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Citizens' Trust in Local Government

**An Empirical Study of Two
Municipalities in Bangladesh**

RIFAT MAHMUD

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Glossaries of Terms

Tadbir (lobbying) Tadbir is a kind of lobbying to manage a decision taken or to be taken by an authority through over-ruling, breaking or bending existing rules, norms, and practices (Jamil 2007).

Wards A city corporation in Bangladesh is divided into small areas known as ‘wards’. The number of wards in city corporations depends upon the number of population which a City Corporation has and is fixed through statute by the Ministry of Local Government

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my beloved parents, especially to my mother, who have always been a source of inspiration for me.

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“I may not be there yet, but I’m closer than I was yesterday.”

- Jose N. Harris, MI DIVA: A Story of Faith, Hope and Love

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Abstract

Institutional trust is an essential indicator in the governance mechanism involving the level of confidence which citizens' have towards the public institutions. The present study focuses to find out the level of citizens' trust in municipalities, i.e. in city corporations in Bangladesh. The study also tries to find out what factors explain the variations in the trust level. The study was based on cultural approach and institutional or performance approach of institutional trust. The data used in the analysis are taken from the survey of the citizens at the two city corporations under study, conducted by the researcher during the data collection period of summer 2016. Based on the cultural approach, the study developed three main explanatory variables which are social capital, power distance and uncertainty avoidance. The study also focuses on various socio-political demographic factors affecting the trust level at city corporations. The other two explanatory variables involving the institutional or performance approach of trust are citizen or customer satisfaction along with quality of government. The main findings are, first, that citizens' level of trust in city corporations is high and indicates cumulative pattern, i.e. high level of trust in one measure tends to extend to other measures. Second, cultural variables have the strongest overall effect on variations in citizens' trust in municipalities in Bangladesh than institutional or performance variables. Individual associationism or networking along with citizens' acceptance of the use of power in getting services are most important determining variables affecting trust in city corporations. Finally, trust in municipality is also influenced by demographic factors, mainly by citizens' occupation.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 Background

Trust in recent years has become a major focus of research in political science, sociology and organization theory (Kramer & Tyler 1996; Lane & Bachman 1998). It has also been analyzed in understanding social relations as well as interface between individuals and institutions (Fukuyama 1995; Giddens 1990, 1991; Gambetta 1988). Study of trust focuses in evaluating the level of confidence which citizens' have towards their public institutions in meeting their expectations (Wang 2016, p. 211). Trust is based on expectations, but is strengthened by experience, i.e. the experience which individuals face in receiving public services and of their management (Elliot 2007, p. 3). 'In developing countries like Bangladesh, the issue of trust in the governance mechanism is often considered as one of the most important and debated administrative issues to be dealt with' (Islam & Mahmud 2015, p. 128).

Providing basic services at the rural and urban level is one of the core functions of the government. Municipalities such as city corporations in Bangladesh constitute the major local government bodies in urban areas. Over a quarter (43 million) of the total population resides in urban areas in Bangladesh (Local Government Division, Bangladesh). Having trust of this huge number of people living in municipalities based on the way services are delivered is important to strengthen the legitimacy and improve the performance of public institution such as of city corporations. The level of trust in government is a reflection of citizens' satisfaction with the performance of public institutions such as police, schools, local government bodies, etc. (Van De Walle & Bouckaert 2003, p. 894). This indicates better service provision at the local level is essential for enhancing citizens' trust in the country.

Why the issue of trust in local government institutions is important? Is it really necessary to ensure that citizens' place their trust in the local government institutions? Citizens' always feel that it is the local politics that is effective for them in meeting their expectations and they also have a rational understanding of their local political issues (Almond & Verba, 1965; Dahl &

Tufte 1973; John 2001 cited in Fitzgerald & Wolak 2016, p. 130). Citizens' trust the officials of institutions who are nearby to them more than those who are far away as they perceive that the officials of distant institutions may be incompetent, lazy and probably dishonest (Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 488). Local government institutions such as city corporations mainly thrive to ensure the welfare of the local citizens. The interaction between public institutions and local citizens need amiable environment where meeting the needs of citizens' is important. This paves the way for fostering citizens' trust in local government institutions. Trust requires prudent policy making to satisfy the needs of all the stakeholders in the locality. Trust is enhanced when normative expectations of citizens are met. Most citizens interact with local government given its proximity- they might know the member of the institution, attend community meeting or rely on the local government services such as education or law enforcement (Fitzgerald & Wolak 2016, p. 131). Poor performance by the local government affects trust negatively in local authorities (*ibid.* 131). A trusting relationship between government and citizens depict an indication of good governance reflecting government's capacity to respond to citizens' needs and demands (Jamil & Askvik 2016, p. 647). The more trust citizens' have in the public institution and in the process of governance, the closer would be the relationship between the state and society (Askvik, Jamil & Dhakal 2011, p. 417). Trust fosters public support for the government to implement public policies (Kim 2005a, p. 601) and as public institutions such as city corporations implement various government policies, thus the need of trust or confidence in city corporations is evident.

The constitution of Bangladesh, Article 59¹, lays down the provision for the establishment of local government institutions to deliver services such as health, education, nutrition, utilities and agriculture to the citizens. The parliament delegates these functions to the various local government bodies such as city corporations through formulating various laws that involves meeting citizens' interest. In Bangladesh, city corporations being a democratic institution provides various public services such as infrastructural development, health care, revenue (provision of trade license, allotment of shops, holding numbers), etc. to citizens in the locality. People delegate their sovereignty to public institutions and actors, trusting that their mandate will be handled in an appropriate way (Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 487). Mandate of the citizens

¹ Available at: <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/research/bangladesh-constitution.pdf> . Retrieved on 28/09/2016

makes way for city corporations to have legal authority to issue commands to meet the needs of the citizens.

Issues such as legitimacy are important for public institutions which are largely based on trust (Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 487). Legitimacy embodies the consent that citizens agree with the way government of public institutions function (Blind 2007, p. 18). Trust covers general and systemic factors, such as the legitimacy accorded to the political-administrative system, but also more specific experiences with the government and its services and the dynamic interaction between the two (Bouckaert & Van De Walle, 2001 cited in Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 488). Public institutions must develop trustful relations with social actors and with citizens in order to manage and address the changes of globalization, economic growth and process of democratization and to gain legitimacy and develop partnership for successful implementation of public policies (Jamil & Askvik 2016, p. 647). If trust in public institutions such as in city corporations is high, then it demonstrates the legitimacy and democratic nature of public institutions. Legitimacy of public institutions encourages citizens to abide by the decisions of the institutions and act without the use of coercion or force for the policies undertaken (Bouckaert & Van de Walle 2003, p. 340). Legitimacy is readily achieved if citizens trust the government and their representatives (Blind 2007, p. 18). Institutional trust demonstrates the level of confidence which citizens' have on the institutions based on the choice of decisions taken by institutions. Institutional trust appears when citizens' follow government decisions even without sufficient information under the assumption that those decisions are legitimate and protect their interests (Levi 1998 cited in Kim 2005, p. 617). The present study focuses to explore the level of citizens' trust in two municipalities (city corporations) in Bangladesh focusing on the services delivered by city corporations.

1.1 Rationale of the Study and Problem Statement

In developing countries like Bangladesh, public sectors have traditionally been playing instrumental role in providing basic services such as education, health, infrastructural facilities along with the maintenance of law and order. The central government entrusts city corporations with enhanced development role to provide civic amenities to the local people such as for the provision of infrastructural facilities and various utilities and other services (Mujeri & Sing 1997,

p.4). Higher trust in the municipalities such as in city corporations implies that citizens have positive expectations about members of those organizations. Higher trust assumes that public officials follow procedures in accordance with the rule of law, which will produce beneficial outcomes for governing institutions and for society as well.

Citizens' level of trust in government may vary in terms of their satisfaction with public services (Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 488). When individuals experience is largely positive, citizens' tend to trust the state (Kumlin 2002; Rothstein & Steinmo 2002 cited in Christensen & Laegreid 2003, p.7). Studies such as that of Jamil and Askvik (2015), Jamil and Askvik (2013) and Anisuzzaman (2012) tried to find the level of citizens' trust in public officials and institutions in Bangladesh. However, these studies focused mainly on public institutions involving the judiciary, parliament, police, office of the Deputy Commissioner and office of the Upazila (Sub-District)/Executive Officer, where the institutions (except parliament) do not constitute elected representatives of citizens. As mentioned, around 43 million people resides in urban areas in Bangladesh it is important to know the extent to which these citizens are confident upon its Urban Local Government Institutions (ULGIs') such as city corporations, which directly constitutes elected representatives to run the institution. Researcher such as Pande stated that trust in an institution is built primarily through the quality of services it delivers to the citizens (2010, p.1). Local government institutions need to constantly improve the services as various customer groups avail local public services and the services must be rigorous, adaptable and suitable in terms of priorities of the people (Donnelly *et al.* 1995, p. 16). The more the priorities of the citizens are met, the more the service satisfaction would take place, which not only confirms the legitimacy of the local government institutions but also the trustworthiness. The study tries to understand citizens' satisfaction in the services provided by city corporations and tries to analyze the level of institutional trust in city corporations.

In order to ensure that citizens have a positive notion on city corporations it is important that citizens expectation is met, which focuses on performance and meeting the needs of citizens would lead to improved performance. The most common explanation for perceived decline in public trust in government and in the public sector is that government and the public sector fail to perform (Van de Walle, Roosbroek & Bouckaert 2008, p. 47). The culture of service providers

both at the central and local levels to disregard citizens' needs are quite common and have not changed significantly even after 40 years of independence of Bangladesh (Khan 2013, p. 60). This negatively affects policy performance as the needs of the citizens are not incorporated and citizens develop a negative perception on the performance. Interpersonal relationships involving patron-client relationship in getting things done to favor friends and families might affect negatively on the performance. Citizens tend to trust public institutions that ensure the quality of government involving impartial exercise of public power by the institution. The elitist nature of public institutions in countries like Bangladesh involving favoritism and discrimination allows citizens' to be deprived of basic public services (Jamil & Askvik 2015, p. 158). A situation such as this is likely to generate distrust in public institutions (Rothstein & Stolle 2008; Rothstein & Uslaner 2005 cited in Jamil & Askvik 2015, p. 158). Thus a trustworthy, dependable, and neutral local government institution is required for fostering institutional trust amongst citizens.

It may apparently be perceived that performance may explain best the level of trust in local government. But, is it only the performance of the local government institutions that affects the trust level? Do citizens reward quality service provisions? Despite the importance of performance of local governments in meeting the needs of the citizens in determining the level of trust in the local government institutions, it is not clear that citizens necessarily care only about performance of local public institutions (Fitzgerald & Wolak 2016, p. 132). While citizens are generally quite efficient at evaluating the performance of a number of public services they use, their knowledge of what certain specific public agencies or even government in general do, is not always reliable (Van de Walle, Roosbroek & Bouckaert 2008, p. 49). Many problems emerge when studying the relation between performance and trust, because of difficulties to measure the performance of a public institution as a whole (*ibid.* 48). Authoritarian rulers often enjoy an apparently high level of public trust and clientelistic relations frequently lead to a high level of satisfaction (Bouckaert & Van de Walle 2003, p. 334). Thus trust and satisfaction indicators may have to be interpreted within their specific contexts. The level of trust, may seem to be, at least partly, culturally determined (Hofstede 1980 cited in Bouckaert & Van de Walle 2003, p. 334). Citizens' trust or distrust in the public sector should not only be studied by looking at the government or public service delivery, but something that should be interpreted within broader societal trends (Van de Walle, Roosbroek & Bouckaert 2008, p. 51). Trust in public institutions

may also be understood through political-cultural and demographic variables and may be influenced by political beliefs, party preferences, social position or demographic features (Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p.494). Political activity or attitude in decision making process of city corporations is an important determinant in affecting the level of trust. Citizens interested in the political process will have more trust than those with political alienation in the public institutions as participation in political activity can enhance the knowledge about political-administrative system and the norms and values that integrate people in the polity (March & Olsen 1989 cited in Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p.493). The factors determining trust in public institutions are not necessarily the same for every country or political culture, and may differ over time (Bouckaert & Van de Walle 2003, p. 334). In the political system where the public services are functioning in an impeccable way, evaluation or the quality of services will probably not be used to determine the level of citizens' trust (*ibid.* 334).

Trust is one of the most important cohesive forces within society that ties citizens together with each other and stimulates cooperation between its members (Simmel 1950, p. 326). Institutional trust is one of the key dimensions of trust in society and it shows how people perceive and how well the institutions are operating (Stokes 1962; Miller 1974; Hetherington 1998 cited in Halapuu, Paas & Tammaru 2013, p.2). Socio-demographic variable such as education, occupation and gender molds our social environment and the traits derived from the social environment allows citizens to relate to the authorities of the public institutions. The socio-demographic disparities allows citizens' to have a positive or negative attitude towards the public institutions and citizens' level of trust increases or decreases through their experiences in dealing with institutions. Barber (1983) defines trust as a set of 'socially learned and socially confirmed expectations that people have of each other, of the organizations and institutions in which they live, and of the natural and moral social orders that set the fundamental understandings for their lives' (cited in Paxton 2007, p. 48). Various individual characteristics or the socio-demographic indicators such as age, gender, education and social class variables becomes important in the assessment of trustworthiness in public institutions (Paxton 2007, p. 48). The need for investigating the relationship between demographic variables and trust in government is that results can be used to predict long term trends in confidence (Christensen & Laegreid 2005,

p.494). The present study aims in providing a statistical trend on the level of citizens' trust in local government, city corporations, in Bangladesh.

The cultural perspective of how local government institutions such as city corporations interact with service recipients is important. The traditional norms, value system and attitude of the institutions shape the mindset of the service recipients. Scholars such as Geert Hofstede stated that cultural issues such as power distance and uncertainty avoidance influence citizens' perception about institutions (Haque & Mohammad 2013, p. 997). Bangladesh ranks fairly high on Hofstede's Uncertainty Avoidance Index, with public offices having number of rules and regulations, however due to huge number of rules, these are found vague and are selectively enforced and twisted conveniently to favor someone (*ibid.* 1001). Bangladesh also ranks high in Hofstede's Power Distance Index with the authoritarian means of decision making (*Ibid.* p. 1003). This creates high degree of impartiality and discrimination on the basis of special relationship in the public services institutions which negatively affects the 'quality of government'. According to Mishler and Rose (2001) trust in institutions involves a 'spill over' effect of how citizens' reflect their confidence or trust on individuals of public institutions. Institutional trust can be understood by looking into how members of public institution functions (Jamil & Askvik 2016). The way members of public institution carries out their activities very much depends upon the professional and institutional norms and values. Thus understanding citizens' perception towards those norms and values that shapes the attitude, relationship and performance of service providers is an important factor in determining the level of institutional trust.

Social relations within the society foster trust (Eckstein 1966; Eckstein *et al.* 1998 cited in Mishler & Rose 2001, p. 34). Citizens' confidence in each other as members of a social community, which is usually referred to as social trust, is inseparable from the notion of institutional trust (Blind 2007, p. 5). The social capital issues like interpersonal relationship involving patron-client relationship results a sense of trust or distrust in institutions. Individual associationism or socialization experiences influence the level of trust (Mishler & Rose 2002, p. 37) which makes it evident that social capital is an important determinant in affecting the level of

trust. In Bangladesh culture of *tadbir*² (lobbying), favoritism, nepotism in getting things done to favor friends and families affects negatively on the performance as this questions the legitimacy of institutions. Keele (2004) confirms that social capital has a significant and strong effect on trust in government apart from, and along with, government performance (cited in Blind 2007, p. 6). The present study tries to analyze these factors and how these affect trust in city corporations in Bangladesh.

1.2 Research Questions

Based on the problem statement and the rationales of the study, the research questions are:

- Do socio-political demographic variables such as age, gender, education and occupation affect the level of citizens' trust in the municipality?
- Does citizens' satisfaction with services provided by the municipality affect the level of trust in the municipality?
- Does neutrality and impartiality in the decision making process in the municipality (City Corporation) affect the level of citizens' trust in the municipality?
- Does high social capital enhance the level of citizens' trust in the municipality?
- To what extent organizational culture of the municipality such as power distance and uncertainty avoidance affect the level of trust in the municipality?

1.3 Research Objectives

The major objectives of the study are;

- To measure the level of citizens' trust in the municipalities (city corporations) in Bangladesh.
- To find out factors that explains citizens' trust in the municipalities in Bangladesh.

² Tadbir is a kind of lobbying to manage a decision taken or to be taken by an authority through over-ruling, breaking or bending existing rules, norms, and practices (Jamil 2007).

1.4 Delimitation

The study focuses on local government institutions situated in urban areas and city corporations are the main institutions acting as a platform for meeting the needs of citizens at locality. Although, there are eleven (11) functional city corporations in Bangladesh but the study concentrates on two (2) of them. The selection of two (2) city corporations are based on certain relevant rationales, like economic facilities and resources of city corporations, regional variations, political cohesiveness, accessibility to data of the researcher, etc. The study has a nexus of various socio-demographic respondents to bring about the representativeness in the population, where the respondents have direct involvement in getting services from city corporations. The study due to limited time of data collection and resources is unable to explore impacts from the other city corporations. The current study in analyzing the performance perspective of trust in public institutions considers citizens' level of satisfaction in various services along with institutional impartiality on various services. However, it does not explore certain other determinants such as policy decisions, level of corruption, etc. due to time and resource constraints.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The first chapter is the introductory chapter giving a brief outline on the issue of trust along with the problem statement and rationale of the study, research questions and objective of the study. Second chapter reflects the literature of trust, involving theoretical elaboration of institutional trust. The chapter also depicts hypothesis and the variables of the study and their operationalizations. The third chapter involves the methodological choices used for the study. The fourth chapter involves the data analysis involving the descriptive statistical analysis of both dependent and independent variables. Inferential statistics involving the regression analysis to show the causality between variables is projected in chapter five and the last chapter involves concluding remarks of the research.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Understanding and Theoretical Framework

2.0 Introduction

The chapter discusses relevant conceptual understandings of trust. In this regard, two perspectives are discussed, namely the institutional or performance-based theory and the cultural based theory on trust. Thereafter various variables of the study are identified and operationalized. Thereafter, some hypotheses of the research are formulated.

2.1 Conceptual Understanding

Definition of Trust

Trust is a multidimensional concept and has various meanings and applications in the field of social science (Jamil & Askvik 2015, p.158). One of the most widely cited definitions of trust is given by Mayer *et al.* (1995) defining trust as ‘the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustier, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control the other party’. Trust was initially associated with moral values (Jamil & Askvik 2016, p. 648). People were considered to be trustworthy reflecting characteristics of honesty, friendliness with strong principles and integrity (*ibid.* 648). According to Newton (2001, p. 202) trust is the ‘actor’s belief that, at worst, others will not knowingly or unwillingly do you harm, and at best, will act in his interest’. A positive experience in dealing with another person enhances trust and reduces vulnerability (Jamil & Askvik 2016, p. 648). Thus, trust may be more rationally defined as ‘a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intention or behavior of another’ (Rousseau *et al.* 1998, p. 395).

Trust in the municipality involving its service delivery refers to the belief and hope which citizens must have on the effective and efficient provision of basic goods and services including promotion of public participation from the local government institutions. It must involve a sense of reliability, predictability and benevolence from the municipality which creates a base of positive expectations. Better service provision in a neutral and impartial manner enhances the legitimacy of the institutions and attracts more trust.

Rousseau *et al.* (1998, p. 395) gave *two pre-conditions* for trust to evolve across all disciplines, which are *risk* and *interdependence*. Risk is the perceived probability of loss, as interpreted by a decision maker (Chiles & McMackin 1996; MacCrimmon & Wehrung 1986). *Risk* creates an opportunity of uncertainty in service provision during any transaction between service recipients and providers. When the sense of that uncertainty is diminished through meeting the expected behavior from both service recipients and providers, there is a path-dependent connection between trust and risk taking, fostering a situation for trust to evolve (Rousseau *et al.* 1998, p. 395). The uncertainty condition during service delivery which when is dissolved or diminished causes citizens' to have the confidence on the other person or on the institution in meeting the expected behavior. Trust would not be needed if actions could be undertaken with complete certainty (Lewis & Weigert 1985). *Interdependence* refers to a situation where the interests of one party cannot be achieved without reliance upon another (Rousseau *et al.* 1998, p. 395). It involves a condition where an individual has the confidence on the other (person or institution) to bring about a positive expectation every time the person depends upon the other to get things done. The more the interdependence, the more the trust would take place. For trust to materialize both risk and interdependence needs to be evident. Citizens may have the mindset that during any kind of transaction or service delivery in public offices there may be an action of uncertainty. So when that mindset can be avoided and when the recipients continuously rely upon service providers (public institution) in meeting the expected behavior, trust emerges.

Different Forms of Trust

For structurally conceptualizing trust and to understand the common characteristics, Rousseau *et al.* (1998) gave *three forms* of trust: Calculus-based trust; Relational Trust and Institutional trust. ***Calculus-based trust*** is based on rational choice and implies cost-benefit analysis in economic exchange relations. This form of trust emerges when the **trustor** (one who is trusting) perceives that the **trustee** (to whom one is trusting) intends to perform an action that is beneficial (Rousseau *et al.* 1998, p. 399). Positive expectations are formed from rational consideration of credible information, stemming from a multitude of sources like third parties (reputational effect), knowledge of previous performances based on indicators etc. (Oomsels & Bouckaert 2012, p.8). Calculus-based trust brings about that 'risk' element, which is a precondition for trust

to emerge. When parties enter into a financial or economic exchange, there is always the uncertainty of performance loss and whenever the situation reduces that uncertainty and vulnerability, positive expectation takes place. Presence of credible information regarding the intentions or competence of the trustee leads to interdependence between parties to go into relationship, thus both 'risk' and 'interdependence' element exist in calculus-based trust.

Relational trust emerges from repeated interactions over time between trustor and trustee (Rousseau *et al.* 1998, p. 399). From frequent interactions an attachment of positive expectations is based on reliability and the dependability between the parties. The basis of this trust is more emotional than cognitive (Lewis & Weigert 1985, p. 970) and is based on experience. From the rigorous interaction along with the sense of reliability and dependability, creates the scope of interdependence between the trustor and trustee. This reduces the negative intention giving rise to high trust or low distrust, where the issue of distrust arises from psychological state of negative intention from trustee. Although it might look that there is no element of 'risk' involved in relational trust. However, whenever any kind of transaction takes place there is always the scope of uncertainty of not performing according to its expectation but due to repeated exchange of resources that scope of vulnerability and uncertainty is reduced.

Control mechanism, legal framework along with clearly defined roles of parties in interaction forms the basis of **institutional-based trust** (Oomsels & Bouckaert 2012, p.9). This kind of trust emerges from impersonal behavior of the trustee and not on repeated interaction of emotion between parties like relational trust or on the basis of financial benefit like calculus based trust. For institutional trust to be evident especially in the government setting, certain perceived characteristics needs to be evident such as credible commitment, honesty, competency and fairness. Institutional trust in government requires public spirited employees who are competent, credible and willing to act in the interest of larger public (Kim 2005a, p.616). However institutional based trust can lead to the formulation of calculus-based and relational-based trust (Rousseau *et al.* 1998, p. 400). This is because through fair and impersonal seeking behavior the trustee creates an environment of confidence upon the trustor that allows the trustor for repetitive exchanges of goods and services. This allows financial gain to take place on behalf of the trustee, thus making way to form both calculus-based and relational-based trust. Institutional based trust

does create condition of risk, as rigidity may arise due to legal control, which may create a situation of uncertainty. However, if impersonal standards are set then the uncertainty can be overcome for trust to emerge. The theoretical basis of this research mainly revolves around the conceptual understanding of institutional trust, which has been explicitly discussed in this chapter.

