



Central European
Digital Media
Observatory



How to Restore Trust in Government in V4 Countries

Espresso

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Highlights From the Analysis:

- **The majority across V4 countries mistrust the government**, indicating the problem's urgency.
- **The most mistrusting group in all V4 countries are young people**, especially in Poland, with almost 85% of the young population.
- **In Poland and Hungary, people with higher education mistrust the most**; exactly the opposite trend is present in Slovakia and the Czech Republic.
- **Income is another important trust factor**; in Slovakia and the Czech Republic, the higher the income, the higher the trust; the exact opposite is the case in Hungary and Poland.
- **The majority of Czechs and Slovaks do not believe they can influence policy decision-making**; this highlights the urgency to create more participatory models.
- **There is a clear relationship between mistrust and dissatisfaction with the political system**; in all V4 countries, almost seven out of ten are both dissatisfied with and mistrust the government.
- **Trust in civil services and the judicial system are significant predictors of trust in government** for all V4 countries, but analysis shows low confidence in them.

Actionable Summary of the Recommendations:

The analysis in this paper shows a need to restore public trust. Although the data here are not fully adaptable to test the framework of the drivers of trust, they provide several insights:

- **Expert but a participatory governance model is demanded across V4 countries;** policy-makers must encourage decentralised decision-making and engagement of experts.
- **Confidence in the civil services is low in all V4 countries,** suggesting the need to enhance their responsiveness.
- **There is a high mistrust towards the judicial system,** emphasising the need for enhanced transparency of court decisions.
- **There is a need to balance both economic growth and environmental concerns of the population** as the majority prioritises environmental protection, but the concern for the economy remains substantial.

1. What is Institutional Trust and Why Is It Important

Trust is key to a functioning state and resilient democratic system. Interpersonal trust refers to trust in people, while institutional trust indicates citizens' confidence in public institutions. Interpersonal and institutional trust are necessary for social cohesion, societal well-being, and good governance. Erosion of trust results in the decline of collective identity, weakening of state authorities, and undermines the ability of a society to respond effectively to a crisis. Citizens expect government officials to achieve certain performance through specific means aligned with their values. The measure of institutional trust is a window into the functioning of the state and an important indicator as it relates to greater participation, inclusion, and compliance with policies. This paper focuses on institutional trust and specifically on trust in governments in the Visegrad Four (V4) countries, namely the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary.

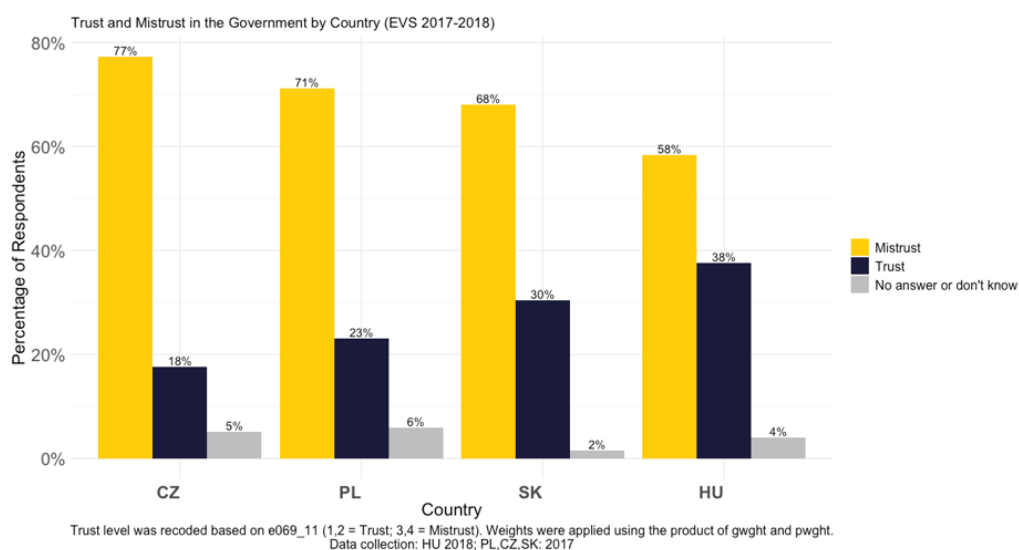
Throughout this paper, the latest data from the World Values Survey (2017- 2022) and European Values Study (2017-2022) will be used. These data sets have aligned questions and methods that allow comparisons. For brevity's sake, the data will be sometimes described only shortly. However, all are

accessible on the World Values Survey (WVS) portal linked in the annex. There is also a note to all specific questions used here ordered hierarchically as they were mentioned in this paper. The European Values Study (EVS) was collected in all V4 countries between 2017 and 2018, and the World Values Survey was collected only in Slovakia and the Czech Republic in 2022. Therefore, most of the data will be from EVS for all V4 countries. In Slovakia and Czechia, we will also have a comparison with the most recent data from 2022.

This paper has six sections; after this introduction, there is a section discussing the trends in trust, covering the latest data for trust in government, explaining possible partisan bias in trust, and the impact of socio-demographic variables on trust. Section 3 explains the framework for drivers of trust developed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Section 4 provides a descriptive analysis of the WVS and EVS data focused on the drivers of trust. In the following Section 5, the reader will find results from regression analysis. In the last Section 6, there are policy recommendations that relate to analysis from previous sections.

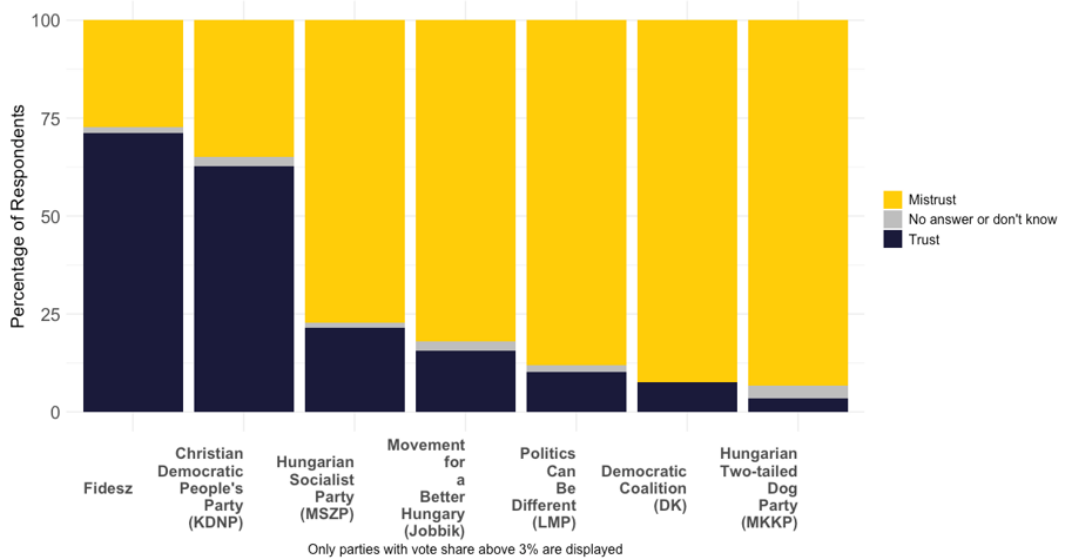
2. Trends in the (Mis)Trust in National Governments in the V4 Countries

Based on the EVS data, we see that in 2017-2018, an overwhelming majority of Czechs (77%) expressed mistrust towards the government. Hungary showed a more evenly split response. While the attitude of mistrust was still dominant at 58%, a significant 38% voiced trust in the national government. Poland presented 71.1% mistrust, and in Slovakia, the divide was evident, with 68% leaning towards mistrust and about 30.4% signalling trust in the government. For the Czech Republic, the WVS data from 2022 indicate that mistrust has slightly decreased. While in 2017, a striking 77% of Czechs mistrusted the government, this figure decreased to 65.5% in 2022. In Slovakia, the picture is slightly different. Mistrust seems to have surged from 68% in 2017 to 77.5% in 2022. As with the earlier results, these findings emphasise the need to proactively address public concerns to earn trust in the Central European governments. The graph below shows numbers for 2017 across V4 countries.



