

# **An Exploratory Model of Antecedents and Consequences of Public Trust in Government**

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**Abstract.** This paper presents an integrative theoretical model of public trust in government by distinguishing the factors directly related to government activities and contextual factors. Especially, new variables that reflect the current discussions on trusting-relationships with government are introduced – such as process-oriented performance, bureaucratic politics in citizens’ perspective, and constantly – influencing contextual factors. With regard to consequences of trust, in addition to behavioral responses like political participation and public compliance, citizens’ attitudes toward expansion of government roles and governance structure are included.

## **Introduction**

Public trust in government is considered essential to good governance. High level of public trust leads to reduced administrative costs and citizens’ greater compliance with laws and regulations (Levi 1998; Tyler 1998; Fard & Rostamy 2007). Public trust in government also helps reconcile the need for political accountability and the demand for the discretionary power needed to create a flexible administration by encouraging citizens to accept expanded government authority (Ruscio 1997; Kim 2005).

Over the past few decades, however, public trust in government has been declining in the developed world. Reversing this decline in public trust in government has become an important goal of modern government in countries the world over. Reversing such decline in public trust in government has become an important goal of modern government in countries around the world. Numerous studies have been conducted to identify and examine the factors that contribute to the decline in public trust in government. For example, studies have argued that the economic situation, administrative performance of government institutions and programs, irresponsiveness and dishonesty have been found to influence public trust in government; others have suggested that social capital, political scandals, and media intervention can explain declining levels of trust in government (i.e., Nye 1997; Orren 1997; Thomas 1998; Putnam 2000; Mishler & Rose 2001; Vigoda 2002).

Most studies, however, show particular aspects of trust or have not developed an integrative framework which includes most of important factors affecting the level of trust. Nye (1997) points out that each of these studies offers only a partial explanation because the causes of trust are complex. Kim (2005) also claims that scholars of public administration have largely failed to develop an appropriate model of public trust that both explores the concept of trust and appropriately addresses its antecedents and implications. In particular, trust is affected by not only government-related variables but also environmental factors, so it is critical to take all of such relevant factors into account.

Furthermore, with respect to the consequences of trust in government, public attitudes towards

governance structures and policies have received little consideration and almost no empirical attention with the exception of a few studies (Hetherington & Globetti 2002; Rudolph & Evans 2005). Most studies have instead focused on the performance of government institutions and public compliance and participation.

Finally, the discussions on the issue of public trust in government have relied primarily on data collected in developed nations, neglecting multinational and multicultural contexts, especially in emerging democratic states or underdeveloped countries where reforms have been implemented in corporate governance, market-orientation, privatization, budgetary austerity, government responsiveness, and anti-corruption measures. Although a variety of aspects of trust in government are examined in many developed countries, it is worth asking whether or not these findings apply to those countries which are politically and socially different from more developed countries.

This study is a response to the lack of research in these areas. Its objective is to develop an integrative theoretical framework that incorporates both the antecedents of public trust in government and its outcomes in relation to governance. To be more specific, this study attempts to explore the factors that can influence trust in government and to classify them into variables directly related to government activities and contextual variables. The effects of trust in government on policy attitudes, governance structure, and public collaboration will also be discussed. Then, a conceptual model that incorporates “antecedents and consequences of public trust in government” will be formulated and developed.

### **Theoretical Foundation and New Dimensions of Trust in Government**

Trust is an extremely complex concept that draws on a number of disciplines and is influenced by both measurable and immeasurable factors. Thus, similar terms – such as faith, confidence, and satisfaction – have been used interchangeably with the concept of trust (Barber 1983; Kim 2005). Many studies help to understand trust in government within various scopes. However, the more integrative framework that addresses significant aspects of trust relationships across both government activities and environment has not yet satisfactorily been developed. For instance, whereas it has been focused specifically on the relationship between policy-results and trust, managing the successful process-related performances like responsive and transparency is now considered more important for trust in government (Hibbing and Theiss-Morse 1995; Glaser and Denhardt 2000, 66; Easton 1965, 1975; Miller and Listhaug 1999). This reflects that in spite of government’s failure to meet the level of expected outputs, trust and confidence in government remain intact if it makes all performance information available to the public or take the participatory process (Wang 2001; Shaw and Reinhart 2001; Berman 1997; Glaser and Denhardt 2000; Farazmand 2004).

