



ARE NONPROFITS TRUSTWORTHY?

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ARE NONPROFITS TRUSTWORTHY?

Leaving aside the more complex question of whether one *should* trust nonprofits, the short answer to that question is that Hoosiers, at least, *do* trust them –and certainly much more than they trust the federal government. That is what we find from a survey of 536 Indiana residents in October 2008.¹

We asked respondents to tell us to whether they thought they could trust nonprofits and charities in their community to do what is right just about all the time, most of the time, some of the time, or hardly ever. We asked the same question about state government in Indianapolis, local government, the federal government and businesses and corporations in their community. We also asked respondents about their political orientations and about a broad range of socio-demographic characteristics.

Three findings stand out from our analysis: (1) There are significant differences in the extent to which people trust the five types of institutions examined in the survey; (2) despite these differences, there appears to be underlying trust tendencies – those who trust one of the five institutions also generally trust the other four; and (3) people who have more resources or connections tend to trust these types of institutions more so than those who don't have such resources and connections.

HOOSIERS TRUST SOME INSTITUTIONS MUCH MORE THAN OTHERS

As Figure 1 shows below, three-fourth of respondents said they trusted nonprofits or charities in their communities to do what is right most or just about all the time, compared to only about one fifth (21 percent) who felt that way about the federal government. More than half (56 percent) said they trusted businesses or corporations in their communities to do what is right just about all or most of the time while less than half felt that way about local government or the state government in Indianapolis (respectively 46 and 44 percent).

By converting these responses to a four point scale, where 4 means “just about all the time” and 1 means “hardly ever,” we can directly compare the level of trust in these five institutions. As the left hand segment of Figure 2 shows, the overall level of trust in nonprofits is 2.82 on the four-point scale, compared to 2.54 for trust in business. Local government (2.41) is next, followed closely by trust in state government (2.37), with trust in the federal government trailing far behind at 1.97. The difference between trust in local and state government is not significant and could be an artifact of the sample. However, all other differences are highly significant.

We also created overall trust indicators by summing scores for various institutions for each respondent.² The right hand segment of Figure 2 shows the index of trust in all five institutions (2.42), in four institutions (all except for the federal government, 2.53), in just state and local

¹ Conducted by the Center for Survey Research at Indiana University as part of a broader pre-election study.

² We divide the sum by the number of institutions considered to keep everything adjusted to the four point scale.

government combined (2.39), and in all levels of government (2.24). As might be expected given the low level of trust in the federal government, any index that includes the federal government is lower than a corresponding one that excludes it.

Figure 1: Trust in Five Key Institutions, Percent of Indiana Residents, 2008 (n=525-535)

