

Promoting social inclusion: managing trust-based relations between users and providers of public services.

Michael Grimsley

Centre for Regional, Economic and Social Research, Sheffield Hallam University,
Pond Street, Sheffield, UK, S1 1WB

Anthony Meehan (corresponding author)

Computing Department, The Open University,
Walton Hall, Milton Keynes, UK, MK7 6AA
a.s.meehan@open.ac.uk

Anna Tan

London Borough of Camden, Town Hall Extension
Argyle Street, London WC1H 8NG

Abstract: This paper advances a framework for analysing and managing trust-based relations between users and providers of public community services. The analysis demonstrates a significant relationship between levels of user trust and users' experience of public services and reveals experiential factors that promote users' trust. It features a community trust cycle, a trust compact and an experience management matrix which collectively support managers in addressing the relational dynamics of community trust relations. We illustrate the use of this framework via a case study of community agency participation being undertaken across five boroughs of north London.

Keywords: Trust, Public services, Social inclusion, Social exclusion, Social Capital.

1 Introduction

Currently, the UK government is concerned to address the problem of social exclusion associated with economic and other forms of social disadvantage. Changes in the provision of public services are central to this strategy. From the point of view of those providing public services, the government seeks to integrate service provision to produce so-called "joined-up" services. For individual citizens who are users of public services, the aim is to increase the uptake of entitlement and to facilitate more active engagement – even to the extent of introducing an element of community governance.

In a recent report for the UK Audit Commission, it was observed that some people avoid contact with public and community services they do not trust unless it is absolutely essential, and that this can have an impact on how well services meet wider community needs (Duffy et al. 2003). This observation suggests that a strategy based upon trust promotion might well provide a means to encourage people to access public services to which they are entitled.

In this context, it seems timely to examine ways in which it may be possible to promote trust between citizens and public service institutions. The work described in this paper is part of a research programme which aims to identify principles, and develop frameworks, that managers can use to facilitate community engagement with public services through the medium of trust. The remainder of the paper is organised as follows. In Section 2 consider, in outline, the role of trust in communities. Section 3

reviews our earlier work, which establishes the relation between citizens' experiences of public services and levels of trust expressed in those services. We identify three factors that appear to underpin trust promotion in public services. Section 4 uses this analysis to develop a framework for managing trust relations. Section 5 presents a case study in which this framework is used to examine a prominent experiment in community service participation undertaken in five boroughs of north London. Section 6 makes some concluding remarks and describes future work.

2 The Role of Trust in Communities

We view trust as an expression of Social Capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Community trust relations are an expression (possibly the principal expression) of a community's capacity to achieve a better quality of life than would otherwise be available if its members acted merely as individuals (Lin, 2001; Warren, 2001). The role of trust is that it makes possible the achievement of community objectives that would not be attainable in its absence (Bourdieu, 1985, Coleman, 1990; Fukuyama, 1995).

Within any community, individuals relate to a wide range of institutions: families, cultural, community and political associations, institutions providing public services, democratic and legislative fora. Relations with (and between) these institutions operate on the basis of some level of mutual trust. Trust allows all parties in a relationship to avoid the transaction costs involved in enforcing and regulating co-operation through detailed contracts, establishing monitoring and regulating bodies, managing litigation and maintaining a legal framework that is concerned with specifying conditions for co-operation and responding to breaches of agreement (Smith, 2003).

Further, it is clear that regulatory behaviours have associated opportunity costs. The diminution of regulatory effort facilitated by trust allows the realisation of opportunities, otherwise denied, to engage in new and more diverse community relations. If, in turn, these new relations are, or come to be, conducted on the basis of trust, then there is the prospect of something of a 'virtuous spiral' of trust promulgation in the community.

It is possible to distinguish different forms of trust in communities. Within any community, individuals relate to a wide range of institutions: families, cultural, community and political associations, institutions providing public services, democratic and legislative fora. Relations with (and between) these institutions operate on the basis of some level of mutual trust. Braithwaite and Levi (1998), amongst others, suggest that it is possible to differentiate between vertical and horizontal community trust relations. Vertical trust reflects the quality of relations between citizens and the institutions of community governance and their associated services (e.g., elected councils, housing, police and justice, health, education, transport). Horizontal trust reflects social cohesion between members of a community (e.g. between friends, family, neighbours, work colleagues).

Rothstein and Eek (2001) conjecture that there is a further distinction to be made between vertical trust as it relates to representative fora which develop policy and determine service provision ("input" vertical trust) and vertical trust in relation to agencies providing public services ("output" vertical trust). Grimsley et al. (2003) have found clear evidence for both vertical and horizontal trust, and for the distinction proposed by Rothstein, as part of two independent surveys of disadvantaged communities in the north of England.

Our view of the role of trust suggests that one strategy for promoting community engagement with public services is to identify the experiential elements of high-trust relations that exist between members of a community and its institutions and thence seek ways to incorporate these elements into the design of the public's experience of other community institutions.

