# **Building Trust to Reinforce Democracy**

Summary brief presenting the main findings from the OECD Trust Survey



# Background: **About the OECD Trust Survey**

Covering twenty-two OECD countries, the inaugural OECD Survey on the Drivers of Trust in Public Institutions (hereafter "Trust Survey") is the most thorough cross-national stocktaking to date of the complex relationship between public trust and democratic governance. Each of the 22 countries that participated in the survey "opted in" voluntarily to better understand and report on public feedback for improving governance and fostering trust.

Most questions asked in the Trust Survey investigate structural and persistent features of governance that predate the pandemic, such as perceived integrity of public servants, the fairness of government programmes, participation in decision-making and representation or public service reliability, based on the OECD Trust Framework (Box 1). Nevertheless, the Trust Survey interviewed respondents at a challenging time in most countries: November and December 2021, nearly two years into the COVID-19 pandemic, with a few surveys taking place in 2020 and January-March 2022. Across countries, "pandemic fatigue" had set in. The Trust Survey therefore presents a point-in-time estimate of perceptions of government. These perceptions could also be influenced by more "objective" economic or social outcomes of governance, different points in political cycles, and/or underlying cultural or societal differences across countries. Cross- national comparisons should thus be considered carefully.



### Box 1. **OECD work on the drivers of trust in public institutions**

The Trust Survey is the result of the OECD's long prioritisation of the issue of trust in government. This includes attempts to understand better what drives people's trust in government, how trust influences economic performance and well-being, and how to measure trust. Following a call at the 2013 OECD Ministerial Council Meeting for "strengthen[ed] efforts to understand trust in public institutions and its influence on economic performance and well-being," the OECD built a conceptual framework – the OECD Framework on Drivers of Trust in Public Institutions (Trust Framework) - and statistical guidelines for measuring the drivers of trust in public institutions. These were tested in few countries via the OECD TrustLab project (OECD, 2018<sub>[1]</sub>; OECD, 2017<sub>[2]</sub>; OECD, 2017<sub>[3]</sub>). Following country reviews in Korea (OECD/KDI, 2018<sub>[5]</sub>), Finland (OECD, 2021<sub>[6]</sub>), and Norway (OECD, 2022<sub>[7]</sub>), in 2021 the OECD Public Governance Committee endorsed a cross-national survey to take stock of trust in government institutions, apply the theoretical foundations of the Trust Framework, and better understand the drivers of trust.

The OECD defines trust as "a person's belief that another person or institution will act consistently with their expectation of positive behaviour." Trust offers people confidence that others, individuals or institutions, will act as they might expect, either in a particular action or in a set of actions (OECD, 2017<sub>[3]</sub>).

The OECD Trust Framework identifies five main drivers of trust in government institutions. They capture the degree to which institutions are responsive and reliable in delivering people-centred policies and services, and act in line with the values of openness, integrity and fairness. Since the outbreak of the pandemic, the Framework has been reviewed through a consultative process entitled "Building a New Paradigm for Public Trust," (OECD, 2021, 817) Brezzi et al., 2021<sub>101</sub>) intended to guide public efforts to recover trust in government during and after the crisis, with a particular focus on building back more inclusively, e.g. by taking into account socioeconomic, political and cultural differences, and by generating buy-in to address challenging, long-term, intergenerational issues like climate change. These drivers interact to influence people's trust in public institutions and are compounded by countries' economic, social and institutional situation.

The results of the first OECD Trust Survey were published in the report "Building Trust to Reinforce Democracy: Main Findings from the 2021 OECD Survey on Drivers of Trust in Public Institutions" (OECD, 2022<sub>110</sub>).

#### Trust in government matters – and it needs investment

In open democratic countries, where there is a free flow of information and citizens can freely exchange ideas and opinions, citizens' trust in government institutions matters – and it needs further investment.

Public trust helps countries govern on a daily basis and respond to the major challenges of today and tomorrow: the ongoing health and economic crises, the longstanding rise in inequalities, population ageing, technological advances, and the existential threat of climate change. Sufficiently high levels of institutional trust can help governments reduce transaction costs - in governance, in society, and in the economy - and help ensure buy-in and compliance with public policies. Trust can help foster public investments in challenging reforms and programmes that produce better outcomes.