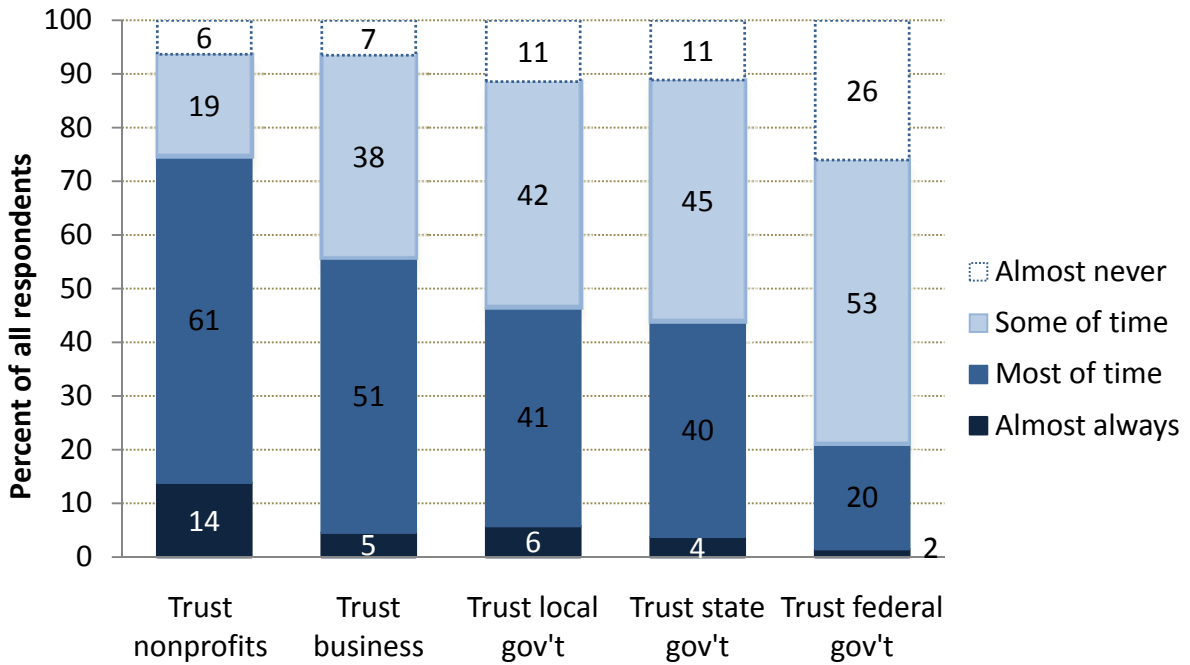
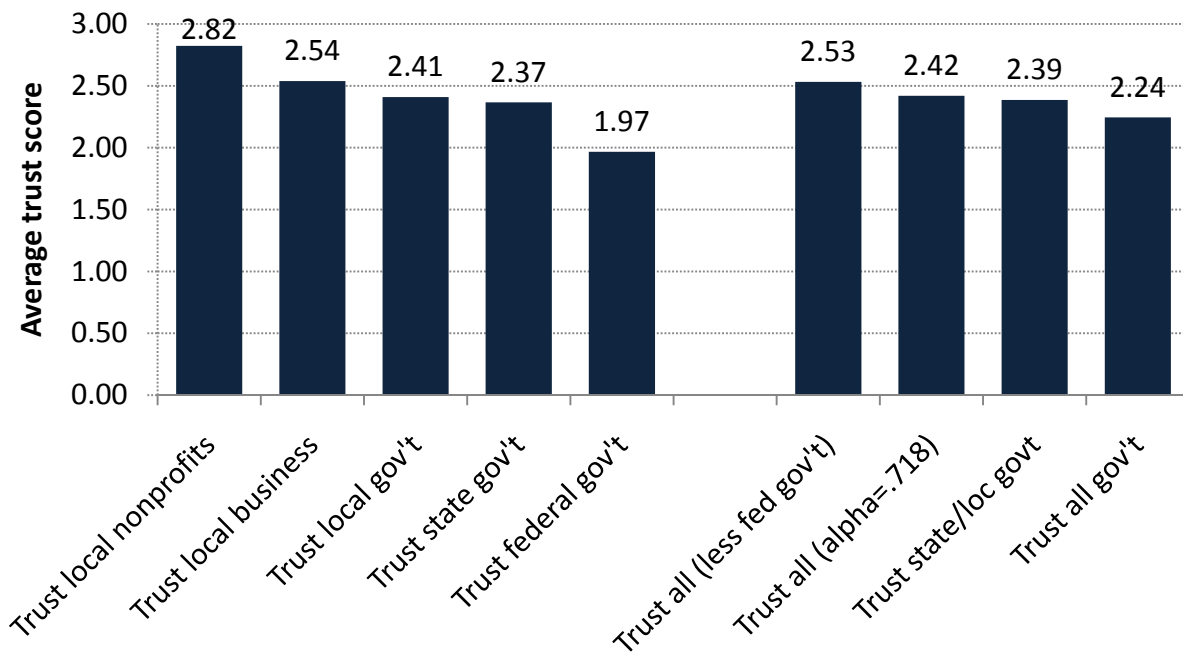


Figure 2: Average Levels of Trust in Key Institutions, Indiana Residents, 2008 (n=525-535)



TRUST ONE, TRUST ALL?

