

Building trust in multi-level systems: The Case of Saxony-Anhalt

Dr. Dominic Heinz
(infodominic-heinz.de)

Abstract

German regions can be understood as Länder so that they have state-like structures with any institutional bodies of regular states. Of course also vernacular regions exist within Länder, like the Baden and Franconia within Bavaria, but this paper denotes regions as German Länder and asks how trust can be established or restored? Or is trust in regions simply there or not, so that any effort in establishing or restoring trust fails? In so far it is an open question which institutional configuration causes more trust / increase of trust. This paper deals with the instrumental region of Saxony-Anhalt, if the wording of the project / panel is used. The paper concludes that as main cause for (re)establishment of trust is a continuity of institutions can be named. For the case of Hesse the Land / region showed an institutional continuity, understood as the municipal structure closest to the citizen, from the Second World War (1945) on and Saxony-Anhalt showed only an institutional continuity from German Unity (1990) on. Hence the differing starting dates towards the German political system explains the different levels of political trust in Saxony-Anhalt.

	Page
Title & Abstract & Structure	1
1. Introduction	1
2. Theory	3
3. Method	5
4. Empirics	7
a. “Magdeburger Modell” and Political Trust in Saxony-Anhalt	7
b. Reduction of Cities and Municipalities	9
c. Polarisation of Landtag	13
d. Municipalities in Hesse	15
5. Conclusion	17
Tables	
References	

1. Introduction

The question how to build trust lies at the heart of any (not only, but also) political and societal analysis in Saxony-Anhalt. Although the matter of identity affecting trust in Saxony-Anhalt is the same as in any other German Land, there are never the less some particularities in Saxony-Anhalt. Whereas society and political culture in Saxony-Anhalt are above all German and the situation is hardly equal to the situation of multi-national or decentralized states, like France and the United Kingdom.

But Saxony-Anhalt never the less is a German Land that encompasses both former Western German and Eastern German territory. Whereas one Laender clearly belonged to one or the other part of Germany (be it the FDR or the GDR), Saxony-Anhalt shows in the history of the territory no clear belonging to one part or the other. Also since German Unity particularities have to be remarked when dealing with the Land of Saxony-Anhalt. In the history of Saxony-Anhalt the “Magdeburger Modell” took place. That means that from 1994 until 2002 an SPD led (under Prime Minister Reinhard Hoepfner (SPD)) Land government was in power and tolerated by the party PDS (later renamed as LINKE). The party GREENS (GRUENE) were a coalition partner of the SPD.

The toleration is remarkable, because the social democrats (SPD) at the time in the federal level avoided any cooperation with the party LINKE (until today). Never the less, later in 2001 and 2002 also in the city state of Berlin the Land government followed the so called “Magdeburger Modell” with a SPD led government tolerated by PDS (now LINKE).

2. Theory

Many studies have dealt with the question of how trust can be established or why is trust broken or diminishing. The answers have so far not been satisfying or convincing, because no general theory of trust building establishment could be brought up.¹ Never the less some pieces of trust with theoretical implications exist. Trust relates to the connection of an individual to its context. On the one hand an individual trusts his context because he receives something material or immaterial in exchange to his trust to his context. Literature so far denote it as exchange based trust. This type of trust is root in the societal theories of liberal theories of exchange based interactions between individuals.

Or the individual trusts his context because both (individual and context) belong to the same group / community or entity. Against the example of the above mentioned liberal theories of trust this version of trust is based in community related theories with its roots in communitarian philosophy. To these concepts trust is more based on the equality of interests and the feeling of togetherness of the trustor and trustee. The distinction results at the end of the day in the difference between feelings and calculation or the difference of rational and emotional version of trust.

The example of middle and eastern European countries, like Poland, the Check Republic or Slovakia, and Western Europe directly after the Breakdown of the Soviet Union are a case in point for this distinction. Meanwhile the political development can hardly be drawn according to borders of state, but the two concepts of trust mix even within single countries.

¹ For a broader overview see Alistair Cole, Romain Pasquier and Ian Stafford (2016) Political Trust and Transparency in multi-level governance: new findings from the French regions, CES Annual Conference on 11th -13th July, 2017 at Glasgow University and for transparency Grimmelikhuijsen & Welch (2012).

