HOW GROUPS OF DUTCH CITIZENS LOST THEIR TRUST IN NEWS MEDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT

Name: Lene Makkink
Degree: Communication Science – Behavioural Management and Social sciences
First reader: Prof. Dr. Menno de Jong
Second reader: dr. Anne Dijkstra
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ABSTRACT

PURPOSE

Trust in the government and news media has declined among certain groups of Dutch citizens during the COVID-19 pandemic and other crises. An example of a group with a lack of trust in the government and news media is Ongehoord Nederland, a Dutch broadcasting agency claiming to be the voice of people who do not feel represented by the government and traditional news media. This research was conducted to gain an understanding of how these groups lost their trust in the government and news media. Individuals with outspoken negative opinions about the government or news media were targeted.

METHOD

To gain an understanding of why groups of Dutch citizens with a lack of trust in the government and news media have lost their trust, qualitative methods, namely interviews, were used to investigate the issue. By using interviews, rich and detailed insights could be gained about the participants' opinions and experiences. Participants were selected through social media platforms, based on their published opinions about trust in news media and/or the government. By diving into the perceptions, experiences, and opinions of research participants, an understanding could be gained regarding the lack of trust in news media and the government.

RESULTS

During the interviews, some issues were similar for different participants. For example, big events with worldwide impact, such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the terrorist attacks on 9/11, had a big impact on the trust levels of different participants. Such events sparked a seed of doubt, as they caused a lot of uncertainty. People then looked for information online and trusted their gut feeling in judging information. Both the government and news media do not represent people with different views, according to several participants. Guests in talk shows, for example, do not reflect certain groups of Dutch citizens. Participants mentioned the experts invited to talk shows, for example. When a topic such as COVID-19 was discussed on a show, participants did not feel represented by the chosen expert or doctor on television.

Meanwhile, people with a lack of trust in the government and news media gain a following on social media. There, they connect with people with similar views and opinions, reinforcing their own beliefs and views. These different aspects all contribute to a division in society.

CONCLUSION

Participants have varying reasons for losing their trust in the government and news media. Some have never really trusted in either, others lost their trust due to impactful worldwide events or personal experiences. Furthermore, their own views and opinions are not represented by either the government or news media, causing participants to distrust both. With the Netherlands almost reaching eighteen million citizens, it is important that organisations as the government and news media try to represent all people, so the division in society can be tackled and the groups of Dutch citizens with a lack of trust can feel like they are heard.

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1. INTRODUCTION

When using social media platforms such as Twitter, messages like "NOS is fake news" will regularly appear. During the COVID-19 pandemic, a clear division in society could be observed on social media, regarding opinions about news media and the government. For example, there would regularly be heated discussions on social media platforms such as Twitter between people who believe news articles and people who do not. Own observations have shown that discussions like these are still happening on a daily basis. This division seems to correlate with a decrease in trust in news media within groups of Dutch citizens (Van Dijck & Alinejad, 2020). Own observations have shown that many individuals with a lack of trust are very outspoken about their views and opinions on social media platforms.

The decrease of trust in news is a big challenge for journalists in the Netherlands (Fink, 2018). According to the same author, many people depend on journalism to explain current events, so they can understand the events better. A lack of trust could therefore mean that individuals no longer look for journalists to explain current events but look elsewhere for information instead. Individuals could look for more information on social media, for example. Social media are frequently used to spread misinformation about the COVID-19 pandemic and to attack news organisations (Sweet et al., 2021). This can make it difficult for Dutch citizens to differentiate between news articles from traditional news organisations and alternative sources, as the initial lack of trust mentioned by Fink (2018) may drive individuals to look for information online.

A lack of trust in the government can therefore lead to a lack of trust in news media. A crisis, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, can be directly linked to the decline in trust, due to an association between news and the crisis response from the government (Kye & Hwang, 2020). Most research participants in this study consider traditional news media to be directly influenced by the government. According to them, traditional news media are used to reinforce government policies.

On social media, many claims can be found about news publications in relation to the crisis response of the government. Groups on social media with an outspoken lack of trust in the government and news media have mentioned that they believe that news media, especially public broadcasters, are paid by the government to reinforce government policy. Research participants have mentioned the same belief and have said that they do not believe that news media are objective regarding the government.

There is not yet an understanding of why people lose trust in institutions, such as the government and news media outlets. Understanding why people lose their trust could help in better understanding the current division in society. The government is in charge of combatting crises and putting measurements in place (Rieger & Wang, 2021). News media set the public agenda and provide information about current events and consequences during a crisis (Perreault & Perreault, 2021). According to Perreault and Perreault (2021), journalists are meant to be a resource for people to find information. Agenda setting can be influenced by politics, resulting in political agenda setting (Langer & Gruber, 2020). Certain newspapers, for example, only report on the agenda of political parties their own followers are interested in (Van der Pas et al., 2017). When there is a lack of trust in the institutions spreading information, the communication is not effective, which can be problematic during a pandemic (Perreault & Perreault, 2021).

The problem at the centre of this research is the lack of trust groups of Dutch citizens have in news media and the government. Therefore, the goal is to gain an understanding of how people with a lack of trust in the government and news media lost their trust in these institutions. By gaining an understanding of the loss of trust of these individuals, it might be easier to understand the current division in society, and possibly find a way to reconnect both sides. The focus of this research is on the Dutch government and traditional news media, both online and offline.

The main research question is: *How did groups of Dutch citizens with an outspoken lack of trust in the government and news media lose their trust?*

The research will be conducted using interviews. By interviewing participants about their personal experiences and opinions, rich and detailed insights can be gained about the subject. This can help in understanding how these individuals lost their trust. Furthermore, it can help in explaining the current division in society.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, several concepts and theories are discussed using existing literature. The information is meant to give context to this research subject. The subjects discussed in this chapter are listed below:

- The concept of trust: This section consists of information and explanations of what trust is, different kinds of trust and trust in the government and news media.
- News, the government, and social media: In this section, the media landscape in the Netherlands is discussed. The section also includes literature on the role of news media and the government during a crisis.
- Misinformation: This section includes literature about misinformation and the impact of impactful worldwide events on information.
- Relevance of the research: In this section the relevance of the research is explained.

2.1 THE CONCEPT OF TRUST

Trust can be defined as "the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party" (Mayer et al., 1995, p. 712). An example of trust could be political elections. An individual who votes puts their trust in a political party or politician, based on the promises made in the election campaign. The risk could be that the chosen politician or party does not keep the promise made during the campaign period.

The definition could reflect the relationship between news media and news consumers, with the trustor being the news consumer and the trustee being the news media. For example, the trustor can expect news media to report on current events objectively, whilst risking being misinformed if news media decide not to be objective. The definition applies to the relationship between the government and citizens as well, since the government is expected to act in the best interest of citizens (Godwin et al., 2019).

However, trust is very broad and cannot be confined to one definition. Social trust, for example, might influence trust in the government and news media as well. People who trust socially expect a certain level of trustworthiness from strangers (Herreros & Criado, 2009). The same authors found that social trust is often linked to cooperation in society. Based on that explanation, a lack of social trust could lead to individuals not cooperating with the government. When looking at the COVID-19 pandemic, the vaccination campaign could come to mind. Taking the explanation of social trust into account, an individual with little social trust might not want to comply with government policy to get vaccinated against COVID-19.