2.1 Mistrust and Party Preference

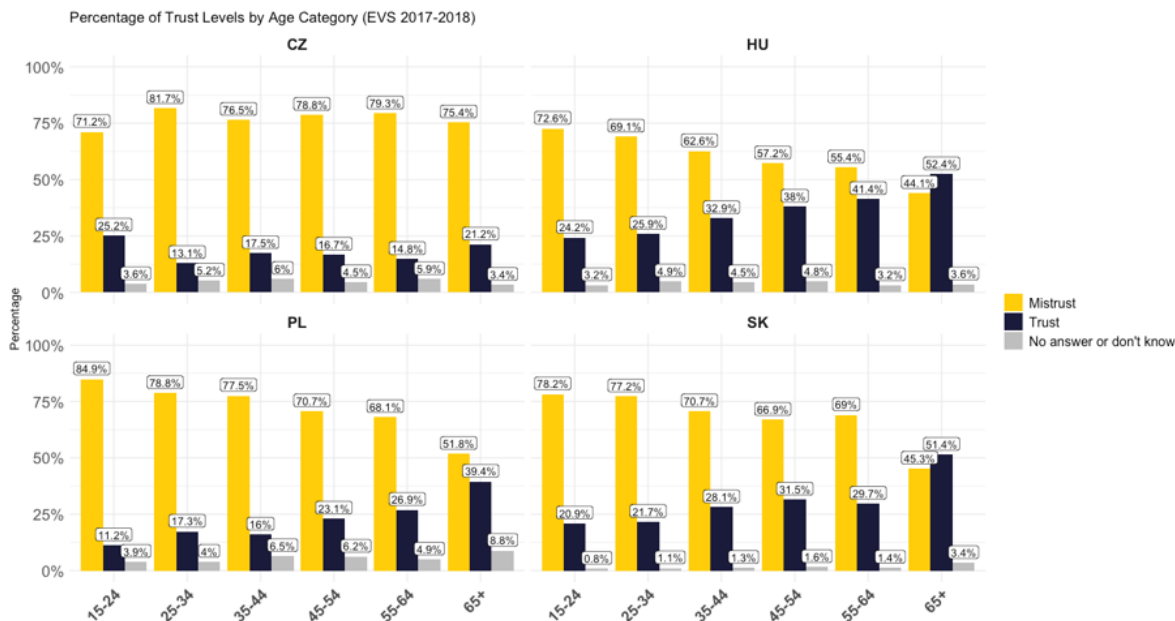
In all V4 countries, we see that trust is influenced by party preference. When the respondent's party is in the government and the coalition, they trust it more (Medgyesi and Boda, 2019). The graph below describes the situation in Hungary, but the authors analysed data for all V4 countries, and the trend holds. This is an important finding, showing a possible partisan bias in trust measures. Hungary's data came in 2018, two months before the new elections. The governing party in 2014-2018 was Fidesz, with the constitutional majority, and it retained this position in the elections. The majority of Fidesz voters trust the government (71%). Similarly, there is a high trust among voters of the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP), which was at the time in coalition with Fidesz. Mirroring this situation is a high mistrust towards the government among the voters of the opposition or non-parliamentary parties: Hungarian Two-Tailed Dog Party (93%), Democratic Coalition (92%), Politics Can Be Different (88%) or Movement for a Better Hungary (82%).



2.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the (Mis)Trusting Majority

There are several clear trends when analysing the socio-demographics of trust and distrust. First, the higher the age, the higher the trust in the government. For example, as many as 51.4% of Slovaks above 65 and only 20.9% of Slovaks in the age category 15-24 trust the government. A similar distribution is true for all V4 countries but Czechia. The second trend is connected to income groups. In Poland and Hungary, the EVS data show that the lower the income, the higher the trust. Almost half of Hungary's low-income earners (43.7%) trust the government. In 2017, there was no clear trend for Slovakia and Czech Republic and income groups. The situation changed in 2022, and it mirrors exactly the opposite distribution in 2017 in Poland and Hungary: the higher the income, the higher the trust. As many as 49% of high-income earners in the Czech Republic trust the government, while only 22% of low-income earners do so. As for education, in all V4 countries besides Slovakia, EVS data show that the lower the education level, the higher the trust. Almost a third of low-educated (29.1%) Poles trust

the government. The graph below illustrates one of the trends: trust based on age categories across V4 countries in 2017.



3. Framework for Conceptualising Drivers of Trust

To better understand what governments could do to restore trust, we will look for drivers of trust. Priorities are areas that the government can influence by adaptation of reforms and policies. The OECD has developed and exhaustively tested a framework of the drivers of trust in public institutions. They recognise five main drivers of trust that spread along two dimensions. They include public institutions' competence shown through reliability and responsiveness and adherence to values of openness, integrity, and fairness (Brezzi et al., 2021). The following parts of this section will explain the OECD drivers more closely to see whether WVS and EVS datasets offer any survey questions covering similar topics.

3.1 Reliability and Responsiveness

Firstly, the OECD defines the driver of competence. It has two main features: reliability and responsiveness. Reliability is understood as the government's ability to anticipate needs and minimise uncertainty. Responsiveness is defined as the capability of providing effective, prompt, innovative and user-oriented public services as well as the government's competence in being well-organised across the governing bodies.

3.2 Openness, Integrity, and Fairness

The second dimension of trust-building factors involves values of openness, integrity, and fairness. In terms of **openness**, it entails offering transparent and easily accessible information to the public, providing them with a clearer understanding of the government's actions and decisions. Moreover, it involves actively engaging and consulting with stakeholders, including citizens, to achieve tangible outcomes through their participation and involvement in decision-making processes. It also requires ensuring equal opportunities for everyone to engage and take part in democratic institutions.

Integrity is another essential aspect, which involves aligning public institutions with ethical principles and norms, thus safeguarding the public interest. This includes making decisions and utilising public resources ethically, prioritising the public's welfare over private interests, and combating corruption. Furthermore, it necessitates establishing robust accountability mechanisms across all levels of governance.

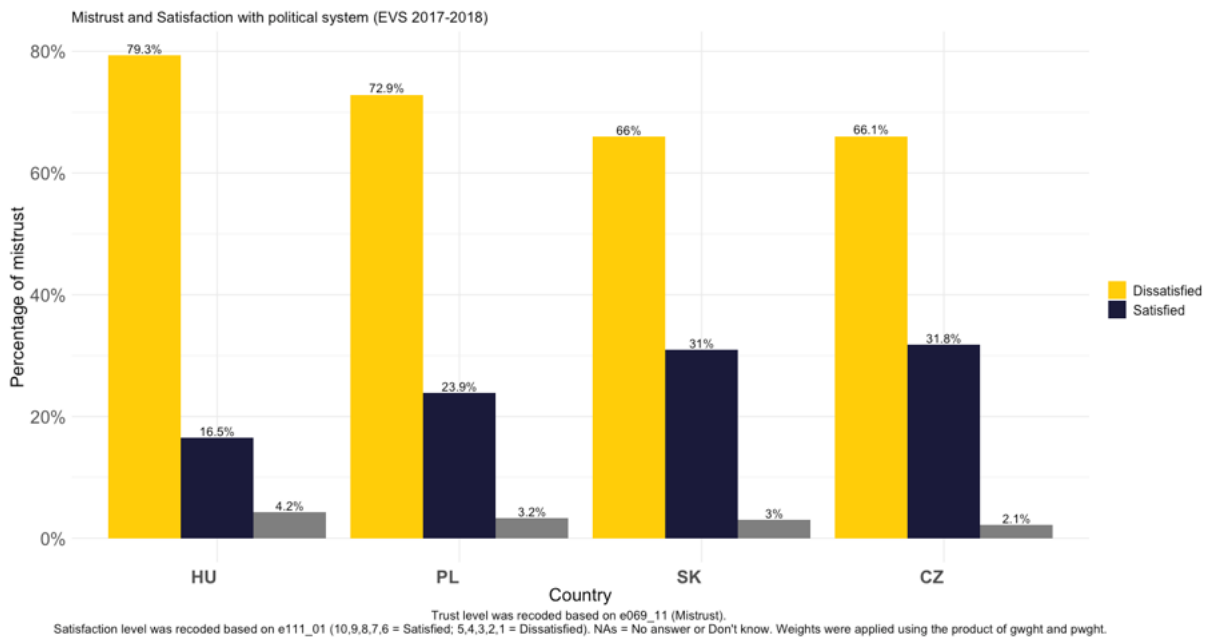
Fairness is also crucial in fostering trust. This means working towards improving the living conditions for all members of society and treating businesses and individuals consistently, regardless of their background or identity, such as gender, socio-economic status, or racial/ethnic origin.