3 Trust and the Experience of Community Services and Institutions

In this section we outline the evidence for the relational basis of trust within communities. We distinguish between the two forms of trust discussed above (horizontal and vertical) and describe the connection between people's experience of relations with community institutions and levels of both these forms of trust.

In earlier work, we have demonstrated that user satisfaction with community services (schools, health facilities, transport, environment, police, civic planning, local amenities, and others) promotes community trust levels (Grimsley et al, 2003). Further, we have identified three experiential factors in relations between community members and public service providers that appear to underpin expressed levels of trust. The first of these was how well informed people felt in relation to these community services. The second was the extent to which they felt an enhanced sense of control in their personal lives as a result of the relation with community services. The third was the extent to which people felt they were able to influence services in the community.

We review the evidence for forms of trust and for the suggested experiential dimensions of trust in turn. The evidence comes from two large-scale surveys that provided data for our enquiry, the means used to analyse the data, and the results of the analysis.

3.1 Surveys

The two sample surveys were conducted in economically deprived (UK) communities. Over the last decade or more, the communities have experienced significant, deleterious, economic and social change, mainly as a result of the loss of employment. Social exclusion is a policy concern in these areas.

The first survey was commissioned to evaluate UK government and European Union Regeneration strategies. It was designed and supervised by a local consortium of agencies. Interviews were undertaken by 50 trained members of the local communities surveyed. It elicited responses from 4220 individuals in homes within nine distinct communities with one adult selected per randomly sampled household (Grimsley et al, 2000). The second survey was commissioned to examine issues related to housing and health and forms the first part (wave 1) of a longitudinal research programme. This postal survey covered eight similar, but not the same, communities. More than one person per household was sampled and social housing households were over represented by design. Responses were obtained from 1341 individuals (Grimsley et al, 2001).

Both surveys feature a combination of direct and indirect questions and responses to questions such as these were expressed on five-point ordinal, or Likert, scales. The surveys measured user satisfaction with a large variety of public services and levels of community trust.

3.2 Data Analysis

Many of the issues upon which respondents were questioned are believed non-independent. Accordingly, in analysing the responses, we have used oblique principal component analysis (OPCA) to attempt to identify the underlying components of trust. The analysis of the surveys was structured broadly as follows. For both surveys, the relation between satisfaction with community services and the level of community trust was explored. Having established a relationship between experience of services and expressed trust, the first survey was used to identify the dominant experiential factors that seemed to underpin expressed levels of trust in services.

3.2.1 Forms of Community Trust

The analysis of expressed levels of trust suggests that it is important to distinguish between trust expressed in family, friends, neighbours, work colleagues and trust expressed in community institutions. Following Braithwaite and Levy (1998), we label these as horizontal and vertical trust respectively. OPCA allows non-orthogonal factors and thus may express a correlative relation between factors. Vertical and horizontal trust are correlated ($r=0.2$; $p=0.01$).

Statistically, vertical trust is correlated with experience of public service provision ($r=0.28$; $p=0.01$) but horizontal trust is not. This suggests (but no stronger) that, experience of services increases levels of horizontal trust via promotion of vertical trust. Although ultimately interested in both form of trust, the relation between public services and the community is principally expressed as vertical trust and so, in the analyses that ensue, we focus on vertical trust.

3.2.2 Community Services and Trust

The first survey elicited responses for satisfaction with, and trust placed in, health services, police, local environment management and transport services; the second survey for health facilities, transport and schools. For all surveys, and for all services considered, there was a strong positive correlation between satisfactory experience of the service and the level of trust expressed.

3.2.3 Experiential Factors Determining Trust Levels

The first survey allows an analysis of three experiential factors that were conjectured to influence levels of social capital, expressed as community trust (anonymised4). These are:

- information: the extent to which individuals felt well informed;
- control: the extent to which individuals felt they enjoyed personal control, or contingency in their lives;
- influence: the extent to which individuals felt they could exert influenced.

Control has many interpretations in the literature (Skinner, 1996) and it is best to clarify its use here. In this context it may be characterised in a number of, essentially similar ways: e.g., as sense that there are 'more means to achieve one's goals or aspirations', alternatively, as a sense that there is an enlarged opportunity space. More prosaically, personal control concerns the extent to which community institutions make it easier or harder to balance the demands of one's life: child care, work, shopping, care of relatives and neighbours, socialising, shopping, etc.

For each factor, there is a strong, positive, relationship between the level of the factor and the level trust expressed (Figures 1-3). (Space does not permit a fuller exploration of the relation of these experiential factors to trust but we do wish to point out there are important distinctions to be made on the basis of community, gender, ethnicity and education/training.)

