



**Citizens' Trust in Civil Service in South Asia:
does it follow a common pattern?**

by

Muhammad Arif Sadeq

MPPG 7th Batch

September 2018

SIPG

South Asian Institute of Policy and Governance

North South University



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South Asian Institute of Policy and Governance

North South University

Acronym

BCS - Bangladesh Civil Service

CDPA - Central Department of Public Administration

CPA - Comparative Public Administration

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GNI - Gross National Income

NPM - New Public Management

MPPG - Master in Public Policy and Governance

NGO - Non-government Organization

NORAD - Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation

NPA - New Public Administration

NSU - North South University

PSC - Public Service Commission

LTTE - Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

SDSA - Status of Democracy in South Asia

SIPG - South Asian Institute of Policy and Governance

SPSS - Statistical Package for Social Science

TI - Transparency International

TU - Tribhuvan University

WB- World Bank

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Declaration

I declare that the dissertation entitled “Citizens’ Trust in Civil Service in South Asia: does it follow a common pattern?” submitted to the PPG (SIPG) Program of North South University(NSU), Bangladesh for the Degree of Master in Public Policy and Governance (MPPG) is an original work of mine. No part of it, in any form, has been copied from other sources without acknowledgement or submitted to any other university or institute for any degree or diploma so far. Views and expressions of the thesis bear the responsibility of mine with the exclusion of SIPG for any errors and omissions to it.

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Abstract

This paper examines the dynamics of citizens' trust on civil service in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. The study attempts to know the pattern of trust in civil service in these countries. It also looks to see to what extent this trust is linked with citizens' demographic and social characteristics and their perceptions about the performance and quality of civil servants. The quantitative analysis of empirical data collected from secondary source demonstrates that citizens' trust in civil service in these three countries varies slightly. Citizens' trust in civil service in Bangladesh is higher than both Nepal and Sri Lanka. The analysis reveals a very weak relationship between demographic variables such as gender, age and level of education. Nevertheless, in case of Bangladesh, level of education of respondents seems to play a moderately significant role in shaping citizens' trust in civil service.

Except for the level of power distance, social characteristics of respondents such as religiosity, social association and general trust among people are found to have little significance in explaining the extent of trust in civil service. On the other hand, in all these countries, level of power distance among citizens has moderate relationship with their perception of trust in civil servants. Due to colonial heritage in case of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka and monarchic legacy in case of Nepal, there is comparatively high power distance in these countries. Nevertheless, Bangladesh is portraying high power distance than in Sri Lanka and Nepal. Furthermore, the findings demonstrate a strong relationship between trust in civil service and performance variables such as civil servants' competence, integrity and transparency. The analysis reveals that the trust significantly depends upon how citizens in these countries assess or perceive the quality and performance of their civil servants; where their perception about the efficiency and responsiveness, honesty, involvement in corruption, accessibility and openness of the civil servants is positive citizens' trust level is higher. However, poor institutional performance and negative characteristics of the civil servants are found to contribute to the lower level of trust in all the three countries. It may be claimed that social polarization, culture, colonial history, monarchic legacy contribute to such variation in pattern and level of trust in civil service in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. It may also be linked with the satisfaction with the activities of the government at macro level.

Therefore, according to the study it appears that institutional performance factors, power distance and integrity of civil servants are more influential factors than other socio-demographic factors. Level of education, ethnicity, religiosity, and organizational culture are likely to have made the difference. However, surprisingly perception about civil servants corruption and accessibility have not shown the expected and generally perceived negative impact on trust in civil service. It may lead to further study in this regard to establish a correlation between corruption and accessibility of civil servants with citizens' trust in civil service.

In the comparative perspective, the findings from Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka fit with the performance based model of institutional trust. The study also partially confirms link among social characteristics specially power distance and trust in civil service. On the other hand, the study, largely, disconfirms the demographic identity based explanations about citizens' trust in civil service.

Chapter One

Introduction

Trust research has gained increased attention in contemporary public administration literature as well as other disciplines. Consequently, there is proliferation of trust research resulting in more contemporary knowledge on human perception about institutional performance and trust. Therefore, trust research is playing a significant role in democratic governance, particularly in liberal democracy. The issue of citizens' trust in public institutions is drawing increased attention within both academic and professional arena at national and international level. Many studies have been conducted on trust in the western context based on various World Value Survey reports. But compared to that the study of trust in South Asian context has not got that much prominence and therefore has not yield too many literature particularly as far as comparative study in regional context is concerned.

In this regard, this study is an attempt to assess the pattern of citizens' trust on major public institutions across three South Asian countries: Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka, which demonstrate some distinguishing socio-cultural and political characteristics. The major aim is to assess whether the institutions have common pattern of public perception or not. Attempt is also made to identify the distinguishing factors. Some researches were conducted on trust in South Asian context especially in the context of Bangladesh and Nepal. Nevertheless, there are still scope of research on the comparative status of citizens' trust in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka focusing on the major factors creating the difference among the countries, which have been unstudied or understudied. This study aims at contributing to further understanding of citizens' trust on civil service through analyzing socio-cultural and political contexts of the countries considering the frequent interaction of citizens' with civil servants. Civil Service is considered as the most important institution linked with citizens due to proximity and citizen service. The study is limited to citizens' trust in civil service of the three countries. The analysis is based on the consolidated dataset containing survey data collected in 2014 to 2015 period from these three countries.

1 Background

Citizens' trust in public institutions may provide support, legitimacy and generate cooperation. On a societal level generalized trust promotes social associatedness, civic engagement, political order which is necessary for good governance. Institutional trust springs from citizens' interactions and transactions with the institutional actors and may depend on its performance. This study focuses on the public institutions and its interface with the citizens. A high level of trust is considered to be an indication of good performance and happy citizens-feedback, while a low level of trust, may signify, poor institutional performance with declining norms and standards. Studying citizens' trust on a comparative basis may become a challenging task when countries vary in great respect in terms of features such as economic, cultural and developmental parameters.

Therefore, it is vital for any government to keep close eye on the attitude, trust level of her citizen, and address the factors that may likely have strong relationship with citizens' trust. In the contemporary political discourse, concerns with containing public trust in government have become a deep-rooted element. This concern has been extended to the level of citizens' trust in the public administration and public services. However, trust is seen as declining, and the fall is seen as detrimental to public service delivery (Van de Walle et al., 2008).

1.1.1 Identifying trust on a comparative basis

Unlike old comparative public administration (CPA) which was primarily concerned about bureaucracy, new CPA study is basically concerned about administrative reforms that are taking place around the world. The new CPA compares the trust, ethics, performance, transparency, accountability, corruption etc. among many other reform elements concerning administration (Van de Walle & Bouckaert, 2003). The locus of new CPA is broader than old CPA, which was mainly concerned with bureaucracy. However, the term 'administrative reform' has been redirected towards the buzzword 'governance'. Currently, trust in public institutions has become closely linked with the good governance (ibid). In social science research, the concept trust has drawn significant amount of attention of scholars who have shown their interest about understanding citizens' attitude towards public sector.

Emerging CPA paradigm consists of four trajectories or ‘tracks’ (Bowornwathana, 2010). Among the tracks the ‘few-cases’ track refers to comparing several countries drawn from same region. The various dimensions of governance such as accountability, minimal role of state, government trust may serve theoretical framework for studies of this track (ibid). For example, George M. Guess (2005) compares decentralization in Pakistan, Indonesia and the Philippines (ibid), Samaratinge, Alam, and Teicher (2008) shows the influence of contextual factors on the nature and outcome of New Public Administration (NPA) initiatives in Singapore, Malaysia and Sri Lanka (Bowornwathana, 2010). Likewise, this very study has some affinity with comparative public administration (CPA) paradigm. The study is concerned with the common pattern and difference of citizen’s trust in civil service among three nations in South Asia: Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Despite difference in geography and socio-economic differences there are some similarities among these countries as indicated by some world acknowledged indicators. Comparing the pattern of trust in these countries is to give an explanation of the dynamics of trust.

1.1.2 Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka – countries with distinct features

In South Asian region Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka have some distinctive socio-cultural and historical characteristics, which are assumed to have some effect on shaping citizens’ trust. According to SDSA¹ Report on the unique socio-economic profile of this region, state is seen as the main source of service provider as well as facilitator (Shastri, Palshikar, & Kumar, 2017). Bangladesh is among the fastest growing developing countries in south Asia. With a big homogeneous population, religious harmony and lower literacy rate Bangladesh is moving ahead with great hope. However, despite her impressive economic growth her governance does not have good reputation due to the poor response of its public institutions, bad reputation about corruption, transparency and representative democracy. Its members of public institutions have been marked with nepotism, favoritism, partisanism in frequently violating standard operational procedure for personal interest that are going against common interest and hampering citizens’ relationship with public institutions.

¹ Status of Democracy in South Asia (SDSA) Report II

Consequently, the trust level has been likely to go down. To regain public trust and reducing the gap between citizen and bureaucracy a good number of reform initiatives have been taken in recent times following donor agencies' prescriptions. Now it is curious to see whether these reforms in public institutions have been able to help regain trust in civil administration in Bangladesh.

On the other hand, Nepal has been going through her transition period from monarchy to democracy. With mostly homogeneous population and little literacy and economic growth Nepal is growing slowly largely depending on tourism. Coming out of monarchy Nepal has been able to draft a new constitution highlighting democratic norms and encouraging social, political and economic inclusion. Therefore, it will be interesting to see the level of citizens' trust Nepalese public institutions are enjoying after these changing scenario.

Compared to Bangladesh and Nepal Sri Lanka has gone through more volatile situation. She had suffered from ethnic violence and political instability for nearly 30 (thirty) years until the defeat of Tamil Tigers ² in 2009. After the civil war is over the incumbent government has been trying to restore stability and maintain good governance practices. With a limited population within a very small landscape, Sri Lanka is still suffering from ethnic division, exclusion of minority from enjoying equal rights. Still the literacy level and some other human indicators are reflecting their promising future. In this backdrop, the trust level of citizens' may be interesting to look at to compare it with other two countries in the same region.

Some research have been conducted on trust regarding Bangladesh and Nepal. Other research has been conducted based on particular institution of individual country. However, the lack of quality data from opinion survey overtime for many countries has made it difficult to empirically establish a general trend of citizen trust on public institutions. Moreover, there are few study conducted on cross-national pattern of citizens' trust in public institutions. According to Van De Walle et al. (2008), existing cross-national opinion data suggest overall unclear picture and it appears that there

² Tamil Tiger- The deadly armed guerrilla fighters group consisting of Tamils who fought for years in the name of LTTE demanding a separate and independent province in Jafna, Sri Lanka

are overall mixed trend in public opinion; whereas there is evidence of decline in trust in some countries, others experiencing shuttle increase or no significant change. Citizens' trust in the public sector is found to fluctuate, and the data generally do not show consistently declining levels of trust.

However, there are still scope of research on the comparative status of citizens' trust in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka focusing on the major factors creating the difference among the countries, which have been unstudied or understudied.

1.2 Rationale of the Study

The issue of trust in public institutions is drawing renewed attention within both professional and academic arena at national and international level. The study of citizens' trust bears importance for many reasons. Citizens' trust in the public institutions is one of the basic criteria of a country to be considered as a country with good governance. The level of citizen's trust in many cases determines the legitimacy and stability of a regime trying to be portrayed as a democratic one. According to Rothstein (2007) if legitimacy and trustworthiness of civil service is low policy implementation will be difficult resulting in more distrust between citizens and the administration. People will not pay tax if the government cannot deliver service; government agencies cannot serve unless they have resources obtained through tax money. Therefore, it is a vicious circle influenced and controlled by multifarious parties playing their role.

A very pertinent question comes regarding the importance of the issue of trust concerning public institutions. Why is it necessary to have trust in these institutions? Or, is it at all necessary to have unquestionable trust in those institutions? It is a controversial issue. While trust is assumed to be the natural consequence of satisfactory performance and service delivery towards the trustee, blind trust may even lead to exploitation and poor service delivery. On the other hand, some kind of distrust or skepticism on the part of citizens may put pressure on the institutions to try it's best to improve service delivery and relationship with the citizens. So, trust or distrust may be seen as a two-edged sword. Higher trust may lead to complacency and may deteriorate the service. Another aspect of trust is that too much confidence leads

to high service demand. If the institution fails to meet the increasing demand, the trust may collapse. It means that more expectation may lead to deterioration of trust. However, this study makes the assumption that the higher the performance the higher the trust in service delivery.

Considering the view that better public service lead to improved citizens' trust many countries have been trying to bring in new public management(NPM) reforms in bureaucracy to improve citizen's trust by delivering better public services (Van de Walle S. , 2010). But these reform initiatives in bureaucracy to improve citizen's trust through delivering better services have not seen much success because the relevant national context that influence citizens' trust in the public bureaucracy was not kept in mind in the first place. It was not considered that the socio-cultural, politico-historical conditions are not same across countries. Therefore, one factor that may help build trust in one country, may destroy trust in another country. Moreover, same factor may not be dominant in different countries. For this reason, the study focuses on explaining variations in citizens' trust in public institutions especially in civil service across three countries in South Asia in the light of their varied context. It is expected to help understand cross-national factors influencing citizens' trust.

1.3 Problem Statement

Citizens' attitudes towards specific public services are often different from those towards the public sector in general. While we can easily identify many studies at the micro-level of specific services (e.g. satisfaction surveys), the number of studies solely concentrated on civil service in general is small. When we look at the literature, we find that current research on 'trust' in the public administration discipline actually covers a number of highly diverse research streams. Moreover, the civil service and public sector have certainly not received as much attention in the trust in government research as compared to many political institutions. We see that the existing studies are of theoretical and conceptual nature, or, if they are empirical, limited to one specific national context and quite often executed by public sector organizations themselves.

The use of the words “trust” or “confidence” has become increasingly popular in Public Administration research (Kim, 2005). However, this does not mean that more studies of citizen attitudes towards the civil service have become available. We can distinguish between two major streams of research. The first and by far the most popular stream of trust research attempts to study how trust acts as a factor consolidating organizational cooperation in the absence of contracts. The second stream concerns citizens’ trust in the institutions of public sector. There are two types of attitudes, one directed towards specific services, another towards the public sector in general.

Another objection refers to the fact that much of the trust in government research does in fact not deal with public services or the civil service. Throughout the 1990s, a series of research articles and book publication have been seen dealing with citizens’ trust in the government. While these books have contributed to the knowledge on citizens’ trust in political institutions, the civil service or public services have been largely neglected, with some exceptions (e.g., Newton & Norris, 2000). Generally, most researchers dealing with citizens’ trust in government have focused on political institutions rather than on administrative ones. It is a fact that there is a surprisingly small amount of empirical research on this topic relevant for Public Administration. Another reason why the deficit is observed in current research is that many studies only focus on specific services (e.g., schools, health services, fire departments, local government), or are limited to one national context. We have also seen a number of conceptual and theoretical studies (Ruscio, 1999), or publications outlining a theoretical framework, without testing it. Recent years have seen an increase in academic studies at the national level, whereby citizens’ attitudes towards the public administration has been measured and explained in a single country. Specially, in South Asia, study on citizens’ trust with multiple countries are very limited in number and scope though there are amalgamation of similarity and differences among these countries in terms of socio-demography and political factors.

Moreover, for different countries, the factors that may determine citizens’ trust are not necessarily the same and this trust may not remain at the same level over time (Van de Walle & Bouckaert, 2003, p. 334). The socio-demographic discrepancies may

shape citizens positive or negative attitudes, and their level of trust are increased or decreased by their experience in dealing with these institutions.

Research conducted so far on citizens' trust are based mostly on the link of trust with social capital, government performance and socio-demographic factors of an individual country separately or between two countries (Nepal and Bangladesh) not focusing on any particular institution. Neither any major research on the linkage between citizens' trust on a single public institution and socio-political background of a particular country or several countries has been conducted and compared although there may exist important linkage between these socio-political factors. The factors may include socio-cultural diversity or different political orientation or some other factors, which are unique to that country or institution in question. For example, colonial legacy in this subcontinent, civil war in Sri Lanka, Military rule in Bangladesh, Monarchy in Nepal may have a significant role to play to build the mindset of the citizen which are still driving their course of action and channel of thought. But, the limited scope of the study will not allow to look for all the factors.

The recent trend in comparative public administration (new CPA) research has shifted its focus to governance from its former focus on bureaucracy and administrative reforms. Therefore, it is significant to find governance performance indicators and relate them with citizens' trust. However, research finding show that trust in government may not necessarily be linked with the trust in individual institutions performance (Van de Walle & Bouckaert, 2003). According to them some agencies or bodies may feature stronger in citizens' image of government, which makes that government is not just a summation of agencies. Therefore, performance is not the only criterion citizens consider to evaluate government. Based on above points, it is difficult to establish the precise impact of evaluations of specific agencies on citizens' trust in government. This relation changes constantly and is subject to contextual elements. Therefore, it may not be wise to link citizens' trust with governance performance rather than with the performance of individual institution.

The bottom line is that the existing research have not much focused on multinational South Asian context and there are very few instances of comparative trust research on an individual public institution. Therefore, three countries in South Asia with

diverse socio-political context and the public institution having regular functional links with citizens' life has been selected for study to understand contextual variation of the influence of factors among different countries. Very relevant factors are studied along with the comparative study of trust in these three countries of South-Asia with reference to civil service. It is assumed that this study will help to explain the scenario and to identify the driving factors of institutional trust.

In short, the existing literature on trust have the following characteristics which may compel someone to venture for further study in this field:

- Very few research conducted on comparative status of citizens' trust in civil service of South Asian countries along with their context. More research has been conducted on European context and not specifically on trust in civil service.
- The research available have not much focused on multinational south Asian context and there was very few instances of comparative trust research on public institutions. As south Asian socio-political context is very unique compared to Europe or Other parts of Asia some contextual analysis regarding pattern of citizens' trust may dig out some unknown relationship.
- Existing cross-national research suggest overall unclear picture and it appears that there are mixed pattern of relationship among factors of citizens trust. Some research have found the social variable as significant explanatory factors while other have found them insignificant.
- In recent times many institutional reform initiative has been taken in South Asia being prescribed by international donor agencies for better service towards citizens. Therefore, it will be curious to know whether these reforms has been able to breed trust among citizens and
- Moreover, it may also be important to know which factors have played more important role than the others, which country have seen more progress and which country is lagging behind. The study will try to clarify the difference and explain the reason behind the differences in citizens' trust among the countries under the lenses.

In spite of popular thinking that trust has been declining it may not be necessarily the reality. In recent times, many administrative reform programs have been carried out to improve the quality of service and to ensure accountability and transparency, which are thought to be important factors influencing public perception about civil service. Nevertheless, these initiatives may not necessarily yield similar results in dissimilar socio political context and administrative culture. Being in the same geographical region Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka shares some common characteristics. However, they also have some differing and unique socio-political and cultural facets, which may influence their performance and public perception. This dynamic situation in South Asia has drawn attention of trust researchers. This is what the study is going to map taking the three countries scenario under the critical lens of the study.

1.4 Research objectives

The major objective of the study is to gauge whether the trust level of citizens' of the three countries is low or high in the selected countries and relating their distinguishing factors with their pattern of trust. It is expected to reflect the citizens' general perception of Civil Service of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka as well as the difference among the countries under study. The objective of the study is to see the pattern of trust of citizens on public institutions in three countries of South Asia namely Nepal Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The difference of trust among the major public institution of the countries has been looked at. Attempt is made to see whether the citizens have similar kind of trust or not and why is that similar or not. It will be interesting to look for the level of trust among these countries with economic prosperity or socio-political legacy of these countries to see why the pattern of trust is different or similar among major public institutions of these countries. To explore the factors that promote or limit the public perception towards the institution. It ultimately gives a direction for taking initiatives towards building better public institution and ultimately better governance.

1.5 Research questions

For the purpose of the study on Citizens' Trust on Civil Service in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka three questions have been set to structure the research. These questions

have been further clustered into main research Question and leading questions for the clarity of the procedure.

The main research question of the study is:

Do citizens in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka have similar perception about their civil service?

The leading questions of the study will include the following:

1. Do levels of citizens' trust on civil service have common pattern in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka?
2. What factors can help explain such pattern of citizens' trust among nations and how?

1.6 Methodology and research design

For the purpose of the research, Quantitative Analysis has been done to understand the trend of citizens' trust in civil service of the three countries: Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Quantitative analysis of existing survey data of Survey Data Book collected from North South University Resource Centre mentioned later. Moreover, analyses of literature content have been done to explain the dynamics of citizens' trust in civil service of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. As the data sets of the trust survey conducted in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka are available; Quantitative analysis of the data is the best way to get the pattern of citizens' trust in the selected institution of the three countries. Relevant literatures such as World Value Survey Data have also been used to further explain the reasons of difference in the trust level among the countries under study. For comparative study, Mill's Method of Agreement and Indirect Method of Difference (Ragin C. C., 1987) have been applied to some extent to analyze explanatory factors for the three countries.

1.7 Data Analysis technique

Analytical tools like SPSS have been used to run frequency, Chi-Square, Correlation, bivariate analysis. Univariate analysis will be done to get general overview of the respondents. To assess the casual connection and to measure the relationships between two variables, cross tabulation and correlation are done. Chi-square test are used to assess the statistical significance of the relationships among variables.