4. Drivers of Trust Evidence for V4 Countries

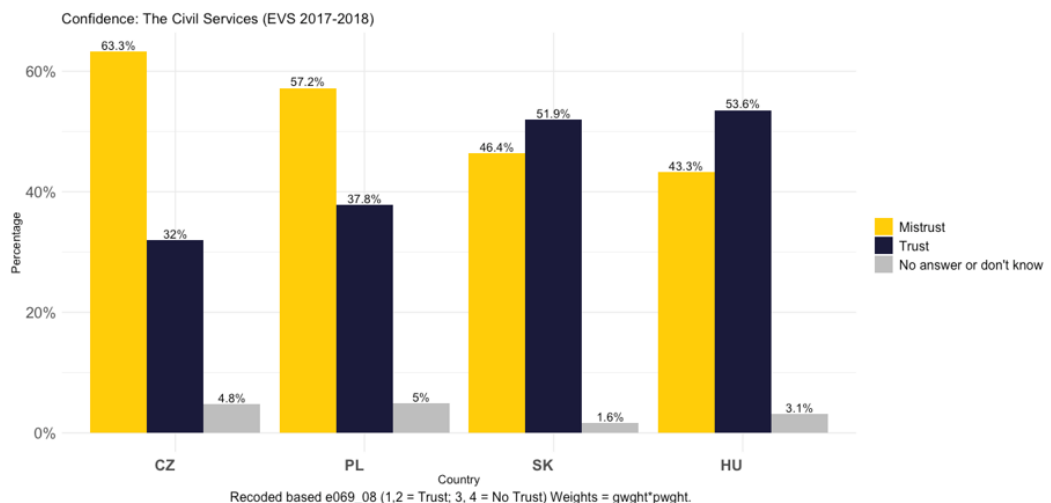
The 2021 OECD report “Building Trust to Reinforce Democracy” provides extensive evidence for drivers of trust in several OECD countries. However, none of the V4 countries were part of the survey. Therefore, we will use data from WVS and EVS to explore the drivers of trust for Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. These datasets do not contain the same questions as the OECD Trust Survey, and most of the indicators used in this section are rather imperfect proxies. The authors have chosen the questions based on the definitions from the previous section. Nevertheless, to fully test the framework in V4 countries, we would need more data and a custom-designed survey, which is not currently available.

4.1 Reliability and responsiveness

Following the definition, a good proxy of the reliability and responsiveness of a government is whether people are satisfied with the performance of the political system. The analysis shows that there is a higher mistrust among dissatisfied people. Almost eight out of ten (79.3%) Hungarians are dissatisfied with the political system and do not trust the government. In Poland, 72.9% are dissatisfied and mistrust the government. In both Czechia and Slovakia, around 66% distrust the government and are unhappy with the functioning of the political system. Hence, satisfaction with the political system is an important driver of trust.



Following the OECD definition, an important measure of government responsiveness is satisfaction with public services. In the WVS, there is a question on the confidence level in civil services, which will be utilised as another proxy indicator of the government's responsiveness. The highest mistrust in civil service is among Czechs, with 63.3% mistrusting it. As many as 57.2% of Polish respondents do not trust their civil service. There is a similar split between trusting and mistrusting in Hungary and Slovakia, where over half of the respondents trust their civil service. In 2022, the share of respondents who trust their civil service increased in Czechia but did not change significantly in Slovakia. In Czechia (2022), 41.5% of respondents do not trust civil services, whereas a more substantial 54.1% of the population expressed confidence. The graph below shows the data for 2017 across the V4 countries.

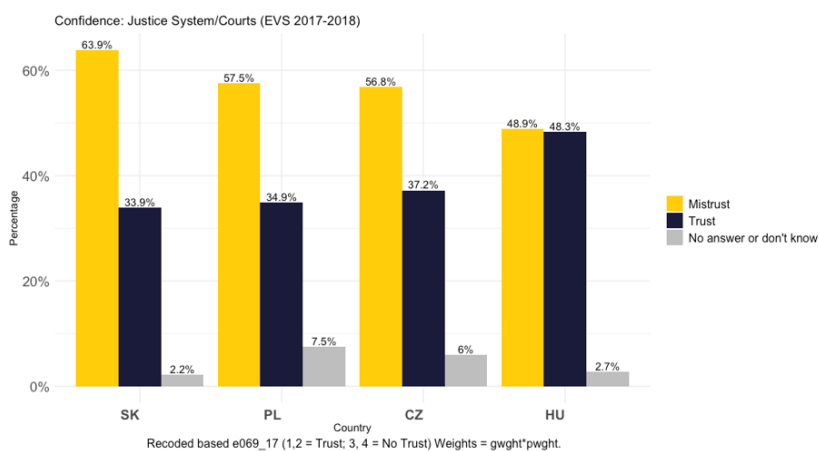


To understand what could enhance evaluations of responsiveness and reliability, the authors analysed several World Value Survey questions. In all V4 countries, there is a preference for experts to make the decisions. As many as 72.4% of respondents in Slovakia think it is good if experts make decisions. In Hungary, there are as many as 70%. In Poland and the Czech Republic, it is over half of the respondents (58.8% and 53%, respectively).

Furthermore, when respondents of the EVS and WVS were asked what the most important aims are in the next ten years for their country, in all V4 countries, most respondents chose high economic growth. For instance, over half (51.7%) of Polish respondents prioritise economic growth. The second most important aim of the respondents across all V4 countries is seeing that people have more say in how things are done in their jobs and communities. Over a third (32%) of Hungarians prioritise it. Strong national defence ranks as a third priority in all V4 countries. When examining citizens' preferences regarding the environment versus economic growth, in almost all V4 countries, the environment is seen as more important. For example, as many as 62.2% of Hungarians prefer protection of the environment over economic growth. This question differs from the question about priorities for the next ten years and therefore, the percentages are not directly comparable. However, these data suggest that sustainability and economic growth efforts must be balanced.