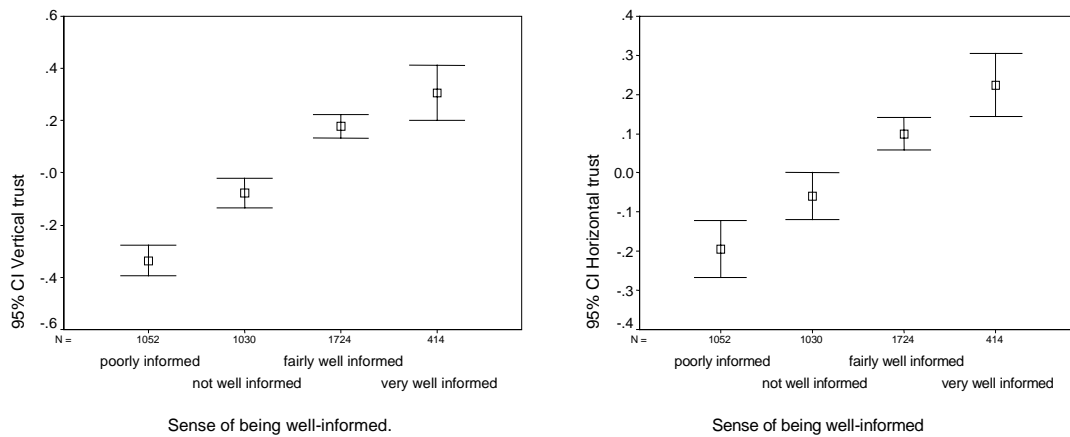


Figure 1. Relation between how well informed individuals are and both vertical and horizontal trust. The positive trend is statistically significant in both cases.

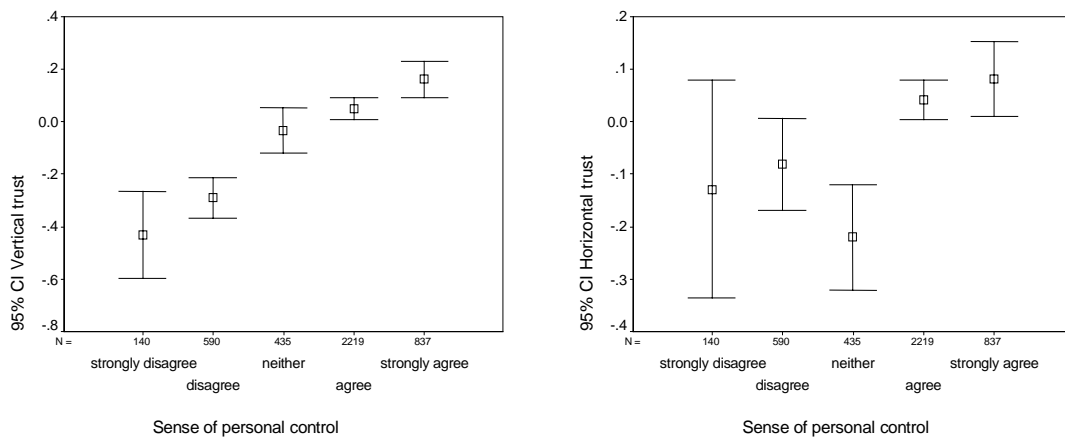


Figure 2. Relation between perceptions of personal control and both vertical and horizontal trust. There is a strong, positive, relationship between perceptions of personal control and the level of vertical trust expressed. The relation to horizontal trust is weaker, but still significant.

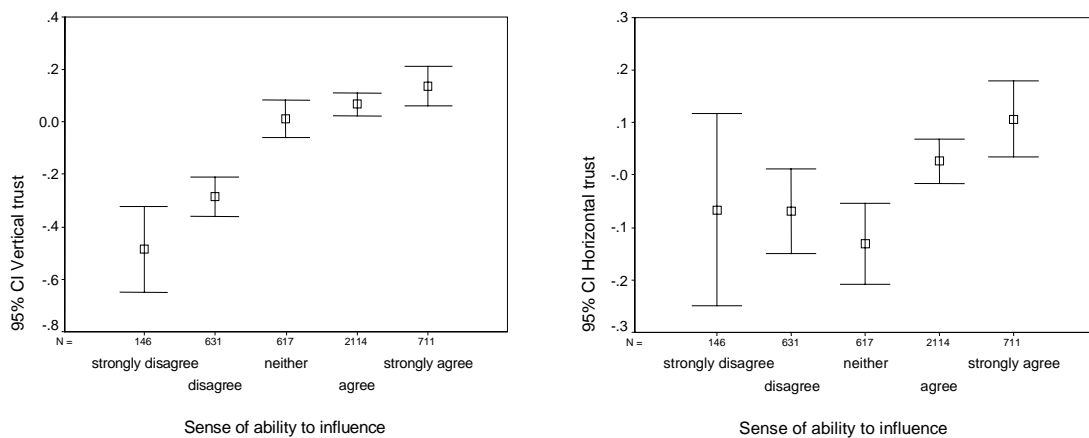


Figure 3. Relation between perceptions of personal influence and both vertical and horizontal trust. There is a strong, positive, relationship between perceptions of influence and the level of vertical trust expressed. The relation to horizontal trust is weaker, but also significant.

