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Editors

Trust with Asian Characteristics

Interpersonal and Institutional

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Trust with Asian Characteristics

Interpersonal and Institutional

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Preface

The word "trust" has appeared a number of times on my academic research agenda. First, gauging the popularity of prime ministers in Japan interested me in the 1970s when it was linked with economic conditions. The mainstream view of economic policy and popularity of government was that government preference for sectoral and ideological interests given perceived economic conditions determined economic policy. This is the view that the government with some partisan-looking glasses takes the lead in determining economic policy. I hold a view dissonant with this and argue that the government attempts to surf over economic waves when it decides to call a general election. This type of economic management is seen in a regime where parliamentary democracy is practiced and bureaucratic autonomy is strong and legislative power is weak.

In the 1990s, the word "trust," in the name of social capital, kept my attention. The mainstream view of social capital at that time was generalized and provincial. The former means that trust is offered to everyone whereas the latter means that trust is restricted to those with similar backgrounds and inclinations. Evidence shown in experimental games of social psychology seems to show that that is the case. I hold a view dissonant with this and argue that methodologically face-to-face interviews should augment experimental games in gauging trust.

In the 2000s I carried out a quality-of-life focused survey in 32 Asian societies with face-to-face interviews of randomly sampled national populations, the size of which ranged from 1000 to 3000. This survey, called the AsiaBarometer Survey, is the only one of its kind that was systematically and scientifically assembled Asia-wide and that practiced open access to those seeking to use the data for academic purposes. Although my two previous encounters with trust, that is, government popularity in economic policy and generalized and provincial social capital, have not seen a final resolution on my part, the AsiaBarometer Survey has offered many splendid opportunities to examine trust of various kinds. This volume, coedited by Yasuharu Tokuda and me, focuses on interpersonal and institutional trust in 32 societies. East, Southeast, South and Central Asian societies, plus three adjacent societies, Russia, Australia, and the United States, are examined with 52,215 respondents in total.

Methodologically, both questionnaire interviewing strategies and experimental games have narrowly focused on West European and North American subjects. Quinn McNemar called the science of human behavior "largely the science of the behavior of sophomores." I concur with this argument. Using the AsiaBarometer Survey we have produced two volumes in the area of quality of life. This volume focuses on trust. The forthcoming volume examines human behavior in deteriorating organizational and societal conditions in Asian societies.

As stated above, Yasuharu Tokuda and I are the coeditors of this volume. Dr. Tokuda, a practicing medical doctor with a Harvard School of Public Health degree, and I, an academic with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with a Ph.D. in political science, have worked together on the subject of trust. Dr. Tokuda focuses on (1) interpersonal trust and perceived health, and (2) institutional trust toward mass media and toward medical hospitals and perceived health. I focus on interpersonal and institutional trust Asia-wide.

It is my belief that in terra incognita what may be called the Dharmic orientation produces more gains than the Abrahamic orientation. In other words, the exploratory orientation with respect for differences and accommodation with diversity rather than the defining orientation with a unifying urge and standardizing impetus. In methodological parlance, it may be called Albert Hirschmann's principle of the hiding hand and Robert Merton's middle-range theory. Quality of life and comparative politics dealing with vast and diverse Asian societies, both of which may be judged as relative terra incognita in Western eyes, would welcome the Dharmic orientation at this stage of academic development both in quality of life and comparative politics covering Asia.

Tokyo, Japan   Takashi Inoguchi

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Part II   Institutional Trust

Chapter 1
Introduction

Takashi Inoguchi

Abstract Trust is not an easy word to use. A few examples are provided to see why trust is not easy to use. Nevertheless, when trust is used, three threads are often pointed and articulated by social scientists: 1) democracy (Putnam), 2) prosperity (Fukuyama), and 3) stability (Luhman). Yet gauging trust in relation is not easy either for three problems: 1) heavy use of national sampling theory. 2) face-to-face interviewing versus responses without face-to-face interactions, and 3) linguistic equivalence versus linguistic ambivalence. After discussing the conceptual and methodological issues, Part I, dealing with interpersonal trust, and Part II, dealing with institutional trust follow. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 examine components of what is called social capital across Asian societies using factor analysis. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 examine and analyse interpersonal trust in relation to unhappiness, interpersonal trust in relation to quality of life, and social trust in relation to happiness respectively. In Part II, Chaps 9 and 10 analyse trust in political institutions. Chapter 9 examines citizens' confidence in political and other institutions across 18 Asian and European countries. Chapter 10 examines the ways in which citizens express their preference in Japan: retrospective, prospective, sociotropic and/or pocketbook. Chapter 11 examines the working poor in Japan relating income to health and health utilization. Chapter 12 examines the relationship between trust in mass media and the health care system on the one hand individual health on the other. Given conceptual and methodological difficulties associated with trust, what might be viewed as the Procrustean practice of comparison and generalization should be moderated.