Germany is a case where both concepts of trust can be found. In the Western Länder or regions (as I should denote Länder in this paper) institutions were already in place when Eastern Länder declared to abandon Soviet rule and step over to the West German institutions. For other East European states these institutions were needed to build up anew and maintained whereas in the (West) German case institutions already had the chance to exist for some time since the End of World War II in 1945. This abstract notion of the persistence of trust can be seen in the persistence of municipal and communal structures that needed to be reduced in numbers in Saxony-Anhalt, but not in Hesse after German Unity after the year 1990. Whereas these structures stayed constant in the case of Hesse the municipalities in Saxony-Anhalt experienced a steady regression. This can be qualified as an expression of a different concept of trust in politics as this paper argues. Saxony-Anhalt is an example of community based trust where the exchange services since 1990 could not have the steady success as in the Western part of Germany, like Hesse, after the Second World War in 1945 until 1990.

According to this conceptualization of trust exchanges accumulate so that an exchange “trust” against “any material good” needs not to take place at once or directly. Trust then is the diffuse knowledge that there will be an exchange, if not at once then later on. But this is not the only conception of trust (Gabriel / Zmerli 2006). In community based trust an exchange takes only place between members of a community, whereas in the theory it remains unclear how this community could be specified more exactly. In the context of this paper a closer specification of community is operationalized through the idea of nation or identity, because whereas the German identity is more embracing to these two regions of Hesse and Saxony-Anhalt, there is another idea in the United Kingdom and France.

3. Method

The paper presents first findings of a wider research project about this question of how to build political trust comparing Germany, the United Kingdom and France. Within the wider research project also the paper asks the question of how trust is built in the German Land of Saxony-Anhalt. Therefore the paper rests on qualitative expert interviews that were comparable to expert interviews with the other countries of France and the United Kingdom. These expert interviews capture the mentioned "...socially thick, face-to-face relations" (Warren 1999: 348).

The expert interviews were structured a way that allowed a comparison between regions and states that is for the case of Germany Hesse and Saxony-Anhalt. A first group of experts was formed under the label of government officials. As the label already mentions the group belongs to state officials of the government. In the case of Saxony-Anhalt officials were reluctant to accept the offer of interviews, because it seemed for a government official hard to state that he does not trust a person or institution. This situation also took place in the case of Hesse so that both cases (Hesse and Saxony-Anhalt faced the same problems and are comparable in this respect). Instead it was easier for state officials to let the question for an interview unanswered. The other groups of interviewees was related to parliamentarians of the parliament of the Land Saxony-Anhalt as the democratic representation of the Land. Here the petition committee of the Landtag was seen as a major access point where citizens are able to get in contact with any political institutions of the Land. Regarding the group of parliamentarians the previous picture continues, because only Opposition parties in Saxony-Anhalt agreed to conduct interviews. That were members of the Landtag of the left party

(LINKE) and the right wing (AfD). The government of the Land Saxony-Anhalt rests on a coalition of Christian Democrats (CDU), Social Democrats (SPD) and Greens (GRUENE) in the Landtag of Saxony-Anhalt.

Hence the decline for interviews of the government parties results in a unified picture with the reluctant behaviour of government officials belonging to the Saxony-Anhalt Land government of Christian democrats (CDU), Social Democrat (SPD) and greens (GRUENE). Beside the first two groups of interview partners a third and last group consisted of the so called intermediary actors that were supposed to mediate between political institutions and citizens. This intermediary group consisted of representatives of TV stations, newspaper journalists, and associations, churches and so on with an open list of possible interview partners belonging to the group of intermediary actors that could be potentially related to the aspect of trust in Saxony-Anhalt or the state of Germany.

With the three cases of Germany, the United Kingdom and France there were three cases of democratic Western states, (still) members of the EU, so that all three allow the question how they built trust. Therefore a second step of the case selection was made. But those three cases states achieve this goal of building trust in a different scope or quality. Never the less also all three cases have different context conditions with the result that citizens trust (or distrust) political institutions in this state. The design of the overall study therefore is comparative and also the study has a comparative merit (Sartori 1994: 24; Muno 2009: 116) with the question of how it is possible to (re)establish trust. Therefore before approaching the comparison this paper aims at answering the question of how trust in political institutions works in one region / one Land of Germany, Saxony-Anhalt, before moving to the overall comparison between on

the one hand the states of the United Kingdom, Germany and France and on the other hand the regions of Wales, Manchester, Bretagne, Rhones-Alpes, Hesse and Saxony-Anhalt.