2.2 Theoretical Elaborations

Trust may be illustrated from **two levels**, one at *interpersonal or social level*, which is based on ones' contact with close aides, which confirms to the relational form of trust. Whereas, the other is at *institutional level* which is based on how institutions are performing in providing services to citizens. Interpersonal trust is measured on the basis of mutual reciprocity, goodwill and civic engagement (Putnam 1994) while trust in public institutions is measured on the basis of citizens' confidence in them, denoting that they perform according to the normative expectations of citizens (Kim 2010 cited in Jamil & Askvik 2016, p. 649). As the focus of the study is analyzing the level of citizens' trust in political democratic institutions such as in city corporations on the basis of service delivery so the main theoretical understanding revolves around the understanding of 'institutional trust'.

2.2.1 What Explains Institutional Trust?

Institutional trust can be explained from *two-approaches*, one involving society-centered approach and the other institution-centered approach (Jamil & Askvik 2015, p. 159). The society-centered approach can be explained by **cultural theory** perspective. The *society-centered* is based on Putnam's social capital approach which seeks to portray that social interaction fosters social capital, particularly understood as a generalized trust in a society (*ibid.* 159). Cultural theory sees institutional trust as an extension of interpersonal trust and hypothesize that institutional trust is deeply rooted in cultural norms and is communicated through socialization. Cultural theory assumes that institutional trust emerges from the basic form of social relations (Mishler & Rose 2001, p. 31). It focuses on the '**relational**' aspect which emerges thorough experience which leads citizens' to trust or distrust depending upon the interactions. From continuous interaction with formal and informal institutions, it creates a sense of reliability or non-reliability depending upon the type of outcome of those interactions. The

society-centered approach of institutional trust emerges from that interaction that creates a dependability, reliability and path-dependent process involving a positive socialization outcome from the public institutions. Proponents of the cultural approach state that trust is affected by the cultural values and beliefs of the people, which have been learned through socialization in early life (Mishler & Rose 2001; Wong, Wan & Hsiao 2011 cited in Wang 2016, p. 214). There are various empirical supports for cultural perspective stating that institutional trust evolves from cultural orientations. Christensen and Laegreid (2005) find that political culture and demographic factors such as age, education and occupation, play an important role in shaping institutional trust.

The *institution-centered* approach, on the other hand, may be illustrated by the ‘quality of government’ hypothesis of Rothstein and Teorell (2008, p. 167 cited in Jamil & Askvik 2015, p. 160) where the main argument is that institutions must exercise their authorized power impartially in giving services to the citizens’. The institution-centered approach differs from the cultural approach with regard to the trust originating either from internal or external factor of the political institutions (Wang 2016, p. 212). The institutional approach states that institutional trust originates from the internal factor of the political institution, i.e. the institutional performance leads to the institutional trust whereas the cultural approach states that institutional trust fosters from the external factors of the political institutions such as from basic character trait learned early in life (Mishler & Rose 2001, p. 31).

Institutional or performance-based theory states that institutional trust emerges from the citizens when institutions perform according to the expectations of the citizens. The approach states that institutions that perform well generate trust and untrustworthy institutions generate skepticism and distrust (Mishler & Rose 2001, p. 31). This approach emphasizes on the importance of governmental performance, where the ability of the government to deliver responsive policies in accordance with the expectations of the citizens’ enhances institutional trust. Evaluation of performance of public institutions is based upon the rational choice perspective and assumes that trust arises from rational responses of individuals to the performance of political institutions (North 1990 cited in Wang 2016, p. 212). Government’s political performance regarding issues such as security, corruption, and policy responsiveness should also be associated with enhanced

trust (Lipset & Schneider 1987; Mishler & Rose 1997, 2001; Turner & Martz, 1997 cited in Espinal, Hartlyn & Kelly 2006, p. 206). Institutional political performance, in the form of providing security, improving policy initiatives and elimination of corruption expects to be strong predictor of institutional trust (Espinal, Hartlyn & Kelly 2006, p. 207). Besides the political performance, satisfaction with various public services that meets the need of the citizens' is also an important evaluation of institutional performance affecting the trust (Christensen & Laegreid 2005). Satisfaction involving cost effectiveness and timeliness in various public services such as in infrastructural development, health services, revenue service's etc. expects to have an impact on the level of trust on public institutions. When individual's experiences with public services are largely good, one tends to trust the institutions (Kumlin 2002; Rothstein & Steinmo 2002 cited in Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 491). This study incorporates both the institutional and society centered approach in understanding institutional trust. The study discusses the performance approach involving service delivery provision of city corporations, regarding satisfaction in various public services. It also discusses the cultural approach, involving issues like social capital, demographic factors and organizational factors that shape service providers relationship, attitude and performance such as power distance and uncertainty avoidance which affects the institutional performance and trust in public institutions.

While explaining the institution centered approach, it can be stated that 'when citizens indicate that they trust certain institutions, this to mean that they find institutions trustworthy; their opinion is based on the relevant institutional images they have constructed' (Askvik, Jamil & Dhakal 2011, p. 418). Trustworthiness may involve factors such as responsiveness, fairness and competency upon the institutions. Citizens not only now want various basic services, but want *better* services from their local government institutions such as from city corporations as the role and the amplitude of the public services has increased. This is where the new service delivery mechanisms like citizen charter, which when effectively applied, makes way for ensuring better services which citizens' demand. Through impartial and strict measures, citizens are expected to be satisfied on the operating procedure of the institutions and the performance of the institutions can be improved. If the institutions along with the central government fail to improve the performance of the local government institutions such as that of the city corporations, legitimacy of both the local government bodies and of the central government becomes questionable. The

central government is involved in the local government performance in Bangladesh as through statutory bindings the central government has a control over the various activities of local government institutions. Thus, the central government through impartial guidance can also play an important role in enhancing the confidence of the citizens.

Does only institutional control through formalization of rules and ensuring impartiality in provision of services foster trust in institutions? Scholars such as Newton and Norris (1999) dismisses all personal, social and cultural factors generating trust and said it is solely based on the thought that individuals trust politicians or political institutions on the basis of their performance (p.7). Whereas, Sitkin and Bies (1994) stated that institutional control involving impartial legal mechanism give rise to rigidity which may undermine trust (Rousseau *et al.* 1998, p. 400). A variety of other institutional factors such as social networks and societal norms regarding conflict management and cooperation in service delivery may create a context of trust (*ibid.* 401). Such as the societal approach, i.e. the *cultural theory* approach cannot be ignored as issues like Hofstede's power distance and uncertainty avoidance. Cultural theory is based on individual socialization of citizens which reflects the relational form of trust (Mishler & Rose 2001, p. 34). Administrative cultural issues like power distance and uncertainty avoidance involves social and community networking approach creating a path-dependent process leading to positive notion towards the political institution like in city corporations which may affect the level of institutional trust. When the public officials' norms, values, attitude and interpersonal relationship gets positive response and matches citizens expectations and follows the regulations and standard procedures, institutional trust may be considered high. Thus through societal values and beliefs like social relations, interpersonal relationship and networking which affects public institutions such as city corporations, impacts institutional trust.

Study of institutional trust is a recent academic dimension in the field of social science in Bangladesh. Trust based on interpersonal relationships has widely been studied, however there is lack of information on institutional level of trust between government agencies and citizens (Kim 2005a, p.615). Knox (2009) tried to look at the issue of trust from political perspective and the issue of rebuilding trust at micro level. Anisuzzaman (2012) tried to explore the dynamics of trust within the field bureaucracy in Bangladesh by detailing how trust within local level

bureaucratic workplace is influenced by socioeconomic background of the employees, personal traits of coworkers as well as personal and leadership characteristics of the superiors. Jamil and Askvik (2013) studied citizens' trust in public officials, public officials being the members of public administration and public institutions, which involved finding out the level of citizens' trust on civil servants, evaluating the performance and role of public officials in Bangladesh. Jamil and Askvik (2015) tried to represent citizens' trust in public institutions in general such as the judiciary, army, parliament, lower courts, political parties, Office of the Deputy Commissioner/District Development Committee (DDC), etc. The current study helps to demonstrate the performance of city corporations' as perceived by the citizens in the way various services are delivered. The evaluation of public services in local government tiers would help to portray a trend of the extent to which the local government is responsive in meeting the normative expectation of citizens living in city corporations. The study tries to comprehend the perception of citizens on the integrity and capability of public officials. This study of citizens' trust in institutions examines the extent to which the service providers such as city corporations matches the expectations of citizens' in providing services to them.

2.2.2 Trust Debate: A Multi-dimensional Perspective

Various social science scholars over the years have seen trust in various perspectives. If a government wants to be trusted by the citizens' there must be confidence from its citizens' in governmental performance which must involve credible commitment and fairness in procedure from the public officials and act in accordance with the expectation of the citizens (Levi 1998 cited in Kim 2005a, p. 615). Every citizen expects that the government would be fair in its procedure and in the allocation of resources (Levi 1998). If citizens believe that the government is carrying out its performance in the normative fair manner, they would even accept undesirable requirements (Kim 2005a, p. 627). The government and its employees must perform that serves citizens' interest while making important decisions and must show their willingness and ability to earn trust (Ibid. p. 630). However, do citizens trust the public institutions based on only meeting their normative expectations? Does only performance matter in attracting trust by the government? Chanley *et al.* (2000) stated that economic performance measures the level of trust in the government, i.e. performance of the national economy and its perception of the people.

Negative perception of the economic conditions causes public trust to decline in government (*ibid.* 239).

But do quality of government in the provision of service delivery along with positive and strong economic performance fosters trust in public institutions? Does only material satisfaction matters in determining trust? Scholars such as Catterberg and Moreno (2005, p. 40) operationalized trust in government by looking into the level of confidence which the citizens have on the political institutions involving the parliament and the civil service. Scholars tried focusing on the democratic and governance factors of the parliament and of the civil service. One such factor affecting trust is corruption. They stated that a constant scandal of government corruption, i.e. higher level of corruption, lowers the level of trust in the political institutions (*ibid.* 43). Countries with more emphasis on indicators of life involving issues like environment, democracy and human rights looks beyond government performance in service delivery and economic growth in determining the level of trust. Well-being of the citizens (measured as financial satisfaction) and external efficacy (represented by perceptions about government responsiveness) may not always have significant affect in determining trust in institutions.

According to Bouckaert and Van de Walle (2003, p. 309) the fact whether or not bad performance has an influence on trust therefore depends on whether performance is used as a main criterion for judgment. Thus the context in which citizens' are asked to provide their perception along with the criteria used for understanding citizens' perception, be it performance or cultural perspective, determines what influences trust (*ibid.* 310).

2.3 Relation between Trust and Service Delivery: A Pathway for Efficient Functioning of the Local Government Institutions

For any institution to be effective, it is important that the service providers show genuine care and concern for its citizens (Kim 2005a, p. 625). It is important that citizens at the periphery have trust on the functions of the local government institutions. This trust can only sustain and help to improve the governance procedure when the basic services provided by those institutions such as city corporations meet the ever increasing expectations of citizens. For citizens to trust the public institutions the service delivery of the institutions, the cultural relationship between

the citizens and those involved in policy making and implementation must reflect certain attitudes and characteristics. For trust to foster from the part of the citizens, local institutions must reflect benevolence (confidence on each other's actions), honesty (both would depict authenticity of information), openness (transparency in the information shared among each other), reliability (reflection of impartiality) and competency (perform as expected and according to standards) (*ibid.* 622).

Trust in government illustrates confidence of the citizens' in the action of 'government to do what is right and perceived fair' (Easton 1965 cited in OECD 2013, p.21). Trust in the public institutions plays an important role in establishing legitimacy and an effective administrative-political system. Fukuyama (1995) argues that high trust in the public institutions makes way for low transaction cost between service recipients and service providers and government operation becomes more effective and efficient. This also reduces the cost of the enforcement in the delivery of services. Trust in government institutions influences individual behavior in ways that could support desired policy outcomes (OECD 2013, p.21). This is very important as government has various policies through which it serves the citizens so if the trust is there then the public institutions would be able to implement the public policies more effectively and there would be more adherences to rule of law. Meeting citizens' expectations is pre-requisite for institutional trust to evolve. Citizens' trust towards government is influenced differently whether they have a positive or negative experience with service delivery, where a negative experience has a much stronger impact on trust in government than a positive one (*ibid.* 21). Public institutions implement various reform initiatives from time to time. Such as service delivery initiatives like citizen charter empowers the local citizens' about their rights and privileges which increases the reciprocity of the confidence between service providers and seekers. So, when citizens share this confidence upon such kind of service delivery, the legitimacy and sustainability of the public institution gets strengthened, which forms the foundation of institutional trust.

Lack of trust towards specific public organizations can transform itself into a distrust on different political institutions, and ultimately, of the political system as a whole (Blind 2007, p. 5). In order for public administration to function smoothly and effectively, it must rely on public

support, i.e. public trust (Schlesinger 2001 cited in Blind 2007, p. 17). Citizens' distrust in policy initiatives and services carried out by the government and its representatives questions the policy decisions of the local government. This is because public policies are being implemented by the local public institutions and for institutional trust to foster there is need for the public policies to get citizens' support which also provides legitimacy to the government.

2.4 Operationalization of the Variables

2.4.1 Citizens' Trust in the Institution (Municipality/City Corporation) - Dependent Variable

The main reason to choose institutional trust as the dependent variable of the study is because local government institutions such as city corporations provide various services to citizens to improve citizens' living condition and therefore, this institution needs special attention. Citizens' response to the extent to which they have trust in their public institutions such as in city corporations not only reflect the level of legitimacy which institutions have but also the level of confidence which people have on the political and administrative system of institutions. Local government institutions need to be responsive to their locality (Fitzgerald & Wolak 2016, p. 131). Due to their close proximity to local citizens, local government institutions such as city corporations must be responsive to needs of local citizens.

Institutional trust is measured primarily by perception survey (OECD 2013, p. 23). The best measure available for trust in governing institution is translated as 'confidence' (Svedin 2012, p. 147). The study **'measures'** the level of **trust** into an index³ by mapping citizens' perception on city corporations based upon the answer to the question: *"To what extent do you have confidence on the following"* - i) the overall City Corporation, ii) the top political person running the City Corporation and iii) the mid-level political leaders on a four point scale, i.e. *"Highly Confident"*, *"Moderately Confident"*, *"Lowly confident"* and *"Not at all Confident"*. The *"Highly confident"* is coded as **"4"** and subsequently number **"1"** means *"Not at all Confident"*.

³ Index involved the mean or the average value of the responses of citizens' from the questions asked in survey.

The top political leader of the city corporation and the mid-level political leader differ in their functions and the way they are elected. The top political leader, i.e. the “*mayor*” is elected by all the voters residing within the jurisdiction of the City Corporation. In addition mid-level political leaders, i.e. the “*ward commissioners*” are elected by citizens’ living within a ward. A municipality comprises of several ‘wards’ (small areas within a municipality). Thus, in a City Corporation in Bangladesh there is one top political leader called “mayor” and a number of mid-level political leaders called “ward commissioners”. In terms of functional jurisdiction, the mayor is the chief executive and is responsible for all activities and service delivery of the City Corporation whereas ward commissioners are responsible for services of their designated area. The mayor and the ward commissioners constitute the City Council which is the top decision making organ including making annual development plan and budgets (Ashraf 2013, p. 150). Given the importance of the mayor and the ward commissioners, this study includes them and maps citizens’ perceptions of trust on them.

Although, mayors and ward commissioners are individuals but they can be considered as important proxies for institutions for evaluating the performance of city corporations in seeing the level of citizens’ trust. According to Putnam (1993, 1995) trust between people living in locality enhances cooperation with each other as it creates a network of reliability and dependability from frequent positive relations which ‘spills up’ onto the political institutions (cited in Mishler & Rose 2001, p. 34). Individuals such as mayor and the ward commissioners are the top decision makers of city corporations. Their roles in managing public service provisions in meeting the normative expectations of citizens’ and their means of socialization with citizens’ based on socio-political demographic background such as gender, education, occupation, etc. influences citizens’ trust. As mayors and ward commissioners are directly elected by citizens residing in city corporations, there are always high expectations from the local citizens for elected individuals to perform. Scholars such as Christensen and Laegreid used individual members such as politicians as measures in determining trust in government institutions, where trust in government institutions has been used as dependent variable (2005, p. 496). The study merged the three indicators⁴ into one variable for easier operation within data analyses but the study have also included descriptive statistical analyses for the individual three

⁴ i. the overall City Corporation; ii. Mayor and iii. Ward commissioners

indicators comprising institutional trust of city corporations. Trust is something that is grounded in some form of experience (Mishler & Rose 2001). Where, how and why trust occurs are questions that have raised debate amongst scholars in the field of trust in the recent decades (Freitag & Traunmüller 2009). The extent to which and whom respondents trust and what changes the level of the institutional trust makes way for the analysis of explanatory variables, i.e. citizens' trust in institutions. The study tried to understand about the implication about cause (independent variable) and effect (level of citizens' trust) through establishing a causal relation between institutional trust (dependent variable) and what explains the variations in citizens' trust in institutions.

2.4.2 Independent Variables

Based on cultural and institutional or performance approach of institutional trust discussed above, the study developed certain independent variables. First, the study tries to see the effect which socio-political demographic background of the respondents have in the variation in trust. Based on performance approach, the citizen or customer satisfaction and quality of government variables has been developed. For the cultural or societal approach, variables for the study include social capital, uncertainty avoidance and power distance.

The societal approach of institutional trust involving the cultural relationship between service providers and recipients grows over a period of time making way for getting things done affecting institutional trust. The societal approach involving issue of social capital involves features of social organization such as networks and norms that facilitates coordination and cooperation between service recipients and providers. Civic engagements in the community and interpersonal trust have been shown to contribute to overall societal approach of institutional trust (Putnam 2000). The society centered approach of institutional trust can be explained by Putnam's view of trust based on personal experience, relational aspect and the cultural values and beliefs operating outside the political institutions. Cultural theory focuses that relational aspect between service providers and seekers involving experience of citizens', affecting the trust level. Socio-demographic factors such as age, education, gender, professions and social class influence the level of trust in local government (Pande 2010, p. 49). These factors create social relations based on the experience of how others in the culture treat them.

Perception of citizens on any institution is based on the norms and values with which the service providers reflect in giving services to the citizens. Citizens from their national cultural values such as power distance and uncertainty avoidance and from individual socialization create a path-dependent relation upon the institutional providers which fit the cultural approach of institutional trust. Whereas, the performance based approach of institutional trust emphasize that trust and distrust in institutions involving rational responses by individuals to the performance of institutions (March 1988; North 1990 cited in Mishler & Rose 2001, p. 36). Performance of the institutions may be based on the issue of quality of government where maintenance of rules, roles and standard operating procedure is given the sole importance. Trust in institutions varies in proportion to the success of government policies and the character of political institutions (Mishler & Rose 2001, p. 37). Performance approach involves meeting the expectations of citizens from the goods and services provided by the local government institutions such as city corporations, which makes way for a trustworthy scenario. This study analyzes both the hypotheses where cultural theories hypothesize that institutional trust develops from various socialization in the society and institutional theory hypothesize that performance of public institutions makes way for the evaluation of citizens' trust in institutions.

Socio-Political Demographic Variables (Independent Variable 1)

Socio-demographic variables such as age, gender and education have been found to have an influence on trust (Kuenzi 2008). Scholars such as Bouckaert and Van de Walle observed that socio-demographic factors such as gender, education, age and income groups influences the level of trust in government (2001, p. 25). They stated that for variables such as education, the higher people's level of education, the more they will trust government (Bouckaert & Van de Walle 2001 p. 12 cited in Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 494). The social relation and the socially ascribed roles and the outcome which one faces such as variations in educations, income and occupation cause people to have a positive or negative attitude towards public institutions. In developing countries like Bangladesh the extent to which various public services yield satisfaction to a certain extent depends on ones education, occupation and economic prosperity. According to the theory of success and well-being the more success one has financially and professionally the more one would trust (Delhey and Newton 2003). Lühiste (2006) showed in a

study that societal conditions are strongest related to trust and that there is a correlation between the development of the countries and the level of trust (Delhey and Newton 2003).

For this study, four types of socio-political demographic indicators have been chosen to find out the relation with institutional trust. These are gender, age, education and occupation. The value regarding age and gender is self-explanatory, however for age five range of categories were created, where the starting age is 18 years and the highest age was 71 years. The five ranges include age between 18 to 30 years; 31-40 years; 41-50 years; 51-60 years and 61 and above years. The response regarding respondent's education level ranges from 0 to 7, where 0 involves 'illiterate' and 7 involves 'higher education (post graduation/PhD)'. The details of the education level have been illustrated in the socio-demographic distribution of the respondents in the next chapter. Occupation consisted of twelve professions involving specialized professionals-lawyers, doctors, engineers (0); Public Servants (1); private officials (2); Political Activists/Volunteers (3); Manual Worker- Skilled (4); Manual Worker-Unskilled (5); religious leaders (6); businessman (7); landlord (8); leaseholder (9); self-employed (10) and NGO affiliated respondents (11). In the analysis the respondents are categorized into six (6) which are- NGO affiliated respondents, socially important citizens (landlords and leaseholders, private officials and religious leaders), political volunteers/activists, self-employed/businessmen (traders and construction contractors), specialized occupational groups (such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, public officials) and manual workers (both skilled and unskilled) such as day laborers, vehicle and mechanic operators, etc.

The relationship between various socio-political demographic indicators of this study in relation with institutional trust is described below.

Gender

The first indicator for consideration to test the level of institutional trust is gender of the respondents. Scholars such as Chang and Chu (2006) stated that gender is one of the key determinants of political trust. Studies have shown that women support the public sector more than men (Laegreid 1993, p. 96, 115 cited in Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 495). The argument is based on the fact that women have more access to information about various public services and more access to various services given by public institutions. Women have become

more dependent, both directly and indirectly, upon the public sector for their employment (Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 495).

This study adopts a hypothesis, with an assumption that women would trust city corporations' more than male respondents. Over the last eight to ten years various significant initiatives have been undertaken by the government regarding women empowerment at the municipality level (Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, MOWCA). Since 2009 gender responsive budgets has been formulated involving equitable allocation for economic and social empowerment for women at the municipality level (MOWCA). One-third position of ward commissioners is reserved for women at the municipality level. To enhance the capacity of elected women representative at municipality level 'Women Development Forum' has been formed (MOWCA). Various types of training involving fisheries, horticulture, livestock, etc. are given by municipalities to ensure that women can enhance their skills in becoming financially independent.

Whereas growth in the public expenditure has resulted in a higher tax burden for men, something that may have induced a more negative attitude to public sector institutions (Huseby 1995 cited in Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 495). In both developed and developing countries men still have significant roles in various socio-economic and political activities (Farre 2012, p. 25). This causes men to be critical on various activities of public institutions such as that of city corporations. For example, one of the City Corporations in Bangladesh increased the trade permit rate, mainly to improve the internal revenue source of the city corporation but there were huge protests where the male traders led the agitation. This type of incident may affect men's trust in public institutions than women. Local government institutions such as city corporations not only increased measures to involve women in social and economic development through enhancement in the employment and income opportunities, but they have been given tax rebates for starting any kind of economic activities. Such as the central bank of Bangladesh is providing collateral free loan up to US \$ 30,000 for women entrepreneurs at the municipality level and thus women would tend to trust the public institutions such as city corporations more than men. Based on the argument above the hypothesis which can be drawn for this variable is;

Hypothesis 1a: Women are likely to trust city corporations more than men.

Age

According to Christensen and Laegreid, one would expect trust in government to increase with age; older people tend to be more collective, and whereas today's younger generation has experienced a public sector that is either decreasing or shifting towards the private sector (2005, p. 495). In this era of globalization young people grow up with high expectations and they not only want the traditional services but better services from public institutions such as from city corporations. With free access to information thorough social media along with continuous positive changes taking place in various service provisions in the public sector in other countries, it is evident that young people would demand new and innovative services from the local government institutions (Pande 2010, p. 35). However, the local government institutions due to various financial and structural problems (too rigid to respond quickly because of steep hierarchy) may find it difficult to respond to the expectations and this may create frustration among the youth and hence less trust in public institutions (*ibid.* 35). Whereas, older people may be satisfied with service provisions with what they are used to in getting from local public institutions such as from city corporations. They may not be much aware of the various positive changes that are being initiated thus they may be satisfied with what they are getting from the local public institutions. Moreover, they have grown with these institutions and these were the only public institutions that they are more familiar with.