4.2 Indicators of Openness, Integrity, and Fairness

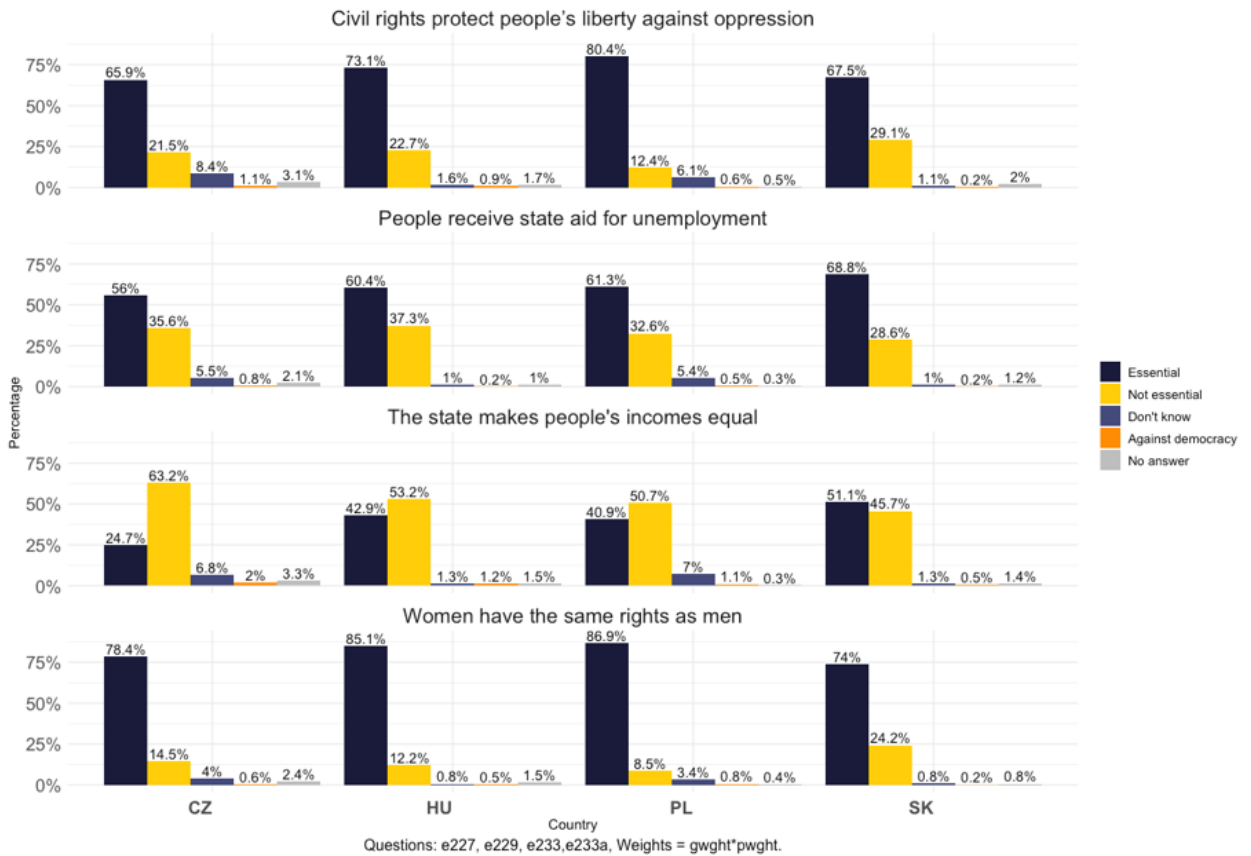
According to the framework, one of the essential measures of integrity is the low level of perceived corruption. This indicator is only present in the WVS. In Slovakia, in 2022, as many as 84.7% perceive their country as corrupt. In Czechia, the number is slightly lower but still high, with 76.2% claiming to perceive corruption. Independent courts are another important measure of integrity. EVS asks about confidence in courts, which we will understand here as a proxy indicator of a fair and free justice system. Slovakia has the highest mistrust against courts, with 63.9% of respondents. Poland and the Czech Republic rank similarly, with 57.5% and 56.8%, respectively. Hungary has almost an equal split between trusting (48.3%) and mistrusting (48.9%). In Slovakia, the confidence in courts has risen in 2022 by five percentage points to 38.7%, albeit modest, points towards an improving landscape of judicial credibility. In the Czech Republic, the increase in confidence is even more significant, with 59.8% trusting in 2022, in contrast to 37.2% in 2017. However, still in 2022, there remains a considerable segment of the population, 38.2%, who do not trust the courts.



As proxy indicators of openness, we utilise the data on perceptions of the democratic level of the current governance. The Czech Republic leads with approximately 54.96% of respondents believing their country is democratically governed, followed closely by Slovakia at 53.57%. Poland and Hungary lag at 48.45% and 44.38%, respectively. Interestingly, Hungary stands out, with a slightly higher proportion (50.42%) perceiving their governance as non-democratic.

Furthermore, in the Czech Republic, when asked if citizens felt they could have a say in what the government does, a majority of 57.3% responded "No," while 27.8% felt they had "Some" say. Only 13.6% strongly believed they could have a say. In Slovakia, the sentiment was more pronounced against governmental influence. A significant 62.4% felt they had no say, while 19.6% believed they had "Some" influence. Those who strongly believed they could impact government decisions constituted 15.9%.

To examine fairness as a driver of trust, we would need data on respondents evaluating the government on topics such as whether all citizens are treated equally or whether the burdens are placed proportionally. Unfortunately, we do not have such data in the WVS and EVS datasets. On the other hand, there are a series of questions asking about governance and democratic values. From those, it is clear that the majority of respondents in all V4 countries believe that receiving state aid for unemployment is essential for democracy. Views were more divided on whether the state should make incomes more equal. Nevertheless, a clear majority in all V4 countries (above 65%) believes that civil rights protect people's liberty against oppression and that women having the same rights as men is essential (above 74%).



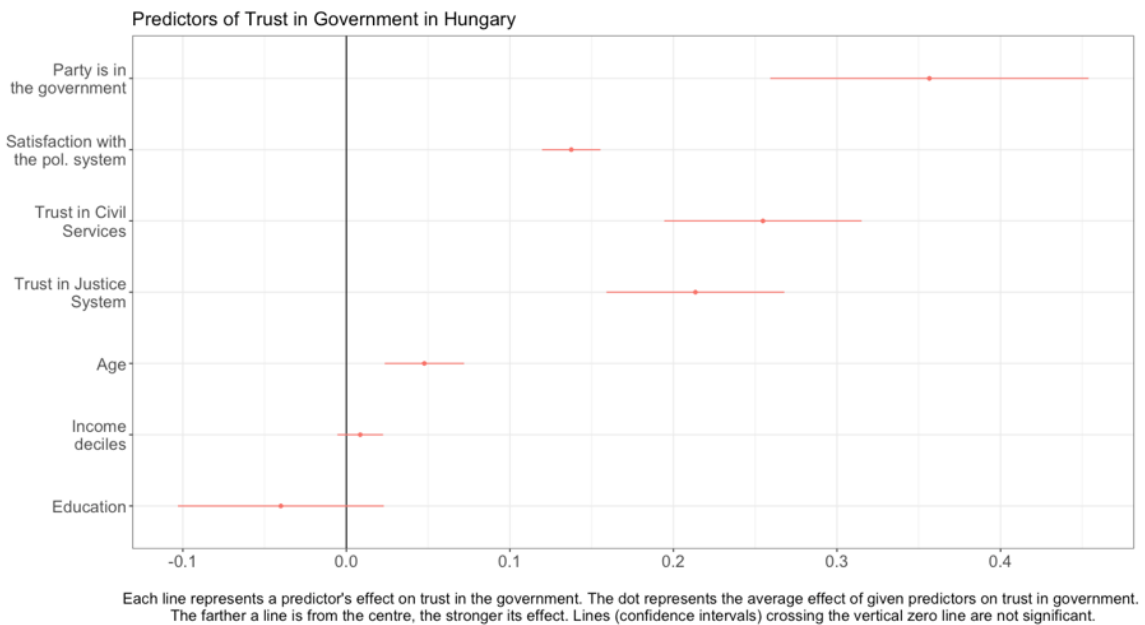
5. Regression Analysis of the Selected Drivers

Until now, the paper used descriptive analysis of the chosen questions serving as proxy indicators of drivers of trust. Authors have also run a linear regression analysis on several variables, and most of the indicators described above have proved to be significant predictors of trust in government. The linear regression model has been run on the World Value Survey and the European Values Study data sets. The variable “Party in government” was created as a binary variable based on whether the party or multiple parties were in the coalition with a majority of seats.

The visualisations below show the results of the regression analysis. The full results of the model copied from R are in the annex. The plots in the following subsections are done using the dot-whisker package in R. Each line in the visualisations represents a predictor, and its position in the plot describes its impact. The predictors have a dot and a line in which the dot represents the average effect of given predictors on trust in government, and the line denotes the confidence interval. By default, the whiskers span the 95% confidence interval. The farther a line is from the centre, the stronger its effect. If the dot is to the right of the central vertical line, it suggests a positive effect on trust; if it's to the left, the effect is negative. If the line crosses the central vertical zero line, it does not fulfil the minimum significance conditions.

