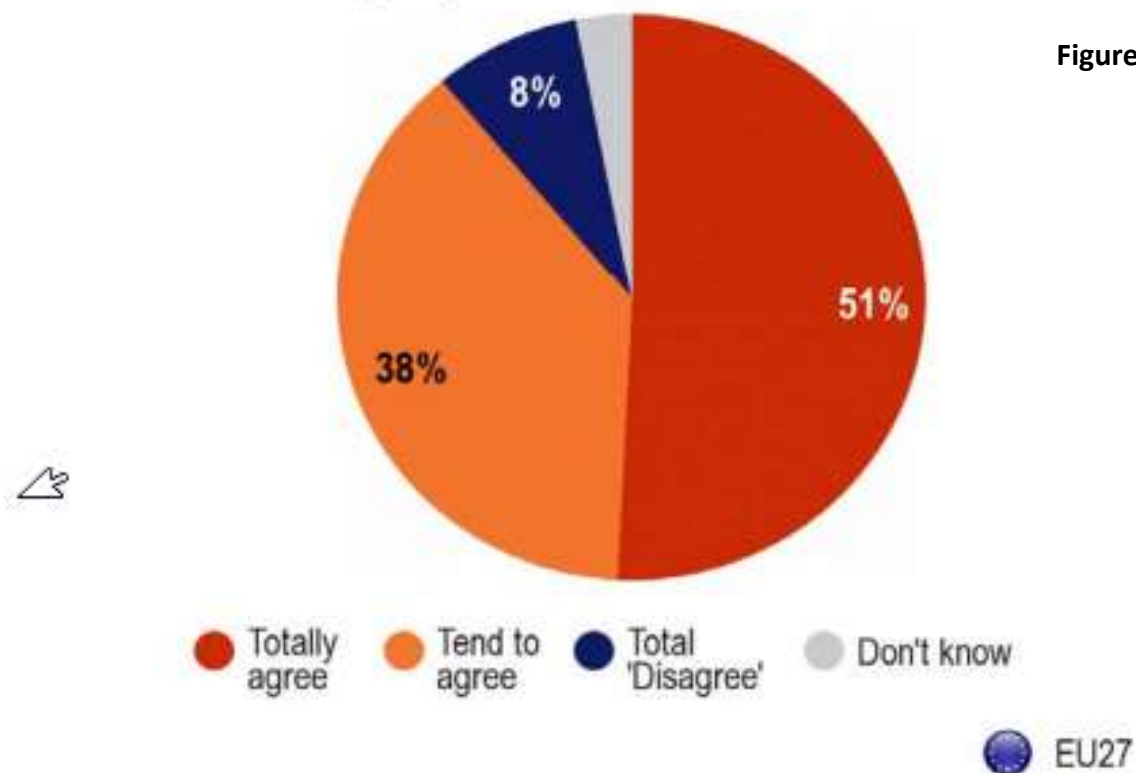
The proportion of respondents who agree that this gap exists ranges from 72% in Malta to 96% in Greece.

Figure 5

QA23.2. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

Nowadays, there is a big gap between the people's opinion and the decisions taken by the political leaders

■ Totally agree ■ Tend to agree ■ Total 'Disagree' □ Don't know
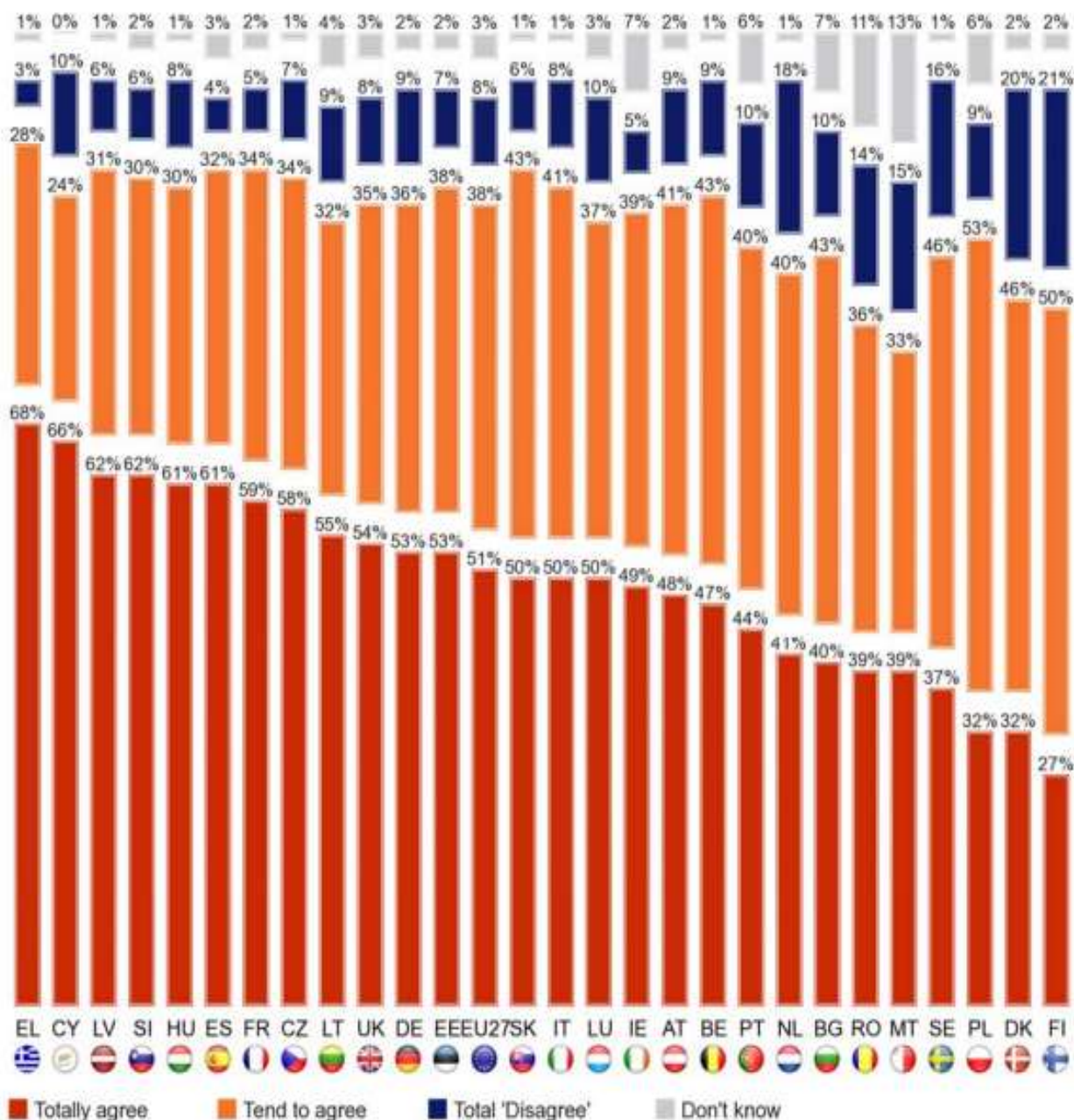
Gallup World Poll Graphics