Public trust is also an equally important outcome of governance but not an automatic nor necessary outcome.

Trust is an expression of how people perceive their public institutions and what they expect of their government. But in open democratic systems – unlike in autocratic ones – citizens have the freedom to report that they do not trust their government, and critical views can even be a sign of a healthy democracy. Yet trust remains an important indicator for governments to navigate through changing citizens' expectations of their governments and their countries' governance.



#### Main findings from the OECD Trust Survey

- As countries fight to emerge from the largest health, economic and social crisis in decades, trust levels decreased in 2021 but remained slightly higher than in the aftermath of the 2008 economic crisis (OECD, 2021,111). The Trust Survey finds public confidence is evenly split between people who say they trust their national government and those who do not. On average, about four in ten people say they trust their national government (41.4%) and another four in ten (41.1%) say they do not. Data show that it takes a long time to rebuild trust when it is diminished; it took about a decade for trust to recover from the 2008 crisis.
- Citizens are reasonably confident they can rely on governments to deliver public services: Most people, in most countries, report feeling satisfied with their national healthcare (61.7% satisfied, on average) and education systems (57.6% satisfied). Nearly half (49.4%) of respondents say their government is prepared to respond to a future pandemic and only a third (32.6%) of respondents say their government would not be prepared to a future pandemic- a noteworthy outcome considering the ongoing human and economic costs of COVID-19.
- A majority in most countries are satisfied with administrative services (63%, on average cross-nationally). A slight majority (51.1%) trust their government to use their personal data safely, and 65.1% of respondents, on average, say they can find information about administrative processes easily. Those who perceive information to be open and transparent also have higher levels of trust in government.
- Trust varies across institutions. The police (67.1%), courts (56.9%), civil service (50.2%) and local government (46.9%) garner higher levels of public trust than national government (41.4%) and national legislatures -congresses and parliaments- (39.4%) and political parties (24.5%).
- Yet governments are falling short of meeting people's expectations on participation, representation and responsiveness. Fewer than one-third of respondents, cross-nationally, feel the political system in their country allows them to have a say in government decision-making, and a similar share of respondents believe that the government would adopt opinions expressed in a public consultation. Many also do not view governments as responsive to people's needs and public feedback on policies or programmes. Only about four in ten respondents, on average across countries, say that their government would improve a poorly performing service, implement an innovative idea, or change a national policy in response to public demands.



- Public perceptions of government integrity is an issue. Slightly less than half of respondents, on average across countries, think that a high-level political official would grant a political favour in exchange for the offer of a wellpaid private sector job. About one-third say a public employee would accept money in exchange for speeding up access to a public service.
- Generational, educational, income, gender and regional gaps in trust illustrate that progress can be made in enhancing participation and representation for all. Young people, respondents with low levels of education, and those living on low incomes report markedly lower levels of trust in government than other groups. Perceptions are important, too – trust in government is noticeably lower for people feeling a sense of financial insecurity or a lack of political voice. Perhaps related to this, trust in even apolitical public institutions is much lower among those who did not vote for the parties in power than those who did, suggesting deeply embedded polarisation.
- Strengthening confidence in government's ability to address global challenges is a priority. Governments face new threats in the form of disinformation/misinformation, unequal opportunities for representation and participation, and intergenerational, global, and existential crises like climate change. While 50.4% think governments should be doing more to reduce climate change, only 35.5% are confident that countries will actually succeed in reducing their country's contribution to climate change - and those who think their government will succeed are more likely to trust their government. Ensuring that people trust governments to tackle these major issues, using modern, data-driven tools, will be a challenge for every government in the OECD – even the most responsive ones.

These results serve as a call to action for OECD governments. Governments must continue improving their reliability and preparedness for future crises, designing policies and public services with and for people, and enhancing transparency and communications to citizens around promises and results. To meet their citizens' evolving expectations, OECD governments will need to connect and engage better with citizens in policy design, delivery and reform; safeguard and enhance people's ability to exercise effective political voice; ensure the integrity of elected and high level officials; continuously measure and improve public service delivery; and ensure the inclusion of vulnerable and marginalised groups.