4 Managing Experiences to Promote Trust

We have seen above that trust appears to be (partially) determined by three experiential variates. The identification of these variates, and their role in promoting trust, suggests that they should each be addressed in planning and managing computer-mediated relations between community members and community institutions such as public services. The elements of the framework we present below aim to support that objective.

The framework has three elements. The first is a Community Trust Cycle, which illustrates the trust-based relation between community members and community institutions. The second is a Community Trust Compact, which is used to negotiate shared understanding of the trust relationship. The third is the Experience Management Matrix, which supports each party in determining its participative strategy in the relation.

4.1 Community Trust Cycle

The Community Trust Cycle (Figure 4) provides a framework for understanding the generation and propagation of trust arising from relations within a community. It is based upon the identification of forms of trust and on the experiential factors promoting trust described as described in Sections 2 and 3, respectively.

Horizontal trust is expressed in relations with peer institutions in the community (families, neighbours, workplace relations. Vertical trust is generated and expressed in relations with community institutions. Levels of trust, especially vertical trust, are promoted by a sense of being able to influence policies and practice. Experience of the service also reinforces trust. In this case, the two experiential factors are at work are the quality and quantity of information available to induce a sense of being well informed and the extent to which the service provider facilitates a sense of enhanced personal control (scope for alternative courses of action).

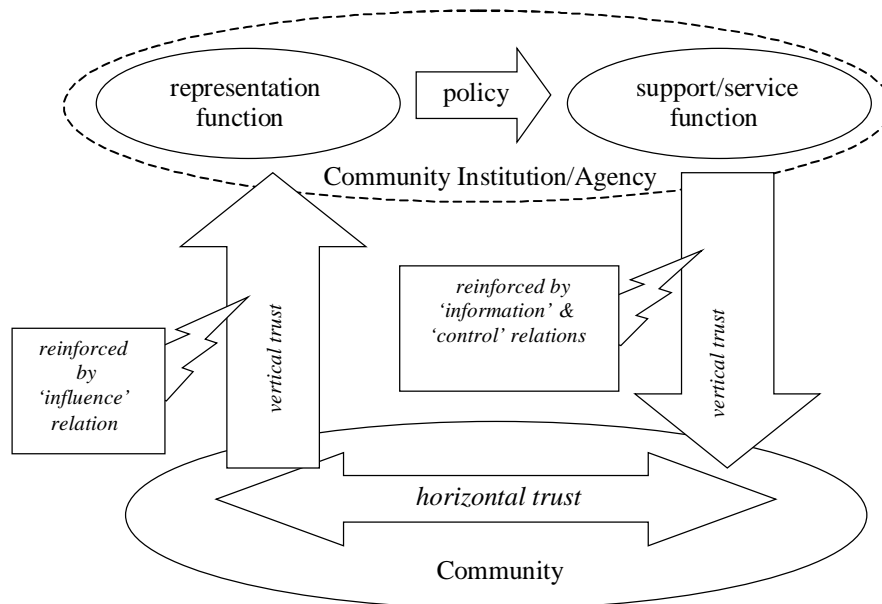


Figure 4. Community Trust Cycle.

4.2 Community Trust Compact

The Community Trust Compact is a framework for dialogue between the parties to a trust-based relation. It establishes the basis of participation in the relationship. (A compact is a voluntary, as opposed to enforceable, agreement.) In some cases it may be formally negotiated and agreed but in others it may be informal, or even assumed. The compact we propose is structured to reflect Simons's 'management systems to facilitate empowerment' in a relationship (Simons, 1995; Duane and Finnegan, 2003). We have sought to adapt the scheme to better reflect the fact that the trust-based relationships we seek to support are between parties who share a more subtle and complex distribution of power and authority (e.g., consider the power and authority distribution between an elected council and its electorate, or between a parent and child and a community crèche). We have also sought to incorporate issues that relate to trust management between public sector institutions (both voluntary and statutory) as explored by Vangen and Huxman (2003).

In Figure 5 we identify the trust management elements (controls, in Simons's terminology) that parties should mutually explore. The intended outcome is a shared understanding between the parties as to the values that underpin the relationship, the range of entitlements that each has with respect to the other(s), and how these depend upon responsible and trustworthy conduct in respect of their use.

Relational Controls (c.f. Simons, 1996; Vangen & Huxman, 2003)	Activity
Establish Relational Values	Agree values and describe high-level behaviours that express these values.
Define Mutual Expectations and Entitlements	Identify expectations and agree definition of entitlements (c.f. Service Level Agreement). (It may be useful to distinguish between equity and equality in respect of entitlement). Share ownership but recognise different levels of commitment.
Determine Bounded Freedoms	Agree boundaries that denote changed levels of experience of the relationship (often expressed as enhanced/diminished entitlement).
Define Incentives and Penalties	Identify and agree behaviours that induce transitions across entitlement boundaries identified above.
Monitor Behavioural Performance	<i>Jointly</i> monitor and review adherence to values and behaviours as described above and enact changes to bounded freedoms.