Trust is not an easy word to use (Hardin 2006). In medieval English, tryst, is used to denote something strong. In hare hunting, there are two kinds of roles: those who make noise to spook and drive hares from their forest hiding spots; and those who kill hares with sticks, that is, those who stand tryst off the forest and wait to deliver the fatal blow to the fleeing hares. It has a strong connotation. Without close

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cooperation and mutually well-timed action between drivers and hitters, hares cannot be caught successfully. Trust can mean something solid. When someone says that I trust that it will be fine tomorrow, trust means something very weak. Trust is used not to link something with something else. It is used simply to comment without giving a solid judgement or a prospective action.

Suppose that in the depth of evening a young man sings a love song from outside the window, "Open your window, my dear Maria, I will not leave here until you open the window." Three options are available to Maria. First, Maria opens the window immediately. Trust is perhaps strong. Second, Maria never opens the window. Trust does not exist. Third, Maria tries to ascertain whether the young man truly loves her. Maria must judge whether she can trust him or not.

In medieval Japan, young noble men traditionally expressed their affection toward their female counterpart through the composition of 31-character long poems. The female recipient, in return, would compose a poem of 31 characters to her admirer, replying to his romantic gesture either positively or negatively or in a way to baffle him without replying directly to him. This poem exchanges between the two were sometimes repeated not just twice but half a dozen times, as both tried to determine how good the counterpart was in poetry composition and thus how genuinely interested the other was in them. *The Tale of Genji* originally written by Murasaki Shikibu, a female writer of eleventh-century Japan, and translated in 2006, is a novel based on the exploits of Genji, a prince, and his numerous love conquests and poems exchanges. It is the game of gauging trust, focusing on love, emotion, and conviviality. Here, trust matters.

For organizations and institutions, trust carries some important meanings. When discussing public trust in organizations and institutions, the word, confidence is often used. Confidence in institutions usually implies that said institutions perform their functions properly. In turn, institutional functions can mean what people expect such institutions to do. If their functions meet people's expectation, they feel they have confidence in such institutions. Confidence in institutions has a stabilizing function. People's expectations of institutions vary from one person to another. Yet we ask respondents how much you have confidence in institutions.

On September 9–11, 2015, heavy rain fell on the northern Kanto plain surrounding Nikko, registering 500 mm in 1 h. Rivers overflowed their banks when half a year's volume of rain fell in 2 days. Rivers not only spilled their banks but embankments and levees failed. The River Kinu is one such example. In this instance, some two-dozen people were killed or went missing in the ensuing floods. Of the victims rescued by helicopters from the tops of flooded houses and buildings, almost all unanimously declared that they had trusted the strength of the banks and the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism to ensure the safety of river ways and water systems.

Confidence in government often focuses on the prime minister or president. Thus pollsters ask: Do you approve or disapprove of the prime minister or president in her/his handling of foreign affairs? The Office of Prime Minister or President represents the institution called government.

In a flood scenario, the institutional bodies concerned are local governments and national government, depending on where the bank collapses, that is, upstream,

mid-stream or downstream. In the River Kinu's case, it was local government. The target of confidence becomes blurred. While one person may hold the local government responsible, another may direct responsibility to the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism or the Meteorological Agency. And some may view the prime minister as ultimately responsible.

A more in-depth examination of how human interactions impact trust exposes three broad contributing threads: (1) democracy, (2) prosperity, and (3) stability.