#### An even split between those who trust and those who distrust

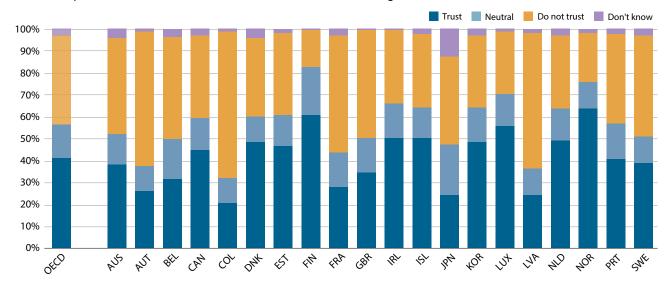
About four in ten respondents (41.4%), on average across countries, trust their national government (Figure 1). This average conceals wide variation across countries: the share of people who trust their government reaches over 60% of the population in places like Finland and Norway, but rates are below 30% in about a quarter of countries.

While fewer than half of respondents trust their national government, on average, it is worth noting that this does not mean a majority distrusts their government. In fact the share that trust and that do not trust are practically evenly split: 41.1%, on average, report that they do not trust their government.

In some countries there is also a high degree of neutrality and uncertainty around this question of trust. 14.8% of respondents, on average, hold a neutral position - neither trusting nor distrusting their government - and about 3%, on average, report that they do not know. These groups could be important, as they demonstrate an important flexibility in thinking and could be better engaged by governments. Cultural differences across countries may also explain the relative shares of neutral and uncertain responses to questions on trust in different institutions.

FIGURE 1. Just over four in ten people trust their national government





Note: Figure presents the within-country distributions of responses to the question "On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all and 10 is completely, how much do you trust the national government?" Mexico and New Zealand are excluded from the figure as the question "trust in national government" is not asked. For more detailed information, please find the survey method document at http://oe.cd/trust. For access to data see https://stat.link/ilkt6v.

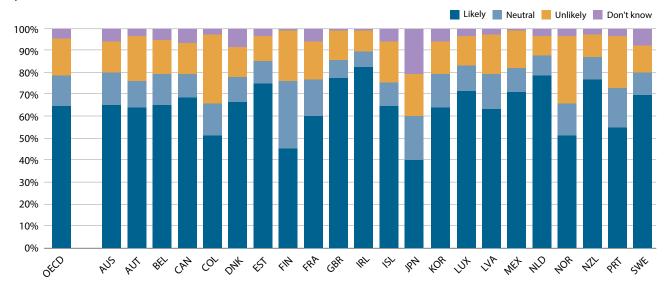


#### People are reasonably confident they can rely on government for public services

Trust Survey data show that most governments are performing satisfactorily in public perceptions of government reliability, service provision, and data openness. 65.1% of respondents, on average, say they can find information about administrative processes easily (Figure 2), and a slight majority (51.1%) trust government to use their personal data safely.

## FIGURE 2. In nearly every country, a majority feels they can easily find information about administrative

Share of respondents who indicate different levels of perception of the ease of finding information about administrative procedures (on a 0-10 scale), 2021



Note: Figure presents the within-country distributions of responses to the question "If you need information about an administrative procedure (for example obtaining a passport, applying for benefits, etc.), how likely or unlikely do you think it is that the information would be easily available?". For access to data see https://stat.link/l0gmwe.

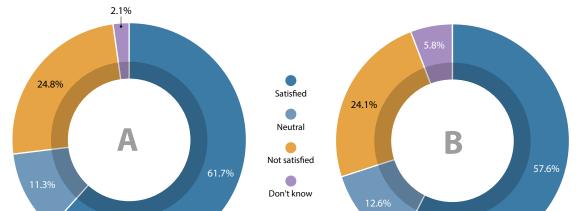


A majority in most countries say they are satisfied with their national healthcare (61.7% satisfied, on average) and education systems (57.6% satisfied) (Figure 3), and about six in ten think they would be treated fairly if they applied for a benefit.

