A systematic review of the literature on determinants of public managers' attitudes towards public participation[1]

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Abstract

Research on public managers' attitudes towards local public participation has expanded rapidly during the past two decades. Studies show that public managers' attitudes towards public participation play an important role in the success of participatory practices. However, there is a lack of systematic evidence on determinants of public managers' attitudes towards public participation. In this paper, we conduct a systematic literature review of determinants of public managers' attitudes towards public participation. Based on evidence from 99 peer-reviewed journal articles, we establish four categories of determinants: 1. Personal characteristics; 2. Process characteristics; 3. Organisational structures and culture; 4. Contextual features. The results suggest that public managers' attitudes towards public participation are multi-dimensional and context specific. This study may help policymakers manage public managers' negative attitudes towards public participation or increase their positive attitudes towards public participation through professional training and education.

Keywords: *public managers; public participation; attitudes, determinants; systematic literature review*

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1. Introduction

Public managers' attitudes towards public participation have been identified as an important predictor of public participation efforts (Ianniello et al., 2018; Liao & Schachter, 2018; Yang & Callahan, 2007). Public managers influence the design of participatory arrangements (Eckerd & Heidelberg, 2019), decide the degree to which citizens' input is incorporated into administrative decisions (Buckwalter, 2014; Yang & Callahan, 2007), control administrative resources, and are the primary source of information for elected officials (Liao & Schachter, 2018). Without public managers willing to engage with the public, it is unlikely that citizens' input gets incorporated into the administrative decision-making process (Yang & Callahan, 2007). However, up to now no systematic analysis of public managers' attitudes towards public participation has been conducted to shed light on the determinants of these attitudes (Amirkhanyan & Lambright, 2018; Liao & Ma, 2019).

Existing research indicates that public managers hold a wide range of attitudes towards public participation (Hong, 2015; Liao & Schachter, 2018). Previous literature reviews have focused on the obstacles that hinder successful public participation (Ianniello et al., 2018), how to increase the use of public participation in local government (Schafer, 2018), or on whether public participation is worth the effort (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). Crucially, these studies provide little information on the determinants of public managers' attitudes towards public participation. Knowledge of these determinants may help policymakers manage negative attitudes or help increase public managers' positive attitudes towards public participation through training and education. Furthermore, evidence on determinants of public managers' attitudes towards public participation remains largely scattered across different academic disciplines, which often focus on similar examples of public participation but through different disciplinary lenses.

In this paper, we develop a comprehensive multi-disciplinary framework of determinants of public managers' attitudes towards public participation and formulate the following research question:

What are the known determinants of public managers' attitudes towards public participation?

To answer this question, we conducted a systematic literature review of determinants of public managers' attitudes towards public participation following the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic review and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) protocol (Liberati et al., 2009; Moher et al., 2015) of English language, peer-reviewed, empirical studies published in public administration, political science, and urban studies journals between 1969 and the summer of 2019. This paper demonstrates that evidence on public managers' attitudes towards public participation is on the rise. Based on the results, we inductively group determinants of public managers' attitudes towards public participation into four categories: personal characteristics, process characteristics, organisational structure and culture, and contextual features.

In the first part of the paper, we define public managers' attitudes towards public participation, present our research approach and highlight the criteria by which relevant studies were selected and included into the analysis. In the second part, we present the results of our analysis and discuss the determinants examined in the relevant studies. In the final part of the paper, we conclude by highlighting and discussing the main findings and contributions of this systematic literature review.

2. Attitudes towards public participation

Conceptualising public managers' attitudes towards public participation is not a straightforward task. In general, the literature distinguishes between two perspectives on public managers' attitudes towards public participation. On the one hand, the democratic perspective underscores the normative desirability of public participation. According to this perspective, public participation can bring about important educative and empowering benefits, strengthen public trust in government, and stimulate the attainment of citizenship skills (Nabatchi, 2010b; Pateman, 1970; Roberts, 1997). On the other hand, the instrumental perspective underscores the pragmatic value of public participation in relation to the performance and goal attainment of public organisations. According to this perspective, public managers are motivated to use public participation in so far as it contributes to administrative and policy objectives at low cost (Eckerd & Heidelberg, 2019; Moynihan, 2003; Thomas et al., 2010). In practice, democratic and instrumental perspectives on public participation overlap. However, "[in as far as democratic] perspectives are held by administrators, they are secondary to an instrumentalist perspective" (Eckerd & Heidelberg, 2019, p. 145).

In general, an attitude can be defined as "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs, feelings, and behavioural tendencies" (Hogg & Vaughan, 2017, p. 154). We follow research by Liao and Schachter (2018) and define public managers' attitudes towards public participation as "the extent that a [public] manager favors or disfavors direct citizen involvement in administrative decision-making" (p. 1288). Attitudes about public participation are closely related to public managers' actual participation behaviour. Managers with a positive attitude towards public participation are more likely to allow the public to participate (Liao & Schachter, 2018; Yang & Callahan, 2007).

3. Methods

For the purpose of this paper, we collected, structured and analysed previously published research on public managers' attitudes towards public participation in administrative decision-making following the PRIMSA protocol (Liberati et al., 2009; Moher et al., 2015). The PRISMA protocol has been developed in the context of the healthcare sciences to increase the reliability and replicability of literature reviews and meta-analysis. The systematic literature review approach stimulates the collection of "all empirical evidence that fits pre-specified eligibility criteria to answer a specific research question" and uses explicit systematic methods that are selected with a view to minimising bias (Liberati et al., 2009, p. 2). The PRISMA protocol provides guidelines on the identification, eligibility, screening, and inclusion of relevant articles, as well as on data extraction, analysis, synthesis, and the reporting of findings (Moher et al., 2015).

Eligibility criteria

Records were eligible when they discussed public managers' stated and observed attitudes towards public participation in administrative decision-making. We defined public participation following Nabatchi and Amsler (2014) as: any activity that allows "members of the public (i.e. those not holding office or administrative positions in government) […] [to] personally and actively exercise voice such that their ideas, concerns, needs, interests, and values are incorporated in governmental decision making" (p. 65S). Records on public participation at a local, regional, national, and supranational level were considered eligible. We purposefully excluded records referring to co-creation or co-production. Our definition of public participation excludes interactive or citizen-initiated policy-making, or collaboration in service provisions (Brandsen et al., 2018). The literature on co-creation and co-production

has already been thoroughly reviewed by Voorberg, Bekkers, and Tummers (2015).

Eligible records included studies about public participation between citizens (or their representatives) and public managers (or administrations/organisations). We emphasise that this review was specifically focused on public manager's attitudes towards public participation. We excluded records focusing on the attitudes of elected officials, political executives, representatives and lawmakers, or any other kind of politician, as well as records on citizens', business', or civil society organisations' attitudes towards public participation in administrative decision-making.