Figure 5. Trust Compact

Agreeing and managing the elements of this compact is a significant undertaking, not least in respect of the effectiveness of communication that is needed if trust is not to be undermined during the early stages of a relationship. Parties should seek to nurture the trust relationship, perhaps starting with modest objectives and building towards a capacity to manage significant engagements (Vangen and Huxman, 2003). These authors also highlight the importance of recognising differences in power between participants. This is especially important when one party invokes a changed level of entitlement in respect of the other; hence the importance of *joint* monitoring of behaviour.

4.3 Experience Management Matrix

The Experience Management Matrix is based upon the inter-relation of the three experiential factors we have identified as contributing to trust. The intuition behind the instrument is that the experiential factors we have identified apply to both parties in a trust relationship. Thus, for each party, there is scope for shaping the overall trust relationship by managing the communication of information, the distribution of control and the deployment of influence in respect of the other party. This gives rise to nine separate dynamics in the trust relation, each of which features a range or scale of behaviours that will shape the experience of the other party (Figure 6).

If we consider the role of a manager of a public service/community institution, three strategies must be formulated to produce a desired experience in a user of the service/institution: an Information Strategy, a Control Strategy, and an Influence Strategy (leftmost column of the matrix). Each of these has a desired or 'target' experiential outcome in the user (top rows of the matrix).

In each cell of the matrix, we identify the central question to be addressed in devising the strategy, and provide, in very general terms, an indicative response which needs context specific refinement. To illustrate the use of the matrix, we provide some examples of how these dynamics may be elaborated.

Example 1: First, consider the problem of determining an information strategy that will engender a sense of being well informed in the second party (row 1, column 1 of the matrix). Complex organisations need complex structures to organise the information they need to convey to widely differing parties. Key issues include determining an appropriate volume of information to be provided, the quality and depth of the information (e.g. accuracy/clarity/accessibility), and the scope of the information (e.g. does it cover the most common/basic requirements of users, does it extend to special/unusual requirements, does it refer to alternative, possibly competing, sources of support/service).

Example 2: Second, consider how the actual control (power) available to one party can be deployed to induce a sense of being well informed in the other party (row 2, column 1 of the matrix). In relation to provision of information there are two poles: the first represents a purely reactive strategy for information provision (information is provided only when asked for), the alternate pole is proactive information provision. The experience of these different strategies will range, respectively, from a sense of dependence and low levels of a sense of personal control through to a sense of emancipation (Figure 7).

5 Applying the Trust Management Framework: an Illustrative Case Study

In this section, we shall give an illustration of how the framework may be applied; in this case to the *de novo* development of a project. In this example, we use the framework to illustrate the way in which it supports managers in identifying issues related trust management. The context is a project designed to enhance the access to and uptake of public services in five North London Boroughs.

This project is of particular interest in the light of what has been said above. The boroughs involved are very diverse and social exclusion of many different communities within the geographical area is a key concern. As is common in many such communities, the success of community development initiatives depends heavily upon local voluntary community associations and advice centres. A number of studies show that many people prefer to approach these organisations before going to the local authority or other public service institutions. And local

Project Activity	Target Experience in Community Group/Agency		
	Sense of being well-informed	Sense of personal control	Sense of being able to influence
Information Strategy	How should information be structured and organised to promote well-informedness? Address the volume, quality, and scope (breadth) of information, and the effectiveness with which it is communicated.	What information is needed and how can it be organised to promote a sense of personal control? Address the information needed to make clear the scope for alternative courses of action/opportunity.	What information is needed to facilitate the formation of informed views and how to convey them appropriately and effectively? What information is needed to provide evidence that community views have been considered and/or acted upon?
Distribution of Control	With whom should the initiative lie in the elicitation/provision of information? For each information element of the information strategy (see row 1, above) determine whether it should be reactively or proactively communicated.	In pursuit of the shared objective of the trust-relationship, how might responsibility for the subtasks and objectives be distributed between the parties? Demonstrate flexible practice (distribution of tasks) in respect of the distinctive needs of each individual, group or agency in the community.	With whom should the initiative lie in the elicitation of views on current and future policy? Establish a consultative dialogue. Adapt (standard) provision in light of expressed needs.
Deployment of Influence	What balanced and (preferably) independent evidence is available to legitimate current policy and practice?	How might perceptions of needs be changed so that any diminution of the space of alternative courses of action/opportunity is not experienced as a diminution of a sense of control?	What negotiation strategies will be perceived as trustworthy? Adopt coordinative (recognises others priorities) or even integrative (trades off own low priorities if they meet other party's high priorities) negotiation styles.

Figure 6. Experience Management Matrix - nine dynamics arise from the 'product' of three experiential factors promoting trust in a two-party relationship.