FIGURE 3. Around six in ten respondents are satisfied with their country's health and educational systems

Share of respondents who indicate different levels of satisfaction with their national healthcare system (Panel A) and national education system (Panel B), unweighted OECD average, 2021

Panel A. Satisfaction with healthcare system



Note: Figure presents OECD unweighted average of responses across questions related to satisfaction in the healthcare system (Panel A) and the educational system (Panel B). For more detailed information please find the survey method document at OECD Trust Survey (http://oe.cd/trust). For access to data see https://stat.link/qcbu6a; https://stat.link/l2zg4f.

Source: OECD Trust Survey (http://oe.cd/trust)

Importantly, given the enormous health and economic consequences of COVID-19, nearly half of respondents (49.4%), cross-nationally, predict that their government will be prepared for the next pandemic. Trust in the national government closely corresponds with perceptions of preparedness for a future pandemic: countries in which most people think their government learned from the pandemic are also the countries in which more people are likely to trust that government.

There is of course still significant room for improvement in terms of service provision, information access, and future preparedness, and some countries are doing much better than others. However, in general, governments are doing reasonably well on these measures of reliability.





Panel B. Satisfaction with educational system

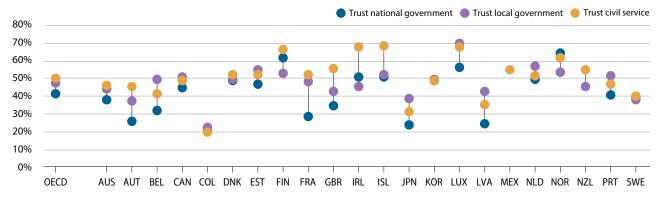
#### Civil servants and local governments are perceived as more trustworthy

Local governments generally inspire more confidence than national governments. On average across countries, 46.9% of people say they trust their local government and only 32.4% say they do not trust their local government.

Civil servants fare better than the local and national governments: half (50.2%) of respondents, on average, say that they trust civil servants in their country. Importantly, fewer than one-third of say that they do not trust civil servants (Figure 4). The fact that the civil service is viewed as more trustworthy than the more abstract concepts of "national government" and "local government" may be cause for cautious optimism. Civil servants are, in many ways, the human face of government institutions; they work directly and professionally with citizens and users of government services, and are often in positions free from political influence (OECD, 2021, 121).

FIGURE 4. People generally trust their civil service and local government more than their national government

Share of respondents who indicate high trust in various government institutions (responses 6-10 on a 10-point scale), 2021



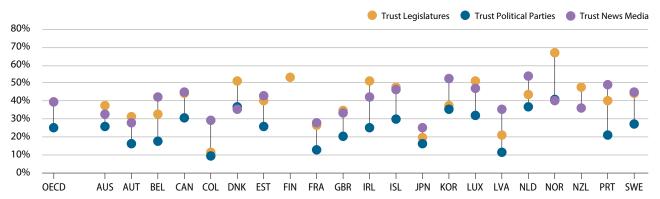
Note: Figure presents the share of response values 6-10 in three separate questions: "On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all and 10 is completely, how much do you trust the [national government / local government / civil service]?" For New Zealand, data for trust in national government are not available; for Mexico data on trust in national and local government are not available. For more detailed information please find the survey method document at http://oe.cd/trust. For access to data see https://stat.link/akn5wb.

Source: OECD Trust Survey (http://oe.cd/trust)

Looking at other institutions, a majority of respondents, on average, trust the courts (56.9%) and the police (67.1%) in their country. In contrast, only 39.4% of respondents, cross-nationally, trust their Parliament or Congress; 38.8% trust the news media; and only 24.5% trust political parties (Figure 5).