Bureaucratic politics is now considered as the one of the influential factors of trust in government. Bureaucratic politics often results in diminished employee performance, lower level of job satisfaction, and additional negative reactions by employees, such as delivery of low quality services and higher rates of actual turnover (Ferris et al. 1996). Whereas the previous studies restricted their attention to the internal politics through the lenses of the public employees, it is now thought that public perception on ‘politics in public organizations’ influences greatly on trust in government, also indirectly affecting consequences (Vigoda-Gadot 2003, 2006; Niemi, Craig and Mattei 1991).

Despite many suggestions of various contextual factors for trust in government, most of them, like national mood and threats and political scandals are largely limited in context and time, influencing the level of trust during the period of their occurrence. On the contrary, intensively identifying variables such as news media and social capital which have the widespread and consistent impacts on public trust has been rare (Putnam 1995; Orren 1997; Pew 1998).

Lastly, how trust affects public response to the expansion of government roles or governance structure deserves to get more attention. Scholars have done adequate studies on citizen compliance and participation as the behavioral consequence to trust, but it is now suggested that there is the casual link between policy attitude toward government roles and governance structure and public trust (Hetherington 2004; Erikson, MacKuen and Stimson 2002). Examining this area would provide the better knowledge and empirical answer to the ongoing trend of private-public partnership and reduced-functioning of the state, which right now parallels the constant decrease of public trust in government.

## **Integrative Conceptualization and Clarification of Trust in Government**

### **Framework for Extensively Examining Trust in Government**

In light of current trends and shortcomings in previous literature, three important properties need to be identified and clarified for better understanding and assessing public trust in government: first, trust is a combination of cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects or attributes between both psychological and rational reasoning.; secondly, it is based on public evaluation of functional, ethical, and institutional aspects of government; lastly, it is context-dependent and continually affected by some contextual factors.

First, trust in government can be conceptualized mainly in combination of cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions within rational or psychological reasoning. These distinctive dimensions are commingled together and constantly influence the shaping of trust (Lewis & Weigert, 1985; Kim 2005). After all, the increase of trust in government actually reflects the positive evaluations of relevant antecedents, such as competency, transparency, integrity, and benevolence in that cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions help to construct perception of each variable (Mayer, Davies, Schoorman 2007: 348-349).

Second, trust in government also reflects the public's evaluation of governmental bureaucracy, various government departments and agencies, and individual politicians and public servants from the functional, ethical, and institutional perspectives. Trust in government's functional aspect relates to public perceptions of the economic and political performance of the government; within this aspect, result-based as well as process-oriented notions are included. Traditionally, this perspective reflects the public evaluation of how competent and how capable government agencies and public servants are (Lipset & Schneider 1987; Mishler & Rose 2001). It now extends to the public's assessment of political and governmental processes; how consistent, how open, and how responsive political and governmental processes are when it comes to policies making and providing public services (Hibbing and Theiss-Morse 2002). The ethical aspect of trust in government continues to be the one of the important features; it refers to how citizens judge the intentions and moral integrity of political leaders and public servants. A number of scholars consider honesty, scandals, and corruption are the major variables that can affect public trust (Carnevale 1995; Barns & Prior, 1996; Berman, 1997; Alvarez & Brehm 1998; Levi 1998; Orren 1997; Chanley, Rudolph and Rahn 2000). In this regard, the government should work toward to eradicating corruption if it wants to restore public trust. The institutional aspect of trust in government primarily refers to bureaucratic politics from citizens' perspective rather than employees'. This can be linked to whether or not the public believes that the government does what is right and works for the public. If the public believes the bureaucracy serves for the interests of powerful groups, public trust in government is going to be negatively affected (Vigoda-Gadot 2006: 290). Moreover, as different aspects of trust feed each other, strong public perception on politics in government institution greatly influence on attributes of fairness and ethics, and vice versa (Vigoda 2006).