Analyzing the variables for every countries the causal relationship will be identified for every country. Then the causes will be matched in relation with each country to identify the patterns of trust. To identify common pattern Mills' Method of Agreement (Ragin C. C., 1987) are used through elimination technique.

1.7.1 Sources of data

In the study, mainly primary empirical survey data have been used collecting from secondary sources like North South University (NSU) Resource Centre. The data set also collected from the same source. The data books used are as follows:

- a. Data Book: Governance and Citizens' Trust Survey Bangladesh conducted in 2014 with the sample size of 2748.
- b. Data Book: The State of Governance and Citizens' Trust in Public and Political Institutions in Nepal conducted in 2014 with the sample size of 2404.
- c. Data Book: Governance and Citizens' Trust Survey, Sri Lanka conducted in 2015 with the sample size of 1398.

Other secondary data of existing literature, different survey/reports from all three countries and different reliable sources like Corruption Perception Index of Transparency International, World Value Survey, Governance Index of World Bank etc. will be consulted.

1.8 Rationale of selection of the unit of analysis

The Unit of analysis for the study of citizens' trust is the civil service of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. This institution has been chosen because of it most frequent interaction and immediate proximity with common people. Moreover, due to limited scope and time constraint other institutions could not be included.

Civil servants are 'the officials appointed for discharging specific functions of the government' (Jamil, Dhakal, & Paudel, Introduction: Understanding Civil Service in South Asia) referring to the civil bureaucracy 'running the entire administrative system of a country' (ibid). The civil service of three countries has been chose for comparison: Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Because, despite geographical and demographical difference of the three countries these countries show present similar characteristics on some socio-political and economic indicators as demonstrated in the report of the

World Bank Report 2018 and Worldwide Governance Indicators in 2018 that are mentioned in later part of this paper. In other words, quality of governance is similar in these countries and therefore, the pattern of trust may have resemblance, which has made them interesting case to choose for comparison, and this may help explain dynamics of citizens' trust in civil service as well.

Countries	Sample size	Unit of Analysis
Bangladesh	2748	Civil service of Bangladesh , Nepal and Sri Lanka
Nepal	2404	
Sri Lanka	1389	

Table I Source of data and Unit of Analysis

Source:

- a. Data Book: Governance and Citizens' Trust Survey in Bangladesh conducted in 2014
- b. Data Book: The State of Governance and Citizens' Trust in Public and Political Institutions in Nepal conducted in 2014
- c. Data Book: Governance and Citizens' Trust Survey in Sri Lanka conducted in 2015

1.9 Scope and limitation of the study

Many factors and areas may have influence on shaping citizens' trust. However, the scope and limitations of the study depend on the objective, resources and time available for the study. Therefore, the study has been confined in civil service which one of the major public institutions of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Due to time and resource constraint, it is not possible to conduct any face-to-face interview or fresh questionnaire survey to get firsthand data from the countries. So, the scope is confined within the perception data during the period of 2014 and 2015 on the trust on Civil Service of the selected countries.

The main limitation of the study has emerged because contemporary data on citizens' perception is not available. The data that are going to be used are collected in 2014-15 period. Moreover, due to time and resource constraint, it is not possible to use other qualitative data collection tools like Interview or Focus Group Discussion, which would have yield contemporary, and first hand data. Therefore, findings may not give the current picture of changed opinion of respondents within the time gap of the data and research. If the current data could have been collected through a fresh survey, it

would be more accurate in terms of latest status of public perception about civil service of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. The data is not recently collected and not conducted in a particular time thereby survey period is not identical. The current level of perception may vary significantly from the findings of the study.

1.10 Validity and reliability

The sources of data are data books containing standard empirical data from survey conducted in the three countries. The study is based on surveys in these three countries carried out in 2014 in Nepal and Bangladesh and in 2015 in Sri Lanka as part of a collaborative project among researchers from universities in Norway, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. The study is based on empirical data, which contribute to the validity of the study. Moreover, the large sample size have greater chance of limiting data error.

This reliability of the study is increased by standard empirical data collected from a convincing number of respondents chosen randomly from all the three countries. Because, standard analytical tools from SPSS are to be used to analyze the empirical datasets which can be repeated by any other researcher following the same procedure and get similar result from the same datasets.

1.11 Structure of the Study

1. Chapter One titled as Introduction deals with the background context, issue of study, problem statement and significant, research questions, objectives, methodological overview, source of data, scopes, limitation, structural overview etc. of the study.
2. Chapter Two focuses on the socio-political and administrative characteristics of three countries: Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.
3. Chapter Three comprises conceptual understanding of trust, theoretical discussion and analytical framework including literature review of previous studies, theories, hypothesis, variables etc.
4. Chapter Four describes the sources and characteristics of data and methods of the study.
5. Chapter Five is dedicated for data presentation, data analysis and interpretations. Test of assumptions are also presented in this chapter.
6. In Chapter Six the major findings and explanations are presented along with the concluding remarks of the researcher.

1.12 Conclusion

Citizens' trust has become prominent for national and international research due to increased attention in the responsiveness and transparency of modern democracy. So, increase or decline has significant meaning and influence in the life of citizen and an the study is based on empirical data it gives a likely picture of the perception of citizens' about the performance of the public institution like civil service of South Asia particularly Bangladesh , Nepal and Sri Lanka. It also helps to understand cross-national factors influencing citizens' trust by proving or disproving previous findings and adding some new knowledge. The following chapters elaborate on the study context, particularly the conceptualization of the topic, theoretical and analytical framework, present data along with analysis and findings and conclusion drawn from the study.

Chapter Two

Socio-political and administrative culture in South Asian Countries

With thirty seven percent of the world's poor population and nearly half of the world's malnourished children the South Asia comprises Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Except for Nepal and Bhutan, these countries share a common legacy of colonial dominance (25th World Congress of Political Science, 2018). There also exists a geographical, cultural, religious and linguistic parliamentary variation. Their population size and territorial dominance also varies significantly. Even regarding governance, these countries show significant differences. Lately Nepal has opted for multi-party democracy, but still facing various socio-political challenges because of the immature institutional processes in the government system. Compared to Nepal Sri Lanka has been able to maintain a stable political development after the civil war with LTTE though her economy is suffering from debt issue. On the other hand compared to Nepal and Sri Lanka Bangladesh has seen some kind of democratic rule since its independence from Pakistan having been sometimes interrupted by civil and military dictatorship though presently showing commendable economic stability. Commonly, political turmoil, ignorance, poverty, violation of human rights, corruption, bribery, kinship, lack of accountability and various other politico and socio-cultures issues are posing a serious challenge to governance in these three South Asian countries. For all these reasons citizens confidence in bureaucracy of these countries waver in between trust and distrust, low and high.

According to Cheung (2005) most Asian countries have legacies of colonial, military rule. Moreover, they have also gone through authoritarianism in the form of one-party democratic rule or dictatorship: civil or military. However, they share a sort of experience of bureaucratic rule. Such bureaucracy has tried to induce a kind of centralized, paternalistic, authoritarian bureaucratic culture in the civil service suppressing or overshadowing the essential characteristics of public administration. (Cheung, 2005)

2.1 Socio-political characteristics of the South Asia region

As well as being rich in ancient civilization south Asia is the land of 1.891 billion population or about one fourth of world's population (Worldometers, 2018). The major countries of this region India, Pakistan, Bangladesh which has got freedom from British Colonial regime in 1947 and Sri Lanka in 1948 have inherited some common political and administrative characteristics. Nepal, on the other hand, went through long history of monarchic legacy until recently, which is still having some influence on the public mindset, and politico-administrative culture of the country.

Each of these countries share glorious past with unique culture, heritage and demographic profile. As the study covers only three countries of this region: Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, the following paragraphs will shed light on the socio-political and administrative culture of these three countries. In the following tables, the economic and political indicators of the three countries are presented side by side according to The World Bank and the indicator of Asian Development Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (2015). It is to note that the data reflects the condition in 2015 because the survey which is the basis of this study was conducted in 2014-15.

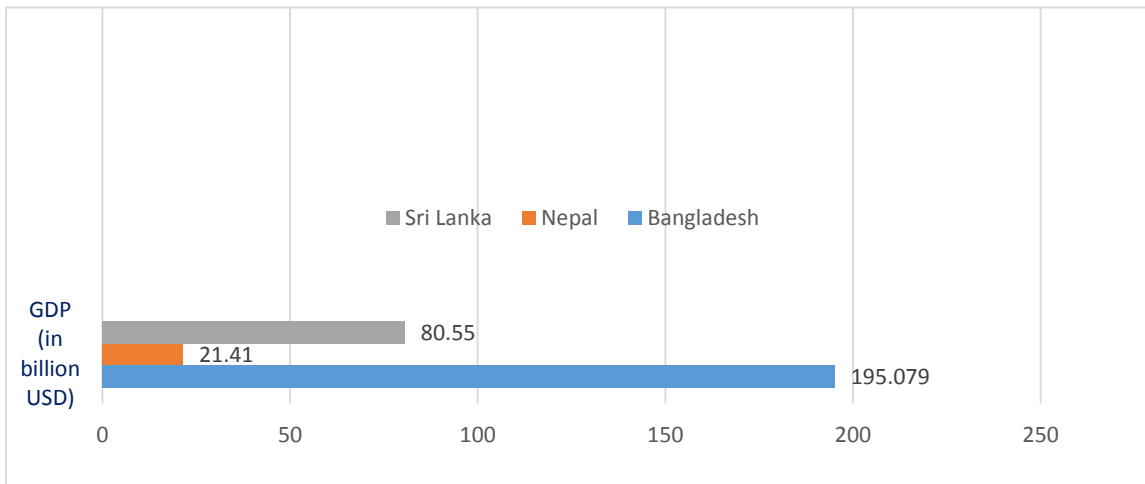
Country	Population (2015)	GDP (2015)	GNI Per Capita (2015)
Bangladesh	161.2 million	195.079 billion USD	1190 USD
Nepal	28.66 million	21.41 billion USD	740 USD
Sri Lanka	20.96 million	80.55 billion USD	3760 USD

Table II Population, GDP and GNI per capita of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka

Sources: (The World Bank, 2018)

The above table reveals that despite being much smaller in number of population Sri Lanka's GNI is much higher than that of Bangladesh which indicates much better economic status.

Figure 1 Population, GDP and GNI per capita of BD, NP and SL



Sources: (The World Bank, 2018)

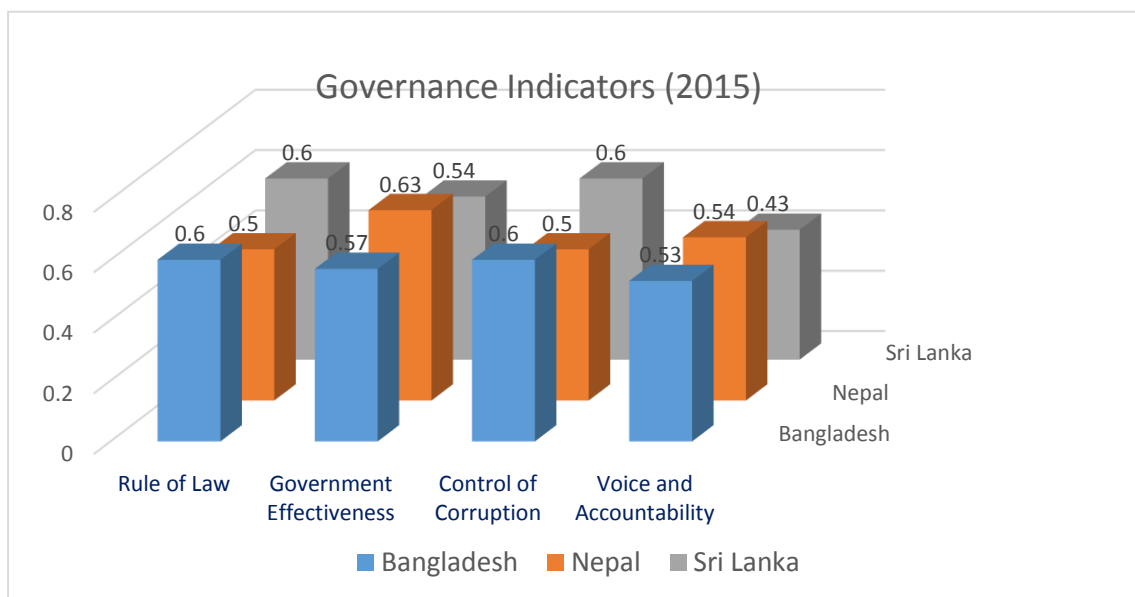
Country	Rule of Law	Government effectiveness	Control of Corruption	Voice and Accountability
Bangladesh	.60	.57	.60	.53
Nepal	.50	.63	.50	.54
Sri Lanka	.60	.60	.60	.43

Table III Governance indicators such as rule of law, Government effectiveness, corruption, voice and accountability of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka

Sources: (Worldwide Governance Indicators, 2018)

The above table shows the comparative status of the three countries which shows that almost all indicators bear similar score for the three countries except Rule of Law score in Nepal and Voice and Accountability score in Sri Lanka which is lower than the other two countries.

Figure 2 Some Governance Indicators (2015)



Sources: (Worldwide Governance Indicators, 2018)

In the next paragraphs, some salient features of the three countries: Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka have been discussed in some detail.

2.1.1 Bangladesh

Getting freedom from Pakistan in 1971 after a bloody liberation war ³Bangladesh emerged as a strategically important country for its geographical location in South Asia. Because of the history of struggle and resilience of her people independent Bangladesh ushered a new hope for this region, though its development progress is very slow compared to other developing nations like Malaysia.

Transition to a New Social Order

Along with the independence of Bangladesh, therefore, emerged a new nation with a distinct socio-cultural order. Seemingly, classless principles of Islamic religion form the basis of social value and structure. There is hardly any evidence of impassable hereditary social distinctions despite existence of names—‘such as the *syeds* (noble born) and the *sheikhs*, or *shaykhs* (also noble born)’- are still noticeable in Bangladeshi Muslim nomenclature. Nevertheless, penetrable classes based on wealth and influence are in existence both in rural and urban areas (Heitzman & Worden, 1989). On the other hand, formally stratified hindu society do not figure prominently in the Bangladeshi hindu community now-a-days. (ibid)

In the 1st nineteen years of its history, Bangladesh had seen military rule for nearly 15 years and democracy suffered for that (Ahmed, 2002, p. 54). In 1991 the nation came back to electoral politics continuing till today. Today Bangladesh is at crossroads towards democratic governance with the stink of ‘democracy of dynasties’ (Shastri, Palshikar, & Kumar, 2017) . Now, it is was expected that democracy would sustain in Bangladesh with the emergence of two strong political alliances and the holding of general election under neutral caretaker government (Ahmed, 2002, p. 57). Nevertheless, the situation is still volatile when Neutral Caretaker government ⁴system has been abolished during the regime of Awami League after a verdict from the court, which was vehemently opposed by opposition parties. This has remain a vital issue of conflict among the ruling and opposition parties because here no political

³ The nine month long Liberation War of Bangladesh (the then East Pakistan) through which she has got independence from Pakistan (the then West Pakistan) with the cooperation of Indian force on 16 December, 1971.

⁴ This is the form of the neutral government during the time of national election. Presently the system has been abolished.

party can take other into confidence. Therefore, the citizens are basically divided into two groups who are supporting the two alliances: the government and the opposition. Therefore, people's unity has become a far cry despite having homogeneity in terms of religion and cultural heritage. Caretaker government ⁵system is the reflection of mistrust among political parties and their followers.

2.1.2 Nepal

A land-locked Himalayan kingdom is a freedom loving independent state surrounded by China, India, Bhutan and Bangladesh. With a population of 29.62 million (Worldometers, 2018) it is a multi-ethnic kingdom. Though it is known as a Hindu state, constitutionally it does not discriminate her citizen on religious, racial or ideological ground. It was a constitutional monarchy and until about a decade past the state was run by the king as the Chief executive (Ahmed, 2002, p. 43).

Ethnic Groups

The ethnic diversity and complexity in Nepalese society was evident since the early 1990s. According to political scientists, Joshi and Rose the Nepalese population are broadly classified into three major ethnic groups as per the origin: Indo-Nepalese, Tibeto-Nepalese, and indigenous Nepalese (Savada, 1991). Within the Indo-Nepalese group, mostly of Brahman and Kshatriya status, have spread through Nepal constituting a significant portion of the local elites on which stands the nation's royal family which used to play the dominant role in the country (ibid).

Geographic division

For the complex terrain of Nepal there is concentration of various ethnic populations in specific geographic pockets isolated by valleys and high ridges dividing ethnic groups into self-contained communities and affecting interaction among various ethnic groups. Paharis have managed to dominate and control Nepal's bureaucracy being majority in civil service positions. Nevertheless, strong nationalism and cultural harmony played key role in knitting the non-Nepali linguistic and ethnic groups though they were concentrated in specific areas.

⁵ This is the form of the neutral government during the time of national election. Presently the system has been abolished after a verdict from higher court.

Social Classes and Stratification

People in Nepalese society are mainly divided into three classes: ruling elite, a group of government officials, large landholders and merchants, and the majority of the peasant population. The least diverse of them is the ruling elite class, consists largely of high-caste and educated Paharis, the Monarch being at the top of this class who was revered as the descendant of Hindu god. Such kind of reverence may have led to the high power distance ⁶ in the present socio-political system in Nepal. However, some well-off village families encourage their children to enter civil service to establish connections with the elites and political figures through climbing the bureaucratic ladder.

Constitutional Development

The Rana System

Since 1856, the power in Nepal was centered on the Rana prime ministers until the revolution of 1950-51 when their sovereign power was challenged. In 1851, Jang Bahadur Kunwar (later called Jang Bahadur Rana) started the Bharadari Sabha⁷. As another major institutional development effort in 1947, Mr. Padma Shamsheer Rana, who was seen as a liberal prime minister, selected a Constitutional Reform Committee for drafting the first constitution. Known as the Government of Nepal Constitution Act, 1948, this constitution, hastily changed the Rana system. (Savada, 1991). Nevertheless, practically, the changes made in the Rana system were minimal. Perceiving the constitution as a dangerous precedent conservative Rana compelled Padma Shamsheer to resign; they also made the promulgation of the constitution suspended. The constitution remained in force only until February 1951 when the creation of a new constitutional arrangement began breaking Rana monopoly (ibid). During the Rana regime, one of the most negative aspects for civil service was that the Prime Minister headed the administration making strong political hold on the civil service.

In response to popular support the parliament of Nepal abolished the monarchy in 2008 paving the way of a constitutional Republic (Shastri, Palshikar, & Kumar, 2017).

⁶ The acceptance and demonstration of high respect towards the authority of the people in the high position of society (Hofstede & Minkov, 2010)

⁷ A deliberative body for state affairs of Nepal. This rubber stamp council served the Rana autocracy for nearly 100 years.

2.1.3 Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has always been a vibrant and resilient nation in this region (Ahmed, 2002, p. 38). But since its independence in 1948 she witnessed practically uninterrupted democracy unlike Bangladesh. It could somewhat project evidence of freedom of press, judiciary, well developed civil society, participatory politics. It has gone through years of institutional growth (p.38).

Ethnic group relations

Sri Lanka has varied population profile like some other nations in this region. Various religious communities include world's major religions: Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Among the dominant ethnic groups are the Sri Lankan Tamils and the Sinhalese, who, respectively, compose 12.6 % and 74 % of the total population; the groups also include Indian Tamils (5.5 percent) who are considered separate from the Lankan Tamils. There are also Muslims (7.1 percent) (Ross & Savada, 1988). The different unevenly spread ethnic groups live in concentrated areas which depends on their settlement history (ibid).

The society also possesses a caste system. This is important for two political reasons. Firstly, because, members of the higher status castes constitute the members of the political elite. Since independence of Sri Lanka, most of the prime ministers and one president have belonged to Sinhalese caste. In addition, voters also favors people from their own caste, though electoral districts tend to be homogeneous in terms of caste (Ross & Savada, 1988).

Education and Ethnic Conflict

Sri Lanka outperforms South Asia in the field of education. In Gross Enrolment Ratio she leads other countries in secondary education whereas Nepal leads in primary education (Shastri, Palshikar, & Kumar, 2017). Before the end of 20th century more than 90 percent of the population became literate officially which is the most impressive progress in South Asia and Sri Lanka has been settled among the pioneer of the developing nations in the development of education for general people (Ross & Savada, 1988). The education system and job requirement made the way critical for both Sinhalese and Tamil students. Although steps were taken to ensure more equitable distribution of opportunities for Sri Lankans in general, it was

proved to be discriminatory for Tamil students' community as blatant discrimination. The competition of Tamil and Sinhalese in lucrative job market remains a matter of conflicting issue. This way, improvements in education system had, paradoxically, enhanced the ethnic conflict by pushing the Tamil students to Tamil fighters (Ross & Savada, 1988). Tamils feel neglected and deprived of access to power. None of the constitutional measures taken was proved successful to satisfy the Tamils. Eventually Tamil movement in the north-east of Sri Lanka, their stronghold, got violent and they started confronting with Sinhalese soldiers under the underground organization Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)⁸till 2009 when LTTE had been finally crashed. However, by this time this conflict has crippled the potential nation of this region.