Political trust is also relevant, as it includes the assessment of actions by political institutions (Rieger & Wang, 2021). According to the same authors, political trust influences whether individuals believe the government can provide them with desired policies and regulations. Based on that explanation, people with a lack of trust in the government should have little political trust as well. This type of trust could be influenced by the government's decisions during the COVID-19 pandemic, as not providing individuals with their desired outcomes can negatively influence their political trust.

Based on the previously mentioned definition of trust by Mayer et al. (1995, p. 712), a loss of trust in news media could result in people searching elsewhere find information about current affairs, since these individuals do not trust news media to provide them with the right information. Social trust plays a part in where people will find the desired information. If individuals look for information elsewhere due to a lack of trust in news media and the government, they will have to put their trust in strangers. This could become a risk regarding fake news on social media, which is elaborated on later in this chapter.

Trust in news media has been previously explained Van Dijck and Alinejad, using the institutional model of science communication (Van Dijck & Alinejad, 2020). This model shows the connections between science, news media,

the public, and politics. The model implicates that science influences news media and politics. Furthermore, it shows that news media are influenced by politics as well. The public, based on the model, is influenced by both politics and news media. Both news media and politics are indirectly influenced by the public as well. Meanwhile, social media are becoming a central part of the model, as they are being used to have public discussions (Van Dijck & Alinejad, 2020). The connection between science, news media, the public, and politics is very relevant to the current crisis in the Netherlands. The connection between science and the government, for example, could be observed during the COVID-19 pandemic, as politicians would make policies based on information from health organisations such as the World Health Organisation and RIVM (Rijksinstituut voor Volksgezondheid en Milieu, 2020).

Groups of Dutch citizens are outspoken about distrusting news media and the government. For example, a Twitter user by the username of @annstrikje regularly posts about her distrust, recently sharing several news headers, writing: "Look, dear people, this is what propaganda looks like" (Annelies, 2023). Meanwhile, news media are reporting on political decisions concerning the COVID-19 pandemic. The decisions made by the government are often based on scientific findings (Resende et al., 2021). These elements affect trust in news media and must therefore be considered when researching this type of trust.

Trust in the government is based on the evaluation of actions taken by political organisations and the effects of these actions (Rieger & Wang, 2021). The connection between politics and news media affects trust, as political involvement in news media can result in different messaging about a crisis, such as the COVID-19 pandemic. In the United States, the messaging regarding the pandemic differed based on the political motivation of news outlets (Zhao et al., 2020). The same authors found that this resulted in American citizens behaving differently based on their media bias. Public trust in news media may increase the perceived risk and fitting safety behaviours during a pandemic (Mohammadi et al., 2020). Zhao et al. (2020) note that during a public health crisis, media should be neutral in messaging about health-related topics and scientific sources should be promoted better.

A lack of trust can be dangerous for society, especially in times of a pandemic like COVID-19 (Bargain & Aminjonov, 2020). With COVID-19 for example, science showed that vaccinations could help protect people from getting sick. Bargain & Aminjonov (2020) found that a lack of trust can have dramatic consequences if the wellbeing of society depends on compliance. This is linked to risk perception, as trust and worldviews influence how people look at risks (Siegrist & Bearth, 2021). Bromme et al. (2022) found that trust in science increased after the start of the COVID-19 pandemic yet declined as time went on. This could mean that their risk perception changed over time. People tend to trust what other people are doing and value what other people think of them (Bicchieri, 2021). This could mean that people adapt their own behaviour based on their surroundings.

2.2 NEWS, THE GOVERNMENT, AND SOCIAL MEDIA

The news landscape in the Netherlands is quite complex, as it consists of many different types of news media. Regarding television news, the main difference is between public broadcasters, such as NOS, and commercial broadcasters, such as RTL. Programs differ between traditional news broadcasts and talk shows where current affairs are discussed. Traditional news is usually straight to the point, with a headline, a short paragraph with context and a picture describing the scene (Welbers & Opgenhaffen, 2018). Meanwhile, talk shows provide context to current affairs and elaborate on certain topics to clarify the information from news broadcasts (Knottnerus et al., 2022). Welbers & Opgenhaffen (2018) found that news outlets use social media to spread news further.

Written articles are not only found in newspapers, but also on online news websites. However, all newspapers in the Netherlands have a digital equivalent. Some of the most popular national newspapers in the Netherlands are de Volkskrant, Trouw, Algemeen Dagblad, NRC, and de Telegraaf. News outlets, including newspapers, are meant to be objective in their reporting of events (Welbers & Opgenhaffen, 2018). Some of these newspapers, however, have an outspoken political preference. NRC, for example, is open about being liberal. Dutch journalists use news agencies, such as ANP, AP, and Reuters, to stay up to date with current events around the world.

There is no agreed measure of trust in news media (Fisher, 2016). Despite this, there are several factors that play a role in distrusting news media. Firstly, a lack of trust in news media often goes accompanied by a lack of trust in the government (Jones, 2004). People are suspicious of hidden agendas and a decline in journalistic standards due to commercial business models (Newman & Fletcher, 2017). These suspicions can result in a lack of trust in news media. Furthermore, sensationalized news articles are generally perceived negatively (Brants, 2013). Lee (2010) suggests that political ideology, trust in the government, and a person's perception of the economy influence the trust that person has in news media.

Since it is difficult for people to verify media reports, it can be difficult for some to trust news media (Tsfati & Cohen, 2012). Often, the character and intentions of news media are unclear. Journalists choose which information they include in news publications, setting the agenda. Therefore, people take a certain risk when trusting news media, making them vulnerable to the choices of journalists (Kohring & Matthes, 2007). Furthermore, a crisis like the COVID-19 pandemic affects the trust of people (Kye & Hwang, 2020). In South Korea for example, citizens lost trust in news media after the press criticized the actions taken by the government (Kye & Hwang, 2020). This correlates with the previously mentioned connection between politics and news media. Since society will be faced with more crises, global warming for example, it is important to understand why people lose trust in news media during crises. Furthermore, levels of political interest and exposure to news on the television and in newspapers positively correlate with trust in media (Tsfati & Ariely, 2013).

In times of a health crisis, like the COVID-19 pandemic, social media can be a source of misleading information (Llewelyn, 2020). Since it is very easy to share 'news' on social platforms, the source and/or accurateness of the information does not always get properly checked before posting. Fake news is false information that can be hard to distinguish from regular news and often exploits existing beliefs to influence society (Waisbord, 2018). Fake news can lead to a decline in trust in news media (Van Damme et al., 2020). However, social media can also be used to distribute important health information quickly (Van Dijck & Alinejad, 2020). During a crisis, people tend to use social media to find information and have discussions with others (Vieweg et al., 2010). Exposure to news on the internet negatively correlates with trust in media (Tsfati & Ariely, 2013). Social media usage increased during the COVID-19 pandemic (Naeem & Boulos, 2021). The exposure to news on the internet correlates with social media being used to spread misinformation about COVID-19. People that use traditional or alternative news sources are expected to have a higher level of trust in news, whilst people that use social media as the main news source are expected to have a lower level of trust in news (Kalogeropoulos et al., 2019). Therefore, it is expected that groups of Dutch citizens with a lack of trust in news media are active on social media platforms.