Third, trust in government is also influenced by contextual factors other than those directly related to the government and its activities. Some important contextual factors such as political ideology, news media, and social capital may consistently influence shaping the public trust in government (King 1997; Putnam 1995; Blind 2007; Mundy 2007). In particular, unlike government-related ones, once direction and magnitude of these factors are established, it is really difficult to change or control them. They also

may affect citizens' evaluation of government agencies, politicians, and public servants from the functional, ethical, and institutional perspectives (Nye 1997; Keele 2004). Therefore, measuring public trust with such reliable environmental factors is really important in better understanding the dynamics of trust in government.

Taken these factors and aspects of trust, public trust in government can be defined as a qualified belief or attitude that is held by the public, is influenced by positive future expectations, and is based on experience and perception which are affected by functional, ethical, and institutional characteristics of the government within some specific contexts. This definition encompasses a variety of important features of public trust in government: individual expectations; interpersonal relationships; institutional image; social structures; and ethical principles. Moreover, this gives special consideration to process-oriented performance and bureaucratic politics as well as other important aspects of trust. Thus, such an integrative framework will make it easy to get more detailed and insightful sense of which factors mostly and frequently affect trust in government among possible government-related and contextual factors. Finally, dominant factors of trust are contingent on country and situational context, so the improved definition of trust would clarify how trust building works in the different countries and situations.

### **Impacts of Public Trust on Governance**

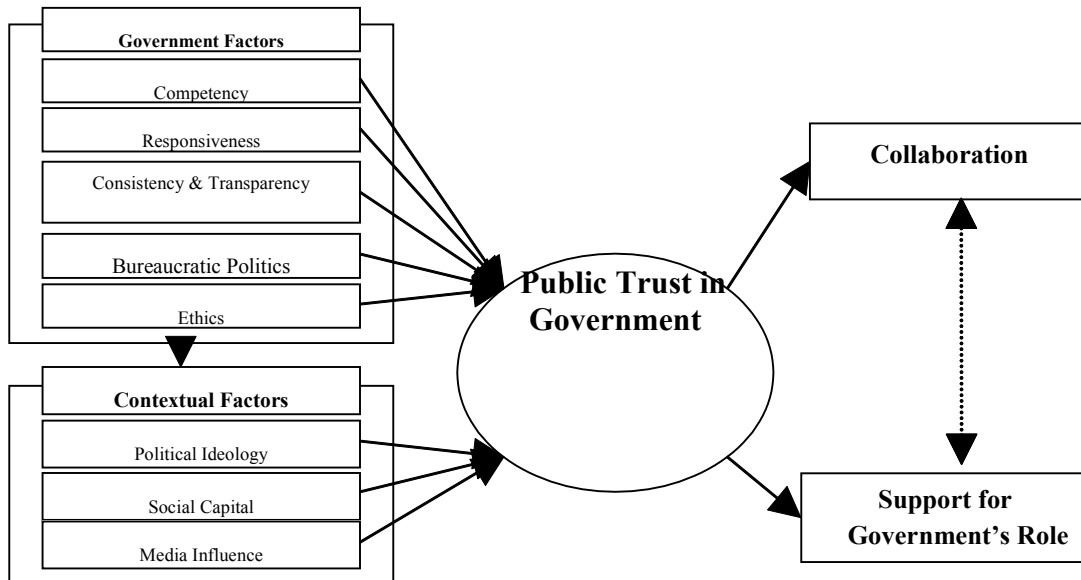
Additionally, despite the lack of widespread studies, trust in government is stated to influence more acceptance of government policies and a greater government role in certain policy areas (Hetherington 2004; Stimson 1999; Chanley, Rudolph, and Rahn 2000, 245). While governance can be affected and made up of a variety of variables, it is clear that citizens' voluntary participation and compliance are essential conditions for effective governance. Good governance also depends on responsible role playing and decision making by government institutions and reflects the effective service-delivery structure. Therefore, trust is the critical social mechanism which leads to the most efficient and effective governance while costly control or oversight becomes unnecessary (Forester & Nilakant 2005: 351). With regard to the relationship between trust and governance, inherent assumption is that better trust leads to the more public participation and compliance. Those who trust government are expected to take part in political activities, such as voting and campaign (Levi & Stoker 2000). Citizens are also likely to comply with government demands and mandates if they have trust in government (Tyler 1990, 1998).

