What do public officials think about citizens? The role of public officials' trust and their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness in interactive governance

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Abstract

This chapter looks at the views public officials have of citizens, in particular their level of trust toward citizens' ability, integrity and benevolence, when engaging in administrative interactions. Public officials' trust is essential, in interactive governance, because it may stimulate the compliance and trust of citizens toward public administration. In turn, this may increase the effectiveness of public service delivery. Public officials' trust builds over time when they have interactions with trustworthy citizens. Hence, trust between public officials and citizens is at the same time an essential requirement for interactive governance and an outcome of such interactions. Extensive research thus far has not yet revealed many individual factors of officials' trust toward citizens nor their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness. In addition, few studies have been conducted on the institutional and organizational factors of trust and trustworthiness. We discuss this research before suggesting avenues for future studies.

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Introduction

Interactive governance does not only require active citizens, but also a government that is open to citizens' initiatives and suggestions[1]. This openness should not just be expressed in policy documents and formal initiatives but also in the attitudes and behaviors of public officials toward citizens. Profound distrust on the part of public officials vis-à-vis citizens' abilities and motives is likely to hinder interactive governance and will certainly do little to make government-initiated participation a success, let alone citizen-initiated participation. This chapter looks at an essential building block of our knowledge on interactive governance: the views public officials have of citizens, in particular their level of trust in citizens' ability, integrity and benevolence when engaging in interactions. We explore the potential determinants of such views.

Relations between officials and citizens are an archetypical manifestation of interactive governance where actors with different interests follow a common goal by means of mobilizing, exchanging and deploying a range of ideas, rules and resources (Torfing et al., 2012). While officials as well as citizens are concerned by the quality and efficiency of public services, there are several reasons why civil servants can be reluctant to recognize citizens' active role in service delivery. Especially in Western European countries, the population of public officials is ageing. This means that many public officials have been trained in a particular role with a focus on bureaucratic control and a strict separation between public administration and citizens. For this reason, public officials can simply disagree that citizens are eligible for participating in administrative processes that traditionally fall within their own jurisdiction (Voorberg et al., 2015). In addition, public officials can also be attached to their professional ethos, see themselves as experts in their policy area and, therefore, better equipped to make good policies than laymen. Involving citizens can be seen as an attack against this expert position (Åström and Granberg, 2007; Greene, 1982). Beyond this, public officials can also doubt about the actual benefits of citizen involvement in public affairs (Vigoda-Gadot, 2002; Tsai, 2011; Yang and Callahan, 2007).

Another important impediment to good interactions between citizens and officials is that they can distrust each other's abilities, integrity and benevolence. Generally speaking, trust-based relations have a positive influence on public governance. Public administration research has widely documented that trust facilitates relations among actors and the achievement of their common objectives, like governing networks (e.g., Klijn et al., 2010) or managing public goods (e.g., Ostrom and Walker, 2003). More specifically, past studies have suggested that public officials' trust toward citizens increases administrative performance, because it decreases the perceived need of controlling citizens' behaviors. Trust does not only make officials' work more efficient: citizens' voluntary compliance and their trust toward public administration are likely to increase when officials trust them (Van de Walle and Lahat, 2012). Hence, trust between public officials and citizens facilitates the delivery of public services.

While trust between citizens and officials has frequently been examined from the perspective of citizens, only a handful of studies have looked at it from the perspective of public officials. For a long time, the literature has been very skeptical about citizens' abilities and motives to be actively involved in the delivery of public services. King and Stivers (1998), in their book 'Government is us', lament 'for every citizen cry against the bureaucracy, there is a matching administrative response that disparages a lazy, apathetic, and uncommitted citizenry' (p. 49). The literature on street-level bureaucrats, especially that focusing on welfare services, sees many citizens as crooks, frauds and cheats (Blau, 1960). It reports about public officials categorizing citizens into 'good' and 'bad' clients. Naturally, some jobs within

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government require public officials to approach citizens with a certain level of suspicion, for instance tax inspectors, police officers or various inspectorates, but this alone would not justify that public officials do not trust citizens.