Confidence in national government in 2012 and its change since 2007
Arranged in descending order according to percentage point change between 2007 and 2012

Figure 6
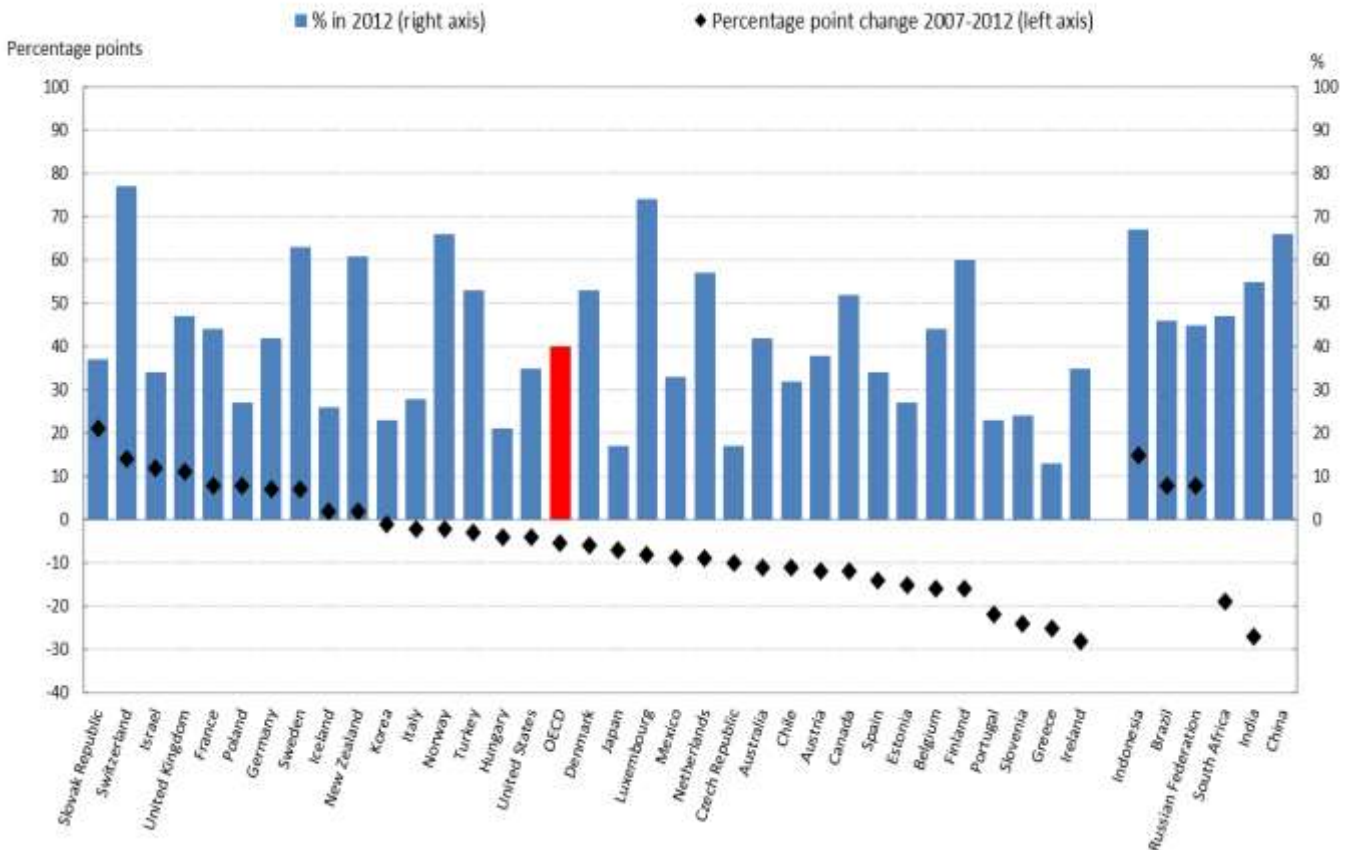
(Note: Data for Chile, Germany and the United Kingdom are for 2011 rather than 2012. Data for Iceland and Luxembourg are for 2008 rather than 2007. Data for Austria, Finland, Ireland, Norway, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia and Switzerland are for 2006 rather than 2007. Also, data refer to the percentage who answered 'yes' to the question: ''Do you have confidence in national government?'' (data arranged in descending order according to percentage point change between 2007 and 2012).
Sourced from (OECD, 2013)