<p>Information Strategy</p>	<p><i>Basic-reactive:</i> Information provision is request driven</p>	<p><i>Minimal-standard:</i> basic or routine information on levels of service availability is published.</p>	<p><i>Explanatory:</i> explanations are published in relation to routine and non-routine service standards.</p>	<p><i>Responsive:</i> information is provided about how the service can be adapted to individual users' needs.</p>	<p><i>Enabling:</i> information is provided which allows the users to achieve goals by reference to alternative courses of action or even 'competing' service providers</p>
<p>Induced Sense of Personal Control</p>	<p><i>Dependent:</i> user must take the initiative in researching the information needed to act.</p>	<p><i>Non-standard dependent:</i> if the user needs any variation in the basic provision they must take the initiative in acting to meet their need.</p>	<p><i>Informed-dependent:</i> the user knows and can take a view on the reasonableness of the service they experience.</p>	<p><i>Facilitated:</i> the user can seek to secure support for their specific circumstances.</p>	<p><i>Emancipated:</i> the user is able to pursue alternative courses of action which achieve their desired goal.</p>

Figure 7. Relation of possible information strategies to user experience of a sense of personal control.

authorities and others have long seen community advice agencies, in all their diversity, as key participants in pursuing community policy. The project we consider aims to promote trust between three parties: the local borough councils and the services they provide, the local community associations and advice centres, and their users in the community.

5.1 CASweb Project

CASweb is an initiative from five Local Authorities (Boroughs) of the London Central Partnership (Camden, Islington, Kensington & Chelsea, Westminster and City of London), and it is supported by the Office of The Deputy Prime Minister. The aim of the CASweb project is to improve the quality and accessibility of public advice services available to residents of the boroughs. The fields of interest of the agencies involved are very diverse, including community law centres, very many ethnic minority cultural associations, Lesbian & Gay associations, elderly groups, housing groups, self-help groups, residents & tenants associations, young peoples' organisations, parents groups. The CASWeb strategy is based upon facilitating the networking of community advice agencies so that they share awareness of each other, discuss policy perspectives that impact upon them and develop what they perceive to be successful practice between agencies in tackling clients' problems.

Trust (as social capital) applies extensively within this project. The agencies vary in many degrees e.g. of specialisation, professionalisation, funding, etc. Further, the groups and agencies vary in the nature and quality of their relations between each other; not least because the social, legal, political and economic environment they operate in produces both cooperative incentives and competitive tensions.

Similarly, the relationship between community groups/advice agencies and borough councils can be as complex as the relations between the agencies (as indicated above). For example, many advice agencies will seek to preserve an identity that is independent of their local council (not least because they may act as advocates for individuals in relation to council services). Hence, the introduction of infrastructural support for the agencies (in the form of CASweb) is not without its derivative tensions. For example, one possible tension arises from the fact that power and control element of the project is, initially, with the borough councils.

The promotion of trust between community members, the groups and agencies and the borough councils will be a significant factor in the success of the project.

5.2 Applying the Community Trust Cycle

We begin with the issue of identifying roles and trust relations in the community. Clearly, there are citizens of the boroughs whose relations with the council and other public services are mediated by their respective community agencies. However, the community-based advice agencies also form a community, indeed this is this community that is the immediate or primary focus of the CASWeb project. The Borough Councils of Camden and of the London Central Partnership constitute the top-level institution element of the model. These relations are illustrated in Figure 8 in which we see a 'composition' of the earlier, generic, community trust cycle. (Of course, the community agencies have representation and service functions but, for clarity of graphical illustration, these are not shown.) The figure does not seek to capture the fact that, over time, maturing trust relations will mean some citizens will migrate from the set of people who use intermediary agencies to the set of people who do not.