Despite these differences in average trust scores, there appears to be some underlying general tendency to trust (or distrust) the five types of institutions included in our survey, although the pattern is certainly not perfect. For example, consider just the 21 percent who say they trust the federal government almost always or most of the time – the great majority of this group say the same about nonprofits (84 percent), state government (82 percent), business (73 percent), and local government (72 percent). So if people trust the federal government, they are also very likely to trust any of the other four institutions included in our survey. Similarly, when we test to see whether the five items really do form a single underlying scale, we find evidence that such is the case.³

These findings are generally consistent with the conclusions of other researchers who have examined a broader array of institutions using similar questions. For example, Timothy Cook and Paul Gronk⁴ conducted a national survey in 2002 to examine trust in government following the 9/11 attacks. For purposes of comparison, they included questions about a total of thirteen institutions: banks and financial services, major companies, organized religion, education, the executive branch of the federal government, organized labor, the press, medicine, TV news, the U.S. Supreme Court, the scientific community, Congress, and the military.

They found that these thirteen institutions align themselves into two broad groupings which they describe as *institutions of order* (the executive branch of the federal government, the Supreme Court, the military, Congress, organized religion, and major companies) and *institutions of opposition* (the press, television news, labor unions, and Congress⁵). People who had confidence in the first group of institutions generally had low confidence in the second group, and vice versa.

Although we considered fewer institutions than Cook and Gronk, our five correspond quite well to those in their “*institutions of order*.” We have three levels of government, while they have

³ One standard approach is to undertake a “Reliability” test to see whether simply adding the five scores together produces a coherent scale. The scalability of the items is measured by a statistic known as Cronbach’s Alpha and by whether the Alpha value increases if a particular item is removed from the analysis. We find that Cronbach’s Alpha is .718 for the five items (.70 or higher is considered acceptable) and that the alpha value drops if any of the five items is removed; that is the case even if we remove the item on trust in the federal government. A second approach is to subject the items to a “Factor analysis,” which uses a different statistical procedure to determine whether a set of items form one or more underlying dimensions. In our case, only one factor is extracted (accounting for 47 percent of the underlying variance) with factor scores (indicating how closely each item is correlated with the underlying dimension) ranging from .77 for trust in state government to .61 for trust in the federal government. Items with factor scores of 1.00 would be perfectly aligned with the underlying factor; those with a score of 0.0 would have no relationship at all with the underlying factor. Both tests therefore confirm that the five items jointly appear to capture trust in institutions. We present findings for only the first (additive) scale, because its score value has the same meaning as for each of the trust items, although we test both scales, as well as the other combined scales show in Figure 2.

⁴ “The Skeptical American: Revisiting the Meanings of Trust in Government and Confidence in Institutions,” by Timothy E. Cook and Paul Gronk. *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 67, No. 3 (Aug., 2005), pp. 784-803.

⁵ The fact that Congress shows up in both groupings suggests that it straddles the two – aligned to some extent with the institutions of order, but also to some extent with institutions of opposition.

the three branches of government; they have organized religion and major companies, while we have nonprofits and businesses. Our findings are therefore consistent with their finding that there is an underlying general tendency to trust institutions of order. For the rest of our analysis, we therefore consider not only trust in each of the five institutions, but also an indicator of this underlying general trust.

WHO ARE THESE TRUSTING SOULS?

We turn now to a look at what types of people appear to trust nonprofits and the other institutions included in our analysis. We consider a wide range of demographic characteristics (gender, age, marital status, number of children under the age of 18 in the household) social status indicators (race and ethnicity, employment, education, household income), religious preference, residence (homeownership, type of place), and political orientation (political ideology, identification with political party, voting preference for presidential candidates).

Table 1 summarizes these findings. We show only the results for those groups where the average for the group deviates significantly from the average score for everyone *not* in that group. We also exclude all categories that show no significant differences in trust for any of the five institutions (see notes to Table 1 for a list of the excluded categories).⁶

Trust in Nonprofits. A quick look at column 1 in Table 1 suggests that more factors predict who has low than high levels of trust in nonprofits, probably because trust in nonprofits is high overall. Those with *low levels of trust* in nonprofits (red cells in column 1) are over the age of 65, separated or living with someone,⁷ African-American or of any minority status, retired, have no more than a High School degree, live in households with no more than \$35,000 in income, rent their home, live in a rural community, and are undecided about their choice for president. People who show a significantly *higher level of trust* in nonprofits than their counterparts by contrast have three children or more under the age of 18 living in the household, are white, college graduates and live in households with \$50,000 or more in income.