Comparison of confidence in financial institutions/banks and government (2012)

Figure 7
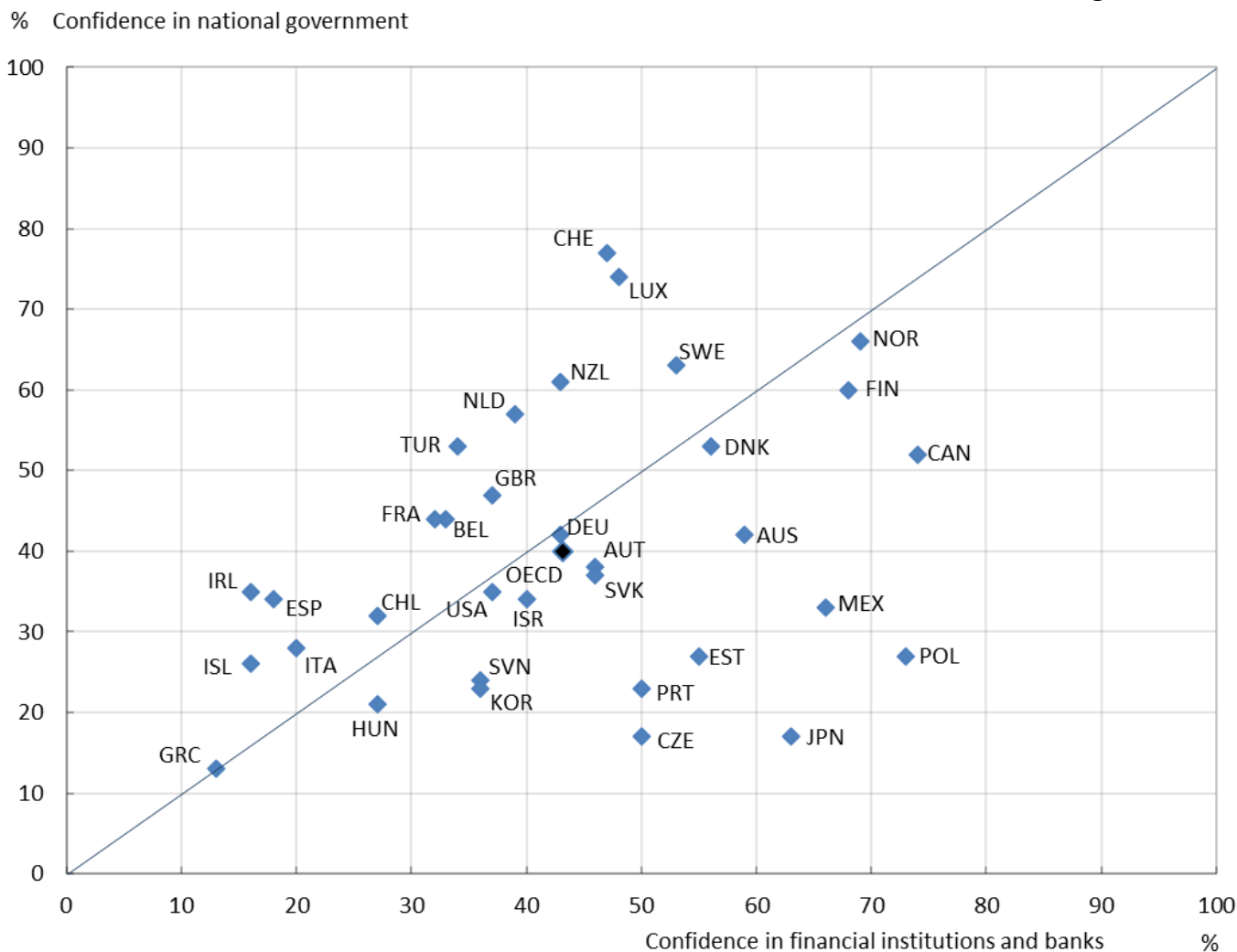
% Confidence in national government

(Note: Confidence in national government data refer to percentage of "yes" answers to the question: "In this country, do you have confidence in each of the following, or not? How about national government?" Confidence in financial institutions and banks data refer to percentage of "yes" answers to the question: "In this country, do you have confidence in each of the following, or not? How about financial institutions or banks?" Data for Chile, Germany and the United Kingdom are for 2010 rather than 2011. In the countries below the line, confidence in financial institutions and banks is higher than confidence in government).
Source from Gallup World Poll via OECD, (2013).