In this study, the age variable has been categorized into young (18 to 40 years) and older people (41 and above).

Based on the argument above, the hypothesis for the study regarding age may be;

Hypothesis 1b: Young people may have less trust in the city corporations than older people.

Education

It is expected that the higher the people's level of education, the more they will trust government (Bouckaert & Van de Walle 2000 cited in Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 494). However there may be a counter argument that as citizens' become more educated, they become more critical, aware, informed, and greater capacity to assess the quality of service provision (Mbatudde 2013, p. 37). Citizens of city corporations due to their close proximity along with more education are more likely to be more aware of the political and administrative system running in the local

public institutions. In contrast, citizens with no education or low education may not be aware of the actual functions, duties and services to be provided by city corporations. This may be because without being well informed citizens may not be aware of issues related to service provision in city corporations. Citizens having lower literacy may not be aware about issues of quality government involving matters of governance, impartial legal mechanism and policies relating to city corporations.

For this study the respondent's level of education has been divided into various categories ranging from 0 to 7, where 0 refer to 'illiterate' and 7 denotes 'higher education (post-graduation/PhD)'. In order to simply the data analysis, the range of education has been re-categorized into two, which are lower educated citizens and higher educated citizens. Lower educated citizens consists of those who are illiterate to those had secondary school certificate (Class 1 to 10). Higher educated citizens consists of those having higher secondary certificate (Class 12) to post-graduation/PhD.

Thus based upon the arguments, the hypothesis that can be constructed is;

Hypothesis 1c: Educated people tend to be more critical about service delivery provision of city corporations and hence may distrust public institutions.

Occupation

Trust in government may also be influenced by citizens' occupation (Nye, Zelikow & King 1997, p. 113). Different occupational groups interact with municipalities for various service needs. In this study, the variable occupation has been classified into six categories. These are a) specialized professionals (doctors, engineers, teachers, lawyers, etc.), b) political volunteers/activists c) manual workers (both skilled and unskilled), d) businessmen/self-employed, e) socially important citizens, and f) people having NGO affiliation. The rationale for selection of various classifications is directly related with the main objective of the study, i.e. measuring the level of citizens' trust in municipalities. City corporations in Bangladesh provide various health and educational services through NGOs operating in the locality and citizens having NGO affiliation too needs to access various citizenry services involving utility services such as water, gas, etc. given by municipalities. Those having NGO affiliation due to their frequent interaction, creates an in-depth associationism with city corporations based on experiences and repetitive interactions between them. Based on the mutual benefit involving

provision of services given by the NGOs, the affiliated members of NGOs may get their various services easily. The affiliated members expect to have easier means of transaction with city corporations and are expected to be satisfied with how their mutual transaction takes place and may have high confidence on the city corporation. Thus the study **hypothesizes** that NGO affiliated members expect to portray high trust in city corporations.

Socially important citizens' such as landlords, leaseholders, public officials, private officials and religious leaders are citizens' those who are residing in city corporation areas for a long time, having a social acceptance among other residents. The living standard of these citizens in terms of social prosperity may be considered in the upper social status groups. Social class or status among people differs in their access to and their opportunities for benefitting from the advantages of society such as occupation and to basic services (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov 2010, p. 64). The upper social status groups disproportionately benefits from the existing social and political systems (Dalton 2005, p. 139). It is expected that these citizens with the social status which they have, may enjoy certain undue benefits and may portray high confidence on public institutions such as in city corporations in getting their things done.

Political volunteers or activists do have an integral part in city corporations as city corporations mainly consists of political individuals in providing the services, thus they often visit city corporations to get things done. To be actively and directly involved in political process may lead to more trust in institutions (Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 494). The main argument is that people who over a certain period of time are very much involved in political processes will have more trust in government than those who are less affiliated with political parties or with political process (*ibid.* 494). However, not all type of active involvement in political process may bring positive impact on the trust level. Parties are key institutions in political systems (*ibid.* 494), and it is expected that citizens who are members of party in power of local government institution would have greater trust in the institutions. Thus, the study **hypothesizes** that volunteers or activists of the '**ruling party**' in city corporation may show higher trust in the public institution than those affiliated with the opposition political parties as there is always the tendency from ruling party to gain loyalist through providing favors.

Professionals such as doctors, engineers, teachers, lawyers etc. do access various services in city corporations such as for tax payments, basic utility service payments or for other citizenry services. These professionals may belong to the upper social class in the community because of their higher access and opportunity to basic services such as food, health, education, job etc. It is expected that they have high living standard based on their economic prosperity and may portray higher trust in public institutions. However, a counter argument based on education is that all these professionals are expected to be highly educated and be more critical of the ways public services are provided. The mismatch between high expectation and the quality of service may generate distrust among the professionals in public institutions.

Manual workers (day laborers, vehicle and mechanic operators, etc) are the working class people who may be termed as the common citizens (mass people). These people are involved in both skilled and unskilled jobs and often go to city corporations for services such as collection of birth certificates, issuance of motor permits, driver permit, etc. Unskilled workers such as day laborers may be claimed as social groups on the periphery of the economy and are becoming marginalized by the technical advancements of industrial societies (e.g., Offe, 1984; Bobbio, 1987 cited in Dalton 2005, p. 139). These marginalized citizens are likely to be more dissatisfied with life, economy, safety and security and access to basic services such as health, education, sanitation and housing. Therefore, dissatisfaction among this group may generate distrust in public institution.

Businessmen such as contractors tend to be an important stakeholder of city corporations as city corporations carry out various infrastructural development works whose work permit is given to businessmen through the bidding process. Businessmen can play important role in providing information regarding quality of government practiced in city corporations. The culture of patron-client relationship, where patron being the service providers and client being the businessman or any other people, is an important means of getting things done in public offices in Bangladesh (Haque & Mohammad 2013, p. 1001). Patron-client relationship may allow businessmen with financial power or with other networks such as kinship, regional affinity, familial ties to get undue favor, i.e. work permits in return of financial or other benefits from public institutions. The undue favors may allow businessmen to portray higher trust in public

institutions. However, businessmen with no financial networks or with other ties with decision makers of city corporations may be deprived of public institutions malpractices in giving the undue favors (*ibid.* 1002). Those being deprived may show distrust in city corporations. Businessmen would thus be able to provide their perceived opinion regarding maintenance of impartiality and neutrality of public institutions in providing services.

Citizen or Customer Satisfaction (Independent Variable 2)

In relation between trust and satisfaction (Rosanas & Vellila, 2003; Shabbir, Kaufmann & Shezad 2010) it has been seen that there is a positive influence on the degree and level of trust through customer satisfaction. The importance of customer satisfaction on the delivery of local services by the city corporation cannot be undermined in finding out the level of trust on the municipality. The performance based theory of institutional trust focuses on the quality of the performance of the institution. The more the positive attitude about the performance of the institutions the more would be the trust in institutions. The quality of public service delivery has been the subject of much research during the last two decades (Hoogland DeHoog, Lowery & Lyons 1990). Ensuring that the public institutions such as city corporations take into account the needs of the citizens bears great significance for trust to take place in the institutions. The performance of the government being the main thrust of the institutional trust, client or the citizen satisfaction acts as the proxies for government performance involving various functions carried out by the institutions both internally and externally (Van De Walle, *et al.* 2002, p. 4). Satisfaction with government's provision of public services should be strong predictors of trust in government institutions (Espinal, Hartlyn & Kelly 2006, p. 208). Political institutions that perform well will generate higher level of trust from the citizens (Wang 2016, p. 213). Various studies have suggested that citizens tend to trust public institutions as long as they satisfy the citizens. Citrin and Green (1986) showed that in the United States economic outcomes influence approval of the president's job performance, which in turn affects more generalized feelings of confidence in government. The more the public institutions such as city corporations who are involved in provision of various goods and services maximize the satisfaction level of the citizens, the more would be the trust in institutions.

In response to various public service reforms waving throughout the world, Bangladesh has not been far behind in improving the public service delivery in order to satisfy the needs of the people by making it faster, efficient and responsive (Osman 2016, p. 110). It has been stated that there is moderate level of satisfaction among the service beneficiaries in various local level of public institutions (*ibid.* 111). Citizens do have contrasting experience of service satisfaction over the provisions of the public institutions at the local level. Karim (2015) stated that regarding the public services involving online education facilities (examination results, application for admission, knowing necessary documents, fees, etc.), online health facilities (appointment of doctors), payment of various utility services (such as of gas, water, telephone), income tax payment, trade license, land records, agricultural issues, etc. are now easily enjoyed readily from home through internet without being physically present at the local institution. Citizens' distrust the public sector because governments have not fully embraced e-government in service delivery (Van de Walle, Roosbroek & Bouckaert 2008, p. 48). Thus the provision of online service delivery especially at the local level helps in improving performance of the public institutions. However there are dissatisfaction over time and steps involved in obtaining services, i.e. there is gap between the formally prescribed time and the time actually taken for receiving the services (Osman 2016, p. 112). It is expected that the higher the level of satisfaction of the beneficiaries, the more would be the pleasant experience from the citizens regarding the provision of the services of the public institutions such as of city corporations. The more the easier means of getting services coupled with more pleasing procedure in getting services and more easy accessibility to information, the higher would be the confidence of the citizens (Karim 2015, p. 52). It is expected that when citizens assessment of services such as public roads, transportations, health, road services involves a positive experience, then trust in public institution seems to have positive evaluation too (Espinal, Hartlyn & Kelly 2006, p. 210).

While looking at the level of trust involving customer satisfaction, two things have been taken into account as determinants. The first is the “*prior experience*”, i.e. the face to face experience which the citizens encounter while getting their desired services directly from the City Corporation. The experience involves, i) *timeliness* of the City Corporation in giving the services, ii) *cost effectiveness* of the City Corporation in getting the services and iii) *record management* of the City Corporation. This experience is important in the context of Bangladesh,

as mentioned that there is a difference between what is given in reality and what is supposed to be given, thus getting to know the experience allows knowing clearly the various aspects.

Second determinant involves “*service quality*” (perception of the level of success or failure in meeting expectations) of the things provided by the city corporations. Now for this determinant, four important services of the city corporations have been taken in order to know the perceived level of satisfaction of the citizens. The four services are: i) *infrastructural* (roads, bridges, surface sewer and excavation of roads), ii) *waste management* (disposal of wastes, cleaning of roads, etc), iii) *revenue* (fixation of annual holding taxes, allotment of holding numbers and shops of the municipal markets, issuing of trade license, etc.) and iv) *health* (monitoring of food and sanitation program, vaccination program, drive against adulterated food). These are the most important services which city corporations are involved with and in ensuring the quality of these services allows for normative expectations of the citizens to be met. Respondents’ evaluation of government performance will be measured by the degree to which the respondents are satisfied with all the seven (three from ‘prior experience and four from ‘service quality’) services. The response category involves ‘not at all satisfied’ (1), ‘lowly satisfied’ (2), ‘moderately satisfied’ (3) and ‘highly satisfied’ (4). The higher the score is, the more favorable the evaluation.

Based on the performance based theory of institutional trust, where the performance of the political institutions such as of city corporations determines the level of trust, the hypothesis which can be drawn for the study is:

Hypothesis 2: The more the respondents are satisfied with the entitled services delivered by city corporations, the more the level of trust in the city corporations is expected.

Quality of Government (Independent Variable 3)

According to Bo Rothstein, addressing issues like economic prosperity, low infant mortality, reduced poverty, access to safe water, health care, employment opportunity etc. makes way for quality of a government which enhances public trust in the public institutions. In order to ensure the quality of the government, Rothstein emphasized ‘*procedural fairness*’, with emphasis upon impartiality (2011, p.12-23). Impartiality is defined as the ‘condition where the officials do not take into consideration anything about the citizen...not stipulated beforehand in the policy of the

law' (2011, p.13). As municipalities play a very important role in addressing the basic issues locally and have the authority in exercising public power thus the “*exercise of power*” in decision making process has to be impartial in the delivery of the services. Cupit writes ‘To act impartially is to be unmoved by certain sorts of considerations- such as personal relationships and personal preferences. It is to treat people alike irrespective of personal relationships and personal likes and dislikes’ (2000, p. 16; Barry 1995, p. 11 cited in Holmberg & Rothstein 2012, p. 25). This is because people tend to trust institutions when the personnel tend to perform in accordance with rules, roles and professional standards (Sztompka 1999, p.41–45). Holmberg and Rothstein stated that when any transaction is abused and involves any type of corruption, clientelism, favoritism, discrimination patronage, nepotism or undue interest to special interest groups, the exercise of the power becomes partial (2012, p. 24). Trust tends to be high when institutions act according to institutional norms and not according to the preferences of particular interest groups (Jamil & Askvik 2015, p. 161).

Evidence shows that government and its employees tend to be seen as corrupt, fraudulent and dishonest (Berman 1997; Lipset & Schneider 1987; Nye 1997 cited in Kim 2005, p. 625). Khan (2013, p. 55) stated that corruption has been institutionalized in the public services in Bangladesh involving favoritism, kinship, regional empathy, patronage, bribery, abuse of authority, etc. He also stated that this kind of partiality takes place mainly because there are not enough punitive procedures for such actions and lack of effective measures to curb corrupt and partial practices (Ibid, p. 56). Politicization of administration, corruption, bypass of institutional rules and regulations are the main traits of the public institutions in Bangladesh (Haque & Mohammad 2013, p.1002). City corporations too, being a political institution, tend to provide various services to the people that might involve allocation of resources to a certain privileged group that bypasses the universal theory of justice. When citizens will feel that the public institutions are not concealing their activities or not taking advantages for their own or group benefit, trust would tend to be higher (Kim 2005a, p. 626). Although, question may arise about the positive correlation between high quality of government and high trust level in institutions. Such as scholars like Yang and Holzer (2006, p. 115) argue that the link between performance and trust is not that obvious and may be more ambiguous than anticipated (cited in Jamil and Askvik 2015, p. 161). This is because evaluation of government performance may not only be caused by

the neutrality or impartiality of provision of certain economic goods such as tendering and bidding process but also through perception of citizens' satisfaction in various other social services such as health care, infrastructural services, etc. This kind of evaluation has also been taken into account in the study.

The quality of government is measured by formulating an '*index*' by mapping citizens' perception on the procedural maintenance of the *neutrality* and *impartiality* by the City Corporation in various service provisions. This study looked into four service areas of city corporations, which are: i) tendering and bidding process in giving lease or contracts for provision of infrastructural provisions, ii) Issuing of trade and transportation licenses, iii) Allotment of shops in the City Corporation Markets and iv) Design approval of various infrastructures such as building, shops and markets. The four services mentioned above involves high amount of financial transaction and lobbying (*tadbir*)⁵ involving regional affinity, kinship and familial ties between the decision makers and service recipients. The principle of being impartial becomes the central component to protect service recipients from unjust policies and favors which may breed distrust in the institutions. The question involves the extent to which the respondents perceive that the city corporation carries out procedural impartiality on the services mentioned above. The answer involves 'No procedural maintenance' (1), 'low procedural maintenance' (2), 'moderate procedural maintenance' (3) and 'high procedural maintenance' (4). In order to simplify the data, the '*quality of government*' index has been divided into two with weak *neutrality* and *impartiality* and strong *neutrality* and *impartiality*. **Weak** *neutrality* and *impartiality* is based on responses 'No procedural maintenance' to 'low procedural maintenance' while **strong** *neutrality* and *impartiality* consists is based on answers 'moderate procedural maintenance' to 'high procedural maintenance'. The higher values of index imply strong quality of government and lower values imply weak quality of government.

Based on the extent to which the City Corporation personnel act impartially in the provision of the service in relation with institutional trust, the hypothesis which the study draws is:

Hypothesis 3: The more the respondents' perceive that city corporations maintain fairness and impartiality in service provisions, the more would be the trust in city corporations.

⁵ Local term for lobbying

Social Capital (Independent Variable 4)

The work of Robert Putnam (1994) in relation to trust and social capital in the creation and maintenance of democratic governance is noteworthy. Putnam defines social capital as ‘features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency by facilitating coordinated action’ (1994, p.167). He also referred social capital as ‘connections among individuals- social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them’ (2000, p.19). Kim states that ‘social capital theory emphasizes two principal components: one, social networks established by associational engagement such as voluntary organizations, and the other, reciprocal norms and trust between citizens’ (Kim 2005b, p.194). Social networking and social/voluntary organization assists to achieve common goals. The cultural theory of institutional trust suggests that positive interactions and attachments between citizens’ develop a sense of reliability and dependability forming a social network. In relation to social network, Robert Putnam (2000) introduced two concepts, bonding and bridging, within social capital in his book “Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Society”. Bonding social capital involves having networks among citizens’ with same interest and those with close relationship involving friends and families. Bonding social capital occurs within a community of individuals (Larsen *et al.* 2004, p. 66). Bridging social capital helps to bring together those who are usually distant with each other such as acquaintances, i.e. outside of one ones’ community. Bridging social capital is what Paxton (1999) refers to as cross-cutting ties (cited in *ibid.* 66). Bridging social capital occurs when members of one group connect with members of other groups to seek access or support or to gain information (*ibid.* 67). Bonding social capital leads to particularized trust which is confined to citizens’ with same social or demographic group. Bridging social capital leads to generalized trust as it entails a feeling that common and general citizens can be trusted. The social networking through interaction between individuals, both within a community of individuals or outside ones’ community, is conducive to foster trust.

Social capital theory emphasizes two principal components: a) social networks established by associational engagement such as voluntary organizations and b) reciprocal norms and trust between citizens involving generalized or particularized trust” (Kim 2005b, p. 194). Voluntary organization aspect, denoting the civic associationism, is an important element in the societal

approach of institutional trust. Putnam (1994) suggested that dense networks of voluntary association are the main explanation for Northern Italy's economic progress over the Southern part. Putnam (1994, p. 89) makes further assumption that participatory voluntary organizations are "distinctive" institutions in their capacity to function as repositories for all the other sources of social capital: obligations and expectations, information potential and norms and sanctions. Institutional trust enters in this aspect because the greater capabilities of those equipped with civic virtue, the dual attribute of a capacity to discern the true public interest and a motivation to act as the public interest (Brennan 1997, p. 259), implies they have expertise which puts them in a position to make wiser judgments. Cooperation and solidarity causes bonding and bridging social capital among the members, i.e. between service providers and receivers which causes institutional trust to emerge.

According to Hofstede, collectivist society is characterized by allegiance to family, friends and acquaintances and trust being the essential requirement for cooperation in collectivist society (Haque & Mohammad 2013, p. 1000). Bangladesh being a collectivist society, the linkage between private and work life in institution cannot be avoided thus voluntary associations does foster institutional trust. Also the cultural theory of institutional trust demonstrates that trust appears in institutions due to outgrowth of vibrant associational life in society (Kim 2005b, p. 201). It has been observed that in most developing nations, the power of voluntary organizations such as NGOs has increased in recent years in relation to the state or government (Knickerbocker 2000). In the case of Bangladesh, the NGOs have become a formidable force affecting the political and economic domains, especially the power and legitimacy of the government (Haque 2002, p. 419).

The NGOs over the years are performing and assisting various public institutions in carrying out basic services which the state institutions such as city corporations are unable to carry out due to financial and human resource constraints. City corporations in Bangladesh take help from welfare and advocacy NGOs for health and education as a part of human development and for environmental welfare. Every city corporations do have Government-Non Government Organization (GO-NGO) collaborations to carry out various developmental activities. There has been growing evidence that the NGOs are playing important roles in policy making of various governmental institutions. Large NGOs such as 'Building Resources Across Communities'

(BRAC) are engaged directly in advocating and lobbying for their respective objectives and policy agendas with the government (Haque 2002, p. 420). This kind of positive associational involvement between public institutions and NGOs' is expected to ensure reliability and dependability in meeting the expected needs of both the stakeholders and a relational interdependence occurs which expects to foster institutional trust.

The link between social capital and political engagement or networks has been debated within political science after the work of Putnam (1994 and 2000). Political knowledge and interest in public affairs are critical preconditions for more active forms of involvement. City Corporation being a political democratic institution, knowing the rules of the games and the players help service recipients to get according to their expectations fostering institutional trust. Studies also showed positive relationship between social trust and political participation (Fennema & Tillie, 2001; Kaase 1999; Putnam 1994; 2000). When studying the link between trust and political participation, it is necessary to note that political participation has evolved to become a heterogeneous phenomenon that can be conceptualized as involving everything from voting and party membership to political consumerism and taking part in demonstrations (Norris 2002; Van Deth *et al.* 2007; Christensen 2011). Being member of political parties leads to more trust (Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 494). City corporations are political institutions, the civic associationism involving networks with political parties or with “associate organization of political parties” (extended organization of political parties) is expected to yield higher trust on the institution. Bangladesh scores high on collectivism in Hofstede’s study and in collectivist societies such as in Bangladesh, loyalty towards political parties helps to get closer to the decision makers. This helps to get business done and there is a tendency from the people to form networks to be part of political parties and this kind of civic associationism causes citizens to have faith and trust on the institutions. Literature provides ample evidence that in collectivistic societies, there is a higher vulnerability to illegal transactions in cooperation with friends and relatives or through other types of personal networks (Lipset & Lenz 1999). The hierarchical and kinship based social structure in Bangladesh paves way for citizens to be politically inclined in order to get things done. City Corporation being a political institution, the kinship and the relational based societal and administrative networks create positive reciprocal norms leading to trust in the institutions.

The study in relation with social capital variable, tries to find out the civic associationism based trust. The above discussion does reflect that there is a correlation between the civic associationism (various social and political network organization) of social capital and institutional trust. This variable is measured by certain questions in the study. The *first question* asks about the respondent's association with any social, voluntary, political and community organization. The answer ranges from "Yes" (1) to "No" (2). The next question involves asking the type of organization in which they are member and the answer ranges from Trade Union (1), Voluntary organization (2), Community based organization (3) and Affiliated Organization of Political Parties (4). Another question asks the respondents about their 'use' of the social network to get things done from City Corporation. The answer ranges from "use of social networks" (1) to "do not use social networks" (2). The last question refers to associational trust involving to what extent the respondent trusts their social networks and associations they know. The answers here range from 'not at all' (1) to 'A lot' (4). The questions asked tries to find out the extent to which the local people are engaged in associations and use them in availing public services from their local institution, i.e. from city corporations.

Thus based upon the components of social capital involving the social network and associational engagement, the hypothesis for the variable is:

Hypothesis 4: Respondents engaged in social network and associationism is likely to have higher trust in city corporations.

Uncertainty Avoidance (Independent Variable 5)

According to Hofstede and Hofstede (2005, p.167), uncertainty avoidance is 'the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations'. He gave *two extremes* for what uncertainty avoidance stands for- *uncertainty avoiding society* and *uncertainty accepting society*. In uncertainty avoiding society, there is need for rules, even if they are impractical or are not practiced while in uncertainty accepting society, people do not like rules and want fewer rules and even if there are rules they opt for breaking when necessary. Uncertainty avoiding society believes in formalization whereas uncertainty accepting society opts for deregularization. The more the formalization of the process, more the people would be aware of the process of the delivery of the services and more would be the openness and reliability in the service formality procedure. The category of uncertainty avoidance is related

with the institutional based trust. Strong uncertainty avoidance deals with having strong rules and regulations and if city corporations maintains precise rules and regulations for City Corporations, citizens are expected to reflect high confidence in the institution.