Furthermore, we included empirical studies only. Since public participation research is often practice oriented, many otherwise eligible studies include reused information and practitioner recommendations that may not be evidence-based. All forms of empirical research (case studies, surveys, experiments, etc.) were deemed eligible. In addition, we focused on peer-reviewed records, written in English and published in international journals in the fields of public administration, political science, and urban studies. These are the fields in which public participation is studied most regularly. Finally, we included records published between 1969 and (summer) 2019. We chose the year 1969 as starting date because this was the year in which the seminal article *Ladder of Public Participation* by Sherry Arnstein (1969) was published.

Search strategy

Potentially eligible records were identified using standardised searches in two electronic reference databases of internationally published peer-reviewed studies, Clarivate Analytics' Web of Science and Elsevier's Scopus.

The search queries consisted of three levels with multiple keywords aimed at scanning records' titles and abstracts. We organised search queries using Boolean operators, with the [OR] Boolean to increase coverage (between keywords) and the [AND] Boolean to add specificity (between the levels). Whenever possible we used the truncation Boolean [*] to include plural variants of keywords. At the first level, search queries specified the subject areas (Public Administration, Political Science, and Urban Studies). At the second level, the search query specified the two sets of keywords for which records were scanned ('Public Official', 'Official', 'Manager', 'Public servant', 'Executive', 'Public professional', 'City Manager', 'Bureaucrat', 'Bureaucratic', 'Public Worker', 'Director', 'Policy Maker', 'Decision Maker'; and 'Engagement', 'Public Participation', 'Participation', 'Involvement', 'Inclusion', 'Deliberative Democracy', 'Interactive Governance', 'Deliberative Engagement', 'Responsiveness'). At the third level, the document types (articles and early access) and the language (English) were specified (appendix 1).

The titles and abstracts, and if necessary, the full text of all identified records, were screened on eligibility. Studies that were found to (a) explore, describe, or analyse public managers' individual attitudes towards (b) public participation in public administration decision-making processes were selected.

Identification and data extraction

The final search was conducted on August 27, 2019. We identified n = 2,185 records using Web of Science and n = 1,538 records using Scopus. After merging the results from both searches, we removed 713 duplicate records. We then performed a title-based screening of all 3,010 remaining records and removed 1,855 records unrelated to our topic of analysis. Third, we assessed the abstracts of the remaining 1,155 records based on our eligibility criteria and

selected 108 eligible records. A further nine records were removed after full-text reading, bringing the total number of records included in this systematic literature review to n = 99 (appendix 2). Figure 1 presents the flow diagram of the article search and selection process.
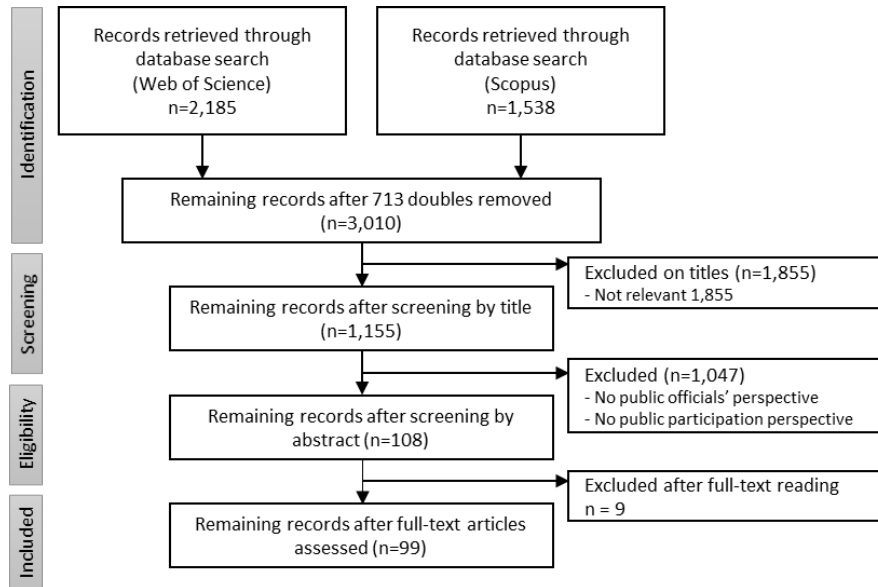
Figure 1. Flow diagram of the article selection process

We extracted n = 664 relevant text fragments through the open coding of full-text records using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo. The process of coding text-fragments into categories of determinants was inductive and continued until saturation was reached (Booth et al., 2012; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). All text-fragments were sorted according to topic and iteratively categorised to form a final set of four categories of determinants. As such, these categories were derived from the data, not theory-based. Furthermore, most records were not exclusively attributable to one category of determinants, meaning that most records provided evidence on multiple determinants.

The records included in this analysis were published in a wide variety of journals. Most articles were published in *Public Administration Review* (n = 15), *Administration and Society* (n = 5), *Local Government Studies* (n = 5), *Public Management Review* (n = 5), and

Public Performance and Management Review (n = 5). Of the ten most cited journals, all had a public administration signature, two also had a political science signature, and one also had an urban studies signature.
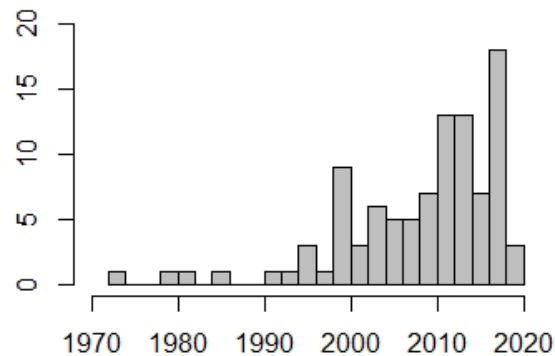

Figure 2. Frequency of included studies per year between
1969 and (summer) 2019, n = 99

4. Results

Evidence on public managers' attitudes towards public participation has become more widespread since the late 1990s and has peaked during the last ten years. Figure 2 displays a clear increase in the number of relevant studies published per year since 1998.

Our analysis resulted in four inductive categories of determinants associated with public managers' attitudes towards public participation. The first category is labelled public managers' *personal characteristics* and includes character traits, values, experiences, skills, and demographics related to managers' attitudes towards public participation. The second category is labelled *process characteristics* and includes the features of individual participatory processes related to managers' attitudes towards public participation, including design features, perceptions about participants, and process input legitimacy. The third

category contains the *organisational structures and culture* of the public organisations that organise public participation and that are associated with public managers' attitudes towards public participation, including organisational structures, culture, resources, and policy area. The fourth category contains the *contextual features*, the pre-existing politico-administrative and cultural conditions in which public participation is expected to take place. These characteristics include political structures and culture, legal requirements, social capital, and external pressures for public participation. The most important determinants and literature references are reported below. Table 1 displays the number or studies per category and appendix 3 includes a complete list with all references per (sub)category.