Comparison of confidence in national government and the media (2010)
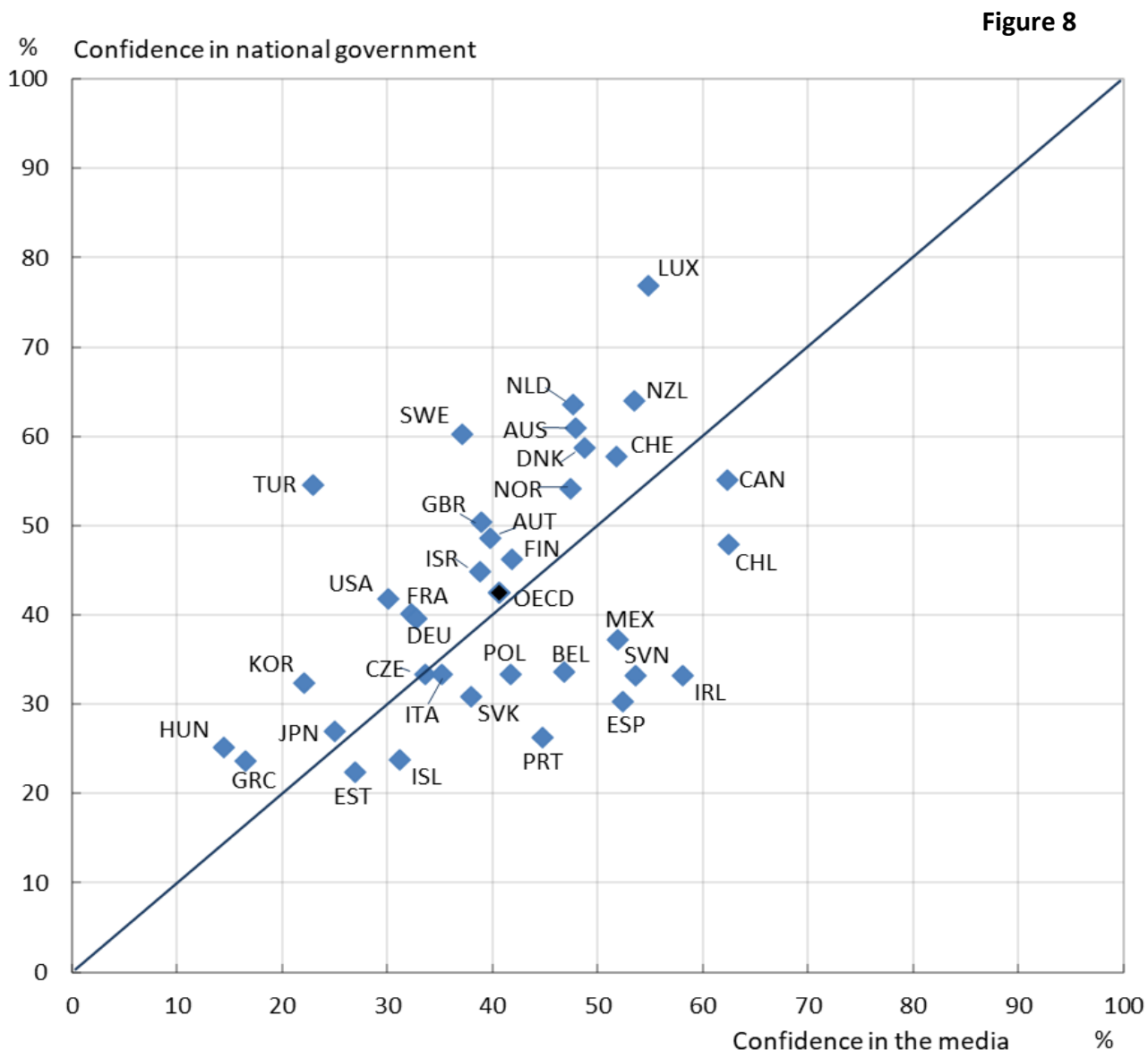
Figure 8

Note: Confidence in national government data refer to percentage of "yes" answers to the question: "In this country, do you have confidence in each of the following, or not? How about national government?" Confidence in media data refer to percentage of "yes" answers to the question: "In this country, do you have confidence in each of the following, or not? How about quality and integrity of the media?" Data for Iceland and Norway refer to 2008 rather than 2010. Data for Switzerland and Estonia refer to 2009 rather than 2010. In the countries below the line, confidence in the media is higher than confidence in government.

Source: Gallup World Poll via OECD, (2013).

Ipsos MORI Veracity Index 2019 Graphics
Trust in professions survey

Veracity Index 2019 – all professions

"Now I will read you a list of different types of people. For each would you tell me if you generally trust them to tell the truth, or not?"