The policy implementers in uncertainty avoiding societies, i.e. in strong uncertainty avoiding society, tend to be reluctant in taking into account the political considerations in various decision making process (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov 2010, p. 220). Although, policy making is a political process, but the less the political partiality or consideration for accommodating any specific political agenda that may undermine the overall benefits of citizens, the more the trust is expected to be portrayed by citizens' in public institutions. The more the proper implementation of service provisions based on impartial and neutral rules and regulations, the more the trust in institutions. Bangladesh ranks high on Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance index (Haque & Mohammad 2013, p. 1000) which means there are plenty of rules governing the public service provisions. The Ministry of Local Government in Bangladesh through an umbrella act, City Corporation Rules 2009 with 122 clauses (City Corporation Act 2009) gives mandate to City Corporations to function properly to provide various services. Each City Corporation then has their own internal rules and regulation for appropriate use of the public resources. The city corporations have their own adequate expertise and along with, National Institute of Local Government (NILG), the Ministry of Local Government tries to strengthen the project implementation skills of the local government institutions such as that of city corporations.

Building institutional trust requires benevolent behavior from the institutional personnel as institutional trust very much depends on how the personnel in the particular institutions meets the expectations of the people. According to Tyler (1998, p. 270) trustworthiness is conceptualized as "the benevolence of motives of the authority". Mayer *et al.* (1995, p. 718) defined benevolence as 'the extent to which a trustee is believed to want to do good to the trustor' (cited in Kim 2005a, p. 625). Such benevolence flourishes from maintenance of norms, rules, routines, and standard operating procedures from the service providers (trustee). This requires high engagement in the work process which expects to fulfill the needs of the clients/service recipients (trustor) especially in developing countries like Bangladesh where there are huge number of service recipients queuing up to get various services from city corporations. This

makes way for meeting the expectation of huge number of people and fostering trust in the institution. It is expected that uncertainty avoiding society through more regulations and maintenance of standard operating procedure, would nurture and build institutional trust.

The uncertainty avoidance index is measured by merging the answers given by the respondents involving their perceptions on three categories of experiences which they have encountered with their City Corporation, which are: i) presence of precise rules and regulation, ii) provision of written service manual of City Corporation and iii) presence of strict internal by-laws. These categories incorporate characteristics of strong uncertainty avoidance as discussed above. The respondents were given to answer on a scale ranging from “Strongly Disagree” (1) to “Strongly Agree” (4). The higher scale reflects strong uncertainty avoiding norm. In order to simplify the data, the index has been divided into two- weak uncertainty avoidance norms and strong uncertainty avoidance norms. **Weak Uncertainty** is based on answers ‘*Strongly disagree*’ to ‘*Quite disagree*’ while **Strong Uncertainty** is based on responses ‘*Partly Agree*’ to ‘*Strongly agree*’.

For institutional trust to foster, activities of city corporations must reflect better regulations and maintenance of standard operating procedure which expects to create a positive normative notion among the citizens in meeting their normative expectation, which led to hypothesis of the study:

Hypothesis 5: The more the city corporations follow rules neutrally in providing services the higher the citizens’ trust in city corporations.

Power Distance (Independent Variable 6)

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005, p.46) define power distance as ‘the extent to which the less powerful member(s) of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally’. Power difference between institutions and citizens differ in the way interactions between the authorities and service recipients take place. The more positive the interactions between the institutions and the service recipients, the higher would be the trust. One aspect of understanding society-oriented approach of institutional trust is by looking at how citizens in a society interpret their relationship with power holders (Jamil & Askvik 2016). So, as institutions are considered as the basic elements of society such as organizations (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov 2010, p. 61) so the extent to which the powerful members of those

organizations such as of city corporations create a positive relation with citizens will affect the level of trust. For institutional trust to emerge, institutions such as city corporations must be well functioning which requires legitimacy and support from the citizens. These in turn foster institutional trust.

In large power distance countries, there is always the sense of inequality between the powerful members of society and the less powerful who are usually dependent on the powerful. In case of public institutions in Bangladesh, the powerful are the service providers and the less powerful are the service seekers. In large power distance society the dependency between less powerful and more powerful members in the society causes the less powerful members to have an unquestioning obedience and loyalty towards the more powerful members in getting things done from the public institutions. This kind of relational dependence provides a sense of security between those in powers and to those who are not (*ibid.* 77). Citizens' trust increases through their experiences of dealing with institutions (Jamil & Askvik 2015, p. 159). The dependence of less powerful members creates a positive relational aspect, in meeting their expectations which forms an attachment towards the more powerful members who are the service providers. This in turn affects the level of institutional trust positively.

In large power distance countries people accept and appreciate inequality. In large power distance societies where population is high, citizens accept the use of political power to meet their expectation and portray their dependence on service providers (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov 2010, p. 86). For a highly populated country like Bangladesh, involving huge number of service recipients of city corporations there is always the tendency to use and accept favors through use of network of kinship and nepotism. Bangladesh ranks high on Hofstede's PDI with a rank of 12–14, scoring 80 among 76 countries (Haque & Mohammad 2013, p. 1002) involving a social acceptance of presence of wide differences in power in service provisions in public institutions. Cultural theory of institutional trust analyzes that trust in institutions develops from face-to-face experience each citizens' faces from public institutions (Mishler & Rose 2001, p. 35). The theory assumes that citizens' trust in institutions takes place based on social relations and socialization between service providers and seekers (Eckstein, 1966; Eckstein, Fleron, Hoffman, & Reisinger, 1998 cited in Mishler & Rose 2001, p. 34). Power is one of the most

important social relations influencing one's behavior and citizens' experience in how service seekers behave, influences trust. Use of societal relations in getting things done allows less powerful members in society to have the confidence on their socialization, which 'spills up' in institutions in meeting the expectations of citizens. There is a positive correlation between legitimacy of institutions and trust (Blind 2007, p. 18). If citizens think that a public institution rightfully holds and exercises power, then that institution enjoys legitimacy (*ibid.* 18). In large power distance countries like Bangladesh there is a perpetual dependency from less powerful members of society in portraying allegiance on that authoritarian culture of lack of accountability, in-formalism and elitism based on the social differences (Khan 2013, p. 57). This cultural sense of reliability and dependability from citizens on the service providers provides an opportunity of portraying trust in public institutions such as in city corporations.

The power index-, mean or the average value of the responses, is measured by merging answers of respondents on three categories of experiences with the City Corporation. These are; i) difficulty in accessing personnel of city corporation, ii) accept inequality in the service delivery and iii) accept elitism in service provision. These categories measure power distance. The respondents answered on a scale ranging from "Do not accept at all" (1) to "Strongly Accept" (4). The higher the acceptance, the higher is the power distance. In order to simplify the data, the index has been divided into two with large power distance and small power distance. Small Power Distance consists of responses between '*Do not accept at all*' and '*partly accept*' (2) while large power distance consists of responses between '*Moderately Accept*' and '*Strongly Accept*' (4).

The cultural theory or the society centered approach of institutional trust focuses on reciprocity and on the relational aspect between service providers and recipients. It takes place over a period of time thus the interaction between respondents and City Corporation officials might reflect positive relational aspect, which led to the hypothesis stated below:

Hypothesis 6: Respondents accepting use of power in service provision may reflect their confidence in city corporations in getting things done, generating high trust.

The figure below shows a relationship between dependent and explanatory variables.

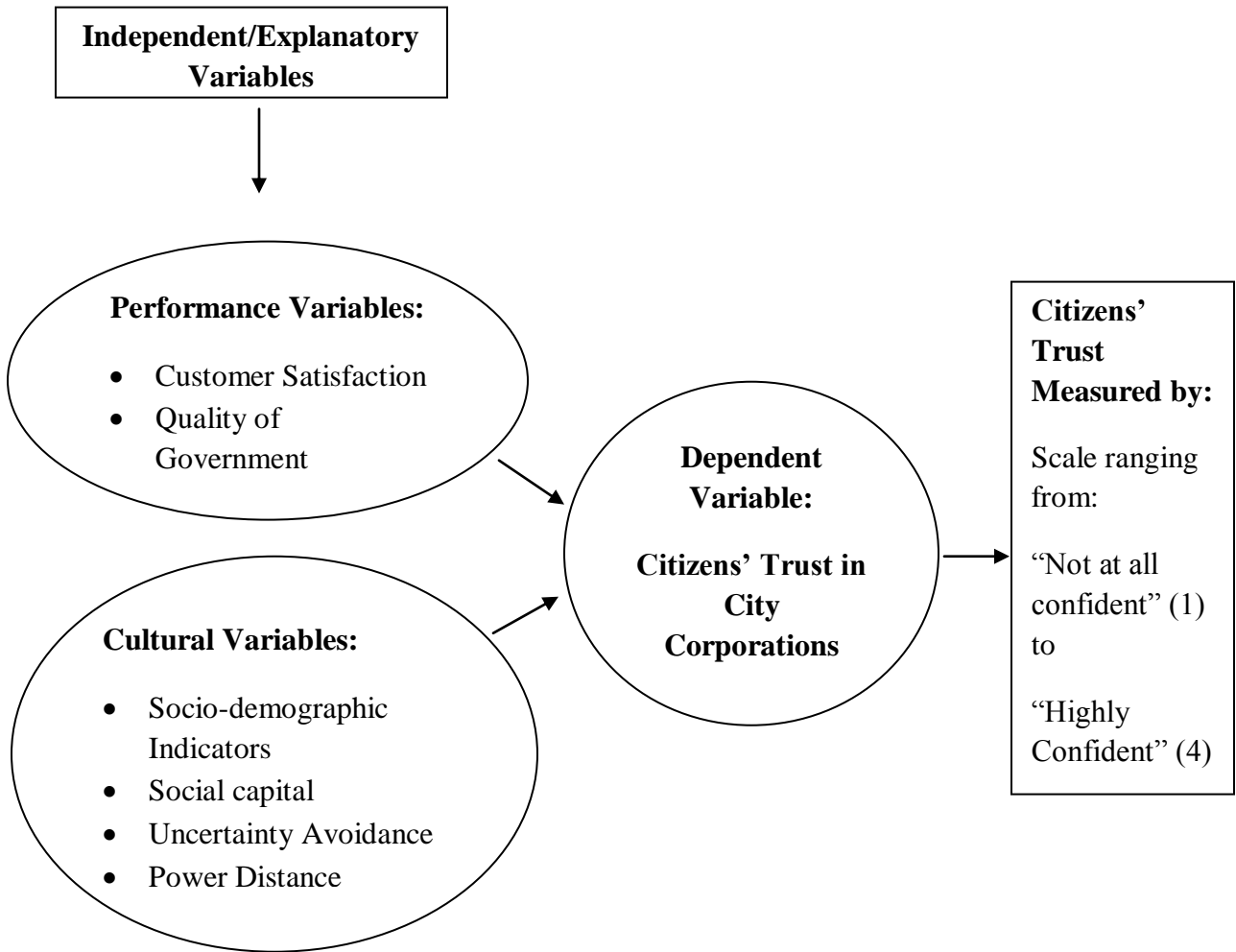


Figure 2.1: Analytical framework between dependent and explanatory variables.
Source: Researcher's Synthesis

The table below outlines all the independent variables along with their meanings involving its characteristics/components used for this study. The table also portrays the hypothesis of the variables and the questions asked to measure the variables along with measurement process.

Table 2.1: Summary of the application of the Independent Variables

Independent Variables	Meaning/ Characteristics/ Components	Hypothesis	Questions asked to measure	How is it measured
1. Socio-Political Demographic Variables	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender • Age • Education • Occupation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women to trust the city corporations more than men • Young people to have less trust in city corporations than older people. • More Educated people to show less trust than less educated people • Ruling Party affiliation is expected to enhance higher trust • NGO affiliation is expected to portray high trust 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender is explanatory • Age: Young:18-40 years; Old: > 40 • Lower educated respondent are those who are 'illiterate' to those having 'secondary school certificate (class 1-10) • Higher educated are those having education above class 12 to graduation/ post grad.
2. Customer Satisfaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting the normative expectation of the citizens in the goods and services provided by the City Corporations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High customer satisfaction will lead to higher institutional trust in city corporation 	<p>Q: To what extent the citizens are satisfied with the following services and experience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrastructural • Waste management • Revenue • Health • Timeliness • Cost effectiveness • Record management 	<p>Respondents were asked to answer on scale ranging from:</p> <p>'Not at all satisfied' (1) to</p> <p>'Highly satisfied' (4).</p>

<p>3. Quality of Government</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impartial exercise of power in the public institutions without taking into account any type or consideration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More maintenance of impartiality and neutrality enhances the institutional trust in city corporations 	<p>Q: To what extent does your city corporation carry out proper procedures in the following provisions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Tendering and bidding ➤ Issuing of licenses ➤ Allotment of shops ➤ Design approval of infrastructural development 	<p>Respondents were asked to answer on scale ranging from:</p> <p>‘No procedural maintenance’ (1) to</p> <p>‘High procedural maintenance’ (4).</p>
<p>4. Social Capital (Associationism)</p>	<p>Organized social interactions among the citizens in the society.</p> <p>Components</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social network involving associational engagement • Individual connection involving particular people (near and dear) and generalized people (acquaintances) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High social network and associationism would lead to higher institutional trust 	<p>Q: To what extent do you trust your associational networks?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Trade Union ➤ Voluntary organization ➤ Community Organization ➤ Associate organization of Political Parties 	<p>Respondents were asked to answer on scale ranging from:</p> <p>‘Not at all’ (1) to ‘A lot’ (4).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Low association al trust = ‘not at all’ to ‘just a little’ (2) ➤ High association al trust= ‘moderate’ to ‘a lot’ (4).
<p>5. Uncertainty Avoidance</p>	<p>Characteristics</p> <p>Two forms- Strong Uncertainty Avoidance (SUA) and Weak Uncertainty Avoidance (WUA);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SUA for more formalization of actions. WUA opts for less formalization in rules or actions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More rules expects to enhance the trust level in city corporation 	<p>Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements of your City Corporation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Has precise rules and regulation ➤ Has provision of written service manual ➤ Has strict internal by-laws 	<p>Respondents were asked to answer on scale ranging from:</p> <p>“Strongly Disagree” (1) to “Strongly Agree” (4)</p> <p>Higher scale reflects strong uncertainty avoiding norm</p>

<p>6. Power Distance</p>	<p>Characterized into two: i) High Power Distance (HPD) and ii) low power distance (LPD) <u>Characteristics</u> High Power Distance (HPD) opts for inequality and low power distance (LPD) opts for equality.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High power distance leads to higher institutional trust 	<p>Q: To what extent do you accept with the following statements of your City Corporation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulty in accessing service desks; • Inequality in service provisions; • Elitism in service provisions 	<p>Respondents were asked to answer on a scale ranging from: “Do not accept at all” (1) to “Strongly Accept” (4). Higher acceptance reflects high power distance</p>
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Source: Researcher’s Synthesis

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.0 Introduction

The chapter discusses research strategies and the methodological choices that have been made to carry out the empirical research. The chapter proceeds through explaining the area of study. It then proceeds with research approach and design of the study with the choice of approach selected and also includes rationale for the selection. The chapter involves various method of data collection including the target population and sampling procedure of the study. Quality of the research focusing on the reliability and validity of data has also been assessed in the chapter. The chapter concludes by looking at ethical considerations which has been taken for the study.

3.1 Area of Study

Based on the research objective, the study areas have been chosen to understand the issue of institutional trust at two (2) city corporations in Bangladesh. The first and the main research objective of the study is to measure the level of institutional trust in city corporations. To achieve the objective, '*quantitative approach*' has been taken up based upon the opinions of different respondents who have been directly involved in getting services from city corporations. City corporations are run by individuals who are directly elected by citizens within the corporations' electoral area. Citizens access various services from city corporations and due to its democratic nature it is expected that the various citizenry needs are to be met by the corporations. So, obtaining their experiences and opinions allows the study to perceive the overall confidence which citizens have on this public institution. The quantitative approach of the study allows perceiving that confidence through numeric description of the opinions of respondents of city corporations. This study involves getting a statistical generalization of the respondents' attitudes and opinions on the service delivery in city corporations in Bangladesh. The study was conducted at four (4) important departments (Revenue, Health, Town Planning/Engineering and Waste management) of city corporations. The most availed citizenry services of citizens are from the four mentioned departments of city corporations. Perceiving opinion of citizens, those accessing services from the mentioned departments helps the study in attaining the second objective of the study, i.e. what factors explains the level of institutional trust in city corporations.

3.2 Research Approach and Design

There are three (3) approaches in carrying out a social science research: quantitative, qualitative and mixed approach. Qualitative research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem (Creswell 2014, p. 4). Whereas, quantitative research uses numbers and statistical methods and the method tends to be based on numerical measurements of specific aspects of phenomenon (King *et al.* 1994, p. 3). Mixed method approach involves collecting both qualitative and quantitative, integrating the two forms of data using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks (Creswell 2014, p. 4).

The current study is based on *quantitative* approach in order to find out the level of institutional trust in the public institutions (city corporations) which is the main research objective of the study.

3.2.1 Choice for Quantitative Research Approach

There are quite a number of empirical studies that have applied quantitative research approach to map the level of institutional trust. According to Hetherington (1998, p. 791) assessing trust involves understanding “people’s normative expectations” and for data there is no better component than carrying out numerical method such as survey to get the perceived opinion. Knox (2009, p. 453) used various worldwide governance indicators such as voice and accountability which assists in perceiving the level of citizens’ trust on the government in relation with issues like satisfaction with democracy as well as freedom of expression and association. Christensen and Laegrid (2005) used mail survey of Norwegian citizens to find out the level of trust in government. Jamil and Askvik (2015) used country wide door-to-door questionnaire surveys to find out the level of citizens’ trust in public and political institutions in Bangladesh and Nepal. Espinal, Hartlyn and Kelly (2006) used numeric data from three surveys to find out trust in Dominican Republic government institutions, which is primarily shaped by perception of economic and political performance of the government. In order to examine the patterns of popular trust in Nepalese public institutions, Askvik, Jamil and Dhakal (2011) used numeric survey data from 1836 households using questionnaire. Wang (2016) used survey data from Asian Barometer Survey (ABS) to examine the effect of government performance and

corruption on political trust in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. 1500 respondents were surveyed to analyze and examine the relationship between social capital and political trust in South Korea, where associational involvement and social trust were negatively related to commitment to voting and trust in political institutions (Kim 2005b). Quantitative approach helps the study to generalize from a sample of a population. This helps inferences to be made about the perceived attitude or behavior of the population on how city corporations are performing in terms of the services they deliver. As one goal or objective of the current study is to examine what factors explains institutional trust, the quantitative approach helps to determine the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The study being a descriptive quantitative study, the inferential statistics helps to establish relations or associations between the variables of the study. Statistical analysis makes way to test the hypotheses of the variables of the study along with theories relating with the study of institutional trust. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2013), quantitative approach employs empirical methods and empirical evaluations are applied to determine the degree to which a specific policy empirically fulfills or does not fulfill a particular norm. Thus, quantitative approach of the research complements the current study, which tries to map the level of trust which citizens have upon city corporations. The study tries to explain a particular phenomenon, i.e. the institutional trust based on cultural and the performance aspect. Through statistical analysis, the study tries to explore what variables or factors affect the institutional trust, which helps to demonstrate that two or more variables are related.

3.3 Research Methodology

The methodological choices which have been empirically carried out for the research are illustrated in the following sections.

3.3.1 Method of Data Collection

Unit of Analysis

The main research question of the study is “*To what extent variables such as quality of government, organizational culture, social capital, customer satisfaction and socio-political demographic factors affect the level of institutional trust in City Corporation?*” To explore the answers, the study analyzes two (2) local government organizations, i.e. city corporations, thus

the unit of analysis of my study is the “*municipality*”. There are eleven (11) functional city corporations in Bangladesh, including the *capital city Dhaka* being divided into two- Dhaka South City Corporation (DSCC) and Dhaka North City Corporation (DNCC). The study involves taking two (2) city corporations (local government organization), one from the capital city and the other from the Southern part of the country. According to the directives of NSD (Norwegian Data Protection Official for Research), as it is necessary to maintain anonymity of the respondents, the study clusters the name of city corporations. One of the City Corporations from *capital* is termed as “**City Corporation A**” and the other City Corporation from the **Southern region** is termed as “**City Corporation B**”.

Reasons for the Selection of the City Corporations

The thesis focuses to assess the level of citizens’ trust in municipalities (city corporations), thus the study has undertaken city corporations having variations in facilities and resources. **City Corporation A**” is relatively a high profile City Corporation in terms of socio-economic development and “**City Corporation B**”, having less economic development from the other. Although taking two city corporations might not reflect the exact level of citizens’ trust in city corporations and what may explain that level of trust. However, by taking two city corporations having the same governmental and administrative setting but having variations in terms of facilities, resources, population, social, economic and political setting, helps to get a generalized statistical trend, attitude and perception of the respondents of the areas. It also assists to draw a generalized inference of the variables affecting the citizens’ trust level.

“**City Corporation A**” is one of the two city corporations located at the capital City, Dhaka. It is the most densely populated⁶ City Corporation in the whole world and is the second biggest City Corporation of Bangladesh in terms of number of population, 4.9 million⁷people. It has more number of wards⁸ than the other city corporation in the capital. The city corporation includes the industrial areas of the city along with the two biggest public hospitals and the largest higher educational institution of the country located under its jurisdiction. On the other hand, the City

⁶ Source: From the Office of Town Planning of the City Corporation.

⁷ Source: From the Office of Town Planning of the City Corporation.

⁸A city corporation in Bangladesh is divided into small areas known as wards. The number of wards in city corporations depends upon the number of population and is fixed through statute by the Ministry of Local Government

Corporation located at the Southern part of the country, i.e. “**City Corporation B**”, is one of the economically poor cities of Bangladesh. It has less number of wards than City Corporation A and about 0.38 million people resides in the Corporation area. Not only the city is compounded by poverty and resource degradation but it is also a disaster prone area with flooding, a major threat of the city. Thus, provision of basic services to citizens becomes one of the most important challenges for City Corporation B than City Corporation A. Various features of both city corporations are illustrated in the table below.

Table 3.1: Features of the two city corporations

Features	City Corporation A	City Corporation B
Population	4,909,015	380,000
Area	45 sq. km	58 sq. km
Social indicators (income level; population density; life expectancy)	US \$ 122 per capita income; 109,089 per sq. km; Women 71.6 years and men 71.2 years	US \$ 42 per capita income; 6,551 per sq. km; Women 70.9 years and men 69 years
Number of Schools/libraries	458/7	118/2
Number of NGOs affiliated with city corporations	449	150
Total Number of Hospitals	6 government hospitals; 193 private clinics/hospitals	3 government hospitals; 36 private clinics/hospitals
Total Number of Markets	79	15
Total Road (in km)	1120 km	644 km
Total Number of waste management places (waste bins) of its own	5700	160

Source: Office of Town Planning of the City Corporation

3.3.2 Target Population and Sampling

As the study is a quantitative approach, the issue of sample size for the study has been taken very meticulously, involving the feasibility in collecting data from the city corporations within the given time period for the research. For qualitative data collection, respondents' size will be smaller than that for the quantitative data collection process (Creswell 2014, p.222). The 'respondents' of the study were the *service seekers or recipients*. While conducting the study, respondents were chosen from those who directly came to city corporations in accessing services. This has helped the research to get information from citizens having first hand experiences in accessing services from city corporations. Results from sampling allow a study to draw inferences to the population (Creswell 2014, p. 155).

Sampling Procedure and Size - Quantitative Approach

For quantitative approach of study large numbers of respondents are needed in order to conduct meaningful statistical design. The total number of population or the respondents for the study is **190**. From City Corporation A, the number of respondents is 130 and from City Corporation B, the number of respondents is 60. Sampling design involves single stage or multistage (clustering). Single stage is used when a researcher has direct access to the population and can sample the population directly and multistage sampling is used when it is impossible or impractical to compile a list of elements composing the population (Creswell 2014, p. 158). The current research involves a single-stage sampling design as respondents were those who directly accessed city corporations for their services which allowed the study to stratify and sample the respondents directly from city corporations.