In addition, public trust continues to be recognized as the significant factor that influences public support for expansion of government roles and policy implementation. For instance, trust will guide citizens to decide whether to support the increased government spending in particular policy area (Rudolph & Evans 2005: 661; Hetherington 2004). Equally important impact of trust in governance is that it affects citizens' support for the governance structure. When citizens have high trust in government, the government bureaucracy is considered to be as the most reliable and consistent service delivery system (Forester & Nilakant, 2005). In contrast, if citizens do not have confidence in government-bureaucracy system in its service delivery, market-driven structure, such as privatization gets more support by citizens. That is, public trust is inarguably important to shape citizens' attitude toward government-oriented governance structure (Forester & Nilakant, 2005: 351-352; Hetherington, 2004). In sum, public trust in government has the prominent impacts on the scope of government roles and service delivery structures, as well as public participation and compliance.

### **Exploratory Model: Antecedents to and Consequences of Public Trust in Government**

This study attempts to establish the improved model of trust in government so that antecedents and consequences of it can be applicable to every country and society. Figure below shows a model of Antecedents to and Consequences of Public Trust in Government. At the core of the model is the distinction between the factors directly related to the government activities and contextual factors that have constant impacts on trust. It is also aiming to address how trust in government affects public responses to government roles, its spending, and its governance structure beyond the usually assumed

consequential responses, such as public cooperation. Moreover, this research attempts to provide the practically developed questionnaires in order to test many ideas suggested by the theoretical model with the empirical data.



**Figure 1** A Conceptual Model of Public Trust in Government

### **Government-Related Antecedents to Public Trust in Government**

In view of current literature on the subject, it can be said that the most common antecedent may be that of how government performance is perceived. A number of scholars relate the high performance as the root of trust in government while pointing out poor performance as the primary reason for distrust (Fard, Asghar, and Rostamy 2007). It has been suggested that building trust in government is possible when governmental and administrative systems are both efficient and effective (Erber and Lau 1990; Vigoda 2002). This implies that the essential parts of public evaluation are ‘what’ and ‘how’ the government has done (Yang & Holzer 2006). The performance approach to trust has two main parts: macro-performance theory as a result of macroeconomic dynamics such as unemployment, inflation, and economic growth, and micro-performance theory as changes in the quality of government policies and services (Bouckaert, et al 2002; Yang & Holzer 2006). Although many scholars assert positive relationships of performance and trust in government, there are still ongoing arguments on a direct mechanical relation between performance and trust (Van de Walle and Bouckaert, 2003). The implication from this is that actual performance does not merely transform itself into citizen’s perception since several different psychological and social interactions take place. This is because performance is perceived more than the efficiency of service delivery; many characters of the government action affect citizen’s perception of government performance. For this reason, the vigorous performance measurement is essential for the successful empirical study and improvement of trust.

Recent public sector innovations and the New Public Service approach have expanded performance measurement to include the administrating of public services – whether governments are satisfying the needs of their citizens – rather than government inputs or outputs. Along these lines, a review of studies suggests that there are four major factors that may influence the public trust in government and that should be closely examined (Berman 2000; Kim 2005; Jennings 1998; La Porte and Metlay 1996; Levi 1998; Mayer, Davies, and Schoorman 1995): they are competency, responsiveness, consistency, and transparency.



**Competency.** It comprises the qualifications, knowledge, and skills necessary for effectively maintaining or increasing organizational productivity. Unless competent, government agencies can neither formulate better policies nor deliver quality public services while public expectations keep rising. For this reason, a number of authors have described government competency as being an important determinant of government trustworthiness (Miller 1974; Kass 1990; Meier 1993; Carnevale 1995; Barns & Prior 1996; Berman 1997; Braithwaite 1998; Jennings 1998; Levi 1998). Indeed, ineffective local government services and incompetent government agents are proven to undermine public trust (Berman 1997, La Porte & Metlay 1996). In short, competency is an important factor that can encourage trust if the government is able to deliver sound policies and quality services. Competency can be measured based on either institutional or personal level. For instance, it can be asked if the government is doing its best to abide by its public responsibilities and handle the problem in an efficient manner. Public evaluation of whether the government wisely allocates its public resources paid in taxes is also the good barometer of it. At the individual level, if citizens think that public workers are highly qualified, competency is regarded high.

