Dyadic trust and the accomplishment of organisational objectives: competence, benevolence and integrity salience and institutional cues in perceptions of peer and leader trustworthiness

1 volume

Susan Joyce Addison

Doctorate of Philosophy

Newcastle University Business School

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Abstract

This thesis examines a number of aspects of dyadic trust in organisations, and discusses the ways in which levels and types of trust can affect the achievement (or not) of organisational objectives. Motivated by two specific frameworks from the management literature, this thesis reports on interviews with sixty interviewees in three cohorts: two of these were within the public sector and one was private sector but in receipt of public funding (in the case of the university setting). The joint objectives were to explain aspects of the contextual internal construction of trust and also to examine how these vary within and between the three cohorts. In applying these approaches, the effects of trust are explained in terms of organisational effectiveness and the achievement of strategic objectives.

In examining the ways in which trust is internally constructed by sector, Mayer et al.’s (1995) framework was employed (trust is a function of the trustor’s perception of the trustee’s competence, benevolence and integrity, hereafter CBI). In addition, Schoorman & Ballinger’s (2006) scale of trust and vulnerability was employed to establish the nature of trust tolerance and intolerance in the three organisational contexts. This scale, in turn, was used to establish the dynamics of trust relationships in context. Three general research questions were formulated and these underpinned the method, which was based on semi-structured interviews with interlocutors in the NHS, in the RAF and in a UK higher education institution.

The overall aim of this research was to explore CBI salience within diverse trust workplace dyads and in particular to further understanding of how managerial actions and institutional elements influence employee perceptions of leader trustworthiness; as such, of key consideration was how this affects workplace behaviour, decisions to trust and consequences for organisational effectiveness.

Interviews were conducted using narrative and numerical forms of interrogation: narrative in terms of evidence gathered in response to the research questions, and Likert scale data designed for interlocutors to respond to specific scenario-based queries. These were transcribed and interpreted using textual analysis techniques and simple non-parametric statistical analysis.
Selected key findings include the following:

The weightings on the three Mayer et al. (1995) trust factors (competence, benevolence and integrity) varied by cohort. In higher interdependence situations, tolerance for integrity breaches is lowest. This had implications for how cohort members reacted to scenarios on breaches of trust and how those potentially affected organisational effectiveness.

Accordingly, the mean Likert scores demonstrated that an extra-marital affair would impact trust most strongly on the RAF cohort, followed by those in the NHS with academics being least affected; the separation in this regard between the RAF and academia was statistically significant. The RAF cohort also had the highest score for integrity in research question two. The contention is therefore that stronger intra-hierarchical integrity might be associated with inter-hierarchical integrity intolerance. Amongst the academics, the mean score for personal integrity was less than 3 (e.g. half marks). This suggests a high integrity tolerance in inter- hierarchical relationships (or a low integrity intolerance in inter-hierarchical relationships). In the RAF cohort, 4.45 (out of 5) said the affair would affect the effectiveness of the team. 4.05 (out of 5) say it would affect the achievement of department objectives.

Key contributions include the following:

- Within the trust construct, the component integrity was found to incorporate both professional and personal dimensions. As such, a perceived loss of leader personal integrity was found to cause some interlocutors to recalibrate their assessments of leader workplace trustworthiness.

- Expanding on Lapidot et al.’s (2007) work, CBI was explored in a range of trust situations involving differing levels of situational vulnerability. In line with calls for research from Burke et al. (2007) this study found differing CBI salience depending on the cohort, which were explained in reference to different contextual combinations of cognitive, affect and institutional trust incorporating differing levels of inter and intra-hierarchical vulnerability and interdependence.

- In support of Redman et al.’s (2011) study, high levels of value incongruence were found to accompany low inter-hierarchical trust. This
study built on this work in qualitatively exploring reasons for the onset of and differences in value congruence/ incongruence found.

- It has previously been speculated in the literature that employee salience of leader BI increases with extent of vulnerability operating on three levels (Simons, 2002); these findings provided an empirical contribution to support these contentions with the RAF context having the highest levels of all three vulnerability types and therefore of both intra- and inter-hierarchical trust.

- The importance of managerial transparency, even within unpopular agendas, was highlighted due to the destructive nature of perceived dishonesty where differences of agenda between professionals and management were not fully acknowledged; this provides clear practical implications for leaders involved in the management of a heterogeneous group of professionals (such as the NHS and academics).

- The high salience which RAF personnel placed on having a line manager who had been promoted through the RAF ranks, and hence undertaken the full RAF training programme, was unanimously echoed throughout the cohort. This demonstrated that non-military trained managers would lack credibility within this cohort, due to low task-specific competence, which would be extremely damaging to trust.
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List of Abbreviations and Glossary of Terms

Abbreviations

AC: academia
B: benevolence
BI: behavioural integrity
C: competence
CBI: competence, benevolence and integrity
CIT: the critical incident technique
CRM: crew resource management
HRM: human resource management
I: integrity
LMX: leader member exchange
NHS: National Health Service
RAF: Royal Air Force
RQ: research question
VC: value congruence

Glossary

**Intra-hierarchical trust**: trust amongst professionals (i.e. interlocutor trust in peers)

**Inter-hierarchical trust**: employee trust in leader (i.e. interlocutor trust in their line manager)
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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 A question of trust
Trust, as a form of social capital, has been termed a ‘moral resource’ (Hirschman, 1984: 52) that “…operates in a fundamentally different way to physical capital” (Hosmer, 1995: 3). Although the interest in trust has emerged as a popular topic in its own right, particularly over the last two decades, it is no new phenomenon. Over many centuries philosophers have been preoccupied with the ethical dimension of trust (Hosmer, 1995). Philosophers such as: Sun Tzu (4th century BC), Plato (427-347 BC), Aristotle (384-322 BC), Machiavelli (1469-1527), Hobbes, (1588-1679), Hume (1711-1776), Rousseau (1712-1778), Kant (1724-1804), Marx (1818-1883), Foucault (1926-1984), and more recently John Nash, Annette Baier and Onora O'Neill have all wrestled with the ethics of trust in their writings. Sissela Bok was likewise a philosopher who directly addressed the ethical dimension of trust (Hosmer, 1995) and its fundamental import to human existence. He asserted: “When trust is destroyed, societies falter and collapse,” (Bok, 1978: 26). More recently other scholars have similarly stressed the ethical (e.g. Andersen, 2005) and moral (e.g. Sydow, 1998) dimension of trust with Seligman (1997) emphasising that trust encapsulates a set of shared moral evaluations. Zucker (1986: 56) meanwhile opined that trust was “…vital for the maintenance of cooperation in society and necessary as grounds for even the most routine, everyday interactions”.

“A question of trust” formed the topic of discussion for the BBC Reith lectures in 2002 as Onora O’Neill (2002: 1) challenged current approaches to accountability, exploring sources of deception together with a re-evaluation of issues of freedom. In particular she examined new ideas surrounding transparency and accountability designed to increase public trust and the contradiction that they were instead leading to trust erosion.

1.2 A question of trust in organisations
However, this question is not uniquely pertinent to philosophers and practitioners; increasing numbers of researchers in business ethics (e.g. Wood et al., 2002 with their paper examining, “The ethical benefits of trust-based partnering” in the construction industry) and more generally management academics have used this as a research impetus over the last decade. In many cases, the emphasis of such studies has been to understand the theoretical foundations of a concept considered central to organisational
functioning and flourishing, not solely in pursuit of economic gain but also in view of what is the “right thing” to do. This leads to consideration of trust from the perspective of Weber’s substantive rationality as opposed to a pure instrumentally rationalist view.

There are two such contrasting views of trust in the literature. Following the logic of Weber’s instrumental rationality, the first, the teleological view, conceptualises trust as an isolating mechanism, key to gaining competitive advantage (e.g. Barney and Hansen, 1994) and increasing performance (e.g. Gould-Williams 2003; Dirks and Skarlicki, 2009; Colquitt et al. 2007) purely as a means of economic utility to increase an organisation’s profit margins. The deontological view, by contrast, in line with the assumptions of Weber’s substantive rationality, is concerned with trust as a principle of ethical values and moral judgement (e.g. Seligman, 1997; Andersen, 2005).

Furthermore, various scholars have agreed that employees are more likely to trust organisations where moral and ethical standards are upheld (e.g. Searle et al., 2011a; Gillespie and Dietz, 2009).

Supporting the first of these views, Gould-Williams (2003) stressed the importance of employing HR practices in order to foster workplace trust purely as a key mediator in meeting strategic objectives. By contrast, Flores and Solomon (1998) emphasised the value of the second trust perspective and in criticism of sole adherence to the first view opined:

To think of trust as a business tool, as a mere means, as a lubricant to make an operation more efficient, is to not understand trust at all. Trust is, first of all, a central concept of ethics [and for this reason] it turns out to be a valuable tool in business as well (ibid., 1998: 208).

In also addressing the link between these two views on trust, and applying this to managerial interventions, Blunsdon and Reed (2003) hinted that leader actions will encompass the ethical dimension of trust since trust levels are determined not only by the relationship between a leader and a follower but are also “… subject to effects from the conditions of the work relationship itself” (ibid., 2003: 12). As a means of studying such effects, Human Resource Management (HRM) has featured as the main partner with trust in much recent trust research, from both perspectives, often identified as having the potential to create higher trust (e.g. Robinson, Kraatz and Rousseau, 1994; Whitener, 2001; Tzafir, 2005; Weibel, 2003; Searle et al., 2011a; Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006).
However, there is also much evidence to indicate that trust extends beyond the contractual provisions of HRM structures and policies. For instance, Weibel (2003: 668) posited, “… interpersonal trust is influenced by the institutional framework, but the institutional arrangement never completely determines the quality of social interaction”. This substantiates consideration of the ethical dimension of trust (Hosmer, 1995).

Whilst HRM, per se, is not addressed within the context of this research (for an overview of recent research on trust and HRM see Searle and Skinner, 2011) managerial actions and behaviour, in the form of overall leadership activities and their impact on trust, will be examined. The aim is to further understanding of the deontological view – i.e. the ethical dimension of trust, incorporated within “affect trust” in the literature – in supporting and undergirding the meeting of organisational objectives from the teleological view of trust, encapsulated as the “cognitive” view of trust in the literature.

Robbins (2002, cited in Kickul, 2001) noted that as the fabric of organisational climate continues to evolve, amidst a culture of relative uncertainty and instability, followers are seeking personal relationships that will provide relative stability and guidance, and such relationships between leaders and followers are dependent on the quality of trust (Kickul, 2001; Kickul et al., 2005). Whilst it is debatable as to whether we are indeed experiencing more radical instability than at other periods of history (e.g. by comparison with the enlightenment, the reformation or the industrial revolution) (Grey, 2010), it has been shown that trust becomes a more coveted commodity where management manipulation has replaced classical physical means of control. Since the 1980s, Peters and Waterman (1982) have argued that trust is part of the new toolkit in which managers need to invest for effective organisational functioning. Where this is interpreted as a covert means of managerial coercion, this further emphasises the danger of utilising the guise of trust purely to procure competitive advantage whilst ignoring the inherently ethical and personal inferences which trust exerts on leadership. As such, organisational trust as the essence of leadership (Kickul et al., 2005: 208) will now be explored.

1.3 A question of leadership
Recently Peters (Zinger, 2009) asserted, “Leadership is literally a sacred trust... the decision to take on the role of leader is the decision to be responsible for the growth and development of your fellow human beings”. In addressing leadership within the
military, Fogleman (AU-24 Concepts for Air Force Leadership: 39) articulated the need to model behaviours which inspire confidence in subordinates and build trust, in the context of working towards common objectives:

Leadership is about motivating people to perform and accomplish the unit’s mission. Working towards this common goal builds unit cohesion, trust, and a sense of self-esteem. A good leader fosters these qualities.

Succeeding the surge in interest in studying trust, a stream within the literature, specifically dedicated to trust in leadership, has followed suit. For instance, Galford and Drapeau (cited in Caldwell et al., 2010: 1) described the ability of leaders to earn the trust of followers as “…the crucial ingredient of organisational effectiveness”. As such, trust in leadership has been shown to play a central role in effective organisational functioning in being positively associated with task performance (e.g. Aryee, Budhwar and Chen, 2002), organisational citizenship behaviours (e.g. Podsakoff et al., 1990; Podsakoff et al., 1996 Redman et al., 2011; Rk, 2007) and increased employee commitment (Caldwell et al., 2010). Thus, any managerial behaviour perceived to breach or destroy trust is seen to have a direct impact on an organisation’s ability to meet organisational objectives (Dietz, 2004). Likewise, in the media, many instances of unravelling leadership have been implicated in the breakdown of trust in a leader. Some high profile examples of leadership being brought into disrepute, on the basis of private life decisions, are now presented. The cases of three figure heads, reported in the national press during the course of this research: Elizabeth Truss, John Terry and Michael Todd, are described below.

1.3.1 Elizabeth Truss
The Conservative parliamentary candidate, Elizabeth Truss, made the headlines in October 2009. Following her adoption as a candidate for the constituency of South West Norfolk she was later told she would face a de-selection vote amid concerns over her affair with a Tory MP. Some members of the committee were reported to be angry when reports of the affair re-emerged in the media following her adoption as a candidate, “…with some saying that they would not have supported her had they known,” (The Telegraph, 28 Oct 2009).

Consequently, “Mrs Truss appeared before the board of the South West Norfolk constituency association to explain her relationship with Mark Field, MP for the City of Westminster” (The Telegraph, 28 Oct 2009). Meanwhile, the Sunday Times (Oliver, 8
Nov 2009) reported: “The Fields divorced in 2006 — the year a tabloid first revealed the affair. By then Field was the party’s spokesman on culture, media and sport, but the scandal was said to have cost him his job in a reshuffle.”

This is an example of leadership, in the political realm, being called into question. Despite the affair having been several years earlier, some members of the committee felt that the knowledge of Mrs Truss’s past record would have made them less ready to support her in the initial vote. This is significant in outlining an incident which caused a party selection committee to reflect on their trust in a leader’s professional capabilities and trustworthiness.