The respondents have been stratified into different categories in the study. Stratification makes way for improving the representativeness of the sample of the study. When distribution of certain characteristics is done through stratification the research tries to ensure that the statistical logical procedures incorporate the views of various stakeholders (Van Thiel 2014, p. 119). The current study categorized the population into 6 categories or strata. These are, **NGO service recipients; socially important citizens** (landlords and leaseholders of markets and land); **political volunteers/activists; businessmen** (mainly traders and construction contractors); **specialized occupational groups** (such as doctors, lawyers, engineers and teachers) and **manual workers** (both skilled and unskilled) such as day laborers, vehicle and mechanic operators, etc. The rationale for selection of these strata has its direct relations with the main objective of the study. As the study aims in mapping the level of institutional trust in the city corporations, these respondents directly help in giving their first hand experience on how city corporations are providing their services.

Sampling selection process involves two types, probability sampling and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling is technique in which each unit in a population has a specific chance of being selected⁹. Whereas, non-probability sampling is a method in which the probability of selecting respondents is unknown may be due to time and accessibility problem,

⁹ Available at: http://www.csun.edu/~hbsoc126/soc4/chapter_8_outline.pdf. Accessed on 28/01/2017

financial constraints, etc.¹⁰. This study applied “*non-proportional stratified random sampling*” (NPSRS) process for the sample selection of **City Corporation A**. NPSRS is usually applied when the population is divided into sub-populations or strata, i.e. characterizing the population into groups and when proportion of the population in the strata is different and which is then randomly selected from each group. As mentioned above, that the study divided the population into six (6) strata or sub-groups and the proportion of respondents is not equal for *City Corporation A*. For four (4) strata 25 respondents were selected for each stratum and for other two (2) strata 15 respondents each were selected, thus incorporating the NPSRS process for the study. For *City Corporation B*, the study applied *proportional stratified random sampling* as the study has equal number of respondents for each six (6) stratum.

For City Corporation A, from the six strata, the study has equal proportion of respondents from 4 groups (NGO affiliated respondents; socially important persons; businessmen and manual workers). From the four (4) groups, five (5) respondents from five (5) zones in the City Corporation, total of 100 (25 respondents X 4 categories) including different proportion of females and males were randomly chosen. From the other two (2) groups (political volunteers/activists and specialized occupational groups), three (3) respondents from five (5) zones, total of 30 (15 respondents X 2 categories) respondents were randomly chosen. Total of **130** respondents were selected from this City Corporation. The rationale for selection of five (5) zones is that City Corporation A is divided into five (5) zones. The choice for the number of respondents in quantitative study must accommodate within the time-frame of the data collection. The number of respondents for each zone was taken based on the availability of the respondents on the basis of stratification within the time frame of the research. The reason for non-proportional (unequal number of respondents for each zone) selection of respondents was due to time constraints during the data collection¹¹.

For City Corporation B, equal proportion of respondents from the **6** groups or strata were taken, where **5 respondents** were randomly selected from **2 zones**, as City Corporation B is divided into 2 zones, thus total of 60 respondents (6 categories X 5 respondents X 2 zones = **60**) were

¹⁰ Available at: <http://www2.southeastern.edu/Academics/Faculty/joescher/edf600/resources/r5/ch51.pdf>. Accessed on 28/01/2017

¹¹ Originally 150 respondents were there in the proposal

randomly selected. The selection of sample from the population in City Corporation B is proportional as the study collected equal number of samples from each stratum.

The table shows the sampling details and the reasons for the selection;

Table 3.2: Sampling details and the reasons for the selection

Unit of Observation	City Corporation A	City Corporation B
Respondents /Stratification	NGO service recipients; socially important people; businessmen; political activists; specialized occupational people; manual workers. Six (6) strata	NGO service recipients; socially important people; businessmen; political activists; specialized occupational people; manual workers. Six (6) strata
Sampling Size	130 (25 respondents X 4 strata + 15 respondents X 2 strata)	60 (5 respondents X 6 strata X 2 zones)
Sampling Design	Single stage- Sampling directly carried out in the City Corporation	Single stage- Sampling directly carried out in the City Corporation
Sample Selection Process	Non-proportional Stratified Random Sampling (NPSRS) ¹²	Proportional Stratified Random Sampling (PSRS) ¹³
Reason for sample selection	The proportion for every strata is different from that of the population and is random as the random selection allows for more accurate generalization from sample	The proportion for every strata is equal from that of the population and is random as the random selection allows for more accurate generalization from sample

3.3.3 Respondents Profile- Quantitative Data

Socio-demographic profile of the respondents has been based on gender, age, education and occupation of citizens. All the respondents surveyed have been directly involved in getting services from the city corporations. Majority of the respondents have the age from 31 years to 60 years for both the city corporations as citizens around this age is most vibrant and tends to go to various public offices to get services. For both the city corporations majority of the respondents ranges from those who have passed their secondary school to higher level education (university level). This shows quite high literacy rate among the service seekers and this may be because the overall literacy rate is quite high in Bangladesh, 70 percent in Bangladesh¹⁴.

The detail numbers and percentages of all the respondents are given below.

¹² Each stratum, i.e. having equal sampling fraction/respondents

¹³ Each stratum, i.e. having different or unequal sampling fraction/respondents

¹⁴ Available at: <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2015/06/16/bangladeshs-literacy-rate-rises-to-70-percent-education-minister-says>. (accessed on 02/11/2016)

Table 3.3: Socio-demographic distribution of the respondents based on gender, age, education, and occupation

Characteristics of the Respondents		Number of Respondents for City Corporation A and B	City Corporation “A”: Number of Respondents and Percentage (%)	City Corporation “B”: Number of Respondents and Percentage (%)
Gender	Male	137	93 (72 %)	44 (73 %)
	Female	53	37 (28 %)	16 (27 %)
Age (Years)	18-30	31	17 (13 %)	14 (23 %)
	31-40	61	48 (37 %)	13 (22 %)
	41-50	60	44 (34 %)	16 (27 %)
	51-60	29	16 (12 %)	13 (22 %)
	61 and above	09	05 (04 %)	04 (06 %)
Education	Illiterate	04	01 (01 %)	03 (05 %)
	Literate	10	07 (05 %)	03 (05 %)
	Primary School (Class 1-5)	08	03 (02 %)	05 (08 %)
	High School (Class 1-8)	19	11 (09 %)	08 (13 %)
	Secondary School Certificate (Class 1-10)	30	23 (18 %)	07 (12 %)
	Higher Secondary Certificate (Class 1-12)	46	33 (25 %)	13 (22 %)
	University (Hons./Ms)	63	43 (33 %)	20 (33 %)
Higher Education (post graduation/PhD)	10	09 (07 %)	01 (02 %)	
Occupation	Professionals-lawyers, doctors, engineers	21	13 (10 %)	08 (12 %)
	Public Servants	04	02 (01 %)	02 (03 %)
	Political Activists Volunteers	25	15 (13 %)	10 (17 %)
	Manual Worker (Skilled and Unskilled)	35	25 (19 %)	10 (17 %)
	Self-employed/Businessman	35	25 (19 %)	10 (17 %)
	Socially Important people: retired; landlord; leaseholder	35	25 (19 %)	10 (17 %)
	NGO affiliated respondents	35	25 (19 %)	10 (17 %)
Total Number of Respondents for City Corporation A and B is 190				

Note: The percentages are rounded up

3.3.4 Sources of Data Collection

Primary data has been obtained through survey (quantitative) design. Objective of this study is to find out the level of trust in institution, so survey is the most important means through which the research can obtain trust level data from a large number of respondents that represent the population.

Survey

Quantitative approach of the study allows the survey design to provide a numeric description of the level of institutional trust which respondents have in city corporations. Survey helped the

study to generalize from the sample to a population so that the inference can be made about the trend of the level of trust which citizens have on city corporations. Data from survey were collected through close-ended questionnaires, with Likert-scales, for example on a four (4) point scale such as from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree” or “Not at all satisfied” to “Highly Satisfied”. Other questions asked involved factual information such as age, education, gender and occupation. In designing the survey questionnaire, variables measured in the study were translated into questionnaire items. The reaction of the respondents to the questions or statements would show whether the variables being measured indeed had an effect on dependent variable and, if so, what this effect exactly is (Van Thiel 2014, p.77). The survey carried out for the research has been a cross-sectional study, i.e. data has been collected at one point in time, within the two month time period of data collection. Survey is used often for trust related studies. Christensen and Laegreid (2005) used survey (quantitative approach) in finding the level of trust in relation to the relative importance of service satisfaction, political factors and demography. Askvik, Jamil and Dhakal (2011) used country-wide questionnaire survey to find out citizens trust in the public and political institutions in Nepal. Espinal, Hartlyn and Kelly (2006) conducted three surveys from 1994-2001 in finding out the explanation for low levels of trust in government institutions in Latin American countries. Wang and Gordon (2011) used World Value Survey data to examine the ways in which institutions or contextual factors affect individual trust level. In this study a total of 190 respondents were interviewed to find out the perceived level of citizens trust in the city corporations.

3.4 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis is the process of ‘examining, categorizing, tabulating, testing, or otherwise recombining both qualitative and quantitative evidence to address the initial proposition of the study’ (Yin 2003, p.109). Data analysis and interpretation was the most challenging part of this study. This is because statistical analysis not only requires application of sophisticated data tools such as SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) but also requires undertaking inferential statistics such as correlation and regression in a very meticulous way. This requires accurate and precise interpretation of data. Another challenge of the data interpretation was to understand the statistical significance of results in order to assess as to whether the scores from

the result reflect a pattern other than chance. This required meticulous approach in coding¹⁵ of data of the variables to identify the causality for answering the research question and achieve the research objective.

The study being a quantitative approach so the original data needed to be reduced to be analyzed statistically which required computer generated statistical software. The study applied IBM SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) 24.0, downloaded from the IT department of University of Bergen. The study carried out univariate, bivariate to a multivariate analysis of the variables. The thesis involved descriptive analysis for all independent and dependent variables of the study. This involved frequencies, multivariate frequency distribution (tabulation of two or more variables), i.e. percentile distribution; mean and standard deviation of the data. The study tried to establish certain combination of values for various variables, which allowed seeing how often each of the indicators occurs in the sample. This helped to portray a general trend in attitude in the sample population.

Further, the study carried out statistical procedures such as correlation and regression analysis for testing the hypotheses. The correlation and regression analysis helped to relate the variables of the study which involved examining the nature of relationships between the independent and dependent variables. The *correlation analysis* helped the study to find whether there is a connection between the dependent variable, i.e. trust in City Corporation, and the explanatory variables and also whether the connections are significant or not. The study also applied '*multiple regression analyses*' which has allowed understanding the magnitude or the extent of impact of the explanatory variables over the dependent variable, i.e. citizens' trust in city corporations. Regression analysis is different from correlation analysis in terms of the way the variables are measured. Correlation determines the strength of the relationship between variables while regression attempts to describe that relationship between these variables, involving magnitude and direction, by showing how variation in one variable co-occurs with variation in another (Campbell & Campbell 2008, p. 2).

¹⁵ Coding is the symbols (codes) which summarize the meaning or implications of the units of data (Layder 1998, p. 48).

3.4.1 Deductive Approach

The study involves deductive approaches. The deductive approach involves using set of general assumptions in order to formulate empirically testable propositions about a phenomenon (Layder 1998, p.134). The different hypotheses in the study have been tested to find out the relationship between the dependent and explanatory variables.

3.5 Assessment of the Quality of the Research

There are four tests which are commonly used to establish the quality of any empirical social research (Yin 2009, p.40). This involves construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability and the study relied upon the four tests to assess the quality of data and research.

3.5.1. Construct Validity

Trochim (2006) refers construct validity as ‘how well one translates or transforms a concept, idea or behavior- that is a construct- into a functioning and operating reality’ (cited in Drost 2011, p. 116). For testing construct validity, the concept or issue addressed must be defined specifically. All the concepts such as institutional trust and other variables have been operationalized through their working definitions in order to accommodate operationally in the study. The dependent variable of the study, i.e. citizens’ trust in the public institution (City Corporation), has been operationalized through the question involving the extent to which the respondents have the confidence on three indicators. The three indicators are i) the overall City Corporation, ii) the top political person of the City Corporation, i.e. the Mayor and iii) the mid level political leader of the City Corporation, i.e. ward commissioner. The study explicitly explains the necessity for incorporating individuals such as ‘mayors’ and ‘ward commissioners’ as important proxies for institutions. The independent variables of the study are quite intricate. The variables chosen were based on cultural and institutional aspects of the institutional trust. Variables such as the demographics factors, social capital, power distance and uncertainty avoidance depict the cultural aspect of the institutional trust. Jamil and Askvik (2015, p.159-162); Espinal, Hartlyn and Morgan (2006, p. 210) tried explaining trust in public institutions by exploring variables such as social capital and civic engagement. In measuring the social capital the study focuses on associationism variable as it helps to understand the social networks which individuals use to get things done from public institutions such as from city corporations. How

public personnel acts is an important means of understanding institutional trust as institutional rituals, norms, values and symbols affects the institutional personnel in the way they work. The need to take into account the variables such as power distance and uncertainty avoidance signifies norms and values which institution has and portrays the necessity of the variables in understanding cultural aspect of the institutional trust. Uncertainty avoidance has been operationalized through asking directly on the extent to which citizens agree or disagree with the various indicators describing the extent of uncertainty avoidance situation prevailing in city corporations in the provision of goods and services. Power distance has been operationalized through asking the respondents on the extent to which they accept or reject situations involving use of inequality of power in city corporations in accessing goods and services.

The institutional or the performance centered perspective of institutional trust has been understood through quality of government and customer satisfaction variables. The quality of government variable has been operationalized through asking the respondents the extent to which the respondents think that their City Corporation carries out procedural maintenance on certain service provisions. The answers range from 'no procedural maintenance' to 'high procedural maintenance'. Holmberg and Rothstein (2012) used similar kind of questions, such as extent to which government maintains impartiality in implementing policies in individual cases, to test the quality of government variable and thus it can be considered as valid operational measures. The customer satisfaction variable is operationalized through asking the respondents the extent to which they are satisfied with various services (*infrastructure, waste-management, health, revenue, timeliness, cost effectiveness and record-management*) of the city corporations with answers ranging from 'not at all satisfied' to 'highly satisfied'. Christensen and Laegreid (2005, p. 496) used 'experience and satisfaction with public services', as one of the explanatory variables in explaining trust in government. They operationalized public health service as one of the categories for explaining the experience and satisfaction. However, other researchers' such as Wang (2016, p. 219) operationalized other variables such as corruption that affects trust in government. For the dependent variable, scholars such as Catterberg and Moreno (2005) used various other institutions such as Parliament, judiciary, political parties, etc. in explaining trust in institutions. Thus, the variables used in this research as independent variables have all been tested and it measures what they are supposed to measure, i.e. trust in institutions.

3.5.2. Internal Validity

Internal validity calls for whether causal relationship has been validated between the variables or not, used by the researchers and whether there was need for other variables or not for the research. It is concerned with whether the variables used are really causally related. This study is designed to identify trends between various explanatory variables with trust in institutions. Although in social science research it is not always easy to see the effects or find out what exactly controls the exploratory variable, i.e. trust in institutions. According to Van de Walle and Bouckaert (2003) the relation between performance and trust is far from obvious and unlikely to work in a direct and mechanical way (cited in Van de Walle, Roosbroek & Bouckaert 2008, p. 48). However Christensen and Laegreid (2005, p. 500) stated that respondents who are the most satisfied with the public services such as health services are the ones who constantly trust the government which paves way for a causal relation between service satisfaction and trust in institution. Kim (2005b) showed that social capital such as associational involvement is negatively related with trust in political institutions. Whereas scholars such as Inglehart 1990; Putnam 1994; Fukuyama 1995; Putnam 2000 stated that more involvement in associations and higher sense of community and social networks, commonly understood as social capital, leads to greater trust in government (Catterberg & Moreno 2005, p. 41). Jamil and Askivik (2015, p. 170) analyzed that quality of government variable positively explains citizens' trust in public institution. The demographic variables such as level of education and occupation are positively causally related with trust in institutions (Christensen and Laegreid 2005, p. 502). The study thus incorporates the different explanatory variables which have been causally related in measuring trust in institutions by various authors reflecting that the research is expected to have high internal validity.

3.5.3 External Validity

Generalization to other persons, settings, and times is referred to as external validity (Drost 2011, p.120). Generalization can be drawn by two ways: *statistical generalization and analytical generalization* (Yin 2014, p.40). Statistical generalization involves quantitative approach where an inference is made about a population on the basis of empirical data collected from a sample of that population (Yin 2014, p. 40). The study being a quantitative approach with 190 respondents, cross-sectional data, being surveyed based on all the important indicators covering the cultural

and performance perspective of institutional trust. Cross-sectional data allows for taking into account the current perceived opinion of respondents of the two city corporations. The goal of quantitative study is to generalize from a larger population and the sample of this study may not be as large as the other quantitative studies and statistically may not have very high external validity, but most of the studies have been longitudinal, i.e. data collected over a period of time. Studies such as, Jamil and Askvik (2015) used a sample size of more than 2000 household to carry out the survey over one year time. Christensen and Laegreid (2005) used mail survey of 2300 respondents. Others such as Wang (2016) used secondary survey data from Asian Barometer (2005-2008). However, it can be argued that the findings of the study could be generalized for other city corporations also in Bangladesh as the country is very much homogenous in terms of its distribution of national history, culture and tradition. Thus macro-institutional theories (national culture and government performance) assume that rational citizens with reliable information will evaluate performance similarly. Analytical generalization is expected to be linked with theory driven quantitative research (Polit & Beck 2010, p. 1453). The study through theories, i.e. social capital theory, uncertainty avoidance and power distance theory based on cultural approach and customer satisfaction and quality of government theory based on performance approach, has explicitly shown theoretical link with institutional trust. On the other hand the findings may vary as in social science research as it is not easy to predict that the same explanatory variables will affect the level of trust in institutions throughout the country or even outside the country. This may be due to difference in culture, economic conditions, and administrative procedures so based on that scenario, findings from two city corporations may not have a very high level of external validity.

3.5.4. Reliability

Accuracy and **consistency** with which variables are measured involves the **reliability** of a research (Van Thiel 2014, p.48). The more accurately and consistently the variables are measured the more certain it is that results will not be coincidental, but a systematic and representative portrayal of research (*ibid.* 48). **Accuracy** involves the instruments used in data collection along with correct application of variables. This quantitative research involved survey method which is the most important quantitative method of data collection. The variables which were developed correctly capture the theoretical aim of the study, i.e. institutional trust. The

independent variables were chosen based on the cultural and performance perspective of institutional trust. The questionnaires were developed through evaluating the core concepts of institutional trust involving quality of government, customer satisfaction, associational engagement, power distance and uncertainty avoidance. The questionnaires were made specific, simple and were translated in the local language (Bengali) in order to avoid any confusion from the minds of respondents about any political apprehensions or repercussions. City Corporation being a politically democratic institution, there is always an apprehension in the minds of the people about the consequence of answering any question which may go against those in power. Although according to Bratton *et al.* (2005) there is no correlation between expression of political fear and trust in public institution. The study used IBM SPSS software for analyses and explained all the indexes for the descriptive analysis clearly. How the mean/index values were formulated has been correctly and specifically mentioned which would allow others to understand what is being explained.

Consistency involves that if the study is carried out again with the same process of methodology, with same objectives and questions whether it would yield the same findings. The variables and questions used in the study has considerable amount of consistency as the variables and questions used in the study has also been used in various other studies. Jamil and Askvik (2015); Christensen and Laegreid (2005); Freitag and Ackermann (2016); Espinal, Hartlyn and Morgan (2006) used variables such as civic associationism or social capital, quality of government, satisfaction with public services and various demographic factors in explaining trust in institutions. However, as survey method was used the response may not yield authentic or valid information as the respondents may provide biased opinion depending upon individual social, political, economical or any other affiliation with the city corporation. Maintaining case study protocol is a major way of increasing reliability (Yin 2014, p.84). The study maintains the protocol involving the data sources use, along with the methods and techniques applied. The study also provides all the necessary questionnaires along with the frequency tables for every indicator for each variable attached in the appendix of the study.

3.6 Ethical Consideration

It is important that researchers anticipate the issues involving ethical considerations which may come during the research process. Protection of research participants; development of trust

within them; promotion of the integrity of the research; guarding against misconduct and impropriety that may reflect on organizations or institutions and coping up with new challenges must be taken into account by the researchers (Israel & Hay 2006). According to the directives of NSD (Norwegian Data Protection Official for Research) while carrying out the research, secrecy of the respondents were taken care of at the maximum level and also during the analysis or in anywhere in the study. The study has kept the anonymity of the respondents and all were fully informed about the purpose of the research. Written permission was taken from the respective city corporations in carrying out the survey from the respondents at the city corporations. The research does not preserve any kind of personal and sensitive data. There was no biasness in the collection of data and the research does not have any negative exploitation of the data during data analysis and interpretation.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

4.0 Introduction

The chapter presents descriptive statistics for citizens' trust in public institutions (City Corporation) in Bangladesh which is the dependent variable and thereafter of all the independent variables. The chapter also presents the correlation analysis between the variables of the study.

4.1 Descriptive Findings of Dependent Variable: Institutional Trust in City Corporation

The best measure available for trust in governing institution is translated as confidence (Svedin 2012, p. 147). The study measures the level of trust by formulating an '*index*' based on citizens' confidence in the City Corporations, in the Mayor and in the ward commissioners of city corporations. The values presented involve the total number of answers for each measures as well as the combined average for trust in public institutions (City Corporation). In order to simplify the data, the trust index has been divided into two with low trust and high trust. **Low trust** consists of low confidence involving responses between 'not at all confident' to 'lowly confident' while **high trust** consists of high confidence involving responses between 'moderately confident' to 'highly confident'.

Table 4.1: Descriptive statistics for trust in Public Institutions (City Corporations)

		Mean (S.D.)		
		City Corporation A	City Corporation B	Combined
Trust Index ¹⁶	<i>Institutional Trust</i>	3.06 (0.607)	2.28 (0.922)	2.82 (0.805)
	<i>Trust in Mayor</i>	3.38 (0.698)	2.00 (0.844)	2.95 (0.985)
	<i>Trust in Ward Commissioner</i>	3.11 (0.650)	2.67 (0.986)	2.97 (0.796)
	Overall Index	3.18 (0.385)	2.32 (0.877)	2.91 (0.534)
Valid N		130	60	190

Note: Minimum value (1) and Maximum value (4)

Table 4.1 briefly shows the descriptive statistics involving the trust index (mean or the average value) for both city corporations. It can be seen that the combined **overall** trust index for both

¹⁶ Index involved the mean or the average value of the responses of citizens' from the questions asked in survey.

city corporations is **2.91**. This suggests that the mean value is on the higher scale indicating that the respondents seem to have moderate or high level institutional trust in city corporations. The three indicators also separately show similar results. Ward commissioners have the highest average score, **2.97**, among the three indicators of trust in city corporations, where majority of the respondents have moderate or high institutional trust in city corporations including their mayor and ward commissioner of city corporations. However, in looking separately, the findings reflect variations between city corporations. For city corporation A, the average trust index is **3.18**, which suggests that majority of respondents of City Corporation A has high level of confidence or trust in their City Corporation. Whereas, for City Corporation B, the average trust index is on the lower scale with overall mean score of **2.32**, indicating that the respondents have low level of trust in their city corporation.

Table 4.1 also shows an interesting and a contrasting result between city corporations involving the trust index regarding the indicator of ‘*trust in mayor*’. It can be seen that respondents of City Corporation A portrays higher trust with a mean score of 3.38, on their mayor, whereas for City Corporation B, the trust level is lower on the mayor with a mean score of 2.00.

The detailed percentile distribution for dependent variable i.e. is given below:

Table 4.2: Percentile distribution for Dependent Variable: Trust in the Public Institutions

	On the City Corporation	On the Mayor of City Corporation	On the Ward Commissioner of City Corporation
Not at all Confident (1)	08 %	10 %	05 %
Lowly Confident (2)	21 %	20 %	19 %
Moderately Confident (3)	54 %	35 %	51 %
Highly Confident (4)	17 %	35 %	25 %
Total percentage (%)	100 %	100 %	100 %
Valid N	190		

Note 1: Q: To what extent do you have the confidence upon the following?

a) In your City Corporation b) In the Mayor and c) In the Ward Commissioner

Note 2: The percentages are rounded up

Table 4.3, next page, shows that **overall**, i.e. from pooled data, there is high trust (adding highly confident and moderately confident) in city corporations. **71 percent** of the respondents have high trust in city corporations, while **29 percent** of the respondents portrays low trust (adding not

at all confident and lowly confident) in city corporations. If we look separately, the study indicates that 85 percent of respondents have high trust in City Corporation A, with only 15 percent having low trust. However, for City Corporation B the trust level is slightly lower than A with 44 percent of the respondents have high trust on the City Corporation while 56 percent portrays low trust.