Moreover, as a result of British colonialism social differences has emerged in the diverse society of Sri Lanka's; these divisions have significant influence on politics creating ethnicity, language and religion based antagonism among the Sinhalese and Sri Lankan Tamils which overshadowed other social divisions (Ross & Savada, 1988). In Sri Lanka, matters of religion and ethnicity did not remain as private issues. Personal advancement has been seen in terms of the prosperities of one's ethnic or religious group. Moreover, there was hardly any attempt from successive governments to follow an impartial role to subdue ethnic enmities (Ross & Savada, 1988).

Despite these issues, Sri Lanka has strongly come back. Sri Lanka happens to be the most literate nation compared to other two countries. Her literacy rate is the highest in South Asia at nearly 92 percent much higher than other South Asian countries. Therefore, democracy has taken healthy root here. Education plays a crucial role in the life of people of the country (Ministry of Higher Education and Cultural Affairs, Sri Lanka, 2018). Nevertheless, ironically, because of high literacy there is high unemployment. In addition to rich cultural heritage, the country is also esteemed internationally for high standard intellectual activities (Ahmed, 2002, p. 42).

2.2 Administrative characteristics of South Asia

During the 1990s, there had been increased demand for an effective, responsive, accountable and transparent public sector (Governance and Public Sector

⁸The Tamil politico-military organization based in northeastern Sri Lanka who fought with Lankan Armed forces from 1983 to 2009 demanding a separate province for Sri Lankan Tamils.

Management, 2018). Among the reasons were the global impetus for good governance and institutional; the attempted consolidation of democracy in Bangladesh and Nepal, decentralization; expanded social performance; growing middle class and assertive NGOs. Except for of Afghanistan, these were common factors found in all the countries of South Asian region: Bangladesh, Maldives, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, and India (ibid).

Most of the poor countries in in South Asia Region has tried to adopt country-level development strategies for advancing reforms in public sector institutions. In support of this strategy donor agencies has supported regulatory reform and privatization, as well as the reform of key government functions (for example, service delivery system reforms in key sectors, civil service reform etc.).

Most of the South Asian countries have parliamentary form of democracies. Sri Lanka has been through democratic government process since her independence, although had to suffer a costly civil war for a long time in her history. Bangladesh has swung between periods of democracy and military dictatorship. Nepal has emerged to a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy. Earlier it was under an absolute monarchic rule. However, she has been struggling to maintain stability in her political arena in the recent years.

Almost common history and political past including colonial rule has shaped to a great extent the South Asia shared cultures and institutions. (Governance and Public Sector Management, 2018)

Weaknesses in the public administration system

Surveys conducted by some international and domestic organizations including Transparency International (TI) reveal deep-rooted problems in administrative marred by politicization and corruption. In South Asian countries, the influence of the public sector is very much marked creating scope for corruption through complex regulations, poor delivery of key public services etc. However, formal institutional mechanisms (including parliamentary committees, legislation, anticorruption agencies, and auditor-generals) have been installed for ensuring accountability, in practice these have been performing poorly. 'Informal practices' have been developed

to shield many illegal economic transactions, and have overshadowed the official roles of the public institutions. The citizens often perceive employees of government institutions as unfriendly and unresponsive, considering themselves more like a public official than a civil servant.

This weakness in administrative arena is assumed the common scenario in most of the south Asian countries. Therefore, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka bear the stink of the same stigmas.

2.2.1 Bangladesh

The duty of the Bangladesh Civil Service is to implement government policies and projects. This purpose is served by a corps of trained administrators who are assumed to be the most influential group of civilians from the nation. After the partition of India in 1947, when almost all administrative organs had to be created afresh, both East Pakistan (the present Bangladesh) and West Pakistan (the present Pakistan) heavily relied on the managerial expertise of professional managers from the old Indian Civil Service who served the colonial regime. When Bangladesh got independence in 1971, these members of the civil service brought the heritage of the colonial system with them which included administrative competence that proved precious in running a new nation. It also brought the expectation by the elite of numerous benefits and power to rule.

In 1988s, Bangladesh Civil Service (BCS) was composed of twenty-eight services. Members of the civil service were recruited through competitive examination following a quota system. Except for Forty percent positions on the basis of merit other positions were reserved for former freedom fighters and women. Some districts quotas were also kept on the basis of population. Although in the late 1980s it was expected that the new recruitment and promotion rules would enlarge the backgrounds of civil servants, senior members of the service carried on their dominance in the administration.

To be a member in the civil service has been the dream of educated persons because of the prestige and influence that used to come along with an this career. In the late

1980s, within the civil service the centralization of power remained one of the major targets of changes in administration designed to political decentralization and economic development throughout Bangladesh (Heitzman & Worden, 1989).

2.2.2 Nepal

Passed in 1956, the Nepal Civil Service Act classified all civil employees into two categories: gazetted services and non-gazetted services. Gazetted services included all services prescribed by the government by notification in the *Nepal Raj Patra*⁹. The gazetted posts were further classified into classes: I, II, and III.

According to the 1990 constitution, members of the civil service of Nepal are recruited through an open examination steered by the Public Service Commission (PSC). Police and military officers are excluded from the jurisdiction of the commission. The commission was consulted in all matters like laws relating to the civil service including appointment, transfer, promotion, or departmental punishment. Civil servant's postings, tenure, benefits etc. were regulated by The Nepal Civil Service Act of 1956 (Savada, 1991).

2.2.3 Sri Lanka

Established during the British colonial period the civil service in Sri Lanka continued to operate in accordance with well-established British practices in the late 1980s. At the apex of its hierarchy was the Sri Lankan Administrative Service, well-defined elite, enjoying tremendous prestige. They were well-educated generalists, in contrast to specialist personnel operating ironically on the lower ranks of the hierarchy. Tamils were dissatisfied with the Sinhalese-dominated political system as they perceived that their opportunities for government employment were decreasing due to political decisions. This view is substantiated by the available statistics: in the administrative service, the number of Tamil officeholders declined from 11.1 percent to only 5.7 percent during the 1978-81 period (Ross & Savada, 1988). Spokesmen for the Sinhalese have affirmed that traditionally Tamils were favored by the British over Sinhalese in the employment in the bureaucracy and that the declining Tamil

⁹ The government gazette of Nepal

percentages was the reflection of an attempt to do equitable redressing of the balance.

Since the early 1970s, in Sri Lanka, the civil service has faced intense political pressures. Secretaries have been political appointees after the adoption of the 1972 constitution. Such change and the facets of patron-client relations in the politics have compromised the bureaucracy's claim of neutrality as well as the quality of its staffs. (Ross & Savada, 1988).

Regarding Sri Lanka one research of Irfan (2016) has identified some dysfunctions of public bureaucracy which has earned bad name for nepotism, *Red Tapism*¹⁰, and corruption (Irfan, 2016). It may be noted here that Civil service reforms in Sri Lanka was intended to increase responsiveness as well (Gunasekara, 2016).

¹⁰ Lengthy formal filing process that causes the delay in giving decision by any competent authority

Chapter Three

Conceptualizing Trust: Concept, Typologies and Theories

This chapter is dedicated to the theoretical and analytical discussion of the study. The theoretical or literary part gives an overall view of trust including the different perspective of trust, its definition, characteristics, relevant synonymous concepts and typologies of trust. It tries to give an insight into the theoretical approaches related to trust pointing to the relevant theories and models for the study. The other important parts of this chapter deal with the analytical framework of this study identifying the variables and their indicators along with the operationalization of the explanatory variables. It gives a clear idea of the points of arguments about the relationship between citizens' trust on public institutions and the explanatory variables to be considered to establish a relationship.

3.1 Literature review

In spite of much interest shown by the scholars in the field of trust research, its study in organizational context has remain problematic in terms of its definition, conceptualization and causality (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 2006).It has been defined and studied from different angels. Mayer et al. (2006) defines 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 significant for the trustor, irrespective of the trustor’s inability to monitor or control that other actor”. Trust is not necessarily taking risk, rather ‘the willingness to take risk’ (ibid).

Trust has been instrumental for understanding relations among individuals and institutions in their social context (Giddens, 1990) (Fukuyama, 1999). It is found that based on expectations, trust is strengthened by one’s socio-economic interaction and past experience with concerned institutions while receiving desired services from the institution.

3.1.1 The Trends of Trust Research

The recent trend in comparative public administration (new CPA) research has shifted its focus to governance from its former focus in bureaucracy and administrative reforms. Among the distinguished four tracks of CPA paradigms the ‘few-cases’ track

of CPA paradigm refers to comparing several countries drawn from same region. The dimensions of governance such as accountability, minimal role of state, government trust may serve theoretical framework for studies of this track (Bowornwathana, 2010). Therefore, it is significant to find governance performance indicators and relate them with citizens' trust. However, research-findings show that trust in government may not necessarily be linked with the trust in individual institutions performance (Van de Walle & Bouckaert, 2003). They observe that some agencies may perform stronger in citizens' perception of government, which makes that government is not just a summation of agencies. Therefore, performance may not be the only criterion used by citizens while evaluating government. Therefore, it is difficult to establish the impact of evaluations of particular agencies on citizens' trust in government precisely. This relation may change frequently and may be subject to contextual features. Therefore, it may not be wise to link citizens' trust with governance performance rather than linking with the performance of individual institutions.

David J. et al. (2016) have conducted a research on the variations of trust in North America and European country's civil servants (David J. Houston, 2016). They have found that public trust is linked with the citizens' judgment of public officials that constitute the institutions; it is calculative judgment about the public officials' ability to perform public tasks and affective judgment about ethical and caring conduct of public officials. For creating a comprehensive model of citizen trust in public Administrators it suggests drawing studies of particularized trust in the civil service offering three general individual level explanations: sociocultural, socio-psychological, and perceptions of governmental performance. It also points out several general explanations for variation in the level of trust across countries: government performance, institutional quality, and social polarization. It finds that Civic engagement enhances citizens' trusting attitudes towards civil service. It also finds that trusting attitudes toward civil service is positively associated with confidence in other government institutions. At national level, trust in civil service is influenced by institutional quality of government such as the level of corruption, and the government effectiveness. Here their attitudes toward civil servants are especially

significant as it is these government officials with whom citizens have the most direct interaction.

Newton and Norris (2000) has conducted their study on 17 established trilateral democracies to see the influence of faith, culture and performance in building confidence in public institutions. They conclude that at national level, social trust and confidence in government and its institutions are strongly associated with each other. Social trust can help build effective social and political institutions, which can help governments perform effectively, and this in turn encourages confidence in civic institutions. The findings seems to lead us away from psychological models as well as from social and cultural explanations of confidence in public institutions. Little support is also found for general theories that explain what is ailing the democracies in terms of issues such as post-modern society, increasing economic competition, individualism, declining levels of social trust, or the fragmentation of social and community life. Based on World Value Survey, Van de Walle S. (2007) has done a study analyzing citizens' general attitudes towards the public administration or civil service, and compared these attitudes in 60 societies. He has found that socio-demographic and socio-economic elements are not the major explanatory factors for differences in confidence (Van de Walle S. , 2007). The analysis revealed many difficulties related to issues of international comparability when using international surveys. The thin line between government in general and the public administration makes it hard to study determinants of attitudes (ibid).

Taşpınar and Şahin (2015) have conducted a field study in Turkey on citizens' trust in public institutions. Their study reveals that citizens' trust in public institutions is affected by their perceptions about public employees' behaviour working there (Taşpınar & Şahin, 2015). The trust of the citizens will increase with the perceived increase in the benevolence, attention, reliability, openness, integrity, honesty, competence and information sharing of the public institutions. When evaluating the trustworthiness of the public institutions, the citizens consider their positive or negative experiences about them (ibid). Ashvik et al. (2011) reveals a weaker relationship between identity variables and institutional trust. They observe that both demographic features and social characteristics do not have much significance

relationship with citizens' trust in political and public institutions (Askvik, Jamil , & Dhakal, 2011).

Table IV Previous Research Findings

Sources	Areas of interest	Major Assumptions/Findings
Bowornwathana (2010)	Comparative Public Administration (CPA)	The 'few-cases' track of CPA paradigm refers to comparing several countries drawn from same region. The dimensions of governance such as accountability, government trust may serve theoretical framework for studies of this track.
Van de Walle et al (2008)	Any Evidence for Decline of Trust ?	In the contemporary political discourse concerns with declining public trust has been extended to the level of trust in the public administration where trust is perceived as declining; the fall is conceived as detrimental to public service delivery.
David J. Houston, (2016)	Variations of trust in civil servants	Trust is linked with the citizens' judgment of public officials that constitute the institutions; it is calculative judgment about the public officials' ability to perform public tasks and affective judgment about ethical and caring conduct of public officials.
Newton, K., & Norris, P. (2000)	Confidence in public institutions: Faith, culture, or performance?	The study finds that confidence in government and its institutions and social trust are strongly associated with each other at national level. It finds support for theories which center on the performance of governments as well as on political institutions to explain declining confidence in them.
Askvik, Jamil , & Dhakal, (2011)	Patterns of trust in institutions in Nepal	Findings goes in line with the institutional performance-based theory of trust against demographical and socio-cultural explanations.
Van de Walle, S. (2007).	general attitudes to public administration	The analysis revealed many difficulties related to issues of international comparability when using international surveys. However, socio-demographic are not likely to explain differences in confidence.

Sources	Areas	Major Assumptions/Findings
Heintzman & Marson, (2005)	Micro-performance view on trust and confidence	Institutional performance matters in building or diminishing trust in public institutions at micro level.
Şahin, Ali and Taşpınar, Yasin (2015)	Citizen trust in public institution in Turkey	The citizens' trust in public institutions is affected by their perceptions about public employees' behavior: their benevolence, attention, reliability, honesty, competence and information sharing of the public institutions; the citizens consider their positive or negative experiences about them.
Uslaner, (2002)	Roots of generalized trust: Education, Social interactions	Trust does not depend on membership in voluntary organization; More education leads to generalized trust; more religiosity leads to particularized trust; linkages between civic engagement and trust are weak. The root of generalized trust is set within family before moving out to join any organizations.
Ramesh, (2017)	Level of Citizens' Trust in Public Institutions	The study reveals that various ethnic , political, social, and institutional factors negatively influence trust. This is also indicative of the significance of impartiality, service quality to increase trust among all sections of citizens.
Kim, S.-E. (2005)	The role of trust in the modern administrative state	The model shows that a trustworthy government requires both accountability and flexibility of administration. Trust can reconcile this tension by increasing citizens' willingness to accept government authority.
Li, (2015)	What is the nature of trust?	Raises some questions like whether institutional trust means trust on the people in institution or trust on the institutions per se, whether trust is based upon expected trustworthiness or known trustworthiness in terms of confidence in the known ability or individuals or institutions etc.
Li, (2012)	When trust matters the most	trust matters most when (i) the uncertainty of fulfilling expectations is high;(ii) the susceptibility of control is high;(iii) the chances of loss are high;(iv) long-term dependence (e.g. reciprocal relationship) is high.

(Adapted by the researcher)

Most of the research above suggests that Socio-demographic and socio-economic elements are not necessarily be major explanatory factors for differences in citizens' confidence. Individuals experience with particular civil servant in any particular cases may have great influence in shaping citizens attitude towards public institutions as whole. Houston observes that attitudes toward civil servants are important as citizens have the most direct interaction with these government officials (David J. Houston, 2016). Moreover, institutional performance has been found to be a major explanatory factor in shaping the trust.

Citizens' trust in public institutions partly relates to citizens judgments regarding the public officials in the bureaucracy. It may be the calculative judgment of citizens regarding their competence to carry out a particular job by public officials; it may also be affective judgments of the citizens' about the ethical or empathetic conduct of public officials towards the service seekers.

A constant in the research about citizen's attitudes towards public services has been the observation of a substantial difference between citizens' evaluation of personal experience with specific public services, and their view of the public services as a whole. It is observed in Goodsell's (1983) *The Case for Bureaucracy* and other publications (Klages, 1981; Hill, 1992 in Van de Walle, S., 2007). Zussman(1982: 63), in Canadian research, wanted to know "whether attitudes toward specific characteristics of public servants based on personal experience are generalized to include attitudes about the public service as a whole" (in Van de Walle, S.(2007)), and concluded that "favorable personal experiences were not carried over to a favorable view of the public services as a whole" (ibid). In a review of research on client-public administration relations, Grunow stated that

"important-but unexplained-within these studies is the inconsistency of the public reactions toward public administration: besides the high level of general satisfaction we find strong responses of dissatisfaction about bureaucratic terminology [...], inefficient functioning [...],injustice in decision-making [...], and lack of responsiveness to clients' preferences [...]. In contrast to this critical reaction the reported experiences of the population are very positive [...]" (1981: 228) in Van de Walle, S., 2007).

This accumulated evidence suggests that evaluations of personal experience with specific public services (the micro-level) and general opinions about the public sector (the macro-level) are two different opinions. These two types of opinions should hence be treated as two different objects of study. In this chapter, the focus will be on citizens' general opinion about the public sector or the civil service as a whole.

The above study of literatures suggest demographic or identity related variables are not so influential factor as performance or response related variables in building citizens' trust in public institutions. Religiousness is found to increase particularized trust. Governance performance has been seen to help increase the confidence in public institutions. Moreover, trust in individual institution does not necessarily reflect trust in other public institutions in general. However, social trust where the trust radius is small impedes building of general trust. Moreover, social capital or group cohesion may even increase distrust towards outsiders, though some scholar observes group membership has no influence in generalized trust because the attitude has already been built within the family at early stage of life.

3.2 Some Concepts related to Trust

At the beginning, some concepts such as cooperation, trust, distrust, trustworthiness, confidence, social capital and other related concepts are touched upon.

Trust: reality or illusion

Some researchers do not even agree with the concept of trust. They observe that there is nothing like trust. Trust is rather seen as 'calculated risk' run by actors whose enactment depends on others' actions. According to Williamson, if there is calculation, there is no need of trust; in trusting, no space of calculation (Karpik, 2014). But in absence of generalized calculation trust cannot be excluded (ibid).

Cooperation

According to Hardin (1995) cooperation is the coordination of efforts or activities of different parties to get mutually beneficial outcome (cited in Wilke, Davis, & Chivvis, 2011). Trust characterizes positive cooperative group feelings. Distrust and negative social attitude characterizes negative relationships. Trust plays powerful role in

cooperation because willingness to cooperate with others depends on the belief that the other people will also cooperate equally (ibid).

Reliance

All accounts of trust involve reliance on some party because there is some risk of the failure of the other party (Hardin, 2006). It has been discussed as 'encapsulated trust' which refers to being mutually benefitted through reciprocity of positive action.

Expectation and confidence

In almost all conceptions of trust there is element of expectation (Hardin, 2006). Trust comprises what we usually expect of others based on their trustworthiness. Strong positive expectations will breed confidence. Our trust on governance usually refers to the level of confidence on government.

Trust as 'Habitus'

Trust may be internalized which stems from ones education or family background or culture independent of any transactional interest or calculation. One's 'habitus' trust makes him/her habitually believe or rely on others in cooperating with others. It may become the social norm of a particular society which possesses general trust on its inhabitants (Frederiksen, 2014).

Radius of trust

Radius of trust means ones level or extent of trust. If one only trust the people around him/her who are closely related to his socio-economic activities his radius is small or s/he possess particularized trust. On the contrary, if someone believes or tends to rely on people irrespective of his previous knowledge about the other party or which is context independent he is said to have generalized trust (Fukuyama, 1999).

When trust matters

Peter Li (2012) observes that trust matters most when (i) the lack of certainty of unmet expectations is high,(ii) the vulnerability of control on keeping trust is high, (iii) the damage of unmet expectation are high,(iv) long-term interdependence or reciprocal relationship is high (Li, 2012).

Active and passive trust

According to Anthony Giddens trust may be active or passive. If ones trust is the result of direct interaction of someone with other, person or institution that is active trust (Giddens, 1990). On the other hand, if ones trust is generalized as a outcome of life experience or simple perception that is called passive trust. Generalized trust is mostly passive in nature.

Kramer (2006)	Trust as a 'complex psychological state'
Mayer, Davis & Schoorman (2006)	Trust as willingness to face vulnerability to the actions of another party
Sztompka, (1999)	Trust as 'a bet about the future contingent actions of others'
Hardin (2008)	Trust as 'encapsulated interest' to honor mutual trust
Hardin(1999)	Trust as 'cooperation', 'confidence' 'reliance'
Giddens (1990)	Active trust and passive trust
Frederiksen (2014)	Trust as 'Habitus' stems from education or family background

Table V Summary of main concepts regarding trust

(Adapted by the researcher)

Defining Trust:

To put it simply, trust is the belief on the ability, sincerity and benevolence of others which lead to the expectation that if one party (the trustor) cooperate with other party (the trusted) the other party would reciprocate the cooperation leading to the fulfilment of mutual interest of similar or different kind. If there is no risk, there is no question of trust. Trust has impact on institutional performance or is influenced by that performance positively or negatively. Moreover, trust may be partly the impact of social interaction based on social capital.