It seems that trust in news media and has been declining for a long time, as veteran journalist James Fallows mentioned the contempt for news media in 1996, over twenty years ago (Lewis, 2018). Shifts within trust in news media can often be related to political events, such as the conflict in Ukraine and the 2015/16 U.S. presidential election campaign (Otto & Köhler, 2018, p. 1-2). The COVID-19 pandemic is such a political event, which could explain the perceived distrust in news media and the government in the Netherlands. As citizens are dependent on choices made by the government in high pressure situations, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, differing views on the crisis can cause distrust.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, more nonexpert voices were found on social media, providing 'alternative' scientific information about the virus and effectiveness of the implemented measures (Van Dijck & Alinejad, 2020). The same authors found that there is a notable difference between the start of the pandemic and the current situation regarding the public debate about health information during the COVID-19 pandemic. Filter bubbles and echo chambers contribute to the exposure to fake news on social media (Rhodes, 2021). According to Rhodes (2021), filter bubbles are algorithms on social media platforms that push content that fits with the content individuals consumed before. The goal of filter bubbles is to keep users on platforms for a longer period (Rhodes, 2021). The same author found that echo chambers are (accidentally) created by users themselves, as they follow and interact with like-minded people on social media platforms. According to Rhodes, echo chambers increase the risk of fake news. Furthermore, he found that algorithms disrupt the usual information stream.

Even though there is no specific measure of trust in media, many countries have observed a decline in trust in news media (Prochazka & Schweiger, 2019; Strömbäck et al., 2020). Mitchell et al. (2018) found that populist views play a significant role in the lack of trust. This is apparent in the Netherlands, as populist Dutch politicians often accuse news media of publishing fake news. For example, Dutch politician Thierry Baudet regularly shares news articles on Twitter, claiming that they are fake news (Baudet, T., n.d.). Followers of these politicians are often exposed to fake news claims, negatively influencing their trust in news media. Filter bubbles and echo chambers are part of the cause of populism on social media, as they impact the circulation of false information (Rhodes, 2021).

In the Netherlands, trust in news media has declined under 18- to 24-year-olds, yet trust increased within older age groups (Commissariaat voor de Media, 2021). Despite there being a general trust in news media in the Netherlands, there are groups of Dutch citizens that distrust news media. In 2018, Dutch citizens had a lot of distrust regarding news media, specifically in the south region and in 'Het Gooi' (Schmeets, 2018). Furthermore, Dutch citizens used less traditional news media as the pandemic progressed (Vliegenthart et al., 2020). People generally trust the media they consume (Schranz et al., 2018). The decline in traditional news media usage could explain the lack of trust, as people do not use media they do not trust.

2.3 MISINFORMATION

Misinformation can influence trust in the government and news media. People tend to believe in misinformation when it reinforces their own beliefs and identity (Van der Linden, 2022). This can prompt people to share the information as well. The previously mentioned division in society has worsened an already existing disconnect between scientific consensus and people in society, regarding various subjects (Mian & Khan, 2020). Misinformation poses a big threat to public health (Roozenbeek et al., 2020). For example, publications from the World Health Organisation did not reach nearly as many people as conspiracy theories did in 2020 (Mian & Khan, 2020). The same authors found that this signifies the popularity of unverified and false information.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, social media usage increased around the world (Naeem & Boulos, 2021). Furthermore, social media usage has a direct link to the effect conspiracy theories have on a person (Xiao et al., 2021). Conspiracy theories can drive people to reject scientific information (Douglas et al., 2019). This was visible during the COVID-19 pandemic as well, with people publicly disputing publications from the World Health Organisation and RIVM. West & Bergstorm (2021) argued that misinformation poses a risk to international stability, democracy, well-being, and public health. This is further elaborated on by Van Duyn & Collier (2019), who argue that exposure to fake news negatively influences individuals' trust in media and their ability to differentiate real and fake news.

2.4 RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Understanding trust in news media and the government is relevant in both theoretical and practical terms (Kohring & Matthes, 2007). The government is responsible for setting measurements in place to combat crises, such as the COVID-19 pandemic. Measurements and government policies are dependent on compliance from the public (Han et al., 2021). A lack of trust in the government can therefore have a negative effect on controlling a crisis. Information is a crucial part of a stable society, especially in times of crisis (Casero-Ripolles, 2020). News media are essential in providing information, as the main purpose of journalism is to provide quality information (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2021). News media set the public agenda (Swart et al., 2016). Therefore, journalism is crucial in spreading information about the COVID-19 pandemic.

With social media being a central part of our daily lives, there has been a significant increase in fake news (Casero-Ripolles, 2020). This type of misinformation can cause a loss of credibility of news media and the government, which could lead to the collapse of traditional news (Waisbord, 2018). Traditional news media have seen their audience and credibility drop considerably (Casero-Ripolles, 2020). The same author found that news consumption is shifting, therefore it is important to understand the news consumption patterns. Furthermore, Casero-Ripolles (2020) mentions that the higher a person's news engagement is, the better the chance is that they will detect fake

news. However, filter bubbles and echo chambers could influence the ability to detect fake news (Rhodes, 2021). This could mean that an individual with high news engagement could get blindsided by filter bubbles and echo chambers.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, trust is a very complex and broad topic. It consists of many different concepts, such as social and political trust. Trust can be influenced when the trustee does not reflect the trustor's expectations (Mayer et al., 1995). Furthermore, the Dutch media landscape has evolved a lot. Traditional news sources now use social media to distribute their reports and stories (Welbers & Opgenhaffen, 2018). Social media make it easier to share information, but also create the risk of misinformation and fake news.

3. METHOD

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The aim of this research is to gain an understanding of how groups of Dutch citizens with outspoken negative opinions about the government and news media lost their trust in these institutions. The choice was made to do qualitative research. Qualitative research gives the opportunity to gain an in-depth of understanding, which is harder to get with a survey. Since the aim of the research is to understand how trust in the government and news media was lost, an in-depth understanding can help, as it provides more details. With qualitative research, respondents can freely talk about their personal experiences without constraint.

Specifically, phenomenology is used to understand the phenomenon based on the experiences of research participants (Flood, 2010). To understand how individuals with outspoken negative opinions about the government and news media, it can help to learn about their personal experiences. Phenomenology is a powerful tool to gain an insight in personal experiences (Neubauer et al., 2019). By interviewing participants about their lack of trust, the collection of personal experiences can provide a clear overview of the possible cause of the lack of trust.

3.2 PARTICIPANTS

This research focused on Dutch citizens that lack trust in (traditional) news media and the government. The participants in this study do not reflect Dutch society at large, due to the small sample size. Only twenty participants were interviewed. To make sure there would not be a bias toward a certain group, there were no requirements regarding age, sex, ethnicity, and educational level. An important characteristic, however, is that participants had to be outspoken on social media about their lack of trust in news media and/or the government. To gain an understanding of the lack of trust in news media and the government, the sample group consisted of participants with a lack of trust. Their lack of trust was confirmed during the interviews, by asking how they felt towards the government and news media. In total, twenty participants were interviewed about their experiences with and opinions about the government and news media.

Participants were searched for on social media, specifically Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook. Based on personal experiences and observations on social media, it can be concluded that Dutch citizens with a lack of trust in news media and the government are outspoken on social media about their beliefs. These Dutch citizens that lack trust regularly comment on news publications on social media, either disputing the information or sharing their own. By focusing on outspoken participants, more specific questions could be asked regarding their perception of news media and the government. Several search words, such as 'NOS fake news' and hashtags, such as #opRutte, were used to find potential participants. People with outspoken negative opinions about the government and/or newsmedia used these or similar words and phrases. Furthermore, the comments below posts from news organisations were checked to see if there were comments relating to the research criteria. Once a post containing a negative opinion was found, the account behind the post was investigated further, to establish whether it concerned a single negative post, or a person with opinions relevant to the research. If a person fit the research criteria, a direct message was sent to ask if they would be open to participating in the research.