*Hypothesis 1: Trust in government will increase when government competently fulfills its responsibilities, or when public servants are considered highly qualified.*

**Responsiveness.** It refers to how well government identifies the needs of the people and incorporates those needs into policies and programs. To citizens, responsiveness refers to how fast and how accurately government agencies respond to meet their demands (Vigoda 2000). Likewise, Thomas and Palfrey (1996) argue that responsiveness refers to the speed and accuracy with which a service provider replies to requests of citizens. A responsive bureaucracy is expected to encourage greater public trust in the government (Chi 1999; Vigoda 2000). Responsiveness of the government, therefore, can be measured within two key aspects: speed and accuracy. For instance, it can be asked if the government treats and responds citizen's requests within a reasonable period of time. Or, citizens are to be asked if the government accurately knows and supports what people need. It is also possible that the one question is tailored to include both concepts for practicality.

*Hypothesis 2: Trust in government will increase when the government accurately knows people's needs and provide speedy responses to them.*

**Consistency.** In addition to the responsiveness, the consistency of government policies and actions and of public employees will also improve public trust in government. Trust can be established if the public believes there to be a consistency between what a trustee pledges to do and what they actually accomplish (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996). Thus, the government can foster public trust by consistently providing quality public services. That is to say, institutional consistency may be considered the primary vehicle through which a trustworthy government can be achieved. Measuring this factor can be done by looking into if the citizen feels that the government is carrying out its policies as planned or promised.

*Hypothesis 3: Trust in government will increase when the government or public employees perform according to what they promised*

**Openness and transparency.** It can be understood as the availability and accessibility of relevant information about government functions. Transparency is dependent on the quantity and quality of information provided by the government to the people and on improvements made to the information dissemination system. In this regard, it has been suggested that E-government may increase public access to government information and thereby strengthen public trust in the government (Chadwick and May 2003; Ho 2002; Norris 2001; Tapscott 1997; Thomas and Streib 2003; West 2005, 2004). It may be said that transparent governance encourages more public participation and lower levels of corruption and thereby creates improved level of public trust which in turn provides greater legitimacy in government. As this variable reflects the level of openness to the public, the measure is made to assess if people feel that the government is making a plausible effort to provide adequate information to the public and media.

*Hypothesis 4: Trust in government will increase when citizens feel that there is not only easily accessible but also adequate information about government functions.*

**Bureaucratic politics.** Another important antecedent factor to trust in government is bureaucratic politics. Bureaucratic politics refers to the level of conflict and the use of power by government members in their efforts to influence others and secure interests at both interpersonal and intra-organizational level (Vigoda-Gadot 2003). It also reflects a tense relationship between political appointees, the professionals, Congress, and interest groups in which all parties are competing to push their own agendas (Vigoda-Gadot 2003, White & Wolf 2005). Therefore, in this struggle many government employees may act in the interest of their respective agencies and not the interests of the general public (Ferris et al. 1989; Cropanzano et al. 1997, Vigoda-Gadot 2003). The results of several studies indicate that citizens tend to trust the government when they feel that public officials are using their power for the individual citizen rights, and public demands (Berman, 1997; Braithwaite, 1998; Daunton, 1998; Hart, 1984; Shaw, 1997). Many researchers have also suggested that citizens perceive the government favorably when government agencies abstain from favoritism and ignore special interests (Alvarez & Brehm, 1998; Carnevale, 1995; La Porte & Metlay, 1996; Levi, 1998; Meier, 1993). Thus, detecting the attributes in citizen's perception such as, absence of general public interests in government actions, presence of favoritism in promotional system, or political pressures on government operations would be measured toward bureaucratic politics.