Within the German context this paper deals with the question of how trust is established in Saxony-Anhalt as the second case study in Germany. Referring to the mentioned three groups' interview partners were selected and asked if they would accept the question for qualitative expert interview in order to find out more about the "...socially thick, face-to-face relations" (Warren 1999: 348) of trust building / establishment.

At the same time confidentiality has been assured to interview partners, so that the interview protocols were then anonymized. According to the interviews it has to be mentioned that so far the government was reluctant of accepting interview inquiries both in Hesse and Saxony-Anhalt.

4. Empirics

a. "Magdeburger Modell" and Political Trust in Saxony-Anhalt

The particularity for Germany that a government only possesses a simple and not the absolute majority, rarely happens in Germany and also this form of collaboration between the Social Democrats and the former GDR party of the left (PDS / LINKE) did not took place so far.

The special phrase of this form of government with a toleration of the party PDS/LINKE was since then called "Magdeburger Modell" and became a fixed phrase in German politics.

Meanwhile in the city state of Berlin existed since 1991 a coalition between Social Democrats (SPD) and Christian Democrats (CDU), but this coalition broke in the year 2001

because of the Banking scandal in Berlin. From the breakup of the old SPD – CDU coalition until the new election in the city state of Berlin Klaus Wowereit (SPD) governed also with the party GREENS and a toleration of the left party (PDS / LINKE). So in Berlin occurred the same constellation than in Saxony-Anhalt. After the election in Berlin on 21st of October 2001 a so called red-red government was formed. There the left party (PDS / LINKE) did not only tolerate any more the Land government, but participated in it and the party GREENS did not participate in government any more.

After the election to the Landtag (the Land / state parliament) in Saxony-Anhalt in 1994 the coalition of Christian democrats (CDU) and the liberals (FDP) had no parliamentary majority any more. The liberal party (FDP) did not manage to gather enough votes for passing the 5 percent threshold and the Christian democrats (CDU) hardly became the strongest party before the Social Democrats (SPD). But also the Social democrats (SPD) and the GREENS (GRUENE) did not get a majority in those elections for the Land parliament in 1994. Hence Social democrats and the Greens (GRUENE) opted for a toleration of a government of the party of the left (the successor party of the GDR, the (single) party SED). On the 21st of July 1994 Martin Hoepfner, the candidate of the Social democrats (SPD) was elected as Prime Minister of Saxony-Anhalt in the third time of elections with a simple majority. The members of Landtag of the left party (PDS / LINKE) abstained from the decision, so that the simple majority of SPD and Greens (GRUENE) was enough in the third round of voting.

This constellation was continued after the election to the Landtag of 1998, although this time the party Greens (GRUENE) did not make it into the Landtag (the Land / state parliament) because they did not achieve to surpass the 5 percent threshold. But the Opposition was fragmented. This time in the year 1998 the right wing DVU made it into parliament, but did

not achieve a cooperation with the Christian (CDU) democrats. For Christian democrats (CDU) a toleration of a Social democrat (SPD) Land government was obviously easier to accept than a cooperation with the right wing DVU party. Also the left party (PDS / LINKE) tolerated again the SPD government of Martin Hoepfner. Hence the “Magdeburger Modell” was continued also after the Land elections in 1998. Only after the Land elections in the year 2002 the parties of the Christian democrats (CDU) and the liberals (FDP) achieved an own majority in the Land parliament. Hence the Prime Minister Wolfgang Boehmer (CDU) was elected in the year 2002.

For the Land parliament election of the year 2002 it has hence to be noted that this election brought an end to the LINKE (PDS / LINKE) tolerated SPD government and a Land government of CDU and FDP was formed.

b. Reduction of Cities and Municipalities

From 3rd of October 1990 to the 30th of June 1994 in Saxony-Anhalt existed 3 cities and 37 municipal councils. Furthermore three governmental districts existed with Dessau, Halle and Magdeburg. On 1st of July the Land parliament decided to reform the municipal level with cities and councils, so that the Land should consist of 3 cities and 21 councils from the 1st of July on. In Saxony-Anhalt only the councils of Altmarkkreis-Salzwedel and Stendal remained unchanged. This structure lasted for 13 years between 1994 and 2007. For this time the number of councils was reduced from 37 to 21, so that the number of communities (several communities belong to a council and the council offers some administrative capacity for the communities) fell from 1305 to 1033 (minus 21 percent) despite the aforementioned administrative reform of the structure of municipalities.

