Section B

Institution: University of St Andrews

Unit of Assessment: UoA30: Philosophy

Title of case study: Public Trust and Public Disagreement

Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 2009-2019

Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:

Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g. job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:
Katherine Hawley	Professor	01 September 1999 – present
John Haldane	Professor	01 September 1983– 31 December 2019

Period when the claimed impact occurred: 01 August 2013 – 31 December 2020

Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? No

Section B

1. Summary of the impact

Research in St Andrews on cross-perspective disagreement and on trust and distrust, for example regarding which sources of information we should trust and how to manage deep disagreements, provided new and valuable insights that were used to support the functioning of the public sphere. The research has influenced public debates in the UK and abroad as a result of regular and sustained engagement since 2014 both through dozens of public lectures and through popular media, including BBC, NPR and Psychology Today. The research has also improved the professional practices of several organisations, including the Council of the European Union, the Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, Audit Scotland and the Chartered Institute of Insurers (UK); for example, Hawley's work helped to establish a new 'Public Trust Index' for the Chartered Institute of Insurers.

2. Underpinning research

What are the prospects for informed, reasoned public discourse through the upheavals of radical technological, political, and social change? Where does intellectual autonomy shade into debilitating distrust? Such concerns are culturally pervasive at present, and they provide rich opportunities for philosophical intervention.

Open and informed public discourse is vital to democracy, but rapid technological and cultural changes have created new challenges for citizens in evaluating which information to trust. It has also become alarmingly easy for us to avoid political, moral, religious and cultural perspectives that differ from our own. Haldane's research on cross-perspective disagreement and Hawley's research on trust and distrust provide new and valuable resources which speak directly to these current concerns, forming the intellectual basis for their interventions in public debates. Taken together, the research sheds light on some of the most pressing concerns for a functioning public sphere, including how to manage deep disagreements with our fellow citizens, which sources of information we should trust, and what we should expect from our public institutions.

In his 2009 essay collection [R1], Haldane defends a set of interconnecting claims about the nature and scope of reasonable disagreement, about seemingly intractable disputes, and about public reason in all the many senses of that phrase. He challenges a number of widely assumed dichotomies in this area, for example that agreeing or disagreeing with the grounds on which something is advocated are our only two options. He advocates the importance of a distinctive notion of 'civic friendship' across divides and shows how such friendship can underpin ongoing dialogue through radical but reasonable disagreement (2018) [R2]. Haldane's research contends that by fostering this kind of civic friendship, we can maintain trust in one another—or at least

ward off distrust—despite our deep differences, as we work together to shape our shared society.

Hawley's research on trust, carried out since 2009, is rooted in her earlier work on testimony and practical knowledge. Key contributions on the nature of trust, distrust, and trustworthiness include the importance of analysing distrust in its own right, rather than merely as the decisive absence of trust [R3, R4] and the defence of the 'commitment' account of trust, distrust, and trustworthiness, according to which trustworthy people are those that skilfully manage their commitments. Hawley's research also brings together questions about practical trust—trusting someone to do something—and questions about testimony and epistemic trust—trusting someone when they tell you something—by regarding speech as a form of action and telling as a form of promising [R3, R4, R5].

Previous work on trust has tended to emphasise the motives of a trusted person. One important conclusion of Hawley's research is a shift of emphasis from the person's motives to her actions. While a focus on a trusted person's motives and interpersonal attitudes is appropriate for questions of trust in private relationships, the focus on actions is especially well-suited to public contexts, including individuals' trust in groups, organisations, and institutions [R3, R4, R5, R6]. For example, questions of trust in medical contexts are of clear public concern. The research explores issues of trust involved in the practice of 'defensive medicine', gaining donor consent for tissue collection for biobanking, and maintaining patient/family confidence in cardiopulmonary resuscitation decisions.