1.3.2 John Terry
A second example, this time in the private sector, was the dismissal of the prominent footballer John Terry, in January 2010, as England captain following revelations of his infidelity, amid questions of whether the allegations would affect the legitimacy of trust in his captaincy. Many fans felt that his continuing as captain would have affected England’s chances of success at the World cup in South Africa in June 2010. This was the reaction of Martin Keown, former England defender, to the news of John Terry’s consequently being dropped, by England manager Fabio Capello, from the England team (BBC news, 5 February, 2010):

His private life had infected his professional life. [Following the allegations] it's very difficult to trust him in the same way. He's a role model as captain and there was only one way it was going to go, Capello being such a disciplinarian. You always felt he was going to make this decision.

Fabio Capello’s decision was based on his belief that trust in the team captain was fundamental to a successful team and that the affair would damage trust in Terry’s leadership. Given the necessity of close team work, a breakdown of trust in leadership was not a risk Capello was willing to take.

1.3.3 Michael Todd
The high profile case of the former chief constable of Greater Manchester Police, Michael Todd, also resulted in questions regarding the impact of his private life on his professional responsibilities. Following the news of his suicide in 2008, a public enquiry was conducted. This document (Scott-Lee, 2008) concluded: “The examination found no areas of concern in relation to this aspect of Michael Todd’s professional life” (Scott-Lee, 2008: 6-8) in relation to each of the following matters:
• specific responsibilities and portfolio as the chief constable
• approach to matters of security and confidentiality
• contracts and procurement issues
• expenses, hospitality, gifts, travel and accommodation

This also included his overall suitability for the role of chief constable from a professional perspective and in relation to various aspects of his personal lifestyle (Scott-Lee, 2008: 10). Despite these conclusions, demonstrating Michael Todd’s impeccable record of honesty and competence in all professional matters, the revelations regarding his marital unfaithfulness were concluded to have brought his position as a leader into disrepute. The enquiry concluded the following (direct quotations):

• The examination concluded that the failure of Michael Todd to fully disclose the extent of his extra-marital affairs made him potentially vulnerable to compromise (Scott-Lee, 2008: 12).

• The effect of these relationships [i.e. extra marital affairs] on Michael Todd’s family and the service must not be underestimated and one can only speculate as to their effects on him as an individual (Scott-Lee, 2008: 13).

• His lifestyle has not only affected his family but also adversely impacted upon the reputation of the Police Service (Scott-Lee, 2008: 13).

In connection with these findings Greater Manchester Police Authority (GMPA) chairman, Councillor Paul Murphy stated:

We believe the inquiry has raised questions over the former chief constable’s judgement and integrity. We must acknowledge that the report states Michael’s failure to fully disclose the extent of his extra-marital affairs made him potentially vulnerable to compromise and that had the full extent of the extra-marital affairs been made known, his vetting status would have been reviewed.

In joining the police force, Michael Todd would have had an acute sense of the importance of trust which this role bestowed upon him, in turn magnified by his promotion to chief constable. Despite being highly competent and found to be scrupulously honest in all matters professional, upholding the highest standards of professional accountability and thus demonstrating impeccable professional trust by example, his actions suggest that the revelations of his private life would have been devastating on his reputation and his own sense of trust causing him to lose everything. The impending blemishing of his personal integrity and the resulting professional
attrition – i.e. anxiety as to how he would be regarded and the tarnishing of his reputation as a leader and figure of trust – had a fundamental impact on how he saw his own trustworthiness. In addressing the police context, Nooteboom (2006: 259) connoted: “Trust in the police is of crucial importance for the legitimacy of the police itself”. Furthermore, Nooteboom (2006: 259) demonstrated that trust in the police required trust not only in the individuals employed as civil servants to work in this role, but also trust in the overall “… police organisation and underlying institutions of law and law enforcement,” suggesting that trust operates on several different interconnecting levels. As such, “Mistrust in the police may spill-over into mistrust of the social or political system as a whole,” demonstrating that breaches of trust have contextual implications which need to be considered on multiple levels (Nooteboom, 2006: 259).

1.4 Public and private
In each of these instances, trust in the continued leadership legitimacy of these public figures, was brought into disrepute following an extra-marital affair in their personal life. The public enquiry, into Michael Todd, highlighted that the chief constable was fastidious in keeping his private and professional lives separate. Yet this report, conducted by Sir Paul Scott-Lee, Chief Constable of the West Midlands Police, concluded that despite these efforts, his private actions made him, “… potentially vulnerable to compromise,” within his professional role.

When asked whether such a case (in reference to John Terry) could ever be justification for termination of an employee’s contract Jason Galbraith-Marten, an employment barrister at Cloisters chambers, expressed that there were indeed legal grounds for the dismissal. This was the explanation he gave of the legal position on the matter (BBC news, Heald, 2010): “The awkward fall-out from relationships that go awry can justify termination of someone's employment”. He continued by highlighting the “two competing legal principles” which were relevant to a case such as this:
First: Under the European Convention on Human Rights, Article 8, people can argue for the right respect for their private life. If an employee complains of unfair dismissal, the courts have to rule and tend to be slow to sanction sacking due to a private action.

Second: But that competes with the fact that for an employment contract to function, parties must have trust and confidence in each other. If that stops, it can be a legitimate reason for bringing the relationship to an end.

In addition, it was highlighted that with particular respect to the position of leader:

The more senior the employee, the greater the degree of trust and confidence that resides in them – for the elevated, that can include the very image of the company, as well as responsibility for managing others.

Two points to consider here are first, the legal acknowledgment that private actions can be a legitimate risk to professional trust and second, the amplification of this impact with increasing seniority and responsibility. These vignettes question whether the private lives of high profile leaders can remain separate from the work context, suggesting that private decisions can have repercussions on employee assessments of leader trustworthiness. The contention is that there is a personal dimension of trust which cannot be separated from the professional domain, further amplified in the role as leader, which merits further investigation of trust and its components.

1.5 The trust concept and public sector context
The concept of trust has been heavily researched and debated (for comprehensive reviews see Mayer et al., 1995; Kramer, 1999; Rousseau et al., 1998; Dirks and Ferrin 2001, 2002; Schoorman, Mayer and Davis, 2007) and much foundational work has been done in establishing the components theoretically shown to constitute trustworthiness. Mayer et al.’s definition of trustworthiness considered assessments of an individual’s competence, benevolence and integrity (CBI) as key determinants of trust. Besides being extensively used by the trust research community, this definition has also been widely cited in a diverse range of academic disciplines including management, business ethics, accounting and economics, even extending to the healthcare, public policy, law and the IT literatures, amongst many others.
Further to being considered central to trust, the component integrity has been deemed integral to leadership. Speaking within the military context, Fogleman (AU-24 Concepts for Air Force Leadership: 39) opined:

Integrity and leadership are inextricably linked. Without integrity, leadership theories are just that— theories. Integrity is the cement that binds organizations together, the cornerstone of mission accomplishment.

Whereas it has been argued that the components of competence and integrity constitute professionally imbued values associated with occupying a particular role, benevolence has been shown to go beyond professional expectations and therefore to be central to theoretical constructs of high trust. Given that CBI are considered theoretically foundational to both leadership and trust, this research seeks to enrich understanding of the role of CBI, and, specifically, whether particular components have greater significance for trust depending on the organisational setting. In exploring trust in leadership, this study examines whether or not private actions can affect trust in a leader in order to extend Mayer et al.’s (1995) theoretical model of trustworthiness. In particular, do private integrity actions cause employees to recalibrate their confidence in their leader’s CBI in the professional context? If so, what impact does this have on inter-hierarchical trust (defined as employee trust in leader) in a particular work setting?

To date, private firms have formed the main research setting for studies examining inter-hierarchical trust. Therefore, to address this imbalance, the organisations under investigation here are either within the public sector or in receipt of public funding (in the case of the university setting). In 2002, O’Neill gave a detailed commentary on pertinent trust issues within the public sector, first outlining the interconnected issues of freedom, deception and accountability. Second, in reference to the public sector context, O’Neill (2002: 3) argued:

Having misdiagnosed what ails British society we are now busy prescribing copious draughts of the wrong medicine. We are imposing ever more stringent forms of control.

In suggesting ways to address these issues, first, O’Neill highlighted the need for transparency to guard against deception and promote accountability. O’Neill’s argument was that in response to breaches of public trust, the common knee jerk reaction has been requirements for ever more stringent control to the extent that, “… the very demands of
accountability often make it harder for them [professionals] to serve the public sector” (ibid., 2002: 3). As such, measures to increase accountability have instead served to restrict professional freedom, to the detriment of professional judgement:

The new accountability is widely experienced not just as changing, but I think as distorting, the proper aims of professional practice and indeed as damaging professional pride and integrity (ibid., 2002: 4).

Accordingly, such excessive attempts to control not only create a climate of mistrust but also negatively impact professional integrity which, according to Mayer et al. (1995), is central to trust. In a similar vein, Lewicki et al. (1998: 4) concluded, “A very strong system of controls in an organisation inhibits the development of trust.” Since trust has been deemed pivotal to leadership (Fogleman, AU-24 Concepts for Air Force Leadership), the conundrum between higher accountability, on the one hand, serving and, on the other hand, being detrimental to trust in leadership remains an urgent question for practitioners and researchers alike. Engagement in the current academic debates on control, and its relationship with trust, within this study serves to enrich contextual understanding of the trust-control nexus and governance implications for trust in leadership.

1.6 Main aim
The overall aim of this research is to explore CBI salience within diverse trust workplace dyads and in particular to further understanding of how managerial actions and institutional elements influence employee perceptions of leader trustworthiness. Of key consideration is how this affects the trust decisions of professionals in different organisational contexts (the NHS, RAF and academia), resulting workplace behaviour and consequences for organisational effectiveness.

1.7 Chapter summary
For centuries philosophers have stressed trust as a foundational building block, fundamental for a flourishing society. Trust within organisations has been viewed from very different angles, ranging from pure competitive advantage to justification for ethical and moral considerations and action. Perspectives of trust within the literature, as reviewed in the next chapter, have likewise tended to focus on one of these
perspectives. The latter perspective links with vignettes of public leaders whose leadership has been questioned due to marital unfaithfulness in their private lives; this raises questions as to whether the private actions of leaders affect follower confidence in their CBI thus impacting on overall perceptions of trustworthiness. The UK public sector is the context for this investigation, since this has not featured widely in academic studies of trust. Finally, in reference to the public sector context, Onora O’Neill has postulated that the very mechanisms of control, designed to increase trust and public confidence, are in fact leading to trust erosion. Where the tightening of such mechanisms are perceived to be a direct result of managerial action, even within this wider public sector context of increasing control, this research investigates the resulting impact on trust in leadership.

1.8 Plan of the thesis
The overview of the rest of the thesis is as follows. In reviewing the literature, chapter two first delineates the academic perspective on trust; chapter three then examines the application of three emerging trust types to theoretical and empirical work on trust in leaders before presenting lacunae and research questions which subsequently emerge. Chapter four outlines the research method and methodology with justifications for the research tools used. A presentation of the findings, for the three research questions, then forms the basis of the ensuing three chapters, i.e. chapters five, six and seven. The implications of these findings for both theory and practice are explored in chapter eight and the conclusion is presented in chapter nine.
Chapter 2  Literature review one: trust

2.1  Introduction
This chapter forms the first section of the literature review and as such gives a critical overview of relevant trust research, focusing on the internal construction of trust. The following distinction has been made between trust and trustworthiness (Blois, 1999, cited in Swift, 2001: 22):

Trust must be earned on the basis of trustworthy behaviour. Although some commentators use the terms ‘trust’ and ‘trustworthiness’ interchangeably, trust is a situational factor of relationships whereas trustworthiness is a quality displayed by the parties which engenders trust.

First trust definitions will be explored, followed by a review of research concerned with establishing the factors of trustworthiness.

2.2  Trust definitions
There has been much debate and disagreement surrounding attempts to define trust. Several authors share Gambetta’s (1988) concern that trust is seemingly intractable to define and therefore study (e.g. Whitener et al., 1998). In 1987, Shapiro alluded to the confusing “pot pourri of definitions” (ibid., 1987: 624) whilst Ayios (2004: 5) has since highlighted “over-definition” and “over conceptualisation” as the main difficulties in defining trust; this has led some scholars to deem convergence on a universal definition of trust impossible (Bigley and Pearce, 1998) and more recently Nooteboom (2006: 252) concluded that defining trust remained, “a source of major confusion and misunderstanding”. The most common themes from trust definitions in the trust literature are summarised in Table 1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definitions of trust:</th>
<th>Author</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vulnerability/ disclosure of sensitive info</td>
<td>Mayer <em>et al.</em> (1995)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Gillespie and Mann (2004)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gillespie (2003)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Whitener <em>et al.</em> (1998; 2006)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rousseau <em>et al.</em> (1998)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Doney, Cannon and Mullen (1998)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mishra (1996)</td>
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<tr>
<td>dependency/ willingness to rely on/ interdependence</td>
<td>Whitener <em>et al.</em> (1998; 2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rousseau <em>et al.</em> (1998)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>McKnight, Cummings and Chervany (1998)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mayer <em>et al.</em> (1995)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McKnight <em>et al.</em> (1998)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Currall and Judge (1995)</td>
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<tr>
<td>risk/ of opportunism</td>
<td>Sheppard and Sherman (1998)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deutsch (1958)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Johnson-George and Swap (1982)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kee and Knox (1970)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Williams (2001)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mayer <em>et al.</em> (1995)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Zand (1972)</td>
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<tr>
<td>benevolence/ not act opportunistically</td>
<td>Hall <em>et al.</em> (2004)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whitener <em>et al.</em> (1998; 2006)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dirks and Ferrin (2002)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>McAllister (1995)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>McKnight <em>et al.</em> (1998)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Currall and Judge (1995)</td>
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<tr>
<td>context dependent</td>
<td>Sheppard and Sherman (1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Williams (2001)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mayer <em>et al.</em> (1995)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Zand (1972)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>McKnight <em>et al.</em> (1998)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Currall and Judge (1995)</td>
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<tr>
<td>value congruence</td>
<td>Hall <em>et al.</em> (2004)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lewicki and Bunker (1995)</td>
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<tr>
<td>cognitive trust: beliefs about competencies</td>
<td>Dirks and Ferrin (2002)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McAllister (1995)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gillespie and Mann (2004)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gillespie (2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affective trust: demonstrating concern about welfare</td>
<td>Dirks and Ferrin (2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McAllister (1995)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gillespie and Mann (2004)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gillespie (2003)</td>
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<tr>
<td>behavioural trust</td>
<td>Gillespie and Mann (2004)</td>
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<td>Gillespie (2003)</td>
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Table 1: Summary of the common themes of prominent trust definitions in the literature
In order for trust to develop, many scholars have stressed the two necessary conditions of vulnerability and interdependence (e.g. Whitener et al., 1998; Rousseau et al., 1998; Mayer et al., 1995; Doney, Cannon and Mullen, 1998; Mishra, 1996; Currall and Judge, 1995; Gillespie and Mann, 2004; Gillespie, 2003). Whitener et al. (2006: 162, commenting on work by Hosmer, 1995) noted that, “Dependency is a necessary but not sufficient condition for trust”. Furthermore, Lamsa and Pucetaite (2006: 133) showed that, “… where dependence exists, a risk is also present and trust helps to reduce it; as dependence increases so does the need for trust,”. Thus risk has also been deemed an integral ingredient in trust. This was supported by a survey of the trust literature, conducted by Banerjee et al. (2006: 308), which reported a consensus on interdependence, vulnerability and risk as preconditions for trust. In agreement with this, and also demonstrating the role of risk, Lamsa and Pucetaite (2006: 131), following Whitener et al. (1998), highlighted three important foundations of trust which have consistently emerged from trust research: first, the importance of benevolence in believing that the trustee is not going to be overly opportunistic in the presence of risk; second, a willingness to be vulnerable given the risk that the trustee has the potential to act opportunistically; third, an interdependence with the trustee in working towards certain goals. As shown in Table 1, this has inspired many further definitions with the greatest weight being given to benevolence, vulnerability, risk and interdependence.