*Hypothesis 5: Trust in government will increase when citizens feel that public servants work toward general public's interests without being captured by any political favoritism and pressures.*

**Ethics.** Lastly, the ethics, morality, and professionalism of public officials may also influence public trust the government. A number of scholars have found that citizens believe that the honesty of public officials is a major factor for their trust construct (Alvarez & Brehm, 1998; Barns & Prior, 1996; Berman, 1997; Carnevale, 1995; Kass, 1990; Levi, 1998; Miller, 1974). Public trust in government tends to be low when citizens perceive government officials as dishonest or corrupt (Berman, 1997; Lipset & Schneider, 1987; Nye, 1997). Moreover, an increasing number of empirical studies have shown that the dishonesty and corruption of public officials makes citizens to be more critical of government institutions (Anderson and Tverdova 2003, Seligson, 2002). In order to measure this variable, it is necessary to look at how the public feels of the government workers in terms of impartiality, honesty, or corruption. For example, the citizens can be asked if government officials lack impartiality, or it may be asked whether corruption is widespread in public administration.

*Hypothesis 6: Trust in government will increase when citizens feel that public officials are honest, impartial.*

### **Contextual Antecedents to Public Trust in Government**

**Political ideology.** Among a variety of contextual factors, political ideology or political preference is often discussed with the relation to trust in government. As King's research with NES (National Election Studies) indicates, there is a strong relationship between political ideology and trust in government. That is to say, citizens who identify with or support the ruling party tend to be more trusting of the government in general while citizens who identify with the opposition party tend to be less trusting of government (Pew 1998). Even if the ruling party governs well, people who support the opposition party will in general tend to distrust the government. Citizens' political ideology can be measured whether he or she thinks the current administration has the same or similar political affiliation. If the answer is positively related to the level of trust, this will demonstrate its empirical validity.

*Hypothesis 7: Trust in government will be high when the citizen has the same political ideology or party affiliation with the current incumbent.*

**Social capital.** The second contextual factor is social capital, a concept that encompasses the social connections, individual networks, and interpersonal trust that is facilitated in communities through coordination in pursuit of a mutual goal (Putnam 1993, 1995, 2000). Though controversial, many

researchers have argued that distrust of government is not so much the result of government actions as it is a reflection of a general decline in interpersonal and societal trust (Putnam 1993, Nye 1997). Citizens who participate in civic activities learn interpersonal trust from interacting each other, and then, connote a belief of bringing about change or a sense of connectedness, leading to the social trust (Putnam 1993, 1995, 2000). By turn, social trust encourages citizens to have upbeat views of the government and its institutions (Putnam 2000; Blind 2007). In contrast, citizens that are not civically engaged may feel politically disenfranchised and may adopt a cynical view of their elected officials, community leaders, and the government institutions (Miller 1974). A personally distrustful citizen may project their distrust onto the government (Brehm and Rahn 1997; Lane 1959; Moore and Wagner 1985; Putnam 2000). In short, social capital may influence public trust in government. This dimension can be measured through the feelings of the citizens in relation to the other people. For instance, the citizen can be asked if he or she thinks neighbors are willing to help when emergency situation happens. In a more concise way, the citizen can be just asked whether he or she feel comfortable living with other people.

*Hypothesis 8: Trust in government is high when there is a strong presence of social capital.*

**Media influence.** Finally, the media acts as a medium of information and therefore has the power to influence public perception. The scandal-obsessed media plays important role in eroding public trust in government (Orren 1997). The emergence of cable news channels and the internet has made the news business more competitive and has driven to focus on political corruption and government failings in an effort to improve ratings. Those who are exposed to this negative reporting might have negative views on the performance and ethics of government. Therefore, the more critical the media is of the government even when the government is performing well, the less the public will have trust in the government. The media's role in fomenting public distrust has yet to be thoroughly investigated (Cappella and Hall Jamieson 1997). With regard to the empirical testing, measuring this aspect can be accomplished by two steps. First, it is important to know if people think the information about the government, disseminated by the news media, is trustworthy and reliable. If so, it is equally critical to see whether people consider such information from the media is important for evaluation of government activity.