Saxony-Anhalt experienced a reform of the municipal level in the year 2001. This reform led to the situation that the municipalities of “Gardelegen” and “Moeckern” became the third and fourth biggest municipalities in Germany according to the territorial space they cover (Interview 7).

Therefore they were bigger (in a territorial meaning) than the municipalities of Cologne and Munich, but slightly smaller than Berlin and Hamburg. Mayors governed territories that were governed in other municipalities of Land Councillors (Landraete).² Some inhabitants of these municipalities spent an hour of driving in the car to the local mayor, so it existed rather big distances for the municipal structure.

Saxony-Anhalt

Year	Population	Saldo
1990	2.873.957	
1995	2.738.928	-135.029
2000	2.615.375	-123.553
2005	2.469.716	-145.659
2010	2.335.006	-134.710
2015	2.245.470	-89.536

Source: Entwicklung der Deutschen und Ausländer in Sachsen-Anhalt seit 1990. auf der Webseite des Statistischen Landesamtes Sachsen-Anhalt.

² A mayor in Germany belong to the municipality level and a Landrat belongs tot he and administration of the Land (a level higher than municipalities).

Already in 1994 the reform of the Council structure of Saxony-Anhalt reduced the number of regional councils from 37 to 21. Some regional councils were newly built, others were not at all touched and again others were slightly or massively enlarged. Also two of the three cities (Magdeburg, Halle, Dessau-Rosslau) were influenced by the reform, because they were slightly increased in scope.

The reform of the council level of territorial organisation in the year 2007 was decided and laid down in a law on the 6th October 2005 of the Land Parliament Saxony-Anhalt. After the reform of the municipalities of the year 1994 again the number of councils (that the municipalities consists of) was reduced. Until the year 2007 21 councils existed in the municipalities as the lowest political level of the Land. The number of cities remained constant with 3. After the municipal reform in the year 2007 there were only 11 council regions left. The cities of Magdeburg, Halle and Dessau-Rosslau remained the same and stayed constant as the councils of both the Altmarkkreis-Salzwedel and also Stendal. The other nine council were built anew from scratch comprising the other municipal structures except of course the three cities and the two mentioned councils. The territory of the council of Anhalt-Zerbst was abolished and distributed towards the other cities and councils. The reason for the reform in general and the structure of the reform in particular lies in a diminishing number of population (despite in migration) in Saxony-Anhalt.

Until the 31st of December 2013 Saxony-Anhalt in total had about 2.2 million inhabitants. The reduction of inhabitants of Saxony-Anhalt is a general feature of the Land since the German Unification in the year 1990. Reasons for the shrinking population of Saxony-Anhalt are the reduced number of newly born and the out migration of inhabitants to other German regions / Laender. Despite a slight amelioration of the number of newly born babies the

reproduction quota achieved in maximum 50 %. According to current prognoses the population of Saxony-Anhalt has shrunk since German Unity to 1.9 million and continues to shrink until the year 2025. But until the year 2030 the population is seen to grow again in total of Saxony-Anhalt, but the variance within the Land remains also if the predicted total numbers raise. Only the cities of Magdeburg and Halle face a predicted increasing number of births and not in the rural areas. The numbers in rural areas still are seen to shrink so that there is a predicted spread between rural and urban areas regarding birth numbers to come. Numbers of in-migration are difficult to predict so they are left out of the prognosis.³

After the last reform of municipalities in the year 2007 the number of inhabitants in councils lie between 96.000 and 247.000. Population density fluctuates between 42 and 159 inhabitants per square kilometre. Particular low data can be found in the councils of Altmark, Jerichower Land and Wittenberg (Interview 8). The share of foreigners (the number does not include the cases of double citizenship) was on the 31st of December 2014 at 2.8 percent and is the third lowest in comparison to other German Laender after Brandenburg and Thuringia. Hence it is not to fear that an additional in-migration might surpass the German culture, language or something else.