According to Mishra (1996) trust is founded on notions of vulnerability; in addition, the intention to accept vulnerability is the common component within the most prominent definitions of trust, including Mayer et al.’s (1995) widely cited definition. This definition is rooted in several earlier conceptualisations of trust (including: Boon & Holmes, 1991; Deutsch, 1958; Govier, 1997; Zand, 1972). Sabel (1993), in agreement with many other scholars (e.g. Whitener et al., 1998; Sennett, 1998; Bigley and Pearce, 1998), has asserted the importance of vulnerability – as being in a position where the possibility of being exploited is present – for trust. As such, Whitener et al. (1998) are amongst many scholars following Mayer et al. (1995) in arguing that trust will involve a willingness to be vulnerable. There is thus widespread consensus on the importance of the notion of vulnerability as an antecedent of trust and thereby on the definition of a trust as “a willingness to become vulnerable to someone” (Mayer et al., 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998; Schoorman et al., 2007).
2.3 **Dimensions of trustworthiness**

In deciding whether or not to trust, Mayer *et al.* (1995) asserted that a trustor would make assessments of a trustee’s competence, benevolence and integrity. Thus identification of the components of trust has been a major focus of the theoretical development of trust research and resulted in many studies each with individual justifications for the inclusion of certain components within this complex concept.

In 1991, Butler constructed a review of the major trust studies to date and cross-examined the components of trust identified; following a collation of the data they commented on the frequency and separation of components together with those which they found to be redundant. This work has been supported by others, such as Dietz and Den Hartog (2006), in showing that there is substantial overlap in many of the components of these various models of trustworthiness. Whilst there has been relative consensus on competence and benevolence, most disputes have arisen around the integrity component. As such, several authors have tried to replace integrity with other components; for example McKnight *et al.* (1998) replaced integrity with honesty and predictability and Mishra (1996) replaced integrity with openness and reliability.

However, Hope-Hailey *et al.* (2012:15) concluded that integrity was found to encapsulate elements of each of these four alternatively proposed components (i.e. honesty, predictability, openness and reliability) which served to overrule models utilising one of these components together with integrity. Subsequent research has confirmed the overlaps and redundancies in many of these conceptualisations. This has led to a widespread agreement that trust is principally comprised of the components of competence, benevolence and integrity (CBI) as defined by Mayer *et al.* (see Mayer *et al.* 1995 and Schoorman *et al.*, 2007) and resulted in various scholars using this as a basis for creating their own working definitions of CBI. For consistency, the definitions of CBI which correspond to Mayer *et al.*’s research, as cited in Hope-Hailey *et al.* (2012: 15) (see Table 2), are used throughout this study.

---

1 Research by Dietz and Den Hartog (2006) (following McKnight *et al.*’s (1998) lead) whilst being counted among the prominent studies which have helped to establish the centrality of CBI, added the component predictability – defined as “a regularity of behaviour over time” (Hope-Hailey *et al.*, 2012: 15) – to Mayer *et al.*’s framework. Thus whilst some trust researchers adopt predictability, in line with Dietz and Den Hartog (2006), others argue, as mentioned above, that predictability is already encapsulated within the integrity component.
<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Competence</td>
<td>“highlights the task and situation-specific nature of trust”</td>
<td>“demonstrable competence at doing their job”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benevolence</td>
<td>“the extent to which a trustee is believed to want to do good to the trustee aside from a self-centred profit motive”.</td>
<td>“a concern for others beyond their own needs and having benign motives”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrity</td>
<td>“involves the trustor’s perception that the trustee adheres to a set of principles that the trustor finds acceptable. A sense of integrity involves both the adherence to and acceptability of the principles, since if a set of principles held by the trustee is not found acceptable by the trustor, the trustee would not be considered to have integrity” (e.g. McFall, 1987)</td>
<td>“adherence to a set of principles acceptable to others encompassing fairness and honesty as well as the avoidance of hypocrisy”</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 2: Definitions of the components of trust

2.4 The internal construction of trust
The internal construction of trust has thus long been debated and many variations suggested (Butler, 1991; Whitener et al., 1998). A range of models have coined types of trust which, according to McKnight et al. (1998), have served to develop understanding of the internal construction of trust. Various scholars have argued for, and attempted to formulate, a classified spectrum of different trust types (see Table 3), in acknowledgement of the multiple facets of its internal construction and in an attempt to better capture its overall complexity.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zucker’s (1986) trust types</th>
<th>Trust streams</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
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</table>

**Table 3: Studies contributing to various trust streams mapped onto Zucker's three trust types**

Several such attempts, including one by Whitener et al. (1998), appeared in a special issue of the Academy of Management Review on trust, in 1998; a summary of the trust types, identified by Whitener et al. (1998), from this special edition, is given in Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whitener et al. (1998) trust types</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge based trust</td>
<td>based on first hand/prior knowledge</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cognition based trust</td>
<td>relies on rapid cognitive cues or first impressions as opposed to personal interactions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality based trust</td>
<td>propensity to trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional based trust</td>
<td>structures which provide a sense of trust</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Table 4: Definitions of Whitener et al.'s (1998) trust types**

In this same edition, McKnight et al. (1998) identified five trust types whilst Rousseau et al. (1998) coined four categories of trust before later concluding that deterrence based could not be considered trust. These three 1998 trust typologies all bear similar traits to
earlier work by Shapiro et al. (1992)\(^2\) which characterised three trust types developing in professional contexts (as listed in Table 5) but extend this work to include institutional trust.

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cognition based</td>
<td>calculative based</td>
<td>deterrence based (later concluded is not actually trust)</td>
<td>deterrence based (later renamed as calculus based)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knowledge based</td>
<td>knowledge based</td>
<td>calculative</td>
<td>knowledge based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personality based</td>
<td>personality based</td>
<td>relational</td>
<td>identification based</td>
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<tr>
<td>institutional based</td>
<td>institution based</td>
<td>institutional</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Commonalities between four trust models

As shown in Table 5, there is much overlap in these trust types (e.g. calculative versus calculus based trust and personality versus relational or identification trust) and subsequent research has shown certain categories to be collapsible (as represented by the table sections). Thus, these trust types are encapsulated by Zucker’s (1986) three main bases of character, process and institutional trust as shown in Table 6 (see Bigley and Pearce, 1998, for details).

\(^2\) see Lewicki and Bunker, 1996 for a full description
character | calculative/cognition | calculative | dispositional theory  
--- | --- | --- | ---  
process | personality | relational | behavioural/decision theory  
institutional | institutional | institutional | institutional arrangements

Table 6: Summary of agreement in the literature around three bases of trust

These various trust “streams” were foundational attempts to understand and explain the dynamic nature of trust; however more recent studies have agreed on cognitive, affect and institutional as the main bases of trust. Indeed, Long and Sitkin (2006: 90) were key in this process demonstrating that calculative and knowledge based trust were, in effect, “cognition trust” simply attributed different labels and that the various categorisations of relational trust can be collectively referred to as “affective trust”. This shows the establishment of cognitive bases – with much of the research from this perspective supported by agency theory – and affective bases – with the focus on social exchange theory – in interpersonal trust.

The two main types of trust which have emerged are thus interpersonal and institutional trust. Interpersonal trust, encapsulating cognitive and affective bases, has been used to refer to trust between people and, institutional trust is used to refer to trust in the functioning of an organisational system. As further justification, Lamsa and Pucetaite³ (2006) concluded that vulnerability, benevolence and interdependence levels⁴ combine to produce a trust attitude, that a trustor has of a trustee, consisting of cognitive and affective components⁵ (ibid., 2006: 131). Cognitive trust has been shown to include beliefs about and assessments of CBI whilst affect trust looks at the importance of benevolence in establishing social exchanges based on a secure and committed willingness to become vulnerable; these trust types are further explained in section 2.5, followed by examples of studies outlining and utilising some or all of these concepts. An overview of examples of additional research, conducted in each of these areas, is summarised in Table 7. For the purpose of this research, the categorisation of cognitive, affect and institutional trust will be used due to its helpful incorporation of Mayer et

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³ as also asserted by Whitener et al., in 1998
⁴ N.B. identified as the three preconditions to trust earlier
⁵ building on work by McAllister, 1995 and Dirks and Ferrin, 2002 who defined interpersonal trust as incorporating cognitive and affective dimensions
al.’s definition of trust together with CBI cognitive assessments of trustworthiness (see Table 7).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inter-personal trust</th>
<th>cognitive</th>
<th>assessments of reliability, integrity, honesty and fairness</th>
<th>beliefs about another’s trustworthiness based on assessments of CBI</th>
<th>affect</th>
<th>a special relationship where concern about a referent’s welfare is demonstrated</th>
<th>role of emotions in the trust process</th>
<th>willingness to take risk based on a willingness to become vulnerable</th>
<th>institutional trust</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 7: Summary of authors contributing to the literature on inter-personal and institutional trust
2.5 Cognitive, affective and institutional trust

Many scholars have made the distinction between cognition and affect bases of interpersonal trust (e.g. McAllister, 1995; Whitener et al. 1998; Jones and George, 1998; Wicks et al., 1999; Lamsa and Pucetaite, 2006; McKnight and Chervany, 2007); however, there are some disagreements within the literature and as such this is an area which warrants more research.

2.5.1 Cognition based trust

Cognitive based trust, within the literature, describes trust as being founded on “evaluative predictions and calculations” (Tyler and Kramer, 1996: 10). From this perspective, trust is presumed to involve a rational decision on whether or not to trust based on judgments of a trustee’s past performance (Yang and Mossholder, 2010). Thus prediction of future behaviour, on the basis of these assessments of past reputation of demonstrating CBI (with particular emphasis on competence and integrity), has been shown to be an important element of cognition based trust (Lamsa and Pucetaite, 2006: 132). Das and Teng (2001) demonstrated the importance of assessments of competence within these predictions and coined “competence trust” as being more narrowly defined than cognitive trust. However cognitive trust encapsulates assessments of competence whilst also acknowledging a broader range of cognitive judgements; for this reason the broader concept of cognitive based trust is here. Research from this perspective thus measures trust as a belief, justified by rational reasoning, indicating that cognitive assessments of CBI can be explored through field work.

However, the trust literature has provided substantial evidence to show that a purely cognitive based view of trust does not adequately encapsulate trust (see Flores and Solomon, 1998; Young and Daniel, 2003). Lamsa and Pucetaite (2006: 132) have, amongst many others, asserted the importance of both cognitive and affect based trust in sustainable long-term organisational development. This demonstrates the importance of considering research from both perspectives.

2.5.2 Affect based trust

The principles of social exchange have been shown to be core elements of affect based trust (Redman et al., 2011: 2397). Whilst the social exchange mechanism has almost exclusively been applied to affect trust, Yang and Mossholder (2010) meanwhile claimed that it is also important in cognitive trust. From the affect perspective, the exchange is related to reciprocation of care and consideration and therefore this constitutes the emotional side of trust. As such, Lamsa and Pucetaite, (2006: 132)
described affect trust as involving reciprocity of openness and honesty which, according to Jeffries and Reed (2000: 875 cited in Mollering, 2006: 373) is “… rooted in emotional attachment and care and concern for the other party’s welfare”. As such, benevolence has been widely shown to be an important aspect of affect trust not necessarily present in cognitive trust.

Affect trust has elsewhere been labelled value-based trust and therefore shared values have been assumed to be unique to this type of trust in much of the literature (as shown in Rousseau et al. ’s model in the development of trust). However, in contesting the uniquely affective nature of common values, Redman et al. (2011: 2397) very recently demonstrated shared values to be important in both cognition and affect bases of trust; therefore the role of shared values merits further investigation in general and in particular addressing the question of whether or not this role is unique to affect trust.

In arguing for the importance of research incorporating both cognitive and affect bases of trust, Lane has asserted that “… to posit common values and norms as the sole basis of trust is as one-sided as the notion of calculative trust” (Lane, 1998: 8) demonstrating that the complexity of trust demands consideration of both cognitive and affective aspects. Affect based trust has also been shown to be strongly linked with institutional trust since high affect trust has been shown to correlate with identification with organisation (e.g. Redman et al., 2011); as such, institutional trust is now explored as a third base of trust.

2.5.3 **Institution based trust**
Mollering (2006: 373) highlighted two important considerations regarding the trust that institutional trust can engender. First,

Institutions are a basis for trust between actors, because they imply a high degree of taken-for-grantedness which enables shared expectations even between actors who have no mutual experience or history of interaction” (ibid., 2006: 373).