*Hypothesis 9: Trust in government is affected by news media when the citizens think information by media is trustworthy and take it into consideration of government performance.*

### **Consequences of Public Trust in Government**

Although many identify the different consequences of trust in government, researchers recently have contended that trust in government will create the conditions in which good governance and democratic practices can occur (Blau 1964; Luhmann 1980, Craig 1993, Bianco 1994, Seligman 1997; Levi and Brathwaite 1998, Putnam 2000). When a citizen accepts that the government is a reliable entity, citizen's attitudinal trust is transformed into the behavioral response called "collaboration" (Gibb 1964; Zand 1982).

**Collaboration.** Trust encourages citizens to cooperate with the government through information disclosure, less resistance to government influence (Kim 2005). As a result, citizens' collaboration eventually leads to the democratic governance (Gambetta 1988; North 1990; Fukuyama 1995; Levi, 1998; Weingast 1998). There are two dimensions of collaboration: compliance and participation. While it is still possible that there are other sub-components of collaboration, these two dimensions explain a major portion of collaboration (Mayer, Davies, and Schoorman 1995, 717). Compliance behavior indicates that the more trust citizens place in the government the more are they willing to comply with government laws, regulations and policies (Braithwaite 1992, Tyler 1998; Levi & Stoker, 2000). Furthermore, Levi (1988) and Scholz and Lubell (1998) maintain that citizens who trust the government are less likely to fail to pay their taxes. Measuring this variable is rather straightforward. That is, the citizen's or the organizations' willingness to comply with the government regulations or guidance can be directly asked.

*Hypothesis 10: High public trust in government leads to citizen compliance with government policies and*



*regulations.*

Trust in government can also affect active civic participation and voter turnout. If citizens feel that the government has ignored or mistreated them, they will be less inclined to participate in the democratic process and will be more adamantly opposed to the government policies (1970, Levi & Stoker 2000, Kim 2005). In line with this assertion, it has been argued that the current decline in voter turnout coincides with a decline in public trust in the government (Hetherington 2004; Norris 1999; Craig 1993, Putnam 2000). In order to measure participation, it is important to know if the respondent has the desire to take part in next presidential or governmental elections. Another way to measure it is to check if the citizen is involved in any political affair or the member of the particular political association.

*Hypothesis 11: High public trust in government leads to active public participations in political arenas.*

**Support for Government Roles.** Public trust may also affect public willingness to support the implementation of the government's domestic policies in areas that include: education, health care, welfare, and environment. As public trust in government has long been thought to reflect citizens' policy satisfaction, public trust will influence citizens' policy attitudes (Rudolph & Evans 2005). Citizens are more likely to support an expansion of public policies and services through increased government spending when they believe the government is trustworthy. On the other hand, Hetherington (2004) asserts that if, as is currently the case, citizens distrust the public service delivery system, they will be less likely to turn to government agencies to find public policy solutions. In the same logic, public distrust may have played a central role in the demise of progressive public policy in the United States because citizens' unwillingness to allow the associated government agencies to provide services eventually limits the development of effective policy solutions (Hetherington 2004). Measuring 'support for the government roles' can be done with the studying of citizen's degree of preference of government roles. For instance, for each of service areas (e.g., public education, or environmental protection), the person can be asked if he or she needs more involvement of government.

*Hypothesis 12: High public trust in government leads to the expansion of government roles in policy areas.*

Trust in government also influences to what extent the public approves of governance structures. The role that the government plays in the delivery of public services has undergone drastic changes as level of trust declined; governments today are increasingly relying on privatization and public-private partnerships for the effectively programs and public services delivery (Forester & Nilakant, 2005; Beer & Nohria 2000). For example, New Public Management emphasizes speed and flexibility and is encourages both greater private sector engagement and greater consumer participation (Savas 1987). Recently, however, high transactions costs and a lack of accountability have become problematic and have spurred public officials to develop alternative governmental structures and to improve the capacity of public service delivery systems (Donaldson, 1995; Jones, 1983). Even if these changes are made in limited sectors, greater levels of trust in government may accelerate this trend. Thus, it is more likely that citizens who trust the government may prefer greater direct government involvement in the delivery of public services over the ones offered by the private sector (Adler, 2001). In particular, government's increased role in providing public service in important sectors such as law enforcement, environmental protection, public education, and welfare may be approved at all levels of government if trust in government increases. In order to measure the approval of governance structure, the question can be tailored to ask whether or not the respondent prefers more of private or non-profit partnerships over the government in any particular public service area.