Overall, indicators of social status (race, education, household income) appear to be most consistently related to trust in nonprofits, with those in higher social status categories showing higher levels of trust than those of lower social status. A few demographic and residential features are also relevant. However, religion is not important and neither are most indicators of political orientation (except being undecided about the presidential candidates).

Trust in Business. Column 2 in Table 1 shows which groups demonstrate high or low levels of trust in business and corporations. Those who tend to have *little trust* in businesses are African Americans or report some minority status, live in households with less than \$35,000 in income,

⁶ For example, Table 1 shows that the overall average score for trust in nonprofits is 2.82, but that people over the age of 65 score significantly below those of all other ages combined. The averages (not shown) are 2.67 on the 4-point trust scale for people aged 65 and 2.90 for everyone else). See the Appendix Table for average trust scores for each of the groups considered.

⁷ We combined these two categories because there were only 5 people who were separated and 13 that were living with a partner and the two groups show fairly similar levels of trust in the five institutions.

rent their homes, live in cities, are democrats, and would vote for Obama for president. Those with *high levels of trust* in business are disproportionately white, have household incomes of \$50,000 or more, have some religious preference (but the particular denomination is not important), identify themselves as conservatives, as Republicans, and would vote for McCain for president. Overall, trust in business appears to be more closely aligned with political orientations than trust in nonprofits. Otherwise, the patterns are fairly similar.

Trust in Local Government. Relatively few personal characteristics are significantly related to trust in local government (see column 3 in Table 1) – and all are indicators of social status or political orientation. As before, *high levels of trust* are associated with high social status, in this case being white or living in a household with income over \$50,000. Those who define themselves as moderate politically or Republicans are also likely to show high levels of trust in local government. In contrast, those showing *low levels of trust* are American Indians or identify with some type of minority status, those with lower household income, and who say they do not think of themselves in terms of political orientation.

Trust in State Government. As column 4 in Table 1 shows, trust in state government shows patterns that seem to be a cross between trust in local government and trust in businesses. Groups with significantly *low levels of trust* in state government are those with any minority status,⁸ those living in households with lower levels of income, who rent their homes, say they do not think of themselves in terms of political orientation, and identify with a non-mainline political party. Those with *high levels of trust* include those with high household income, with a religious preference (but the type of preference is not relevant), who define themselves as conservatives, as Republicans, and who would vote for the Republican candidate McCain for president.

Trust in Federal Government. Relatively few personal characteristics are significantly related to trust in the federal government (see column 5 in Table 1) – and surprisingly, none are indicators of social status. Instead, *high levels of trust* are found among just two groups: those who are separated or living with a partner and those who define themselves as moderate in political orientation. Significantly *low levels of trust* are found among people who are widowed, retired, and don't plan to vote for president or would vote for the Libertarian candidate.

Overall Trust. Finally, column 6 in Table 1 shows which groups have significantly high or low trust scores for all five institutions combined. Those who show *high levels of trust* across the board include whites, those in high income households, those with a religious preference, conservatives, Republicans, and those who would vote for Republican candidate McCain for president. Those who show significantly *low levels of trust* across the board in all five institutions include African Americans, American Indians, those with any minority status, those without a High School diploma, living in low income households, who rent their homes, who do not identify with a political orientation, who consider themselves Democrats and identify with a non-mainline political party.

⁸ The very few Latinos (nine) in the survey also show relatively high levels of trust in state government.

Overall, who trusts which institutions depends to some extent on the particular institution considered. But the patterns are remarkably consistent across the five institutions: Those who demonstrate high levels of trust in one institution almost never show low levels of trust in any of the other four, and vice versa.⁹ Relatively few demographic characteristics are related to trust in the five institutions. Rather, those with high social status and related resources tend to trust these institutions, while their counterparts do not. Those who express some religious preference also tend to trust these institutions. However, there are no differences among the various denominations, suggesting that it is the religious connection that is important, not the specific religious content or congregational structures.