Convincing people to participate in the study proved to be a challenge, as some of them did not trust the research. Over a hundred messages were sent out and many of them did not receive a response or were rejected. The interviews were conducted anonymously, so the participants could speak freely without risk of negative consequences. The study has been approved by the Ethics Committee BMS, with the number 220366.

In total, twenty participants were interviewed, with ages ranging from 32 to 71. Fifteen participants were male and five were female. They were all active on social media, mainly on Twitter and Facebook. All participants that used Twitter said they used it to share their opinions and views and publish information. Only three participants were active on Instagram, one of whom used it to spread his opinions. The other two only used the medium to keep up with friends. The majority of the participants, ten in total, completed a bachelor at the so-called HBO-

level. HBO is the Dutch version of university college. Seven participants completed their studies at MBO-level, which is targeted at more practical education. The remaining participants, four in total, completed a bachelor or master at university level.

3.3 INTERVIEW GUIDE

By interviewing participants, it was possible to have an open conversation about trust in media with participants. Rather than using a closed survey, participants could elaborate on their personal experiences. The questions were formulated based on the main research question: *How did groups of Dutch citizens lose their trust in news media and the government?*

The full list of questions can be found in Appendix 1. The interviews were held online via Microsoft Teams or through the phone due to convenience and safety concerns. The conversations were recorded and transcribed afterwards.

The questions were divided in three main subcategories: general information, opinions about and experiences with the government, and opinions about and experiences with news media. To gain a better understanding of how people lost their trust, it was important to learn about their opinions about the government and news media in the past and present. If there was a significant difference between the two timeframes, it was only logical to elaborate further on what happened that made them lose trust. Specific questions were formulated to encourage participants to open up about their experiences. An example of such a question is: 'Can you name a specific moment when your opinions/views about the government changed?'.

Social trust was considered as well, by including questions about the opinions of friends and family members regarding the subcategories of the government and news media. These questions were meant to gain an insight in the influence of surroundings on the level of trust. Other aspects from the theoretical framework, such as filter bubbles, were considered whilst formulating the questions as well.

Participants were told that the focus of the interviews was to gain an understanding of their personal experiences and opinions about both the government and news media. It was made clear that there were no correct or false answers. They were all made aware of why they were selected for the research and that they were free to pull out of the research at any moment if they did no longer want to participate.

The choice between Microsoft Teams and calling through the phone was based on the preference of participants. With Microsoft Teams, the cameras of both the participant and the researcher were turned on. The usage of cameras was not essential, as body language was not part of the research. Some participants did mention that the cameras added a personal touch to the interviews. One person mentioned that the cameras improved their trust in the researcher. Participants were made aware of the recording beforehand and they all gave verbal permission for the interviews to be recorded.

Every interview started off with demographic questions, such as age and educational level. Furthermore, there were questions about their social media-usage, to get a better picture of how and why they share their opinions online. The demographic questions were followed up by questions about the government. These questions ranged from general questions about their opinions to their personal experiences with the government or the personal experiences of family members and friends. The questions about the government were followed by questions about news media. The questions about news media were, for the most part, similar to the questions about the government. The main difference being a few extra questions about news media. For example, participants were asked about their news consumption and about how they factcheck news.

After every interview, participants were given the chance to ask questions or add anecdotes that were not discussed during the interview.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

All interviews were transcribed, so the information could be processed using open coding. With open coding, information is labelled and categories are defined (Khandkar, 2009). This form of coding helped with conceptualizing the participants' responses. The different codes range from 'personal experiences with the government' to 'portrayal in news media is different than own perception'. The total procedure led to an overview of 35 codes. Some of the main themes reflected by the codes are personal experiences with the government or news media, and impactful (worldwide) events, and censorship. The complete code sheet can be found in Appendix 2.

All transcriptions were imported into ATLAS.ti, used for coding the transcriptions. During the transcription phase, certain sentences that stood out were marked, so they could be identified easier during the coding process. At the beginning, bottom-up coding was used. Only a few codes were formulated beforehand, based on expectations about the results.

With the bottom-up coding method, codes were formulated whilst analysing the transcriptions. Sentences and paragraphs that were marked beforehand, were given different codes. Some unmarked texts also got a code at a later moment, as the code list progressed. After finishing the coding of a transcription, the code sheet was used for the next transcription. New codes were added to the code list based on the content of the transcription.

Eventually, the complete code list was used to go through all twenty transcriptions again, using a top-down method, to see if there were new codes that fit the already existing marked sentences and paragraphs. This way, it could be ensured that all transcriptions were coded completely and thoroughly.

4. RESULTS

This chapter shows the results of the research. The main topics that were mentioned by several participants are elaborated on in this chapter. Not all codes are discussed in this chapter, due to differences in significance. The focus of the results section is on recurring topics.

The results are divided into different parts to provide a clear overview.

> 4.1: Recurring topics: This section gives an overview of topics that were mentioned by several participants. The recurrence of topics makes it possible to recognise similarities between different personal experiences.
> 4.2: Related experiences: This section shows the connections between recurring topics.

A total of twenty participants were interviewed about their lack of trust in the government and news media. The list of questions asked can be found in Appendix 1. The code sheet used to code the transcriptions can be found in Appendix 2.

4.1 RECURRING TOPICS

It is impossible for results to represent every single research participant, as personal experiences and opinions may vary. However, certain trends and similarities between answers can be observed. Some reoccurring topics are listed and elaborated on below.

Figure 1: Recurring topics

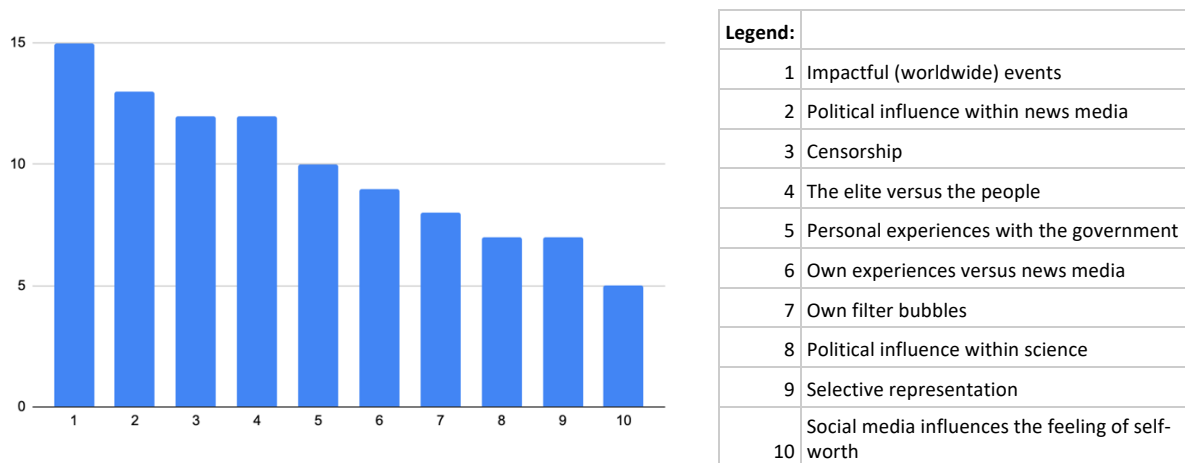| Legend:	
1	Impactful (worldwide) events
2	Political influence within news media
3	Censorship
4	The elite versus the people
5	Personal experiences with the government
6	Own experiences versus news media
7	Own filter bubbles
8	Political influence within science
9	Selective representation
10	Social media influences the feeling of self-worth

Figure 1 shows the distribution of recurring topics.