For a public official, trust involves a risk that the citizen will not be trustworthy, i.e. that he or she will not behave according to the official's expectations (see our discussion in the next section). When making decisions, public officials constantly rely on the information provided by citizens. Often, they also depend on citizens' commitment and promises to behave according to the rules, for example when a prisoner promises the penitential administration not to commit a crime again (to be released) or when a university administrator tells the Ministry of Education that a student is actually following classes (to get subsidies). Of course, the degree of control that public officials have on citizens can be very high, so that they do not need to trust citizens: in such context, they are pretty certain that information is accurate and promises will be held. For example, in many countries, tax administrations have strong connections with banks and employers to know exactly the amount of incomes employees received. However, uncertainty may exist with regard to other types of information and will also vary across public sectors and professions. Will prisoners keep their promise? Has a citizen provided authentic documents? Often, when public officials make decisions, they place a bet on citizens.

In this chapter, we look at existing research on public officials' trust toward citizens as well as their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness. The first section is an analytical discussion on the concepts of trust and trustworthiness. The second section reviews existing studies on the determinants of public officials' trust and citizens' trustworthiness. Those studies have shown that officials' trust is not only a driver of interactive governance but also an outcome of past interactions with trustworthy citizens. This is not surprising as trust builds over time. The last section of this chapter discusses the results of this review and concludes by suggesting new avenues for research

Public officials' trust and their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness

Trust and trustworthiness are two distinct notions. Trust refers to a trustor's subjective estimation of the probability that a trustee will display a preferred behavior (Bauer, 2015). In relations, trust exists when someone (the trustor) takes decisions or makes choices which assume that another person (the trustee) will keep promises or behave in a given way. In other words, the trustor agrees to be vulnerable. Indeed, a risk always exists that the trustee will not behave according to the trustor's expectations (Rousseau et al., 1998). As far as public officials are concerned, trusting citizens involves making decisions or giving them a more active role in administrative processes on the basis of the information they provide or the promises they make.

While there is general agreement on the conceptualization of trust, many existing studies operationalize officials' trust in various ways. For example, Ivacko et al. (2013) examined the results of the fall 2012 iteration of the Michigan Public Policy Survey among elected and appointed officials of counties, cities, villages and townships. In this survey, respondents were asked 'how much of the time they can trust their citizens to be responsible participants in their jurisdictions' policymaking and/or operations'. Pautz and Wamsley (2012) constructed a trust index by aggregating two questions they asked to 1238 frontline officials in 17 State environmental protection agencies: (1) "what is your level of trust of the regulated community?"; and (2) "when you think about the regulated community, approximately how many facilities you interact with do you trust?". To measure trust, Lee and Yu (2013) asked officials the following question: "how much do you trust citizens?". In fact, in those studies, what "trust" means is most often interpreted by the survey respondents themselves.

Some other studies look at generalized trust, as measured in the European Social Survey. For example, Van de Walle and Lahat (2012) compared public administrators' and other citizens' degree of generalized trust. Similarly, Kääriäinen (2012) focused on police officers' generalized trust. Admittedly, the European Social Survey measures trust with three questions that involve a vulnerability to the risk that the trustor's expectations will not be met by the trustee[2]. Still, this measure of trust is generalized rather than 'particularized' (Bauer, 2015), which means that public officials were not specifically surveyed on their degree of trust toward citizens. Rather, this is closer to a measure of the "general propensity" to trust others (Mayer et al., 1995).

Trust builds over time. This means that a trustor will be more prone to place a bet on a trustee when, in past interactions, this trustee behaved in a trustworthy manner, i.e. when his or her behaviors met the expectations of the trustor. Citizens' trustworthiness refers to their propensity to behave in accordance with what they say or promise, as well as in accordance with norms and rules (Colquitt et al., 2007). Mayer et al. (1995) distinguish between components that allow people to behave in a trustworthy way: (1) their ability (e.g., do citizens provide the right information at the right moment?); (2) their honesty (e.g., do citizens commit to their administrative obligations?); and (3) their benevolence (e.g., do citizens opt for administrative behaviors and routines that facilitate, rather than complicate, officials' work?).

Most studies looking at officials' perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness follow Mayer et al. (1995)'s classical approach. This is illustrated by Yang (2005, 2006) in his 2002-2003 survey among Rutgers University's public administration and policy alumni working in public sector organizations, but also by Vigoda-Gadot et al. (2012), in their survey of 219 Israeli public sector employees holding managerial positions and interacting with citizens on a daily basis. Yang (2005) as well as Vigoda-Gadot and colleagues (2012) looked at public officials' perceptions of the ability and integrity of citizens. Yang (2006) focused on ability and benevolence perceptions. Wu and Yang (2011) also looked at Chinese municipal officials' perceptions of the ability and integrity of citizens participating in a large-scale program allowing citizens to evaluate local administration.