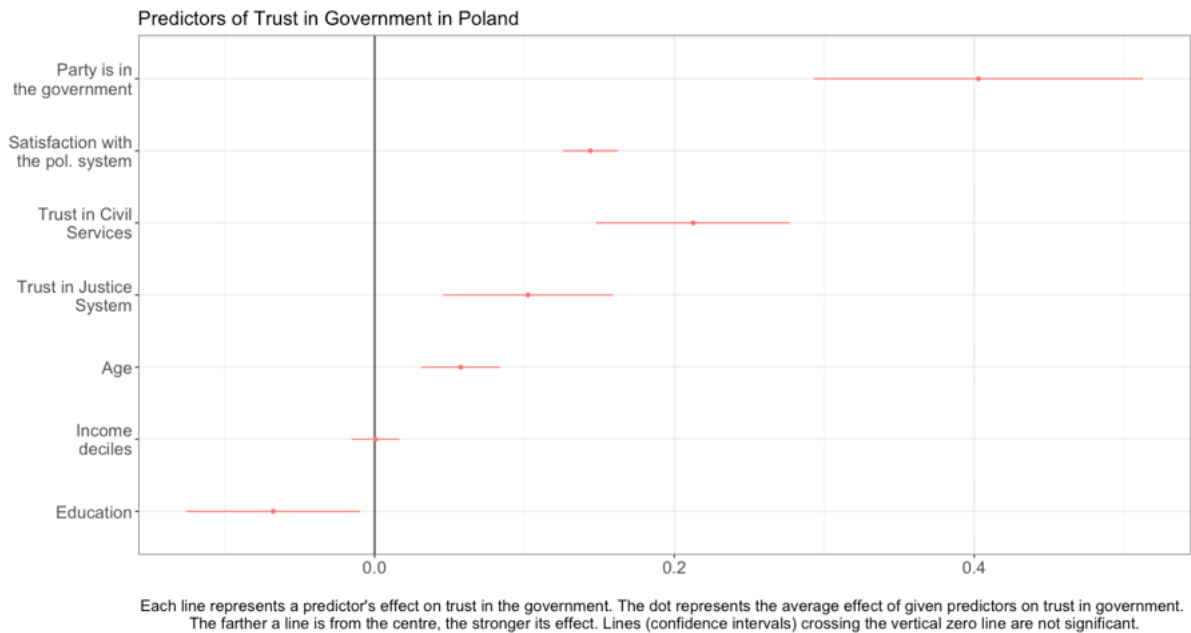
5.1 Hungary

In Hungary, the results of the model suggest that several predictors are significant at (***) , which means that there is a less than 0.1% chance that the result is accidental. The predictors significant at this level were party in government, satisfaction with the political system, trust in civil services and justice system, and age. The strongest effect on trust is whether the party is in the government. This possible bias of trust measures was described in section 2.1. Further, a unit rise in satisfaction is associated with an approximate 0.14 unit growth in trust. Both trust in civil services (0.25 unit rise) and the justice system (0.21 unit rise) are important predictors of trust in government. Age is also important; the higher the age, the higher the trust. However, income and education have not been shown to be significant. The model explains about 57.82% of the variance.



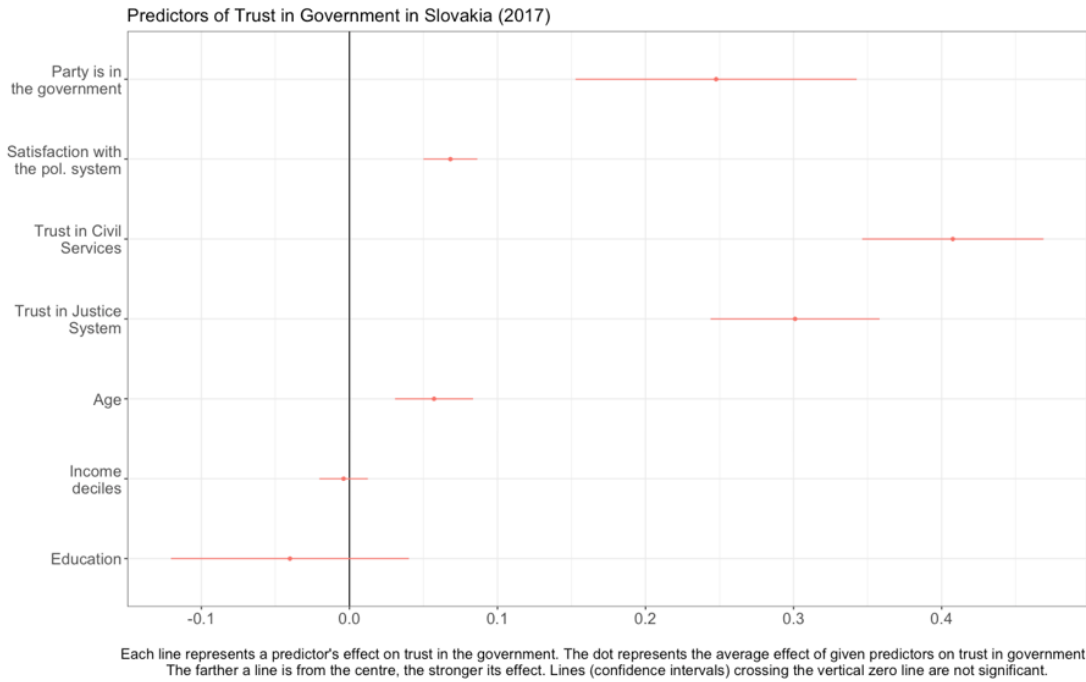
5.2 Poland

In Poland, modelling results underline similar statistically pivotal predictors as in Hungary. Predictors at (***) level of significance are the ruling status of the party, satisfaction with the political system, trust in civil services, confidence in the justice system, and age demographics. The most pronounced determinant of trust is the governing status of the party. Additionally, an increase in political satisfaction translates to about a 0.14 unit enhancement in trust. Trust in civil services (increasing by approximately 0.21 units) and the justice system (with a rise of around 0.10 units) are important indicators of trust in government. Age again plays an important role: older age groups demonstrate amplified trust levels. Contrarily, while income remains statistically insubstantial, education in Poland shows significance, albeit to a lesser degree (* = less than 1% chance it's coincidental). Notably, this model accounts for nearly 49.46% of trust variability in Poland, compared to Hungary's 57.82%. This suggests that there are other factors not accounted for in the model.

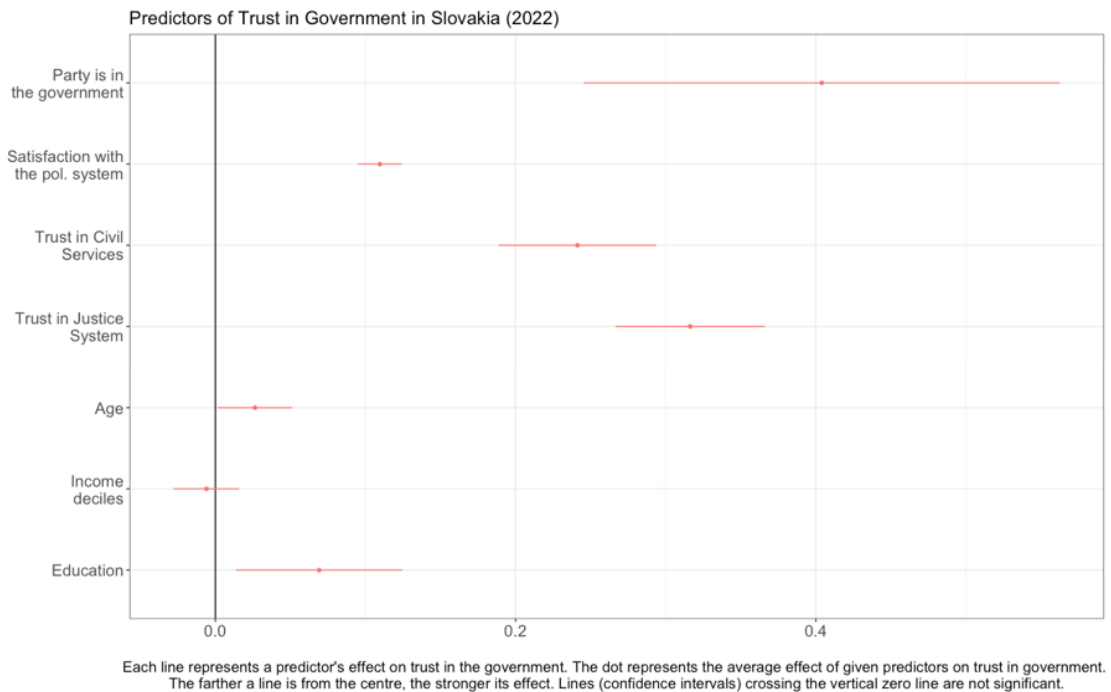


5.3 Slovakia

In 2017, the key findings from the model in Slovakia showed that the ruling party's role, satisfaction with the political system, trust in civil services, and the justice system have significant effects on trust (***) as in the previous analysis. The presence of a party in the government yields an increase in trust by about 0.25 units, while each unit's rise in satisfaction with the political system and trust in civil services leads to an increase in trust by about 0.07 and 0.41 units, respectively. Age still plays an influential role (***), suggesting that the older demographic trusts the government more. Income and education are not significant predictors of trust in Slovakia based on 2017 data. The model captures approximately 52.58% of trust variations in Slovakia. Comparatively, Slovakia's trust in civil services stands out as a notably stronger predictor than in Poland and Hungary. The ruling party's influence in Slovakia is between that of Poland and Hungary, and the political system's satisfaction influence is weaker in Slovakia than in the other two countries.