Whilst this involves trust in professional roles, rules and standardised routines, employees still play “… an active role in interpreting and questioning institutions” (ibid., 2006: 373). Second, the important consideration that, “… institutions are both a source and an object of trust” (ibid., 2006: 373).
In consideration of these two fundamental principles, Sydow (2006: 379) showed how the work of Giddens (1984) could be employed in the empirical exploration of institutional trust. Giddens (1984) highlighted three aspects of structure which actors reproduce or transform (thus demonstrating the important combination of action and structure in trust). Two of these are as follows: first, there should be consideration of “rules of signification” as manifested in shared values and meanings; a second indication of institutional trust could be observed in “rules of legitimation such as honesty and tolerance” (Sydow, 2006: 379) towards norms of sanctioning behaviour e.g. reactions to configurations of monitoring and control systems. These two aspects provide an insight into how to explore institutional trust in order to extend current understanding of the contribution of institutional structures within a given organisational context. Thus these principles, from Mollering and Giddens, need careful application in the context of this study on trust since the exploration of inter-organisational comparisons dictates a consideration of institutional trust. As such, it will be important to investigate inter-organisational differences in both rules of signification and rules of legitimation as institutional aspects which act as both a source and object of trust in each organisation.

2.5.4 A combined approach to studying trust
Recently, Yang and Mossholder (2010) highlighted the imbalance of attention given to studying cognitive trust at the expense of affective trust to the extent where “… the literature has been skewed toward cognitive explanations” (Schoorman et al., 2007: 52) and sought to address this balance by giving equal attention to cognitive and affective trust in their research. Kramer (1999: 574) showed that the cognitive and affective perspectives of trust “… project fundamentally different images of trust and have pushed empirical research in quite different directions”. To demonstrate the diverse approaches adopted, the major theories which have been used to inform the underlying principles of each perspective, in such empirical studies on trust, are summarised in Table 8.

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6 the third aspect being rules of domination (see Giddens, 1984)
Table 8: Summary of theories and concepts which have been applied to the study of trust from the three different perspectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perspective</th>
<th>Theories/ concepts</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>Agency theory</td>
<td>Whitener et al. (1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rational choice</td>
<td>Kramer (1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instrumental rationality</td>
<td>Weber (1968)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affect</td>
<td>Social exchange theory</td>
<td>Whitener et al. (1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relational perspective</td>
<td>Kramer (1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Value congruence</td>
<td>Lamsa and Pucetaite (2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sydow (2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Foucault (1975)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kramer (1999: 574) proposed that in order “… to reconcile these diverse views of trust, it is helpful to avoid thinking of the disparity between them as reflecting conflict between mutually incompatible models of choice”. In studies that predate this assertion, McAllister (1995) and Whitener et al. (1998) were among the first researchers to conduct research combining both cognitive and affect trust. The debate still remains as to whether these are simply different perspectives or whether there is interplay between the different bases of trust. This has resulted in some trust researchers continuing to make clear differentiation between separate calculative and relational elements to trust e.g. Becker (1996). However, many others have more recently adopted a position of cognitive, affect and institutional interconnectivity to the theoretical understanding of trust. For example, McEvily and Zaheer (2006) have insisted on the “… theoretical emphasis on trust as a multifaceted concept consisting of distinct, but related, components” (ibid., 2006: 289). In agreement with this assertion, various studies (listed in Table 9) have likewise examined the inter-relations between these different bases of trust.
Inter-relations between cognitive, affect and institutional bases of trust:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flores and Solomon (1997)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jones (2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nooteboom (2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamsa and Pucetaite (2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang and Mossholder (2010)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Examples of studies which have examined the inter-relations between the three bases of trust

Whilst providing evidence of the clear interlinks between the three bases of trust, these studies have also highlighted the need for future research to address the contradictions outlined earlier through a combined consideration of all three trust types. Of less contention has been the establishment of assessments of C and I within cognitive trust and the importance of benevolence in affective trust however this still merits further investigation in order to enrich understanding of the internal construction of trust.

A further reason for adopting a three pronged approach to the study of trust is underlined in the need to provide a contextual account of trust within research seeking to make inter-organisational comparisons. As such, Kramer (1999) proposed an approach examining the inherent inter-play between the two interpersonal and institutional bases to ensure a comprehensive contextual consideration of trust.

2.6 **Contextual approach to the study of trust**

Anderson *et al.* (1994) noted the contextual nature of trust and therefore the need to take into account its embedded nature. Since this assertion, various other scholars (some further examples are given in Table 10) have sought to incorporate a contextual view of trust into their research in order to explore situational aspects of its internal construction.
Trust is context specific/ dependent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trust is context specific/ dependent:</th>
<th>Anderson et al. (1994)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Casson and Della Giusta (2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lusch et al. (2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hardin (1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lewicki and Bunker (1996)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vaara et al. (2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lamsa and Pucetaite (2006)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chen et al. (1998)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Currall and Inkpen (2006)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arena, Lazaric and Lorenz (2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Searle et al. (2011b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 10: Examples of scholars who have employed a contextually embedded view of trust**

In particular, Dirks and Ferrin (2001) highlighted the empirical importance of context consideration since trust will operate in substantially different ways according to the work setting (2001: 462). In order to achieve a contextual consideration of trust, Hardin (1992) integrated the three bases of trust into his conceptualisation of trust as consisting of and being determined by the 1. properties of a trustor, 2. the attributes of the trustee and 3. a specific context in which the trust is played out. In support of this Kramer (1999: 574) opined “… a three part theory of trust would thus afford adequate attention to both the calculative and relational underpinnings of trust”. This serves to further promote the necessity of a three part contextual approach to the study of trust. As such, the highlighted sections in Table 11 outline the focus of this research, summarised in accordance with Hardin’s determinants of trust.
Table 11: Summary of the focus of this study (highlighted sections) according to the determinants of trust outlined by Hardin (1992) and trust types

Besides operating on several different contextual levels, the dynamic nature of trust has been the subject of much discussion in the literature. Temporal models of trust are now examined in an attempt to further highlight areas in the literature warranting future research on the internal construction of trust in general and role of CBI in particular.

2.7 Developmental models of trust
In consideration of the temporal dimension, various models have attempted to examine the differing salience of cognitive, affect and institutional bases of trust over time. These have included McKnight et al.’s model of initial trust and Rousseau et al.’s (1998) model of the development trust spectrum which are now examined below.

Whilst the literature generally supports the argument that trust develops and increases through interaction over time (e.g. Lewicki and Wiethoff, 2000) others have challenged this view with the paradox of what has been termed “high initial trust” or “swift trust” (e.g. Cunningham and McGregor, 2000; Meyerson et al., 1996; Blomqvist, 2005). In a recent study McKnight and Chervany (2006: 46) reviewed the research in this area and
concluded that there is now mounting empirical evidence to support this conceptualisation of trust beginning at a high level to the point where this “... call[s] into question models of gradual or incremental trust progression”. In early work on this phenomenon, McKnight et al. (1998) observed that even without any history of interaction, individuals can show remarkable levels of trust and Jackson (1999) showed how initial trust can be high and then diminish over time. Reasons for this have been widely explored (e.g. see Kim et. al., 2004). Zaheer et al. (1998) argued that trust in the early stages of a dyadic relationship had different antecedents from trust which has had longer to develop, an assertion supported by Oliver and Montgomery (2001) who presented initial trust as requiring confirmation of information cues which differed to those needed in the stabilisation phases of trust.

McKnight et al. (1998) attempted to conceptualise the conundrum of high initial trust by synthesising the findings from previous scholars into a comprehensive model. This model depicted the salience of cognitive and institutional elements, over affect trust, in initial trust formation in a new trust context. McKnight et al. (1998) concluded that a belief in the dependability of various structures within an organisation (e.g. regulations) and reputation, supported this initial development of trust; but, as also highlighted by Zaheer et al. (1998), they noted that this type of trust relied heavily on assumptions, rather than on confirmed experience, making it extremely fragile. This finding demonstrates the initial importance of cognitive and institutional bases of trust, in the internal construction of trust, suggesting a delay in the development of affect trust signalling the onset of increased dyadic stability. Research by Droege et al. (2003) was consistent with these findings also showing the initial importance of cognitive and institutional trust in the form of “… safeguards of reputation, sanctions, formal roles, norms and assumptions of trustworthiness,” whereas affect trust was shown to develop on the basis of “knowledge and past interaction” (ibid., 2003: 51). In relating this to Mayer et al.’s components of trust, this would translate into assessments of competence and integrity (cognitive and institutional elements) being most salient at the beginning of a work relationship with demonstrations of benevolence (affect trust) becoming more important as the relationship progressed, once clear patterns of social exchange had had time to develop. As hinted at above, this contradiction of initial trust has remains contentious since other scholars have shown trust to develop gradually over time: (Blau, 1964; Zand, 1972; Rempel, Holmes and Zanna, 1985). However, rather than a paradox
this should be viewed as contextual variation in the relative salience of the bases and components of trust which warrant further investigation in different research settings.

Adopting this contextual perspective, Rousseau et al.’s (1998) developmental model of trust is actually consistent with McKnight’s purported initial salience of cognitive and institutional bases of trust and later development of affect trust. The foundational work for Rousseau et al.’s model began with work carried out by Lewicki and Bunker, in 1995, who, in turn, had developed Shapiro et al.’s three trust types into a model of trust (mentioned above). Whereas Shapiro et al.’s original (1992) model showed the various forms of trust developing independently, Lewicki and Bunker (1995) presented a sequential development of these trust bases. Rousseau et al. in turn built on this work to demonstrate the changing levels of each trust type over the course of a trust relationship (ibid., 1998).

![Diagram of trust development]

**Figure 1: Classification of three types of trust developing over time.**

**Source:** Rousseau et al. (1998: 401)

Figure 1 demonstrates the temporal development of the three trust typologies over the course of a work relationship, highlighting the differing roles of Mayer et al.’s CBI components therein. Whereas assessments of ability and integrity were found to be most salient in initial stages of trust development (cognitive trust), the gradual availability of feedback information regarding benevolence, as social exchanges took place, resulted in its increased in salience (affect trust) at later stages. Institutional trust, by contrast, was shown to be of equal salience throughout whereby contractual aspects of trust, in the form of institutional arrangements, have been argued to give a foundation of confidence in catalysing trust development (Rousseau et al., 1998: 401). As mentioned above, this
model is entirely consistent with the concept of “initial trust” whilst also demonstrating the development of trust overtime when viewed in terms of CBI temporal salience. As such, these models are unanimous in prescribing middle to late stages of trust as an appropriate time for research if all three bases of trust are warranting investigation. Therefore, research subjects should all be employees well established in their roles and settled within the organisation under investigation\(^7\). In addition, if the internal construction of trust is being examined at later stages of development, it will be more appropriate to conduct cross-sectional research since this will enable a more in-depth view of the inter-relationship between cognition, affect and institutional trust, and the differing roles of CBI in particular, all necessary in order to make meaningful inter-organisational comparisons.

An examination of prior research on cognitive, affect and institution trust has provided a background of the current debates in the literature and highlighted the need for future research to address how these three bases combine to form the internal construction of trust in a particular context. Next, an examination of these three bases will continue in a review of their role in trust decline.

2.8 **Trust violation and dissolution**

Rousseau *et al.* (1998) identified three stages of trust: 1. building phase, 2. stability (in a relationship already characterised by trust) and 3. dissolution (where trust declines). The literature reviewed thus far has focussed on the internal construction of trust in the building and stabilisation phases; cognitive trust and institutional trust were shown to be at the forefront in the building stage with affect trust gaining prominence if trust became established under a period of stabilisation. In the last two decades, the research agenda has been dominated by these first two stages in the life cycle of trust. Only more recently has attention turned to this third stage, dissolution, referred to by Schoorman *et al.* (2007: 344) as research in one of the “new areas of trust”. Seemingly this is due to the relatively recent nature of the foundational trust literature and the need to amply establish the concept itself, within the academic community, before investigating its unravelling. Kim *et al.* (2004: 6) asserted that,

\(^7\) Unless a study is specifically seeking to further understanding of initial trust or trust development over time.
Parties may often behave in ways that can violate trust, such as by intentionally exploiting dependencies or by neglecting to fulfil expectations.

Trust violation and repair has been discussed more widely in recent years (e.g. Lewicki and Bunker, 1996; Morrison and Robinson, 1997; Robinson, 1996; Mishra, 1996; Gillespie and Dietz, 2009, Dirks et al., 2009, Rhee and Valdez, 2009; Kim et al., 2009, Ferrin et al., 2006, Ren and Gray, 2009\(^8\)). Nonetheless, in 2007 Schoorman et al. (2007: 349) asserted that trust violation and repair “warrants more research”, indicating the necessity of better understanding trust violation in order to underpin the development of the trust repair literature. Dirks et al. (2009) identified three different categories of trust violation: attributional, social equilibrium and structural which can be equated to cognition, affect and institutional bases of trust respectively. However, this theoretical work warrants empirical investigation.

Dietz and Gillespie (2009) recently examined trust erosion and repair in two separate case studies. The first of these centred on the BBC, following the fake call-in on Blue Peter which served to deliberately deceive viewers, and the second examined trust in politicians following the parliamentary expenses scandal. In each case, the impact of these acts of dishonesty, on trust, was examined, together with attempted repair efforts at the societal trust. Since 2009, trust violation has been frequently examined at the inter-organisational level (Janowicz-Panjaitan and Krishnan, 2009; Dirks et al., 2009; Rhee and Valdez, 2009) and societal level (Dietz and Gillespie, 2009) but less attention has been given to trust violation at the inter-personal level and between employees and leaders in particular.

It has been widely acknowledged, in the trust literature, that trust is more difficult to build than to break (Meyerson et al., 1996; Janoff-Bulman, 1992). First, Kramer (1999: 593) highlighted asymmetries in cognitive processes in trust building, versus erosion, as providing explanations for this. Kramer argued that through an examination of cognitive factors, an incident of trust erosion would be perceived as more noticeable and given a higher weighting by comparison with an incidence of trust building of similar magnitude. This demonstrates the utility of the cognitive perspective of trust in researching this process. Second, factors pertaining to institutional trust were also shown to differentially affect trust building and erosion. Burt and Knez (1995) showed

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\(^8\) including a special issue of the Academy of Management Review dedicated to trust repair in 2007 (edited by Dirks, Lewicki and Zaheer)
how third party disclosures regarding instances of trust erosion were significantly more
damaging than communication of trust building. This indicates that in an environment
where close team work is necessary the impacts of trust erosion will be intensified. It is
predicted that the greater the salience of interdependence in a given organisational
context, the greater the amplification of third party gossip regarding trust erosion
disclosure and the more damaging the impact on trust. Explorations of trust infractions,
at the interpersonal trust level, will seek to explore this contention indirectly in RQ1 and
directly as the focus of RQ3.