A key theme of Hawley's research on trustworthiness is the importance of communicating reasonable expectations, both for individuals and for institutions [R6]. This is crucial for earning trust by skilfully managing one's commitments, since among other things it allows one to avoid finding oneself overcommitted. It is also crucial for building trust, by being clear to what one is actually committed.

3. References to the research

All the publications were peer-reviewed and/or published by highly ranked academic publishers. In addition, R3 was submitted to REF 2014.

R1. Haldane, John (2009) Practical Philosophy: Ethics, Society and Culture. Exeter: Imprint Academic. Section II 'Society' includes chapters on 'Families and Why They Matter', 'Political Theory and the Nature of Persons', 'The Individual, the State and the Common Good', 'Public Reason, Truth and Human Fellowship', 'Crime, Compensation and Social Solidarity'. ISBN: 9781845401818

R2. Haldane, John (2018): 'Responding to Discord: Why Public Reason is Not Enough' in James Arthur (ed.) Virtues in the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Civic Friendship and Duty, London: Routledge. ISBN: 9780429505096 DOI: 10.4324/9780429505096

R3. Hawley, Katherine (2014): 'Trust, Distrust and Commitment', Noûs 48.1: 1-20. DOI: 10.1111/nous.12000

R4. Hawley, Katherine (2019): How to Be Trustworthy, Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 9780198843900; DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198843900.001.0001

R5. Hawley, Katherine (2015): 'Trust and Distrust between Patient and Doctor', Journal of Evaluation in Clinical Practice, 21.5: 798-801. DOI: 10.1111/jep.12374

R6. Hawley, Katherine (2017): 'Trustworthy Groups and Organisations', in Paul Faulkner and Tom Simpson (eds), Philosophy of Trust, Oxford University Press, pp.230-249. ISBN: 9780198732549; DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198732549.001.0001

4. Details of the impact

The research led by Haldane and Hawley has had impact on ordinary citizens in the UK, USA and Australia, and on organisations and policymakers including Audit Scotland, the Council of the EU, and the Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology. Public writing, lectures and media appearances have influenced public understanding of both interpersonal relationships and political debate; for example, Haldane was named one of '50 Most Influential Living

Philosophers'. Direct research collaborations with major organisations have enabled more reflective policies on building and earning trust, for example by driving the Chartered Institute of Insurers' ongoing Public Trust Index.

1. Increased public understanding through sustained engagement:

Public interest and engagement with the ideas at the heart of Hawley's and Haldane's research is significant and ongoing. Hawley's research on trust, distrust, and trustworthiness underpins her popular book, _Trust: A Very Short Introduction_, (printed in September 2013), which has sold 3,848 copies between 1 August 2013 and 31 December 2020 and 5,951 copies total, with Chinese and Arabic translations under contract. The popularity of the book led to an invitation to write for the high-profile research-based site, _Psychology Today_. Her 27 posts since 2016 had a total readership of over 218,110 as of 31 December 2020 [S1]. The influence of this work has been bolstered, and is evidenced, by many invitations to increase and shape public understanding of trust in both popular and business-focused venues, including:

- BBC Radio Science: Hawley collaborated with BBC Radio Science at a workshop entitled _Trust and Sensation in the Public Communication of Exoplanet Science_. Following this collaboration, BBC Radio Science produced an item on exoplanet science on their programme, _CrowdScience_, on BBC World Service English, which reaches 97,000,000 people each week. According to the producer, Hawley's work on public trust and distrust in science made the programme team aware of "_when to question timing and accuracy of press releases relating to research_" on exoplanet science, which allowed them to "_make higher quality content with a breadth and depth of accurate information that further fosters audience trust_". [S2]
- Contribution to _Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Index 2014_, edited by Francis Quinn and Dean Ritz, ISBN: 978-3-906501-05-5, launched at WEF in Davos (2014) [S3], in which Hawley's article, 'Trust, It's Complicated' discusses trust and the financial crisis.
- Video interview about trust featured on PwC (PriceWaterhouseCooper) website _World in Beta_ (May 2014). The website received over 100,000 visits, the videos were viewed 110,000 times, and the campaign won several awards, including 'Digital Superstar' by B2B Marketing, an information provider for business marketers and outperformed any campaign the company has run. [S4, p. 3]
- Half-hour interview for Matt Townsend Show on BYU radio (USA) in October 2016; invited for a second interview in April 2018. [S5, pp. 31-34]
- Invited talk to the annual conference of the Association of University Administrators, about trust in the workplace (2017), which attracted over 600 people (university administrators).
- Interview for _Cosmopolitan_, extensively quoted in magazine article, 'How to tell if you have a mirage friend', 21 February 2018 [S5, p. 9]. which prompted further articles which received worldwide exposure in yourtango.com, ukbusinessinsider.com, elitedaily.com Yahoo!News and led to a further interview months later with PureWow.com (July 2018) [S5, pp. 10-30]
- Interview for _Payment Cards and Mobile_ trade magazine, extensive quotations in article 'Trust Me, I'm a Banker' (2018) [S5, pp. 6-8].
- Contribution to 'Twelve Thinkers on Brexit', Institute for Art and Ideas, March 2019, focus on public trust in politics. [S5, pp. 2-5]

Haldane's sustained engagement with issues about reasonable disagreement in the public sphere includes media appearances, public lectures, and writings in the mainstream and wide-reaching media in the UK, USA and Australia. As a result, the key ideas of civic friendship across ideological divides has reached a very wide audience. The following is a representative but far from complete list [S6 includes a fuller list of over 125 public engagements and popular articles between September 2013 and November 2020]:

- 'The cultural, philosophical and educational preconditions of a decent society', Belmont Abbey College, Public Lecture, Charlotte, N. Carolina, February 2014
- 'Scottish referendum: how religion could help heal the nation's rifts', *Telegraph*, September 2014
- 'Religion, Passions, Arguments', Nexus event, Amsterdam Opera House, November 2015
- 'Practices such as no-platforming threaten the roots of freedom', *The Guardian*, March 2016
- 'Q&A' (Australian version of 'Question Time'), ABC TV Australia, April 2016
- 'The challenge of barbarianism', Public Lecture, Charles Darwin University, Australia, May 2016
- 'Education, values and the challenge of cultural diversity', Public Lecture, Fremantle Australia, May 2016
- 'Religion by another name: how Trump and Brexit is reminiscent of Calvinism', *The Critique*, January 2017
- 'Understanding and dealing with societal conflict', Public Lecture, Eastern University, April 2017
- 'Good Disagreement', interdisciplinary seminar, Institute for Ethics and Society, Sydney, July 2018

The Best Schools Listing included Haldane as one of the 50 Most Influential Living Philosophers. [S6, p. 2] His impact has been recognised, for example, in *The Guardian* and on National Public Radio (US). Remarking on Haldane's appearance on Australia's 'Q&A', *The Guardian*'s Melbourne editor wrote: 'By far the most insightful person on Australia's Q&A program this week was the Catholic theologian and philosopher John Haldane. He took complicated and charged questions and tried to make sense of them. In doing so, he spoke of something critical in a liberal democracy, something we are at risk of losing – the idea of "reasonable disagreement" on controversial issues. "People who hold contrary views on these matters are neither stupid nor wicked," he said. "In the US, conservatives tend to think of liberals as being bad people, immoral people, but liberals think of conservatives as if they are stupid." The answer was not moral relativism, or a failure to make decisions, but "civic friendship" in the way we discuss these issues.' ('Conservatives love to hate political correctness, but the left should rail against it too', *The Guardian*, 26 April 2016.) [S6, pp. 19-21]

2. Influencing Organisations and Policymakers:

In addition, the research has led to and underpinned opportunities for engagement with major institutions and policymakers over issues of public trust. These include:

The Council of the European Union: On the basis of her *Very Short Introduction to Trust*, Hawley was invited to speak at an expert seminar on 'Trust in Public Institutions and the Rule of Law', hosted by the Austrian Ambassador during Austria's Presidency of the European Union, alongside speakers from the judiciary, civil society, media, and politics. The seminar's goals were to understand how the EU could both build trust between member states and trust in the EU and its institutions itself, since the council recognizes that trust is key to the healthy and effective functioning of the EU. Hawley contributed to a panel devoted to discussion of how to win back public trust of the EU; her contribution focused on what is required for institutions to be trustworthy, and so to deserve trust. A subsequent report, including a summary of Hawley's contribution, was the basis of discussion by ministers in the Council of the EU in autumn 2018. [S7]

Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology: Based on their research on trust, Hawley and colleague Alexander Douglas submitted evidence to the Culture, Media and Sport select committee inquiry into 'Fake News' in March 2017. In consequence, the Knowledge Exchange Lead for Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology (POST), UK Parliament, asked them to write up a case study of to raise awareness amongst researchers in the arts and humanities

about engaging with Parliament; now published on Parliament's website. This case study has been used in at least 15 training sessions reaching more than 450 people (at least 30 per session) [S8].

Audit Scotland: Hawley and her PhD student, Joshua Kelsall, have worked closely with Audit Scotland for four years, helping the organisation reflect on the challenges posed by both a general decline in trust in experts, and specific recent failures of audit (e.g. at Patisserie Valerie). They have done so through direct engagement with both employees of Audit Scotland and members of the public who interact with the organisation. For example, Kelsall has run seminars for both Audit Scotland and the English equivalent, the National Audit Office. Underpinning this work is a framework for thinking about trust based on Hawley's research. The Audit Director comments that engagement with Hawley and her trust research has helped inform and shape several aspects of their work (1) by increasing their credibility and thus the work's impact with stakeholders (e.g. the Scottish Parliament), (2) by presenting ways to embed trustworthiness in their business processes (e.g. in selection and deployment of audit teams, reporting findings), and (3) by showing how to respond to key policy and regulatory changes. This work with Audit Scotland has led to opportunities to work with other organisations, as well. For example, Hawley was asked to write an academic brief for Ofsted to inform their work on education audit [S9].

Chartered Institute of Insurers: Hawley was commissioned to produce an academic brief on public trust in insurance. This underpinned a large empirical study (conducted by others) including qualitative and survey methods, establishing a new 'Public Trust Index', in which the CII developed a "*meaningful way of measuring trust in the insurance profession, and created a tool that will allow it to take practical steps towards building trust*" [S10, p. 2]. The CII, which has 125,000 people (members), notes that Hawley's is one of two detailed works that underpins their call to action and "*sets out the ideas that stand behind [their] sense of trust*" [S10, p. 2]. An academic brief and other research reports were launched in summer 2018 [S10, pp. 4-38], and the CII has repeated the empirical survey yearly, to allow cross-time comparisons of public trust.

5. Sources to corroborate the impact

S1. Viewing statistics from *Psychology Today*.

S2. Email from Producer of BBC Radio Science.

S3. Contribution of Hawley to *CSR Index 2014.*

S4. Email from Price Waterhouse Cooper and information about 'The world in beta' campaign.

S5. Articles quoting Hawley in *Cosmopolitan*, other websites, *Payments Card and Mobile*, and webpages noting radio interviews.

S6. Record of Haldane's public engagement, including his listing as one of the 50 Most Influential Living Philosophers.

S7. Email from the Austrian Ambassador; and documentation from European Union Rule of Law event and subsequent discussion in the Council of the European Union.

S8. Email from Knowledge Exchange Lead for Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, and Hawley and Douglas' case study.

S9. Email from Audit Scotland.

S10. Documentation of Hawley's contributions to the Public Trust Index for the Chartered Institute of Insurers.