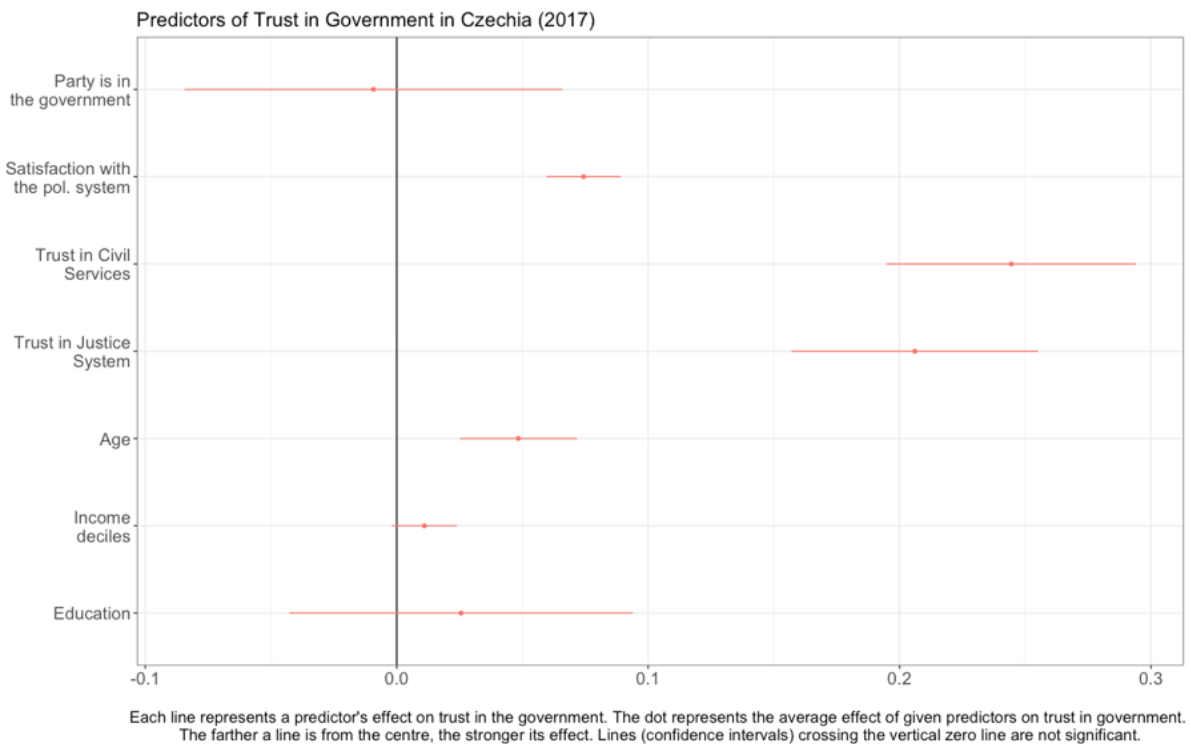


In Slovakia's 2022 data, there's a noticeable strengthening in the ruling party's role in influencing trust, which now has an effect similar to Poland's 2021 findings. Additionally, the association between satisfaction with the political system and trust increased, while the trust in civil services decreased compared to 2017. Age remains influential, but its effect has slightly decreased.