Table 4.3: Trust in the Public Institutions- For Both City Corporations (Percentile distribution)

	City Corporation A	City Corporation B	(Pooled)
Low Confidence	15 %	56 %	29 %
High Confidence	85 %	44 %	71 %
Total Percentage	100 %	100 %	100 %

Note 1: Low Trust = Low Confidence [Not at all confident (1) and Lowly confident (2)]

Note 2: High Trust = High Confidence [Moderately confident (3) and highly confident (4)]

Note 3: The percentages are rounded up

4.2 Descriptive Statistics on Independent Variables

The descriptive statistics, i.e. the mean or the average value of the responses involving the index of the variables of all the independent variables and its indicators, have been presented in table 4.4. The values presented in table 4.4, i.e. the index, involves the total number of answers for each value or measures as well as the combined average for all the independent variable indicators.

Table 4.4: Descriptive Statistics for the indicators of the independent variables

Independent Variable : Customer Satisfaction	Mean	(S.D.)
a. Record Management	2.71	(0.957)
b. Health Services	2.69	(0.850)
c. Timeliness	2.49	(0.782)
d. Revenue Services	2.35	(0.889)
e. Infrastructural services	2.32	(0.957)
f. Waste management services	2.29	(0.964)
g. Cost Effectiveness	2.24	(0.869)
Overall Satisfaction Index (Low-High)	2.44	(0.387)
Independent Variable : Quality of Government	Mean	(S.D.)
a. Tender and bidding process in giving lease or contracts	2.09	(0.941)
b. Allotment of shops in the City Corporation markets	1.91	(0.921)
c. Issuing of trade and transportation licenses	1.83	(0.910)
d. Design approval of various infrastructures	1.77	(0.937)
Overall Quality of Government Index (Weak -Strong)	1.90	(0.706)

Independent Variable : Social Capital	Mean (S.D.)
Citizens' Associational trust in:	
a. Trade Union	2.93 (0.917)
b. Voluntary Organization (NGOs)	2.86 (0.879)
c. Affiliated organization of political parties	2.78 (0.919)
d. Community Organization- theatre groups, sports club, cultural club	2.55 (0.826)
Overall Social Capital Index (Low - High)	2.78 (0.888)
Independent Variable : Uncertainty Avoidance	
a. Various internal rules and regulations	2.84 (0.833)
b. Presence of Precise rules and regulation	2.22 (1.041)
c. Provision of services in accordance with service manual	1.91 (0.907)
Overall Uncertainty Avoidance Index (Weak-High)	2.32 (0.548)
Independent Variable : Power Distance	
Acceptance to:	
a. Inequality in provision of services	2.84 (1.034)
b. Elitism in service provision is favorable	2.72 (0.926)
c. Service desks are not much accessible	2.23 (0.992)
Overall Power Distance Index (Low-High)	2.60 (0.639)

Note 1: Question for Customer Satisfaction Variable: To What extent the citizens are satisfied with the following services? [Answer Options: not at satisfied (1); lowly satisfied; moderately satisfied; high satisfied (4)]

Note 2: Question for Quality of Government Variable: To what extent do city corporations carry out proper procedures in the following provisions? [Answer Options: no procedural maintenance (1); low procedural maintenance; moderate procedural maintenance; high procedural maintenance (4)]

Note 3: Question for Social Capital Variable: To what extent do you trust your associational networks? [Answer Options: not at all (1); just a little; moderate; a lot (4)]

Note 4: Question for Uncertainty Avoidance Variable: To what extent do citizens' agree or disagree with the following statements of your City Corporation? [Answer Options: strongly disagree (1); quite disagree; partly agree; strongly agree (4)]

Note 5: Question for Power Distance Variable: To what extent do you accept about the following? [Answer Options: do not accept (1); partly accept; moderately accept; strongly accept (4)]

Note 6: Mean/Index values are given in descending order

4.2.1 Customer or Citizen Satisfaction Variable

The customer satisfaction has been measured by formulating an 'index' by mapping citizens' perception of satisfaction on **seven** main services provided by city corporations which are *infrastructural services, waste management services, revenue services and health services, record management* (birth certificate, death certificate, holding number, street number, etc.), *timeliness* and *cost effectiveness* of city corporations. The details of the services along with percentages for the total of seven (7) indicators are given in Appendix 1.

Descriptive statistics in table 4.4 shows that the **overall** index for satisfaction, for city corporations has a score of 2.44, i.e. mean value is below average, which indicates that majority of the respondents are lowly satisfied. In observing each measures of customer satisfaction variable, the highest satisfaction lies in the record management services provided by city corporations, with satisfaction index at 2.71. Respondents are also quite satisfied with the health services provided by city corporations, with the mean satisfaction level at 2.69. In observing respondents experience in getting services timely from city corporations, the satisfaction level is slightly lower with index of 2.49. Regarding various revenue services provided by city corporations such as provision of holding numbers, provision of tax numbers, enhancing beautification of cities, etc. the satisfaction index is below average with index score of 2.35. Respondents' satisfaction level on the various infrastructural services involving provision of roads, bridges, surface sewer, excavation of roads etc. is below average with satisfaction index of 2.32. The satisfaction index is least regarding cost effectiveness of the services provided by city corporations with index scoring 2.24.

This is quite surprising as despite high level of institutional trust shown in city corporations but in terms of satisfaction level on the performance on various service provisions, the response is not apparently positive. The finding thus may suggest that the link between customer satisfaction based on performance and trust in institution in city corporations may therefore not be so strong.

4.2.2 Quality of Government Variable

Quality of government is measured by formulating an '*index*' by mapping citizens' perception on the procedural impartiality of city corporations in various service provisions. The details of the services along with percentile distributions are given in Appendix 2. In order to simplify the data, '*quality of government*' index has been divided into two with weak *neutrality* and *impartiality* and strong *neutrality* and *impartiality*. **Weak** *neutrality* and *impartiality* consists of response between 'no procedural maintenance' to 'low procedural maintenance' while **strong** *neutrality* and *impartiality* consists of responses between 'moderate procedural maintenance' to 'high procedural maintenance'. The higher values of index imply strong quality of government and lower values imply weak quality of government.

The overall quality of government index for city corporations has an index of 1.90 (table 4.4) which apparently portrays that majority of respondents see city corporations as institution which facilitates *low procedural impartiality* in various service provisions. The highest index of quality of government lies at 2.09, involving city corporations' tender and bidding process in giving lease or contracts for the provisions of infrastructural services. Although this is the highest index involving all the indicators of quality of government, however the index itself is below average. There are various markets constructed by city corporations and they allot shops to various individuals through stipulated rules and regulation of their respective institution. The index, i.e. the mean or the average score of the quality of government regarding allotment of these shops is 1.91 (table 4.4). The index suggests that respondents' perceive that rules involving allotment of the shops by city corporations are carried out with low procedural impartiality. Data reported in table 4.4 shows that the index level of quality of government of city corporations' in issuing trade and transportation license is 1.83. This suggests that respondents perceive that the maintenance of rules and regulation to provide transportation licenses in the city and issuing of trade licenses for any business to be operating in the corporations' jurisdictional area is relatively weak. The lowest index of quality of government lies at 1.77 for the indicator involving the way design approval of various infrastructural developments that takes place. This suggests that most respondents' perceive that the design approval involves very low procedural impartiality in accordance with the stipulated rules and regulations of city corporations.

The index of indicators of the quality of government shows that there is substantial absence of impartiality in implementation of rules and regulations in various services provided by city corporations.

The finding provides a negative perception or pattern on impartiality which is expected to have a negative effect on the institutional trust. However, this contradicts the hypothesis of the study involving quality of government where it was expected that strong quality government would generate higher institutional trust. Why there is high institutional trust in city corporations despite weak quality government perceived by citizens? Does the performance theory of institutional trust not valid for city corporations in Bangladesh? The causality can be seen from the regression analysis chapter.

4.2.3 Social Capital Variable

Based upon associationism or membership with any civil-society, voluntary, political or community organizations, the social capital seems to be high for city corporations. The findings of the associational trust index (table 4.4) reveals that level of trust of respondents is quite high on their associationisms. The overall associational trust index is 2.78, which falls in the category of high associational trust. In observing individual associationism, the trust index for respondents associationism with trade union is 2.93 (table 4.4). This suggests that members of trade unions moderately trust (2.93 is close to 3, where 3 involves the response of ‘moderate trust’), encompassing the high trust category, their network and associationism in getting things done. Table 4.4 reports that associational trust index for voluntary organizations such as for the NGOs is 2.86 which also portray that the respondents having NGO affiliation has high trust on their associationism in getting things done for them. The associational trust index for respondents having community affiliation or network with organizations such as with theatre groups, sports club, cultural club, etc. shows relatively lower level of trust in their associationism. The average trust index for the respondents on the community associationism is 2.55 (table 4.4).

The most interesting of the associational trust indicator has been for the affiliated organizations of political parties. Affiliated organizations of political parties are usually the sub-system of the main political parties. Political parties considered as the system which in turn influences its affiliated organization that is considered as the sub system. Examples of subsystems includes legal system, system of education and vocational training, the system of financing smaller and larger investments, and the system of industry associations (Lane 1996). Respondents having affiliation with political parties includes those who are direct political activists and also those having networks with political parties through passive form including party think tanks (academicians and professional experts), financial supporter, etc. The associational trust index for respondents on their politically affiliated organization is on the higher side with the mean value of 2.78 (table 4.4). This suggests that respondents tend to trust moderately their political associationism, in getting things done. From appendix 3, it can be observed that the highest response is 3 (moderately trust) with 37 percent of respondents portraying higher trust. However, it can also be observed that about 31 percent (appendix 3) of the respondents response is also 2 (just a little trust) which falls onto the low trust category. Why quite a high percentage of

respondents foster low trust in the political associations? The regression analysis in the next chapter tries to find the answer.

4.2.4 Uncertainty Avoidance Variable

The uncertainty avoidance index for city corporations has mean score of 2.32 reflecting that majority of the respondents quiet disagree that city corporation manage their provision of services with better regulation. The lower scale indicates that there is substantial absence of rules and procedure in city corporations in provision of goods and services.

In observing each category of variables, the index values have certain variations. The index for ‘presence of precise rules and regulations’ has a score of 2.22 which means that respondents’ quite disagree that there are precise rules and regulations in the provision of services. The answer complements for the response involving provision of services of city corporations in accordance with the service manual. Services from city corporations given in accordance with written service manual portray presence of weak uncertainty avoidance. The index reveals very low score, 1.91, which suggests that respondents either strongly disagrees or quietly disagrees the presence or implementation of the provision of goods and services in accordance with written service manual.

Variation is observed for the category of ‘presence of various internal rules and regulation’ operating inside city corporations. The index for this category is on the higher scale with mean value of 2.84 suggesting that respondents to a certain extent agrees that provision of goods and services in city corporations involves maintenance of internal by-laws for every department. It is interesting to observe that although respondents find that city corporations are not adhering to strict procedures in service provisions but they perceive from their experience that there are various internal by-rules and regulations that are applicable for service-seeking citizens. Why respondents perceive such variations in service provisions in city corporations? The study tries to find the answer from the regression analysis in the next chapter.

4.2.5 Power Distance Variable

Power distance index for city corporations has an average score of 2.60 (table 4.4) which suggests that majority of the respondents partly accept to moderately accept the inequality in power distribution in the way services are provided to the citizens. The average response of citizens in ‘accepting difficulty in accessibility’ to the officials in the various departmental service desks is 2.23. This suggests that respondents to a certain extent partly accept the difficulty in getting accessibility of the officials in respective departmental service desks. In looking at the extent to which respondents accept inequality in the service provision, the average response is 2.84. The higher index suggests that respondents moderately accept the services given by city corporations based on power difference in meeting their expectations. The response on the extent to which the respondents accept in getting services from city corporations depending on social relations based on ‘elitism’ of hierarchy, status and rank is also on the higher scale with index of 2.72.

Generally it can be suggested that respondents conform to high power distance norm, as mentioned in the hypothesis. The institutional trust is seen high in city corporations and as high power distance is expected to ensure higher institutional trust thus the link between power distance and trust may portray a strong relation.

4.3 Correlation Analysis

First, the study through correlation analysis tries to see whether the dependent variable, citizens’ trust in institution indicates cumulative pattern concerning trust in city corporations. Thus it means that if respondents trust or distrust one of the measures of institutional trust of the city corporation, they tend to trust or distrust the others involving various clusters.

Table 4.5: Correlation between different measures of trust in institution (Pearson’s R)

	<i>Overall City Corporation (CC)</i>	<i>Mayor of CC</i>	<i>Ward Commissioner of CC</i>
Overall City Corporation (CC)	1		
Mayor of CC	0.523*	1	
Ward Commissioner of CC	0.745**	0.561**	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4.5, indicates a cumulative pattern concerning trust in city corporations, i.e. if the respondents trust or distrust one of the measures of institutional trust of city corporations, they tend to trust or distrust the others. It is observed from table 4.5 that all the variables that construe the dependent variable “Institutional trust” are related. An index based on these variables is created to measure the overall trust of citizens in the city corporations. This index is then correlated with the independent variables and is presented in the following table, table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Correlation between the Dependent variable and Independent Variables

Independent Variables	r	Index/Mean of Variables
Socio-Political Demographic Factors		
a. Gender	-	
b. Age	-	
c. Education	-0.202*	
d. Occupation	0.244**	
a. NGO affiliated respondents	0.241**	
b. Political Volunteers	-0.461**	
c. Manual Workers	-	
d. Businessman	-	
e. Socially Important People	-	
f. Specialized Professionals	-	
Customer Satisfaction with various Services		
a. Infrastructure	0.541*	2.32
b. Record Management	0.518*	2.71
c. Health	0.509*	2.69
d. Timeliness	-	2.49
e. Revenue	-	2.35
f. Waste management	-	2.29
g. Cost Effectiveness	-	2.24
Quality of Government		
a. Design approval of various infrastructures	0.155*	1.77
b. Tender and bidding process in giving lease or contracts	0.135*	2.09
c. Allotment of shops in the City Corporation markets	-	1.91
d. Issuing of trade and transportation licenses	-	1.83
Social Capital		
Citizens Associational trust with:		
a. Voluntary Organization (NGOs)	0.313**	2.86
b. Trade Union	0.142*	2.93
c. Affiliated organization of political parties	-	2.78
d. Community Organization	-	2.55

Uncertainty Avoidance		
a. Various internal rules and regulations	0.117*	2.84
b. Presence of Precise rules and regulation	-	2.22
c. Provision of services in accordance with service manual	-	1.91
Power Distance		
Accept:		
a. Elitism in service provision is favorable	0.371*	2.72
b. Inequality in provision of services	0.330*	2.84
c. Service desks are not much accessible	-	2.23

Note: Only Significant correlation results are presented

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

4.3.1 Trust and Socio-Political Demographic Variables

Gender

The finding shows that gender is insignificantly correlated with institutional trust. It supports the notion that institutional performance affects the respondents randomly. Studies have showed that gender is insignificant in affecting trust in political institutions (Mishler & Rose 2001, p. 50). The regression analysis in the next chapter would provide more statistical details and reasoning whether there is presence of causality between gender and institutional trust in city corporations.

Age

Table 4.6 shows that age is insignificantly correlated with institutional trust. Studies (Delhey & Newton 2003) have showed that trust is something that one possesses through ones up-bringing and early socialization thus, how one trust will not change much as one gets older and the effect of this variable will therefore be small if not insignificant. More statistical analysis and reasoning whether there is causality between age and institutional trust in city corporations is provided in the regression analysis chapter.

Education

The level of education has an effect on the institutional trust and it reveals that it is negatively correlated with the level of trust in city corporations, $r = -0.202$ ($p < 0.05$). The negative correlation suggests that either the respondents with higher education may tend to have low trust in city corporations or the respondents with lower education may tend to have high trust in city corporations. The finding from correlation analysis might make the hypothesis of the study hold true, which argued that citizens' with less education tend to have high trust in city corporations. However, whether the correlation analysis can be translated having more statistical significance would be understood through carrying out the regression analysis, analyzed in the next chapter.

Occupation

Table 4.6 reflects that occupation of respondents do play a role in shaping institutional trust of city corporations where the variable has $r = 0.244$ ($p < 0.01$). It can be observed that political activists and NGO affiliated respondents produce quite an effect on trust level in city corporations. Political activists however shows a negative correlation $r = -0.461$ ($p < 0.01$), on the level of trust in city corporations. This suggests that political activists reflect low level of trust in city corporations. However to what extent this correlation explores the predictive ability of the political activist in explaining the dependent variable, i.e. institutional trust in city corporations, can be clearly understood through the regression analysis. The NGO affiliated respondents have a moderate positive correlation, $r = 0.241$ ($p < 0.01$), which suggests that respondents having NGO affiliation possesses high trust in city corporations. This supports the study's notion that the respondents involved with NGOs would tend to show high trust on city corporations. The direction of the correlation between the NGO affiliated respondents and institutional trust would become more apparent through the statistical tool, multiple regression analysis, which has been carried out in the next chapter.

4.3.2 Trust and Customer Satisfaction Variable

With regard to customer satisfaction on various service indicators, the variable shows moderate level of positive correlation with the overall trust in city corporations. Three services of city corporations, infrastructural; health and record management shows significant correlation. The infrastructural service has the strongest correlation of the three indicators with trust, $r = 0.541$ ($p < 0.05$), reflecting that how well city corporation provides physical infrastructural services is an important attribute in determining the level of trust, which shows a positive correlation. The other services, health services and record management, too shows positive correlation with $r = 0.509$ ($p < 0.05$) and $r = 0.518$ ($p < 0.05$) respectively, with trust in city corporations. However the question which may arise that, is it because of the infrastructural development in city corporations along with other two services that really establish the causality? Is really the performance of the services provided by the city corporation that have enhanced the level of trust or is it because of the various initiations of the central government that has affected the city corporation services? The causality would be evident from the regression analysis in the next chapter, which would help to explore the predictive ability of indicators in explaining institutional trust in city corporations.

4.3.3 Trust and Quality of Government Variable

Generally, for the quality of government variables, the impact does not indicate much statistical significance. Two variables, tendering and bidding process and design approval of infrastructures shows moderate level of significance, $r = 0.135$ ($p < 0.05$) and $r = 0.155$ ($p < 0.05$) respectively. This suggests that how well city corporations maintain procedural fairness in areas such as in tendering process in giving contracts for infrastructural provisions and in approval of design of various infrastructural provisions does not play much of a significant role in how much they trust city corporations. The performance or the institutional theory in regards with the procedural impartiality does not seem to affect the level trust in city corporations a lot.

4.3.4 Trust and Social Capital Variable

The social capital variables show moderate strong correlation in accordance with the hypothesis of the study. Table 4.6 shows that NGO affiliated respondents' social relations or the associationism, $r = 0.313$ ($p < 0.01$), is by far the most important one for enhancing trust in city corporations. The associationism or the social network involving the trade union members also shows correlation, $r = 0.142$ ($p < 0.05$), in fostering trust in city corporations. However, in regards with the strength of the relationship, statistics does not show as strong engagement as that of NGO network. The NGO affiliated respondents due to their network with city corporations provide various health services such maternal and pediatric health services along with other services regarding pure water and sanitation facilities. The extent to which the strength and direction of these relations are important predictors of trust is determined through application of multiple regression analysis, analyzed in the next chapter.

4.3.5 Trust and Uncertainty Avoidance Variable

The correlation between strong uncertainty avoidance norm involving more regulations in city corporations and trust does not show much statistical significance. Only indicator to show statistical correlation, $r = 0.116$ ($p < 0.05$), with trust in city corporations is the internal rules and regulations of city corporations. This suggests that how well the rules and regulations are maintained by city corporations in its service provision do not play much of a significant role to respondents in how much they trust city corporations.

4.3.6 Trust and Power Distance Variable

With regard to respondents' acceptance to the authoritarian culture of elitism and inequality based on the social differences affecting the level of trust, there is presence of positive correlation as expected in the hypothesis of the study. The indicator showing the strongest correlation with trust index is the acceptance of respondents of elitism in service provisions, $r = 0.371$ ($p < 0.05$). Table 4.6 shows that acceptance of inequality in service provisions is also correlated, $r = 0.330$ ($p < 0.05$) with trust in city corporations. Power difference in social relation and cultural gap in service provision fosters high trust in city corporations as in Bangladesh there is an unquestioning allegiance to hierarchical relationship between service providers and recipients (Haque & Mohammad 2013, p. 1000). Citizens accept the unequal social relation that exists due to formation of strong network of kinship which allows citizens to satisfy their obligations and respondents feel the dependence in public institution in fulfilling their needs. However, the extent to which accepting the unequal power difference in services provisions affect the strength and direction of institutional trust in city corporations can be understood through regression analysis.

4.4 Summary

The chapter observes various descriptive findings to be interesting and different from what was expected in the hypothesis of the study. The chapter sees that the level of institutional trust in city corporations is high. Although in observing one of measures of institutional trust, i.e. citizens' trust in mayor, respondents from two city corporations shows variations in their trust level. In observing the descriptive findings of performance based independent variables, both customer satisfaction and quality of government indicators reveal low satisfaction and weak quality government in city corporations. Whereas, for the society-centered approach independent variables, social capital and power distance indicators show high social capital and high power distance norm in city corporations. The descriptive statistics tends to show that socio-cultural variables tend to affect the trust level more than performance based variables.

Chapter 5: Regression Analysis and Discussion

5.0 Introduction

In order to establish causality between the dependent variable, i.e. institutional trust and independent variables, this chapter presents regression analysis. Each group of independent variables is analyzed first and thereafter all the independent variables are correlated with the dependent variable.

5.1 Regression Analysis

The study first explains the six models separately involving the six groups of independent variables of the study. Finally, regression analysis involving all groups of independent variables is presented in **table 5.7** to answer the research questions and tries to establish the causality between explanatory variables and institutional trust, i.e. trust in city corporations.

5.1.1 Socio-Political Demographic Variables Affecting the Institutional Trust (Model 1)

Table 5.1: Regression Analysis of Socio-Political Demographic variables Affecting Citizens' Trust in City Corporation

Socio-Political Demographic Variables	Institutional Trust (Standardized Coefficient Beta, β)
	Model 1
a. Age (ref: young)	0.005
b. Gender (ref: male)	-0.004
c. Education (ref: lower)	-0.054
d. Occupation	
a. Political Volunteers	-0.371 ***
b. NGO affiliated respondents	0.228 **
c. Specialized Professionals	0.128
d. Socially Important Persons	0.073
e. Manual Workers	0.013
f. Businessman	-
N	190
Constant	2.922
Adjusted R²	0.218

*** indicates statistical significance at less than 0.01 level

** indicates statistical significance at less than 0.05 level

* indicates statistical significance at less than 0.10 level

Businessman professionals are used for reference categories.

In the table 5.1, two occupational categories, i.e. political volunteers/activist and NGO affiliated respondents have significant effect on institutional trust. Variable such as gender, age, education and some occupational groups do not influence institutional trust. However, variations can be observed in the findings between the political volunteers/activist and NGO affiliated respondents' inclination towards trust. The beta coefficient, β , value for political volunteers/activist shows significant negative effect **-0.371**, $p < 0.01$, on the level of trust in city corporations. This reveals that political activists do not seem to trust city corporations and its statistical significance is quite strong. The correlation analysis was also that less political activism matters for generating institutional trust. The analysis of the main regression model would try to argue the reasons for the negative relationship. The NGO affiliated respondents on the other hand shows a moderately strong relation with beta coefficient, β , value showing significant positive effect, **0.228**, $p < 0.05$, on the level of trust in city corporations. The finding suggests that unlike the political activists, the respondents having associationism with NGOs seem to rather trust city corporations. The significant variables of this model can be generalized to the larger population as the model explains **21.8 percent** of the total variation in the institutional trust index.