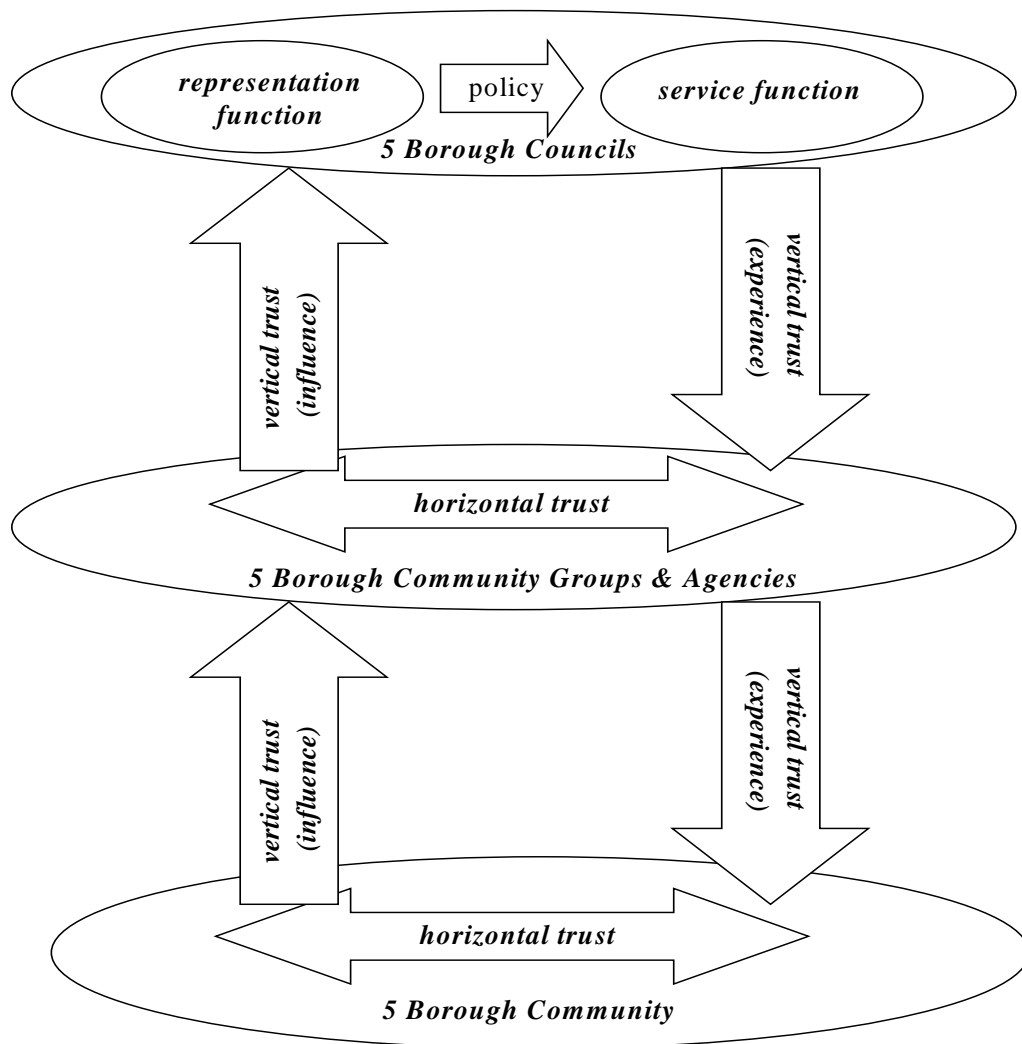


Figure 8. Community Trust Relations in the CASWeb Project.

5.3 Applying the Trust Compact

Examination of the CASWeb project through application of the Trust Compact framework serves to highlight that many of the relational controls have not yet been articulated by project participants (Figure 9). This lack of definition allows scope for parties to maintain different values and expectations. If the issues in the Trust Compact are left to come to light in a context where one or both parties perceives a problem in the relationship, this can make resolution of the problem more difficult and the trust that would normally support a resolution of the problem can, instead, be diminished. Recognition of this serves to establish an important agenda for project managers in which key relational issues need to be identified and explored. For example, in a context where agencies may share confidential information, it is important that values and behavioural expectations in relation to issues such as privacy and security are made explicit.

Relational Controls	Activity
Establish Relational Values	Values are defined as 'public interest, not-for-profit'. The desire to promote trust-based cooperation between agencies has led to additional values being promoted. These revolve around contributing to the many sharable elements of the CASweb environment.
Define Mutual Expectations and Entitlements	Participating agencies enjoy the same provision without any (initial) distinction as to 'constitutional character' (e.g. statutory/voluntary or professional/non-professional). CASweb offers a standard range of services to all participants. However, CASweb does support use of 'kite-marks' awarded by independent third parties, such as professional associations or funding sources, to distinguish one agency from another.
Determine Bounded Freedoms	Currently these are largely undefined. In both cases there is an implicit boundary, signalled by the existence of an informal procedure for managing complaints against agencies. The additional values of CASweb imply there may be other boundaries, e.g., absence of sharing behaviour, but these are not formalised.
Define Incentives and Penalties	Also largely undefined in both cases. The values (above) imply an appreciation of the value of trust relations based upon participation and sharing but there is currently no explicit articulation of this incentive. The existence of penalties is indicated indirectly through reference to a complaint procedure but these are not spelt out.
Monitor Behavioural Performance	Procedures for monitoring are undefined. The existence of a complaint procedure, which may be initiated by a member of the public or by another group/agency, implies that responsibility for monitoring lies with community members.

Figure 9. Current State of the Trust Compact in CASWeb Project.

5.3 Applying the Experience Management Matrix.

Finally, we apply the Experience Management Matrix in making the comparison (Figure 8). This serves to characterise the information, control and influence strategies of the CASWeb project team. Completion of the matrix indicates that the CASweb project team has well developed and proactive strategies that are likely to be highly successful in promoting vertical trust between the community agencies and the project sponsors.