Table 1. Number of articles per category

Category of determinants	Number of studies
Personal characteristics	47
Process characteristics	56
Organizational structures and culture	67
Contextual features	50

Personal characteristics

Public managers' attitudes towards public participation have been related to their personal characteristics and character traits in n = 47 of the included studies. These personal characteristics include psychological character traits, values, experiences, skills, and demographics.

In twenty studies, public managers' attitudes towards public participation were associated with psychological character traits. Four articles established a positive association between managers' public service motivation (PSM) and their attitudes towards public participation. "Mangers with higher PSM are better fits with citizen participation" (Coursey et al., 2012, p. 578). Two studies established a positive association between job satisfaction

and attitudes towards public participation (Feeney & Welch, 2012; Kumar et al., 2007). Managers' attitudes towards public participation were associated with trust in nine selected articles. According to Yang (2005, p. 273), public managers' trust in citizens is a crucial "missing link" in understanding public managers' motivational basis for public participation. He argued that "without trust, administrators are not likely to encourage greater levels of citizen participation, or participation will not be implemented effectively" (Yang, 2005, p. 281). On the other hand, nine studies negatively associated managers' favourable attitudes towards public participation with fear of losing authority, control, or promotional avenues due to the direct participation of the public. However, according to Liao and Ma (2019, p. 1839) "managers who are confident about their present and future abilities in engaging citizens are less likely to perceive citizen participation as threatening".

Public managers' attitudes towards public participation were associated with civic and public values in n = 24 of the selected studies. Johnson (2011) and De Vries (2000) found that managers' perceptions of civic duty and civic capital were positively associated with their attitudes towards public participation. Similarly, their community and constituency attachment were also positively associated with favourable attitudes towards public participation. Liao and Zhang (2012) argued that a long term relationship between managers and the community can help managers treat citizens as partners and help finding value in their input. In addition, managers' willingness to be responsive to citizens was positively associated with their attitudes towards public participation in eleven studies. For example, "nurturing the manager's intention to incorporate citizens would help safeguard citizen participation in budgeting against tokenism" (Liao & Zhang, 2012, p. 31). At the same time, public managers' technocratic orientation, the believe that policy solutions should be grounded in specialised knowledge, was negatively associated with their attitudes towards public participation (Liao & Ma, 2019; Liao & Schachter, 2018). "A technocratic orientation

tends to divert a manager's attention to the barriers [of public participation], discounting the benefits of involving citizens" (Liao & Schachter, 2018, p. 1301).

Eleven articles associated managers' attitudes towards public participation with their public participation experiences. Managers with positive prior experiences reported more favourable attitudes towards public participation (Kumar et al., 2007; Yang, 2005). The same was considered true for their awareness of successful participation practices in neighbouring municipalities (Liao & Ma, 2019). According to Liao and Schachter (2018), knowledge of success in other municipalities could help managers reflect and learn on the nature and methodology of public participation. According to the same authors, private sector experience did not appear to influence attitudes towards public participation.

Furthermore, managers' attitudes towards public participation were associated with self-assessed deliberative and methodological skills in fourteen of the selected studies (e.g., Conrad et al., 2011; Liao & Ma, 2019; WahedUzzaman & Alam, 2015). Ten studies associated public managers' attitudes towards public participation with their deliberative skills, conceptualised as the capacity to interact and engage with heterogeneous populations with different values and perspectives. These skills include learning-listening, inquiring, self-reflection, conflict-management and the "art of conversation" (Quayle, 1995, p. 471; Roberts, 1997). Methodological skills refer to the capacity to conduct a rigorous and methodologically sound participation process. Ten studies indicated that a (perceived) lack of methodological skills reduced managers' favourable attitudes towards public participation. According to Liao (2018), public managers' self-efficacy in working with the public was positively associated with how regularly they used two-way engagement mechanisms.

Finally, public managers' attitudes towards public participation were associated with several demographic characteristics as well. According to eight studies, female managers were more positive about public participation. Fox and Schuhmann (1999) observed a distinct

"feminine voice" (p. 240) and argued that women were more likely to incorporate citizen input, facilitate communication, and encourage public participation. Public managers' educational attainment appeared positively associated with attitudes towards public participation as well (e.g., Yang and Callahan 2007). Evidence on the association between public managers' age and their attitudes towards public participation was mixed (Feeney & Welch, 2012; Johnson, 2011; Webler et al., 2003). Interestingly, according to Liao and Schachter (2018), the association between managers' age and attitudes towards public participation followed an inverse U-shaped curve. Managers became more receptive to public participation as they became more senior, experienced, and confident, until a certain age was reached (between 55 and 66 years) and their favourable attitudes start to decline.

Similarly, public managers' seniority was positively associated with their attitudes towards public participation in seven studies, though other studies found a negative relationship instead (Campbell & Im, 2016; Hysing, 2013). Powlick (1991) observed that seniority in years was positively associated with responsiveness to the public, while seniority in terms of rank displayed a negative association. Evidence on the association between tenure and attitudes towards public participation was mixed (Campbell & Im, 2016; Feeney & Welch, 2012), though a majority of studies failed to observe a statistically significant relation between the two (Liao & Ma, 2019; Liao & Schachter, 2018). Furthermore, evidence on the association between an academic public administration degree (MPA) and attitudes towards public participation was mixed as well (Liao & Ma, 2019; Yan & Ting, 2018). Liao and Schachter (2018) argued that more attention for public participation in MPA education could increase willingness to let the public participate in administrative decision-making.

Process characteristics

The characteristics of participatory processes can influence public managers' perceptions and evaluations of public participation as well. Evidence from n = 56 selected studies associate public managers' attitudes towards public participation with the (perceived) characteristics of participatory processes. These process characteristics include process design features, perceptions about participants, and process input legitimacy.

The design of participatory processes, the characteristics of the mechanisms through which public participation is possible, was associated with managers' attitudes towards public participation in n = 24 selected articles. Managers preferred well-structured, focused, and flexible participation processes (Bartels, 2014; Yang & Callahan, 2007). According to Carey, Mcloughlin, & Crammond (2015, p. 180) "policy makers felt justified in their attempts to narrow or 'sharpen' the focus of the agenda to ensure that it could be successfully implemented". Procedural clarity was deemed particularly important in complex and dynamic public participation (Luton, 1995). "Having rules that properly accommodate the policy situation might be a better means of achieving success than having open rules" (Van Damme & Brans, 2012, p. 1065). Structuring deliberation and interactions using process rules and fixed boundaries could facilitate timely and concrete participation-based decision-making. In some cases, governments used public participation experts to ensure the rigorous application of the public participation methodology (Cole, 2004).