2.9  **Distrust: opposite end of the trust construct or a separate construct?**
The relationship between trust and distrust remains a contentious issue within the trust
literature. Since this research concerns the internal construction of trust and explores
trust violation it is important to address this issue. Some scholars have argued that
distrust is simply the opposite of trust or a different state of the same construct (Mayer
*et al.*, 1995; Jones and George, 1998) whilst others have shown that trust and distrust
can occur simultaneously within the same relationship and are therefore two separate
constructs (Sitkin and Roth, 1993; Lewicki *et al*., 1998). Notably, as part of a special
edition on trust research in the Academy of Management Journal in 1998, Lewicki and
McAllister demonstrated the separation of trust and distrust showing that they can
coexist within the same relationship and vary independently. Taking the opposite view,
Schoorman, Mayer *et al.* (2007: 350) concluded, in 2007, trust and distrust were two
ends of the same construct; as such this statement has been the cause of a major division
in the trust research community:

> We would simply add that if they are opposites of each other there is little value
> in treating them as separate constructs… In sum we find no credible evidence
> that a concept of distrust, that is conceptually different from trust, is
> theoretically or empirically viable.

Despite this assertion, several years earlier, McKnight and Chervany (2001: 42)
concluded that “… most trust theorists agree that trust and distrust are separate
constructs that are opposites of each other”, a view which currently continues to be
widely held amongst prominent trust scholars and hence the view which is taken here.
2.9.1 Distrust – Sitkin and Roth versus Swift’s view

In addition to this major debate, there are disagreements within the literature regarding the links between distrust and the related factors of value congruence, accountability and control. Since investigation of these factors has the potential to help resolve the trust/distrust debate, they are areas in need of further investigation. As such, current understandings are presented, together with further evidence for trust and distrust as separate constructs, in reference to the foundational work of Sitkin and Roth (1993) and Swift (2001).

Sitkin and Roth (1993) noted that distrust is characterised by the development of a negative attitude towards another party, stemming from a realisation of value incongruence (reviewed in chapter three), suggesting that this difference of world view can act as a trigger in the evolution of distrust. Eight years later, Swift (2001: 23) demonstrated the incompatibility between trust and distrust in arguing that traditional forms of accountability (labelled “true accountability”) involve distrust, or lack of it, rather than trust since “… a notion of trust that transcends social controls and increases vulnerability is not an appropriate final point on the continuum⁹”. Conversely, reliance upon legalistic controls to monitor the relationship does not fit with a risk-based view of trust which, in order for vulnerability to be present, has to involve the real possibility for opportunist behaviour not afforded by such control mechanisms. Thus the split trust continuum (see Figure 2) comprises two continuums: first, true accountability, as having extremes of distrust versus lack of distrust, and, second, soft accountability, comprising extremes of lack of trust and trust.

Self-evidently then, the view of trust and distrust as separate constructs, rather than two ends of the same continuum, is an assumption at the core of Swift’s model of traditional and contemporary forms of accountability. Furthermore, in commenting on the bases of trust, Swift (2001: 22) explained that whilst a single trust continuum could coincide with the cognitive view of trust – whereby,

… accountability acts as a proxy for ensuring behavioural predictability through control mechanisms and stakeholder dialogue is largely unnecessary” (Swift, 2001: 22)

– this was inherently incompatible with the affect view of trust. Thus, she demonstrated the problems of using a single trust/distrust continuum if taking the view of trust as

⁹ in reference to the continuum of true accountability
having three bases. In sum, this necessitates the adoption of a split trust/distrust continuum (see Figure 2) if taking the well-established view of trust as having cognitive, affect and institutional bases, which is the position taken throughout this study.

![Diagram](image)

Figure 2: Traditional and contemporary forms of accountability: split trust continuum in organisational/stakeholder relationships.

Source: Swift (2001: 23)

calculative view of trust) could be respectively linked to the constructs of trust and distrust. At first glance these there seems to be commonality between the views of Sitkin and Roth and Swift, since they hold the common view on trust and distrust being separate constructs. However, closer inspection reveals otherwise. According to Sitkin and Roth’s theorising, task specific reliability results in trust which would be linked to Swift’s cognition-based model of “true accountability”. Conversely, lack of value congruity results in mistrust which would be linked to affect based trust, i.e. the “soft accountability” continuum. However, Swift’s findings suggested the reverse. Therefore the role of value congruence in trust building and erosion clearly remains another area in the literature warranting further research. Besides helping to inform the trust/distrust debate, this would have wider application to discussions of accountability and control.
2.10 Chapter summary
This chapter has reviewed relevant research on trust, first in relation to foundational work on the internal construction of trust, within a three-part framework of cognitive, affect and institutional trust, and second in conjunction with considerations of context, in each case paying close attention to the current understandings of the role of CBI within the processes of trust building and erosion. In addition, the literature reviewed above demonstrated the inherently complex nature of trust and that whilst a sole focus on the agency perspective – termed “cognitive trust” – has value in certain areas of research, it is nonetheless too restrictive for the scope of this study. Instead, the complexity of trust was shown to combine cognitive and affective elements, extolling the importance of incorporating both agency and social exchange perspectives, together with institutional considerations. Next, chapter three critically examines research which has applied these theoretical foundations to the study of trust in leaders.
Chapter 3  Literature review two: trust in leaders

3.1 Introduction: establishing the importance of trust in leadership
This chapter is explicitly based on Dirks and Ferrin’s three perspectives on trust in leadership, derived from a meta-analysis in 2002, to enable a systematic review of multiple relevant factors in trust and leadership. Dirks and Ferrin used Zucker’s (1986) foundational trust framework\(^{10}\) as the basis for this categorisation; as such this mirrors the three trust types presented in chapter two, applied to the study of trust in leaders. The necessary consideration of these three perspectives, in the empirical study of trust in organisations, has been promoted by Kramer:

What is needed is a conception of organisational trust that incorporates calculative processes as part of the fundamental “arithmetic” of trust, but that also articulates how social and situational factors influence the salience and relative weight afforded to various instrumental and non-instrumental concerns in such calculations (Kramer, 1999: 574).

As seen in the previous chapter, vulnerability, risk and interdependence are well established as preconditions for trust in the literature (Lamsa and Pucetaite, 2006). Yang and Mossholder (2010: 51) have since demonstrated the pertinence of researching trust in leadership due to the increased vulnerability present in an employee-leader dyad,

Due to the asymmetries of power and status inherent in hierarchical relationships between employees and organizational authorities, issues of vulnerability and dependency are particularly salient (Yang and Mossholder, 2010: 51).

As such, the centrality of trust in leaders to organisational effectiveness has been well established in the literature. The meta-analysis conducted by Dirks and Ferrin, in 2002, encompassed studies examining trust in leaders over four decades (1976-2006); they found that performance, organisational commitment and commitment to a leader’s decisions all had a significant relationship with trust in leadership. Overall they concluded that trust was at least as important, if not more so, than other frequently studied variables, to the effective functioning of organisations. This substantiates the study of trust in leadership as an important area of research.

\(^{10}\) referred to in the previous chapter comprising: character, process and institutional trust
Scholars have considered how inter-hierarchical trust can best be explored empirically. Yang and Mossholder (2010: 51) found that, “Trustworthiness attributions have a strong, widespread influence upon people's reactions to leaders”; in seeking to investigate these reactions, previous research has established that, “Employees interpret human resource practices and the trustworthiness of management as indicative of the personified organization’s commitment to them” (Whitener, 2001: 530). In straddling cognitive, affective and institutional bases of trust, this suggests a combined approach will be necessary in the investigation of trust in leadership.

First, section 3.2 overviews the three main theoretical perspectives on leadership which have formed the basis for research in this area; second, research which has considered the interactions between these three perspectives is reviewed; third, contextual factors are reviewed which have been shown to both influence and be influenced by inter-hierarchical trust; finally, previous studies which form the basis of this study are identified together with relevant lacunae underlining the research questions; as such this demonstrates how this study is designed to address current gaps in the literature on the internal construction of intra and inter-hierarchical trust.

3.2 Three main theoretical perspectives on trust in leaders
As mentioned above, Zucker’s three trust types, character, process and institution trust, were later used by Dirks (2007) as the basis for the compartmentalisation of three theoretical perspectives on trust in leaders as follows: relationship based trust; character based trust, and system based trust (each of which is expanded upon below). To avoid confusion, this second literature review will remain consistent with the previous chapter in instead categorising these using cognitive, affect and institution in reference to trust in leadership (consistent with McKnight and Chervany, 2007). The links are summarised in Table 12.
3.3 Affect trust in leaders
Research from the affect perspective has focused on the social exchange principle in understanding trust in leadership. This section will review such studies after first summarising the principle of social exchange which lies at the core of this perspective. Social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1976, Whitener et al., 1998; Cropanzano and Mitchell, 2005) is the model upon which affect trust is based. According to Redman et al. (2011: 3) the exchange mechanism functions within affect trust in the following manner:

When an individual, in a relationship with another, provides a benefit to that party voluntarily, s(he) invokes an obligation on behalf of the other party to reciprocate by providing some benefit in return… the very act of participating in a trust relationship – fulfilling one’s obligation – enhances the social exchange (Redman et al., 2011: 3).

Trust, then, emerges through the cyclic exchange and experience of mutual benefits between a trustor and trustee and is “… a key determinant of whether others would be willing to engage in social exchanges with a party” (Dirks and Skaarlicki, 2009: 2). Applying Blau’s (1964) conceptualisation of social exchange to trust in leaders, trust is thus generated via two pathways: first, in obligations being discharged at timely

---

**Table 12: The interlinks between two trust typologies in the literature and how Dirks and Whitener et al. have applied these to trust in leadership**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trust</th>
<th>Trust in leadership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>McKnight and Chervany (2007)</strong></td>
<td>Zucker (1986) bases of trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>types of trust (used throughout this study)</td>
<td>Dirks (2007) perspective on trust in leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cognitive</strong></td>
<td>Character based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affect</strong></td>
<td>Process based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Institution</strong></td>
<td>Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>System based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Organisational</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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intervals and second, in the proliferation of these exchanges as time goes by. As leaders provide followers with benefits, this model suggests that trust is built if reciprocation follows and a pattern of favourable behaviour develops in return.

3.3.1 Research using this perspective
Research emanating from this perspective has included studies on the operation of transformational leadership and trust (e.g. Pillai et al., 2003) and on the critical aspects of leader-member exchange relationships (e.g. Brower et al., 2000; Schriesheim et al., 1999). In 1998, Flores and Solomon (1998: 206) demonstrated the importance of this view of trust in understanding that trust can stall at any time and needs to be maintained in order to retain achieved levels. In conceptualising trust as an on-going social exchange, Flores and Solomon (1998) demonstrated the importance of establishing perceived fair reciprocity which meets the expectations of both parties with leader demonstration of benevolence and behavioural integrity, as important leader cues reinforced through shared values, as part of this process. In line with Flores and Solomon, the following key features, engendering trust in leaders, have been highlighted and confirmed in more recent research carried out by Lamsa and Pucetaite (2006) (summarised in Table 13).
**Key features through which affect trust is built:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Leader behaviour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>common values</td>
<td>sharing and growth of <em>common values</em> and understanding between employees and management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vulnerability</td>
<td>In particular knowledge of personal information strengthens affect trust where emotional investment and therefore <em>vulnerability</em> develops particularly where an employee confides in their leader.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benevolence</td>
<td>Inclusion of employees within this process increases considerations of <em>benevolence</em> thereby dually reinforcing affect-bases of trust. Affect based trust has been shown to increase where management demonstrate consideration of an employee’s welfare (Doney <em>et al.</em> 1998 cited in Lamsa and Pucetaite, 2006).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integrity</td>
<td><em>Integrity</em> is important to both cognitive and affect based trust since employees need confidence that managers words and actions coincide (Lamsa and Pucetaite, 2006: 136).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 13: Summary of the key features by which affect trust is built through the social exchange mechanism according to Lamsa and Pucetaite (2006: 136)**

Much empirical research examining trust in leadership, using an affect perspective of trust, has focussed on transformational leadership (e.g. Lee *et al.*, 2010; Conger *et al.*, 2000; Kirkpatrick and Locke, 1996; Korsgaard *et al.*, 1995). The concept of transformational leadership has been derived, in part, to encapsulate the promotion of shared values, as communicated through a managerial vision (Den Hartog, 2003).

Indeed, research focussing on transformational leadership has been particularly notable in highlighting the importance of establishing shared values in building high levels of inter-hierarchcial trust (e.g. see Shamir *et al.*, 1993; Bennis and Nanus, 1985; Bass, 1985). Besides many general criticisms which have been levelled against research in this area, including inconsistent findings (Gillespie and Mann, 2004) – which Bass and Avolio (1993) sought specifically to address in their paper, “Transformational leadership: a response to critiques” – this research has tended to focus on prescriptions of leader behaviour from a managerialist perspective. Taken to its logical extreme, this indoctrination of shared values can be viewed as a short-cut catalyst for attempting to manipulate employee obedience through the guise of trust. In line with Knights *et al.*
(2001), Grey and Garsten (2001) and Grey (2010), the researcher remains highly sceptical of such an approach. Despite these criticisms, this area has also produced some helpful work on common values as a basis for understanding trust rather than as a means of managerial domination (examples are given in 3.7.4).