1. Democracy: Robert Putnam (1994) argues that high trust among community helps effective democracy to emerge. Low trust among community and in institutions do not help sustain democracy. Here, historically and geographically accumulated civic culture makes a difference. In the United States, its civic culture in the 1940s and 1950s was best characterized as that of allegiant culture while, more recently, it is that of assertive culture (Almond and Verba 1963; Inglehart 1997; Welzel 2013; Welzel and Dalton 2017). In a similar vein, Samuel Huntington (2006) argues that high trust in political institutions enables political transition from take-off to maturity. Political institutionalization must be implemented head on in a transition of a developing society.
2. Prosperity: Francis Fukuyama (1995) argues that high trust prevailing in business enterprises helps to sustain prosperity. Low trust does not motivate business enterprises to continue their enterprising activities despite all the vicissitudes of business environments. He contrasts high trust and low trust in business enterprises within and beyond family and clan networks in Japan and China, for instance. Chinese entrepreneurs' trust, while very strong among family and clan networks, does not go beyond kins and kiths, compared to Japanese entrepreneurs' trust that permeates business organizations. And this makes difference in terms of the percentage of long-life business enterprises in Japan and China (Firms that are over 200 or 300 years old are not uncommon in Japan,).
3. Stability: Lukas Luhmann (1968, 1979) argues that trust plays a key role in reducing social complexity and bringing about societal stability. Without trust, the future becomes unknown. People then would have to be constantly assessing what they could count on. On the one hand, trust encourages some dissident members of society to behave, that is, to observe certain minimum rules while, on the other hand, trust gives warning to powerful members not to act immorally. Satoru Mikami and Inoguchi (2008), using data from the 2004 and 2007 AsiaBarometer Surveys, which capture sentiments before and after the 2006 Thai military coup d'état, argue that high trust in the Thai military as reflected in various sectors of Thai society deters the military from behaving too badly, that is, observe rules while allowing the military to take part in military coup d'états a little too often.

Trust among persons and confidence in institutions is difficult to gauge without history or context. Thus assessing trust, interpersonal, or vis-à-vis institutions, is never easy. This is the first word of caution I give to those who are interested in observing and measuring such qualities.

Another area of concern that has to be addressed in the introduction is the social-linguistic kind. Trust can mean something close to religion, depending on language

and context. The social-linguistic problem becomes very challenging when the following question is asked:

There are two sentences on trust. Which sentence is closer to your mindset? (1) Overall one can trust other people; (2) One cannot be too careful of people. Which sentence is truer for you?

For some groups, upwards of 60–80 % select the first sentence, whereas in other groups, between 60–80 % select the second sentence. The former can be called the school of "human nature as virtuous" and the latter can be called the school of "human nature as vicious." When an overwhelming number select the first sentence, one may well suspect that trust is getting close to a religious question. When an overwhelming number select the second sentence, one may also suspect that distrust is getting close to a religious question. In East Asia, two societies, China and Vietnam, Confucian influence is regarded to be very strong with both societies having communist regimes. Citizens' choice of the first sentence, Overall one can trust other people, in response to the question, register 62 % for China and 60 % for Vietnam in the AsiaBarometer Survey. Does Confucian-Communist mutual reinforcement bring about these high percentages? One wonders.

This problem becomes serious when a survey is carried out across national borders with the same questionnaire. The trust questions carry heavy weight when surveys focus on democracy and governance. Thus Richard Rose and Doh Chull Shin, for instance, argue that the relative lack of social capital, that is, trust, is a cause of maldevelopment of democracy and governance. But trust is not an easy sentiment about which to ask a question and to provide an answer.

Prior to employing the AsiaBarometer Survey data, I must discuss, if briefly, (1) national sampling theory versus global sampling theory; (2) Face-to-face interviewing versus responses without face-to-face interactions; and (3) Linguistic equivalence versus linguistic ambivalence.