5.1.2 Customer Satisfaction Variables Affecting the Institutional Trust (Model 2)

In the following regression analysis, customer satisfaction variables along with the index or mean of variables are analyzed.

Table 5.2: Regression Analysis of Customer Satisfaction variable Affecting Citizens' Trust in City Corporation

Customer Satisfaction	Institutional Trust (Standardized Coefficient Beta, β)	Index/Mean of Variables
	Model 2	
a. Infrastructural services	0.147 **	2.32
b. Record management	0.124 **	2.71
c. Waste management services	0.018	2.29
d. Timeliness	0.004	2.49
e. Cost Effectiveness	0.001	2.24
f. Revenue Services	-0.036	2.35
g. Health Services	-	2.69
N	190	
Constant	2.567	
Adjusted R²	0.137	

*** indicates statistical significance at less than 0.01 level

** indicates statistical significance at less than 0.05 level

* indicates statistical significance at less than 0.10 level

Health service is excluded as it is used for reference categories.

The second model (table 5.2), presents findings of customer satisfaction of various services with institutional trust. Only satisfaction with two services in city corporations generates trust. One is the “Infrastructural services” (β value of **0.147**, $P < 0.05$) and the other is “Record management” with beta coefficient (β) value of **0.124** ($P < 0.05$). This reveals that citizens’ experience with infrastructural development and record management of city corporations have a significant level of positive impact in enhancing citizens’ trust of city corporations.

The model explains a variance of **13.7 percent** (Adjusted R square value of 0.137). This demonstrates that assessment of respondents regarding their experiences and the various services of city corporations may not constitute an important component of citizens’ trust evaluation on city corporations. Does this mean that performance of city corporations in provision of various services does not have the desired impact on the institutional trust? It may also be observed that that as only two services explains variance of 13.7 percent of citizens’ trust in city corporations which may also indicate that how respondents perceive the performance in provision of public services may hold key in determining the level of trust. The main question which arises is whether the hypothesis of the study which suggests that citizen’s experience and the service provisions of corporation enhance the level of institutional trust holds true or not. The main regression analysis in model 7 tries to find the answer.

5.1.3 Quality of Government Variables Affecting the Institutional Trust (Model 3)

In the following regression analysis, quality of government variables along with the index or mean of variables is analyzed.

Table 5.3: Regression Analysis of Quality of Government variables Affecting Citizens’ Trust in City Corporation

Quality of Government	Institutional Trust (Standardized Coefficient Beta, β)	Index/Mean of Variables
	Model 3	
<i>Impartiality and Fairness in:</i>		
a. Design approval of various infrastructures	0.167**	1.77
b. Tender and bidding process	0.123	2.09
c. Allotment of shops in CC markets	0.097	1.91
d. Issuing of trade and transportation licenses	0.035	1.83
N	190	
Constant	2.787	
Adjusted R²	0.046	

*** indicates statistical significance at less than 0.01 level

** indicates statistical significance at less than 0.05 level

* indicates statistical significance at less than 0.10 level

The third model analyzes that citizens' perception about the extent to which city corporations manage to ensure procedural impartiality on various issues such as in tendering and in bidding process does not appear to produce significant results. The only indicator, out of four, to have some statistical significance is the maintenance of impartiality in design approval of various infrastructures with beta coefficient (β) value of **0.167** ($P < 0.05$). This reveals that maintenance of the impartiality in design approval of various infrastructures fosters trust in city corporations. However the amount of explained variance for the model is only **4.6 percent** (Adjusted R square value of 0.046). Thus the assessments of respondents on most indicators of quality of government do not generate institutional trust. However, the regression analysis involving all the explanatory variables would provide a better causal explanation between variables.

5.1.4 Social Capital Variables Affecting the Institutional Trust (Model 4)

In the following regression analysis, social capital variables along with the index or mean of variables are analyzed.

Table 5.4: Regression Analysis of Social Capital variables Affecting Citizens' Trust in City Corporation

Social Capital	Institutional Trust (Standardized Coefficient Beta, β)	Index/Mean of Variables
	Model 4	
<i>Citizens Associational Trust with:</i>		
a. NGOs	0.284 ^{***}	2.86
b. Trade Union	0.130 [*]	2.93
c. Community Organization	0.100	2.55
d. Affiliated organization of political parties	-	2.78
N	190	
Constant	2.813	
Adjusted R²	0.121	

*** indicates statistical significance at less than 0.01 level

** indicates statistical significance at less than 0.05 level

* indicates statistical significance at less than 0.10 level

Political parties are excluded as it is used for reference categories.

With regard to civic associationism in influencing trust in city corporations, the study finds a positive impact. The regression table shows that membership in various associations suggests a significant relational effect. Strongest effect of all the social capital variables on trust in city corporations is the NGO associationism with a beta coefficient (β) value of **0.284** ($P < 0.01$). The result suggests that the more active one is involved with NGOs, the more trust one will have on city corporations. Thus Putnam's (1994) and Kim's (2005b) understanding of social capital

based on network involving voluntary organization in fostering trust gains considerable amount of support. Civic networking involving trade union associationism have a significant statistical effect, with beta coefficient (β) value of **0.130** ($P < 0.10$). This reveals that those involved in various trade union associations tends to trust city corporations in getting things done.

The model explains a variance of **12.1 percent** (Adjusted R square value of 0.121). The assessment of respondents regarding their social networking involving various civic associationisms in getting things done from city corporations may be an important constituent of institutional trust evaluation. Thus the study does find some statistical impact to support the cultural theory of institutional involving respondents' civic associationism in fostering trust. Now to what extent civic associationism influences citizens' trust in city corporations can be understood through analyzing this group variable in the main regression analysis in model 7.

5.1.5 Uncertainty Avoidance Variables Affecting the Institutional Trust (Model 5)

In the following regression analysis, uncertainty avoidance variables along with the index or mean of variables are analyzed.

Table 5.5: Regression Analysis of Uncertainty Avoidance variables Affecting Citizens' Trust in City Corporation

Uncertainty Avoidance	Institutional Trust (Standardized Coefficient Beta, β)	Index/Mean of Variables
	Model 5	
a. Various internal rules and regulations	0.055	2.84
b. Maintenance of service manual	0.034	1.91
c. Presence of rules and regulation	0.005	2.22
	N	190
	Constant	2.778
	Adjusted R²	0.012

*** indicates statistical significance at less than 0.01 level

** indicates statistical significance at less than 0.05 level

* indicates statistical significance at less than 0.10 level

The fifth model, table 5.5 above, considers how respondents assess more regulations in institutional trust judgments in various service provisions. The finding suggests that impact of more regulations is not statistically significant with institutional trust. The explanatory power of the regression model explains only **1.2 percent** (Adjusted R square of 0.012). Thus the uncertainty avoidance variables do not explain institutional trust. Does the hypothesis of the

study where more regulation is expected to enhance the trust level not hold true? The main regression analysis from model 7 would try to seek answer of the question.

5.1.6 Power Distance Variables Affecting the Institutional Trust (Model 6)

In the following regression analysis, power distance variables along with the index or mean of variables are analyzed.

Table 5.6: Regression Analysis of the Power Distance variables Affecting Trust in City Corporation

Power Distance	Institutional Trust (Standardized Coefficient Beta, β)	Index/mean of Variables
	Model 6	
<i>Accept:</i>		
a. Inequality in provision of services	0.143^{***}	2.84
b. Elitism in service provision	0.079[*]	2.72
c. Services desks are not much accessible	0.087	2.23
	N	190
	Constant	2.735
	Adjusted R²	0.100

*** indicates statistical significance at less than 0.01 level

** indicates statistical significance at less than 0.05 level

* indicates statistical significance at less than 0.10 level

For power distance variables, two out of three indicators of power distance are positively associated with institutional trust which means power distance matters for generating trust. For the indicator ‘inequality in service delivery’, the beta coefficient (β) value is **0.143** ($P < 0.01$) which is also statistically significant. The finding reveals that respondents accept inequality in service provisions in city corporations. Citizens’ perceive that power should be used to meet certain necessities of them. Meeting those necessities and obligations causes citizens in large power distance countries to portray their dependence on city corporations and giving them a sense of security in meeting their needs which paves way for positive effect on institutional trust. ‘Elitism in service provision’ is also related to institutional trust with a beta coefficient (β) value of **0.079** ($P < 0.10$). The dependence of citizens on the power of services providers allows citizens to generate and portray social allegiance and reliability in public institutions to meet their needs which causes a positive impact on the trust level in city corporations. The explanatory power of model 6 explains **10 percent** (Adjusted R square of 0.100) of the variations in institutional trust of city corporations.

5.2 Regression Analysis: All Independent Variables Affecting Institutional Trust (Model 7)
Table 5.7: Regression Analysis of all the independent variables Affecting Citizens' Trust in City Corporation

	Institutional Trust (Standardized Coefficient Beta, β)	Index of variables
	Model 7(Combined)	
Socio-Political Demographic Variables		
a. Age (ref: young)	0.011	
b. Gender (ref: male)	-0.013	
c. Education (ref: lower)	-0.027	
d. Occupation		
a. NGO officials	0.110*	
b. Political Volunteers	-0.429***	
c. Specialized Professionals	0.089	
d. Manual Workers	0.059	
e. Socially Important Persons	0.020	
f. Businessmen	-	
Customer Satisfaction with Various Services		
a. Infrastructural	0.127*	2.32
b. Timeliness	0.106	2.49
c. Record management	0.081	2.71
d. Waste management	0.055	2.29
e. Cost Effectiveness	0.048	2.24
f. Revenue	-0.013	2.35
g. Health	-	
Quality of Government		
<i>Impartiality and Fairness in:</i>		
a. Design approval of various infrastructures	0.168*	1.77
b. Tender and bidding process	0.053	2.09
c. Issuing of trade and transportation licenses	0.044	1.83
d. Allotment of shops in CC markets	0.013	1.91
Social Capital		
<i>Citizens Associational Trust with:</i>		
a. NGOs	0.189*	2.86
b. Trade Union	0.120*	2.93
c. Community Organizations	0.076	2.55
d. Affiliated organization of political parties	-	
Uncertainty Avoidance		
a. Various internal rules and regulations	0.073	2.84
b. Maintenance of service manual	0.038	1.91
c. Presence of Precise rules and regulation	0.020	2.22
Power Distance		
<i>Accepts that:</i>		
a. Inequality in provision of services	0.192***	2.84
b. Elitism in service provision	0.040	2.72
c. Service desks are not much accessible	0.014	2.23
N	190	
Constant	2.431	
Adjusted R ²	0.303	

Notes: * $P < 0.10$, ** $P < 0.005$, *** $P < 0.001$

Businessman professionals, health service and affiliated organization of political parties are excluded as they are used for reference categories.

Model 7 includes all the explanatory variables in one regression model. The combined model involving all explanatory variables together explain 30.3 percent (Adjusted R square of 0.303) of variations in institutional trust in city corporations.

5.2.1 Socio-Political Demographic Factors

In analyzing socio-political demographic variables ‘**Model 7**’ shows that political activists/volunteers have a strong negative effect, beta coefficient, β , of **- 0.429** ($P < 0.01$), on institutional trust of city corporations. An interesting observation is that the magnitude of the coefficient is greater in relation to the individual model, i.e. model 1, of socio-political demographic variable, which suggests that it becomes a powerful explanatory variable when run along with other variables. Respondents having NGO affiliation too shows a moderately significant effect, although a positive one, on the level of trust in city corporations with beta coefficient, β , of **0.110** ($p < 0.10$). However, its effect reduces when run along with other variables.

The study expected significant effects of age, gender and education in influencing institutional trust which however was not found. Studies focusing on industrialized democracies have found impact of demographic variables on trust in institutions to be weak or non-existent (Espinal, Hartlyn & Kelly 2006, p. 209). According to Newton and Norris (2000) performance of government affects people randomly and trust in public institutions will also be randomly distributed amongst the population regardless of educations, gender, age, living standards and tribe. However according to Rose (1999) variables such as social position and demographic features potentially relates to trust (cited in Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 494). Christensen and Laegreid (2005) have also found that demographic factors such as age, education and occupation influence the level of trust in government. The current study however finds that for the population as a whole, only occupation of respondents’ influences level of trust in city corporations. Findings from the main regression model do not see gender to have any significant impact on trust in city corporations and finds that gender affects citizens’ trust randomly. Espinal, Hartlyn and Kelly (2006) provided evidence that gender does not have significant impact on trust in developing democracies. Askvik, Jamil and Dhakal (2011, p. 426) also showed that gender do not have significant impact on trust in public institutions in Nepal. Bangladesh

where the social and cultural values tend to have similar features with that of Nepal complements the findings of the study.

The descriptive statistics from appendix 4 showed that both male (77 percent) and female (81 percent) have shown high percentage of trust in city corporations. It can thus be argued that the level of trust in city corporations may be distributed without any certain cluster regarding gender perspective.

The study anticipated that young people (age below 40 years) may have less trust in city corporations than older people (41 years and above). However the regression model analysis (both individual model and the main model) finds age to have insignificant impact on citizens' trust in city corporations. Askvik, Jamil and Dhakal (2011, p. 426) showed that age do not have significant impact on trust in public institutions in Nepal and with similar demographic attributes in Bangladesh, it is expected to yield similar results. The hypothesis involving older people to portray more trust than young people may not have held true as regarding provision of public services, the local government institutions are now very much capable in meeting the normative expectation of young people. Evidence shows that people now readily avails various online facilities such as payment of various utility services (such as of gas, water, telephone), income-tax payment, issuing of trade license, accessibility of land records, etc. from home through internet without being physically present at the local institution (Karim 2015). The descriptive statistics from appendix 4 showed that high trust is portrayed by both age groups. 78 percent of young citizens and 84 percent of the older citizens showed high level of trust in city corporations. It can thus be argued that trust in public institutions has been randomly distributed involving a differentiated way amongst the population in city corporations regardless of age.

Education does not reveal any statistical significance in the level of trust in city corporations in the main regression model involving all the variables. Christensen and Laegreid (2005, p. 502) found that level of education does not have significant effect on trust in local councils. Education is often a significant predictor of trust in established democracies (Mishler & Rose 2001, p. 50). But Bangladesh has a hybrid regime of democracy with substantial irregularities in elections, problems of governance with underdeveloped political culture and low levels of political

participation (Democracy Index 2016)¹⁷. Thus when participation of citizens in public life is not ensured socialization variables such as education may not be a significant predictor of trust.

The study expected that specialized professionals would show a negative perception in the way they trust city corporations due to their high education causing them to be critical of service provisions. In the main model of regression analysis, specialized professional group are insignificantly related to trust. The manual workers were expected to be a negative predictor of trust in city corporations due to their economic alienation and social ignorance they face. But why do they have a positive effect on trust level? Are they part of any associationism, as associationism has shown to be an important positive predictor of trust in the main regression model? However in the main regression model and also in the individual demographic model, manual worker has been seen insignificant predictor of trust. Socially important citizens such as landlords, leaseholders, public officials, private officials, etc. showed the expected result, acting as positive predictor of trust for city corporations. However their trust is statistically insignificant in the main and in the individual regression model analysis, suggesting a differentiated pattern of trust in city corporations.

The main model, model 7, incorporating all independent variables portrays that political activists and respondents having NGO affiliation have a significant impact, beta coefficient, β , of **- 0.429** ($P < 0.01$) and **0.110** ($p < 0.10$) respectively, in institutional trust in city corporations. The importance of politics in a person's life and his or her interest in politics correlates most with trust in political parties and politicians (Christensen & Laegreid 2005, p. 500). It was hypothesized that active and direct participation with ruling party of institution will probably lead to more trust in institutions. However, findings reveal that political activists acted as negative predictor of trust in city corporations. Party loyalty is an important means of getting services in Bangladesh. City Corporation being composed of political people so there would be tendency to gain loyalty of citizens and loyalists are expected to get favors. The influence of partisan politics is one of the important reasons for which citizens' tend to be affiliated with political parties. Then why a *negative* relationship is being portrayed? The reason may belong to

¹⁷ Retrieved from: <http://bangladeshchronicle.net/2017/02/economist-democracy-index-bangladesh-a-hybrid-regime-84th-on-the-list/> (accessed on 09/04/2017)

the same context, where partisan politics tends to favor only volunteers or activists concerned with ‘**ruling party**’ of City Corporation. The political volunteers or activist belonging to opposition parties or those not belonging to the ruling party is expected to be deprived of various services from city corporations. It is the political culture in Bangladesh to deprive the oppositional political networks from the various services as sometimes difference in political ideology becomes the sole indicator in depriving individuals from various services. Political consideration becomes the main eligibility in provision of goods and services which also causes polarization in the administration. The voices of citizens belonging to opposition parties usually remain unheard. Thus it may be argued that political activists may not belong to the ruling party of city corporations.

The study expected that NGO affiliated respondents would use their network to have an in-depth associationism with city corporations. The NGO affiliated respondents, using their power relations with city corporations involving mutual benefit in providing services to the people in city corporation areas may get their own various services done from city corporations easily. Through government and non-government organization (GO-NGO) collaboration, city corporations rely on various local NGOs in providing various services. City corporations tend to create an institutional necessary involving a trusting network between city corporations and those having associations with NGOs which creates a mutual dependency that allows respondents to portray high level of trust. The main model incorporating all independent variables portray that respondents having NGO affiliation have a significant impact on the trust level.

5.2.2 Customer Satisfaction

The second question was ‘*Does citizens’ satisfaction with services provided by the municipality affect the level of trust in the municipality?*’ Only one variable in this group, namely- infrastructural development has a positive statistical significant effect on the level of trust with beta coefficient, β , of **0.127** ($p < 0.10$) and all other indicators tend to be insignificant.

Infrastructural development is concerned with building and maintenance of rural roads, bridges and culverts which have huge impacts in uplifting quality of life of citizens. The rapid pace of urbanization and of population growth in the developing world necessitates greater

infrastructural development (United Nations Conference on Trade and Permit 2013, p. 4). Khandakar *et al.* (2006) stated that the rural road investment makes an enormous positive impact on several agricultural indicators and on socio-economic characteristics and hence reduce poverty in Bangladesh (cited in Raihan 2011, p. 6). Over the last three to four years there has been significant improvement in the road maintenance, construction of bridges, flyovers and underpasses (ADB 2014).

There is no denying that infrastructural development is an important indicator for citizens to explore the predictive ability in explaining institutional trust. However, from the descriptive statistics in appendix 1, it is also observed that 25 percent of respondents are not at all satisfied and 28 percent lowly satisfied with infrastructural services. So is it really the performance of city corporations that have enhanced trust level or is it because of the various initiations of central government that explains the causality with the trust? The initiatives of the central government affect the overall service initiatives in municipality areas as priorities of government not only concentrate at the center but also at municipality areas (Khan & Akther 2000, p. 67). Thus the infrastructural development indicator of City Corporation may not exactly establish the causality involving its impact on the level of trust. The high level of trust in city corporations may be the spillover effect of central governments initiatives in enhancing the physical infrastructure throughout the country.

5.2.3 Quality of Government

The third question was '*Does neutrality and impartiality in the decision making process in the municipality affect the level of citizens' trust in municipality?*' The study expected that higher procedural maintenance in service provisions would lead to higher trust. Only 'design approval of infrastructure' affects trust with a beta coefficient, β , of **0.168** ($p < 0.10$).

Why only 'design approval of infrastructure' variable affects trust and no other variables? Huge number of population density has led to construction of huge number of residential apartments, markets, offices, etc causing rapid and unplanned urbanization in cities in Bangladesh (Islam & Bidisha 2011, p. 43). For construction of any physical infrastructure such as establishment of buildings, there is need of permission for approval of design of constructions from city

corporations so that design confirms various engineering and environmental rules. Various stakeholders such as building owners, road side business people, construction workers, pedestrians, environmental experts, engineers, etc. are involved in any construction of physical infrastructures. Procedural maintenance in approval of decisions is expected to play an important role in the way citizens' perceive city corporations in exercising power and authority. The other indicator such as tendering and bidding process usually involves people having only financial benefits, i.e. tender bidders play the significant role. Thus 'design approval of infrastructure' indicator is expected to have broader impact in the way people trust city corporations.

It is interesting to observe that despite services being delivered with low procedural maintenance, the level of citizens' trust tends to be high in city corporations. What may explain such response? It may be argued that political performance involving quality of government of city corporations such as impartiality and neutrality may not be important predictor of trust in city corporations. Finding answer to this question is hard to achieve in relevance with other studies carried out involving institutional trust. Evidence suggests that institutional theorist argues that political performance of institutions involving reduction of corruption, maintenance of impartiality and neutrality are significant indicators of citizens' trust (Kim 2005b, p. 200). Espinal, Hartlyn, and Kelly (2006) explains low levels of trust in public institutions in the Dominican Republic and their analysis shows that trust in public institutions is shaped primarily by perception of political and service quality performance of public institutions (cited in Wang 2015, p. 213). However results in city corporations in Bangladesh do not demonstrate such strong evidence regarding citizens' trust in institutions. The hypothesis of the study involving that more the citizens perceive that city corporations maintain fairness and impartiality the more would be the trust in city corporations does not seem to hold true.

5.2.4 Social Capital

The fourth question was '*Does high social capital enhances the level of citizens' trust in the municipality?*' With regard to the role of civic engagement or associationism in influencing trust in city corporations in Bangladesh, the study expected to find a positive relationship. The study indeed finds that civic associationism has positive impact on the level of trust. In the main regression model, associationism with trade union has beta coefficient, β , of **0.120** ($p < 0.10$) and

associationism with NGOs has a slightly higher beta coefficient, β , of **0.189** ($p < 0.10$). Civic associationisms involving trade union and NGOs have positive impact on high level of trust in city corporations.

Why associationism is positively related to institutional trust? There are considerable evidences for such results. Citizens in collectivist society such as in Bangladesh, tends to be included with various associations in order to achieve something collectively which would also have a positive spillover effect on individual achievement too. Societies where people express more solidarity with others and are inclined to share resources, people are generally happier with life (Rothstein & Uslaner 2005, pp. 41–42 cited in Jamil & Askvik 2015, p. 160). From the frequency table too, appendix 3, it can be seen that 62 percent of all the respondents (118 respondents out of 190) are involved with various types of associations. Appendix 3 also observes that overall there is high trust on the associationism among the majority, 61 percent, of the respondents.

Trade unions having political influence plays very important role in Bangladesh in achieving better working conditions and protection of jobs (Ahmed 2015). Almost all trade unions in Bangladesh are politically influenced (*ibid.*). City corporations being a political entity need loyalty of citizens and trade union where involvement of people is huge, there is tendency to provide favors to them. This causes members of trade union to have both collective and individual gain from being involved with such associationism and members tend to have the confidence in public institutions in getting things done. The frequency table, appendix 3, involving percentile distribution of the level of associational trust complements the high level of social associationism. It can be observed from appendix 3, that out of all respondents having trade union affiliation, 43 percent shows ‘moderate’ and 29 percent shows ‘high’ level of trust on their associationism in getting things done from city corporations.

Studies such as of Jamil and Askvik (2015, p. 169) provides evidence of relevance of the current study’s case regarding civic associationisms. Scholars found significant impact that membership in various association generates trust in public institutions in Bangladesh. Contrary, researchers such as Mishler and Rose (2001); Turner and Martz (1997); Espinal, Hartlyn, and Kelly (1994) found *insignificant* evidence that civic associationism affects trust in institutions. However, latter studies do emphasize that trust originates in the way societies are formed. Bangladesh bears a

society where citizens heavily rely upon network of kinship in getting things done from public institutions. People portray unquestioning allegiance to their networks and establishing linkage with those involved in public institutions is an important means of getting services. Both, trade union and NGO associationism leads to bonding social capital involving having networks among people with same interest which is conducive for trust to take place. The theory of social capital states that building of social and associational network is vital for achieving higher trust which affects positively on the institutional trust. Thus with higher institutional trust in city corporations, the relation between high social capital and high institutional trust may seem to be valid.