Officials mainly develop their perceptions of citizens over time, as a result of the interactions they have with them. Did citizens show a satisfactory knowledge of administrative procedures? Did they respect their administrative obligations honestly? Officials' trust and their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness depend on "interactive determinants", i.e. determinants that result from past interactions with citizens. In addition, as trustworthiness assessments are based on past interactions with citizens, it is not surprising that existing studies have also identified the amount and nature of those interactions as decisive factors of public officials' trust (see our review in the next section).

However, interactions between citizens and public officials are sometimes very short. For example, street-level bureaucrats often have to deliver official documents based on information an unknown citizen has just provided them. New recruits or public officials in back-office positions have also fewer opportunities to interact with citizens. In such contexts, time and experience are lacking for mid- to long-term assessments of citizens' trustworthiness. Hence, whether public officials do or do not tend to trust a citizen also depends on organizational factors, for example the framing of citizens-officials

[2] The questions that allow to measure generalized trust, in the European Social Survey, are: (1) 'Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?'; (2) 'Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?'; (3) 'Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?'.

interactions by supervisors or individual factors, such as public officials' general propensity to trust or their socio-demographic characteristics.

Factors of trustworthiness and trust are schematically represented in Figure 1. This model results from the literature review we present in the next section of this chapter. As such, this model should be considered as a summary of this literature rather than as a theoretical model. For example, existing research has looked at the effect of interactive determinants on trustworthiness or directly on trust itself. It is highly possible, however, that some interactive determinants exert an influence on trust through their effect on officials' perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness. In the literature, we did not find any study on the effect of organizational factors on the officials' perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness. This is why the link between organizational determinants and trustworthiness is missing, in Table 1.

< FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE >

When and why do public officials trust citizens?

In this section, we review existing studies on the determinants of public officials' trust and their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness. We used Web of Sciences to identify 129 public administration studies that have the words "trust" together with "official", "servant" or "administrator" in their topic. Drawing conclusions on the basis of the title and abstract of studies is relatively speculative. However, we can reasonably claim that at least 75 percent of those articles concern citizens' trust toward government or public administration[3]. Other articles relate, for example, to trust within public organizations or trust among public officials. Only three of the articles focus on the determinants of officials' trust toward individual citizens. We started from those studies as well as our own knowledge of this research to find, following a snowballing process, a final set of 11 studies which systematically looked at the determinants of public officials' trust toward individual citizens as well as officials' perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness (Ivacko et al., 2013; Kääriäinen 2012; Lee and Yu 2013; Pautz, 2012; Pautz and Wamsley 2012; Pautz and Rinfret 2014; Van de Walle and Lahat 2012; Vigoda-Gadot et al., 2012; Wu and Yang 2011; Yang 2005, 2006). In the list of references, those studies are marked with an asterisk. In the next sections, we first summarize the findings related the individual and organizational determinants of trust and trustworthiness. Then, we turn to the effect of interactive determinants, i.e. the effect of past interactions with citizens.

Individual determinants

Officials' trust in citizens depends on a set of individual characteristics. Not surprisingly, officials' generalized propensity to trust is one of the prevalent factors influencing their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness (Lee and Yu 2013; Yang 2005, 2006): "trusting citizens is embedded in an individual's general willingness to trust others in a given social environment" (Vigoda-Gadot et al. 2012).

In turn, there is a relation between officials' perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness and officials' trust toward citizens. For example, Lee and Yu (2013) show that officials' perceptions of citizens' integrity and benevolence are important factors of their trust in citizens. However, as trustworthiness and trust have different meanings, they also have different individual determinants. For example, Yang (2005, 2006) finds that female officials have more positive perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness than their male counterparts. In contrast, Ivacko and colleagues (2013) suggest that male officials trust citizens more than female officials. Similarly, in their sample of environmental regulators,

[3] Many of them recognize the mutual dimension of trust, but still, they focus on the citizens' perspective.

Pautz and Rinfret (2014) find more trust toward regulated employees among men than among women. This suggests that acknowledging the trustworthiness of citizens and trusting them (e.g., by giving them a more active role in administrative processes) are not determined by the same factors. This being said, it should be reminded that the approach to trust and trustworthiness, as well as their measurement, are not standardized among the different studies. This could explain some divergence in empirical results.

Other possible individual determinants of trust and trustworthiness are age and skin color. Pautz and Rinfret (2014) find some evidence, in their study, that there is more trust toward regulated employees on the part of older environmental regulators. White officials have a better perception of citizens' benevolence than non-white officials, according to Yang (2006)'s results.