Finally, trust is related to political orientations, with Republicans and conservatives showing high levels of trust in state government (and to a lesser extent also in local government). That might seem surprising, since these groups are generally thought to favor a limited role for government. However, Indiana has a Republican governor and at the time of our survey, a Republican president was in office, suggesting that people may trust levels of government controlled by their own political party or ideological orientation. We therefore interpret our findings to mean that people with more resources and connections tend to trust these types of institutions more so than their counterparts.

⁹ There is only one exception: people who are separated or co-habiting have low trust in nonprofits but high trust in the federal government.

Table 1: Significantly Low or High Trust in Key Institutions by Personal Characteristics
(Only Significant Scores Included, see Notes)

	N	Trust nonprofits	Trust for-profits	Trust local gov't	Trust state gov't	Trust federal gov't	Trust all
ALL RESPONDENTS	515-535	2.82	2.54	2.41	2.37	1.97	2.42
Age category							
Old (65 or more)	142-150	Lower					
Marital Status							
Widowed	69-73					Lower	
Separated/cohabiting	16-18	Lower				Higher	
Children under 18 in household							
3 or more children	37-38	Higher					
Race/ethnicity (Are you Latino? Are you [race category]?)							
African American	25-26	Lower	Lower				Lower
American Indian	24-25			Lower	Lower		Lower
Any minority	73-77	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower		Lower
White	449-468	Higher	Higher	Higher			Higher
Employment status							
Retired	161-168	Lower				Lower	
Highest grade or level of education completed?							
Not High School	25-26	Lower					Lower
High School graduate	153-159	Lower					
College graduate	149-156	Higher					
Household Income							
Less than \$35,000	146-154	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower		Lower
More than \$50,000	223-232	Higher	Higher	Higher	Higher		Higher
Religious Preference							
Any/all preferences	434-453		Higher		Higher		Higher
Own or Rent							
Rent	87-96	Lower	Lower		Lower		Lower
Type of Community							
A city	115-122		Lower				
A rural place	112-115	Lower					
Political Orientation							
Moderate	101-104			Higher		Higher	
Conservative	139-146		Higher		Higher		Higher
Not political	167-176			Lower	Lower		Lower
Political Party							
Democrat	165-175		Lower				Lower
Other party	38-40				Lower		Lower
Republican	133-138		Higher	Higher	Higher		Higher

	N	Trust nonprofits	Trust for-profits	Trust local gov't	Trust state gov't	Trust federal gov't	Trust all
ALL RESPONDENTS	515-535	2.82	2.54	2.41	2.37	1.97	2.42
Vote for President (if election was held today)							
Democratic, Obama	191-199		Lower				
Undecided	42-45	Lower					
Other choice	15-15					Lower	
Republican, McCain	170-176		Higher		Higher		Higher
Notes:		Significantly Higher			Significantly Lower		

No significant differences (excluded from the table): gender (male), age (young, adult, middle-aged), marital status (married, divorced, never married), children (no children, 1 child, 2 children), race (other), employment (working, unemployed, keeping house, other), education (some college), income (\$25-\$35,000, \$35-\$50,000), religion (Catholic, Protestant, other Christian, other religion), community (suburb, small town), political (liberal), party (independent).

Appendix Table
Average Trust Scores for Key Institutions by Personal Characteristics