For the purpose of the study, citizens' trust will be seen as positive view about the world partly built on social network and partly as a result of positive experience with the institutions which is enhance by the level of educational attainment.

In short, trust can be perceived as the confidence of citizens on the capacity, responsiveness, integrity of civil servants as a reflection of institutional performance. This trust may or may not be affected by socio-demographic characters of the population.

3.3 Typology and level of Trust

3.3.1 Typology of Trust

Scholars from different disciplines mentioned different types of trust from the perspective of their parent disciplines. Most prominent among the definitions are based on two perspectives: rational-choice perspective (derived from economics or political science) and perspectives that emphasize social constructions and shared values (derived from sociology, psychology). Scholars in the field have tried to integrate the two perspectives. To keep it simple only two types of trust are distinguished here: calculation-based and relational trust.

Calculation-based trust comes from assessing in a concrete context the justification of trusting a particular party who will be expected to reciprocate the trust for his/her own interest evident from the observed behavior of the party. Such trust is based on rationality not stemming from emotional attachment or affinity between parties. Such rational trust is concerned with incentive structures, formal guarantees, and previous history of positive interactions. Such trust vanishes quickly if the context or issue changes.

In contrast, relationship-based trust is based on personal experience and affinity, which stems from positive expectations about another's actions. Relational ties may be the result of association with others which may be in the family or community or social organization, which have made the other party trustworthy (rightly or wrongly), may be due to having close ties in the past creating positive belief.

Uslaner(2002) talks about knowledge based trust or particularized trust and generalized trust. Different types of trust help to solve collective problems in different ways. Knowledge based trust may solve small scale problem within small radius of relationship. To address large-scale collective problems ranging from civic engagement in public sphere to reaching consensus in national legislatures one must rely on generalized trust among people (ibid). More education leads to generalized trust; more religiosity leads to particularized trust. Linkages between civic engagement and trust are weak. The roots of generalized trust among people are set within family before moving out to join any organizations (ibid).Therefore, it is

assumed that it is family influence not the organization which helps to develop generalized trust among people; not the other way round.

3.3.2 Level of views on Trust

Individual level

- i. **Socio-cultural thoughts:** Trust is the product of social interactions and previous experiences which may be positive or negative. If the society has high power distance there may be lower social interaction and more distance between common people and people in power (Hofstede & Minkov, 2010). Such distance may create distrust. It also applies for individualistic societies.
- ii. **Socio-psychological explanations:** Trust is related to one's personality, attitude towards the others that may be the product one's demographical factors, social upbringing, and individual characteristics and propensity and experience. Morten Frederiksen has seen trust as 'Habitus' stems from education or family background (Frederiksen, 2014).
- iii. **Party affiliation:** One's political affiliation that intends to represent him/her may shape individual trust. If someone is linked or biased to a particular political party he or she must have natural propensity to trust the incumbent government no matter how it performs. Or it may be because of the actions of that government that may be favorable to him or her.

National level

- i. **Governance quality perception:** The level of one's trust may depend on how he or she perceives the government's performance efficacy or failure (Herrows, 2012). But it also depends on the level of education. It is found that if the state efficacy is positive the trust goes up with the level of education. If the level of education is low, state efficacy do not show much influence on trust level.
- ii. **Ethnic and religious Diversity:** If there is heterogeneous population there is less social cohesion which ultimately negatively affects the general trust on the government. Moreover, in heterogeneous country it is difficult to ensure social equality which ultimately negatively affect general trust level.

iii. **Political history:** Trust also may be dependent on the exposure to democracy. If the country is democratic in nature it is assumed that there will prevail better law and order and rights and justice which will ultimately have positive effect on citizen trust on government. If there is autocracy or poor democracy people will be doubtful about the intention of the government regarding citizens' rights and justice. Power inequality breeds distrust (Hardin, 2006). This political scenario may or may not likely to be reflected in the Bureaucracy of the country.

3.4 Approaches towards Trust

One of the limitations of trust literature is that there are no specific theories regarding trust. Still for the purpose of the study, some approaches related with the study have been consulted and used for the study.

3.4.1 Rational Choice theory

According to Kramer (2006) rational choice refers to the popular tendency to act with the intent of profit boosting along with the expectation of reciprocity from the other party who is entrusted with a particular matter of interest. According to the theory no party usually act or cooperate unless or until s/he is sure about his/her achievement. It may be based on calculative trust, which is active in nature. In this regard, in deciding to trust other party trustor and trustee are viewed as 'rational actors'. The 'encapsulated trust' (Hardin, 2006) requires the belief that the trustee will reciprocate positively because there is stake of acting positively for the interest of the trustee as it also expected to fulfill his need as well. Rational Choice Theory argues that public trust is based on the calculation of gains (Kramer, 2006). It can also be explained as the calculation of the possibility of loss or risk of failure. However, according to William, in the presence of calculation, trust is unnecessary; while trusting other party ideally there is no space left for calculation. Nevertheless, in the absence of generalized trust, calculative trust cannot be excluded (Karpik, 2014). In this study, Rational Choice theory does not go far because it is more or less concerned about individual choice and experience whereas the study is concerned about generalized trust in public institutions. Civil servants are supposed to serve the citizens and citizens have no choice to avoid civil servants if they want to get the service. Therefore, their choice is not pertinent here.

3.4.2 Institutional Theory

Public Institutions serve its purpose through normative and regulative mechanism. Through regulative mechanism, it sets the standard norms and through regulative mechanism it regulates the behavior of citizens. So, it has important role in shaping the behavior of citizens. Therefore, it may impact the trust of citizens through its mechanisms. In institutional approach, an institution has a great role to play in influencing public perception (Bachmann & Zaheer, 2006). The role is played basically through upholding confidence of both the trustor and the trustee by properly and impartially enforcing rule of law against contract breaker. Ideally, the authorized state institutions intervene through state machineries against any attempt of breaching of trust by either party. Appropriate and quick legal actions eventually increase citizens' trust on the concerned government institution. When citizens' possess positive perception about the institutions as being competent (e.g. bureaucracy/ civil service), fair and impartial, their trust naturally tends to go up. Level of trust is reversed when citizens' perception changes towards negative direction. Ruscio depicts trust as Confidence in Institutional process as well as in individual public officials' competence (Ruscio, 1999). The scholar criticizes Rational Choice Theory as well as those theories that depict trust as dependent on widely shared values. It argues that confidence in the institutions and public officials as individuals is one of the sources of trust in the political realm. One of the problems of trust in the administrative state is linked with the institution's success in balancing discretion and accountability. Once the institution is successful in ensuring the balance people will show their willingness to be vulnerable to the actions of another party, which may be seen as a kind of Trust in that particular institution (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 2006). Here, institution has to play the leading role.

3.5 Social Capital theory

As an alternative to psychological approaches, some social theorists claim that the ability to trust others and any sustainable cooperating relation are the product of social experiences and socialization, especially those found in the types of voluntary associations of a society. In such societies different social groups are brought together to achieve a collective goal. The socio-cultural model basically argues that individual

life experience and social situations tends to create civic mindedness, social trust and cooperation and reciprocity among individuals and stakeholders. This, in turn, eventually helps to build strong, effective and successful social organizations and institutions, including political groups and public institutions in which people can put their trust on. Such organizations and institutions in turn help to build trust through cooperation and reciprocity. In short, there is a direct and mutually reinforcing relationship between the types of people who express trust and confidence and the strong and effective social organizations and institutions. If this is true, it may be expected to find that people who express positive perception of trust towards others are likely to express confidence in public institutions and to be well integrated into social associations and engaged in other forms of cooperative social activity.

Conceptually, the radius of trust determines the thickness of the support circle. On the other hand, the level of trust determines the strength of community cooperation within a circle. To evaluate the amount of general trust, one requires information about the level as well as the radius of trust. If the level of trust is low or the radius of trust is narrow, the extent of general trust is likely to be considered small. (Delhey, Newton, & Welzel, 2011) . It is here pertinent to mention that, generalized trust is derived from social capital, shared values. Social capital ensures enlarged radius of trust enhancing generalized trust.

Newton and Norris (2000) in their study on confidence in public institutions conclude that at national level, social trust and confidence in government and its institutions are strongly associated with each other (Newton & Norris, 2000). Social trust can help build effective social and political institutions, which can help governments perform effectively, and this in turn encourages confidence in civic institutions. The research provides substantial support for theories that focus on the performance of governments and political institutions to explain citizens' declining confidence in them (ibid).

The theory of social capital linked with this study on citizens' trust in public institution because social capital is important for the proper functioning of formal public institutions. Social capital tends to reduce the transaction costs, which is usually associated with formal coordination mechanisms such as official formalities,

hierarchies, bureaucratic rules etc. Therefore, the existence of social trust may create the difference in the level of trust across nations. It may also limit the radius of trust or may even expand that radius.

3.6 Institutional Performance Model

The model focuses on the actual performance of institutions as the key to understanding citizens' confidence. Trust and confidence are regarded neither as personality traits nor as the direct products of social conditions that are associated with a demographic culture or well-developed social capital. Instead, because ideally majority of the citizens are exposed to government performance, confidence in political institutions is likely to vary among various personality and cultural and social types. The model also assumes that citizens recognize whether government or political institutions are performing well or poorly and reacts accordingly. Public institutions that perform well are likely to stimulate positive confidence of citizens; on the contrary, those that perform ineffectively breeds feelings of distrust and low confidence. This has three implications. One implication is that given accurate sampling techniques, reliable research procedures, and sensible survey modules questions linked with confidence are likely to provide an accurate meter of public pulse. Another implication is that, there are significant consequences for public policy. According to the suggestion of the theory if public institutions earn poor public esteem, the tonic for political leaders lies in either shrinking public expectations of performance (by promising less to the people) or in enhancing institutional effectiveness (by delivering more). Lastly, the model postulates an indirect relationship between confidence in political institutions and social trust, which is not the concern of this study.

3.7 Choice of theory

In their study, Newton and Norris have found that confidence in government and its institutions and social trust are strongly associated with each other at national level. It discovers support for theories which center on the performance of governments as well as on political institutions to explain declining confidence in them. The research supports for theories that focus on the performance of institutions to explain citizens' declining confidence in them.

The findings also lead us away from social-psychological and cultural explanations of confidence in public institutions. Social trust may help build effective socio-political institutions, which can eventually help governments perform better, and this in turn boost confidence in civic institutions. Nevertheless, there is a controversy whether trust leads to better performance or better performance builds social trust and confidence in governance. However, the social capital theory has been partially used in the study to see the relation of citizens' social engagement and trust in public institutions. Askvik et al. (2011) examines patterns of trust in Nepal; their findings also support largely the performance-based theory (Askvik, Jamil , & Dhakal, 2011).

Moreover, governmental performance may affect individuals regardless of their particular personality or social type. However, not all citizens are likely to be equally affected by government performance. The institutional performance model does not predict a very strong relationship between social trust and confidence in institutions at the individual level. On the contrary, it leads us to expect that the relationship will be non-existent at the individual level yet important at the aggregate level.

Therefore, the main guiding theory of the study will be the institutional theory and the institutional performance model. Because, substantial supports have been found for theories that focus on the performance of governments and political institutions to explain citizens' declining confidence in them.

3.8 Analytical framework

From the above discussion, Institutional performance model provides the performance factors and social capital theory provides the social factors that may explain the relationship of trust with the dependent variable trust in civil service. Therefore, these factors has been taken in the analytical framework to study the pattern of Citizens' trust in Civil Service of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka and the explanatory factors are the focus of interest of this research. Therefore, questions regarding citizens' confidence in the civil service are used to measure trust in public institutions. In this study, the public institution includes only Civil Service of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Therefore, the independent or explanatory variables are classified into three categories: demographic, social and institutional variables.

The Demographic variables include the gender, age and level of education of respondents. The social variables include respondents' membership in any social organization, religious practice or behavior, trust towards other people in general, respect to the authority of senior member of family or top person in office. Institutional factors include competency, transparency and integrity of civil servants of the three countries.

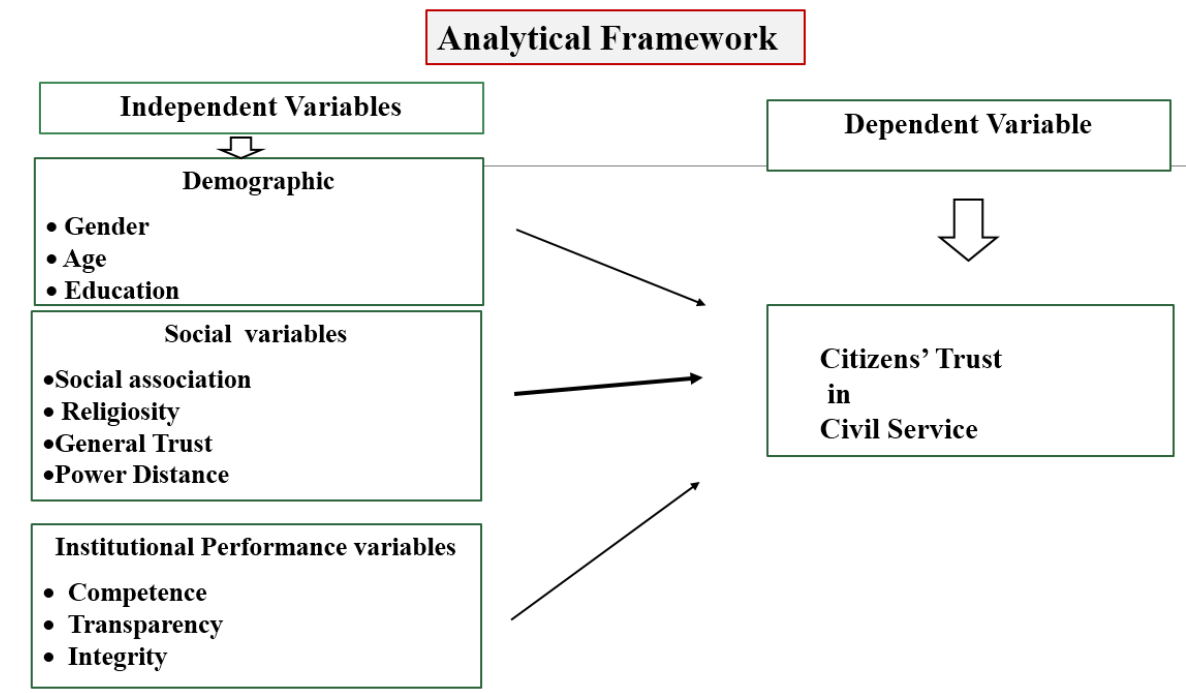


Figure 3 Analytical Framework of the Research

(Source: Depicted by researcher)

3.8.1 Dependent variables and indicators

The dependent variable is citizen's trust measured by confidence in the selected institutions: Civil service

Dependent Variable	Indicators	Measured by
Citizens' Trust in Civil Service	Respondents perception of confidence in Civil Service	Responses to the following survey question comprise the key variable of interest: "I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: Judiciary, Election Commission, Police, and Bureaucracy?"
		Q: How much confidence do you have in Civil Service?

Table VI Dependent Variable, Indicators and Measurement

3.8.2 Independent variables

Three sets of independent variables are assumed to influence citizen's trust in public institutions. These are characterized as **Socio-demographic, Socio-cultural and Performance variables**. The variables are to be measured by the relevant questions in survey questionnaire.

Independent Variables	To be measured by
Socio demographic 1. Gender 2. Age 3. Education	1. Respondent's profile (male, female) 2. Respondent's profile (youth, middle age, older) 3. Educational level of respondents
Socio-cultural 4. Social interaction 5. Religiousness 6. General Trust 7. Power Distance	4. Answer on Citizen's membership in any associations such as social, voluntary or civil organizations. 5. Answer on Citizens' attendance to any religious service in (Mosque or temple, church, pagoda etc.) 6. Answer on respondents belief in common people 7. Respondents acceptance of authority in family and office
Performance 8. Capacity to serve 9. Transparency 10. Integrity	8. Response to the Question whether Civil servants are prompt and efficient or not and responsive or not (to what extent agree/disagree) 9. Response to the Question whether civil servants are accessible and open or not (to what extent agree/disagree) 10. Response to question whether civil servants are corrupt, honest and impartial or not (to what extent agree/disagree)

Table VII Independent Variable, Indicators and Measurement

Socio demographic variables

The socio-demographic variables are the individual characteristics of the respondents that may or may not influence their trust towards others. These variables have come from the social-psychological approach of trust. If this view is right about trust as a character trait, then it can be expected that a close affinity at the individual level between social trust and confidence in public institutions may exist. Contrarily, Eric Uslaner observes trust does not depend on membership in voluntary organization; more religiosity leads to particularized trust; linkages between civic engagement and

trust are weak. The roots of generalized trust are set within family before moving out to join any organizations. More education leads to generalized trust (Uslaner, 2002).

Socio-psychological and cultural variables

These independent variables come from the social and cultural model which essentially argues that individual life situations and experiences- especially higher education (Doring 1992), participation in a community with a cooperative culture, and involvement in voluntary activities (Geertz 1962; Ardener 1964; Williams 1988) - create social trust and cooperation, civic mindedness, and reciprocity between individuals. According to social psychologist Morris Rosenberg (1956, 1957) socio psychological make-up of an individual make him more optimistic or pessimistic in trusting or distrusting others.

Institutional Performance variables

These variables come from the institutional theory of trust. Institution play the role to uphold morale of the both trustor and trustee by establishing law and order through sanctions against contract breaker (Bachmann & Zaheer, 2006). Ruscio also resonates such view who states restoring trust stems from 'improving moral factor within public organization and discovering a common sense of purpose between citizens and government' (Ruscio, 1999). Study reveals that various political, social, ethnic and institutional factors negatively influence trust. This is also indicative of the importance of service quality, impartiality, and equality in service delivery to increase trust among all sections of citizens (Ramesh, 2017). Institutional performance are seen to be reflected in the capacity, responsiveness and level of integrity of the civil servants as perceived by the respondents of the survey.

3.9 Hypothesis

Based on the theories and previous research findings some hypothesis on the research questions may be drawn to be tested by the empirical data.

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant impact of Demographic factors (Gender, Age, Education) with trust in Civil Service (Van de Walle, S. , 2007).

Hypothesis 2: Social factors (Social associated-ness, religiosity, General Trust among people) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service (Askvik, Jamil , & Dhakal, 2011)

Hypothesis 3: Level of Power Distance among in society affects citizens' trust in Civil Service (Hofstede & Minkov, 2010) (Kim, 2005)

Hypothesis 4: Institutional capacity (Civil servants Competence, transparency) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service (Heintzman & Marson, 2005) (Li, 2015)

Hypothesis 5: Civil servants Integrity (corruption, honesty, impartiality) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service. (David J. Houston, 2016) (Ramesh, 2017)

3.10 Conclusion

In this chapter the conceptual features of trust has been discussed and a definition of trust has been given. The current trends of research on trusts have also been discussed in detail linking with the study under consideration. After presenting some theories and models institutional theory and performance model as well as social capital theory have been identified as being suitable for the study. Though there is still no exact definition of trust based on the literature and theoretical concepts an analytical framework have been set to conduct the study on citizens' trust in public institutions using basically quantitative analysis of secondary data. Based on the category of variables three models will be analyzed to get a comprehensive findings from the study. To further explain and strengthen the relationships of different factors across countries some qualitative analysis of different international reports will be done. In the next chapter, the methodology of the study and the analysis of the secondary data will be presented and discussed.

Chapter Four

Methodology

In this chapter sources of data, the tools and method of their analysis and interpretation has been presented in detail. Basically the empirical data used in this study is primary in nature though collected from secondary sources. The data is quantitative and the analytical method is also quantitative; SPSS is the basic tool used for data analysis. The survey conducted separately in separate period of time in the three countries: Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka on citizens' perception on various aspects of the country under consideration .For the purpose of the study the three datasets are collected and analyzed with a view to get the answer of the questions of the study.

4.1 Data Sources

The data used in this study has come from three countries: Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka as part of a research program. The research program was jointly conducted by the Department of Administration and Organization Theory (DAO), University of Bergen (UiB), Norway, Central Department of Public Administration (CDPA), Tribhuvan University (TU), Nepal, Department of Sociology and Political Science, North South University, Bangladesh, and Department of Political Science, University of Paradeniya, Sri Lanka. The objective of the data book on trust survey was to facilitate research on trust as a source of empirical data (Jamil, Dhakal, & Paudel, 2017).

Regarding Bangladesh the data has been taken from the Public Policy and Governance Program's (PPG) Governance and Citizens' Trust Survey Questionnaire. It is based on a questionnaire survey carried out in 2014-15 with 2748 respondents. The survey was conducted in 43 upazillas¹¹ and municipalities in 21 districts¹², and in 6 divisions¹³. The selection of area were random trying to maintain representation from both urban and rural population. The survey was carried out in Bangladesh and Nepal in 2014 on Citizens' trust in public institutions funded by NORAD¹⁴ to fulfill the requirement of

¹¹ An administrative unit of local government. It is below district in Bangladesh

¹² An administrative unit of local government below. It is under divisional administration

¹³ An administrative unit of local government below. It is supervised by accountable to central govt.