In general, public managers were more positive about participation early-on during the decision-making process. According to Boyer, Rogers, and Van Slyke (2018, p. 457) "soliciting broad constituent feedback is preferred earlier rather than later", when larger financial and political costs make changing plans undesirable. Increased access to information by participants, before and during the participation process, was found to improve public managers' perceptions of good participatory practices as well (e.g., Luton,

1995). Managers perceived a combination of multiple participation methods more favourably than the use of single methods (Yang & Pandey, 2011). Furthermore, studies identified positive associations between managers' process ownership (Pina et al., 2017; Webler et al., 2003), transformational leadership (Yang & Pandey, 2011), and issue framing and control over participants (Baker et al., 2005) with more positive attitudes. At the same time, poor tailoring to local circumstances was negatively associated with attitudes towards public participation (Boyer et al., 2018; Conrad et al., 2011).

Second, n = 43 records associated public managers' attitudes towards public participation with the characteristics of participants, or their perceptions thereof. In general, public managers assessed participants' participatory skills and knowledge in negative terms. Pecorella (1985, p. 23) quoted one municipal director stating that public participation was "a waste of time… nobody listens to anybody else, nothing gets done". Similarly, Culver and How (2004) found that participants' limited policy knowledge engendered officials' scepticism about the practical value of citizens' input. Instead, participation with competent citizens was valued (Hong, 2015; Yang & Pandey, 2011). In fact, Yang and Pandey (2011) identified participant competence as the most important factor influencing public participation outcomes according to public managers.

According to some managers, participants often appeared indifferent (Yan & Ting, 2018), were motivated by their own self-interest and NIMBYism (Hanssen & Falleth, 2014), and had volatile input and opinions that differed from person to person (Dekker & Van Kempen, 2009; Van Slyke et al., 2005). Conrad et al., (2011) quoted one official stating: "80% of the time, the public is wrong and the only reasons people get involved are egoism and/or envy" (p. 772).

Seven studies positively associated participants' resources with public managers' attitudes towards public participation. According to Neshkova and Guo (2018), constituencies

with high political power and a positive social construction (a positive perception by public managers and citizens) were more likely to get involved in decision-making. Similarly, Cole (2004) found that consultation practices were dependent on the perceived importance of the consultees and that recommendations by socially excluded and unpopular groups were often ignored. At the same time, studies including the effects of community size (Hanssen & Falleth, 2014), income and wealth (Liao & Schachter, 2018), and race (Liao & Zhang, 2012; Yang & Pandey, 2011) showed diverging results.

Sixteen studies associated public managers' attitudes towards public participation with the input legitimacy of participatory processes (e.g., Abelson et al., 2002). Here, input legitimacy referred to the number of participants (turnout) and their representativeness to the wider community. Overall, turnout was positively associated with managers' attitudes towards public participation (Culver & Howe, 2004; Holmes, 2013; Yang & Callahan, 2007). Holms (2013) found that public managers' interests in using public participation was associated to the volume of stakeholder voices included in the process. Similarly, the degree to which public participants reflected the community (their representativeness) was positively associated with public managers' attitudes towards public participation (e.g. Cole, 2004). A lack of representative participants appeared to be a major source of concern for many public managers. According to Yang and Callahan (2007, p. 257), managers tended to dismiss the input of the "usual suspects" and found their involvement "troublesome". Yang and Pandey (2011, p. 888) concluded that "the more nonrepresentative the participation is, the less likely change will occur in government decision making".

Organisational structure and culture

Evidence from n = 67 reviewed studies associated public managers' attitudes towards public

participation with the characteristics of the public organisation organising public participation. These organisational characteristics include organisational structures, culture, resources, and policy areas.

Organizational autonomy was positively associated with public managers' attitudes towards public participation in four articles (e.g, Neshkova, 2014), though country-differences were found as well (Andrews & de Vries, 2007). According to Neshkova (2014), increased agency autonomy (measured as allotment control and own-source revenues) was associated with a higher perceived need for public support and legitimacy. Managers can use public participation in search for popular support and legitimacy. Administrative discretion (Liao & Zhang, 2012) and inter-organisational coordination (Liao, 2018) were also positively associated with public managers' attitudes towards public participation. On the other hand, formalisation, strict routines, and red tape were negatively associated with public managers' attitudes towards public participation, with Hardina (2011, p. 133) arguing that "adherence to rigid rules, bureaucratic requirements, and hierarchical decision-making structures" form barriers against participatory engagements. Other studies found mixed results on the effects of hierarchical structures, organisational size, and extrinsic rewards (Campbell & Im, 2016; Huang & Feeney, 2013).

Empowerment-oriented or participatory management styles were associated with increased public participation in eight studies. Empowerment-oriented management styles could lead managers away from professional elitism and towards a more community-oriented paradigm (Nalbandian, 1999). Similar positive associations were found in relation to an open administrative culture (Chen et al., 2013), and staff involvement in decision-making (Hardina, 2011). Evidence on the association between market-orientation and attitudes towards public participation were mixed. While a consumer-oriented focus appeared to strengthen public managers' willingness to listen to the public (Huxley et al., 2016), a

production-oriented culture could lead to process-optimisation at the expense of public participation (Johnson, 2011). Similarly, a conservative or 'bureaucratic' culture was found to reduce public managers' favourable attitudes towards public participation in ten selected studies. According to Roberts (1997), a bureaucratic culture led to "notions of heroic management, whe[re] the executive is supposed to know all, be all, and do all" (p. 130).

Organizational resources in terms of budget, staff, time, ICT, or political support were positively associated with public managers' attitudes towards public participation in n = 24 selected articles. According to Brown (2000), pressures resulting from managers' workload and a lack of time were perceived as an obstacle to public involvement. Shortages of resources could lead to public managers conducting participation "on the hoof" (Cole, 2004, p. 203), or indicated that they did not have the time to organise participatory processes (Kim & Schachter, 2013; Webler et al., 2003). Studies showed that managers believed ICT can help build better relationships with the public (Baldwin et al., 2012; Feeney & Welch, 2012). On the other hand, five studies suggested that agency resources did not affect public managers' attitudes towards public participation (e.g., Neshkova, 2014; Yang & Callahan, 2007).

Finally, evidence from fourteen studies suggested that public managers' attitudes towards public participation differed across policy areas. Managers employed in human services (Neuse, 1980), the mayor's office, parks & recreation (Feeney & Welch, 2012; Li & Feeney, 2014), community interaction, ethics management (Chen et al., 2013; Hysing, 2013), culture, sports & recreation, and social services (De Vries, 2000; Hardina, 2011), ecological issues (Faehnle et al., 2014), or issues of high salience (Powlick, 1991) were found more likely to support public participation. At the same time, managers involved in enforcement were significantly less likely to engage with the public (Yan & Ting, 2018).