A second stream of empirical research from this perspective has embraced the theory of leader-member exchange (LMX) whereby LMX “… is defined as a measure of the quality of the exchange” (Brower, 2000: 230). This makes the assumption that each employee’s relationship with a leader will be unique and therefore research has focused on ways to improve the quality of the dyad in order to increase organisational success. Some LMX research has shown trust to be an important determinant of a high quality relationship (Brower et al., 2000; Burke et al., 2007). However one of the main criticisms of this research has been the key assumption that all employee-leader dyads are reciprocal, an assumption which has not been supported empirically, as expressed by Brower: “Supervisor estimates of the relationship have not been highly correlated with subordinate estimates” (Brower et al., 2000: 231). A second criticism is that this research has consistently failed to specify leader behaviour that results in high inter-hierarchical trust and thus fails to deliver on its main aim. Third, Lapidot et al. (2007) concluded that this theory fails to adequately capture the complexity of trust in leaders. Instead, this promotes the need for a research approach which combines all three aspects of trust in leaders. Despite these criticisms, one helpful finding, from a study by Brower et al., in 2000, showed that employees’ CBI assessments of leaders were a measure of the quality of dyads within LMX. This evident link to cognitive trust demonstrates that such attempts to separate out perspectives have often resulted in borrowing from another perspective whilst not benefitting from the full range of trust perspectives in the analysis of research findings.

3.3.2 **Strengths and weaknesses of this perspective**

In describing the benefits of shared values in facilitating trust building, from this perspective, Redman et al. (2011: 2388) stated that, “In essence, the key guiding principle from the notion of cognitive and conceptual distance\(^{11}\) and of social exchange theory is that there is a more precise correspondence between the focus of the exchange and the type of reciprocating behaviour”\(^{12}\). This highlights the importance of this perspective in understanding the internal construction of trust for investigating how

\(^{11}\) Cognitive and conceptual distance is further explored in section 3.7.4 in reference to value congruence.

\(^{12}\) (see also McNeely and Meglino, 1994; Settoon, Bennett and Liden, 1996).
leadership behaviours influence trust (regardless of the context). However, weaknesses of this perspective include a disregard of the extent to which the context will define the importance of the attribution of trust in that particular context. A second criticism has been highlighted by Lapidot et al. (2007) who concluded that trust relationships are much more complex than any of the leadership theories, taking this perspective on trust in leadership, can account for. For instance, much of the research involving transformational leadership can be criticised on the grounds of simply re-categorising and over-simplifying previously defined concepts. Indeed, it can be argued that any helpful aspects of the conceptualisations of transformational leadership and LMX, such as shared values and the importance of benevolence, are already well established features of affect based trust demonstrating a simple repackaging of already observed phenomena relevant to trust in leaders. In addition, some studies have counteracted this view of trust in leadership for example, much research has already substantiated Mayer et al.’s (1995) assertions as being that assessments of the leader’s ability, benevolence and integrity constitute perceived trustworthiness by employees and be key determinants of trust. This instead is addressed by the character-based perspective.

3.4  Cognitive trust in leadership
By contrast, the character-based perspective follows the logic of Mayer et al.’s (1995) definition of trust (Dirks, 2006) thereby ensuring the focus is “… on how perceptions of the leader’s character impact a follower’s vulnerability in a hierarchical relationship” (Dirks and Skarlicki, 2004: 24). This perspective, following the same principles of cognition based trust, is built on the assumption that employees calculate the costs and benefits of future interactions (Gambetta, 1988; Williamson, 1993) based on cognitive assessments of the trustworthiness of their leader determined through perceptions of CBI.

3.4.1 Research using this perspective
Tyler and Degoe (1994, cited in Reynolds, 2007) measured employees’ willingness to voluntarily accept managerial decisions and found this to be a function of an employee’s assessment of their supervisor’s competence and integrity. Whilst both supervisor competence and integrity were significantly related, supervisor integrity was a much stronger predictor (Reynolds, 2007: 81). A limitation of this study was that it did not involve inter-organisational comparisons and therefore the findings relating to integrity are likely to be highly context specific. However this does highlight the
importance of manager integrity as meriting further study, in general, and the need to look at this its relative importance in different work settings, in particular.

A substantial number of studies, from this perspective, have been in conjunction with transactional leadership – the idea that contingent reward is a mechanism for initiating trust (see MacKenzie, et al., 2001). Limitations levelled against this mirror the inconsistencies found in transformational leadership i.e. the lack of consistent findings and particularly whether or not transactional leadership has a positive relationship with trust or indeed any link; for instance whereas Shamir (1995) concluded that transactional leadership directly impacted trust, Podsakoff et al. (1990) provided empirical support to show no link. However, this can be considered unsurprising given the inherent theoretical internal incompatibility of this concept: despite being cognitive in its focus, the idea of social exchange is the central mechanism of this theory. Again this shows the interaction between the three bases in exploring trust; where these are not taken into account, intellectual rigour is compromised.

Substantially more attention has been dedicated to reviewing research looking at elements of affect based trust, here, in order to demonstrate its limitations and borrowings from the cognitive perspective. Much of the research into cognitive trust has, by comparison, been deemed more foundational and robust; however, the cognitive perspective is limited in providing an overall understanding of CBI since the relevance of benevolence only becomes fully apparent in combination with affect trust. In addition, both cognitive and affect perspectives fail to take into account institutional aspects of trust which have been shown to be particularly inherent in inter-hierarchical trust as now discussed.

3.5 **Institution-based trust**

In parallel with the trust research reviewed in chapter two, this third perspective dictates that institutional factors which engender trust in leaders are taken into account (in line with Whitener, 2001\(^{13}\)). According to Dirks (2006), cognitive and affect perspectives have dominated the literature and therefore much research on trust in leadership has failed to consider how this is shaped through institutional structures and features.

\(^{13}\) See citation in 3.1
3.5.1 Research from this perspective: perceived organisational justice
An area of research of both high relevance to, and which can be closely linked with institutional trust, is employee perceptions of, what has been termed, “organisational justice”. In 1986, Eisenberger et al. measured employee beliefs regarding the extent to which their organisation’s values supported them and their well-being; this perception has since been used as a measure of organisational justice (see also Eisenberger et al., 2001). The organisational justice literature has distinguished between employee evaluations of the outcome and the processes used and information given regarding these processes. This has resulted in four differing conceptualisations of organisational justice which have been coined distributive, procedural, informational and interpersonal14 justice respectively.

Distributive justice, which has been summed up as concerning “outcome fairness” by Saunders (2011: 271), is the over-arching evaluation of fairness which employees make regarding the outcomes of managerial decision making. The social exchange model has been used to explain the reciprocal comparison processes at work within this type of justice in combination with Adam’s equity theory; in line with these two models, perceptions of inequitable treatment would result where an employee felt that the outcome received did not match the input they invested into the exchange when compared with others (Saunders, 2004: 498).

Whereas distributive justice considers perceived fairness of the outcome of decision making, procedural and information justice then narrow the focus to fairness perceptions of the processes involved. As such, procedural justice has been labelled as encapsulating “process fairness” by Saunders (2011: 271: 271). Prior to this, in highlighting the antecedents of procedural justice Saunders (2004: 498) earlier asserted:

> Many of the facets that promote procedural justice have been linked to employees’ belief that they are not being deceived. These emphasise in particular the impact of integrity in ensuring the fair and consistent application of moral and ethical procedures upon trust and mistrust.

In particular, this highlights the salience of integrity within procedural justice. Formally, as reported by Saunders, informational justice was argued to simply be a subset of procedural justice, being also concerned with the perceived fairness of the process of

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14 informational and interpersonal justice both being subsets of interactional justice, concerned with treatment of people and explanations provided to people respectively
decision making; however, more recent studies have helped to establish the empirical distinctions between these as three separate, but not disparate, constructs (Saunders, 2004: 497). Concerns regarding “consistency between the realities of the implementation and management’s stated strategy” (Kernan and Hanges, 2002, cited in Saunders, 2004: 499) have been of particular focus in academic discussions on informational justice. This shows commonality with Simons’ (2002) definition of BI as concerning consistency between words and actions applied to perceptions of institutional trust. Finally, consideration of interpersonal justice has highlighted that employee perceptions of benevolent treatment and support link to overall assessments of managerial trustworthiness (Saunders, 2004: 499). In sum, consideration of the social exchange mechanism, operating within distributive justice, together with the inherent integrity concerns of both procedural and informational justice and benevolence in interpersonal justice, demonstrates the utility of applying a combined view of trust and perceptions of CBI therein to considerations of (both organisational justice and) institutional trust.

Whilst various studies have served to establish organisational justice as an antecedent of trust (e.g. Ambrose and Schminke, 2003; Brockner and Siegel, 1996; Begley et al., 2002; Searle et al., 2011b) the relationship between trust and justice still “remains poorly understood” (Colquitt and Rodell, 2011: 1183). This formed the remit of a recent study by Colquitt and Rodell (2011) who set out to derive predictions about the relationship between justice, trustworthiness and trust\textsuperscript{15}. They found that “procedural and interpersonal justice were significant predictors of subsequent levels of B and I, with I predicting subsequent levels of all four justice dimensions” (Colquitt and Rodell, 2011: 1183). This provides further evidence of the salience of I within employee perceptions of organisational justice. In their concluding remarks, Colquitt and Rodell (2011: 1201) asserted the utility of applying the CBI framework to furthering the understanding of the connections between trust and justice in future research: “Mayer and colleagues’ (1995) model is capable of bringing more nuance and operational precision to this area of inquiry” which highlights CBI exploration as warranting further exploration.

Cropanzano et al., (2001: 96) showed how employees systematically drew inferences, regarding the trustworthiness of their manager, from their reactions to organisational justice. Thus, applying this to the above considerations of organisational justice,\textsuperscript{15} with supervisors as the referent using Mayer et al’s CBI framework and definition of trust

\textsuperscript{15} with supervisors as the referent using Mayer et al’s CBI framework and definition of trust
specifically in reference to perceptions of procedural, informational and interpersonal justice, reactions to the fairness of procedures capture an employee’s view of the integrity and benevolence of both the organisation and the leader. This has been summed up by Whitener (2001: 530) as follows: “Employees interpret human resource practices & the trustworthiness of management as indicative of the personified organization’s commitment to them”. With the notable exception of Colquitt and Rodell (2011), mentioned above, little attention has been given to the role of institutionally imbued perceptions of CBI. This demonstrates the need for research to take into account the role of CBI within institutional trust and the role this plays in colouring perceptions of leader trustworthiness.

3.5.2 Summary
The research reviewed above has provided important foundations in understanding the mechanisms underpinning trust in leaders. In discussing the limitations of each of these perspectives, this highlighted the limited view of trust when using a single perspective on trust as exemplified by research on LMX and transformational leadership, from a purely cognitive or affect perspective respectively. Given that holding to one of these views has been shown to give an incomplete view of trust, work combing these views of trust is now discussed.

3.6 Research combining these perspectives
Although the three perspectives on trust in leadership, outlined above, have helpful distinctions in enriching understanding of trust in leadership, no one perspective enables comprehensive coverage of all the facets of inter-hierarchical trust. As was considered earlier for the cognitive, affect and institutional bases of trust (referred to extensively in chapter two) there is much evidence to show first, the overlap between these three perspectives and second, the utility in combining the strengths of each of these perspectives in investigating trust and leadership. Furthermore, there is mounting evidence in the literature that trust in a leader is a combination of interpersonal and institutional trust. For example, Lee et al. (2010) have expressed the relationship between the institutional and cognitive perspectives as follows: “Leadership practices impact on followers’ trust in the leader by providing information about the character of
the leader” (Lee et al., 2010: 477). In a recent study, Redman et al. (2011: 2397) argued:

> It appears that trust in the boss and also trust in co-workers have their effects on outcomes either wholly or in part through the mediation of trust in organisation. In other words, there appear to be positive spill-over effects between specific focal trusts and global trust in the organisation.

From their findings it was concluded, “Both trust in boss and trust in co-workers were positively associated with trust in organisation” (Redman et al., 2011: 2396). This implies a tight inter-link between interpersonal and institutional trust, in employee perceptions of leader trustworthiness, worthy of careful consideration. In 2007, McKnight and Chervany examined the close inter-relationship between these three bases of trust (see ibid., 2007: 39) listing empirical research which has provided evidence of the links. In a similar vein, studies using a combined approach\(^\text{16}\) to advance understanding of how both personal and institutional factors influence inter-hierarchical trust perceptions, are now reviewed, with the role of CBI as the particular focus.

### 3.6.1 Managerial trustworthy behaviour

Whitener et al. (1998) established the strength in combining the cognitive and affect views of trust in their model of the antecedents of managerial trustworthy behaviour. Having reviewed research examining types of leader behaviour, they presented a framework capturing the factors which had been found to increase employee perceptions of managerial effectiveness; they identified five categories of behaviour based on past actions of managers (each supported by previous research) as follows:

1. behavioural consistency
2. behavioural integrity
3. sharing and delegation of control
4. communication (e.g. accuracy, explanations and openness)
5. demonstration of concern

These can be categorised into the three perspectives on hierarchical leadership in the following manner, as shown in Table 14.

\(^{16}\) often unwittingly
1. behavioural consistency (C)
2. behavioural integrity (I)
3. sharing and delegation of control (CBI)
4. communication (e.g. accuracy, explanations and openness)
5. demonstration of concern (B)

Table 14: Whitener et al.’s (1998; 2006) antecedents of managerial trustworthy behaviour categorised into cognitive, affect and institutional trust and CBI

According to Dasgupta (1988), behavioural integrity would also cover telling the truth and keeping promises. Behavioural integrity and communication can be seen to span both the character and relationship perspectives; taking into account the arguments made earlier, a manager’s approach to control can be expected to have a direct impact on perceptions of managerial trustworthiness. This model confirms the need to consider all three types of trust since a range of factors influence inter-hierarchical trust. In addition, the leader demonstrations of CBI (see Table 14) within cognitive and affect trust, are consistent with other scholars. However, to the researcher’s knowledge, this model has yet to be tested empirically.

3.6.2 Salience of CBI in inter-hierarchical trust building and erosion

Lapidot et al.’s (2007: 19) study made some important advances in explaining CBI asymmetry in trust building versus trust erosion\(^{17}\). Their findings confirmed that perceptions of leader benevolence had a higher salience for building trust in followers; conversely, assessments of competence and integrity had a higher weighting in incidents of trust erosion. In providing explanations for this, Lapidot et al. (2007) argued that a given level of competence and integrity is expected by nature of the appointment to a professional position; since it is a basic assumption that threshold levels of C and I are assured through recruitment and training processes, this has less impact on building subordinate trust. By contrast they concluded that benevolence is indicative of a leader going beyond what is normally expected: “It can be argued that benevolence goes to some extent beyond integrity and competence, which can be seen as more regularly expected of people in formal positions” (Lapidot et al., 2007: 19). On the basis of these findings, Lapidot et al. (2007: 21) speculated as to the differing weightings of CBI depending on situational vulnerability:

\(^{17}\)N.B. this study also provided additional evidence for trust and distrust as separate constructs.
This implies that the salience of the different components of trustworthiness is likely to vary with situational vulnerability: benevolence is more salient in less vulnerable situations, while integrity and ability are more salient in more vulnerable situations.