¹⁴ The Norwegian Association for Development Cooperation

Masters in Public Policy and Governance (MPPG) under the Department of Political Science and Sociology, North South University.

The Data regarding Nepal has come from the data book on “The State of governance and Citizens’ Trust in Public and Political Institutions in Nepal”. It is based on the questionnaire of a Trust Survey carried out in 2014 by the central department of public administration financed under the project Policy and Governance Studies (PGS) in South Asia: Regional Master and PhD Programs. The data was based on questionnaire survey carried out in 2014 with 2404 respondents randomly selected from 34 districts out of 75 districts in Nepal.

The Data regarding Sri Lanka has also come from the report of the survey in 2015 on Citizens’ Trust on Public and Political Institutions in Sri Lanka as another major component of the same project mentioned above. Under the sponsorship of NORHED project, this was a nationwide survey conducted by the Department of Political Science, University of Paradeniya, Sri Lanka . This study represented 20.97 million of population of Sri Lanka; 9 Provinces were selected to maintain representation from total population.1 district from each Province were selected excepting 3 provinces; from Western, Central and Northern province 2 districts were selected. From the 12 districts among the 2000 persons chosen by stratified sampling only 1389 respondents agreed to participate in the study (Abeyrathne, Withanawasam, & Samaranayake, 2017). Through questionnaire public institutions’ capacity and corruption among politicians and civil servants were gauged along with public perception about good governance and policy performance.

For the purpose of the study the country survey data are used to analyze and compare. As the three-study survey conducted under the similar project almost identical module of questionnaire was used which has facilitated the comparison .Standardized questionnaires were constructed by the research team members with an emphasis placed on topics equally relevant to the three countries and that were agreed upon and approved by the expert researchers.

4.2 Data Analysis Method

The empirical data of the survey have been analyzed using SPSS. The data have been obtained in nominal and ordinal scale. In nominal scale, the numbers (0, 1, 2 etc.) assigned to the variables have no mathematical value. The dependent variable is created from responses to the survey item: “How much confidence you have in Civil Service? Respondents were presented with five response options ranging from “not at all” to “a great deal.” Originally trust level has been measured in Likert scale ranging 1-4 from ‘not at all confidence’ to ‘a great deal of confidence’, and because of the analysis through Cross Tab during processing of the data the scale has been lumped to 1-2 as ‘low trust’, 3-4 as ‘high trust’ where ‘low trust’ is shown as 1, ‘high trust’ is shown as 2.

The age level, which was originally in numerical value, has been recoded to ordinal scale where value 1 is given to ‘youth’ (respondent’s upto 25 year of age), value 2 is given to ‘middle age’ (from 25 upto 50 year) and value 3 to ‘older age’ (above 50 year of age). The education level of respondents also recoded to simplify the comparison table. Originally education level has been measured in Likert scale ranging 1-7/8 from ‘illiterate to masters/higher education, and for the sake of cross tab during processing of the data the scale has been lumped to 1-3 as ‘upto primary level’, 4-6 as ‘upto higher secondary’ and 7-8 as ‘graduation and above’ where value 1 is given to ‘upto primary level’, value 2 is given to ‘ upto higher secondary’ and value 3 is given to ‘graduation and above’.

Civil servants Performance level has been measured in Likert scale ranging 1-4 scale from ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree’ and during processing of the data the scale has been lumped to 1-2 ‘quite or strongly disagree’, 3-4 as ‘partly or strongly agree’ where value 1 is given to ‘quite or strongly disagree’ and value 2 is given to ‘partly or strongly agree’.

Chart 1 Data Measurement scale

Variable	Measuring scale			
Independent	Original coding		Decoded as	
Age	Continuous scale in years		1. Youth: 0-25 2. Middle: 25-50 3. Old: above 50 yr	
Education	1. Illiterate 2. literate 3. Primary 4. Lower secondary 5. Secondary 6. Higher secondary 7. Graduate 8. Masters degree or higher		1. Low education (1-3) 2. Middle education(4-6) 3. High education(7-8)	
Religiousness / practice/ belief	1. not religious 2-4. less religious 5-9. Religious 10. very Religious 99.Dont know		1. Not Religious 2. Religious 3. Don't know	
Social Association	1.yes, 2.no		Not decoded	
General Trust	1.yes, 2.no		Not decoded	
Power Distance	1.strongly disagree 2.quite disagree 3. partly agree 4.strongly agree 5.dont know		1.low power distance 2.high power distance	Ques. on top govt. officials merged with respect to family members
Civil Servants a. prompt and efficient b. helpful/responsive d. honest e. treat all equally f. difficult to access g. don't hide information Civil Servant's involvement in corruption	1.strongly disagree 2.quite disagree 3.partly agree 4.strongly agree 9.don't know		1. Strongly or quite disagree 2. Partly or strongly agree	
Dependent Trust in Civil service	1.not at all 2.not very much 3.quite a lot 4. a great deal 9. don't know		1. not at all or not very much / low trust 2. quite a lot or a great deal/ high trust	

It is assumed that the survey data are normally distributed. Therefore, parametric tests have been conducted for analyzing the data to get better validity. In data

presentation, firstly the result of univariate analysis has been shown as frequency distribution of the respondents. The comparative pattern of variable data of the three countries has been shown in the table and graph. Secondly, bivariate analysis has been done through cross tabulations. Then, Chi-square Test has been done to check the significance of the relationship among the dependent and explanatory variables as well as to check the validity of the assumptions. Correlation analysis has also been done to see the direction of relationships between two variables whether positive or negative, and to assess causal connection. Later the findings have been interpreted and explained in terms of contexts of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

Chapter Five

Data Presentation and Analysis

5 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the presentation of empirical data, analysis of data from different angles and interpretation of the data. At the outset, it introduces distribution of the respondents, their demographic profile. It attempts to analyze the empirical observations regarding the variables in line with the analytical framework and assumptions. In the previous chapters, the following questions were raised for research in this study:

The main research question of the study is:

Do citizens in South Asian countries have similar perception about public institutions?

The leading questions of the study will include the following:

1. Do levels of citizens' trust on institutions have common pattern in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka?
2. What factors can help explain such pattern of citizens' trust among nations and how?

In an attempt to find out answers to those research questions empirical data from Trust Survey conducted in the three South Asian countries have been collected from secondary sources for analysis.

5.1 Distribution of respondents

Respondents from different parts of the three south Asian countries: Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka were chosen.

The number of respondents (N) of the three countries is good enough for conducting a valid research on the topic of the study.

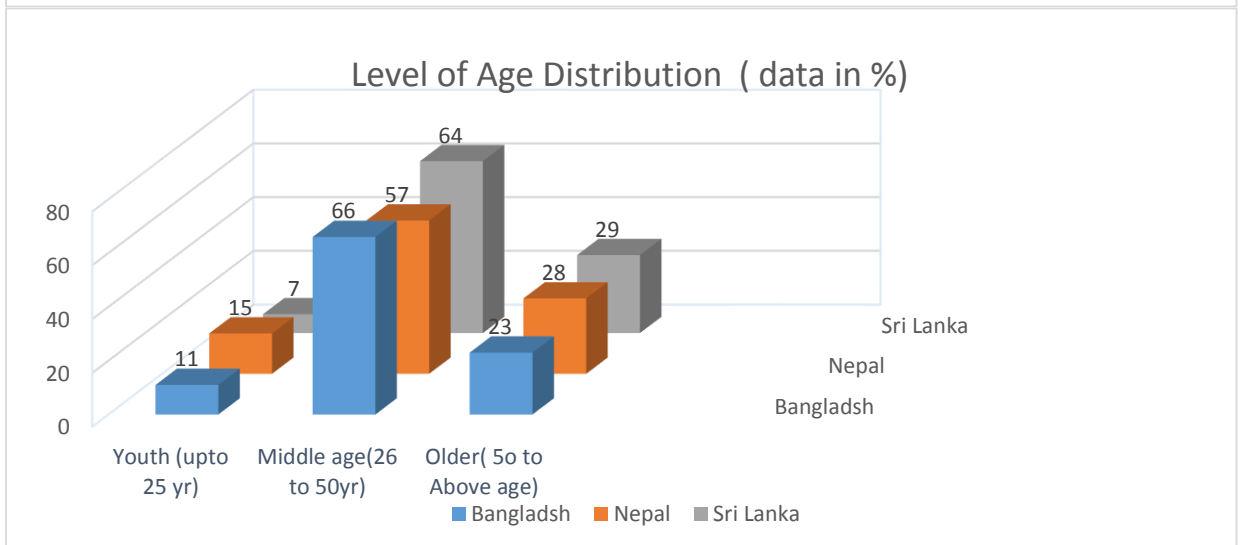
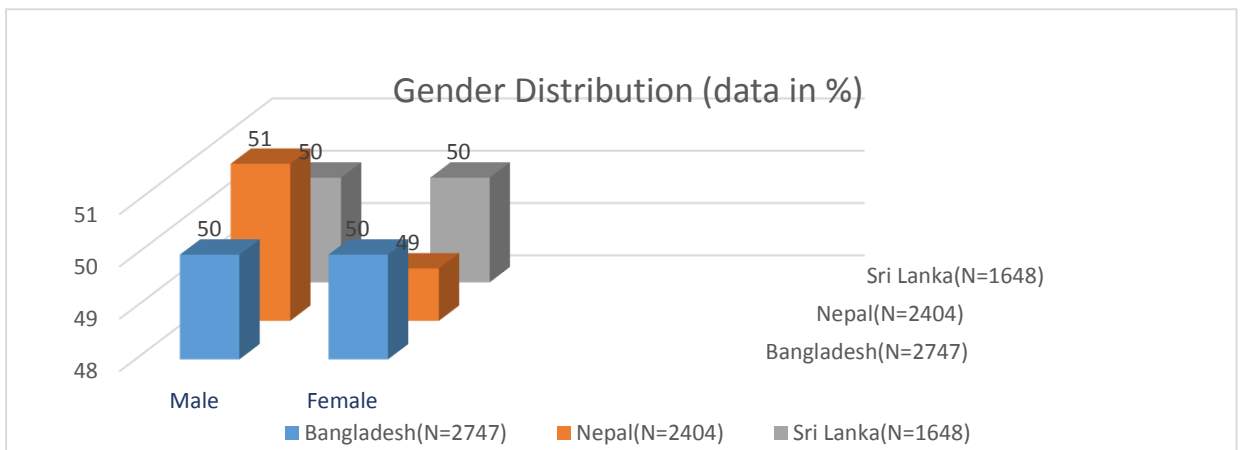
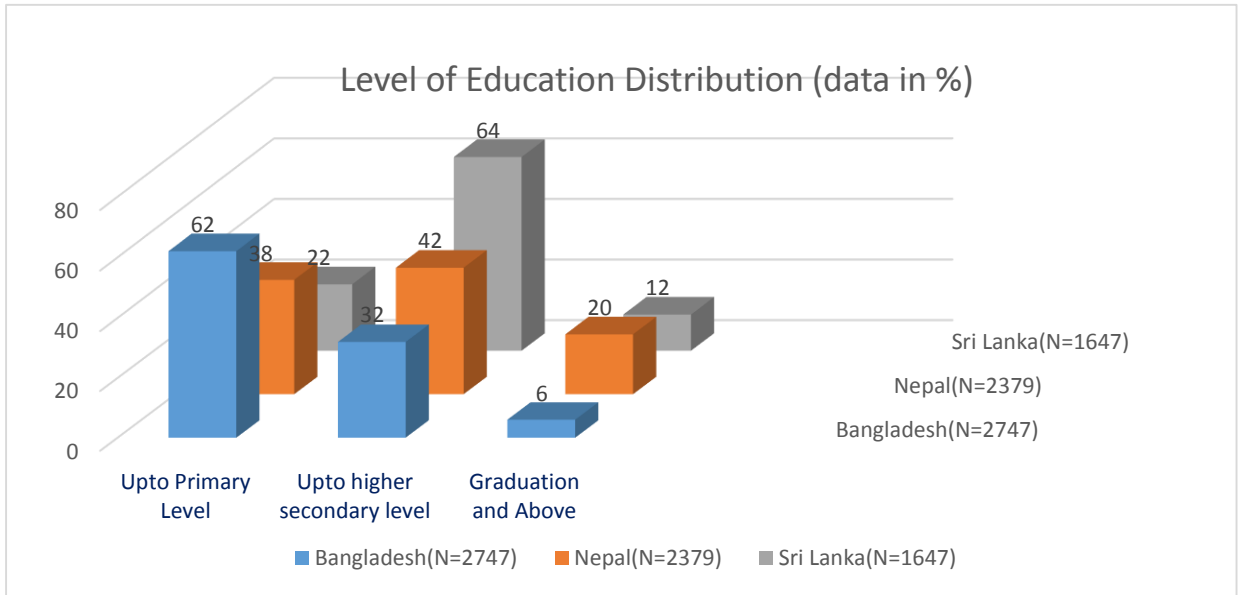
Demographic Profile of the Respondents

The demographic profile of the respondents such as gender, age group and educational level has been considered important for the survey. Therefore, the gender, level of age and educational status of the respondents of all the three countries are presented below.

Demographic Variables		Country of Survey		
		Bangladesh (N=2748)	Nepal (N=2404)	Sri Lanka (N=1398)
Gender	Male	50%	51%	50 %
	Female	50	49	50
Education	Upto Primary level	62%	38%	22 %
	Upto higher Secondary level	32	42	64
	Graduation and above	6	20	12
Age	Youth (from lowest upto25yr old)	11%	15%	7 %
	Middle age (from 26 upto50)	66	57	64
	Older (from 50 and above age)	23	28	29

Table VIII Gender, Age and Educational status wise distribution of the respondents

Figure 4 Demographic Distribution



Gender

The above table shows that almost half of the respondents of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka are Male. Therefore, the distribution of gender is fair enough to ensure gender representation.

Educational level

In terms of education, mostly medium educated respondents were chosen. However, in case of Bangladesh low educated respondents are more than that of Nepal and Sri Lanka. This may be because of lower literacy rate in Bangladesh. Upto primary level Bangladesh is higher than Nepal and Sri Lanka where Nepal is higher than Sri Lanka. On the other hand, most of the Sri Lankan respondents are high school educated than Bangladesh and Nepal. But Nepal scores higher than Bangladesh and Sri Lanka in terms of highly educated respondents. This variation may have significant effect in the findings.

Age level

In terms of Age, most of the respondents of Bangladesh are in their middle and older age. Similar is the case about Nepal and Sri Lanka. The mean age of the respondents of Bangladesh is 40.84 whereas for Nepal the mean age is 41.88 and for Sri Lanka 42.93. This reflects that a matured section of respondents from all the three countries were covered in the survey.

5.2 Univariate analysis of the three country data

In this section frequency of individual data from the respondent of Bangladesh Nepal and Sri Lanka are presented.

Level of trust in Civil Service

The table below shows the comparative level of social association, general trust among people, religious practice and power distance prevailing in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

Ques.				
"I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them:..... Bureaucracy?"				
Dependent variable		Country of Survey		
		Bangladesh N=2747	Nepal N=2373	Sri Lanka N=1581
Trust in civil service	No or not very much confidence	662 26.7%	652 27.5%	540 34.2%
	quite or lot of confidence	1815 73.3%	1499 63.2%	1041 65.8%
	don't know	267	222	0

Table IX Level of Citizens' Trust in Civil Service in the Three Countries

Level of Confidence in Civil Service

The above data reveal that level of citizens' trust in civil service in all the three countries is good though, as evidence shows, Bangladeshi respondents have higher confidence in civil service than those of Nepal and Sri Lanka.

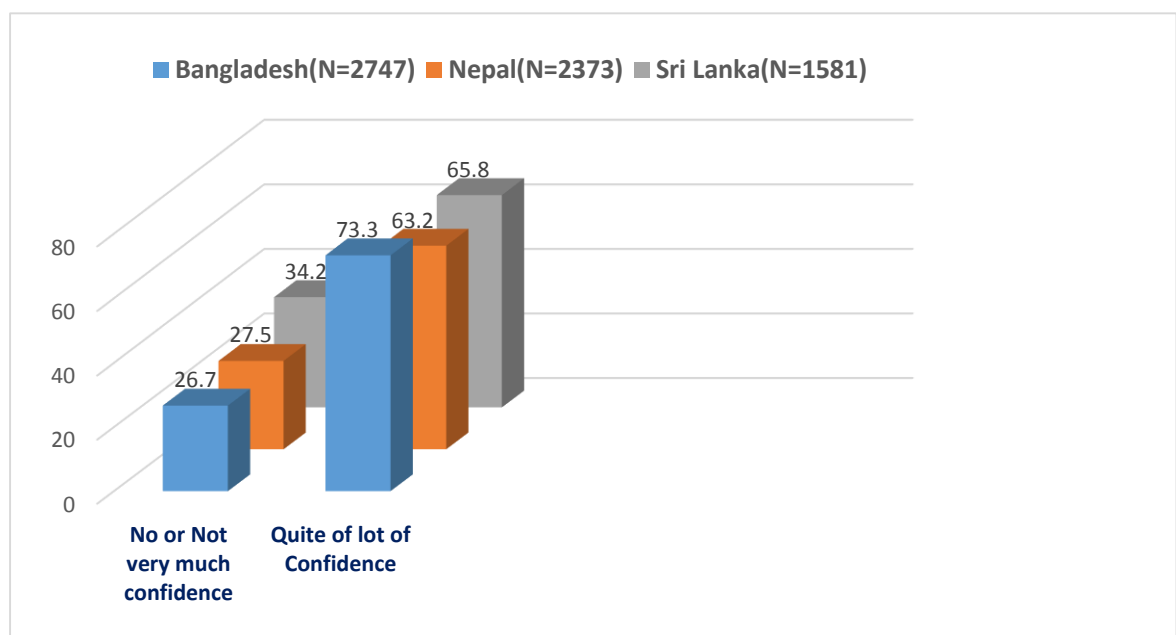


Figure 5 Level of Trust in Civil Service in BD, NP and SL

5.2.1 Social variables

In this section the data presented are based on the response to social factor related questions:

Social Variables		Country		
		BD N=2747	Nepal N=2353	Sri Lanka N=1643
a. Social Interaction/ Association (Associated with any social, voluntary, civil society, community, etc.)	Member	19	41	59
	Not member	81	59	41
b. General Trust among people (Do you easily trust people?)	Yes	29	16	16.5
	No	71	78	83.5
c. Religiousness whether you attend religious services (such as religious ceremonies)	Not or Less Religious	19	19	41
	Religious	81	80	59
d. Power Distance	Low (disagree)	36.7	75.6	80.8
Acceptance of power and authority of officials and senior family members	High (agree)	60.8	20.8	17.9

Table X Comparative distribution according to Social Variables (%)

Interpretation

a. Social Interaction/ association

The above table shows that most of the respondents from Bangladesh are not associated with any social organization. In Nepal less number of respondents are linked with associations whereas more Sri Lankan respondents are linked with any social organizations. Therefore, in terms of social associatedness Nepal and Sri Lanka are ahead of Bangladesh. The probable socio-cultural reasons behind this tendency are touched in the later part of the paper.

b. General trust

The above table shows that maximum number of the respondents from Bangladesh do not have trust in most other people in general. Similarly, maximum number of the respondents of Nepal and Sri Lanka do not generally trust other people. Though the percentage is little higher in Nepal and Sri Lanka compared to Bangladesh. The probable reason is also touched in later part of the paper.

c. Religiousness

According to the data, most of the people of Bangladesh and Nepal practice their religious rituals whereas comparatively less number of the respondents of Sri Lanka practices their religious rituals. This behavioral pattern may or may not have influence on the respondents' level of trust in civil service. There this issue is discussed later.

d. Power Distance

The above table shows that maximum numbers of the respondents from Bangladesh do have high power distance. They accept that civil servants in power are respected and obeyed. On the contrary, most of the respondents of Nepal and Sri Lanka do not generally accept high power distance. They seem to have less respect and care about their civil servants higher authority and status as well as to the senior members of their family. This feature is significant in explaining citizens' behavior and perception of trust in civil service. Therefore, it has been discussed in detail in the later portion of the paper.

5.2.2 Performance data of Bangladesh Nepal and Sri Lanka

Here performance means the performance and difference characteristics of civil servants. Through response to some specific questions respondents perception about these characteristics of civil servants are try to measure.

In this section, the data presented are based on the response to the following related questions:

Q. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements? In general, civil servants are-

- a. Prompt and efficient
- b. Helpful and responsive
- c. Honest
- d. Treat all equally
- e. Difficult to access
- f. Don't hide information

Q. Are civil servants involved in corruption?

Civil Servant's competence

The table below shows the comparative level of efficiency and responsiveness of civil servants as perceived by the respondents in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Respondents answer to the question (a) and question (b) is presented here in percentage of the total response from the three countries separately.