1. National Sampling Theory versus Global Sampling Theory

When a multi-national survey is designed, few would think about a global sampling theory. By which I mean the theory of sampling the entire population of the world. The globe is not necessarily divided by national borders. Nevertheless, the standard theoretical basis is the national sampling theory, by which one executes a multi-national survey. This has been routine practice since Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1963) pioneered multi-national survey research. This approach is theoretically solid, especially in terms of statistically random sampling on a national basis. Almond and Verba used a multi-national survey to examine the then emerging modernization theory. The United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Mexico were covered in the civic culture survey. The thesis was that as modernization progresses, as measured by increasing per capita income levels, civic culture transits from allegiance to assertion. Russell Dalton (2015) summarizes the half-century journey of the Almond/Verba volume. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the civic cultures of these societies varied from one society to another: some resembled an amoral civic culture; some looked like a feudal hierarchical culture; and others looked like a very authoritarian society. Dalton (2015) masterly summarizes all

these and other varieties as allegiance. Over a period of 65 plus years the transition from allegiance to assertion is natural. Even in the United States, the profiles portrayed in their civic culture were far less individualistic, far less participatory, far less assertive. The question that then arises is: Should civic culture be portrayed on national terms? Perhaps yes. Yet given the long-term trend from allegiance to assertion, for some who envision a global sampling theory, another possibility exists. Ijaz Gilani (2012) gives an elementary form of this perspective's theoretical underpinnings and operational practice. Instead of comparing the portraits of national samples, why not compare groups of a global sample? Groups can be urban-rural in residence, rich-poor in income, left-right in ideology, educated-uneducated, Islamic-non-Islamic in religion etc. How to sample? Our idea is to use Google Earth, and to envisage many boxes of ten to one hundred kilometer squares and to randomly sample these boxes. Analysis can be done in terms of varieties of groups. The advantage of global sampling is to alleviate the tendency of portraying national profiles as if a nation state is a fairly uniformed entity that is labeled this or that way, almost dismissing the presence of hugely heterogeneous populations.

The national sampling theory has been with us for the last 80 years since 1935 when George Gallup established the American Institute of Public Opinion in New York. The year was one of the nadirs of free trade practice in the world. In contrast, 2016 is arguably one of the peak years for free trade practice with territorial and imperial violent conflicts subsiding and being suppressed on a world scale. In the past, it was best to apply the national sampling theory, but now with the torrents of globalization and digitalization, a global sampling theory might well overtake or at least coexist with the national sampling theory.

The reality is not so. At least instead of mechanistic ten-kilometer square samples, one can pinpoint a few sub-national units to compare. One recent example is European social democracy (*The Economist*, April 2–8, 2016a, pp. 20–22): Emilia Romagna, Andalusia, England's north-east and North Rhine Westphalia. These regions "all have populations with a proletarian self-image that helps politicians appeal to working and middle class alike." The purpose of such a localized survey is to elucidate factors contributing to the decline of European social democracy at selected units, thereby enabling a comparison of the strong and weak explanatory variables linked to social democratic decline in Europe. If the selected and limited units are more mechanistically delineated, for instance within ten-kilometer squares of the entire Europe, it would become close to a regional sampling theory-based survey.

Needless to say, the AsiaBarometer Survey is the conventional orthodox face-to-face interviewed and randomly sampled survey of countries. Yet with regards to methodology, it is important to note that we are aware of problems associated with the standard conventional national sampling theory based surveys. In fact, what Mongol Post proposes today is exactly addressing the world, neither in terms of house number, street name, town, province and so on, nor in terms of unwieldly coordinates of latitude and longitude, but to divide the Earth's surface into nine meter square blocks. Then "each block is given names consisting of trios of randomly selected, unrelated words" (The Economist 2016b).

2. Face-to-face Interviews versus No Face-to-face Interactions

The AsiaBarometer Survey conducts face-to-face interviews. Why is this necessary? First, in some authoritarian countries, permission by authorities sometimes is mandatory. Without such permission, opinion polling cannot be carried out. In the AsiaBarometer Survey, we have adopted the practice of securing such permission from authorities through a local polling company contracted by the Tokyo-based polling company. Such an approach ensures that potential trouble with national authorities is avoided. The local polling company is contracted with the Tokyo-based polling company to be responsible for dealing with authorities. When authorities demand the deletion of a question, our policy has been to comply with the request to remove the question concerned. Second, in order to encourage honest responses to questions, face-to-face interviews is a must, or at least desirable. Local interviewers are instructed to leave brief comments about impressions of interviewees on the side margins of the questionnaire, which analysts later examine in the Tokyo-based polling company. Third, no less significant is the assurance of keeping data secret as to interviewees' names and their locations/addresses. In the coding process and in the data accessibility scheme, protecting interviewees' rights is critical. The adoption of a face-to-face interviewing method is very important to satisfy the above requirements. Cost-wise, one can argue for more cost-effective methods. But to ensure data accuracy, human rights protection, and harmony with authorities, we insist on interviewing face to face.