However, since Lapidot et al.’s study was carried out solely in a military setting, the current research will seek to build on this study in a cross-sectional examination of the role of CBI in different work settings of varying levels of vulnerability.

### 3.6.3 Linking the antecedents of trust into CBI perception

Costa (2002) found that perceptions of manager trustworthiness, held by employees, were also antecedents of trust. This suggests that antecedents can be categorised according to Mayer et al.’s CBI distinction. As such Table 15 lists examples of managerial action – all antecedents identified by Dirks and Ferrin’s (2002), following their meta-analysis of the literature, to have a significant relationship with trust in leader – and links these to followers’ perceptions of their leader’s CBI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Competence</th>
<th>Meeting expectations of followers (Dirks and Ferrin, 2002)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Procedural justice (Brockner and Siegel, 1996)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benevolence</th>
<th>Meeting expectations of followers (Dirks and Ferrin, 2002)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transformational leadership (Ferres et al., 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transactional leadership (Dirks and Ferrin, 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participative decision making (Dirks and Ferrin, 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perceived organisational support (Connell et al., 2002)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Integrity</th>
<th>Meeting expectations of followers (Dirks and Ferrin, 2002)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distributive justice (Dirks and Ferrin, 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Procedural justice (Connell et al., 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interactional justice (Connell et al., 2002)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Summary of the impact of various antecedents of trust (identified by Dirks and Ferrin, 2002, as being significantly correlated to trust in leader) on employee assessments of leader CBI

### 3.6.4 Burke et al. (2007) multi-level framework of trust in leadership

Several years after Dirks and Ferrin’s (2002) meta-analysis, Burke et al. (2007) scoured the literature for antecedents of inter-hierarchical trust in order to produce an integrated multi-level framework for understanding trust in leadership. Their model is of particular relevance in that it equated these antecedents to CBI. As such, the CBI section of their
model is reproduced and linked to cognitive, affect and institutional trust in Table 16. A major contribution of this study was their consideration of antecedents crossing organisational levels and accounting for organisational context.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trustee characteristics – antecedents and moderators (Burke et al., 2007: 613)</th>
<th>Types of trust (McKnight and Chervany, 2006)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Competence | Setting of compelling direction  
Creation of enabling structure:  
- task knowledge  
- situation knowledge  
- setting functional norms | cognitive |
| Benevolence | Reward systems:  
- creating/sustaining supportive context  
- transformational leadership behaviours | affect and institutional |
| Integrity | Control systems  
Accountability  
Perceptions of justice  
Value congruence | cognitive and institutional |

Table 16: Trustee characteristics (CBI) and antecedents from Burke et al. (2007: 613) linked into the three trust types

There are three points worthy of note in relation to Burke et al.’s (2007) model. First, in focussing on the role of CBI, within trust in leadership, this model demonstrates the inter-play between cognitive assessments of C and I, and the affective element of B. Second, within this model, reward systems are categorised under benevolence whilst control systems would come under integrity. This provides additional evidence that interpretations of institutional trust can colour perceptions of a leader’s integrity and benevolence. Third, according to this model, a combination of these antecedents and moderators form the base of a leader’s reputation; as such, Burke et al. (2007) show that reputation and organisational climate are important determinants of trust in leadership.

3.6.5 Professional and personal trust
Gillespie and Mann (2004) found that cognitive and affective components were highly inter-correlated and, in particular, that trust in leaders involved a combination of professional and personal trust. Professional trust was shown to involve reliance on

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18 As such Table 16 demonstrates the inter-play between the cognitive, affect and institutional approaches to trust in leadership.

19 See Burke et al. (2007: 613) for the full model.
leader competence whilst personal trust relied on subordinate confidence in feeling able to share personal information. In addition, personal trust, in the form of being vulnerable in sharing personal information, and having personal beliefs in common with a leader, were shown to contribute to strengthening professional trust; this suggests that being able to trust a leader on a personal level is inextricably linked with trust in the professional setting. A potential extension of this work could involve examining the impact of leader personal trust attrition on professional trust to see whether it would, as is the assumption here, impact negatively on trust. Limitations of this study, which need to be considered when assessing the validity of the findings, are first the small sample size which meant that discriminant validity of these components could not be analysed. Second, the choice of research design rendered defining the direction of causality, between leadership practices and trust in the leader, almost impossible. These are areas for future research to address. Thus, to date, whilst trust research has made distinctions between professional trust (mainly cognitive) and personal trust (uniquely affect), the researcher knows of no studies which have specifically sought to combine this with an examination of the role of CBI which this study will seek to address.

3.7 Factors highlighted in the literature as both affecting and being affected by leader trust
The literature thus upholds that, in line with Shamir and Lapidot (2003), trust in a leader is a function of the personal qualities and behaviour of that leader and trust in the system that the leader represents. Furthermore, various factors, spanning cognitive, affect and institutional trust (see Table 17), have been highlighted in the literature as both affecting and being affected by leader trust.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affective</th>
<th>Cognitive</th>
<th>Institutional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. vulnerability</td>
<td>1. reputation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. behavioural integrity and credibility</td>
<td>3. control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. value congruence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Factors from the literature both affecting and being affected by leader trust
A critical exploration of relevant definitions, studies and debates, for each factor, is now undertaken in the following order: 1. reputation; 2. behavioural integrity and credibility;
3. control; 4. value congruence; 5. vulnerability. Areas warranting further study are likewise highlighted.

### 3.7.1 Reputation
The role of reputation concerning trust in leaders merits consideration. In a study published in the Leadership Quarterly, reputation has been defined by Hall et al. (2004: 518) as the, “Perpetual identity of a leader as held by others that serves to reduce the uncertainty regarding the expected future behaviour of that leader.” Swift (2001), in turn, has argued that reputation for trustworthiness will lead to trusting, interdependent relationships and will reduce the need for true accountability (i.e. tight control mechanisms).

As shown in Table 17, the literature has linked reputation to cognitive trust (e.g. McKnight and Chervany, 2006). A clear example of this is shown in Hosmer’s description of reputation as being the result of trustworthy behaviour (Hosmer, 1995: 386) demonstrating clear links with employee CBI leader assessments. In addition, reputation has also been found to contribute to institutional trust since Casso and Giusta (2006: 347) noted the importance which employees place on “… institutional reputation signals that [a leader] can be trusted”. These would need consideration when carrying out trust field work; however, employee interpretations of these cues, in the form of CBI assessments, have yet to be studied.

### 3.7.2 Behavioural integrity
Bromiley and Harris (2006: 131) quoted examples from research to argue that personal integrity is “… a personal trait, not good behaviour to protect a reputation”. Thus integrity can be seen to have both a cognitive component (reputation) and affective (the personal element) straddling both bases of trust but carrying greater weight within affect trust. As such, in contexts not requiring affect trust, personal integrity is conceptually of lower salience to upholding trust.

Many studies have conclusively demonstrated the need for behavioural integrity in being an effective manager (e.g. Giffin, 1967; Gabarro, 1978; Larzelere and Huston, 1980; Butler, 1991; Ring and Van de Ven, 1992; Mayer et al., 1995) and on this basis Whitener et al. (1998), as mentioned above, highlighted behavioural integrity as an important aspect of managerial effectiveness. Simons (2002) defined behavioural integrity as word-deed alignment. In particular Simons argued,
The perceived pattern of managers’ word-deed alignment or misalignment – with regard to a variety of issues – is itself an important organizational phenomenon because it is a critical antecedent to trust and credibility (Simons, 2002: 18).

Simons argued\(^\text{20}\) that this perception is not only developed through managers meeting expectations, thus building confidence in trustworthiness, but in particular through managers’ behavioural adherence to espoused values and even mission statements. However these studies have exclusively focused on professional integrity. Thus no known studies, to date, have examined whether leader integrity in the private setting could impact on perceptions of managerial trustworthiness in the work setting.

In addition, Simons (2002) explored the connection between behavioural integrity (BI) and credibility, validating the important consideration of credibility since a loss of credibility impacts on subordinate perceptions of leader trustworthiness and ability to lead. Simons\(^\text{21}\) thus made the following distinction between BI and credibility asserting that, “Assessments of BI, based on past experience, are one of a few key factors that affect judgements of managers’ credibility,” (ibid., 2002: 23). In support of this, Kouzes and Posner (1995) have shown that credibility is undermined by manager word-deed misalignment. Theoretically, credibility has been ascribed the components ability, benevolence and veracity which mirrors Mayer et al.’s (1995) CBI components of trustworthiness. As such, leader BI and credibility have been shown to result most strongly in subordinate perceptions of leader benevolence and veracity (Simons, 2002).

3.7.3 Managerial control

Long and Sitkin (2006: 90) demonstrated that, “Organisational controls comprise one contextual element that both affects and is affected by superior-subordinate trust” (as has elsewhere been shown by Sitkin, 1995; Long et al., 2002; Sitkin and Stickel, 1996). Within the control literature, various types of inter-hierarchical control have been identified. Edwards’s (1979) conceptualisation of managerial control distinguished between three distinct types of control mechanism: (1) standard specification, (2) measurement and evaluation and (3) sanction and rewarding (see Eisenhardt, 1985; Kirsch, 2004). First, standard specification involves the defining of goals or means or both, in addition to outcomes. Second, measurement and evaluation are the means by

\(^{20}\) This research used Mayer et al.’s 1995 definition of trust

\(^{21}\) Simons (2002) concluded that, in agreement with scholars from various fields, BI is backward-looking, with extent of prior word-deed alignment at its core, whilst credibility is forward-looking and concerns the level of trustworthiness ascribed to a leader’s statements regarding future behaviour.
which attainment of organisational standards and individual outputs can be monitored
and assessed. Third, rewards and sanctions serve to tie individual goals and targets to
organisational goals. In examining how such managerial control mechanisms impact on
inter-hierarchical trust, two distinct positions have emerged within the literature as
briefly outlined below.

In reference to organisational justice, control mechanisms have been shown to build
trust in allowing employees to have confidence that opportunistic behaviour will not be
tolerated (e.g. Weibel, 2007). Redman et al. (2011: 2390) expressed organisational
justice in CBI terms in their hypothesis,

… a rogue or inept boss who goes unpunished by the employer will reflect badly
upon the organization’s ability to operate effectively, as well as their
benevolence and integrity and so employees might be expected to trust the
organisation less, and to reciprocate in kind, by withholding behaviours that are
valuable to their negligent or inept employer.

This assertion was supported by their research findings in line with much orthodox
management literature which has shown control systems as increasing levels of trust
(e.g. Fayol, 1916; Weber, 1905). Conversely, much research has also substantiated the
opposite point of view, namely that managerial control undermines trust. For example,
in 2007, Weibel conducted a study examining employee reactions to newly
implemented control systems and found that employees viewed such controls as
decreasing trust in their employer due to the imposed restrictions. In line with this,
Schoorman et al. (2007) asserted that trust is hindered by strong control mechanisms
since this tends to result in employees merely complying to avoid punishment. This
position was also supported by Burke et al. (2007) who concluded that, due the
reciprocal nature of trust, control mechanisms perceived to be heavy handed had the
potential to decimate inter-hierarchical trust.

In sum, the relationship between organisational control and trust remains widely
contested, as exemplified by Bachmann, Knights and Sydow (2001: v): “While there are
numerous examples in the literature where control chases out trust... there are equally as
many examples of trust and control being complementary, or going hand in hand”.
Lewicki et al. (1998) attempted to simplify the complexities of the trust-control nexus
into the following assertion:
Whilst over-generalised trust is presented as the precondition of under-monitoring of trusted employees that leads to possible deception, fraud and embezzlement, a very strong system of controls in an organisation inhibits the development of trust (Lewicki et al. 1998: 3)\textsuperscript{22}.

Despite the on-going conundrum, Nooteboom (2007, reporting on research conducted by Woolthuis et al., 2005) concluded that trust and control both substitute and complement each other: “More trust does indeed allow for less control, but often trust and contract must go together, because where contract ends trust must begin” (ibid., 2007: 38). Rather than concluding that control either builds or undermines trust, it is more helpful to recognise that certain forms of managerial control undermine trust and seek to ascertain reasons why. Since control mechanisms are the responsibility of management this can have both direct impacts on trust in leaders and indirect impacts through perceptions of institutional trust. As such, the relationship between trust and control will be explored as far as it impacts on trust in leaders; of particular concern will be the impact on context since this has not yet been given much attention in the literature. There is ample evidence that rewards and control systems are interpreted by employees as indicative of leader values. Meanwhile, from a managerialist perspective, Weibel (2007) likewise connoted that, “Characteristics of formal control that strengthen value internalization will also positively affect trustworthiness” (ibid., 2007: 501). Thus the impact of shared values on inter-hierarchical trust is now explored in greater detail.

3.7.4 Shared values/ cognitive distance/ value congruence
Rokeach (1979, cited in Burke et al., 2007: 618) defined values as: “Internalized attitudes about what is right and wrong, ethical and unethical, good or bad, important or unimportant”. Govier (1997) argued that a belief in common values that will guide behaviour and determine the morality of the actions of another is inherent within interpersonal trust. A term used to encapsulate the importance of shared values within the literature is “cognitive distance”, explained by Redman et al. (2011: 2388) as, “Concern[ing] the ‘distance’ or extent of separation between the values of a given organisational constituency and an individual employee’s own values”. Cognitive distance has also been defined as, “The degree of cognitive immediacy and salience that the employee associates with an organisational unit” (Mueller and Lawler (1999: 327).