	N	Trust non-profit	Trust for-profit	Trust local	Trust state	Trust federal	Trust all	Factor Score	Trust st/loc	Trust govt	Trust all but fed	Comments
ALL RESPONDENTS	515-535	2.82	2.54	2.41	2.37	1.97	2.42	0.00	2.39	2.24	2.53	
Gender (Are you male or female)												
Male	166-172	2.84	2.56	2.42	2.34	1.88	2.41	-0.01	2.38	2.21	2.55	only p<.10
Female	318-332	2.82	2.53	2.40	2.37	2.01	2.42	0.00	2.38	2.26	2.53	not tested
Age (what year were you born, recoded into categories)												
Young (18-29)	40-42	3.02	2.60	2.51	2.41	2.17	2.53	0.20	2.45	2.35	2.62	only p<.10
Adult (30-44)	89-93	2.89	2.49	2.35	2.35	1.99	2.41	-0.03	2.35	2.23	2.51	none significant
Mid-aged (45-64)	209-216	2.88	2.53	2.42	2.38	1.97	2.44	0.05	2.40	2.25	2.56	none significant
Old (65 or more)	142-150	2.67	2.56	2.39	2.34	1.89	2.36	-0.11	2.37	2.21	2.48	1 significantly lower
Marital Status (recoded from: Are you currently married; Are you living with....)												
Married	291-300	2.86	2.54	2.44	2.40	1.95	2.44	0.03	2.42	2.26	2.56	none significant
Widowed	69-73	2.69	2.65	2.38	2.26	1.81	2.34	-0.14	2.32	2.15	2.48	1 significantly lower
Divorced	54-57	2.98	2.48	2.23	2.35	1.98	2.44	0.03	2.29	2.19	2.54	only p<.10
Never married	51-54	2.89	2.55	2.43	2.40	2.11	2.46	0.07	2.41	2.30	2.55	none significant
Other	16-18	2.41	2.24	2.50	2.18	2.39	2.35	-0.16	2.35	2.35	2.34	1 higher, 1 lower
Living w/partner	12-13	2.50	2.17	2.69	2.23	2.46	2.40	-0.06	2.46	2.46	2.38	not tested
Separated	4-5	2.20	2.40	2.00	2.00	2.20	2.20	-0.45	2.00	2.00	2.25	not tested
Kids (recoded from people_b)												
No kids	228-234	2.82	2.55	2.43	2.37	1.96	2.42	0.01	2.40	2.25	2.54	none significant
1 child	52-53	2.85	2.50	2.51	2.42	2.06	2.47	0.09	2.46	2.33	2.57	none significant
2 children	48-52	2.92	2.52	2.31	2.35	1.94	2.42	-0.01	2.32	2.19	2.53	none significant
3-5 children	37-38	3.08	2.45	2.50	2.39	2.11	2.50	0.14	2.45	2.33	2.60	1 significantly higher

	N	Trust non-profit	Trust for-profit	Trust local	Trust state	Trust federal	Trust all	Factor Score	Trust st/loc	Trust govt	Trust all but fed	Comments
ALL RESPONDENTS	515-535	2.82	2.54	2.41	2.37	1.97	2.42	0.00	2.39	2.24	2.53	
Race/ethnicity (Are you Latino? Are you [race category]?)												
Latino	8-9	3.00	2.33	2.44	2.89	2.22	2.58	0.32	2.67	2.52	2.69	1 significantly higher
White	449-468	2.85	2.57	2.43	2.38	1.97	2.44	0.04	2.40	2.26	2.56	6 significantly higher
Nonwhite	31-32	2.56	2.06	2.16	2.19	1.88	2.17	-0.50	2.18	2.06	2.26	6 significantly lower
African American	25-26	2.38	2.12	2.15	2.20	1.96	2.17	-0.50	2.18	2.09	2.23	5 significantly lower
American Indian	24-25	2.76	2.60	2.04	1.96	1.80	2.20	-0.45	1.98	1.90	2.31	7 significantly lower
Native Hawaii	0											no respondents
Asian	4-4	3.25	2.50	2.00	2.25	2.00	2.40	-0.07	2.13	2.08	2.50	not tested
Other	23-24	2.67	2.33	2.25	2.21	1.83	2.28	-0.28	2.23	2.10	2.36	none significant
Minority (any)	73-77	2.67	2.32	2.18	2.13	1.88	2.23	-0.38	2.15	2.05	2.32	9 significantly lower
Employment												
Working for pay	238-246	2.87	2.55	2.41	2.38	1.99	2.44	0.05	2.39	2.26	2.56	none significant
Unemployed	22-25	2.88	2.48	2.50	2.17	2.04	2.41	-0.03	2.30	2.20	2.50	none significant
Retired	161-168	2.72	2.54	2.40	2.36	1.86	2.37	-0.09	2.38	2.21	2.50	2 significantly lower
Keeping house	28-29	3.03	2.57	2.48	2.54	2.21	2.56	0.28	2.50	2.40	2.65	only p<.10
Other	34-36	2.86	2.46	2.33	2.26	2.03	2.36	-0.12	2.29	2.19	2.45	none significant
Student	11-12	3.25	2.64	2.67	2.83	2.42	2.78	0.71	2.75	2.64	2.84	not tested
Doing other things	16-17	2.88	2.29	2.18	2.00	1.71	2.16	-0.53	2.06	1.92	2.30	not tested
Disability	7-7	2.14	2.57	2.14	1.86	2.14	2.17	-0.50	2.00	2.05	2.18	not tested
Education												
Not HS, 0-11 yrs	25-26	2.19	2.38	2.15	2.16	1.92	2.17	-0.49	2.16	2.07	2.24	4 significantly lower
HS graduate, 12 yrs	153-159	2.71	2.55	2.42	2.42	1.97	2.42	0.01	2.42	2.27	2.53	1 significantly lower
Some college	156-163	2.91	2.58	2.37	2.31	1.96	2.42	0.00	2.34	2.21	2.54	only p<.10
College grad or more	149-156	2.98	2.51	2.47	2.39	1.97	2.45	0.06	2.42	2.27	2.58	1 significantly higher