Figure 1 shows the ten most reoccurring topics, arranged from most reoccurring to least. The numbers reflect how many participants experienced or mentioned these different topics. Some topics were mentioned several times by the same participant, but that is not reflected in the graphic. Therefore, the number 15 for 'impactful (worldwide) events' reflects the number of participants that mentioned or experienced something within that topic.

Figure 2 shows which participant mentioned aspects related to the ten main recurring topics. The number in a cell indicates how many times a participant mentioned something relating to the topic.

No.	Topic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1.	Impactful (worldwide) events	3	1		1	1	3		2	3	3	1	1	1	1		1		1	1	
2.	Policital influence within news media		2	1	3		4+		1		2	1	1		2		1	1		2	1
3.	Censorship			2	2	1	4+			1		3		1	4	2	1	1		1	
4.	The elite versus the people	4+	3	1	1		4			1	1			2	1		2	1		1	
5.	Personal experiences with the government	1	2	2			1			3			1		4+	2					2
6.	Own experiences versus news media		2	4+			3			2			3		3	3		3			4+
7.	Own filter bubbles	1	2					2	1								1	1	3		
8.	Policital influence within science	2		2			2	1			1				3						2
9.	Selective representation		1	4			1							2	4		3			2	
10.	Social media influences the feeling of self-worth		2		1		1			1			2								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

Figure 2: Topic distribution

IMPACTFUL (WORLDWIDE) EVENTS

One topic that was discussed by fifteen out of twenty participants, regards impactful events, such as COVID-19, the terrorist attacks on 9/11, and the economic crisis in 2008. These impactful events were mentioned in response to questions about specific moments that changed participants' views on the government and/or news media. Participants mention these events as moments that made them doubt the intentions of the government and news media. Worldwide is mentioned in between brackets, as some events were big for certain participants, but cannot be considered as events with worldwide impact. Events such as COVID-19 or the terrorist attacks on 9/11 are considered to be events with worldwide impact.

The terrorist attacks in New York on 9/11 and the COVID-19 pandemic were mentioned most often. There are many conspiracy theories surrounding the 9/11 attacks. Some of them were mentioned by participants as well. Participant 6, male, stated: "I have always been critical towards the United States, ever since 9/11. I never believed that story. Especially that the third building collapsed." In this case, the terrorist attacks sparked a distrusting notion for this participant. Another impactful event that was mentioned several times, is the economic crisis in 2008. Regarding the economic crisis, Participant 15, female, stated: "You should think about the economic crisis in 2008, when everything collapsed. And why that happened. And how that happened. And then it turned out that they eluded everyone." The government, referred to as 'they' in the quotation, is deemed responsible for the economic crisis. Furthermore, the participant believes that the government eluded people for their own gain, to gain power.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE WITHIN NEWS MEDIA

A total of thirteen participants think news media are controlled by the government, and therefore not objective. Several participants refer to traditional news media as 'state media' and 'mass media'. In this context, DPG Media,

the Belgian publisher of newspapers like de Volkskrant, AD, and Trouw, is often mentioned. DPG Media is perceived as a monopoly, with just one owner having control over all newspapers of the Netherlands. However, only three Dutch newspapers and one online news site are property of the company. Furthermore, public broadcasters, such as NOS, are perceived as puppets of the government. Since they are funded by the government, the assumption is that public broadcasters are therefore not objective.

Participant 2, female, stated: "When I found out that all newspapers write the same things. They just translate the lies of the government." This reflects the link between a lack of trust in the government and a lack of trust in news media, as participant 2 sees the possible influence of the government in news media as a negative factor. Most participants mention that the government pays news media to broadcast government policy. Participant 4, male, said: "There are questions that should be asked, but they are not. It is all just confirming, so people think that individuals involved in government policy are doing a good job."

CENSORSHIP

Twelve participants feel that certain topics and people are censored by news media and the government. This plays a part in the perception of governmental control over news media and science, as the consensus is that topics and people that do not fit the narrative of the government are silenced.

Some participants view the censorship as confirmation or disproval of online information. For instance, if news media only report on a subject from one point of view, some participants assume that information is false, and the correct information is censored. Participant 4, male, went as far as to say: "It is very simple: If Twitter deletes it, it is true." Both COVID-19 and the war in Ukraine are mentioned often in this context. Participants overall felt that news media are anti-Russia regarding the war in Ukraine. Russian state television is then mentioned as a trustworthy source. The feeling of censorship is sometimes connected to personal experiences as well. Participant 6, male, mentioned: "I was kicked out once as well. You get banned instantly. So, article 7 of freedom of speech does not mean anything there." 'There' relates to Twitter and Facebook, in this quotation.

THE ELITE VERSUS THE PEOPLE

Twelve out of twenty participants feel that the government does not have good intentions. Some went as far as to say that the Dutch government is controlled by an international individual or organisation, namely the World Economic Forum. Five participants note that crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic are used by the government to gain more control. Participant 1, male, states: "They create the problem so they can offer a solution that reinforces the result they wanted in the first place."

The feeling that there is an elite group working against 'the people' can be connected to current socioeconomical issues as well, as the Netherlands are dealing with high inflation and unstable factors due to the war in Ukraine. Participant 2, female, mentioned some socioeconomical issues, stating: "So on all aspects they need to take care of with our taxes, like healthcare, infrastructure, housing, food… All those things are not taken care of or have become very expensive. The lower classes are perishing."

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES WITH THE GOVERNMENT

Ten out of twenty participants have had personal experiences with the government that impacted their trust in the government. Examples of experiences such as these are a lack of help after experiencing identity theft and negative encounters with the police. In the words of participant 5, female: "That was an eyeopener, how the police treated us at protests. For me that was a clear sign that they're not here for us."

Certain experiences with the government have had a big impact on the lives of participants. The victim of identity fraud, participant 1, male, stated: "In 2012 I fell victim to identity theft. That sounds quite heavy, falling victim, but someone took a copy of my passport and signature and did several things in my name. He had two houses in my name and put weed plantations in them. I was then prosecuted for those activities, even though I was very clearly

not involved." A mistake made by the government has caused many problems for this participant. It is understandable that an experience like that causes someone to lose trust in the government.

Another participant lost their housing due to circumstances. Participant 9, male, stated: "It all went to hell when I ended up on the streets. I went to the town hall, and they told me: 'Yes sorry, but we cannot help you.'" So the government was not there for them when they needed help.

OWN EXPERIENCES VERSUS NEWS MEDIA

Some participants, nine out of twenty, have had experiences that were reported on differently by news media. For example, four participants were present at different protests in Den Haag and experienced those days from their points of view, yet news media portrayed the protests very different from their experiences. For those participants, that raises the question where journalists get their information from and if that information is truthful.

Participant 9, male, who went to a demonstration mentioned: "Especially when you see A happening at the Malieveld, or you see the COVID-19 situation in hospitals, and you hear B on the radio. That does raise some questions." Participant 15, female, did not agree on media reports about COVID-19, stating: "I have to admit, I knew someone who passed away from covid. He was 86 and had Alzheimer. He would have died from a cold as well. However, I do know sixteen people who died after getting the vaccine. Three of them are confirmed and three of them happened coincidentally a few weeks after getting the vaccine, with blood clots in their system."