FIGURE 5. Trust in political parties, national legislatures and the media is low throughout the OECD

Share of respondents who indicate high trust in various government institutions (responses 6-10 on a 10-point scale), 2021



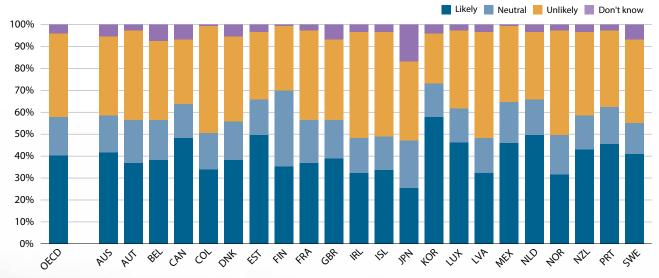
Note: Figure presents the within-country distributions of responses to two separate questions: "On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all and 10 is completely, how much  $do you trust \ [Parliament or Congress \ (varied by country) / political parties]?" The "trust" proportion is the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the aggr$ a response of 5; "Do not trust" is the aggregation of responses from 1-4; and "Don't know" was a separate answer choice. Mexico is excluded from the figure as data are not available; for Finland and New Zealand, data on trust in political parties are not available. For more detailed information please find the survey method document at http://oe.cd/trust. For access to data see https://stat.link/gwa9bk. Source: OECD Trust Survey (http://oe.cd/trust)

#### Countries are falling short of meeting citizens' expectations of government responsiveness, and few people see opportunities to participate in policymaking

The findings on overall trust levels are driven, in large part, by low public confidence in government responsiveness and widespread feelings of a lack of political voice. Results from multiple questions in the Trust Survey consistently illustrate that governments are seen as unresponsive to people's demands both in policymaking and in more obviously democratic processes. Only one third of people (32.9%) think their government would adopt opinions expressed in a public consultation, for example. And only about four in ten respondents, on average across countries, say that their government would improve a poorly performing service (Figure 6), implement an innovative idea, or change a national policy in response to public demands.

FIGURE 6. A minority of respondents say a public service would be improved if people complained

Share of respondents reporting different levels of perceived likelihood that a poorly performing public service would be improved if many people complained about it (on a 0-10 scale), 2021



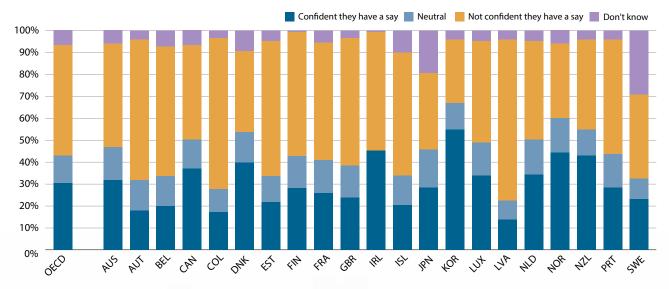
Note: Figure presents the within-country distributions of responses to the question "If many people complained about a public service that is working badly, how likely or unlikely do you think it is that it would be improved?"The "likely" proportion is the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to a response of 5; "unlikely" is the aggregation of responses from 1-4; and "Don't know" was a separate answer choice. "OECD" presents the unweighted average across countries. For more detailed information please find the survey method document at http://oe.cd/trust. For access to data see https://stat.link/cp72lv.



When considering more overtly democratic political processes, only 30.2% of people, on average, say the political system in their country allows them to have a say in what the government does – while about half report that they do not have a say (Figure 7). Governments must recommit to incorporating user feedback and views in the design and reform of public programmes, better encourage the testing of innovative ideas in the public sector and reinforce democratic processes to ensure fairness and equal opportunities for political voice.

FIGURE 7. Half of respondents say the political system does not let them have a say in government decision-making

Share of respondents reporting different levels of confidence that the political system lets them have a say in government decision-making (0-10 scale), 2021



Note: Figure presents the within-country distributions of responses to the question "How much would you say the political system in your country allows people like you to have a say in what the government does?"The "Confident" proportion is the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale; "neutral" is equal to a response of 5; "Not confident" is the aggregation of responses from 0-4; and "Don't know" was a separate answer choice. "OECD" presents the unweighted average across countries. In Norway and Finland, the question was formulated in a slightly different way. Mexico is excluded from the figure as the data are not available. For more detailed information please find the survey method document at http://oe.cd/trust. For access to data see https://stat.link/8alv9m.