If the fusion of municipalities brought the hoped for savings in the public budgets is questionable. Since the merger of municipalities is accompanied with an equal treatment of councils in the distribution of public administrations the savings are questionable for a foreseeable time (Interview 6). For the remaining citizens (and therefore also tax payers) the merger or new establishment of municipalities was accompanied with a surplus of costs, like

³ Foertsch, Anja (2016) Bevölkerungsprognose: Das Land schrumpft weiter - bis auf zwei Ausnahmen, in: Mitteldeutsche Zeitung of the 26.07.2016.

for example and not only farer ways to public administrations. But political actors had to react to the diminishing numbers of inhabitants (Interview 1 and Interview 2).

Current prognoses suggest that Saxony-Anhalt loses 20 percent of its total population by the year 2025. Also within the last reforms an approximate equal number of inhabitants per council was not achieved. The problem of a shrinking population is not only limited to the Land of Saxony-Anhalt. Also in another Land like Saxony for example a reform entered into force on the 1st of August 2008 and was a follow up of the reforms in the years 1994 / 1996. Also Saxony had to react to the shrinking population with these reforms, when cities and councils were merged (Interview 1 and Interview 2).

Insert here table 1

c. Polarisation of Landtag

The election to the seventh Land / state parliament of Saxony-Anhalt took place on the 13th of March 2016. On this day also the Land / state parliaments in Baden-Wuerttemberg and Rhineland-Palatine took place. After this election the first so called “Kenia”⁴ coalition took place in Saxony-Anhalt, meaning a coalition of CDU, SPD and GREENS. At that election time extremist parties meaning the AfD and LINKE were more powerful than the mainstream parties. And only the majority of mainstream parties could be assured through the party the GREENS (GRUENE).

⁴ “Kenia” is used for a coalition of SPD, CDU and GREENS, because the red, black and green combination are the symbols of the political parties and at the same time the flag of Kenia possesses the three colours.

The election to Land parliament in the year 2011 brought no major changes. The result brought a continuation of the CDU and SPD government in Saxony-Anhalt. Since there was a government change after each Land parliament election so far, this stable result was with the preferences of the voters and no major changes took place. The CDU lost never the less 3.7 percent of points, but remained the strongest political party. The percentages of PDS / LINKE and SPD stayed almost constant as in the previous election in the year 2006 with 23.7 and 21.5 percent. Again the party PDS / LINKE achieved a better result than the SPD in Saxony-Anhalt. But the SPD excluded in beforehand a coalition with the party PDS / LINKE providing a prime minister of this party. According to tradition in German politics the party with the most votes in a coalition claims the job of the prime minister. The liberals (FDP) lost votes and fell under the 5 percent threshold, but the GREENS (GRUENE) were able to nearly double their previous result and to enter in the Land parliament. These development was seen in relation to the reactor catastrophe of Fukushima in Japan and the withdrawal of nuclear power of the federal government in Germany that was seen as a strategic move.

The liberals (FDP) lost clearly and were not elected in the Landtag of Magdeburg / state parliament again with 3.8 percent (-2.9 percent). The GREENS (GRUENE) against this example were able to almost double its election result with 7.1 percent as compared to the previous election. The increased votes can be related to the nuclear disaster in Fukushima (Japan) and the increased meaning of Energy Policy in Germany. The combined losses of CDU and FDP of together 6.6 percent were also related to the nuclear accident and that the turn of the federal government on the federal level was not seen as trustworthy. The national party of Germany (NPD) achieved on the spot 4.6 percent and also missed a parliamentary presence because of the 5 percent threshold. But this counts for a remarkable result. Electoral

participation rose / fell to the second lowest place, after the Land election in 2006, in the history of Saxony-Anhalt with 51.2 percent.

For the Land parliament election in 2006 the lowest participation in elections or voter turnout had to be acknowledged in the entire Land but also for any Land parliament election ever. The overall participation was at 44.4 per cent and the share of wrongly casted votes was at 2.3 percent. In the Land parliament of Saxony-Anhalt the overall seats were reduced from 115 to 97 seats. The election result did not brought a majority for any coalition and since the SPD excluded any co-operation with the party PDS / LINKE, only a so called grand coalition with the CDU was left. Since then the grand coalition was in power under Prime Minister Reiner Haseloff (CDU). Also in 2011 the so called grand coalition was re-elected.