Contextual features

Contextual features refer to the pre-existing politico-administrative and cultural conditions in which public participation is expected to take place (Ianniello et al., 2018). Contextual features were found to affect public managers' attitudes towards public participation in n = 50 selected studies. Among these features are political structures and culture, legal requirements, social capital, and external pressures for increased public participation.

The perceived responsiveness of a political system to the demands of citizens affects public managers' attitudes towards public participation (Clark, 2018; Nabatchi, 2010a). Twenty studies observed significant between-country differences in managers' willingness to let the public participate (Andrews & de Vries, 2007; De Vries, 2005). Some states and administrations lack the political and technical capacity to implement participatory decisions (Neaera Abers & Keck, 2009; Yang & Callahan, 2007). Participation appeared more likely in cities and municipalities with a leftist-mayor (Hong, 2015), a council-manager system of administration (Li & Feeney, 2014; Yang & Callahan, 2007), a racially diverse council (Liao & Schachter, 2018; Liao & Zhang, 2012), a high median income (Liao, 2018; Liao & Ma, 2019; Liao & Schachter, 2018), with less competitive elections and small political cleavages (Johnson, 2011; Powlick, 1991), relatively weak party institutions (Hong, 2015), and with more resources and capacity (Yang & Callahan, 2007; but see: Liao 2018). Political culture appears to affect public managers' attitudes towards public participation as well, with officials from a moralistic culture appearing more likely to participate than others (Neshkova, 2014; Neshkova & Guo, 2018).

Ten studies associated public managers' attitudes towards public participation with the legal context in which participation was expected to take place. In a number of policy domains, public involvement is mandated by law (Faehnle et al., 2014; Rich, 2019). In general, the presence of public participation laws was associated with an increased use of

public participation (Huang & Feeney, 2013). Citizens that invoke such laws were generally more likely to be heard and receive a swift response (Rodríguez & Rossel, 2018). Interestingly, legislative requirements can also lead to goal displacement, with officials organising "ticking the box" (Conrad et al., 2011, p. 771) of participation in order to fulfil the legal requirement for participation without actually listening to the public.

Finally, n = 25 articles associated public managers' attitudes towards public participation with external pressures for increased public participation. While political control over participatory arrangements can increase administrative resistance to those participatory arrangements (Kumar & Kant, 2006), elected officials' trust appeared positively associated with managers' adoption of participatory arrangements. According to Liao (2018) political trust can increase municipal managers flexibility to figure out solutions through dialogue and discussion. Similarly, pressures and demands for more public participation by citizens (Yang & Callahan, 2007; Zhang & Feeney, 2019), media organizations (Li & Feeney, 2014; Liao & Ma, 2019), business (Li & Feeney, 2014; Yang & Callahan, 2007), and civil society organizations (Hong, 2015) were also positively associated with public managers' use of public participation in administrative decision-making. At the same time, there appeared to be a strong negative association between managers' stated use of public participation and government or bureaucrat bashing by citizens (Conrad et al., 2011; Yang, 2005) or media organizations (Liao, 2018). "Bureaucrat[…] bashing channeled through media will restrain managers from taking continuous two-way communication with citizens" (Liao, 2018, p. 536).

5. Discussion and conclusion

In this paper, we systematically reviewed evidence from n = 99 studies in the public administration, political science, and urban studies literature on public managers' attitudes towards public participation. Previous research had identified public managers' attitudes towards public participation as key determinants of public participation decisions and outcomes (Liao & Schachter, 2018; Yang & Callahan, 2007). However, up to now no systematic analysis of public managers' attitudes towards public participation had been conducted. This study mediates this hiatus and is the first to combine evidence from public administration, political science, and urban studies literature on public managers' attitudes towards public participation. Based on the findings of this study, policymakers can provide guidelines to manage public managers' negative attitudes towards public participation, or endeavour to change possible negative attitudes through professional training or education.

Based on the results, we formulate at least two avenues for further research. First, future research could examine how public managers' decision-making processes affect their attitudes towards public participation (Battaglio et al., 2019; Grimmelikhuijsen et al., 2017; Nørgaard, 2018). The dominant interpretative approach to public managers' attitudes towards public participation remains instrumental and is influenced by rational choice cost-benefit considerations (Eckerd & Heidelberg, 2019; Moynihan, 2003). However, it is unlikely that public managers' attitudes towards public participation are based on rationalist motives alone. In fact, the results of our analysis show that there are non-rational, attitudinal, cognitive, and cultural factors that affect public managers' attitudes towards public participation as well. Future research could further theorise how bounded rationality and cognitive biases affect public managers' attitudes towards public participation.

Second, the link between public managers' attitudes towards public participation and their actual behaviour preceding and during participatory processes remains understudied.

The claim that public managers' attitudes towards public participation affect participatory decisions and outcomes has become almost axiomatic (Liao & Schachter, 2018; Yang & Callahan, 2007) but largely lacks empirical grounding. Most research examining this relationship study attitudes instead of behaviour and use associational instead of causal research methods (Liao & Schachter, 2018; Yang, 2005). Future research could significantly contribute to the literature by using more advanced research methods to put this claim to the test. Additional studies could also examine how interactions between groups of determinants (individual characteristics, process characteristics, organisational structures and culture, contextual features) affect public managers' attitudes towards public participation. Additional causal research, for example in the form of experiments, could strengthen the robustness of these findings.

The results of this systematic literature review should be assessed in light of at least two limitations. First, we chose transparency and replicability over exhaustiveness. We included English-literature, peer-reviewed studies, published in the international public administration, political science, and urban studies literature only. Consequently, we excluded research papers, practice-oriented reports, dissertations and book chapters from the analysis. Furthermore, our results in part reflect the inclusion criteria used to select the relevant articles. We cannot exclude the possibility that additional determinants of public managers' attitudes towards public participation may exist outside of these criteria. Future research could use a different reviewing approach to make these studies more widely available as well.

Second, all literature reviews are dependent on studies that have been made publicly available or have been published before. Although the systematic review approach reduces the effects of selection bias on the literature synthesis, publication bias could still have skewed the results. Furthermore, we focused on English-language articles only, which might

have biased our results towards Anglo-Saxon administrative traditions and participatory practices. Literature research on studies published in languages other than English could also greatly benefit the public participation literature and theory.