#### **Public perception** of government integrity is an issue

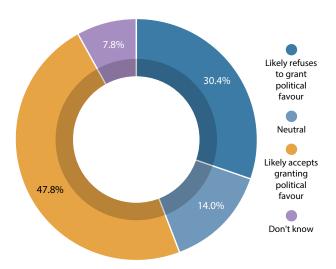
Many respondents question the integrity of elected and appointed officials and question whether they fairly represent the will of the people. On average across countries, 47.8% of respondents say it is likely that a high-level political official would grant a political favour in exchange for the offer of the prospect of a well-paid job in the private sector (Figure 8). This perception could lead some citizens to believe officials' decisions are biased.

Additionally, over one-third (35.7%) of respondents, on average across countries, say it is likely that a public employee would accept money by a citizen or a firm in exchange for speeding up access to a public service.

Yet a sizeable share perceive the opposite: 40.2% of respondents, on average across countries, consider it likely that a public employee would refuse money by a citizen or a firm in exchange for speeding up access to a public service. There is wide variation across countries on this question, and it is worth noting that perceptions of possible bribery do not necessarily reflect actual bribery or the reality of levels of integrity.

#### FIGURE 8. Almost half of respondents predict that a high-level political official would grant a political favour in exchange for the offer of a well-paid private sector job

Share of respondents who indicate that an elected or appointed official would accept or refuse the offer of a well-paid private sector job in exchange for a political favour (on a 0-10 scale), unweighted OECD average, 2021



Note : Figure presents the OECD unweighted average across countries of responsesto the question "If a high-level politician were offered the prospect of a well-paid job in the private sector in exchange for a political favour, how likely or unlikely do you think it is that they would refuse it?". The "Likely accepts granting a favour" proportion is the aggregation of responses from 6-10 on the scale: "neutral" is equal to a response of 5; "Likely refuses granting a favour" is the aggregation of responses from 0-4; and "Don't know" was a separate answer choice. Mexico and New Zealand are excluded from this figure as this question was not included in their surveys. For more detailed information please find the survey method document at http://oe.cd/trust. For access to data see https://stat.link/3jorv9.



#### Socioeconomic inequalities negatively influence trust

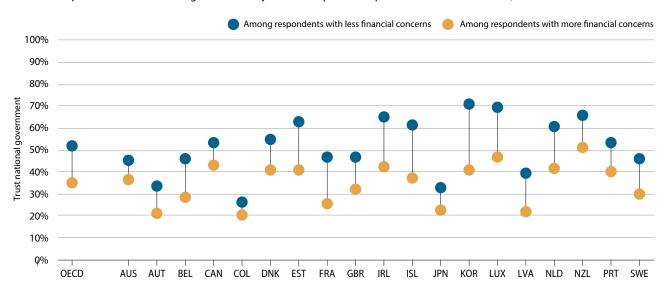
The sentiments found in the Trust Survey – perceptions of a lack of voice in policymaking, and the sense that political elites are captive to undue influence – are compounded by underlying inequalities in society.

Young people, women, low-income respondents, less educated respondents, and people who report feeling financially insecure consistently report lower levels of trust and satisfaction with government. On average across countries, having a university degree is associated with a difference of around eight percentage points higher regarding trust in government when compared to people with only a high school degree. Around 45.9% of respondents aged 50 and over trust their government, compared to only 36.9% of people aged 18 to 29, and men trust government more than women do by 2.7 percentage points, on average across countries.

Perceived vulnerabilities seem to matter even more than reported socioeconomic vulnerability measured by income and education. Trust is considerably lower among people worried about their personal financial circumstances (Figure 9): only 34.6% of the financially precarious group trust the government, compared to 51.2% among people with fewer financial worries. Similar trust gaps exist among people who perceive themselves as socially and culturally precarious, or those who feel they have no agency in the current political system.

Partisanship and polarisation matter, too. On average cross-nationally, 54.7% of people who voted for the parties in power trust the national government, while only 28.4% of those who did not vote for the incumbent parties trust the government. Similar results hold across other public institutions, even ostensibly apolitical ones like the civil service, though the gaps tend to be smaller.