In fact, most studies fail to detect any effect of officials' individual characteristics on their trust toward citizens. For example, Yang (2005) does not find any impact of self-efficacy, defined as "a belief in one's capabilities to mobilize the motivation, cognitive resources, and courses of action to meet situational demands or to produce designated levels of performance to influence events that affect one's life" (p. 276). Similarly, organization-oriented or job-oriented attitudes, such as organizational commitment or job satisfaction, do not seem to drive trust in citizens (Vigoda-Gadot et al. 2012).

More surprisingly, Vigoda-Gadot and colleagues (2012) do not find any relation between officials' public service motivation and their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness. One could have expected such relation, especially with two of the dimensions of public service motivation: officials' compassion and sense of self-sacrifice. However, it is worth noting that these dimensions are more affect-oriented whereas Vigoda-Gadot et al. (2012) looked at officials' perceptions of citizens' ability and integrity, rather than their benevolence. This could explain why their hypothesis was not validated.

Does public officials' trust depend on their perceptions of their own organization? Vigoda-Gadot et al. (2012) deliver a mixed answer to this question. On the one hand, they show that perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness are not significantly different among officials who do or do not see their organization as a "network bureaucracy", where "culture (is viewed) as the source of rationality, coproduction as the form of control, flexibility the primary virtue and client as the focus of service delivery" (p. 277). On the other hand, they find a significant effect of their "perceptions of organizational politics" (Kacmar and Carlson 1991). This suggests that public employees considering their colleagues as self-serving and self-interested, at the expense of other colleagues and the organization as a unit, also tend to trust their clients less. Is there any causal effect between perceptions of organizational politics and officials' trust in citizens or is it only a correlation between two variables influenced by other independent variables (e.g., generalized propensity to trust)? The study does not allow to give a definite answer to this question.

Finally, it may be noted that a procedural orientation and trust seem to be conflicting attitudes (Yang, 2005): officials focused on respecting rules and finishing projects and cases as efficiently as possible view citizens as less trustworthy. This could be explained by two lines of arguments. On the one hand, procedure-oriented officials could privilege investing their time and resources in their procedural effectiveness rather than in the quality of their interactions with citizens. On the other hand, procedural orientation can be a manifestation of a preference for the security of respecting rules rather than running the risk of high trustworthiness perceptions to be invalidated during actual interactions with citizens.

To conclude, existing research suggests that female officials with a higher generalized propensity to trust and a relatively low procedural orientation hold more positive perceptions of citizens'

trustworthiness. However, male officials trust citizens more than female officials. White public officials find citizens more benevolent than non-white public officials. Finally, there is an indication that older public officials trust citizens more easily than younger ones, but we call for future research that would more clearly disentangle the respective effects of age and length of tenure. Overall, trust and trustworthiness do not seem to depend on officials' individual characteristics very much.

Organizational determinants

There is few research on the organization-level determinants on officials' trust and their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness. On the one hand, we did not find any clear evidence related to the effect of organizational factors on officials' perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness. On the other hand, it is unclear whether officials' trust depends on the type of public service they deliver or the kind of public organization they are affiliated to. For example, Yang (2005) does not find any effect of working in local versus other public services nor any effect of working in a "coercive" versus "non-coercive" organization[4]. In contrast, Ivacko et al. (2013) show that officials working in city and township administrations are more likely to trust citizens than those working in village or county administrations. This contradicts the intuition that local civil servants necessarily know and trust citizens more than employees working in bigger administrations. Yet, Kääriäinen (2012) finds that the generalized trust of police offers in others is lower than the generalized trust of the average citizen. This is an indication that the type of public service or organization may have a significant effect on officials' trust, when considering Van de Walle and Lahat (2012)'s finding that, in general, public officials have a higher degree of generalized trust than average citizens.

Public organizations may take initiatives that increase or decrease trust among officials and citizens. For example, in recent years, the Dutch tax administration, moved from a vertical command and control approach to responsive and collaborative regulation and enforcement (Gribnau, 2007). Evidence on the effects of such initiatives in which the communication and mutual trust between officials and citizens is crucial, be it positive or negative, is scarce. Wu and Yang (2011), however, show a significant influence of a large-scale institutional program allowing Chinese citizens to evaluate their local administrations. The so-called "Assessment and Discussion of Professional Ethos" aims at increasing citizens' trust in officials. However, this program appears to have a negative impact on officials' trust in citizens. On the one hand, officials are more interested in convincing their superiors that they perform well. On the other hand, they doubt whether citizens are able and altruistic enough for assessing public services pertinently and to the benefit of the community rather than their own interests.