Project Activity	Target Experience in Group/Agency		
	Sense of being well-informed	Sense of control	Sense of influence
Information Strategy	CASWeb provides full disclosure of the information agencies need to determine the scope of the information services they will provide to clients and other agencies.	The choice of an open source platform to support CASWeb means that agencies are not tied to the CASWeb infrastructure, thus engendering as sense of empowerment and autonomy.	Participating agencies are actively encouraged and enabled to contribute ideas for additional CASweb services.
Distribution of Control	Highly proactive information dissemination strategy. Active personal networking amongst community groups and advice workers by project officers.	All participants have a high degree of control in the operation of their service from the outset. This is achieved through skills transfer into and between agency-based administrators.	Proactive approach to consultation with agencies. CASweb includes facilities and services suggested/requested by participants thus providing evidence of influence to those participants.
Deployment of Influence	CASweb has recently sought involvement of independent researchers who will provide balanced and independent evaluation of current and evolving project policy and practice.	Perceptions of needs are influenced through the provision of additional tools for participants.	CASweb team adopts a highly responsive to expressed needs of participating agencies.

Figure 8. Experience Management Matrix – audit of the information, control and influence strategies of the CASWeb project team.

6 Summary

This paper has addressed the problem of promoting user engagement with public services as part of a social inclusion strategy based upon trust promotion. On the basis of analyses from two large-scale surveys among users of public services this paper has demonstrated a link between users' experiences of services and trust in those services. Specifically, it has identified three experiential factors that appear to promote trust in public services; how well informed users feel, the extent to which they experience a sense of control in their lives, and the extent to which they feel able to exert influence.

The paper then proceeded to develop a trust management framework to aid management of trust-based relationships. The framework features three elements:

- Community Trust Cycle that supports identification of trust forms and relational roles in a community context;
- Trust Compact that supports the definition of relational values, mutual expectations of entitlements, expected behaviours and consequences of breach of these expectations;
- Experience Management Matrix that supports the development of information, control and influence strategies that will promote trust.

Finally, the paper illustrated the application of the framework to a community project that aimed to promote trust-based relations between local government and community agencies. The Trust Cycle served to clarify the vertical and horizontal trust relations within the project, the Experience Management Matrix provided a positive audit of the trust promoting strategies of the project team, but the application of the Trust Compact served to identify the need to make explicit the values, expectations and behaviours that would underpin the relationships.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the Royal Academy of Engineering for their support for part of this work.

References

Bourdieu, P. (1985): The Forms of Capital. In Richardson, J.G., Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education, New York: Greenwood Press, 1985, p248

Braithwaite, V., Levi, M. (eds) (1998): Trust and Governance. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1998

Coleman, J. (1990): Foundations of Social Theory. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA. 1990.

Duane, A. and Finnegan, P. (2003), Managing empowerment and control in an intranet environment. Information Systems Journal 13 (2), 133-158.

Duffy B., Browning P. and Skinner G., *Trust in Public Institutions: A report for the Audit Commission*, MORI, 2003.

Fukuyama, F. (1995): *The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*, London, Free Press, 1995

Green, G., Grimsley, M., Suokas A., et al. (2000): *Social Capital, Health and Economy in South Yorkshire Coalfield Communities*. CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University, Oct 2000, ISBN 0 86339 918 5

Green, G., Grimsley, M., Stafford, B. (2001): *Capital Accounting for Neighbourhood Sustainability*, CRESR, Sheffield Hallam University 2001, ISBN 0 863 399 568

Grimsley, M., Meehan, A., Green, G., Stafford, B. (2003): *Social Capital and Community Trust and e-Government Services*. In P. Nixon and S. Terzis (eds.): *First International Conference on Trust Management*, Hiraqlion, Crete, Greece, May 2003. *Lecture Notes in Computer Science (LNCS 2692)* Springer-Verlag, Berlin Heidelberg 2003, pp165-178

Grimsley, M., Meehan, A., Green, G., Stafford, B. (2003): *Enhancing social capital and community trust through the design of technologically mediated access to government and public services*, 2nd Workshop on Trust Within and Between Organisations, Amsterdam, October 2003, European Institute for Advanced Studies in Management (EIASM), 2003.

Lin, N. (2001): *Social Capital: a Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001

Rothstein, B., Eek, D. (2001): *The Causal Mechanism between Trust in Authorities and Trust in Others: An Experimental Approach*
<http://www.ex.ac.uk/shipss/politics/research/socialcapital/other/rothstein3.pdf>

Simons, R. (1995): *Levers of Control*. Harvard Business School Press, Boston MA.

Skinner, E.A. (1996): *A Guide to Constructs of Control*. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 71, 549-570.

Smith, C. (2003): *Trust in Social Relations: Building Confidence and Missing the Target*, 2nd Workshop on Trust Within and Between Organisations, Amsterdam, October 2003, European Institute for Advanced Studies in Management (EIASM), 2003.

Vangen, S. and Huxman, C.: *Nurturing Collaborative Relations*. *Journal of Applied Behavioural Science*. Vol. 39 No. 1, March 2003, 5-31

Warren, M.E. (2001): *Social Capital and Corruption*. In: Dario Castiglione: *Social Capital: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. EURESCO conference on Social Capital, Exeter, UK, 15-20 September 2001.