Profession	%
Nurses	95%
Doctors	93%
Dentists	90%
Teachers	89%
Engineers	86%
Professors	86%
Scientists	84%
Judges	81%
Members of the Armed Forces	81%
The Police	76%
The ordinary man/woman in the street	65%
Civil Servants	65%
Clergy/priests	64%
Television news readers	61%
Pollsters	54%
Trade union officials	46%
Charity chief executives	45%
Bankers	43%
Local councillors	41%
Business leaders	35%
Estate agents	30%
Journalists	26%
Government Ministers	17%
Advertising executives	17%
Politicians generally	14%

Figure 9

% trust to tell the truth

Base: 1,020 British adults aged 15+, interviewed face-to-face 18 - 27 October 2019

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Ipsos MORI Ipsos

Figure 10

The six <u>most</u> trusted professions, 2019
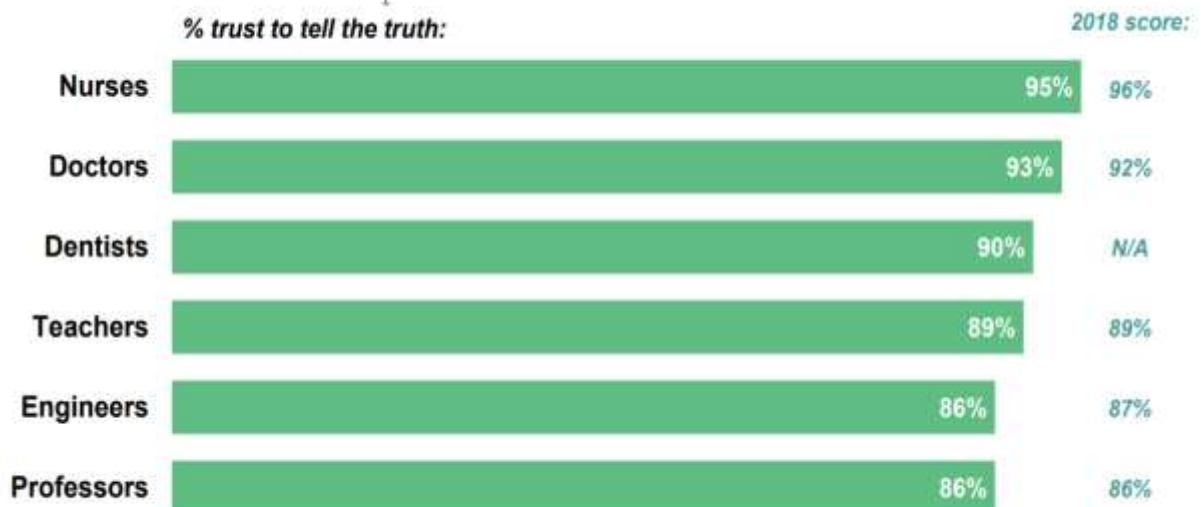
Profession	% trust to tell the truth:	2018 score:
Nurses	95%	96%
Doctors	93%	92%
Dentists	90%	N/A
Teachers	89%	89%
Engineers	86%	87%
Professors	86%	86%

Base: 1,020 British adults aged 15+, interviewed face-to-face 18 - 27 October 2019

Ipsos MORI Ipsos

Trust in Politicians: Highs and Lows

Figure 11

% trust to tell the truth:

1999: Politicians High – 23%

2008: Government Ministers High – 25%

1993: Government Ministers Low – 11%

2009: Politicians Low – 13%

17

14

Government Ministers   Politicians Generally
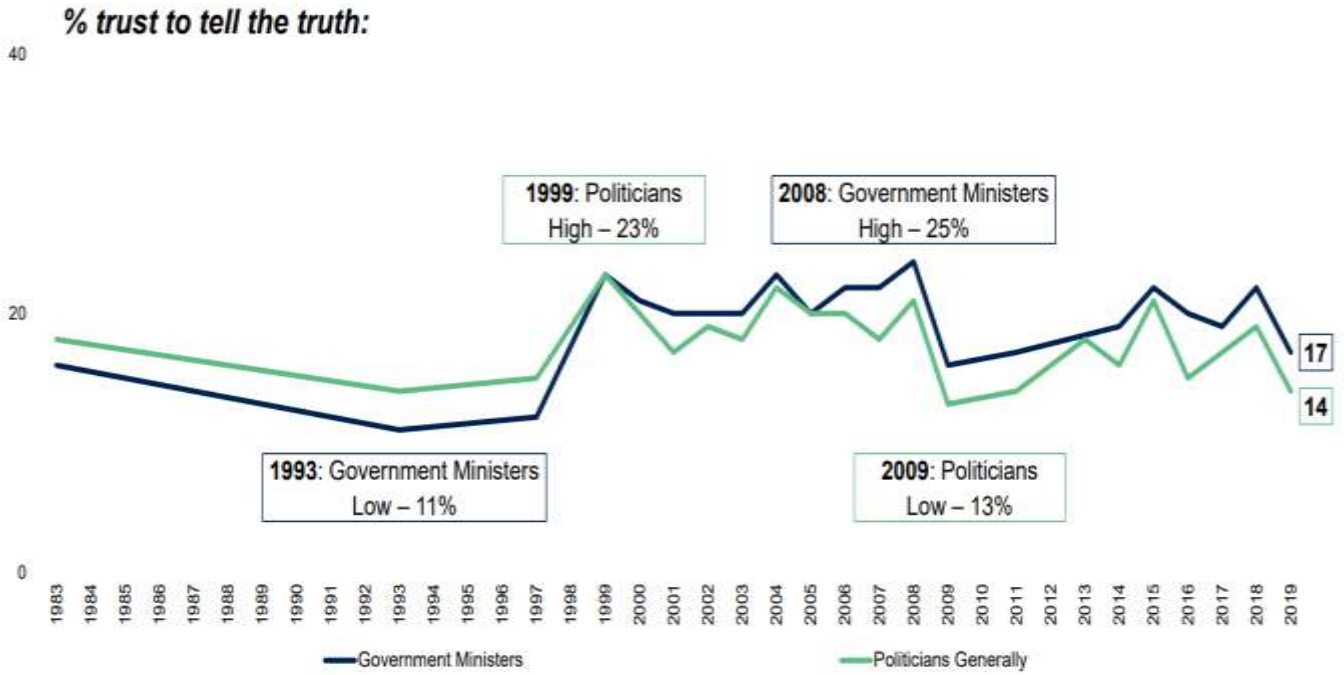
Base: 1,020 British adults aged 15+, interviewed face-to-face 18 - 27 October 2019