Interactive determinants – the role of prior experiences

Actual interactions with citizens are one of the most decisive determinants of public officials' trust in citizens. Officials trust citizens when they think that they are able, honest and/or benevolent enough to collaborate with them without a big deal of control (Lee and Yu 2013). Hence, officials' trust depends on their opportunities to collect information about the trustworthiness of citizens. Crucial for collecting such information about one citizen are the actual interactions officials have with this or comparable citizens.

The relations between officials' trust in citizens and the actual involvement of citizens in the delivery of public services are complex. On the one hand, several studies argue that officials are more open to citizen participation when they trust citizens (Lee and Yu, 2013; Yang, 2006). On the other

[4] In his study, "coercive agencies include law enforcement, judiciary, corrections, and regulatory agencies, whereas non-coercive agencies include education, human services, and public health" (Yang 2006).

hand, several studies consider that officials' trust increases when they have been engaged in actual interactions or collaborations with citizens. For example, Ivacko et al. (2013) have suggested that officials' trust increases when they can observe that citizens take time to keep themselves informed about public services, try to find solutions to their problems with public administrators rather than just complaining about them, interact with officials to the benefit of the community rather than only to their own benefit, as well as adopt a constructive rather than divisive discourse about public services. These results suggest that officials interacting with citizens realize that citizens are more trustworthy than expected. This increases their intention to trust citizens. In turn, they are more prompt to involve them in future collaborative and participatory public programs. What comes first – trust or participation – and, most importantly, what link is theoretically and practically decisive could be important issues for future research.

Yang (2005) points to the influence of prior experiences on officials' perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness. In his study, respondents were more prone to acknowledge citizens' trustworthiness when, in their past efforts to engaging citizens, they observed that they were cooperative, committed and allowed the achievement of the objectives of the organization. According to Pautz and Rinfret (2014), environmental regulators trust regulated facility personnel members more when those members share their information, are cooperative, are respectful and proactively seek assistance. In a sample of 54 of those regulators, 23 agreed that regulated facility personnel members comply (i.e., are trustworthy) probably because "it is right thing to do" whereas only 12 of them disagreed (Pautz, 2012)[5]. All those beliefs are based on observations from past interactions with citizens.

Another indication that officials' trust builds on actual interactions with citizens is the negative relation between officials' trust and their perception of "government bashing": if officials perceive that their work is criticized by politicians, media's and citizens, they find citizens less trustworthy (Yang, 2005). Lee and Yu (2013) also find that officials' perceptions of citizens' trust in government is an important factor of officials' trust in citizens.

Long-term relations between public officials and citizens allow to build and maintain trust over time. Indeed, "as expectations and predictability are important elements of trust, a frequent and consistent line of communication is important to maintain and build trust" (Pautz, 2012). In their study, Pautz and Rinflet (2014) find that public officials have more positive perceptions of regulated employees when they have worked as environmental regulators for a longer time. As they look at public officials regulating a same set of employees over time, this suggests that long-term interactions facilitate trust building. This is also why, perhaps, they find a positive relation between age and trust.

However, not all experiences with citizens increase officials' trust. For example, Yang (2006) hypothesized that the length of tenure (i.e. the potential number of interactions with citizens) could increase officials' trust because this could improve the accuracy of their expectations regarding citizens' attitudes and behaviors. However, this was not confirmed by the results. Pautz and Rinfret (2014) do not find any evidence that regulators trust regulated employees more if they worked themselves in the regulated community before. In addition, trust does not always elicit trust: in actual officials-citizens interactions, trust can even entail distrust, paradoxically. This is empirically illustrated by Pautz and Wamsley (2012), in their research and formalized in their typology of interactions between regulators and regulated employees. When interactions are characterized by "cautious cooperation", regulated

[5] Pautz and Rinfret (2014) look at trust whereas Pautz (2012) examine various perceptions of the regulated personnel, like their ability or will to comply with regulation (trustworthiness).

employees trusts regulators for providing all required information to comply with environmental regulation. However, regulators fear that employees lack the required knowledge to comply.