FIGURE 9. People with personal financial concerns are less likely to trust the government Share of respondents that trust the government by level of respondents' personal financial concerns, 2021



Note: Figure presents the within-country distributions of responses to the questions "On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all and 10 is completely, how much do you trust each of the following? The national government". Shown here is the proportion of respondents that reported to trust the government (response categories 6-10) by their level of financial concern. The marker for higher levels of financial concern represent the aggregation of response choices "Somewhat concerned" and "Very concerned" in the concerned of the cresponse to the question "In general, thinking about the next year or two, how concerned are you about your household's finances and overall social and economic wellbeing?". The marker for lower levels of financial concern represent the aggregation of response choices "Not at all concerned" and "Not so concerned". For access to data see https://stat.link/f9wtvi.

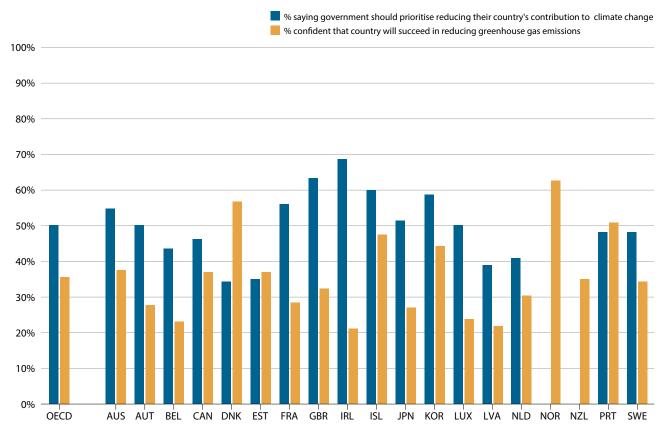
#### Citizens have weak confidence in governments addressing global and intergenerational challenges

To tackle major, long run societal challenges like climate change, rising inequalities, and fiscal sustainability, governments will need to build trust and support for intergenerational redistribution – in other words, investing "upfront" in policies with long-term payoffs. This requires credible policy commitments and public confidence in the effectiveness of governments' policy choices today, since the main beneficiaries of future-oriented policies will be future generations. Such a commitment is a challenge for all governments, even those perceived as the most trustworthy.

Attitudes towards climate change mitigation are illustrative. On average across countries, while half of people think that climate change should be more highly prioritised by governments, only a third believe that countries will actually succeed in reducing greenhouse gas emissions in the next decade (Figure 10). Part of the issue may be that people are unwilling to accept the costs of immediate action, but another likely factor is a government's perceived competence at delivering policies with long-term pay-offs. However, people who trust their government are more likely to believe such policy solutions are possible, and vice versa. At the national level, countries that are seen as more trustworthy also benefit from higher confidence in their ability to combat climate change.

#### FIGURE 10. Half of respondents think their government should prioritise climate change mitigation, but only one-third have confidence in their country's ability to reduce greenhouse gas emissions

Share of respondents who say government should prioritise reducing their country contribution to climate change and share of respondents who have confidence in their country's ability to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, 2021



Note: Figure presents the average share of respondents to the questions "On reducing your country contribution to climate change, do you think the government should be prioritising a lot more, more, about the same, less, or a lot less?". The "more" share in the figure is the aggregation of the responses choices "a lot more" and "more". Respondents were asked "How confident are you that your country will succeed in reducing greenhouse gas emissions in the next 10 years?" The "confident" share is the aggregation of response choices "somewhat confident" and "very confident". For access to data see https://stat.link/j0cb7i.

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# Building Trust to Reinforce Democracy

The OECD Trust Survey, undertaken for the first time in 2021, investigates the links between trust in public institutions and democratic governance in 22 OECD countries. The findings of the Trust Survey underpin the OECD's Reinforcing Democracy Initiative. With the dual goal of strengthening democratic governance and protecting it from existing and emerging threats, the Initiative addresses three common governance challenges of advanced and mature democracies: i) Combating Mis-information and Dis-information, ii) Enhancing Representation, Participation and Openness in Public Life and iii) Stronger Open Democracies in a Globalised World: Embracing the Global Responsibilities of Governments and Building Resilience to Foreign Influence. In addition, the Initiative incorporates two horizontal themes, looking across all three pillars, on the major challenges of climate and democracy, and digitalisation and democracy.









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