*: This profession listed for the first time in 2019   Ipsos MORI

PEW Research Graphics

Figure 12

Views of Government: Low Levels of Trust, High Frustration

Trust the government in Washington …

	Only some of the time/ Never	Always/ Most of the time
Total	75	24
Steadfast Conservs	93	7
Business Conservs	84	16
Young Outsiders	84	16
Hard-Pressed Skeptics	84	15
Next Generation Left	59	40
Faith and Family Left	60	39
Solid Liberals	67	32

Feeling about the federal government …

	Angry	Frustrated	Content
Total	19	62	17
Steadfast Conservs	43	55	2
Business Conservs	32	58	8
Young Outsiders	22	66	12
Hard-Pressed Skeptics	24	64	10
Next Generation Left	5	64	29
Faith and Family Left	9	59	28
Solid Liberals	11	70	17

2014 Political Typology. QB40a-b.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 13

Q1

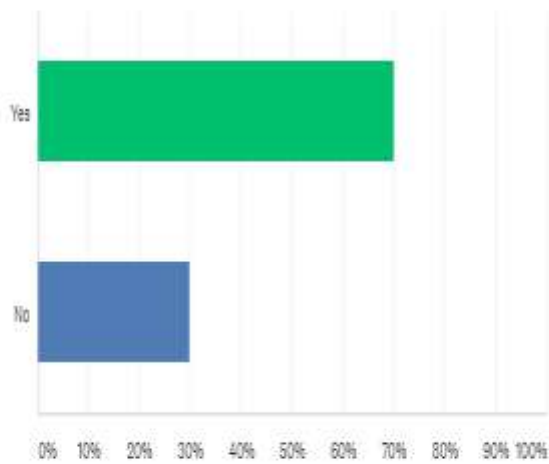Have you personally or someone close to you tried to get any information about medicine, disease or health in the last 30 to 60 days?

Answered: 40   Skipped: 0

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	70.00%	28
No	30.00%	12
TOTAL		40

Figure 14

Q2

At what level do you trust the national government?

Answered: 40   Skipped: 0
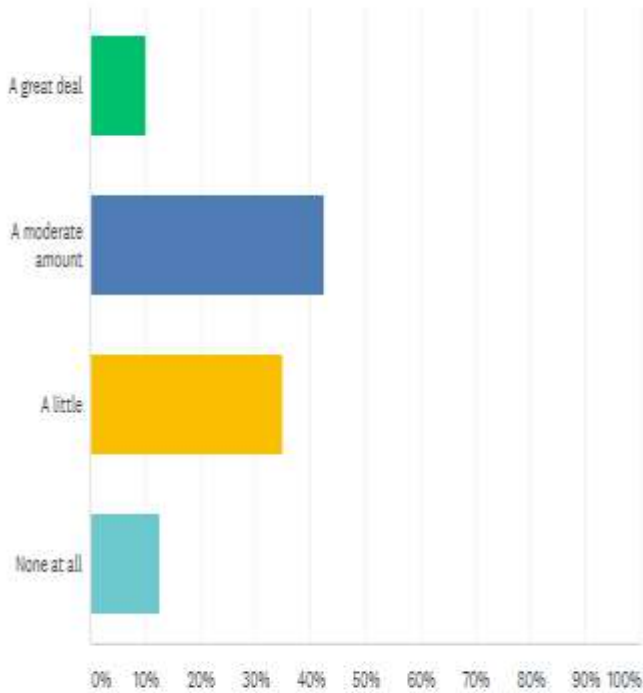
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
A great deal	10.00%	4
A moderate amount	42.50%	17
A little	35.00%	14
None at all	12.50%	5
TOTAL		40

Figure 15

Q3

Do you trust the mainstream media in this country when it comes to health information and advice?