Officials' trust in citizens is also influenced by the nature of the interactions they have with them. Lee and Yu (2013) show that officials engaged in "command relations" with citizens have a higher trust in citizens. Command relations still represent the biggest proportion of interactions officials have with citizens. In contrast, those engaged in "coordination relations" with citizens trust them less. This suggests that trust is more difficult to build in relations in which trust really matters, i.e. when there is a risk of interacting with citizens without controlling every aspect of this interaction. This is surprising when contrasted with Yang (2006)'s finding that officials do not have more positive perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness when working in coercive organizations (where command relations are, in principle, more important).

Determinants of trust and perceived trustworthiness: A summary

The findings of our review on the determinants of public officials' trust in citizens as well as their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness are summarized in Table 1. A '+' indicates a positive effect while a negative effect is designated by a '-'.

It is worthwhile to note that Lee and Yu (2013) were the only researchers to look, specifically, at the effect of trustworthiness on trust. This being said, there are other types of perceptions, among the determinants of trust or trustworthiness, which could be categorized as an assessment of citizens' abilities, integrity or benevolence (i.e., trustworthiness). For example, Ivacko et al. (2013) found that officials' trust increases when they think that citizens keep themselves informed about public services, a factor which could be viewed as an assessment of citizens' abilities or knowledge. However, such categorization would be speculative. Hence, we opted for a simple list of 'other' interactive determinants.

< TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE >

Discussion and avenues for future research

Interactions between citizens and officials may take various forms such as a classical encounter between a street-level bureaucrat and a citizen, but also interactions by phone, by email or by mail. To deliver public services, public officials have to trust citizens. To release a prisoner, to assess the amount of money a taxpayer has to pay, to decide on the benefits a family is eligible for, officials have to rely on the claims citizens make or the information they provide. When making administrative decisions, officials run some risk that citizens provided wrong information or will not keep their promises. However, trust toward citizens allows officials to decrease the extent of administrative controls and tends to make citizens more trusting toward public officials and more compliant toward administrative obligations. In addition, the last decades have been characterized by a "rise of interactive governance" (Torfing et al., 2012). Interactive governance refers to new forms of government where private actors like citizens are given a more prominent role in the delivery of public services. Hence, public officials' trust toward citizens has become even more crucial.

However, public officials do not spontaneously trust citizens. Even after active interventions of their organization (e.g., a training on this topic), public employees may be reluctant to collaborate with their clients without a big deal of control. In this chapter, we have examined existing literature on the determinants of public officials' trust. Trust is not only decisive in the effectiveness and quality of citizens-officials interactions: trust builds over time as a result of past interactions public officials had

with citizens. Indeed, past interactions with cooperative, constructive, respectful, proactive, altruist, complying citizens foster public officials' willingness to rely on them and to involve them more actively in administrative decisions and processes. In particular, interactions allow public officials to assess the trustworthiness, i.e. the ability, integrity and benevolence of citizens when interacting with them. In turn, public officials' perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness are a key factor of public officials' trust toward citizens. Hence, our chapter has shown that trust, trustworthiness and interactive governance are intimately related.

In addition to interactive determinants of trustworthiness and trust, existing research has also extensively looked at the effect of individual determinants. The findings, however, have most often been disappointing. According to existing studies, officials' trust and their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness depend on their gender, their general propensity to trust others, as well as their procedural orientation. Hence, practically speaking, it seems difficult to hire new recruits whose specific profile should facilitate their trust in citizens and their interactions with them. That being said, for identifying other individual-level determinants, researchers could make use of psychological research. For example, Furumo et al. (2009) suggest that personality influences trust differently in virtual and face-to-face interactions, an issue that sounds particularly relevant in contemporary interactions between officials and citizens.

Surprisingly enough, our review has shown that institutional and organizational determinants of public officials' trust have been less systematically examined. However, institutional designs and organizational practices seem to be key determinants of trust, for example, in interactions among public and corporate actors. Furthermore, to maintain cooperative interactions, institutional organizational designs are also susceptible to counterbalance the absence of trust (e.g., Cook et al., 2007). We call for future research on institutional designs and organizational practices facilitating trust relations between public officials and citizens and, in turn, interactive governance. Alkadry's study (2003) on front-line administrators' responsiveness to citizens' feedback suggests that such efforts should be fruitful. He looked at a set of structural enablers (power or ability to act on citizen concerns according to administrative structures and rules) and a set of personal enablers (willingness to act on their concerns). He observed that structural enablers were far more decisive than personal enablers in explaining the public administrators' actual responsiveness. At the same time, structural enablers were responsible of much variance in personal enablers. Hence, structural enablers influenced administrators' willingness to be responsive as well as their actual responsiveness.