*Hypothesis 13: High public trust leads to a more government-oriented service delivery structure.*

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

The model presented in this paper aims for systematic analysis of antecedents and consequences of trust in government by addressing most of significant aspects of trust. This model makes the clear distinction

between government-related and contextual factors. For instance, if this model indicates distinctively that morality of public employees and consistency of public organizations are the decisive factors for recent decrease in public trust in government, the government can concentrate on redressing those problems in training public employees and reforming the process of government. Inclusion of bureaucratic politics within citizens' perspectives in the model will enrich our knowledge of the concept as well as its relationship with public trust in government, which result in better policy making. By including contextual factors having a persistent and wide influence on public trust, it will give clearer intuition of how these factors are attributed to molding permanent perception of the individual when evaluating government performance. Such an integrative model also helps to set the important foundation of comparative analysis across states with different government systems. For instance, it will be clarified what different component of trust play the dominant roles between developed or democratic and developing or authoritarian countries. This model will give the important implication of trust on governance about whether the theoretical assumption of positive relationship between public trust and the approval of more government involvement in policy area and government-oriented governance structure can be empirically supported.

Despite these several positive features, some views in this model may be subject to controversy; it is debatable whether there is reverse causality in relationship, multiple or no relationship at all between some factors and trust in government. While most studies reveal that performance of the government affects the level of trust, some studies claim that it is actually trust that leads to the high level of performance. This view suggests that the governments that enjoy popular support are able to function more smoothly and effectively than those with less public trust because such support provides them with legitimacy, greater decision making powers, political resources, and public cooperation. Even if such relationship is possible because of a complex nature of trust-performance link, this claimed direction is rather exceptional. For example, in their studies on trust in organizational setting, Dirks and Ferrin (2001) found out that the effects of trust on performance outcome is rather inconsistent and weak (455). Moreover, the social exchange theory reveals that citizens are more likely to react, rather than encourage, to the efforts government make for better services (Blau 1964). For these reasons, the model presented in this paper follows the most usual direction in that performance comes before trust. Likewise, it is often argued that distrust stimulates the political participation. The logic behind this is that distrusting of government actually encourages citizens to participate in order to change the status quo (Levi & Stoker 2000; Gamson 1968, 1975; Mundy 2007). Furthermore, there is also the assertion that the relationship between trust and cooperation is not unidirectional, denoting that participation might affect the level of trust (Deutsch 1962; Kim 2005).

Other competing and intricate views exist with casual relationship between social capital and trust in government. For instance, some scholars maintain that increasing social distrust actually enhance political trust (Gamsom 1968). On the other hand, social trust is also thought to be weakly related to public trust in government, meaning that it does not have any impact on political revitalization (Kim, 2005a). The same relationship between social capital and trust cannot work in every society and at all times, but the generalization should be made. In fact, alternative claims tend to be coming from fundamentally different pool of contexts, which are found in the newly emerging democratic states or underdeveloped countries (Rose, 1995; Shlapentokh, 1989). Therefore, as this model has been developed based on the common ground of democratic societies, it might be logical to assume the positive relationship between the two.

Another notable limitation is that there might be other important factors of trust in different dimensions, but omitted in this paper. For example, the abstract idea like 'propensity for trust' is considered to be the important components in trust relationship (Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman 1995, 2007). It is also known that several different cultural characteristics among countries affect initial propensity for trust. Because of this, citizens in one country might have more trust in government as compared to others despite the equal level of outputs in government performances. Overall, no matter how hard we try to make the generally

applicable model, it continues to be affected by the variations of time and contexts (Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman 2007, 346). Therefore, further elaboration with more empirical data is being required to redress the potential limitations in this model and for better future research.

In sum, it is predictable that trust in government continues to have the strong impacts on successful governance and implementation of the important policy programs, not to mention that it has important citizen's attitudinal and behavioral consequences for democratic society. For this reason, identifying and explaining trust in government is considered as the essential step for building public trust. This model is expected to bring contributions to this purpose by taking the integrative views.

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