In conclusion, this paper provides a systematic overview of determinants of public managers' attitudes towards public participation. Even though public managers' attitudes towards public participation had been identified as an important determinant of public participation decisions and practices, no systematic study on the determinants of these attitudes had been conducted before. Based on evidence from n = 99 systematically selected articles, we found that public managers' attitudes towards public participation are based on their personal characteristics and character traits, characteristics of the participatory process, organisational structures and culture, and contextual features. The results show that public managers' attitudes towards public participation are multi-dimensional and context specific. Policymakers motivated to increase the use and success of public participation in administrative decision-making can use the results of this study to formulate guidelines to manage public managers' negative attitudes towards public participation, or endeavour to change possible negative attitudes through training or education.

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Appendix 1 – Search Queries

Search Query Web of Science:

(WC=("Public Administration" OR "Political Science" OR "Urban Studies") AND TS=("Public Official*" OR "Official*" OR "Manager*" OR "Public servant*" OR "Executive*" OR "Public professional*" OR "City manager*" OR "Bureaucrat*" OR "Public Worker*" OR "Director*" OR "Policy Maker*" OR "decision maker*") AND TS=("Public participation" OR "Participation" OR "Engagement" OR "Involvement" OR "Inclusion" OR "Deliberative Democracy" OR "Interactive governance" OR "Deliberative Engagement" OR "Responsiveness")) AND LANGUAGE: (English) AND DOCUMENT TYPES: (Article OR Early Access)

Timespan: 1955-2019. Indexes: SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI.

Search Date
30-08-2018
27-08-2019

Total N
2185

Web of Science
v.5.30

Search Query Scopus:

Scopus first search
SUBJAREA (soci) AND TITLE-ABS ("Public Official" OR "Official" OR "Manager" OR "Public servant" OR "Executive" OR "Public professional" OR "City Manager" OR "Bureaucrat" OR "Bureaucratic" OR "Public Worker" OR "Director" OR "Policy Maker" OR "Decision Maker") AND TITLE-ABS ("Public Participation" OR "Participation" OR "Engagement" OR "Involvement" OR "Inclusion" OR "Deliberative Democracy" OR "Interactive Governance" OR "Deliberative Engagement" OR "Responsiveness")

Scopus second search (interface refined)
SUBJAREA (soci) AND TITLE-ABS ("Public Official" OR "Official" OR "Manager" OR "Public servant" OR "Executive" OR "Public professional" OR "City Manager" OR "Bureaucrat" OR "Bureaucratic" OR "Public Worker" OR "Director" OR "Policy Maker" OR "Decision Maker") AND TITLE-ABS ("Public Participation" OR "Participation" OR "Engagement" OR "Involvement" OR "Inclusion"

OR "Deliberative Democracy" OR "Interactive Governance" OR "Deliberative
Engagement" OR "Responsiveness") AND (LIMIT-
TO (DOCTYPE , "ar")) AND (LIMIT-
TO (LANGUAGE , "English")) AND (LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Social
Science And Medicine") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Public Administration
Review") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "World Development") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "International Journal Of Public Administration") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Public Administration Research And
Theory") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "American Review Of Public
Administration") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Health And Social Care In The
Community") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Public Administration And
Development") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Canadian Public
Administration") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Children And Youth Services
Review") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Society And Natural
Resources") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Government Information
Quarterly") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "International Journal Of Public Sector
Management") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Annals Of The American Academy
Of Political And Social Science") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Forest Policy
And Economics") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Geoforum") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Rural Studies") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "American Political Science Review") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "International Review Of Administrative
Sciences") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Accounting Organizations And
Society") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Australian Journal Of Public
Administration") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Organizational
Behavior") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Local Government
Studies") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Science And Public
Policy") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Local Environment") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Social Policy And Administration") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Urban Studies") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Southern African Studies") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Transforming Government People Process And
Policy") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Urban Affairs Review") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "West European Politics") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Futures") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "International Affairs") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of The American Planning Association") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Policy Studies Journal") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "American Journal Of Political Science") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "China Quarterly") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Comparative Political Studies") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Governance") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Public
Money And Management") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "American Politics
Research") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Cities") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Community Development Journal") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Contemporary China") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Peace Research") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Pacific Affairs") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "American Behavioral Scientist") OR LIMIT-
TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "International Journal Of Urban And Regional

Research") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of European Public Policy") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Politics") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Political Studies") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Review Of Policy Research") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Administration And Society") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Democratization") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "International Review Of Public Administration") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Public Affairs") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Service Research") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Urban Affairs") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Public Personnel Management") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Voluntas") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Educational Administration Quarterly") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Environmental Politics") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Europe Asia Studies") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "Habitat International") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "International Public Management Journal") OR LIMIT-TO (EXACTSRCTITLE , "International Review For The Sociology Of Sport"))

Search date
30-08-2018
27-08-2019

Total N
1538

Appendix 2 – Articles included in the review

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Appendix 3 – References per subcategory

Determinants	References
I. Individual characteristics	
a. Psychological determinants	
• Public Service Motivation (PSM)	Campbell & Im, 2016; Coursey et al., 2012; Huang & Feeney, 2013; Yan & Ting, 2018
• Job satisfaction	Feeney & Welch, 2012; Kumar et al., 2007
• Loss of control	French & Laver, 2009; Hysing, 2013; Kim & Schachter, 2013; Kumar et al., 2007; Liao, 2018b; Liao & Ma, 2019; Moynihan, 2003; Van Damme & Brans, 2012
• Trust	Bartels, 2014; Campbell & Im, 2016; Conrad et al., 2011; Coursey et al., 2012; Dudley et al., 2018; Lee & Yu, 2013; Vries de, 2005; Yang, 2005; Yang & Pandey, 2011
b. Values	
• Civic values	Clark, 2018; de Vries, 2000; Dekker & Van Kempen, 2009; Johnson, 2011; Zhang & Meng, 2018
• Sense of attachment	Bartels, 2014; Dekker & Van Kempen, 2009; Feldman & Khademian, 2007; Koontz, 1999; Kumar et al., 2007; Liao & Zhang, 2012; Silverman, 2009; Webler et al., 2003
• Responsiveness	Alkadry, 2003; Baker et al., 2005; Brown, 2000; Conrad et al., 2011; de Vries, 2000; Liao & Schachter, 2018; Liao & Zhang, 2012; WahedUzzaman et al., 2018; WahedUzzaman & Alam, 2015; Yang & Callahan, 2007; Zheng & Schachter, 2018
• Technocratic orientation	Liao, 2018b; Liao & Ma, 2019; Liao & Schachter, 2018; WahedUzzaman et al., 2018; WahedUzzaman & Alam, 2015
c. Experiences	

- Participatory experiences

  Baldwin et al., 2012; Conrad et al., 2011; Huang & Feeney, 2013; Hysing, 2013; Kumar et al., 2007; Neuse, 1980; Pina et al., 2017; Yang, 2005