Competence		BD	Nepal	Sri Lanka
Prompt and efficient	Strongly or quite disagree	31	53	63
	Partly or strongly agree	58	39	37
Helpful and responsive	Strongly or quite disagree	41	56	51
	Partly or strongly agree	46	38	42

Table XI Perception Civil Servant's Competence
(Efficiency and responsiveness) (%)

The above table shows that less number of respondents from Sri Lanka and Nepal believe that their civil servants are prompt and efficient in their service delivery. Among Bangladeshi respondent more than half of the respondents have believe in competence of their civil servants. It may one of the reasons of less trust in civil service of Nepal and Sri Lanka compared to Bangladesh. More than half of the respondents from Nepal and Sri Lanka do not believe that their civil servants are responsive enough to their needs whereas less than half of Bangladeshi respondent both agree and disagree about the responsiveness of their civil servants.

Civil Servant's Integrity

The below table shows the comparative level of Integrity of civil servants as perceived by the respondents in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

Civil Servant's Integrity		BD	Nepal	Sri Lanka
Civil servants are Corrupted	Strongly or quite disagree(less)	49	55	67
	Partly or strongly agree(more)	43	36	33
Civil servants are Honest	Strongly or quite disagree (less)	50	65	78
	Partly or strongly agree	41	29	22
Civil servants Treat all equally	Strongly or quite disagree (Less impartial)	67	68	70
	Partly or strongly agree (more impartial)	25	27	25

Table XII Perception of Civil Servant's Integrity
(Corruptness, honesty and impartiality)(%)

Corruption

The table shows that maximum respondents of Bangladesh Nepal and Sri Lanka believe that civil servants of their country are less corrupt, the percentage of Bangladeshi respondents being a little higher than the other countries in this regard.

Honesty

Dissimilar trend of belief is evident regarding honesty of civil servants. More number of the respondents of the three countries belief that their civil servants are not honest. More people of Nepal and Sri Lanka think in this line than those of Bangladesh. This is surprising if the response to the question regarding corruption is compared with this. This seems to be that the respondent misunderstood the question in this regard.

Impartiality

The table shows that most of the respondents of the three countries agree that their civil servants are not fair in their treatment of people. They discriminate among service seekers.

Civil Servant's Transparency

The below tables shows the comparative level of **Transparency** of civil servants as perceived by the respondents in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

Transparency		BD	Nepal	Sri Lanka
Difficult to access (Accessibility)	Strongly or quite disagree (more accessible)	23	33	56
	Partly or strongly agree (less accessible)	67	62	42
Don't hide information (openness)	Strongly or quite disagree (less open)	57	60	81
	Partly or strongly agree (more open)	27	31	19

Table XIII Perception of Civil Servant's Transparency (accessibility and openness) (%)

Accessibility

The table shows that most of the respondents of Bangladesh and Nepal perceive that their civil servants are not easy to reach though more Sri Lankan's believe their civil servants are easily accessible.

Openness

Very few respondents of all the countries believe that their civil servants are transparent. More respondents in Sri Lank than in Bangladesh and Nepal think that their civil servants hide information.

5.3 Bivariate analysis of Survey data of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka

5.3.1 Impact of demographic features on trust in civil service in the three countries

In this section the results of Bivariate analysis with Chi-square has been presented in the following tables:

Gender and trust in civil service:

Confidence in Civil Service		BD %		Nepal %		SL %	
		No trust	trust	No trust	trust	No trust	trust
Gender	male	27.5	72.5	30.6	69.4	33.5	66.5
	female	25.9	74.1	30	70	34.8	65.2
		$X^2 = 1.183$ $P = 0.554 > .05$		$X^2 = .089$ $P = 0.765 > .05$		$X^2 = .301$ $p = 0.583 > .05$	

Table XIV Comparative trust in Civil Service according to Gender

Result of Chi-square test between gender and citizens' trust in civil service is not statistically significant in case of any of the three countries. Therefore, there is no evidence of significant relationship of citizens' gender with their trust in civil service. The statement applies for all the three countries under the study.

Education and Trust in civil service:

Trust in Civil Service		Bangladesh %		Nepal %		Sri Lanka %	
		No trust	trust	No trust	trust	No trust	trust
Education	No or low education	25	75	31.8	68.2	31.1	69
	Medium educated	27.7	72.3	28.8	71.2	36.2	63.7
	Highly educated	26.7	73.3	31.1	68.9	29.3	70.7
		$X^2 = 11.429$ $p = 0.003 < .01$		$X^2 = 5.02$ $p = 0.658 > .05$		$X^2 = 9.69$ $p = 0.084 > .05$	

Table XV Comparative trust in Civil Service according to Education level

Irrespective of education level of respondents, Trust in Civil Service is high in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Moreover, Chi-square test between education and citizens' trust in civil service is not statistically significant in case of Nepal and Sri Lanka.

On the other hand, Chi-square test between education and citizens' trust in civil service shows significance in case of Bangladesh.

Age and trust in civil service:

Trust in Civil Service		BD		Nepal		SL	
		No trust	trust	No trust	trust	No trust	trust
Age	Youth <25	26.8	73.2	28.9	71.1	37	62.9
	25<Middle age<50	27.1	72.9	31	69	33.8	66.2
	Older>50	25.9	74.1	29.7	70.3	34.2	65.8
		$\chi^2 = .297$ $P = .862 > .05$		$\chi^2 = .641$ $P = .726 > .05$		$\chi^2 = .490$ $P = .783 > .05$	

Table XVI Comparative trust in Civil Service according to Age

Irrespective of age level trust in civil service is high in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Trust level does not vary much from younger to older aged people in any of the three countries. However, Chi-square test between age and citizens' trust in civil service is not statistically significant in case of all the three countries. So, the null hypothesis is accepted. It establishes that there is no significant relationship between age of respondents and their level of trust in civil service.

5.3.2 Comparative trust in Civil Service in relation to Social variables

Comparative trust in civil service in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka according to the level of Social association, religiousness, general trust, power distance are presented below.

Social Association:

Trust in Civil Service		BD %		Nepal%		SL%	
		Low trust	High trust	Low trust	High trust	Low trust	High trust
Social association	Yes (member)	30.6	69.4	28.0	66.6	36.2	63.8
	No (not member)	25.8	74.2	27.1	60.9	31.1	68.9
		$\chi^2 = 4.733$, $p = .030 < .05$		$\chi^2 = 0.365$, $p = 0.546 > .05$		$\chi^2 = 4.498$, $p = 0.034 < .05$	

Table XVII Comparative trust in Civil Service according to Social Association

In Bangladesh and Sri Lanka membership in social association has some impact their level of trust in civil service. However, Chi-square test also indicates to the same trend.

On the contrary, Chi-square test between social association and *citizens' trust in civil service* is not statistically significant in case of Nepal.

General trust among people:

Trust in Civil Service		BD		Nepal		SL	
		low trust	High trust	low trust	High trust	low trust	High trust
General trust among people	Yes	19.7	68.6	29.0	58.8	32.2	67.8
	No	26.0	65.2	27.4	65.2	34.5	65.5
		X ² =10.037, p=.007<.01		X ² =1.787, p=0.409 > .05		X ² =0.542, p= 0.462> .05	

Table XVIII Comparative trust in Civil Service according to General trust

In Bangladesh Nepal and Sri Lanka peoples general trust have little impact in their trust in civil service. In either case trust level is very high in all the countries. Moreover, Chi-square test between General trust and *citizens' trust in civil service* is not statistically significant in case of Nepal and Sri Lanka.

Religiousness

Confidence in Civil Service		BD		Nepal		SL	
		Low trust	High trust	low trust	High trust	Low trust	High trust
Religiousness	Not or less religious	23.3	63.3	32.0	70.93	47.3	52.7
	More Religious	24.4	66.8	26.8	68.00	63.1	36.9
		X ² =20.561, p=0.024<.05		X ² =4.268, p=0.51> .05		X ² =11.191, p=0.048< .05	

Table XIX Trust in Civil Service according to the respondents' Religiousness

In Nepal and Bangladesh peoples' religiousness have limited impact in their trust in civil service. In either case, trust level is very high in both the countries. However, the result of Chi-Square test between religiousness and *citizens' trust in civil service* is not quite significant. Therefore, its impact can be ignored in the study.

Power distance

Confidence in Civil Service		BD %		Nepal %		Sri Lanka %	
		Low trust	High trust	low trust	High trust	low trust	High trust
Social relation: Acceptance of Power Distance	Strongly or quite disagree (Low)	52.1	47.9	32.7	67.3	35.00	65.9
	Partly or strongly agree (High)	22.5	77.5	20.2	79.8	28.60	71.4
		X ² =139.23 p=.000 <0.01		X ² =25.70, p=0.000<.01		X ² =7.87, p=0.003<.01	

Table XX Comparative trust in Civil Service according to the Power Distance

In Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka power distance have high impact in their trust in civil service. In high Power Distance trust level is moderately high in all the countries. But compared to Bangladesh trust in civil service in Nepal and Sri Lanka is less dependent on the level of power distance. Moreover, Chi-square test between Power distance and *citizens' trust in civil service* is statistically significant in case of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. The null hypothesis is rejected; the alternative hypothesis is accepted. Therefore, there is evidence of likely relationship between power distance of respondents and their trust in civil service of the respective countries. The extent and probable explanation of such findings are tried to elucidated in the later part of the research paper linking with the context of the three countries under the lens.

5.3.3 Comparative trust in Civil service in relation to Institutional Performance

Comparative trust in Civil Service according to Civil servants' competence, responsiveness, integrity (honesty and corruption), transparency, accessibility, impartiality in treatment are show here.

Civil Servants' Competence

Confidence in Civil Service		Bangladesh		Nepal		Sri Lanka	
		High trust	Low trust	High trust	Low trust	High trust	Low trust
Civil servants: Prompt and efficient	Strongly or quite disagree	41.5	53.7	35.5	59.9	43.3	56.7
	Partly or strongly agree	18.3	74.5	19.0	73.3	17.9	82.1
		X ² =248.35, p = 0.000<.01		X ² =76.24, p=0.000<.01		X ² =115.426, p= 0.000<.01	
Confidence in Civil Service		BD		Nepal		SL	
		High trust	Low trust	High trust	Low trust	High trust	Low trust
Civil servants: Helpful and responsive	Strongly or quite disagree	52.5	47.55	63.1	36.5	58.25	41.5
	Partly or strongly agree	83.15	16.9	72.15	27.8	81.3	18.7
		X ² =213.96, p=.000<.01		X ² =24.96, p=.000<.01		X ² =64.03 p=.000<.01	

Table XXI Comparative trust in Civil Service according to Civil Servants' Competence

In Bangladesh Nepal and Sri Lanka perception about civil servants' competence (promptness and efficiency) have high impact in peoples trust in civil service. In high competence trust level is very high in all the countries.

Moreover, relation between civil servant's efficiency and *citizens' trust in civil service* is statistically significant in case of all the tree countries. In Bangladesh Nepal and Sri Lanka perception about civil servants' responsiveness have high impact in peoples trust in civil service. Peoples trust in civil service increase if they feel the civil servants are responsive. However, relation between civil servant's efficiency and *citizens' trust in civil service* is statistically significant in case of all the tree countries.

Civil Servants' Integrity:

Confidence in Civil Service		BD		Nepal		SL	
		High trust	Low trust	High trust	Low trust	High trust	Low trust
Civil servants : Corrupted	Strongly or quite disagree	82.9	17.1	74.94	24.6	77.3	22.3
	Partly or strongly agree	56.25	43.75	60.0	40.5	49.5	50.0
		X ² =150.66, P=0.000<.01		X ² =33.70 P=.000<.01		X ² =61.64, P=.000<.01	
Honest	Strongly or quite disagree	36.1	63.9	34.2	65.8	38.3	61.5
	Partly or strongly agree	17.6	82.4	21.6	78.4	18.2	81.8
		X ² =180.384, P=.000<.01		X ² =61.478 P=.000<.01		X ² =59.914 p=.000<.01	
Treat all equally (impartial)	Strongly or quite disagree (less impartial)	28	64.9	30.8	62.0	37.7	62.3
	Partly or strongly agree (more impartial)	19.8	72.6	21.5	71.1	22.2	78.8
		X ² =141.35 P=.000 <.01		X ² =43.26 P=.000 <.01		X ² =43.66 P=.000 <.01	

Table XXII Comparative trust in Civil Service according to Civil Servants' Integrity

In Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka perception about civil servants' integrity (corruptness, honesty and impartiality) has some impact in peoples' trust in civil service. But in all the countries perception about civil servants' involvement in corruption have less impact in peoples' trust in civil service than that of honesty.

However, relation between civil servant's honesty and impartiality with citizens' trust in civil service is statistically significant in case of all the three countries.

In Bangladesh Nepal and Sri Lanka perception about civil servants' impartiality (equal treatment towards people) have high impact in peoples trust in civil service. In high impartiality trust level is high in all the countries.

Civil servants' Transparency

Confidence in Civil Service		BD		Nepal		SL	
		High trust	Low trust	High trust	Low trust	High trust	Low trust
Civil servants: Difficult to access (accessibility)	Strongly or quite disagree (high access)	78.8	21.2	69.00	31.0	66	34
	Partly or strongly agree (low access)	69.8	30.2	70.3	29.7	65	35
		X ² =83.21 P=.000<.01		X ² =4.57 P=.505 >.05		X ² =5.53 P=.136>.05	
Civil servants: Don't hide information (openness)	Strongly or quite disagree	32.6	67.4	35.2	64.8	37	63
	Partly or strongly agree	18.7	81.3	21.8	78.2	22.1	77.9
		X ² =103.16 P=0.000<.01		X ² =46.74 P=0.000<.01		X ² =43.13 P=0.000<.01	

Table XXIII Trust in Civil Service according to Civil Servants' Transparency

In Bangladesh unlike Nepal and Sri Lanka perception about civil servants' accessibility have high impact in peoples trust in civil service. But in all the countries perception about civil servants' openness have high impact in peoples trust in civil service.

However, relation between civil servants' 'openness' and trust in civil service is statistically significant in case of all the three countries.

On the contrary, relation between civil servants' 'accessibility' and trust in civil service is not statistically significant in case of all the three countries.

5.4 Correlation analysis:

In this section, the findings of correlation analysis of different explanatory variables related to demography, social factors and institutional factors and the dependent variable are presented in the tabular form. The interpretation and elaboration of the result of correlation test are followed by the table below.

The first table below shows correlation among indicators of demographic variables and citizens' trust in civil service in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

Variable	Indicators	Correlation					
		Bangladesh		Nepal		Sri Lanka	
Gender	Gender	-		-		-	
Age	Age	.010		.097**		.010	
Education	Education	-.075**		.020		-.022	
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2 tallied)							

Table XXIV Correlation Analysis of Demographic factors with Trust in Civil Service

The second table below shows correlation among indicators of social variables and citizens' trust in civil service in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

Variable	Indicators	Correlation					
		BD		NP		SL	
Social Association	Member in social Organization	-.044*		.013		-.053*	
General Trust	Believe in most people	-.077**		.018		-.047	
Religiosity	Religious practice	.033		.054**		.001	
Power distance	Acceptance of senior family members and senior govt officials	.274**		.107**		.047	
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2 tallied)							
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2 tallied)							

Table XXV Correlation Analysis of Social factors with Trust in Civil Service

The third table below shows correlation among indicators of institutional variables and citizens' trust in civil service in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

Institutional Performance vs. trust in Civil Service		Bangladesh	Nepal	Sri Lanka
Variable	Indicators	Correlation		
Civil servants Competence	Promptness and efficiency	.216**	.391**	.300**
	Helpful and Responsive-ness	.196**	.343**	.205**
Civil servants Transparency	Openness	.136**	.384**	.171**
	Accessibility	.060**	-.014g	-.019
Civil servants Integrity	Impartiality	.146**	.312**	.196**
	Involvement in Corruption	-.060**	-.054*	-.235**
	Honesty	.189**	.320**	.210**

Table XXVI Correlation of Institutional factors with Trust in Civil Service

5.4.1 Interpretation and explanation of correlation

Correlation table on demographic variables of the three countries shows that among the three countries only in case of Bangladesh education is negatively correlated with citizens' trust in civil service. In case of Nepal gender and age is positively correlated with trust in civil service; Sri Lankan respondents' data does not show any significant relationship with trust in civil service and demographic variables. In SDSA Report II it is stated that access to higher education lead to trust in people in government doing the right thing whereas older respondents were more likely to trust government (Shastri, Palshikar, & Kumar, 2017, p. 77) . Being a part of the machineries of government to serve people civil service also falls in similar dynamics.

Regarding social association Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have shown some negative correlation with trust in civil service. On the other hand, General trust among people is shown somewhat negatively correlated with trust in case of Bangladesh and no significant correlation with trust in case of Nepal and Sri Lanka. Likewise, Religiosity is shown somewhat positively correlated with citizens' trust in case of Nepal and no significant correlation with trust in case of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

Power distance among people is shown to have significant and positive correlation with trust in civil service in both Bangladesh and Nepal, though in case of Sri Lanka the correlation is on the not that evident.

In terms of institutional performance factors all the explanatory variables have shown to have significant correlation with trust in civil service in case of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

However, when Competence/efficiency is correlated with the dependent variable 'citizens' trust in civil service', the correlation suggests a moderate positive relationship prevailing in Bangladesh Nepal and Sri Lanka. When responsiveness is correlated with the dependent variable 'citizens' trust in civil service', the correlation suggests a moderate positive relationship prevailing in Bangladesh Nepal and Sri Lanka. The same kind of observation is found in SDSA report II which states that limited access to education lead to better trust in responsiveness of the state to solve citizens' needs (Shastri, Palshikar, & Kumar, 2017).

When correlation of corruptness is tested against the dependent variable '*citizens' trust in civil service*', the correlation suggests a moderate negative relationship prevailing in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Moreover, when 'openness' is correlated with the dependent variable '*citizens' trust in civil service*', the correlation suggests a moderate relationship prevailing in these three countries. On the contrary, when 'impartiality' is correlated with the dependent variable '*citizens' trust in civil service*', the correlation suggests a moderate positive relationship prevailing in Bangladesh Nepal and Sri Lanka.

The correlation mentioned above may have some explanation in terms of socio-political context of the three countries which have been done here.

Bangladesh

Trust level in Civil Service is higher in Bangladesh because most of the respondents are lower or middle educated and the lower the education higher the trust. This lower level of education also explains the higher power distance, lower perception of Corruption, lower social associationism leading to higher trust in civil service.

When people have less education, they are less aware about corruption. For the same reason they are less concerned about their rights which discourage them to be part of association. Evidence show that higher education is positively changing the

respondents' perception about accessibility of civil servants. The more they are educated the more they are becoming accessible to civil servants, the more they are experiencing the corruption in the bureaucracy which is prominent among the civil servants in this region (Jamil, Administrative Culture in Bangladesh, 2007). As the education level of respondents is lower they are more away from the civil service and less exposed to the corruption of bureaucracy. They keep their trust in civil service and blindly accept the command of civil servants in power. In fact, they are bound to keep their trust on higher authority. This is evident in their tendency to maintain high power distance.

For being homogeneous regarding religious belief, religion does not quite affect or make difference in their perception of trust in Civil service. However, for having stark political division among people there are poor evidence of general trust among people which ultimately effecting trust in civil service negatively. Since the independence, every political party has abused the civil servants for their own benefit keeping them under pressure or allowing them undue privilege. Moreover, "high ranking bureaucrats are more politically oriented" (Khan and Zafarullah, 1991: 651 in (Jamil, Administrative Culture in Bangladesh, 2007, p. 125). So, people from other political orientation always keep safe distance from the civil servants. It is also supplemented by the fact that, among the respondents from Bangladesh majority supported the ruling party; so their perception of corruption is lower; they blindly accepted the authority in power.

Another factor that plays a vital role is the social characteristics. The very social norm of Bangladesh teaches unquestionable respect towards elders and people in power which lead to high power distance and blind trust. Abedin (1973:61) commented, "The ordinary people are submissive to and afraid of the bureaucratic authority" (Abedin (1973:61) in (Jamil, Administrative Culture in Bangladesh, 2007, p. 11).

However, there is negative association of trust with corruption and Bangladesh scores high in CPI index 2014 there is evil nexus of citizen and corrupted official. Because of political influence, there exists 'clientelism' where corruption is done through patron-client relationship (Jamil, Administrative Culture in Bangladesh, 2007).

Regarding institutional performance though Bangladesh fall short of integrity, impartiality, transparency, honesty, and peoples' perception is better about efficiency and responsiveness. This may be because of patron-client relationship of the respondents who mostly belong to the ruling party supporters group. Several reforms aimed at creating responsive bureaucracy in this region. (Gunasekara, 2016).

Therefore, despite other negative indicators of lower citizens' trust in civil service due to better responsiveness and high power distance and lower education of respondents Bangladesh gives a better picture about trust in civil service.

Nepal

Level of trust in civil service in Nepal is lower than Bangladesh. Level of education of respondents from Nepal is higher than that of Bangladesh and trust in civil service is negatively associated with education in Nepal. Therefore, higher education of respondents may be one of the reason of lower trust in civil service in Nepal. However, evidence show that like Bangladesh higher educational level has positive correlation with better accessibility. Nevertheless, unlike Bangladesh such accessibility does not show strong evidence of influence on perception about trust in civil service.