	N	Trust non-profit	Trust for-profit	Trust local	Trust state	Trust federal	Trust all	Factor Score	Trust st/loc	Trust govt	Trust all but fed	Comments
ALL RESPONDENTS	515-535	2.82	2.54	2.41	2.37	1.97	2.42	0.00	2.39	2.24	2.53	
Household Income (Recoded from range questions)												
\$15,000 or less	35-37	2.46	2.36	2.30	2.14	1.83	2.22	-0.39	2.22	2.09	2.30	5 significantly lower
\$15,000-\$25,000	37-40	2.68	2.56	2.23	2.03	1.83	2.24	-0.37	2.13	2.02	2.36	6 significantly lower
\$25,000-\$35,000	74-77	2.70	2.45	2.34	2.29	1.90	2.35	-0.14	2.31	2.17	2.46	only p<.10
\$35,000-\$50,000	94-96	2.80	2.47	2.40	2.40	2.03	2.41	-0.03	2.39	2.27	2.51	none significant
\$50,000-\$75,000	86-89	3.05	2.76	2.56	2.54	1.97	2.58	0.32	2.55	2.35	2.73	8 significantly higher
\$75,000 or more	137-143	2.96	2.57	2.46	2.45	2.05	2.50	0.16	2.46	2.32	2.62	4 significantly higher
Other groupings												
\$25,000 or less	72-76	2.57	2.47	2.26	2.08	1.83	2.23	-0.38	2.17	2.05	2.33	7 significantly lower
\$35,000 or less	146-154	2.64	2.46	2.30	2.18	1.86	2.29	-0.26	2.24	2.11	2.39	9 significantly lower
\$50,000 or more	223-232	2.99	2.64	2.50	2.49	2.02	2.53	0.22	2.49	2.33	2.66	9 significantly higher
Religion (What is your religious preference?)												
Catholic	77-82	2.90	2.60	2.36	2.41	2.02	2.46	0.08	2.38	2.26	2.57	none significant
Protestant	210-219	2.83	2.56	2.45	2.44	1.93	2.44	0.04	2.44	2.27	2.57	only p<.10
Other Christian	113-116	2.82	2.57	2.43	2.34	1.95	2.43	0.03	2.39	2.24	2.55	none significant
Other religion	34-37	2.74	2.56	2.38	2.35	2.11	2.42	0.01	2.36	2.28	2.50	none significant
Jewish	4-5	3.00	2.60	2.40	2.40	2.60	2.50	0.13	2.40	2.47	2.50	not tested (too few)
Muslim	1-1	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.80	-1.23	1.50	1.33	2.00	not tested (too few)
Other religion	29-31	2.73	2.53	2.39	2.39	2.06	2.43	0.03	2.39	2.28	2.52	not tested ~ average
No religion	44-45	2.84	2.29	2.29	2.05	1.98	2.27	-0.31	2.16	2.09	2.35	6 significantly lower
Any religion	434-453	2.83	2.57	2.42	2.40	1.96	2.44	0.04	2.41	2.26	2.56	6 significantly higher
Homeownership (Do you own or rent your home or apartment?)												
Rent	87-96	2.67	2.38	2.28	2.11	1.88	2.25	-0.35	2.19	2.08	2.34	8 significantly lower
All other	393-405	2.87	2.57	2.44	2.42	1.99	2.46	0.08	2.43	2.28	2.58	not tested
Own	384-396	2.86	2.57	2.44	2.42	1.98	2.45	0.07	2.43	2.28	2.57	not tested ~ average
Other	9-9	3.22	2.78	2.33	2.44	2.22	2.60	0.34	2.39	2.33	2.69	not tested (too few)