3. Linguistic Equivalence versus Linguistic Ambivalence

Cross-national and cross-cultural surveys must deal with one inherent problem: equivalence must be assured to a certain extent. From the outset of the survey, full and perfect equivalence is not to be expected in most situations. Equivalence must cover both word and sentence selection. Here are some examples.

Trust in Thai is a word derived from Buddhism. A heavily Buddhist philosophically toned word cannot be equivalent to the English word, trust. Trust in Thai is wang cai, or sometimes wai wang cai: to believe that someone is honest and will not cause harm. Cai means heart, mind or spirit. Cai or a mind acts as the focal point of all dharma teachings. For example, it means mindfulness (Sawasdee 2016). Moreover, trust in English is not an easy word to define and use. Most of those Asian languages used in the AsiaBarometer Survey questionnaire are not necessarily equivalent to the full extent.

More troublesome are those sentences that may be necessary to give a brief explanation of the context in which the question is asked. Take an example from the annual snap shot survey of the 2012 U.S presidential election year. Gallup International asked respondents the following question:

> In the United States, the presidential election is unfolding this year. The United States exerts extraordinary influence all over the world. There is a view that in light of the U.S. influence the world over, all citizens of the world should have the right to vote in the U.S. Do you agree or disagree? Choose one of the following responses: agree very much, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, disagree very much, I don't know.

The issue is about the second sentence on U.S. global influence. Wouldn't this sentence induce some of the respondents to answer the question in a mood not dissimilar to "No taxation without representation."

If we look at those countries registering the "very much agree" plus "agree" responses, they are Kenya, Afghanistan, and China. More than 50 % of positive answers came from these three countries. As one of the presidential candidates, Barack Obama, has a Kenya-born father, Kenyans' responses may have been affected by the second sentence inclusion. As Afghanistan has been militarily engaged by the United States, many Afghans might have been affected by the second sentence. China may have felt similarly to Afghans in the sense that U.S. policy has been often regarded as the containment of China. In East Asia, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Japan, these survey registered very low levels of agreement with the question.

One more difficulty is language equivalence. English sentences can be short or can be long. Short in the sense that locally, say, in southwestern Afghanistan, respondents require lengthy explanations about the U.S. presidential election when asked the above question. Long in the sense that use of relative pronouns in English is often rendered in two or three sentences, the fact that makes the question much longer.

All these issues must be considered. The conventional two methods of coping with these and some other difficulties are back translation and focus group experiments. Back translation means that in addition to translating the English language master questionnaire into local languages, translating back from local languages into English must be carried out to see where it is wrong and how it might be rectified. Focus group experiments means that a small number of people are invited to discuss a number of topics, say, identity, pride, government performance, quality of life etc. Listening to, and participating in, such discussions on topics, focus group experiment designers should be able to come up with a simple question with a singular focus. We did both in the process of designing and finalizing the questionnaire.

All these methodological issues are not always highly important. However, awareness of such issues is imperative as surveyors carrying out multi-national and multi-cultural polls across borders. It enhances our sensitivity and alerts our carefulness in analyzing and interpreting results.

With this introduction provided, readers enter into the empirical details of trust in Asia, both interpersonal and vis-à-vis institutions when cross-national surveys are carried out throughout Asia.

What follows after the Introduction consists of two parts: Part I. Interpersonal Trust and Part II. Institutional Trust.

Within Part I, Chaps. 2, 3 and 4 examine components of what is often called social capital across Asian societies using factor analysis. Using the 2003 AsiaBarometer Survey data, Chap. 2 examines ten societies across Asia (Uzbekistan, India, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, China, South Korea and Japan) through factor analysis to argue that three kinds of trust emerge as governing social capital: (1) general trust in interpersonal relations, (2) trust in merit-based

utility, and (3) trust in social system, and to divide the societies into five groups, (1) China and Vietnam, (2) Sri Lanka and Uzbekistan, (3) Malaysia, Myanmar and India, (4) Japan and Korea, and (5) Thailand.