Regardless of the reality, it is quite logical for people to question news media, if news media's portrayal of events is different from their own experiences.

OWN FILTER BUBBLES

Seven participants mentioned methods of finding information that seem to create own filter bubbles. Because of filter bubbles, people only find information that reinforces their existing beliefs (Bruns, 2019). Participants mention looking for information to confirm their own suspicions or beliefs, unwillingly creating filter bubbles, as different algorithms will then push similar information and sources towards them.

The creation of own filter bubbles is linked to the methods used by participants to fact check information. Participant 2, female, mentioned: "I actually only believe what I have researched myself." Participant 8, male, talking about an alternative media source, stated: "They put news forth in a different way, which corresponds with the thoughts I have about the news as well." By looking for information sources that correspond with people's own views and thoughts, there is a high risk of creating filter bubbles. It might be the case that another medium that does not correspond with people's own views, shares the truth, rather than the preferred media outlets.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE WITHIN SCIENCE

Similar to the political influence within news media, seven out of twenty participants think science is controlled by the government. They feel that some voices within the science community are silenced when they do not confirm government policy. Science papers that do get funded and published have outcomes that are predetermined by the government, according to four participants.

Regarding the political influence within science, participant 4, male, stated: "They must stay within a certain frame, if they want to get financial aid. So, the outcome of research is predetermined." Participant 6, male, echoed that thought: "Scientific research is funded by, what is it called, the Rockefeller foundation. It is all funded research. So, it is all calibrated within a certain frame."

SELECTIVE REPRESENTATION

An issue that correlates with the censorship mentioned before, is selective representation. Seven participants mentioned it. They feel that there is an uneven representation in both the government and news media. Talk shows, for example, are perceived to only invite experts and guests who confirm the government narrative, rather

than discuss different perspectives. The representation in the government and news media therefore does not include the views and opinions of research participants. Participants experience this as a form of dismissal.

Participant 2, female, stated: "And then I think: Why was there not more diversity? Why did they not invite him or her?" That statement resembles what participant 6, male, said: "I noticed, especially during COVID-19, in talk shows, that it is always the same people. Most of the medical people and journalists, they have to tell a specific story. And they do not get any rebuttal."

Representation does matter. There are almost eighteen million people in the Netherlands. Even if, hypothetically, only ten percent of Dutch citizens does not trust the government and news media, we are talking about almost two million people. Regarding selective representation, that would mean that almost two million people do not see themselves reflected in the government and in news media. And if you have strong feelings or opinions about a certain subject, it must be difficult to not see those same feelings and opinions reflected in newspapers or on television.

SOCIAL MEDIA INFLUENCES THE FEELING OF SELF-WORTH

Interestingly, being active and outspoken on social media enhances the feeling of self-worth and importance for five out of twenty participants. The number of online followers is often mentioned in this context. Participant 2, female, stated: "Apparently there is a need for it, because within two years, I gained over 22 thousand followers." In this context, the number of online followers reflects the importance of speaking out on social media about the government and/or news media.

Participant 7, male, mentioned gaining a lot of followers in a short period: "I began to read a bit, until I started posting some things myself. And to my surprise, I gained hundreds, if not thousands of followers after every new post. Within a short period, I had over fifteen thousand followers." Especially with the selective representation mentioned before, it is understandable that a big increase in followers makes participants feel important. The number of followers can be viewed as a direct representation of people agreeing with the participants in question. So, despite news media not representing them, they find likeminded people online that confirm their beliefs.

4.2 RELATED EXPERIENCES

The different reoccurring topics can be put together in a story-like format. Looking at figure 2, the data clearly show that impactful (worldwide) events have had a lot of effect, as fifteen out of twenty participants mentioned such events. This can be viewed as the starting point for the storyline, the initial spark of doubt. The impactful event, whether that is the start of COVID-19 or the terrorist attacks on 9/11, planted a seed of distrust in the minds of participants. The mentioned events are often catastrophic, which can result in a feeling of uncertainty.

Because of the impact of the event, participants may search for answers online. They might look for answers explaining the impactful event. As big events such as these can create uncertainty, individuals with a lack of trust might look for information that resonates with their gut feeling. Participant 9, male, mentioned: "Simply, if you read something that fits your own view and resonates with your own beliefs." Their own suspicions may unwillingly create filter bubbles in which they find likeminded people and sources that reinforce their own beliefs. The gut feeling of participants is trusted as means to determine factual information.

Meanwhile, the government and news media do not reflect the same beliefs, increasing the lack of trust in both. Not only do they highlight views that differ from participant's own views and beliefs, but they seem to ignore or even deny the views of participants. At the same time, talk shows are inviting experts and other people who reinforce the information that goes against the beliefs of participants. Their own beliefs are not reflected in news media, nor in the government. On social media, participants are gaining followers, who reinforce their views and opinions. These factors create a distance between the government and news media, and participants, resulting in a lack of trust.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 MAIN FINDINGS

As mentioned before, impactful (worldwide) events have a big impact on people. The COVID-19 pandemic, for example, has caused people to experience negative emotions of fear and agony (Fofana et al., 2020). Similar emotions were observed after the 9/11 terrorist attacks (DePierro et al., 2020). Meanwhile, social media usage is known to increase in crisis situations (Venegas-Vera et al., 2020). The initial fearful and uncertain emotions caused by impactful events may have caused research participants to look for answers online, including social media.

Since people are looking for answers in an uncertain situation, they might want to follow their gut feeling. Eight participants mention trusting their own feelings as means to fact check information. Furthermore, they look for likeminded people, who can confirm their initial beliefs, (unwillingly) creating echo chambers and filter bubbles (Rhodes, 2021). Within those filter bubbles, certain feelings of distrust may be encouraged by others, which makes it harder to believe different takes on the situation.

The COVID-19 pandemic itself has caused participants to lose trust in the government and news media. Government policy, for example, is mentioned by participants as a reason not to trust the government. Their own reality sometimes differs from the image portrayed by the government and news media. Five participants mentioned instances where their own experiences are different from the portrayal made by the government. With COVID-19, for example, one participant stated: "On television, you only saw people with covid and facemasks, and the infections in hospitals were rising. But when I looked around, I thought, yes, people are sick, but no more than in other years." Meanwhile, the Dutch government implemented strict regulations, such as lockdowns and curfews. Such restrictions might feel unnecessary and harmful if the problem they are trying to solve does not seem as severe in your own experience. In that case, it is not hard to imagine that the trust in the government declines.

Furthermore, there is a dissonance between news media and personal experiences of participants. Nine participants mentioned experiences with news media that made them lose trust. An example is a participant attending a protest against COVID-19 regulations, which was peaceful in their experience. However, news media articles and reports of the protest show a very different perspective, mentioning aggression and disturbances caused by protesters. Regardless of which perspective is true, it can be difficult to have a completely opposite view of what is shown by news media. Eleven research participants mentioned that they have lost friends and contact with family members due to their beliefs. The friends and family members they lose contact with, follow traditional news media and trust that they are telling the truth. So, if a research participant mentions their lack of trust in news media, those friends and family members do not understand them and in some cases even get angry.

One participant who did not get the COVID-19 vaccine due to the lack of trust mentioned: "We had friends and family get angry at us because we did not get the vaccine. People cancelled us and did not come by anymore." So, some participants are already distrusting of news media due to the dissonance between their own experiences and the reports made by news media, and then they get confronted with the different views of their peers who do trust news media.