	N	Trust non-profit	Trust for-profit	Trust local	Trust state	Trust federal	Trust all	Factor Score	Trust st/loc	Trust govt	Trust all but fed	Comments
ALL RESPONDENTS	515-535	2.82	2.54	2.41	2.37	1.97	2.42	0.00	2.39	2.24	2.53	
Community (How would you describe the community where you live?)												
In a city	115-122	2.82	2.43	2.35	2.33	1.92	2.36	-0.12	2.34	2.19	2.47	1 significantly lower
In a suburb	114-118	2.88	2.57	2.43	2.45	2.03	2.46	0.09	2.44	2.30	2.58	none significant
In a small town	141-148	2.89	2.53	2.39	2.27	1.92	2.40	-0.04	2.33	2.19	2.52	only p<.10
In a rural place	112-115	2.71	2.63	2.47	2.43	2.01	2.46	0.08	2.45	2.30	2.57	1 significantly lower
Political Orientation												
Liberal	75-77	2.91	2.43	2.40	2.42	2.03	2.43	0.01	2.41	2.28	2.53	none significant
Moderate	101-104	2.86	2.56	2.55	2.44	2.09	2.48	0.13	2.49	2.35	2.59	3 significantly higher
Conservative	139-146	2.84	2.68	2.50	2.55	1.92	2.50	0.18	2.52	2.32	2.65	6 significantly higher
Not political	167-176	2.77	2.47	2.25	2.14	1.90	2.31	-0.22	2.20	2.10	2.41	7 significantly lower
Political Party												
Democratic	165-175	2.79	2.41	2.34	2.29	2.00	2.36	-0.13	2.32	2.21	2.45	5 significantly lower
Republican	133-138	2.88	2.67	2.57	2.60	2.01	2.54	0.25	2.58	2.39	2.68	8 significantly higher
Independent	135-139	2.90	2.61	2.42	2.30	1.89	2.43	0.02	2.36	2.20	2.56	none significant
Other party	38-40	2.63	2.45	2.23	2.15	1.87	2.27	-0.30	2.18	2.08	2.35	5 significantly lower
Vote for President (if vote today)												
Democrat Obama	191-199	2.89	2.48	2.45	2.33	2.02	2.43	0.01	2.39	2.26	2.53	1 significantly lower
Republican McCain	170-176	2.86	2.68	2.51	2.54	1.96	2.51	0.18	2.52	2.33	2.64	7 significantly higher
Undecided	42-45	2.61	2.41	2.24	2.25	2.02	2.32	-0.19	2.25	2.17	2.39	2 significantly lower
Other	15-15	2.87	2.47	2.20	2.07	1.60	2.24	-0.36	2.13	1.96	2.40	2 significantly lower
Libertarian - Barr	4-4	3.00	2.75	2.50	2.25	1.50	2.40	-0.03	2.38	2.08	2.63	not tested (too few)
Won't vote	2-2	1.50	1.50	1.50	1.50	1.50	1.50	-1.83	1.50	1.50	1.50	not tested (too few)

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Keys: p<.10; p<.05; p<.01; p<.001;

Significantly Lower

Significantly Higher