Nepalese respondents are homogenous in terms of religion, ethnicity, and most of them are religious. However, due to their stark division of cast system their Associationsim is less (Rameshwor , 2005).Moreover, the geographical feature is not conducive to group interaction.

Another important factor is that Nepal have been going through transition from Monarchy to democracy, still a great portion are in favour of monarchy. So, their power distance is in the middle position though lower compared to Bangladesh. As power distance is positively associated with trust in civil service, trust in Nepal is neither low nor high in this regard though lower compared to Bangladesh.

Nepal is in transition to democracy though her institutional performance is poor. Except for civil servants helpfulness and responsiveness, most of the institutional performance indicators show evidence of poor confidence. This indicator is significant to effect trust in civil service in Nepal.

For strong homogeneity of religious belief and religiousness, in Nepal General Trust should have been higher. Nevertheless, analysis of data shows strong evidence of lower general trust among people, which may be ascribed to their strong cast system among the Hindus the dominant religion in Nepal (Rameshwor , 2005). This poor general trust has negative impact on citizens' trust in civil service. This may be one of the reasons of the prevailing level of trust in civil service despite poor institutional performance indicators. In addition, lower power distance has negative impact on trust in civil service.

Moreover, analysis shows the evidence of respect for monarchy of more than half of the respondents in Nepal. Moreover, research has found that Nepalese bureaucracy as a whole is characterized by "particularistic rather than universalistic, ascriptive rather than achievement and authoritarian rather than participatory values" (Rameshwor , 2005). Therefore, it may be said that people trust more because they respect more because of the legacy of monarchic rule and hierarchic tradition of administration.

Therefore, because of hierarchic tradition, respect for monarchy, helpful and responsive attitude of civil servants maximum people may show trust in civil service. Nevertheless, due to better education and ethnic diversity the level is lower than that of the Bangladeshi people.

Sri Lanka

The overall level of citizens' trust in civil service in Sri Lanka is comparatively lower than Bangladesh and Nepal. Evidence show that in case of Sri Lanka demographic variables do not show strong correlation with perception about trust in civil servants. However, evidence show that like Bangladesh and Nepal higher educational level has positive correlation with better accessibility. However, unlike Bangladesh such accessibility does not show strong evidence of influence on perception about trust in civil service.

Among the respondents of Sri Lanka confidence in civil service is high among all ethnic groups. All ethnic groups show similar pattern of low power distance. As power distance is positively associated with general trust here, power distance is low. In

addition, power distance is negatively associated with education; therefore, due to higher education of respondents the power distance is lower among the respondents in Sri Lanka. They do not readily accept decisions from higher authority without any question.

However, it does not have significant impact on trust in civil service. Similarly, religiosity and general trust among people do not show evidence of strong relationship with trust in civil service. Most of respondents who are Sinhalese are neutral about their religious practice. Due to ethnic division radius of trust is small though all of them are very proud of their ethnic identity. This is also linked with their poor response to general trust among people. On the other hand, social associationism has evidence of some link with trust in civil service. Sinhalese are more organized than Muslims and Tamils are least organized. As Sinhalese are more in percentage associationism has some prominence in the study. The overall trust has decreased compared to Bangladesh and Nepal.

Most of the indicators of institutional performance are negative. The respondent's perception of the level of integrity is found very poor. As the correlation is negative, it has added to the cause of lower trust in civil service. This is the general cause of distrust in civil service in this region. This is also linked with the socio-economic condition of this region. Poor salary, nepotism are some of the factors among many (Jamil, 2007). As the respondents are very much skeptical about openness of civil servants, their trust in civil service has declined. It is a kind of blind trust or passive trust. Moreover, better responsiveness and helpful attitude of civil servants have positive impact on trust in civil service in Sri Lanka. It may be noted here that Civil service reforms in Sri Lanka was intended to increase responsiveness as well (Gunasekara, 2016). As general trust is negatively associated with citizens' trust low general trust has also somewhat contributed to the existing level of moderate trust in civil service. However, better level of education of respondents may have contributed to lower trust in civil servants than that of Bangladesh.

5.5 Test of Assumptions

In this section of the paper, the results of the test of assumptions related with demographic, social and institutional factors are presented. Afterwards some probable explanations of the findings have been given. The hypotheses are repeated here for convenience of following the interpretation.

Test of Demographic factors

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant impact of Demographic factors (Gender, Age, and Education) with trust in Civil Service

Hypothesis(H)	Chi square	H: Accepted/Rejected
Demographic factors: There is no significant impact of Demographic factors (Gender, Age, Education) with trust in Civil Service	Gender	
	BD- $X^2 = 1.183$ $P=0.554 > .05$	Accepted
	NP- $X^2=.089$ $P=0.765 >.05$	Accepted
	SL- $X^2=.301$ $p=0.583 >.05$	Accepted
	Age	
	BD- $X^2 =.297$ $P=.862 >.05$	Accepted
	NP- $X^2 =.641$ $P=.726 >.05$	Accepted
	SL- $X^2 =.490$ $P=.783 >.05$	Accepted
	Education	
	BD- $X^2=11.429$ $p=0.003 <.01$	Rejected
	NP- $X^2=5.02$ $p=0.658 > .05$	Accepted
	SL- $X^2=9.69$ $p=0.084$	Accepted

Table XXVI Testing of Assumptions on Demographic Factors

Explanation

The overall Chi Square test result shows that Demographic factors have very insignificant relationship with citizens' trust in civil service in all the three countries. Only level of Education of respondents has shown to have some impact on trust in civil service in Bangladesh. Therefore, the hypothesis that ***there is no significant impact of Demographic factors (Gender, Age, and Education) with trust in Civil Service*** is accepted by the evidence.

It supports the findings that demographic and social characteristics of participants have little significance in explaining the level of citizens' trust in political and public institutions (Askvik, Jamil, & Dhakal, 2011). Education has some effects on trust where governance performance is good. In this survey Bangladeshi respondents are mostly low educated, hence differ from better educated Nepalese and Sri Lankan.

Test of Social Factors

Hypothesis 2: Social factors (Social associated-ness, religiosity, General Trust among people) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service

Hypothesis 3: Level of Power distance among in society affect citizens' trust in Civil Service

Hypothesis (H)	Chi square	H:Accepted/Rejected
Social factors (Social associated-ness, religiosity, General Trust among people, Power distance) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service	Social Associatedness	
	BD- $\chi^2=4.73, p=0.030 < .05$	Accepted
	NP- $\chi^2=0.36, p=0.546 > .05$	Rejected
	SL- $\chi^2=4.49, p=0.034 < .05$	Accepted
	Religiosity	
	BD- $\chi^2=20.56, p=0.024 < .05$	Accepted
	NP- $\chi^2=4.26, p=0.512 > .05$	Rejected
	SL- $\chi^2=11.191, p=0.048 < .05$	Accepted
	General Trust	
	BD- $\chi^2=10.03, p=0.007 < .05$	Accepted
	NP- $\chi^2=1.787, p=0.409 > .05$	Rejected
	SL- $\chi^2=0.542, p=0.462 > .05$	Rejected
	Power Distance	
	BD- $\chi^2=139.23, p=0.000 < .01$	Accepted
	NP- $\chi^2=25.70, p=0.000 < .01$	Accepted
SL- $\chi^2=7.87, p=0.003 < .01$	Accepted	

Table XXVII Testing of Assumptions on Social Factors

Explanation

The analysis shows that overall some **Social factors (Social associated-ness, religiosity, General Trust among people)** have little significant relationship with citizens' trust in civil service in all the three countries. Only social association has shown some impact in citizens' trust in civil service in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Therefore, the hypothesis that ***Social factors (Social associated-ness, religiosity, General Trust among people) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service*** is partially accepted by the evidence of data.

It partially goes in line with the previous finding that trust does not depend on membership in voluntary organization; more education leads to generalized trust; more religiosity leads to particularized trust (Uslaner, 2002). In both Bangladesh and Sri Lanka citizens' trust in civil service varies with associatedness. In Bangladesh there is less association, therefore, more trust; in Sri Lanka, there are more social association, but less trust than Bangladesh. Respondents from Bangladesh are more religious; therefore, they have less general trust among people; less General Trust leads to more trust.

On the other hand, all three countries have positive correlation between Power Distance (PD) and citizens' trust in civil service. Education reduces Power Distance in a society. Therefore, trust is higher in Bangladesh than the other two countries. Correlation value also indicates that, except for Power distance, most of the social factors have very poor relationship with citizens' trust in public service. Therefore, the hypothesis that ***Level of Power Distance affect citizens' trust in Civil Service*** is accepted by the evidence of data for all the countries: Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are showing almost similar pattern regarding social associatedness and religiosity. In terms of Power Distance, all three countries have shown similar pattern of trust. Both Bangladesh and Sri Lanka went through Colonial Rule, and Nepal passed through Monarchy; so they are more hierarchic. Nevertheless, for poor education Power Distance in Bangladesh is much higher compared to the other two countries.

Testing Institutional factors

Hypothesis 4: Institutional capacity (civil servants Competence, transparency) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service

Hypothesis 5: Civil servants Integrity (corruption, honesty, impartiality) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service.

Civil Servant's Competence

Hypothesis(H)	Chi square	H: Accepted/Rejected
Institutional factors (Civil servants Competence) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service	Efficiency	
	BD- $X^2=248.35, p = 0.000 < .01$	Accepted
	NP- $X^2=76.24, p=0.000 < .01$	Accepted
	SL- $X^2=115.426, p= 0.000 < .01$	Accepted
	Responsiveness	
	BD- $X^2=213.96, p=.000 < .01$	Accepted
	NP- $X^2=24.96, p=.000 < .01$	Accepted
	SL- $X^2=64.034, p=.000 < .01$	Accepted

Table XXVIII Testing of Assumptions on Civil Servants' Competence

Civil Servant's Transparency

Hypothesis	Chi square	H: Accepted/Rejected
Institutional factors (Civil servants Transparency) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service	Accessibility	
	BD- $X^2=83.21 P=.000 < .01$	Accepted
	NP- $X^2 =4.57 p=0.505 > .05$	Rejected
	SL- $X^2 =5.53 p= 0.136 > .05$	Rejected
	Openness	
	BD- $X^2 =103.16 p=.000 < .01$	Accepted
	NP- $X^2 =46.74 p=0.000 < .01$	Accepted
	SL- $X^2 =43.13 p=0.000 < .01$	Accepted

Table XXIX Testing of Assumptions on Civil Servants' Transparency

Civil Servant's Integrity

Hypothesis:	Chi square	H: Accepted/ Rejected
	Institutional factors (Civil servants Integrity) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service	Corruption
BD- $\chi^2=150.66, P=0.000 < .01$		Accepted
NP- $\chi^2=33.70, P=.000 < .01$		Accepted
SL- $\chi^2=61.64, P=.000 < .01$		Accepted
Honesty		
BD- $\chi^2=180.384, P=.000 < .01$		Accepted
NP- $\chi^2=61.478, P=.000 < .01$		Accepted
SL- $\chi^2=59.914, p=.000 < .01$		Accepted
Impartiality		
BD- $\chi^2=141.35, p=.000 < .01$		Accepted
NP- $\chi^2=43.26, p=.000 < .01$		Accepted
SL- $\chi^2=43.66, p=.000 < .01$		Accepted

Table XXX Testing of Assumptions on Civil Servants' Integrity

Explanation

Researchers have found similar findings regarding the influence of employees' behavior and ability on citizens' trust. They have found that the citizens' trust in public institutions is affected by their perceptions about public employees' behavior: their benevolence, attention, reliability, honesty, competence (Şahin et Al., 2015). Public trust is calculative judgment about the public officials' ability to perform public tasks and caring conduct of public officials (David J. Houston, 2016).

5.6 Conclusion

If we summarize the above analysis the following findings can be noted.

1. Except for Nepal, demographic variable has no significant relationship with citizen's trust in civil service. Among the respondents of Nepal, females have shown more trust in civil service than male. Likewise more aged Nepalese are showing positive confidence in civil service. In case of Bangladesh and Nepal evidence of weak and inverse relationship is found between education levels and trust in civil service though in case of Nepal this inverse relationship is found a bit stronger compared to Bangladesh.
2. In case of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka respondents' social association has shown some negative relationship with the trust in civil service. Nepal has not shown any evidence of significant relationship of respondents' social association and perception of trust in civil service.
3. Only in case of Nepal General trust and religiousness have shown significant relationship with trust in civil service though the relationship is not strong enough to be highlighted.
4. All the three country data show significant relationship between Power distance and trust in civil service Nepal having the highest and Sri Lanka the lowest among them. However, when Power distance is correlated with the dependent variable '*citizens' trust in civil service*', the correlation suggests a moderate positive relationship prevailing in Bangladesh and Nepal though Sri Lanka falls in much lower position compared to the other two countries.
5. In all the three countries Civil servants efficiency, responsiveness, impartiality, honesty and openness have significant relationship with the trust in civil service. On the other hand, except for Nepal perception of civil servants' accessibility does not have significant relationship with perception of trust in civil service.
6. However, except for Nepal perception of civil servants corruption has negative impact in trust in civil service in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. It means that

interestingly though Nepalese feel that their civil servants are more corrupt their majority respondents still trust their civil service. On the other hand, Bangladesh and Sri Lankan people's trust in Civil service naturally declines with their increasing perception of civil servants' involvement in corruption.

The above findings show that according to empirical evidence there exist mixed pattern of relationship among the variables of trust prevails in different countries. This may be due to the contextual difference of the three countries that is undergoing study. The next chapter focuses on the elaboration of the findings along with the probable explanation of the empirical findings.

Chapter Six

Interpretation and Conclusion

In the previous chapter, the detail picture of perception of respondents has been presented through the frequencies and correlations of different factors. The findings of analysis has shown that some factors has significant correlation with the trust in civil service whereas other factor does do not carry significant weight. Moreover, there are some assumptions that need to be tested for acceptance. The result of the test may have some explanations in terms of cross-national characteristics. Different factors carry different weight in the three different countries. Such commonality and differences account for some contextual explanation to draw a conclusion on the relationship of explanatory variables with the citizens' trust in civil service. The previous chapter shows some interrelationship of different explanatory factors with citizens trust in civil service in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka and also compared their presence in the three countries under consideration:. This concluding chapter is an attempt to address these issues and draw conclusion on the major findings and potential scope of further study to address the paradoxical issues if any.

6.1 Relationship among different factors

Demographic factors

The analysis has found significant but negative correlation of respondents' level of education and trust in civil service of Bangladesh and insignificant and negative correlation in Sri Lanka and positive but insignificant relationship in Nepal. According to Mill's Method of Agreement and Indirect Method of Difference (Ragin C. C., 1987), education cannot account for citizens' trust in civil service universally.

Likewise, gender and age of respondents show evidence of positive correlation only with perception about trust in civil service in Nepal. Bangladesh and Sri Lanka do not show strong evidence of relationship in this regard. Therefore, these two factors cannot be account for trust in civil service universally.

Social factors

Some literature tries to establish relation between social trust with citizens' trust in civil service (Newton & Norris, 2000). In this study, social association has shown some positive correlation with trust in civil service especially in case of the respondents of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka; but not in case of Nepal. Nepal is showing a different pattern. So, according to Mill's Method of Agreement (Ragin C. C., 1987) it can be claimed that citizens' Social Association has some positive influence in trust in civil service though that much strong as claimed by Newton and Norris (2000).

Regarding General Trust among people Nepal and Sri Lanka are not showing significant evidence of relationship with trust in civil service though Bangladesh is showing some evidence of significant relationship in this regard. But according to Mill's method it cannot be said that General trust among people matters in building citizens trust in civil service in countries.

As for Religiosity of people, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are not showing significant evidence of relationship with trust in civil service though Nepal is showing some evidence of significant correlation in this regard. However, according to Mill's method it cannot be said that Religiosity of respondents has much to do with citizens' trust in civil service in different countries.

Power distance in the society is another important social indicator in this region. Except for Sri Lanka Power Distance has shown evidence of moderately significant relationship with citizens' trust in civil service in case of Bangladesh and Nepal. So, applying Mill's Method of agreement it can be said that Power Distance in the society has significant influence on citizens' trust in civil service. Interestingly evidence show that the higher the distance the more trust in civil service. This may be called for blind trust. Citizens' are bound to have such trust where accessibility is shrunken due to high Power Distance (Li, 2012). In high power distance culture people manifest high respect and acceptance to the authority in power (Hofstede & Minkov, 2010) leading to some kind of blind trust on authority in command.

Institutional factors

Many researchers have found significant correlation between institutional performance and citizens' trust in civil service. These findings of the study also endorse that observation. It supports Ruscio's observation, which depicts Trust as Confidence in Institutional process and individual public officials (Ruscio, 1999).

Regarding the relationship between transparency of civil servants and citizens' trust except for accessibility openness of civil servants has positive correlation with trust in civil servants of all the three countries. Only in case of Bangladesh accessibility has significant relationship with trust in civil service. So, again applying Mill's Method it can be said that transparency of civil servants is an important factor for trust in civil service.

The same logic may be applied to other factors like civil servants competence and integrity. Both the factors have shown evidence of significant correlation with trust in civil service of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Therefore, according to Mills' Method institutional performance through civil servants is a very significant matter for building citizens' trust in all the three countries, which goes along with Houston (2016) who also observes the significance of institutional performance to shape citizens' trust (David J. Houston, 2016).

The findings suggests that demographic or identity related variables are not so influential factor as performance or response related variables in building citizens' trust in public institutions. Religiousness is found to increase particularized trust. Governance performance has been seen to help increase the confidence in public institutions. Moreover, trust in individual institution does not necessarily reflect trust in other public institutions in general. However, social trust where the trust radius is small impedes building of general trust. Moreover, social capital or group cohesion may even increase distrust towards outsiders, though some scholar observes group membership has no influence in generalized trust because the attitude has already been built within the family at early stage of life.

6.2 Explaining variation among three countries

Bangladesh

Trust level in Civil service is higher in Bangladesh because most of the respondents are lower educated and the lower the education the higher the trust in civil service. More education is likely to create more critical citizen; less education is likely to create less critical citizen due to poor access to information. This lower education also explains the higher power distance. Because higher education increases self-confidence and respect, which is likely to reduce power distance. Moreover, lower education may lead to lower perception of corruption and lower associationism that lead to higher level of trust in civil service. The findings support the observation of Eric Uslaner who finds that trust does not depend on membership in voluntary organization; more education leads to generalized trust; more religiosity leads to particularized trust (Uslaner, 2002).

When people have less education, they are less aware about corruption. For the same reason they are less concerned about their rights which discourage them to be part of association. Evidence show that higher education is positively changing the respondents' perception about accessibility of civil servants. The more they are educated the more they are becoming accessible to civil servants; they are experiencing more the corruption in the bureaucracy, which is prominent among the civil servants in this region (Jamil, 2007). As the education level of respondents is lower they are more away from the civil service and less exposed to the corruption of bureaucracy. They keep their trust in civil service and blindly accept the decision and order of civil servants in power. In fact, they are bound to keep their trust on higher authority particularly when they are under poor democratic rule. This is evident in their tendency to maintain high power distance.

For being homogeneous regarding religious belief, religion does not quite affect or make difference in their perception of trust in civil service. However, for having stark political division among people there are poor evidence of general trust among people which ultimately effecting trust in civil service negatively. Since the independence, every political party has abused the civil servants for their own benefit keeping them under pressure or allowing them undue privilege. Moreover, "high ranking bureaucrats are more politically oriented" (Khan and Zafarullah, 1991: 651 in (Jamil,

2007, p. 125). So, people from other political orientation always keep safe distance from the civil servants. It is also supplemented by the fact that, among the respondents from Bangladesh majority supported the ruling party or are bound to speak in favor of the ruling party; therefore, their perception of corruption is lower; they blindly accepted the authority in power.

Another factor that plays a vital role is the social characteristics. The very social norm of Bangladesh teaches unquestionable respect towards elders and people in power which lead to high power distance and blind trust. Abedin (1973:61) commented, "The ordinary people are submissive to and afraid of the bureaucratic authority" (Abedin (1973:61) in (Jamil, 2007, p. 11). The society is more hierarchic leading to more loyalty which is the other side of the coin of high power distance. Therefore, this rather leads to trust which is blind. This is not the case of a horizontal society where society is open, transparent, which encourages critical thinking leading consequently to trust deficit.

However, there is negative association of trust with corruption, and Bangladesh scores high in Corruption Perception Index (CPI) 2014. Because of political influence, there exists clientelism where corruption is done through patron-client relationship (Jamil, 2007). There is evil nexus of citizens and corrupted public officials.

Regarding institutional performance, though Bangladesh fall short of integrity, impartiality, transparency, honesty, peoples' perception is better about efficiency and responsiveness. This may be because of patron-client relationship of the respondents who are mostly in favor of the ruling party supporters group.

Despite other negative indicators due to better responsiveness and high power distance and lower education of respondents Bangladesh gives a better picture about trust in civil service. Moreover, poor accessibility compels the people to keep blind trust on the civil servants because they feel vulnerable for lack of formal contact with the civil servants (Li, 2012).