At the analytical level and despite strong calls by the models on which they are based (e.g., Mayer and Davis, 1999; Mayer et al., 1995), existing studies do not always clearly distinguish public officials' trust from their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness. At the very least, their contribution to our understanding of trust and trustworthiness does not unfold in a very structured way. Theoretically, however, those concepts play different roles and are explained by different factors. Even more troubling, trust and trustworthiness are still too often measured through direct survey questions (e.g., "do you trust citizens?"). Rather, trustworthiness should be captured with precise indicators, such as public officials' perceptions of citizens' ability, integrity and benevolence. Similarly, officials' trust or intention to trust should be measured with behavioral intentions or actual behaviors, such as administrative decisions based on citizens' claims or information. We call for future research addressing those analytical issues.

At the methodological level, existing research on public officials' trust is predominantly based on cross-sectional surveys. Despite their strengths, cross-sectional surveys are often, at one extreme, very dependent on the survey questions used in past studies or, at the other extreme, dependent on the

questions used in the database they have to rely on. We call for new studies based on qualitative methods that provide a sharp understanding of officials' experiences with citizens (e.g., storytelling: see Raaphorst, 2015) or quantitative methods that offer innovative ways to look at officials' perceptions (e.g., Keulemans, 2015).

Officials' perceptions toward citizens also evolve over time. Existing research has shown that public officials' perceptions toward citizens build on past interactions with them. Given this, research on public officials' trust could certainly benefit from the insights of a growing number of public administration studies on organizational socialization. Those studies look at employees holding a new position into an organization and analyze the factors that transform their attitudes and behaviors over time (Moyson et al., 2015). Only a few studies concern the effect of organizational socialization on employees' trust. There are notable exceptions like Moreland and Levine (2002), who examine employees' trust in new team members. But organizational socialization studies could inspire researchers interested in identifying the social and organizational determinants of public officials' trust in citizens. Those determinants include, for example, organizational "tactics" and mentoring (van Maanen and Schein 1979; Jones 1986; Bhatta and Washington 2003; Bozeman and Feeney 2007) or social networks (Hatmaker and Park 2014; Hatmaker et al. 2011). Panel studies would be particularly appropriate to get insights into the effect of organizational socialization on public officials' trust over time.

Finally, in this chapter, we have predominantly focused on studies specifically looking at public officials' trust. However, various other streams of research on government responsiveness, citizen participation or urban planning, for example, also examine whether public administrators agree to (take the risk of) involve(ing) citizens in the delivery of public services. In "collaborative responsiveness", for example, public officials have to agree that they will better respond to citizens' needs if decisions are prepared and made in collaboration with them (Bryer 2009). Collaborative responsiveness, at the same time, involves some trust that citizens will actually do their part of the job (Vigoda-Gadot, 2002). For example, Bryer and Cooper (2007) show that collaborative responsiveness is higher when officials perceive that citizens could bring some resources, such as the political capital resulting from their participation to the administrative process. Similarly, Pedersen and Johannsen (2014) looked at public officials' views on citizen participation by asking them whether "an increase in citizens' participation would make a decisive and positive change for (their) organization" (p. 13). They show that public officials working at the national are more positive than those working at the sub-national level. This result could be contrasted, for example, with Yang (2005)'s finding that officials working in local versus other public services do not demonstrate significantly different perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness. We argue that interactive governance studies could benefit from those streams of research, thanks to their insights into public officials' trust toward citizens.