Answered: 40   Skipped: 0
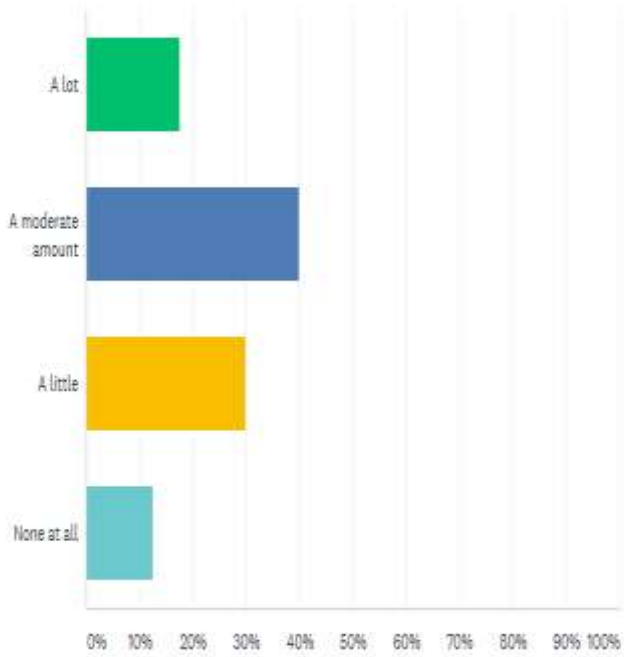
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
A lot	17.50%	7
A moderate amount	40.00%	16
A little	30.00%	12
None at all	12.50%	5
TOTAL		40

Figure 16

Q4

In general, would you say you trust science?

Answered: 40   Skipped: 0
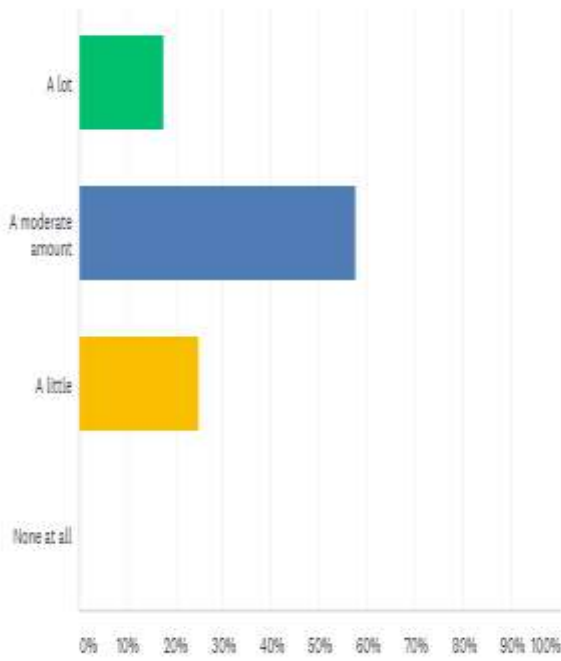
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
▾ A lot	17.50%	7
▾ A moderate amount	57.50%	23
▾ A little	25.00%	10
▾ None at all	0.00%	0
TOTAL		40

Figure 17

Q5

In general how much do you trust medical experts to give accurate information and good advice about a disease or sickness?

Answered: 40   Skipped: 0
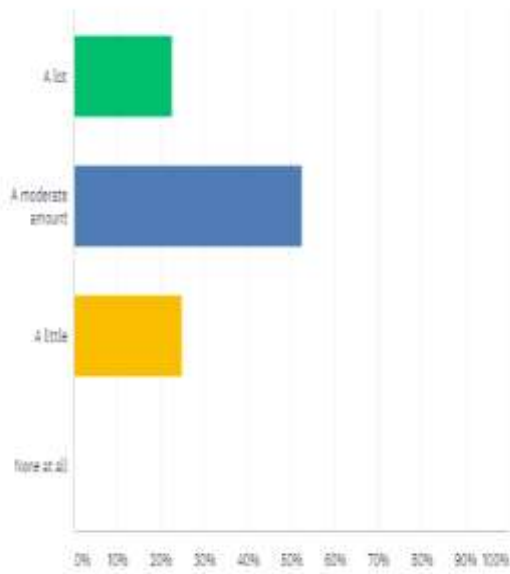
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
A lot	22.50%	9
A moderate amount	52.50%	21
A little	25.00%	10
None at all	0.00%	0
TOTAL		40

Figure 18

Q6

In the midst of the confusing guidelines about the Covid-19 pandemic, how much do you trust the medical and health advice coming from the government?

Answered: 40   Skipped: 0

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
▾ A lot	12.50%	5
▾ Some	41.50%	17
▾ Not Much	35.00%	14
▾ Not at all.	10.00%	4
▾ Don't Know	0.00%	0
TOTAL		40

Figure 19

Q7

Which of the following people do you trust most to give you medical or health advice?