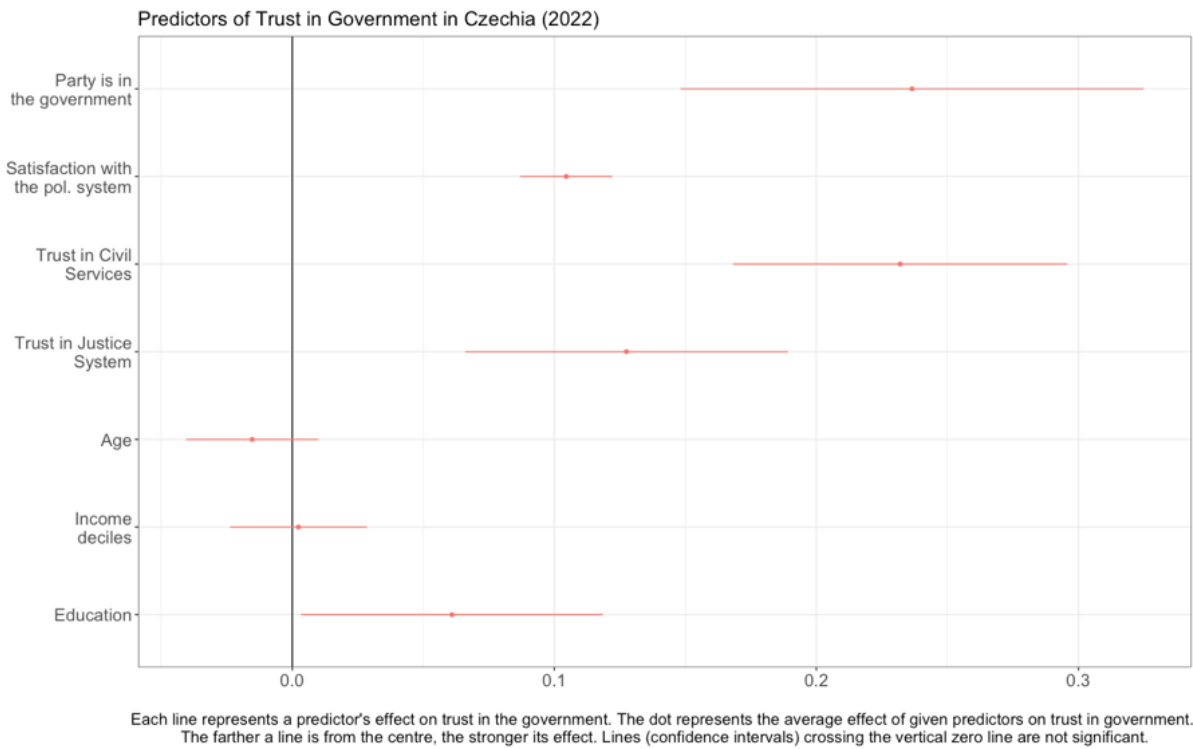


5.4 Czech Republic

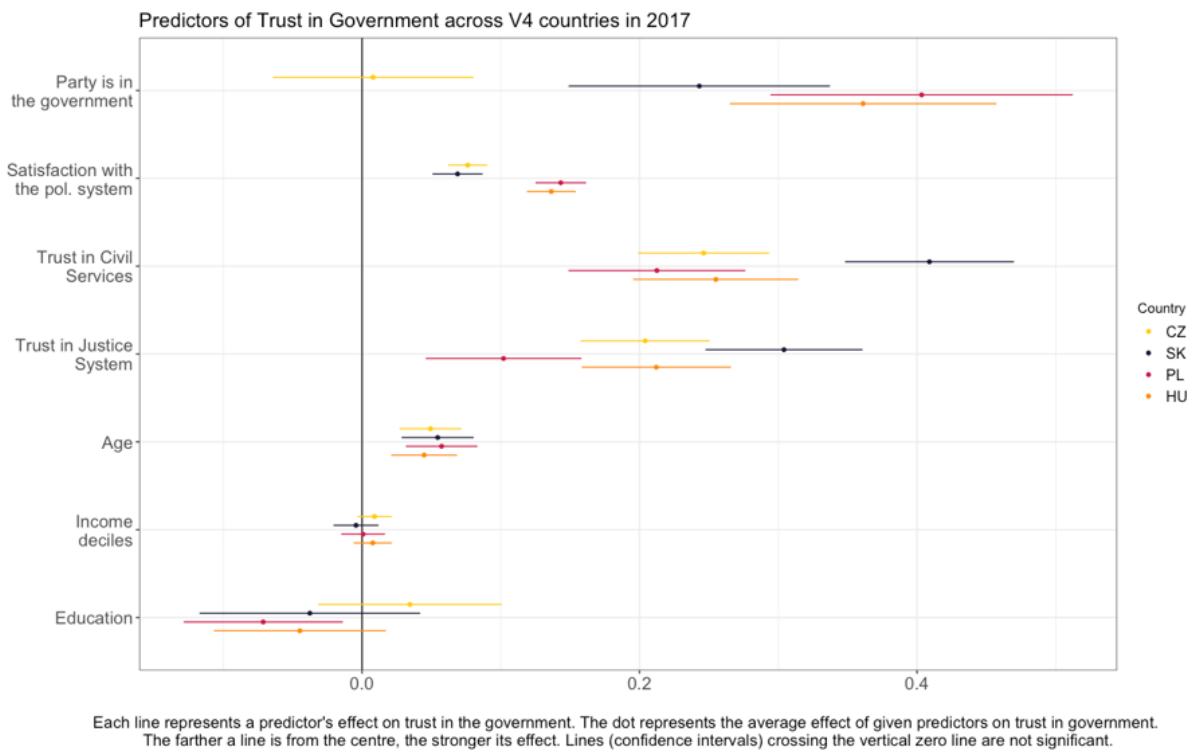
In the Czech Republic's 2017 dataset, the predictor 'party in government' appears inconsequential, in contrast to the previous countries. Satisfaction with the political system remains an important predictor for trust (***) although its effect is slightly stronger than in Slovakia's 2017 data, it is weaker than in Hungary and Poland. Trust in civil services and the justice system are also significant predictors (***), closely resembling Slovakia's and Poland's data. Age continues to be an important factor in shaping trust (***), similar to other countries. Overall, the Czech Republic's model for 2017 has a relatively lower explanatory power, accounting for about 30.89% of the variance in trust, which is substantially less than the other three countries. This suggests that other factors might be at play in the Czech Republic not captured in this model.



In the 2022 Czech Republic data, the party in government became significantly influential (***) in determining trust, and the effects of other predictors like satisfaction with the political system and trust in civil services and the justice system remained consistent (***). The influence of age reversed, meaning that younger people trusted the government more, but it became insignificant.



Overall, the regression models were instrumental in identifying and quantifying the key drivers of trust, providing insights into the relationship between competent governance and trust. Across the countries, political satisfaction and trust in civil services and the justice system were consistently significant predictors of trust in the government. Most socio-demographic indicators did not influence trust significantly, but age, particularly in Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia, played a role. Interestingly, in most countries, the ruling party's status emerged as a dominant factor influencing trust in the government. Whether in Hungary, Poland, or Slovakia's 2022 data, the presence of a ruling party in the government had a significant positive effect on trust levels. This finding possibly points to bipartisan evaluations of the government, which could create bias independent of the actual results of the government's policies. On the other hand, it can reflect people's alliance with the government's policies. To understand fully this result, further analysis would be required. As we transition to policy recommendations, these findings will be vital in framing actionable strategies to foster trust and enhance governance across V4 countries.



6. Policy Recommendations: Restoring Trust in Government

This paper has described the current trends in trust, socio-demographic factors, and proxy indicators of drivers of trust. The data utilised in this paper are derived from surveys whose design was not specifically tailored for application in public governance recommendations. Nevertheless, they provide several useful insights that will drive policy recommendations here. Aligned with the OECD framework, the recommendations are divided into two main categories: reliability and responsiveness, and openness, integrity and fairness. They aim to enhance the core drivers of trust and thereby restore institutional trust. Rebuilding trust in V4 countries is becoming ever more important in light of the global social issues and challenges such as the climate crisis, war in Ukraine or rising inflation.

6.1 Reliability and Responsiveness

Expert but Participatory Governance: Satisfaction with the political system is a significant predictor of trust. Looking at the WVS data, we see that most respondents across the V4 countries prefer decisions by experts. Further, there is a strong sentiment for greater participation. Leveraging expertise while ensuring democratic participation through community engagement could restore trust by aligning policy outcomes with grassroots expectations.

Enhance Public Services: Mistrust in civil services is considerably high in V4 countries, especially in Czechia and Poland. Trust in civil services is significant in predicting higher trust in the government. Civil services play a crucial role in shaping the public's perception of the governing bodies. There is a

need to focus on public service reform, aiming for greater efficiency, transparency, and responsiveness to raise public confidence.

Balancing Economic Growth and Environmental Concerns of the Population: The current economic situation emphasises combating increasing prices so that economic policies address inflationary pressures and improve purchasing power for the average citizen. Most respondents in V4 countries consider economic growth an important aim. Nevertheless, in the WVS data, we see that emphasis on environmental protection remains substantial across V4 countries. Crafting policies that skillfully balance economic development with environmental conservation is essential. This includes adopting sustainable practices that ensure long-term economic stability and ecological sustainability.

6.2 Openness, Integrity, and Fairness

Addressing Public Perceptions of Corruption: The WVS data shows a high percentage of perceived corruption in countries like Slovakia (84.7%) and Czechia (76.2%). An assumption can be made that the situation in Poland and Hungary is not radically different, but the data is not available in the EVS / WVS datasets. Countries should prioritise establishing anti-corruption agencies with independent powers to investigate, prosecute, and enhance transparency. Media campaigns and educational programs should be launched to inform the public about governmental efforts to combat corruption, aiming to bridge the gap between reality and perception. Fostering international collaboration with countries successfully reducing corruption could help to learn and adopt best practices.

Judicial System: The mistrust towards courts, especially in Slovakia, suggests the need for judicial reforms. Furthermore, trust in the judiciary is important for trust in government, as shown in the regression models. Enhancing the selection process, training, and transparency of judicial decisions should help build public trust. Continuous monitoring of judicial trust and efforts to educate the public on recent reforms will be crucial in maintaining and improving trust in the government.

Fairness is fundamental: Strengthening civil rights and ensuring their protection against state oppression is increasingly recognized by respondents as vital for democracy. The unanimous belief in equality between men and women as a cornerstone of democracy across V4 countries highlights the importance of strengthening policies that level the playing field, ensure equitable representation, and challenge structural biases. This calls for periodic legislation reviews, public awareness campaigns, and stronger oversight bodies.

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Trust in Governments in V4 - Annexe

All data used in this paper are accessible through WVS portal accessible on <https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSEVSjoint2017.jsp>

1. Questions used

Questions from EVS/WVS joint dataset according to the joint codebook available at <https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSEVSjoint2017.jsp> or for questions that were only in WVS dataset from WVS codebook available here:

<https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV7.jsp>

- Trust in the government: *recoded based on* E069_11 - Confidence: The Government
- Party preference: E181_EVS5 Which political party appeals to you most and E179_WVS7 Which party would you vote for: first choice
- Age: X003R - Age recoded (6 intervals)
- Income: *recoded based on* X047E_EVS5 Scale of incomes (EVS5) and X047_WVS7 Scale

of incomes (WVS7)

- Education: X025R - Highest educational level attained - Respondent (recoded)
- Satisfaction with the political system recoded based on E111_01 - Satisfaction with the political system
- Confidence in The Civil Services: *recoded based on* E069_08 - Confidence: The Civil Services
- Preference that experts make decisions: E115 - Political system: Having experts make decisions
- Most important aims: E001 - Aims of country: first choice
- Environment versus economic growth: B008 - Protecting environment vs. Economic growth
- Corruption (based on WVS dataset and its codebook): Q112 Perceptions of corruption in the country
- Justice System/Courts: *recoded based on* E069_17 - Confidence: Justice System/Courts
- Democratic level: E236 - Democraticness in own country
- Have a say in governance (based on WVS dataset and its codebook): Q234A How much the political system allows people to have a say
- Questions about democratic values: E227 - Democracy: People receive state aid for unemployment, E229 - Democracy: Civil rights protect people's liberty against oppression, E233 - Democracy: Women have the same rights as men, E233A - Democracy: The state makes people's incomes equal
- Pride of nationality: G006 - How proud of nationality

1. Full results of models

The data were preprocessed to be on a positive scale and the variable "Party in government" was created as a binary variable based on the parties that were in that year in the coalition or were the strongest. In some cases, only one party was used; in others, multiple, this decision came from initial descriptive analysis.