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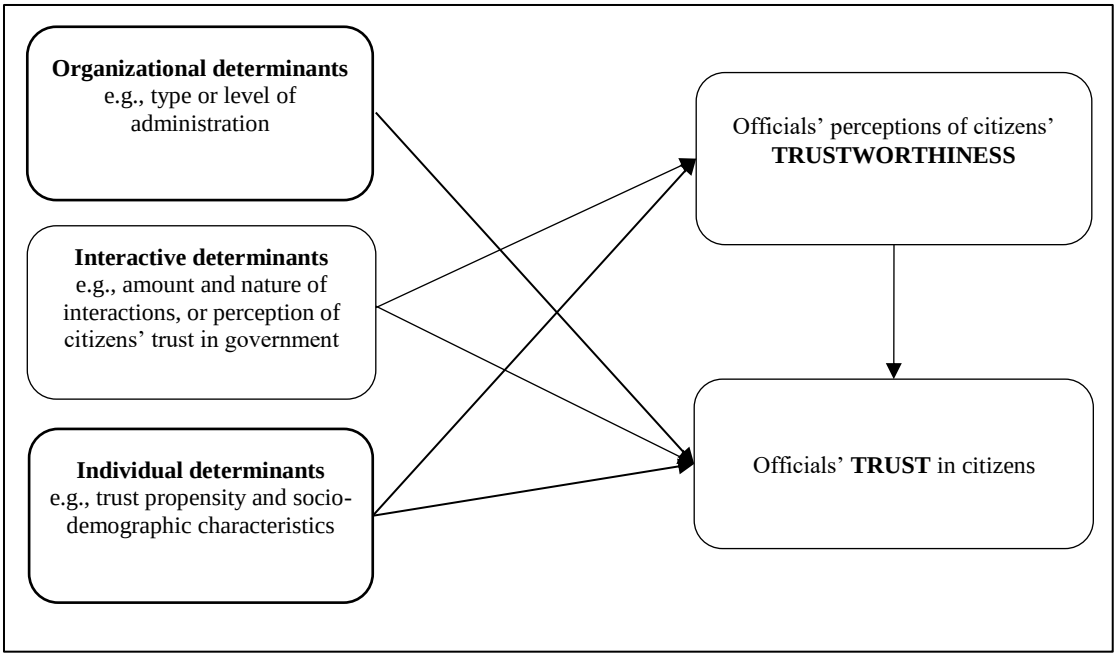


Figure 1. Determinants of public officials' trust and their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness

DETERMINANTS OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS' PERCEPTIONS OF CITIZENS' TRUSTWORTHINESS

- **Individual determinants:**
  - Trust propensity
    - Generalized propensity to trust: + (Lee and Yu, 2013; Yang, 2005, 2006)
  - Socio-demographic characteristics:
    - Male: - (Yang, 2005, 2006)
    - White (versus non-white) : + (Yang, 2006)
    - Procedural orientation: - (Yang, 2005)
  - Officials' perceptions of their own organization
    - Perception of organizational politics: - (Vigoda-Gadot, Zalmanovitch and Belonogov, 2012)
- **Interactive determinants:**
  - Officials' perceptions of citizens
    - Citizens are cooperative: + (Yang, 2005)
    - Citizens complying because "it is the right thing to do": + (Pautz, 2012)
    - Citizens are committed: + (Yang, 2005)
    - Citizens are helping to achieve organizational objectives: + (Yang, 2005)

DETERMINANTS OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS' TRUST IN CITIZENS:

- **Individual determinants**
  - Socio-demographic characteristics
    - Male: + (Ivacko et al., 2013 ; Pautz and Rinfret, 2014)
    - Age: + (Pautz and Rinfret, 2014)
- **Organizational determinants**
  - Type or level of administration:
    - Police (versus other public services or other citizens): - (Kääriäinen, 2012; Van de Walle and Lahat, 2012)
    - City / township administration (versus village/county administration): + (Ivacko et al., 2013)
- **Interactive determinants**
  - Officials' perceptions of citizens' **trustworthiness**
    - Citizens are honest (aggregated construct): + (Lee and Yu, 2013)
    - Citizens are benevolent (aggregated construct): + (Lee and Yu, 2013)
  - Amount and nature of interactions
    - Long-term interactions: + (Pautz and Rinfret, 2014)
    - Amount of command relations: + (Lee and Yu, 2013)
    - Amount of coordination relations: - (Lee and Yu, 2013)
  - Officials' perceptions of citizens' trust
    - Citizens trust the government: + (Lee and Yu, 2013)
    - Citizens trust officials due to their lack of knowledge/expertise: - (Pautz and Wamsley, 2012)
  - Other officials' perceptions of citizens
    - Citizens lack knowledge about their administrative obligations: - (Pautz and Wamsley, 2012)
    - Citizens are cooperative: + (Pautz and Rinfret, 2014)
    - Citizens share their information: + (Pautz and Rinfret, 2014)
    - Citizens proactively seek assistance: + (Pautz and Rinfret, 2014)
    - Citizens keep themselves informed about public services: + (Ivacko et al., 2013)
    - Citizens adopt a constructive (rather than divisive) discourse about public services: + (Ivacko et al., 2013)
    - Citizens are respectful: + (Pautz and Rinfret, 2014)
    - Citizens try to find solutions with public officials (versus just complain about them): + (Ivacko et al., 2013)
    - Citizens interact to the benefit of the community (versus to their own benefit): + (Ivacko et al., 2013)

Table 1. Determinants of public officials' trust and their perceptions of citizens' trustworthiness: An inventory