- Knowledge of best practices

  Kumar et al., 2007; Liao & Ma, 2019; Liao & Schachter, 2018

- Private sector experience

  Liao & Schachter, 2018

d. Skills

- Deliberative skills

  Baker et al., 2005; Bartels, 2014; Conrad et al., 2011; Kim & Schachter, 2013; Liao, 2018b; Luton, 1995; Nalbandian, 1999; Quayle, 1995; Roberts, 1997

- Methodological skills

  Cole, 2004; Conrad et al., 2011; Liao, 2018b; Liao & Ma, 2019; Rowe & Shepherd, 2002; WahedUzzaman et al., 2018; WahedUzzaman & Alam, 2015

e. Political preference

  de Vries, 2000; Powlick, 1991

f. Demographics

- Age

  Feeney & Welch, 2012; Hysing, 2013; Johnson, 2011; Li & Feeney, 2014; Liao, 2018b; Liao & Ma, 2019; Liao & Schachter, 2018; Webler et al., 2003; Yan & Ting, 2018

- Education

  Baldwin et al., 2012; Kumar et al., 2007; Yan & Ting, 2018; Yang & Callahan, 2007; Zhang & Feeney, 2019

- Gender

  Feeney & Welch, 2012; Fox & Schuhmann, 1999; Hysing, 2013; Johnson, 2011; Liao, 2018b; Liao & Ma, 2019; Liao & Schachter, 2018; Neuse, 1980; Rodríguez & Rossel, 2018; Webler et al., 2003; Yan & Ting, 2018

- Hierarchy

  Campbell & Im, 2016; Chen et al., 2013; Hartman & Levi, 1973; Hysing, 2013; Koontz, 1999; Liao & Schachter, 2018; Liao & Zhang, 2012; Neuse, 1980; Powlick, 1991

- MPA education

  Chen et al., 2013; Johnson, 2011; Kumar et al., 2007; Liao & Ma, 2019; Liao & Schachter, 2018; Yan & Ting, 2018

- Tenure

  Campbell & Im, 2016; Feeney & Welch, 2012; Neuse, 1980; Powlick, 1991; Yan & Ting, 2018

II. Process characteristics

a. Design features

- Process rigor

Abelson et al., 2002; Balla, 2000; Bartels, 2014; Boyer et al., 2018; Carey et al., 2015; Cole, 2004; Feeney & Welch, 2012; Luton, 1995; Pecorella, 1985; Pina et al., 2017; Schooley, 2012; Thomas et al., 2010; Van Damme & Brans, 2012; Webler et al., 2003; Yang & Callahan, 2007

- Tailoring

Boyer et al., 2018; Carey et al., 2015; Conrad et al., 2011; Van Damme & Brans, 2012

- Leadership

Baker et al., 2005; Pina et al., 2017; Roberts, 1997; Webler et al., 2003; Woolum, 2011; Yang & Pandey, 2011

- Multiple mechanisms

Boyer et al., 2018; Yang & Pandey, 2011

- Information access

Abelson et al., 2002; Baker et al., 2005; Feldman & Khademian, 2007; Luton, 1995; Pina et al., 2017; Thomas et al., 2010; Walters et al., 2000

- Timing

Baker et al., 2005; Boyer et al., 2018; Cole, 2004; Conrad et al., 2011; Hanssen & Falleth, 2014; Hong, 2015

b. Perceptions of participants

- Participants' knowledge

Baker et al., 2005; Conrad et al., 2011; Culver & Howe, 2004; Degelsegger & Torgersen, 2011; Dudley et al., 2018; Faehnle et al., 2014; Guarneros-Meza et al., 2014; Hong, 2015; Liao, 2018b; Luton, 1995; Moynihan, 2003; Rich, 2019; Waheduzzaman et al., 2018; WahedUzzaman et al., 2018; Yang & Callahan, 2007; Yang & Pandey, 2011; Zhang & Liao, 2011

- Participants' participatory skills

Conrad et al., 2011; Dekker & Van Kempen, 2009; Guarneros-Meza et al., 2014; Liao, 2018a; Pecorella, 1985; Yan & Ting, 2018

- Participants' power resources

Balla, 2000; Cole, 2004; Few, 2000; Liao & Zhang, 2012; Neshkova, 2014; Neshkova & Guo, 2018; Webler et al., 2003

- Participants' lack of time

Yang & Callahan, 2007

- Self-interested participants

Baker et al., 2005; Conrad et al., 2011; Guarneros-Meza et al., 2014; Hanssen & Falleth, 2014; Hong, 2015; Kogan et al., 2017; Luton, 1995; Rowe & Shepherd, 2002; Schooley, 2012

- Uninterested participants

Abram & Cowell, 2004; Baker et al., 2005; Conrad et al., 2011; Dekker & Van Kempen, 2009; Luton, 1995; Pina et al., 2017; Rowe & Shepherd, 2002;

	Silverman, 2009; Waheduzzaman et al., 2018; Webler et al., 2003; Yan & Ting, 2018
• Volatility of opinions	Dekker & Van Kempen, 2009; Kogan et al., 2017; Van Slyke et al., 2005
• Community size	Anderson et al., 2013; Balla, 2000; Brown, 2000; Hanssen & Falleth, 2014; Johnson, 2011; Liao, 2018b; Liao & Ma, 2019; Liao & Zhang, 2012; Yang & Callahan, 2007; Zhang & Feeney, 2019
• Community income and wealth	Brown, 2000; Hong, 2015; Liao, 2018b; Liao & Schachter, 2018
• Race	Johnson, 2011; Liao, 2018b; Liao & Schachter, 2018; Liao & Zhang, 2012; Neuse, 1980; Yang & Pandey, 2011
c. Perceptions about the process	
• Perceptions of costs	Liao, 2018a; Liao & Schachter, 2018; Moynihan, 2003; Zhang & Liao, 2011
• Perceived opposition to the process	Degelsegger & Torgersen, 2011; Dekker & Van Kempen, 2009; Dudley et al., 2018; Few, 2000; Koontz, 1999; WahedUzzaman et al., 2018
• Satisfaction with results	Anderson et al., 2013; Boyer et al., 2018; Culver & Howe, 2004; Feeney & Welch, 2012; Kogan et al., 2017; Liao & Zhang, 2012; Rosener, 1982; Webler et al., 2003; Zhang & Liao, 2011
d. Input legitimacy	
• Representativeness	Abelson et al., 2002; Brown, 2000; Clark, 2018; Cole, 2004; Conrad et al., 2011; Culver & Howe, 2004; Davies, 2007; Hanssen & Falleth, 2014; Pina et al., 2017; Rowe & Shepherd, 2002; Schooley, 2012; Yang & Callahan, 2007; Yang & Pandey, 2011
• Turnout	Abelson et al., 2002; Culver & Howe, 2004; Holmes, 2013; Hong, 2015; Luton, 1995