Thirteen participants mentioned that they believe news media are controlled by the government. If there is already a lack of trust in the government due to an impactful event or personal experiences with the government, such as a lack of help after experiencing identity theft, thinking that they control news media will negatively affect the trust of people in news media. Several participants mention that news media are supposed to inform people about what is going on in the world, yet they feel like news media only publish things that correlate with government policy. Given the already present lack of trust in the government, it is logical to then lose trust in news media as well.

Some findings seem to be closely related, creating some sort of timeline. The big, impactful event causes the initial spark of doubt. To find answers, people search online for information that resonates with their own gut feeling. Meanwhile, the government and news media tell a story very different from the views and beliefs of participants. Online, participants gain a following, and are reinforced by their peers, creating a distance between the government, news media, and participants. The lack of representation of their own views and opinions in both the government and news media causes participants to distrust what they are reading in newspapers and seeing on television.

5.2 THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTION

As previously mentioned, other research has shown what trust is, and that there is a lack of trust. Several participants mentioned trusting people they follow on social media, which relates to social trust. People who trust socially expect a certain level of trustworthiness from strangers (Herreros & Criado, 2009).

Understanding why or how people have lost trust can provide insight into the division that can be observed in society. This research aims to contribute to a better understanding of trust, by analysing experiences and views of people with an outspoken lack of trust in the government and news media.

The lack of representation in the government and news media is an important factor in the lack of trust. Not only does this relate to people with different views than what is emphasized by the government and news media, but it also relates to representation as a whole. There have been many discussions about representation in the past years, regarding topics as ethnicity, gender, and educational levels. The awareness of the lack of representation regarding ethnicity, for example, has led to companies applying diversity quota to their vacancies, eventually improving the representation of different ethnical backgrounds. The findings of this research can be used to implement changes in the representation of different views in the government and news media. With almost eighteen million Dutch citizens, it is important to try and reflect all of society.

Furthermore, the creation of own filter bubbles should be further investigated. It is a known fact that there are different algorithms at play, creating various filter bubbles and echo chambers (Rhodes, 2021). This can be dangerous in regard to misinformation and should be taken very seriously.

5.3 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

There are some recommendations to be made based on feedback from participants.

Transparency was mentioned by several participants. Currently, they perceive the government to not be transparent and to ignore their own mistakes. One participant mentions: "Look, we all make mistakes, but at least be transparent about it." They could try to give citizens more insight into how government policies are made. It is possible to request WOB-papers, but they are often blacked out for big parts. The government could consider not blacking out as much information as they do now, to give a more transparent view of how they work.

Referenda were also mentioned several times. People often feel powerless, and referenda could give them back some power. However, there is a risk involved with implementing referenda, as uninformed people might take different risks than informed people (Morisi, 2018). This might be possible with smaller issues, but it might not be a smart idea regarding crises such as COVID-19. If there was a referendum to decide whether a lockdown would be implemented, chances are people would vote not to do so. Meanwhile, the hospitals would probably overflow, and the economy would suffer due to people calling in sick from work.

Regarding news media, people most of all want to hear different sides to every story. Seven research participants mentioned that they feel underrepresented in news media. Talk shows often offer a platform to guests who fit government policies, according to the participants. They would like to see more people from their own bubble, and see a more critical discussion about different subjects, such as climate change and COVID-19. This could be an easy solution, as many people with different views seem to want to tell their story on television. Yet, news

media need to be careful that they do not offer a platform to people who will spread misinformation. A critical discussion can be very effective, but it must be based on facts.

Another important factor to mention, is misinformation. Big events, such as COVID-19, have a clear impact on trust within groups of Dutch citizens. Such events can cause a lot of uncertainty, and during uncertain times, it is important to have the right information available. However, misinformation is a big risk. News is spreading faster than ever before through social media. Yet, social media do not have the power to filter through all information to find out what is fake or real. Society should be educated on the risk of misinformation and on how to recognize different information sources.

5.4 LIMITATIONS

The experiences and opinions of the twenty research participants give an insight into possible explanations of why people have lost trust in news media and the government. However, since only twenty people were interviewed, the results and conclusions cannot automatically be applied to all Dutch citizens with a lack of trust. They merely invite an open discussion about the subject.

Additionally, some personal experiences might be too personal to count as a possible explanation for the lack of trust. These experiences may sound impactful, but if they only relate to one or two people, they might not be relevant at all in the bigger picture.

The results give an insight in why the twenty participants lost trust in the government and news media, yet not a conclusive answer to the main research question. The results do show several ways of how individuals lost trust in the government and news media, based on their personal experiences.

Furthermore, as research participants were selected on social media, people who lack trust in the government and news media, but are not outspoken about it on social media are not represented in the research, even though they might be significant in the broad picture of a lack of trust in the government and news media.

5.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The division in society is visible in countries outside of the Netherlands as well, and not only regarding the government and news media. On a political level, a clear division can be observed. Several news agencies have observed an increase in popularity of the 'right wing'. Different socioeconomical issues, such as the current high inflation, may create new challenges regarding the division in society. The gap between the rich and the poor might increase further. Future research should look at the division in society from different perspectives, keeping the new challenges facing society in mind.

Furthermore, future research should include some expert testimonies as well. This research focused on the views and opinions of people with a lack of trust in the government and news media. It could be interesting to hear what 'the other side' has to say about these issues. A journalist might have a very different view of the division in society.

5.6 CONCLUSION

Overall, there are many reasons why people lose trust in the government and news media. Personal experiences with the government and news media, impactful events, filter bubbles, and opinions of their peers all seem to have an effect. Due to the number of different scenarios that can explain the lack of trust, it is difficult to draw a specific conclusion. The loss of trust is mostly dependent on personal experiences.

However, it is clear that big events, such as COVID-19 and the terrorist attacks on 9/11 can spark a feeling of doubt in people, as big events like these cause uncertainty. Combatting misinformation during times of uncertainty might prove to be a very big challenge.

It might not be possible to fully restore the trust in the government and news media, but both parties should try to include different perspectives on situations that apply to all citizens. Listen to what they have to say and keep

things factual. There is a clear separation in society and the first step should be taken to open the dialogue between both sides.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

*Hallo, welkom. Voor mijn master communicatiewetenschap doe ik onderzoek naar waarom mensen het vertrouwen in nieuwsmedia en de overheid zijn verloren. De focus van het onderzoek is om te begrijpen **waarom** het vertrouwen is afgenomen en welke ervaringen daar mogelijk toe hebben geleid. Ik wil graag uw mening horen over de overheid en nieuwsmedia. Uw eigen ervaringen en meningen zijn dus van grote waarde voor het onderzoek en ik nodig u dan ook uit om zo eerlijk mogelijk antwoord te geven op alle vragen.*

Ik heb u benaderd aan de hand van tweets waarin een duidelijke mening over de overheid en/of nieuwsmedia naar voren komt. De vragen gaan over uw/jouw meningen van- en persoonlijke ervaringen met de overheid en nieuwsmedia die tot wantrouwen hebben geleid.

Ik heb de vragen in blokjes opgedeeld, beginnend met algemene info, daarna over de overheid en we sluiten af met uw ervaringen met nieuwsmedia.

De gegevens worden volledig anoniem verwerkt en zullen niet terug te leiden zijn naar individuele personen.

Ik wil het interview graag opnemen, geeft u daar toestemming voor?