Date	Centre (CDU + SPD)	Extreme (PDS / LINKE + AFD)
15.10.1990	65	13.8
26.06.1994	68.4	21.3
26.04.1998	57.9	32.5
21.04.2002	57.3	24.9
26.03.2006	57.6	27.1
20.03.2011	54	28.3
13.03.2016	40.4	42.5

Source: Own calculations

d. Excursus: Municipalities in Hesse

In every year since 1990 there was a change of the municipal structure in Saxony-Anhalt except the year 2000. In Hesse only once in the 1970ies were the structure of local territories / municipalities were changed from the 19th century in the times of the “Deutsche Bund” before the German nation state established in 1871. The reform of the municipalities in Hesse

happened between 1972 and 1977. The overall idea was to build bigger administrative units to pursue better performance for citizens and in that way to benefit from scale effects of service delivery. For the reform a certain period of time and a certain point in time was determined when the reorganisation of cities and municipalities should take place and should be finished. This was the time between 1972 and 1977 according to a fixed date of the 28th February 1968. At that date 2642 communities, 39 councils and 9 cities existed in Hesse. The Land government had to determine a fixed date according to that date the reference was made for the new structure of municipalities, because municipalities and cities were and still are free to determine their size and structure. Only the date can be determined by the Land / state.

At the time the Prime Minister of Hesse was Albert Osswald (SPD) and the minister for interior was Hanns-Heinz Bielefeld and belonged to the coalition partner FDP. The structure of cities and municipalities is a matter of the respective Land and the minister for interior affairs is responsible for them. Both had the target for the reform to achieve 500 communities and 20 councils. From a current perspective it remains unclear why exactly these numbers (500 communities and 20 councils) were envisaged. As a first step the Land offered communities and municipalities incentives for a voluntary move to other communities and councils. This led to major changes of borders already for the ending year to the 31st December 1971. The number of communities had reduced to 1233 after this step of voluntary changes against incentives. After that a forced merger as of 1st July 1974 of communities and councils took place.

The new structure of municipalities lasted until the end of the year 2017 when four communities merged to the city of Oberzent on the 1st January 2018. Since the end of the reform period on 1st January 1977, there were six cities, 416 communities and 20 councils.

Among the cities, there was also the newly built city of Lahn between Giessen and Wetzlar. Since the territorial reform was a major political work and highly criticised also since the 1st of January 1979 the city was split towards the cities of Giessen and Wetzlar, so that the territory of the city of Lahn was split to those cities and also the communities of Heuchelheim, Lahnau and Wetttenberg were build. So since 1st August in Hesse exist 5 cities, 421 communities and 21 councils.

Hence the number and structure of municipalities and cities in Hesse was not that often changed as in Saxony-Anhalt. The effect was not limited to the point of a change / modification of trust in comparison of Hesse and Saxony-Anhalt. On the surface a changed / modified nature of trust in political institutions is also (but only) displayed in the Land governments of Hesse and Saxony-Anhalt. Whereas a CDU GREEN government in Hesse displays a modern surface for politics the strong presence of the AfD in Saxony-Anhalt and the situation that all other parties have to cooperate for avoiding the AfD to come into government displays a different picture of Saxony-Anhalt (Interview 4). The underlying picture for that is a different conception of trust to political institutions as I argue.

5. Conclusions

In the past decades a reduction and polarization took place in Saxony-Anhalt of municipalities. As compared to the case of Hesse the reduction and polarization has been more pronounced in Saxony-Anhalt. Cities became bigger and municipalities bigger (in terms of territory) whereas the population has shrunk or lesser populated. These developments are not limited to Saxony-Anhalt, but happen also in other Laender. Saxony-Anhalt is a case in point where developments of trust are more pronounced than in other

Laender. Although the administration tries to involve citizens in its procedures for political decision making (Interview 10), trust remains low. Given the embracing German context the question occurs why trust is reducing in Saxony-Anhalt as a case study for other Laender.