III. Organizational structures and culture

a. Organizational structure	
• Organizational autonomy	Alon-Barkat & Gilad, 2016; Andrews & de Vries, 2007; Huxley et al., 2016; Kumar & Kant, 2006; Neshkova, 2014; WahedUzzaman et al., 2018
• Formalization and routines	Alkadry, 2003; de Vries, 2000; Feeney & Welch, 2012; Hardina, 2011; Kumar & Kant, 2006; Li & Feeney, 2014; Van Damme & Brans, 2012

• Hierarchy	Campbell & Im, 2016; Conrad et al., 2011; Hardina, 2011; Kumar & Kant, 2006; Lee & Yu, 2013; Li & Feeney, 2014; Liao, 2018b; Neuse, 1980; Pecorella, 1985; Yang & Pandey, 2011
• Interorganizational coordination	Carey et al., 2015; Guarneros-Meza et al., 2014; Liao, 2018b; Webler et al., 2003; Yan & Ting, 2018
• Organizational size	Brown, 2000; Hartman & Levi, 1973; Johnson, 2011; Yang & Pandey, 2011
• Red tape	Campbell & Im, 2016; Liao & Schachter, 2018; Yan & Ting, 2018; Yang & Pandey, 2011
• Personal discretion	Conrad et al., 2011; Liao & Zhang, 2012; Neaera Abers & Keck, 2009; Van Damme & Brans, 2012; WahedUzzaman et al., 2018; Zhang & Liao, 2011
• Extrinsic rewards	Huang & Feeney, 2013
b. Organizational culture	
• Traditional bureaucratic orientation	Alkadry, 2003; Kumar & Kant, 2006; Lee & Yu, 2013; Neuse, 1980; Quayle, 1995; WahedUzzaman et al., 2018; Yang, 2005; Zhang & Feeney, 2019; Zhang & Meng, 2018
• Output orientation	Davies, 2007; Dekker & Van Kempen, 2009; Huxley et al., 2016; Johnson, 2011; Pina et al., 2017; Rowe & Shepherd, 2002; Woolum, 2011; Yang, 2005
• Engaging management style	Chen et al., 2013; Cole, 2004; Degelsegger & Torgersen, 2011; Feldman & Khademian, 2007; Hardina, 2011; Johnson, 2011; Moynihan, 2003; Nalbandian, 1999; Roberts, 1997; Van Damme & Brans, 2012; Yang & Pandey, 2011
• Open culture	Chen et al., 2013; Cole, 2004; de Vries, 2000; Hardina, 2011; Kumar & Kant, 2006; Liao & Ma, 2019
c. Policy area	Baldwin et al., 2012; Chen et al., 2013; de Vries, 2000; Faehnle et al., 2014; Feeney & Welch, 2012; Holmes, 2013; Hysing, 2013; Li & Feeney, 2014; Moffitt, 2010; Neuse, 1980; Powlick, 1991; Yan & Ting, 2018; Yang & Pandey, 2011; Zhang & Feeney, 2019
d. Resources	

• Budget	Abram & Cowell, 2004; Brown, 2000; Cole, 2004; Layzer, 2002; Liao & Zhang, 2012; Neshkova, 2014; Silverman, 2009; Van Slyke et al., 2005; Zhang & Liao, 2011
• Staff	Neshkova, 2014; Pina et al., 2017
• Time	Abelson et al., 2007; Balla, 2000; Brown, 2000; Cole, 2004; Soojin Kim & Schachter, 2013; Liu et al., 2018; Rowe & Shepherd, 2002; Van Slyke et al., 2005; Webler et al., 2003; Yang & Callahan, 2007
• Political support	Balla, 2000; Few, 2000; Layzer, 2002; Neuse, 1980
• ICTs	Baldwin et al., 2012; Feeney & Welch, 2012; Zheng & Schachter, 2018
• Various	Abelson et al., 2002; Brown, 2000; Feeney & Welch, 2012; Sangmook Kim et al., 2013; Liao & Zhang, 2012; Neshkova & Guo, 2018; Yang & Callahan, 2007

IV. Contextual features

a. Political system	Clark, 2018; Hong, 2015; Huxley et al., 2016; Johnson, 2011; Koontz, 1999; Li & Feeney, 2014; Liao, 2018b; Liao & Schachter, 2018; Liao & Zhang, 2012; Neshkova & Guo, 2018; Pecorella, 1985; Powlick, 1991; Schooley, 2012; Walters et al., 2000; Yang & Callahan, 2007; Zhang & Feeney, 2019; Zhang & Liao, 2011
b. State capacity	Layzer, 2002; Neaera Abers & Keck, 2009; Waheduzzaman et al., 2018; Yang & Callahan, 2007
c. Political culture	Abram & Cowell, 2004; Brown, 2000; Clark, 2018; Conrad et al., 2011; de Vries, 2000, 2005; Dekker & Van Kempen, 2009; Neshkova, 2014; Neshkova & Guo, 2018; WahedUzzaman et al., 2018; Yang & Callahan, 2007; Zhang & Meng, 2018
d. Legal requirements	Conrad et al., 2011; de Vries, 2000; Dudley et al., 2018; Faehnle et al., 2014; Huang & Feeney, 2013; Koontz, 1999; Moffitt, 2010; Rich, 2019; Rodríguez & Rossel, 2018; Waheduzzaman et al., 2018
e. Social capital	Conrad et al., 2011; Hong, 2015; Rich, 2019
f. External pressures	
• Political pressures	Abelson et al., 2002; Balla, 2000; Dudley et al., 2018; Huxley et al., 2016; Hysing, 2013; Soojin Kim & Schachter, 2013; Kumar & Kant, 2006; Liao, 2018b; Liao &

	Zhang, 2012; Pina et al., 2017; Woolum, 2011; Yang & Callahan, 2007; Yang & Pandey, 2011; Zhang & Feeney, 2019; Zheng & Schachter, 2018
• Citizen pressures	Dudley et al., 2018; Kumar & Kant, 2006; Li & Feeney, 2014; Yang & Callahan, 2007; Zhang & Feeney, 2019
• Pressures from the media, NGOs, and business	Culver & Howe, 2004; Degelsegger & Torgersen, 2011; Faehnle et al., 2014; Soojin Kim & Schachter, 2013; Kumar et al., 2007; Kumar & Kant, 2006; Li & Feeney, 2014; Liao & Ma, 2019; Luton, 1995; Yang & Callahan, 2007
• Government bashing	Conrad et al., 2011; Johnson, 2011; Liao, 2018b; Yang, 2005