Chapter 3 tests the hypothesis that the tide of globalization reinforces the traditional types of social capital in East Asia. Using the 2006 AsiaBarometer Survey data and applying two-level logit regression analysis, this chapter finds that social capital related to sense of trust or human nature and interpersonal relations can be augmented by globalization, whereas social capital regarding familialism and mindfulness can be weakened.

Chapter 4 examines social capital in South and Central Asia (Kazakhstan, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, the Maldives, Bhutan, Mongolia, Nepal, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan) using the 2005 Asia Barometer Survey. Three components, that is, general trust, merit-based utilitarianism, and institutional engagement, stand out in broad harmony with findings of Chap. 2.

Chapter 5 examines all 29 Asian societies covered in the AsiaBarometer Survey and breaks down social capital into four components (1) altruism, (2) reliance on relatives/community, (3) utilitarianism, (4) trust in social system. Using these four components, seven groupings of Asian societies are identified:

1. Japan, Taiwan, and Korea
2. Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Maldives
3. China and Turkmenistan
4. Singapore, India, Sri Lanka, and Nepal
5. Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Bhutan, Mongolia
6. Hong Kong, the Philippines
7. Remaining countries Thailand, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Cambodia, Bangladesh, Kyrgyzstan, Laos, Myanmar

Chapter 6 relates interpersonal mistrust to unhappiness among Japanese people in the AsiaBarometer Survey (2003–2006). The former is associated significantly with unhappiness with an OR of 2.06 (95 % CI, 1.25–3.38). Other features that are associated significantly with unhappiness included the age bracket of 50–59 years, marital status other than married/partnered, low income, mid-level education, and poor health. Gender, occupation, and religious belief are not associated with unhappiness.

Chapter 7 focuses on Japan. Despite the Japanese people's longevity, they report a relatively poor subjective well-being as well as lower interpersonal trust. The relationship between interpersonal trust and each of the four domains of the WHOQOL-BRIEF were analysed. Interpersonal trust was assessed using three scales for trust in people, in human fairness and in human nature. Greater interpersonal trust is strongly associated with a better QOL among Japanese adults.

Chapter 8 examines the relationship of individual-level and country-level social trust to individuals' happiness, using AsiaBarometer cross-national data (2003–2006) of 39,082 participants from 29 Asian societies. The significant variables associated with happiness are being female, falling into one of these two age brackets of

20–29 years or 60–69 years, married, high income and education, students/retired/homemaker, religious belief, good health, and higher individual and aggregate social trust.

Part II deals with institutional trust. Chapters 9 and 10 examine trust in political institutions in Japan. Chapters 11 and 12 examine health and healthcare utilization issues in Japan relating them to trust in medical and mass media institutions.

Chapter 9 examines citizens' confidence in political and other institutions across 18 Asian and European countries. Striking are two contrasting observations common to both Asia and Europe. (1) People have higher confidence in such professional institutions like the military, the police, the civil service and the court. (2) People have lower confidence in such democratic institutions as political parties, parliament, elected government, and political leaders.

Chapter 10 examines the ways in which citizens express their preferences in Japan. Is it retrospective (looking back) or prospective (looking forward)? Is it sociotropic (looking around) or pocketbook (looking inside)? Is it connected to affiliated groups? Focusing on certain response categories of those questions of the Asia-Europe Survey, we examined each perspective to determine which has more "power" in explaining confidence in political and other institutions. The conclusion is that the retrospective and sociotropic assessment of the larger environment in the recent past has more "power" than the rest.

Chapter 11 examines the working poor in Japan who register 10.6 % of 3568 participants, with the hypothesis that income negatively affects health status and health utilization. The result is that the former is validated whereas the latter is not.

Chapter 12 examines the relationship between trust in mass media and the healthcare system and individual health, using data from the AsiaBarometer Survey (2003–2006). Of the 39,082 respondents, the result is that individual health has a lot to do with trust in mass media and trust in the healthcare system.

At this point, it is necessary to emphasize that interpersonal and institutional trust have multifaceted and complicated features. Therefore, we have attempted to ensure that these features are well understood before making generalizations that are too vast and too over reaching. In other words, what might be viewed as the Procrustean practice of seeking standardized and informed comparison and generalization should be moderated.

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