2.1 Hungary

Party in Government (party_in_gov)

(counting for 34802 HU:Fidesz and 34803 HU: Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP))

Satisfaction with the Political System (E111_01)

Trust in Civil Services (E069_08)

Trust in Justice System (E069_17)

Age (X003R)

Income (X047E_EVS5)

Education (X025R)

Call:

lm(formula = model4_formula, data = data_prepd)

Residuals:

Min 1Q Median 3Q Max

-2.12622 -0.40902 -0.00962 0.42455 2.53033

Coefficients:

Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)

(Intercept) 0.115821 0.117414 0.986 0.324139

party_in_gov 0.356477 0.049596 7.188 1.22e-12 ***

E111_01 0.137501 0.009102 15.107 < 2e-16 ***

E069_08 0.254729 0.030749 8.284 3.46e-16 ***

E069_17 0.213423 0.027722 7.699 3.07e-14 ***

X003R 0.047704 0.012371 3.856 0.000122 ***

X047E_EVS5 0.008468 0.007118 1.190 0.234416

X025R -0.040057 0.032085 -1.248 0.212129

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 0.6507 on 1090 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.5782, Adjusted R-squared: 0.5755

F-statistic: 213.5 on 7 and 1090 DF, p-value: < 2.2e-16

2.2 Poland

Party in Government (party_in_gov)

(counting for party 61601 PL: Law and Justice)

Satisfaction with the Political System (E111_01)

Trust in Civil Services (E069_08)

Trust in Justice System (E069_17)

Age (X003R)

Income (X047E_EVS5)

Education (X025R)

Call:

lm(formula = model4_formula, data = data_prepd)

Residuals:

Min 1Q Median 3Q Max

-2.3980 -0.4233 -0.0341 0.3794 2.7133

Coefficients:

Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)

(Intercept) 0.372978 0.123988 3.008 0.00270 **

party_in_gov 0.402806 0.055960 7.198 1.28e-12 ***

E111_01 0.143973 0.009418 15.288 < 2e-16 ***

E069_08 0.212468 0.032896 6.459 1.72e-10 ***

E069_17 0.102315 0.028850 3.546 0.00041 ***

X003R 0.057500 0.013381 4.297 1.92e-05 ***

X047E_EVS5 0.000606 0.008121 0.075 0.94054

X025R -0.067678 0.029582 -2.288 0.02238 *

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 0.6263 on 911 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.4946, Adjusted R-squared: 0.4907

F-statistic: 127.4 on 7 and 911 DF, p-value: < 2.2e-16

2.3 Slovakia 2017

Party in Government (party_in_gov)

(accounting for 70310 SK: DIRECTION - Social Democracy)

Satisfaction with the Political System (E111_01)

Trust in Civil Services (E069_08)

Trust in Justice System (E069_17)

Age (X003R)

Income (X047E_EVS5)

Education (X025R)

Call:

lm(formula = model4_formula, data = data_prepd)

Residuals:

Min 1Q Median 3Q Max

-2.12430 -0.33947 0.05839 0.34457 1.76045

Coefficients:

Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)

(Intercept) -0.038260 0.124752 -0.307 0.759

party_in_gov 0.247660 0.048374 5.120 3.72e-07 ***

E111_01 0.068184 0.009278 7.349 4.37e-13 ***

E069_08 0.407558 0.031204 13.061 < 2e-16 ***

E069_17 0.300995 0.029094 10.346 < 2e-16 ***

X003R 0.057154 0.013427 4.257 2.28e-05 ***

X047E_EVS5 -0.003940 0.008353 -0.472 0.637

X025R -0.040184 0.040950 -0.981 0.327

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 0.58 on 926 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.5258, Adjusted R-squared: 0.5222

F-statistic: 146.7 on 7 and 926 DF, p-value: < 2.2e-16

2.4 Slovakia 2022

Party in Government (party_in_gov)

(accounting for 703047 SVK: Ordinary People and Independent Personalities)

Satisfaction with the Political System (E111_01)

Trust in Civil Services (E069_08)

Trust in Justice System (E069_17)

Age (X003R)

Income (X047_WVS7)

Education (X025R)

Call:

```
lm(formula = model4_formula, data = data_prepd)
```

Residuals:

Min 1Q Median 3Q Max

```
-1.98163 -0.39343 0.01316 0.37480 2.02255
```

Coefficients:

Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)

```
(Intercept) -0.163087 0.104993 -1.553 0.1206
```

```
party_in_gov 0.403978 0.080765 5.002 6.61e-07 ***
```

```
E111_01 0.109566 0.007434 14.739 < 2e-16 ***
```

```
E069_08 0.241244 0.026739 9.022 < 2e-16 ***
```

```
E069_17 0.316354 0.025361 12.474 < 2e-16 ***
```

```
X003R 0.026361 0.012676 2.080 0.0378 *
```

```
X047_WVS7 -0.005985 0.011094 -0.539 0.5897
```

```
X025R 0.069155 0.028235 2.449 0.0145 *
```

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 0.599 on 1094 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.4982, Adjusted R-squared: 0.495

F-statistic: 155.2 on 7 and 1094 DF, p-value: < 2.2e-16

2.5 Czechia 2017

Party in Government (party_in_gov)

(accounting for 20301 CZ:ANO and 20308 CZ: SPD (Freedom and Direct Democracy- Tomio Okamura))

Satisfaction with the Political System (E111_01)

Trust in Civil Services (E069_08)

Trust in Justice System (E069_17)

Age (X003R)

Income (X047E_EVS5)

Education (X025R)

Call:

lm(formula = model4_formula, data = data_prepd)

Residuals:

Min 1Q Median 3Q Max

-1.87744 -0.37967 0.01742 0.35915 1.96192

Coefficients:

Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)

(Intercept) 0.216568 0.114555 1.891 0.0589 .

party_in_gov -0.009269 0.038309 -0.242 0.8089

E111_01 0.074337 0.007511 9.897 < 2e-16 ***

E069_08 0.244424 0.025297 9.662 < 2e-16 ***

E069_17 0.206077 0.025008 8.241 4.66e-16 ***

X003R 0.048386 0.011861 4.079 4.83e-05 ***

X047E_EVS5 0.011013 0.006607 1.667 0.0958 .

X025R 0.025553 0.034837 0.734 0.4634

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 0.588 on 1142 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.3089, Adjusted R-squared: 0.3047

F-statistic: 72.92 on 7 and 1142 DF, p-value: < 2.2e-16

2.6 Czechia 2022

Party in Government (party_in_gov)

(accounting for 203009 CZE: Civic Democratic Party, 203050 CZE: Czech Pirate Party, 203003 CZE: Christian Democratic Union / People's Party, 203091 CZE: TOP 09)

Satisfaction with the Political System (E111_01)

Trust in Civil Services (E069_08)

Trust in Justice System (E069_17)

Age (X003R)

Income (X047_WVS7)

Education (X025R)

Call:

```
lm(formula = model4_formula, data = data_prepd)
```

Residuals:

Min 1Q Median 3Q Max

-1.71812 -0.42643 -0.01044 0.45484 1.91005

Coefficients:

Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)

(Intercept) 0.512671 0.118687 4.320 1.70e-05 ***

party_in_gov 0.236495 0.045029 5.252 1.80e-07 ***

E111_01 0.104537 0.008978 11.643 < 2e-16 ***

E069_08 0.231944 0.032477 7.142 1.67e-12 ***

E069_17 0.127550 0.031376 4.065 5.14e-05 ***

X003R -0.015309 0.012856 -1.191 0.2340

X047_WVS7 0.002351 0.013299 0.177 0.8597

X025R 0.060912 0.029342 2.076 0.0381 *

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 0.6546 on 1105 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.3072, Adjusted R-squared: 0.3029

F-statistic: 70.01 on 7 and 1105 DF, p-value: < 2.2e-16