Answered: 39   Skipped: 1

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Your family and friends	17.95%	7
A religious leader	5.13%	2
A doctor or nurse	84.60%	33
A famous person	0.00%	0
A traditional healer	5.13%	2
None of these	7.69%	3
Don't know	2.56%	1
Total Respondents: 39		
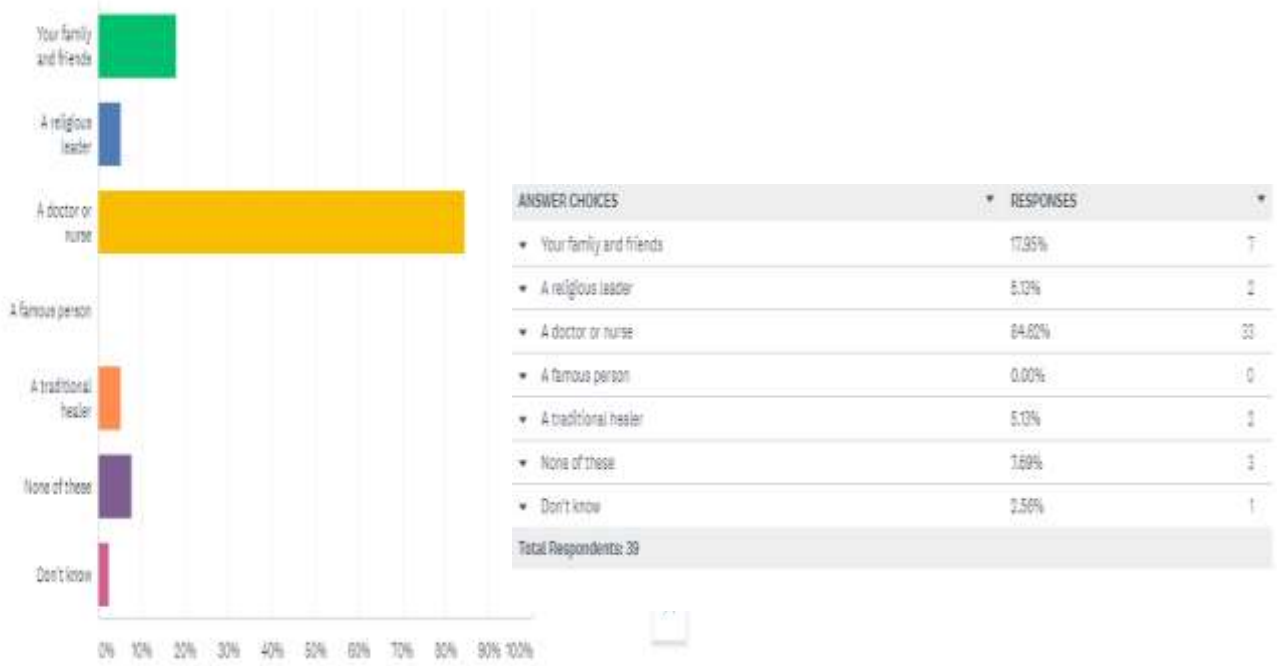
Figure 20

Q8

Do you believe or trust vaccines?

Answered: 40   Skipped: 0

ANSWER CHOICES ▼	RESPONSES ▼	
▼ A great deal	15.00%	6
▼ A moderate amount	37.50%	15
▼ A little	25.00%	10
▼ None at all	15.00%	6
▼ Don't know	7.50%	3
TOTAL		40

Figure 21

Q9

As an adult have you or any other person over 18 years close to you received a vaccine in recent years?

Answered: 40   Skipped: 0

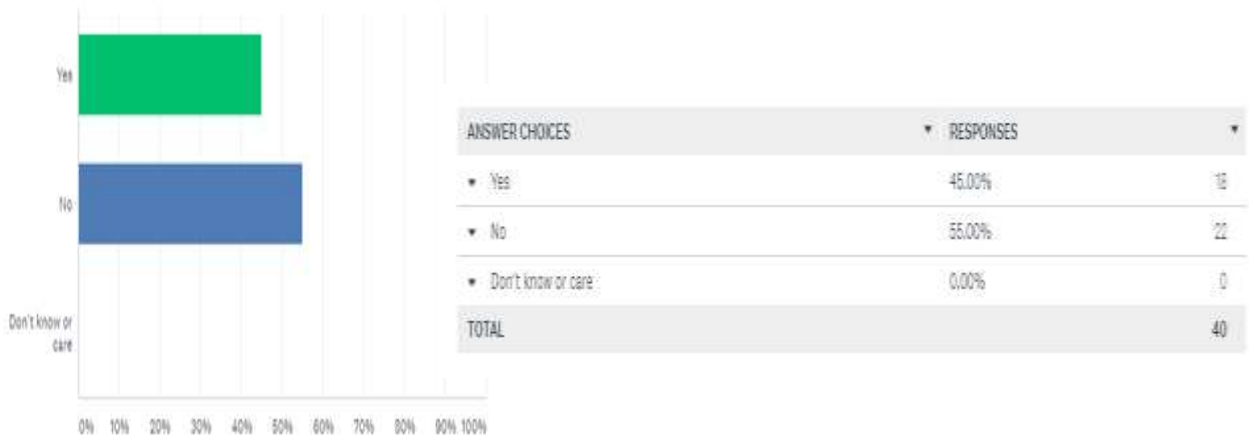| ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	45.00%	18
No	55.00%	22
Don't know or care	0.00%	0
TOTAL		40

Figure 22

Q10

In a global pandemic would be willing to receive a vaccine to protect yourself
and those close to you?

Answered: 40   Skipped: 0

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	35.00%	14
No	37.50%	15
Don't know	25.00%	10
Don't really care	2.50%	1
TOTAL		40