Nepal

Level of confidence in civil service in Nepal is lower than Bangladesh. Level of education of respondents from Nepal is higher than Bangladesh and trust in civil

service is negatively associated with education in Nepal. Therefore, higher education of respondents may be one of the reason of lower trust in civil service in Nepal. However, evidence show that like Bangladesh higher educational level has positive correlation with better accessibility. However, unlike Bangladesh such accessibility does not show strong evidence of influence on perception about trust in civil service.

As Nepalese respondents are homogenous in terms of religion, ethnicity, and most of them are religious. However, due to their stark division of cast system their social associations is less (Rameshwor , 2005). For strong homogeneity of religious belief and religiousness, in Nepal General Trust should have been higher (Uslaner, 2002). Nevertheless, analysis of data shows strong evidence of lower general trust among people which can be ascribed to their strong cast system among the Hindus the dominant religion in Nepal (Rameshwor , 2005). According to Uslaner (2002), Ethnic diversity contributes to social polarization. Generalized social trust is higher in ethnically homogenous countries. Poor general trust has negative impact on citizens' trust in civil service. This may be one of the reasons of the prevailing level of trust in civil service.

In addition, lower power distance has negative impact on trust in civil service. It may be noted that, they have been going through transition from Monarchy to democracy, still a great portion are in favour of monarchy. Nepal manifest higher power distance may be due to its long legacy of monarchic rule. The Monarch still enjoys godly reverence from the citizens. Moreover, the elite castes dominate the civil service in Nepal. Therefore, their power distance is in the moderate level though lower compared to Bangladesh. As power distance is positively associated with trust in civil service, trust in Nepal is neither low nor high in this regard though lower compared to Bangladesh.

Nepal is in transition to democracy though her institutional performance is still poor. 'Apne Manc'i' is a familiar term in Nepal refereeing to the nepotism and favoritism leading to corruption in their civil service (Askvik, 2011) (Askvik, Jamil , & Dhakal, 2011) Except for civil servants helpfulness and responsiveness, most of the institutional performance indicators show evidence of poor confidence. This indicator is significant to effect trust in civil service in Nepal.

Moreover, research has found that Nepalese bureaucracy as a whole is characterized by “particularistic rather than universalistic, ascriptive rather than achievement and authoritarian rather than participatory values” (Rameshwor , 2005). According to Shakya Nepalese Civil service has become dysfunctional due to politicization which contributed to unethical practices which has made it unacceptable to Nepalese. (R Shakya, 2009). Moreover, analysis shows the evidence of respect for monarchy of more than half of the respondents in Nepal. Therefore, it may be said that people trust more because they respect more because of the legacy of monarchic rule and hierarchic tradition of administration. Moreover, Nepalese bureaucracy are dominated by high casts.

Therefore, because of hierarchic tradition, respect for monarchy, helpful and responsive attitude of civil servants a good number of people may show trust in civil service. Nevertheless, due to better education and ethnic diversity the level is lower than that of the respondents from Bangladeshi.

Sri Lanka

Evidence show that in case of Sri Lanka demographic variables do not show strong correlation with perception about trust in civil servants. However, evidence show that like Bangladesh and Nepal higher educational level has positive correlation with better accessibility. However, unlike Bangladesh such accessibility does not show strong evidence of influence on perception about trust in civil service.

Among the respondents of Sri Lanka confidence in civil service is high among all ethnic groups. Sinhalese, Tamils (Sri Lankan and Indian) and Muslims show higher trust in civil service. Moreover, all ethnic groups show similar pattern of low power distance. As power distance is positively associated with general trust here, power distance is low. In addition, power distance is negatively associated with education; therefore, due to higher education of respondents the power distance is lower among the respondents in Sri Lanka. They do not readily accept decisions from higher authority without any question. Nevertheless, it does not have significant impact on trust in civil service. Similarly, religiosity (religious belief and practice) and general trust among people do not show evidence of strong relationship with trust in civil service. Most of

respondents who are Sinhalese are neutral about their religious practice. Due to ethnic division, the radius of trust is small though all of them are very proud of their ethnic identity. This is also linked with their poor response to general trust among people. On the other hand, social associationism has evidence of some link with trust in civil service. Sinhalese are more organized than Muslims and Tamils are least organized. As Sinhalese are more in percentage, associationism has some prominence in the study. The overall trust has decreased compared to Bangladesh and Nepal.

Most of the indicators of institutional performance are negative. The respondent's perception of the level of integrity is found very poor. As the correlation is negative, it has added to the cause of lower trust in civil service. This is the general cause of distrust in civil service in this region. This is also linked with the socio-economic condition of this region. Poor salary, nepotism are some of the factors among many (Jamil, *Administrative Culture in Bangladesh*, 2007). As the respondents are very much skeptical about openness of civil servants, their trust in civil service has declined. It is a kind of blind trust or passive trust. Like in Bangladesh, Sri Lankan civil service used to 'carry high respect and stature in society' (Nanayakkara, 2015). Moreover, better responsiveness and helpful attitude of civil servants have positive impact on trust in civil service in Sri Lanka.

Regarding Sri Lanka, Irfan has identified some dysfunctions of public bureaucracy which has earned a bad name for red-tapism, nepotism, and corruption (Irfan, 2016). It may be noted here that Civil service reforms in Sri Lanka were intended to increase responsiveness as well (Gunasekara, 2016). The questions of Nepotism and corruption came to the front in Sri Lanka during the second term in power of Rajapaksa (Shastri, Palshikar, & Kumar, 2017, p. 18). This corruption spreads to the administration of the country gradually.

As general trust is negatively associated with, citizens' trust, low general trust has also somewhat contributed to the existing level of moderate trust in civil service. However, better level of education of respondents may have contributed to lower trust in civil servants than that of Bangladesh.

6.3 Does it match with other findings?

This analysis shows that Socio-demographic elements are not major explanatory factors for differences in confidence in civil service among citizens in different nations. The study reveals some difficulties related to issues of international comparability of trust based on international surveys. This goes in line with the findings of the researcher Van de Walle (2007) who observes, “The thin line between government in general and the public administration makes it hard to study determinants of attitudes” (Van de Walle S. , 2007). The findings also go in line with the performance-based theory of institutional trust, and disconfirm identity-based explanations largely (Askvik, Jamil , & Dhakal, 2011) (Newton & Norris, 2000).

The findings very much goes in line with Houston (2016) who observes that citizens’ trust is linked with the their judgment of officials that constitute the public institutions; it is their calculative judgment about the officials ability to perform tasks and their affective judgment about caring and ethical conduct of concerned officials (David J. Houston, 2016). He also explains “variation in the level of trust across countries: government performance, institutional quality, and social polarization”. It finds that, at national level trust in civil service is influenced by institutional quality such as the level of corruption, and the government effectiveness. One of his important observations is that “attitudes toward civil servants are especially important as it is these government officials with whom citizens have the most direct interaction”. (David J. Houston, 2016).

The findings also supports institution performance based observations of Shahin and Taspinar that the citizens’ trust in public institutions is affected by their Efficiency perceptions about public employees’ behavior: their benevolence, attention, reliability, honesty, competence. (Shahin & Taspinar, 2015)

The overall findings present a discouraging picture of trust in civil service of Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. This also resembles the observation found in the SDSA¹⁵ Report II which states that civil service in this region is likely to have low level of trust (Shastri, Palshikar, & Kumar, 2017).It also observes that institutions having

¹⁵ State of Democracy in South Asia (SDSA) Report II published in 2017.

close link with the citizens are likely to disappoint them and gain distrust of the citizens. The study findings are not very different from the statements of the report.

The findings regarding corruption also resembles the findings of SDSA report II which states that common people think that paying bribe¹⁶ is the easiest way of getting work done by skipping lengthy official formalities (ibid, p.80). However, there are variations in this finding. In Bangladesh and Nepal, majority of people have the same feeling mentioned above. However, in case of Sri Lanka only one fourth of respondents think that bribery really works. Therefore, the concern regarding corruption across South Asia is visible though there are variation across countries (ibid, p.81).

However, in South Asia the way institution performs is largely influenced by its culture and history as stated in the observation "cultural and colonial legacies have strong influence on the way civil servants and public institutions function in South Asia" (Jamil, Dhakal, & Paudel, 2019) .In the politics bureaucracy nexus civil servants professionalism and efficiency are often overpowered by the political loyalty. Therefore, civil servants show more eagerness to show loyalty to party in power than service common citizen reducing citizens' trust in them. They are often compelled to play conflicting roles. Socio-cultural norms are often dominated by collectivism often hampers neutral decision making ; give and take being common culture in South Asia often leads to patron-clientelism, nepotism (ibid); the rule of law and official norms are often disregarded due to favoritism failing to balance public and private life. Lobbying and corruption have become the easiest means to get a job done by civil servants (ibid).

Power distance is a major cultural factor in South Asia that determines the relationship of citizen with the authority in position. Due to British colonial legacy of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka and long monarchic history of Nepal all these countries have comparatively high power distance than other part of the world. Due to high power distance, they maintain relationship of respect and fear with the people in high position. For the unconditional respect they are bound to keep trust in civil servants fearing harassment or undue intimidation. In Bangladesh and Sri Lanka civil servants

¹⁶ The Extra money which is considered illegal given to an official to perform a task quickly.

still enjoy that power and status which is left by the British. In Nepal monarchy is still revered as the representative of Hindu God; still it has strong hold on people in Nepal's mindset. Until recently monarchy held the supreme authority over administration making them bound to him, not to the people. In Sri Lanka power distance is lower compared to Bangladesh and Nepal. The same pattern is evident regarding trust in civil service, because her people are more educated than the people of other two countries and education reduces power distance and therefore level of trust also reduced by the increase of education.

Conclusion

The overall observation of the study shows that except education demographic variables do not have much effect on trust in civil service in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. Level of Education is creating some difference of citizens' trust in civil service of the countries. Regarding the social factors except for power distance, other factors are not found to be related with trust in Civil Service in the three countries. There are variations in the level and pattern due to ethnic diversity, colonial tradition and monarchic legacy that effected their associationism, general trust among people and their power distance.

This study examines the dynamics of citizens' trust on civil service in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. The study attempts to know what is the pattern of trust in civil service in these countries and what factors that shape the pattern are. It looks to see to what extent this trust is linked with citizens' demographic and social characteristics and their perceptions about the performance and quality of civil servants. The quantitative analysis of empirical data collected from secondary source demonstrates that citizens' trust in civil service in the three countries varies slightly. Citizens' trust on civil service in Bangladesh is higher than both Nepal and Sri Lanka. The analysis reveals a very weak relationship between demographic variables such as gender, level of age and education. Nevertheless, in case of Bangladesh, level of education of respondents seems to play a moderate role in shaping citizens' trust in civil service.

Except for level of power distance, social characteristics of respondents such as religiosity, social association and general trust among people, are found to have little

significance in explaining the extent of trust in civil service. Overall, this seems to be applicable for all the three countries: Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. On the other hand, in all these countries, level of power distance among citizens has moderate relationship with their perception of trust in civil servants. Due to colonial heritage in case of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka and Monarchic legacy in case of Nepal, there is comparatively high power distance in these countries. However, the level of power distance also varies in different countries in terms of both degree and direction. Furthermore, the findings demonstrate a strong relationship between trust in civil service and performance variables such as civil servants' competence, integrity and transparency. The analysis reveals that the trust significantly depends upon how citizens in these countries assess or perceive the quality and performance of their civil servants; where their perception about the efficiency and responsive, honesty, involvement in corruption, accessibility and openness of the officials is positive their trust level is higher. On the contrary, when citizens' perception of these indicators regarding official's performance is downward their level of trust also is likely to follow downward trend. In the comparative perspective, the findings from Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka fit with the performance based model of institutional trust. The study also partially confirms link among social characteristics specially power distance and trust. On the other hand, the study, largely, disconfirms the demographic identity based explanations.

To summarize the findings, responding to the first question of the study about the pattern of citizens' trust in Civil Service in Bangladesh , Nepal and Sri Lanka trust in civil service is a little higher in Bangladesh compared to Nepal and Sri Lanka. Except for the Level of education of respondents, demographic variables have shown to have no significant relationship with citizens' trust in civil service. Low education is contributing to higher trust in Bangladesh. In case of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka social association has shown to have little relationship with the citizens' trust in civil service in those countries. However, all the three-country data show significant relationship between power distance and trust in civil service. Bangladesh is portraying higher Power Distance than Sri Lanka and Nepal. This may be for her lower level of education compared to other two countries. Because higher level of education tends to decrease

power distance. In all the three countries perception of civil servants' competence, transparency, and integrity shown to have significant relationship with the trust in civil service. Except for accessibility, other institutional factors have shown good evidence of impact on citizens' trust in civil service.

Involvement of civil servants with Corruption has shown evidence of negative impact on trust in all the three countries. Interestingly, due to lack of accessibility respondents show higher trust which may be considered as blind trust or trust of convenience. This phenomenon of poor accessibility and increased trust demand further research. However, poor institutional performance and negative quality of civil servants contribute to the lower level of trust in all the three countries. To answer the second question it may be stated that the difference in the level of education, social polarization, organization culture like nepotism, favoritism, patron-clientelism, power distance due to colonial, monarchic legacy contribute to the variation in pattern of trust in Civil Service in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. The satisfaction with the activities of the government is also a factor that influence citizens' trust on civil service which is seen as the major tool of the government. The findings also support the institutional performance model mostly and social-cultural approach partially.

In short, it appears to be the institutional performance factors, power distance and corruption are more influential than other socio-demographic factors. Level of education, ethnicity, religiosity, and organizational culture have made the difference. However, surprisingly perception about civil servants corruption has not shown that much negative impact on trust in Civil Service. It may lead to further study in this regard to establish a correlation between corruption and citizens' trust in civil service. The study may have significant contribution to the understanding of the importance and effect of institutional reforms particularly in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka and South Asia in general. It will also encourage further study on citizens' trust focusing on the accessibility of citizen to public institution in these countries as it does not show the expected negative impact on the level of trust in these countries as general perception does not quite match with the finding. Therefore, the study consolidates institutional performance model of trust and paves the way for further study on unclear and unestablished explanatory factors of citizens' trust in public institutions.

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Annexure 1

Citizens' trust in public institutions in South Asia: does it follow a common pattern?

Source of data and unit of analysis

Countries	Sample size	Institutions
Bangladesh	2748	Civil Service
Nepal	2404	
Sri Lanka	1648	

Questions related to Dependent Variable and the measurements:

Dependent Variable	Indicators	Measured by				
Citizens' Trust in Civil Service		Ques. All country (NP, BD,SL) "I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them:..... Bureaucracy?"				
	Confidence in Civil Service	Not at all	Not very much confidence	Quite a lot of confidence	A great deal of confidence	Don't know
		1	2	3	4	9

Questions related to Independent Variables and their measurements:

Variable Name	Indicator	Country name	Question
Hypothesis 1: There is no significant impact of Demographic factors (Gender, Age, Education) with trust in Civil Service			
Education		Nepal	Education Qualification: 1. Illiterate 2. Literate 3. Primary Level 4. Lower Secondary Level 5. Secondary Level 6. Higher Secondary Level 7. Graduate Degree 8. Master's degree or higher
		BD	Similar to Nepal
		Sri Lanka	Education Qualification: 1. Illiterate 2. Literate 3. Primary Level(1-5) 4. Secondary Level(6-13) 5. Higher Secondary Level 6. Graduate Degree 7. Master's degree or higher
Hypothesis 2: Social factors (Social associated-ness, religiosity, General Trust) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service			
Social trust	Social interaction General Trust	Nepal	Q.10. Are you associated with any social, voluntary, civil society, community, etc. organizations? 1. Yes 2. No Q. 20. Would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people? 1. most people can be trusted 2. need to be careful in dealing with people 3. don't know OR Q. Do you easily trust people? or Do you think most people can be trusted? 1. yes 2. no 3.dont know
		BD	Q.18.Similar to Nepal
		Sri Lanka	Q.23.Similar to Nepal and BD

Hypothesis 2 : Social factors (Social associated-ness, religiosity, General Trust among people) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service													
Religiousness	Participation in religious activities	Nepal	<p>Ques. 12 .</p> <p>Independently of whether you attend religious services (such as religious ceremonies, festival, or going to Mandir /Pagoda/Mosque/Church) or Not, would you say you are-</p> <p>Not religious at all Very religious Don't know</p> <p>1 2 3 4 5 9</p>										
		BD	<p>Ques.</p> <p>In personal life do you attend religious services (such as religious ceremonies, festival, or going to Mandir / Pagoda/Mosque/Church) or Not, would you say you are-</p> <p>Not religious at all Very religious Don't know</p> <p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 99</p>										
		Sri Lanka	<p>Ques.</p> <p>How much are you religious</p> <p>Not religious at all Very religious Don't know</p> <p>1 2 3 4 5 9</p>										
Hypothesis 3 : Level of Power Distance among in society affects citizens' trust in Civil Service													
Power Distance	Obeying parents unreasonable demands, Accepting top officials like head of family	Nepal	<p>Ques. 18.</p> <p>How would you respond to the following statements about different social relationships-</p> <p>a) Even if parent's demands are unreasonable, children still should do what their parents ask/suggest</p> <p>b) Top officials in government/private sector/NGOs are like head of the family. Their decisions should be followed by everyone</p> <p>Ans.</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>Strongly disagree</td> <td>Quite disagree</td> <td>Partly agree</td> <td>Strongly agree</td> <td>Don't know</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>9</td> </tr> </table>	Strongly disagree	Quite disagree	Partly agree	Strongly agree	Don't know	1	2	3	4	9
		Strongly disagree	Quite disagree	Partly agree	Strongly agree	Don't know							
		1	2	3	4	9							
BD	Ques. 16(1), 16(2) same as Nepal												
Sri Lanka	Ques. 18(a), 18(b) same as Nepal												

Hypothesis 4: Institutional capacity (Civil servants Competence, transparency) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service							
Competence	Efficiency	Nepal	25.Ques. I am now reading a number of statements on civil servants and public service. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements? In general civil servants are-				
			a. Prompt and efficient				
			Strongly disagree	Quite disagree	Partly agree	Strongly agree	Don't know
			1	2	3	4	9
		BD	Q.23(1). .Same Ques. as Nepal				
		Sri Lanka	Q.28.a.Same Ques. As Nepal				
Hypothesis 4: Institutional capacity (Civil servants Competence, transparency) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service							
Responsive-ness	Helpful and responsive	Nepal	25. Ques.				
			I am now reading a number of statements on civil servants and public service. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements? In general civil servants are-				
			d. Helpful and responsive				
			Ans.				
			Strongly disagree	Quite disagree	Partly agree	Strongly agree	Don't know
			1	2	3	4	9
		BD	Ques.23(4). Same Ques. as Nepal				
		Sri Lanka	Ques.28.d.Same Ques. As Nepal				

Hypothesis 5: Civil servants Integrity (corruption, honesty, impartiality) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service.																									
Integrity	Honesty , Corruption	Nepal	<p>Ques.25. I am now reading a number of statements on civil servants and public service. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements? In general civil servants are-</p> <p>o. Honest and always tell the truth</p> <p>Ans.</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>Strongly disagree</td> <td>Quite disagree</td> <td>Partly agree</td> <td>Strongly agree</td> <td>Don't know</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>9</td> </tr> </table> <p>Q.32.b.According to your opinion- are civil servants in Nepal involved in corruption?</p> <p>Ans.</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>None</td> <td>Just a few</td> <td>Some</td> <td>Quite many</td> <td>Everyone</td> <td>Don't know</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>9</td> </tr> </table>	Strongly disagree	Quite disagree	Partly agree	Strongly agree	Don't know	1	2	3	4	9	None	Just a few	Some	Quite many	Everyone	Don't know	1	2	3	4	5	9
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		1	2	3	4	9																			
None	Just a few	Some	Quite many	Everyone	Don't know																				
1	2	3	4	5	9																				
BD	Ques. 23(2). Q.30(2) Same Ques. as Nepal																								
	Sri Lanka	Ques.28.b. Q.35.b Same Ques. as Nepal																							
Hypothesis 4: Institutional capacity (Civil servants Competence, transparency) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service																									
Transparency	Accessibility, Openness	NP	<p>Ques. I am now reading a number of statements on civil servants and public service. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements? In general civil servants are-</p> <p>25.g) difficult to get access to 25.m) do not hide any information</p> <p>Ans.</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>Strongly disagree</td> <td>Quite disagree</td> <td>Partly agree</td> <td>Strongly agree</td> <td>Don't know</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>9</td> </tr> </table>	Strongly disagree	Quite disagree	Partly agree	Strongly agree	Don't know	1	2	3	4	9												
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		1	2	3	4	9																			
BD	q.23 same as NP																								
	SL	q.28 same as NP																							

	Hypothesis 5: Civil servants' Integrity (corruption, honesty, impartiality) affect citizens' trust in Civil Service.						
Impartiality	Equal treatment	NP	Ques. I am now reading a number of statements on civil servants and public service. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements? In general civil servants are-				
			25.i) Treat all equally				
			Ans.				
			Strongly disagree	Quite disagree	Partly agree	Strongly agree	Don't know
			1	2	3	4	9
		BD	q.23 as Nepal				
		SL	q.28.i. as Nepal				