The other predictor, community based organizations, do not have a significant impact in trust in city corporations. Members of community based organizations may not have the political or other personal kinship or network relationship involving strong group norms to ensure cohesiveness with city corporations. Members may not play important determining role involving mutual norms, support and cooperation that would benefit city corporations and is likely to generate a generalized trust, which extends to individuals one may know nothing particular about. Jamil and Askvik (2015, p. 169) showed evidence that generalized trust is statistically insignificant in fostering citizens' trust in public and political institutions in Bangladesh. Overall it can be interpreted that the respondents tend to judge the institutional trust through their networks, associationism and their allegiances towards the institution.

5.2.5 Uncertainty Avoidance

The last question was *'To what extent organizational culture of the municipality such as power distance and uncertainty avoidance affect the level of trust in municipality?'* Regarding uncertainty avoidance none of the indicators tends to be significant predictor of trust. Although descriptive statistics showed that respondents do agree of the presence of various internal rules and regulations in city corporations but citizens find rules in public offices to be vague and there is lack of clarity. Often rules are intentionally manipulated to give favoritism (Haque and Muhammad 2013, p. 1001). The service providers in Bangladesh produces host of rules and regulations to those who fails to provide the kick-backs or for those who do not have social relation with service providers (Ibid 2013, p. 1002). Thus it seems that when people fail to

comply with the malpractices involving corruption of the service providers, excessive rules and procedures are made.

Why citizens' trust in city corporations is found to be quite high despite malpractice in the application of rules and regulations? Unearthing the answer is difficult as there have been evidences that maintenance rules and regulations is important predictor for assessing public institutions positively (Sztompka 1999, pp. 41–45 cited in Jamil & Askvik 2015, p. 161). According to Islam (2004) more and more rules are created to avoid uncertainty but this has made more new legal loopholes simultaneously. The legal loopholes allow service providers to have discretionary power which is 'abused' to provide favoritism and patronage to provide services to friends or relatives. Due to political nature of City Corporation, decision makers such as mayors and ward commissioners provide services based on discretionary power causing nepotism, discrimination and clientelism in order to ensure allegiances and vote banks. Those not belonging to any special interest groups had to go through strict rules and regulations which causes delay in processing of the services and the normative expectations are not fulfilled. Thus it can be argued that presence of strict rules and regulations may not yield high trust and those getting favors would provide their commitment and pledge towards the institutions which expects to enhance institutional trust.

5.2.6 Power Distance

The variable, 'acceptance of inequality' in service provision as social allegiance enhances citizens' trust level in city corporations. The beta coefficient, β , of **0.192** ($p < 0.01$) is higher in comparison to when these power distance variables were individually correlated with institutional trust suggesting that its impact when run along with other variables increases its effect. The study expected that in large power distance country like Bangladesh citizens' trust would be high in public institutions. Citizens portray their allegiances and feel the dependence that nepotism, patronage and affiliation to special groups would help to meet their normative expectation. The regression finding suggests that respondents accept the existential inequality along with service delivery based on elitism of hierarchy, status and rank. According to Van De Walle, Kampen, Bouckaert and Maddens (2002) cultural explanations and societal issues are

important measures for trust in institutions. The culture of providing privileges in service provisions based on social relations has led to the unquestioning loyalty and positive attitude of the people towards the public authorities in Bangladesh (Haque & Mohammad 2013, p. 1005).

Bangladesh is exposed to widespread inequalities in the society in terms of accessing major services from the government institutions (Rahman, Ashaduzzaman & Rahman 2005). Historically Bangladesh inherited a high power distance society. The tolerance of inequality involving norms of elitism has led citizens to be involved in networks and associationism that enable stakeholders to act together to pursue their shared objectives. Granovetter (1985) stressed that social relations and structure that exists in society that facilitates mutual benefit, is very much responsible for production of trust in government. It can be interpreted that respondents' acceptance of 'inequality in service provision' is found to be one of the important predictors of trust in city corporations. The study analyzes that respondents' acceptance of inequality in service provision provides a satisfactory predictor of the variations in trust in city corporations.

Why did the indicator 'inequality in service provision' washes out the indicator 'favoring elitism in the service provision', which had statistical effect in the individual model? Elitism mainly involves use of the privileged position of one to gain only personal benefit or to benefit only special interest groups such as people of same class or profession (Khan 2013, p. 58). Inequality within society is visible in the existence of different classes based on opportunities and accessibility to basic services or however one wants to divide them (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov 2010, p. 64). The study tried seeing inequality involving discrimination based not only belonging of same class or profession but also on favoritism and clientelism involving patronage of a win-win social or financial relation between stakeholders. This seems to affect institutional trust more in city corporations as in Bangladesh the most common form of abuse of authority in public institutions involve lobbying, nepotism, favoritism, bribes etc. (Haque & Mohammad 2013, p. 999). The findings thus suggests that service seekers tend to accept the norm of lobbying, nepotism, favoritism, bribes etc. and feel the dependence that inequality based on the mentioned norms would meet their interest more than only belonging to special interest groups involving elitism.

5.3 Summary

The main model (Model 7) has the highest explanatory power, **30.3 percent**. The findings from all indicators of all the variables suggest an impression that cultural theory, involving the socio-political demographic variable, social capital and power distance are better predictors of institutional trust in city corporations than performance-based theory of institutional trust. The indicators from performance-based theory of institutional trust provide little support from services involving infrastructural development and maintenance of impartiality in design approval of infrastructure. The finding forces to challenge the performance based theory of institutional trust but it also challenges the study to look into the cultural and socialization effect of trust in city corporations as an important determinant of trust in local government institutions in Bangladesh. It can be observed that the societal relation in problem solving becomes the main predictor of institutional trust in local government institutions such as in city corporations.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Implications of the Study

6.0 Introduction

The concluding chapter starts by summarizing a brief outline of the key findings involving factors explaining variations of the level of citizens' trust in city corporations in Bangladesh. Second, the chapter provides an overview of the theoretical understandings and the methodological choices undertaken for the study. Third, the chapter tries seeing the theoretical relevance of the study. The chapter then argues about the generalization of the study and concludes by seeing the implication of the study for further research.

6.1 Summary of Key Findings of the Study

What fosters trust in institutions? The dependent variable of the study was trust in city corporations. The main objective of the study was to measure the level of citizens' trust in city corporations and high trust is found in city corporations. The study also tried seeing the factors that explains citizens' trust in city corporations. The demographic factors portrayed significant effect on trust level involving employment or the occupation of respondents. Regarding occupation of respondents, political activist showed the most interesting result as it was expected to portray a positive impact but it rather showed negative significant impact on trust. Citizens having NGO affiliation showed positive impact on the trust level.

Regarding the performance indicator, customer satisfaction on the various public services provisions involving infrastructural development tends to affect the level of citizens' trust in city corporations. The second performance indicator, i.e. the quality of government factors involving procedural fairness in design approval of various infrastructures influences trust in city corporations. The social capital variables do provide strong support to the cultural theory in explaining citizens' trust in city corporations. Associationism involving with trade union and NGOs portray significant positive effect on trust in city corporations. With regard to power distance, respondents' acceptance of inequality and their allegiance and dependence towards city corporations in meeting their needs shows positive impact on trust level. Overall it can be

analyzed that societal approach of institutional trust gets more support in determining citizens' trust in city corporations than performance or institutional approach.

6.2 Overview of the Theoretical Understanding and the Methodological Choices

Citizens' trust and confidence in public institutions is one of the liveliest subjects of current debate among both academics and practitioners in the fields of government, politics and public administration (Heintzman & Marson 2005, p. 549). The study relied on society-centered and institution-centered approach of institutional trust in measuring citizens trust level in city corporations. The study incorporated Putnam's (1994) social capital approach along with socio-political demographic factors and organizational cultural issues of power distance and uncertainty avoidance in explaining society-centered approach of institutional trust. The institution-centered approach incorporated Rothstein's and Teorell's (2008) quality of government perspective and on institutional performance regarding provision of various public services (cited in March 1988; North 1990; Van De Walle *et al.* 2002).

The study used quantitative method and a deductive approach. In analyzing the data this study relied on the descriptive statistics involving percentile distribution along with mean value of the responses from the questions asked. This study carried out regression analysis for validation of causal relationship between variables to see which factors affect the institutional trust most.

6.3 Theoretical relevance of the Study

The cultural theory perspective involving Putnam's (1994) social capital approach and Hofstede's power distance best explains the variations in the level of trust in city corporation. The study finds that associational involvement regarding ones' occupation explains the most variations in trust in public institutions. Socialization and later life experience do tend to have significant impact in explaining the trust level in city corporations. With high power distance characterizing service provisions in Bangladesh along with collectivist nature of citizens', trust in networks and associations is expected to have spillover effect in city corporations. The finding seems to be consistent with the study conducted that of Christensen and Laegreid (2005), where socio-political variables have been seen to have the strongest effect on trust in government than

citizens' satisfaction with certain public services. The performance based theory gains less support than the cultural theory. The analysis is quite interesting as various studies have found performance to be the main determinant of institutional trust. Studies such of Mishler and Rose (2001); Bouckaert and Van de Walle (2001) showed performance has a strong positive effect on institutional trust. Why performance plays a dormant role in affecting citizens' trust in city corporations? It may be argued that not only *quality and performance of public services* acts as a measure of institutional trust but also *political performance* of institutions is associated with trust. The study however considered quality and performance of services provided by city corporations and not the political performance in measuring the variations of citizens' trust. Studies have showed that political performance plays an important role in influencing trust in institutions. Turner and Martz (1997) stated that performance of institutions on issues such as security and policy responsiveness is associated with trust in public institutions (cited in Wang 2015, p. 213). Espinal, Hartlyn and Kelly (2006, p. 209) also stated that performance issues such as provision of security and absence of corruption could be important predictors of institutional trust. This can be interpreted that as the current study undertook only limited public service benefits thus it may not have gained enough support for performance based theory to affect the institutional trust in city corporations. However, there is also the possibility that performance may not be a strong predictor for enhancing the level of trust in city corporations.

6.4 Generalization of the Study

Generalization is an important criterion for evaluating the quality of a quantitative research (Kerlinger & Lee 2000; Polit & Beck 2008 cited in Polit & Beck 2010, p. 1452). The sample of the study is very much representative of the total population of the city corporations undertaken, as the sample includes various class of people who directly access public services from city corporations. However, as the finding generalizes from two (2) city corporations out of eleven (11) functional city corporations thus statistical generalization is considered to be high for the two (2) city corporations, but might not be for the other city corporations. But it can also be argued that population in city corporations in Bangladesh is quite uniform in terms of its distribution of socio-economic norms and values along with their means of socialization, thus the inference of the study can also be expected to be representative of the population of all the city corporations. On the other hand, as political affiliation shows an important factor in the way

citizens portray their trust thus inference may differ with the political affiliation between respondents and city corporations. Analytical generalization argues for finding inference that supports the theoretical understandings in more than one situation. The study, being a theory driven quantitative research, expected that both cultural theory and institutional theory involving performance of institutions would gain support in influencing citizens' trust in city corporations. However, as the findings does not reveal much support of the theoretical claim for the performance perspective of trust thus analytical generalization for institutional theory may not be very strong.

6.5 Implication and the Future scope of the Study

The study tested institution-centered approach and society-centered approach of institutional trust and results seems to have fostered new scope for the study of trust at local level. As trust is still under researched in the context of Bangladesh, especially at the level of local government, this research tried filling out that research gap. It can be implied that social relations, socialization and accepting the use of power in service provision seems to explain most in the way of how respondents trust city corporations. The bonding of the local citizens with those involved in service delivery seems to explain the variations of citizens' trust in municipalities. Bangladesh still bears a society involving unquestioning obedience and allegiance in ones associationisms which seems to be portrayed on the institutions as well. Another implication of the study is that performance in terms of service provisions might not applicable as a proxy in determining the trust level at the city corporations in Bangladesh. This is very much a possibility as in a society where raising questions against authority is traditionally unconventional, it is expected that institutional performance in terms of how well services are delivered may not act as an important predictor of fostering institutional confidence. Political favoritism is deeply embedded in the institutional setting in Bangladesh, thus how impartially or fairly services are provided may not be an important determinant of institutional trust in terms of procedural maintenance of services. However, as many studies suggested that performance is the dominant predictor of trust, the result of the study at two local government municipalities differs from those. This causes further scope of the study as taking into account of larger samples and more municipalities would help to uncover more dynamics, if any, related with institutional trust in municipalities. The study hopes that it has contributed somewhat to an increased focus on the local government level, within the academic research boundary of institutional trust.

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Appendix 1

Detailed Percentile distribution for Customer Satisfaction Variables

	Infrastructural services (roads, bridges, surface sewer and excavation of roads)	Waste management services (disposal of wastes, cleaning of roads, etc.)	Revenue services (fixation of annual holding taxes)	Health services (monitoring of food and sanitation program, vaccination program)	Record management (date of birth, death, holding numbers, etc.)	Timeliness of the services	Cost effectiveness of the services
Not at all Satisfied (1)	25 %	25 %	21%	13%	16%	10%	23%
Lowly Satisfied (2)	28 %	30 %	31%	17%	17%	39%	36%
Moderately Satisfied (3)	38 %	34 %	41%	58%	48%	43%	35%
Highly Satisfied (4)	09 %	11 %	07%	12%	19%	08%	06%
Total percentage (%)	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Valid N	190						

Appendix 2

Detailed Percentile Distribution for Quality of Government Variables

	Tender and bidding process in giving lease or contracts for provision of infrastructural provisions	Issuing of trade and transportation licenses	Allotment of shops in the City Corporation Markets	Design approval of various infrastructures such as building, shops and markets
No procedural maintenance (1)	34%	47%	43%	53%
Low procedural maintenance (2)	28%	27%	29%	23%
Moderate procedural maintenance (3)	32%	22%	24%	19%
High procedural maintenance (4)	06%	04%	04%	05%
Total percentage (%)	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Valid N	190			

Appendix 3

Associational trust (Percentile distribution)

<i>Responses towards Trust</i>	<i>Associationism</i>				<i>Overall Associationism</i>	
	Trade Union	Voluntary Organization	Community Organization (theatre groups, sports club, cultural clubs)	Affiliated Organization of Political Parties		
Not at all	07 %	06 %	05 %	08 %	07 %	39 % (low trust)
Just a Little	21 %	29 %	50 %	31 %	32 %	
Moderate	43 %	40 %	30 %	37 %	37 %	61 % (high trust)
A lot	29 %	25 %	15 %	24 %	24 %	
Total Percentage	100%	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Note 1: Q: To what extent do you trust your associated organization?

Note 2: The percentages are rounded up

Frequency and Percentile distribution of respondents' involvement with various associations

Responses	Involvement with Various Associationism
YES	118 (62 %)
NO	72 (38 %)
Valid N and Percentage (%)	190 (100 %)

Note 1: Q. Are you associated with any civil-society, voluntary, political or community organization?

Note 2: The percentages are rounded up

Type of organizational involvement of respondents

Type of Associationism	Number of Respondents and Percentage (%)
Trade Union	14 (12 %)
Voluntary Organizations (NGOs)	35 (30 %)
Community Organization (theatre groups, sports club, cultural clubs)	20 (17 %)
Member Organization of Political Parties	49 (41 %)
Valid N and Percentage (%)	118 (100 %)

Appendix 4

Relation between the Demographic Background and Trust in City Corporation (Percentile Distribution)

Socio-Political Demographic Variables		Low Trust (%)	High Trust (%)	Total Percentage	N
Gender	Male	23	77	100 %	137
	Female	19	81	100 %	53
Age	Young (18 -40 years)	22	78	100 %	92
	Aged (41 years and above)	16	84	100 %	98
Education	Low Education (Illiterate to Secondary School)	20	80	100 %	71
	High education (Higher Secondary School and above)	19	81	100 %	119
Occupation	Specialized Professionals	02	98	100 %	25
	Political Activists	60	40	100 %	25
	Manual Workers	20	80	100 %	35
	Businessmen	23	77	100 %	35
	Socially Important People	14	86	100 %	35
	NGO affiliated respondents	03	97	100 %	35

Note 1: 1: Q: To what extent do you have the confidence upon your city corporation?

Note 2: Low Trust = Low Confidence [Not at all confident (1) and Lowly confident (2)]

Note 3: High Trust = High Confidence [Moderately confident (3) and highly confident (4)]

Appendix 5

Percentile distribution of respondents' perceived level of uncertainty avoidance

	<i>Uncertainty Avoidance (UA) Characteristics</i>			
<i>Responses</i>	Precise Rules and Regulations in giving services	Services provided in accordance with service manual	Strict internal rules and regulations	<i>Overall Uncertainty Avoidance</i>
Strongly Disagree	34 %	40 %	07 %	61 % (Weak Uncertainty Avoidance)
Quite Disagree	21 %	35 %	22 %	
Partly Agree	34 %	20 %	50 %	39 % (High Uncertainty Avoidance)
Strongly Agree	11 %	05 %	21 %	
Total Percentage	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Note 1: Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements of your City Corporation?

a) presence of precise rules b) maintenance of service manual c) strict internal by-laws

Note 1: Weak Uncertainty Avoidance [Strongly disagree (1); Quite disagree (2)]

Note 2: High Uncertainty Avoidance [Partly Agree (3); Strongly agree (4)].

Note 3: The percentages are rounded up

Appendix 6

Percentile distribution of respondents' perceived level of Power Distance

	Difficulty in the accessibility of service desks	Inequality in service delivery	Elitism in service delivery
Do not Accept (1)	30%	14%	10%
Partly Accept (2)	27%	20%	31%
Moderately Accept (3)	33%	34%	37%
Strongly Accept (4)	10%	32%	22%
Total percentage (%)	100 %	100 %	100 %

Appendix 7

Correlation Analysis

Independent Variables	r
Socio-Political Demographic Factors	
a. Gender	-0.104
e. Age	0.005
f. Education	-0.202*
g. Occupation	0.244**
g. NGO affiliated respondents	0.241**
h. Political Volunteers	-0.461**
i. Manual Workers	-.0.005
j. Businessman	0.014
k. Socially Important People	0.071
l. Specialized Professionals	0.124
Customer Satisfaction with various Services	
h. Infrastructure	0.541*
i. Record Management	0.518*
j. Health	0.509*
k. Timeliness	0.150
l. Revenue	0.004
m. Waste management	0.034
n. Cost Effectiveness	0.021
Quality of Government	
e. Design approval of various infrastructures	0.155*
f. Tender and bidding process in giving lease or contracts	0.135*
g. Allotment of shops in the City Corporation markets	0.092
h. Issuing of trade and transportation licenses	0.107
Social Capital	
Citizens Associational trust with:	
e. Voluntary Organization (NGOs)	0.313**
f. Trade Union	0.142*
g. Affiliated organization of political parties	0.019
h. Community Organization	0.081
Uncertainty Avoidance	
d. Various internal rules and regulations	0.117*
e. Presence of Precise rules and regulation	0.002
f. Provision of services in accordance with service manual	0.034
Power Distance	
Accept:	
d. Elitism in service provision is favorable	0.371*
e. Inequality in provision of services	0.330*
f. Service desks are not much accessible	0.013

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 8

No.:

Survey Questionnaire

Title: Citizens' Trust in Local Government in Bangladesh

Objectives of the Research Paper: To measure the level of citizens' trust in the municipalities (city corporations) in Bangladesh. The study is being undertaken for partial fulfillment of the requirement of the course Master of Philosophy in Public Administration under the University of Bergen, Norway.

Respondent's Rights

The respondent has the right to withdraw from the survey without precondition and consequences. The information gathered will be anonymous and will be highly confidential. Your participation will be highly appreciated for the study.

Section A: Socio-Economic Demographic Background (Tick and or fill in as appropriate)

1. Name of City Corporation:

	Put a Tick (✓) mark
City Corporation A	
City Corporation B	

2. Ward No.:

3. Gender

Code	Gender	Put a Tick (✓) mark
0	Male	
1	Female	

4. Age

Code	Age Range (Years)	Put a Tick (✓) mark
0	18-30	
1	31-40	
2	41-50	
3	51-60	
4	61 and above	

5. Education

Code	Education Level	Put a Tick (✓) mark
0	Illiterate	
1	Literate	
2	Primary School (Class 1-5)	
3	High School (Class 1-8)	
4	Secondary School Certificate (Class 1-10)	
5	Higher Secondary Certificate (Class 1-12)	
6	University (Hons/Ms)	
7	Higher Education (post graduation/PhD)	

6. Occupational Status

Code	Occupational Status	Put a Tick (✓) mark
0	Professionals-lawyers, doctors, engineers	
1	Public Servants	
2	Private Officials Political Activists Volunteers	
3	Political Activists Volunteers	
4	Manual Worker (Skilled)	
5	Manual Worker (Unskilled)	
6	Religious Leaders	
7	businessman	
8	Landlord	
9	leaseholder	
10	self-employed	
11	NGO affiliated respondents	

Section B: Dependent Variable (Institutional Trust)

1. Please state [Put a Tick (✓) mark] your confidence level on the Question stated below:

Q: To what extent do you have the confidence on the following?

	Not at all confident (1)	Lowly Confident (2)	Moderately Confident (3)	Highly Confident (4)
On your City Corporation				
On your Top Political Leader/Mayor of City Corporation				
On your mid level political leader/Ward commissioner of City Corporation				

Section C: Independent Variable

1. Customer Satisfaction

Please state [Put a Tick (✓) mark] your satisfaction level on the Question stated below:

Q: To what extent are you satisfied with the following provisions and experience of your city corporation?

	Not at all Satisfied (1)	Lowly Satisfied (2)	Moderately Satisfied (3)	Highly Satisfied (4)
Infrastructural Services				
Waste management services				
Revenue services				
Health services				
Timeliness				
Cost effectiveness				
Record management				

2. Quality of Government

Please state [Put a Tick (✓) mark] your perceived opinion on the Question stated below:

Q: To what extent does your city corporation carry out proper procedures in the following provisions?

	No procedural maintenance (1)	Low procedural maintenance (2)	Moderate procedural maintenance (3)	High procedural maintenance (4)
Tendering and Bidding				
Issuing of trade and transportation licenses				
Allotment of shops of the municipal markets				
Design approval of infrastructural development				

3. Social Capital

Put a Tick (✓) mark on the Question stated below:

- a. Are you associated with any social, voluntary, civil society, community, etc. organizations?**

YES (1)	NO (2)

- b. If YES, as per above question, please specify or put a Tick (✓) mark on the type of organization in which you are member:**

Trade Union	(1)	
Voluntary organization such as NGOs	(2)	
Community based organization such as Cultural (drama, theatre, etc.) and sports clubs	(3)	
Affiliated Organization of Political Parties	(4)	
Religious Organization	(5)	
Student Organization	(6)	
others (specify)	(7)	

Put a Tick (✓) mark on the Question stated below:

- c. Do you 'use' your social network to get things done from City Corporation?**

Use of social networks (1)	Do not use of social networks (2)

Put a Tick (✓) mark on the Question stated below:

- d. To what extent do you trust your social networks and associations you know to get things done from your city corporation?**

Not at all (1)	Just a Little (2)	Moderately (3)	A lot (4)

4. Uncertainty Avoidance

Put a Tick (✓) mark on the Question stated below:

- a. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements of your city corporation?

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Quite Disagree (2)	Partly Agree (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
Has precise rules and regulations				
Has written manuals for service provision				
Has strict internal by-laws				

5. Power Distance

Put a Tick (✓) mark on the Question stated below:

- a. To what extent do you accept about the following service provisions of your city corporation?

	Do not accept at all (1)	Partly accept (2)	Moderately Accept (3)	Strongly Accept (4)
Service desks are not much accessible				
Inequality in provision of services				
Elitism in services provision				

Thank you for your kind cooperation