The answer this paper gives, relates to the municipal territorial level in Saxony-Anhalt. Whereas in the past (since 1990) there were many changes so that municipalities have become bigger and lesser populated changing the overall picture of the municipality (Interview 3). It takes longer time and more efforts to get in touch with local politicians and consumption of municipal services (Interview 3), let alone medical and social services. The medical doctor in rural areas is a popular (Landaerzt) example that has come to the federal level, because hardly any persons wants to do this job although there are enough students of medicine. The rural areas find hardly any young medical doctor who covers the region instead of the cities.⁵

At least in Saxony-Anhalt the number of municipalities decreased in major steps in the years of 1994 and 2007 and so did political trust. A case in point for that is the party political polarization of the Landtag (the Land parliament). Whereas the Landtag parties have to form a so called “Kenia” coalition of CDU, SPD and GRUENE in order to avoid that the right wing party AfD will participate in the government of Saxony-Anhalt. Research about trust in political institutions can help in this point, because it allows to argue that trust has not been lost in Saxony-Anhalt, but that there is simply a different version how political institutions

⁵ Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Mangel an Landaerzten. Gleich um die Ecke. In: <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/es-fehlen-landaerzte-die-medizinische-versorgung-auf-dem-land-13266418.html>. Last accessed on 14th of March 2018.

are trusted. Whereas for example in Hesse exchange related trust the case of Saxony-Anhalt is a case of community based trust.

In the forthcoming time until 2030 population spreads according to current prognosis, so that it will increase in the urban areas of Magdeburg and Halle, but the population will decrease in the rural areas of Saxony-Anhalt. It remains to be seen what this developments means for trust in political institutions.

Saxony-Anhalt

Table 1

Number and Change of Cities and Councils in Saxony-Anhalt

Date	Change of Number of Councils	Number of Cities	Number of Councils
3 rd of October 1990		3	37
1 st of July 1994	- 16	3	21
1 st of July 2007	- 10	3	11
today		3	11

Table 2

Number of Cities and Councils in Hesse

Date	Number of Cities	Number of Councils
3rd October 1990	5	21
today	5	21

References

- Schieren, Stefan (2000) Fünf Jahre „Magdeburger Modell“. Eine zwiespältige Bilanz, in: Jürgen Wolf et al. (Eds.): Geht uns die Luft aus? Perspektiven für das Land (Mitteldeutscher Verlag: Halle/Saale) p. 29–40.
- Träger, Hendrik / Leunig, Sven (2010) Ebenenübergreifende Auswirkungen von Koalitionsverhandlungen in den Ländern am Beispiel des „Magdeburger Modells“ (1994), in: Julia Oberhofer / Roland Sturm (Eds.) Koalitionsregierungen und Parteienwettbewerb in den Ländern (Allitera Verlag: München) p. 85–104.
- Neuer deutscher Größenwahn von Anne Hähmig, Martin Machowecz und Gabriel Kords, in: ZEIT online: <http://www.zeit.de/2017/21/gebietsreformen-ostdeutschland-landkreise-populismus> (abgerufen am 24.01.2018).
- Detterbeck, Klaus (2008) Die Landtagswahl in Sachsen-Anhalt 2006. Der landespolitische Parteienwettbewerb und der (ungewöhnlich kleine) Schatten der Bundespolitik, in: Jens Tenscher (Ed.) 100 Tage Schonfrist. Bundespolitik und Landtagswahlen im Schatten der Großen Koalition (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag) p. 177–195.
- Warren, Mark E. (1999) Conclusion, in: Mark E. Warren (Ed.) Democracy and Trust (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p. 346-360.
- Muno, Wolfgang (2009) Fallstudien und die vergleichende Methode, in: Susanne Pickel / Gert Pickel / Hans-Joachim Lauth (Eds.) Methoden der vergleichenden Politik- und Sozialwissenschaft. Neue Entwicklungen und Anwendungen (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag).
- Sartori, Giovanni (1994) Comparative constitutional engineering: an inquiry into structures, incentives, and outcomes (New York: New York University Press)
- Gabriel, Oscar / Zmerli, Sonja (2006) Politisches Vertrauen in Deutschland und Europa, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte...
- Foertsch, Anja (2016) Bevölkerungsprognose: Das Land schrumpft weiter - bis auf zwei Ausnahmen, in: Mitteldeutsche Zeitung of the 26.07.2016.
- Grimmelikhuijsen, S.G. & Welch, S. (2012) ‘Developing and testing a theoretical framework for computer-mediated transparency of local governments’, Public Administration Review, 72 (4) 562-571.
- Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Mangel an Landaerzten. Gleich um die Ecke. In: <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/es-fehlen-landaerzte-die-medizinische-versorgung-auf-dem-land-13266418.html>