Als u tussendoor vragen en/of opmerkingen hebt, laat het dan zeker weten.

5min
Deze vragen zijn vrij algemeen en bedoeld voor mijn uiteindelijke data.

1. Wat is uw leeftijd?
2. Wat voor opleiding heeft u gedaan?
3. Wat voor social media gebruikt u?
   (Wat doet u zoal op social media?)
   Waarom bent u actief op social media?
   Wat betekenen social media voor u/jou?
4. Kunt u een moment noemen waarop uw mening/opvattingen (over social media) zijn veranderd?
5. *Is er iets in uw persoonlijk leven veranderd in de afgelopen tijd?*

15min
De volgende vragen gaan over uw ervaringen met de overheid.

6. Wat vindt u over het algemeen van de overheid?
7. Is uw mening over de overheid anders dan vroeger? Hoe is het veranderd?
8. Kunt u een moment noemen waarop uw mening/opvattingen zijn veranderd?
9. Wat vindt uw omgeving (familie/vrienden) van de overheid? Heeft u het ook met uw omgeving over de overheid?
10. Is er iets wat de overheid naar uw mening anders kan doen om het vertrouwen te verbeteren?

20min
De volgende vragen gaan over uw ervaringen met nieuwsmedia.

11. Wat vindt u over het algemeen van traditionele nieuwsmedia (kranten, journaal)?
12. Heeft u dit beeld bij alle media, of is er ook een medium dat u wel vertrouwt?
13. Hoe bevestigt u nieuwsberichten? Heeft u daar een methode voor?
14. Is uw mening over nieuwsmedia anders dan vroeger? Hoe is het veranderd?
15. Kunt u een moment noemen waarop uw mening/opvattingen zijn veranderd?
16. Wat vindt uw omgeving (familie/vrienden) van nieuwsmedia? Heeft u het ook met uw omgeving over nieuwsmedia?
17. Is er iets wat nieuwsmedia naar uw mening anders kunnen doen om het vertrouwen te verbeteren?

5min

18. Wat is uw mening over wetenschappers? Is deze anders dan vroeger?
19. *Zijn er wetenschappers die u vertrouwt?*

5min

20. Voelt u dat u tot een bepaalde groep behoort?
    Wat merkt u daarvan?

Eventuele doorvraag-vragen:
- Hoe komt u aan deze informatie?
- Kunt u daar voorbeelden van geven?
- Kunt u daar meer over vertellen?
- Waarom?
- Beschouwt u uzelf soms als een 'outcast' vanwege je mening(en) over nieuwsmedia en de overheid?

APPENDIX 2: CODE SHEET

Beeld in nieuwsmedia anders dan eigen perceptie	Persoon heeft een bepaald beeld van de wereld dat afwijkt van nieuwsmedia
Dialoog met anderen over nieuwsmedia	Dialoog met anderen (omgeving – vrienden/familie) over nieuwsmedia
Dialoog met anderen over overheid	Dialoog met anderen (omgeving – vrienden/familie) over de overheid
Eigen ervaring versus media	Mensen hebben bepaalde dingen meegemaakt die door nieuwsmedia anders worden beschreven
Eigen ervaring versus overheid	Mensen hebben bepaalde dingen meegemaakt die door de overheid anders worden weergeven
Eigen filterbubbels	Het zoeken naar specifieke informatie, waardoor alternatieve informatie wordt gefilterd
Elite versus volk	De overheid versus het volk. (Zij hebben motieven die het volk niet dienen)
Existentiële dreiging	Het idee dat de overheid/nieuwsmedia erop uit zijn om bepaalde groepen dwars te zitten
Fouten overheid	Bepaalde keuzes van de overheid die als fouten worden gezien door mensen
Gevoel van censuur	Het idee dat bepaalde onderwerpen en mensen door de overheid en nieuwsmedia worden gecensureerd
Grote (wereldwijde) gebeurtenissen leiden tot wantrouwen	Grote gebeurtenissen die de mening van participanten over de overheid en/of nieuwsmedia hebben veranderd
Identificatie groep	Groepsgevoel aan de hand van eigen kenmerken en overtuigingen
Informatie verifiëren	Methode om te achterhalen of een bericht juist is/ te fact checken
Informatievoorziening	Kanalen en manieren waarop onderzoek participanten op de hoogte blijven van het nieuws/ wat er in de wereld gebeurt
Invloeden vanuit sociale omgeving	Nieuwsconsumptie, meningen en uitspraken van de omgeving (familie/vrienden)
Mening over nieuwsmedia	De meningen van onderzoek participanten over nieuwsmedia
Mening over overheid	De meningen van onderzoek participanten over de overheid
Mening over wetenschap	De meningen van onderzoek participanten over de wetenschap
Nieuwsframe wijkt af van eigen beeld	Het idee dat nieuws in een bepaald frame wordt gebracht om bepaalde boodschappen over te brengen, dat afwijkt van de eigen ervaringen
Ontbrekende dialoog met volk	De overheid overlegt niet met het volk over overheidsbesluiten
Opvoeding	De normen en waarden die onderzoek participanten hebben meegekregen tijdens hun opvoeding, mogelijk van invloed op het vertrouwen
Perceptie nieuwsmedia als kwaad	Het idee dat nieuwsmedia in principe slechte bedoelingen hebben met hun berichtgeving en/of een doorgeefluik zijn van overheidsbesluiten
Perceptie taken overheid	Het beeld van onderzoek participanten van de kerntaken van de overheid
Persoonlijke ervaring met overheid	Eigen ervaringen van onderzoek participanten met de overheid (bijvoorbeeld ervaring met jeugdzorg)

Persoonlijke ervaringen	Levensgebeurtenissen en grote veranderingen in het leven van onderzoek participanten
Persoonlijke omstandigheden die leiden tot gebrek aan vertrouwen	Situaties die zich voordoen/ zich voor hebben gedaan die het vertrouwen in de overheid/nieuwsmedia hebben aangetast
Perceptie politieke invloed op nieuwsmedia	Het idee dat de overheid de touwtjes van nieuwsmedia in handen heeft en bepaalt over welk nieuws wordt bericht
Perceptie politieke invloed op wetenschap	Het idee dat de wetenschap wordt beïnvloed en bepaald door de overheid en wetenschappers in dienst van de overheid geen echte wetenschap bedrijven
Realiteit komt niet overeen met eigen ervaringen	Het idee dat eigen ervaringen niet overeenkomen met de realiteit (ik ken niemand met corona)
Selectieve representatie in politiek en media	Het idee dat slechts een bepaald deel van de bevolking wordt gerepresenteerd in de politiek en nieuwsmedia. Bijvoorbeeld gasten bij talkshows
Sociale media bevorderen gevoel van eigenwaarde	Het linken van eigenwaarde met interactie op sociale media. Meer likes betekenen meer eigenwaarde
Toegeschreven groepsgevoel	Het idee dat anderen onderzoek participanten in een bepaald hoekje duwen, waar ze zichzelf niet mee identificeren
Verbeteringen nieuwsmedia	Dingen die nieuwsmedia in de ogen van onderzoek participanten beter zouden kunnen doen om het vertrouwen te verbeteren
Verbeteringen overheid	Dingen die de overheid in de ogen van onderzoek participanten beter zou kunnen doen om het vertrouwen te verbeteren
Waarom sociale media	Redenen waarom onderzoek participanten actief zijn op sociale media
Zij versus wij	Andere mensen in de samenleving ten opzichte van onderzoek participanten