\textsuperscript{22} For a full overview of the trust and control literature see Long and Sitkin, 2006.
At first glance there appears to be a contradiction in the literature as to whether this concept is uniquely ascribed to affect trust or whether it is also associated with cognitive trust. For example, whilst Sitkin and Roth (1993) argued that value congruence was linked solely to cognitive trust, by contrast Jones and George (1998) found that shared values were needed for affect trust, but not necessary for cognitive trust.\(^{23}\) and there has been wide agreement amongst scholars that common values are a main feature of affect trust (e.g. Lamsa and Pucetaite, 2006). However, the findings from Gillespie and Mann’s (2004) study provided evidence that where there was a lack of affect trust, aspects of institutional trust and value incongruence (a lack of shared values) were found to reinforce low levels of cognitive inter-hierarchical trust.\(^{24}\) suggesting that value congruence can be a feature of all three bases of trust.

Furthermore, upon closer inspection the literature has tended to use “cognitive distance” when the reference point is cognitive trust and “value congruence” in reference to affect trust (see Table 18) with Sitkin and Roth (1993) being a notable exception. Since this research concerns the internal construction of trust, and considers a combination of cognitive and affect bases to be equally important in this, value congruence will be used as the general term of reference for shared values regardless of the type of trust.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cognitive trust</th>
<th>Affect trust</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive distance</td>
<td>Value congruence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Terms used for shared values from cognitive and affect trust perspectives

This is also in line with more recent studies; for instance Redman et al. (2011) reported the presence of value congruence in both cognitive and affect bases of trust, as did Yang and Mossholder (2010) in their research combing cognitive and affective perspectives of value congruence.

In applying this more specifically to inter-hierarchical trust, Burke et al. (2007) gleaned evidence for the role of value congruence increasing trust in leadership from the social identity and self-categorization literatures. Likewise, the trust in leadership literature, for example Posner’s (1992) study and recent research by Gillespie and Mann (2004) and Weibel (2007), has provided evidence of value congruence clearly mediating inter-

\(^{23}\) Jones and George (1998) referred to cognitive trust as “conditional trust” and affect trust as “unconditional trust”.

\(^{24}\) This study likewise provided additional evidence for inter-connectivity between the three bases of trust.
hierarchical trust. Additional studies are summarised in Table 19 and a more recent study described below, showing a unanimous positive relationship between value congruence and inter-hierarchical trust.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meglino et al. (1989)</td>
<td>showed that performance and job satisfaction of employees was highest when they had value congruence with their manager; they suggested that this was due to similarities in personal values enhancing both ways of processing information and communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jung and Avolio (2000)</td>
<td>demonstrated a positive relationship between trust in leadership and value congruence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatman (1991)</td>
<td>demonstrated that employee commitment had a positive correlation with value congruence in organisational culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klein and House (1995)</td>
<td>found that compatibility of personal values between a leader and follower enhanced their influence on follower effort and performance over time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamir (1995)</td>
<td>demonstrated the importance of congruence with follower’s personal values in transmission of and buy-into a leader’s vision</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 19: Summary of studies examining value congruence**

Value congruence has thus been identified as an important factor in the trust literature and applied to understanding extent of managerial trust or distrust (Sitkin and Roth, 1993). In particular, Burke et al. (2007: 619) argued that the literature has conclusively shown that value congruence is linked to employee perceptions of leader integrity:

> The degree to which there is value congruence between leader and follower values the greater likelihood the leader will be viewed as having integrity and correspondingly trusted.

This was also shown to be the case in the following three studies: two are summarised in Table 20 and an additional one is described in more detail following this.
Gillespie and Mann (2004: 591) Gillespie and Mann argued that “by communicating and role modelling important values and a shared sense of purpose (i.e. idealised influence) team leaders demonstrate their integrity, competence and hence trustworthiness”.

Simons (2002: 18) In linking behavioural integrity defined as: “behavioural adherence to espoused values” (Simons, 2002: 18) and value congruence, Simons concluded that the extent to which there is “perceived fit between espoused and enacted values is the extent to which there is value congruence.” (Simons, 2002: 18-19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 20: Summary of two studies linking value congruence and leader integrity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In 2011, Redman et al. (2011) conducted a study which examined whether perceptions of inter-hierarchical value congruence were connected to strength of the inter-hierarchical bond of trust in a military setting. On analysis of their data they found, “Strong evidence of social exchange effects in direct trustor-trustee relations” (Redman et al., 2011: 2398) but crucially they argued that these were strengthened through value congruence. This provides clear evidence that value congruence reinforces affect trust. They also concluded that notions of value congruence were highly relevant for the wider interpretation of their findings, on the multiples constituencies of trust in this context, and reinforced through leader integrity perceptions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Since value congruence has already been the study of much research and its relationship with inter-hierarchical trust has been found to be unanimously positive, this study will not set out to quantitatively measure this per se but instead see whether this emerges as a theme in the qualitative data. Furthermore, there will be qualitative analysis of any forms of managerial behaviour found to influence perceptions of value congruence, in order to deepen understanding of this concept and the finer details of its role within inter-hierarchical trust.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25 i.e. strong evidence for affect trust
26 Again this reinforces the need to consider both cognitive and affect bases when investigating the impact of value congruence on trust.
3.7.5 Vulnerability impact on perceptions of negative leader behaviour

The three types of trust (cognitive, affect and institutional) have been shown to combine to colour an employee’s willingness to be vulnerable to a leader. In addition, there are examples within the literature to show that vulnerability operates on a range of different levels as described below; each level has the potential to increase the impact of negative leader behaviour on subordinate perceptions of leader trustworthiness.

Hierarchical effect: the literature, as expressed above, has conclusively shown vulnerability levels to be greater in dyads with leaders, by comparison with peer to peer dyads, as expressed by Yang and Mossholder (2010: 51):

Due to the asymmetries of power and status inherent in hierarchical relationships between employees and organizational authorities, issues of vulnerability and dependency are particularly salient.

Since being vulnerable to a leader, as opposed to a peer, increases vulnerability due to power asymmetry, this hierarchical effect has increased salience for perceptions of leader behavioural integrity. Gleaning multiple sources of evidence, from diverse literatures, Simons (2002: 26) concluded, “Subordinates are far more likely to notice behavioural integrity and its lack on the part of their managers than the other way around”. Furthermore, Simons supported this assertion with empirical work on inter-hierarchical trust, demonstrating, “A manager who violates his word because of an environmental exigency is unlikely to receive the “benefit of the doubt” from his/ her subordinates” (Simons, 2002: 26). This provides empirical evidence that subordinates can be highly sensitive to leader BI. In addition, Simons (2002) asserted that “This sensitivity might vary with the magnitude of the dependency relationship”. Further investigation is needed to test this empirically across organisations with differing levels of subordinate-leader vulnerability.

Increased situational vulnerability: Mishra (1996: 2) examined the dynamics of trust during crisis, in order to extend the theoretical framework of trust, and concluded, “The vulnerability aspect of trust is even greater in crisis situations than in (normal) non crisis situations”. Just over ten years later in 2007, Lapidot et al. likewise noted that in situations of increasing vulnerability subordinates became more acutely attuned to leader trust violations. In addition, Powell (1996: 56) opined that cooperation within a work dyad/ team would involve moving to a position of vulnerability. Thus according to

27 An example of such work is Kramer (1996).
the literature, in high vulnerability contexts and situations requiring high interdependence employees would be most acutely sensitive to perceptions of negative leader behaviour and be more likely to interpret these as trust violations.

**Importance of focal issue:** Simons noted that the higher the salience of the espoused value, mission or behaviour pattern, as the focus of the negative leader behaviour to a subordinate, the higher the degree of vulnerability and likelihood that ascriptions of low BI would be triggered. Where the particular issue directly concerns the well-being of the perceiver, this is likely to be even more salient since employee perceptions of leader benevolence are recalibrated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level 3</th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>dependent on individual and level of contextual vulnerability = <strong>under investigation in all RQs</strong></th>
<th>Importance of focal issue (Simons, 2002)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td>Inter-hierarchical</td>
<td>dependent on contextual differences in level of vulnerability with leader = <strong>under investigation in RQ1</strong></td>
<td><strong>Hierarchical effect</strong> (Kramer, 1996; Lapidot <em>et al.</em>, 2007; Yang and Mossholder, 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td>Work context</td>
<td>dependent of levels of risk and interdependence = <strong>under investigation in RQ1</strong></td>
<td><strong>Situational vulnerability</strong> (Lapidot <em>et al.</em>, 2007; Simons, 2002)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21: An amalgamated view of discussions on vulnerability and the areas which this research will address at each level

Thus a culmination of various discussions from the literature demonstrates that vulnerability has the potential to operate at three levels within employee-leader dyads as demonstrated in Table 21. Level one, concerns the level of work contextual vulnerability. Level two is the contextual importance of leader and level of VC with leader linking to subordinate willingness to be vulnerable. Level three is the importance of the issue to an individual. Since increases in vulnerability increase the salience of leader BI, all three levels of potential vulnerability and the resultant impact on inter-hierarchical trust, merit further study.

**3.7.6 Summary**

Each of these factors identified, spanning the three types of trust, has the potential to both influence and be influenced by levels of inter-hierarchical trust. A number of

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28 Areas for investigation are indicated together with the relevant RQ which will explore each level of vulnerability.
29 also concerning the importance of perceived leader benevolence
30 cumulatively dependent on the previous two levels
previous studies have examined the role of CBI within this. Inter-connections between these factors, with further investigation of their impact on employee CBI perceptions of leader trustworthiness, will be addressed in this study. Next, a leadership model that has attempted to deepen understanding of constructive, versus destructive, leadership behaviours is reviewed.

3.8 A restricted/ incomplete model of constructive versus destructive leadership

This research has the potential to build on a widely cited model of leadership, outlined below, and thus challenge conventional orthodoxy. In seeking to further understanding of effective and ineffective styles of leadership, Einarsen et al. (2007) built on work by Vrendenburgh and Brender (1998) to produce a conceptual model of destructive leadership (reproduced below in Figure 3) together with an “all-inclusive” definition of destructive leadership as:

The systematic and repeated behaviour by a leader, supervisor or manager that violates the legitimate interest of the organisation by undermining and/or sabotaging the organisation’s goals, tasks, resources, and effectiveness and/or the motivation, well-being or job satisfaction of subordinates (Einarsen et al., 2007: 3)

![Pro-subordinate behaviour](image)

**Figure 3:** Einarsen et al.’s (2007) model of destructive and constructive leadership behaviour. Source: Einarsen et al., 2007.
This model, which since its conception has become one of the most cited within the leadership literature, was based on an elaboration of Blake and Mouton’s model of leadership which plots a leader’s concern for production against concern for people in order to conceptualise effective and ineffective styles of leadership. Here, a leader’s concern for production is extended to incorporate pro and anti-organisational behaviour whilst the concern for people is divided into pro and anti-support for subordinates resulting in four proposed leadership behaviour types, as can be seen in the four quadrants in Figure 3. Einarsen et al. (2007: 3) justified their model of destructive leadership as being “all-inclusive” since it also included Buss’ (1961, cited in Einarsen et al., 2007) “classification of aggressive behaviours, which distinguishes between three dimensions: 1. physical versus verbal; 2. active versus passive; 3. direct versus indirect”32. Whilst there is an important acknowledgement that indirect actions, and/or failure to do something on behalf of a subordinate, can be equally constituent of destructive leadership as direct and active actions, there is no consideration of professional versus private actions.

As with all models there are limitations to note. First, common criticisms of Blake and Mouton’s model of leadership are that it is not situational and is highly prescriptive in proposing “team management” as always being the most effective way to lead; these are limitations which can likewise be levelled at this model i.e. it too is highly prescriptive showing constructive leadership to be the only possible way to lead in every situation since there is likewise no contextual dimension. Contextual considerations will thus be incorporated into this research in order to build on this model.

A strength of this model is its representation of the importance of managerial behaviour in determining perceptions of leadership; as has been shown this can tangibly build or erode trust in a given leader. This promotes empirical exploration of employee perceptions of leader behaviour as important indications of inter-hierarchical trust levels and consequent explanations of behavioural impacts on team effectiveness and meeting organisational objectives. In so doing, this research has the potential to challenge the conventional thinking of this model which currently lacks a contextual component, as alluded to above, and only accounts for two sets of variables. Other previous studies which this research will seek to build on are outlined below.

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31 For a full explanation of the model see Einarsen et al. (2007: 211 Leadership quarterly) and see pp212-214 for a full description of the four leadership behaviour types.  
32 See Einarsen et al. (2007: 209) for a more comprehensive summary of this, or Buss (1961) for the original source.
3.9 Studies which this research specifically builds on

This research extends recent work examining trust in leadership, as outlined below, beginning with two studies investigating the differential weightings of CBI under different conditions. First, Lapidot et al. (2007) drew on Mayer et al.’s (1995) CBI model to empirically examine differences between trust building and erosion processes. They found the component benevolence contributed most strongly to trust building whilst lapses of competence and integrity were most salient in trust erosion. As such they concluded that their findings,

Extend and refine the framework suggested by Mayer et al. (1995) by showing that the three behavioural dimensions identified by them are not equally important, and their importance varies according to characteristics of the situation. More specifically our findings suggest that the relative importance of integrity, ability and benevolence depends on the level and nature of subordinate vulnerability (Lapidot et al., 2007: 28).

Thus, Lapidot et al. (2007) have furthered understanding of the role of the components in Mayer et al.’s model in trust building and erosion, in high and low vulnerability situations, within the military setting. The current study will build on Lapidot et al.’s research in two main ways. First, this research will examine the role of CBI in two other organisational contexts besides a military setting with differing levels of vulnerability in order to make inter-organisational comparisons. Second, whilst Lapidot et al. focused on the formal behaviour of leaders and its impact on subordinate trust in the workplace, this research will also examine the impact of the private behaviour of leaders, since this has not yet been considered in empirical studies.

In addition, this research will seek to develop the work of Wasti et al. (2011), a study which compared the salience of CBI attributions within professional and personal trust in leaders, peers and subordinates in various organisations in Turkey and in China. Their findings showed that the most frequently reported, and therefore salient, aspects of both professional and personal trust in peers, were reciprocity and benevolence. These are both prominent aspects of affect trust therefore demonstrating the importance of affect trust. For professional trust in line manager the most salient aspects were cognitive assessments of CBI, benevolence and reciprocity and common values which demonstrates the importance of both cognitive and affect trust in inter-hierarchical
dyads. Affect trust was found to be most important for trust in peers whereas both cognitive and affect trust were of high importance for trust in leaders. Wasti et al. (2011) speculated that assessments of C and I were highly dictated by professional standards – hence not featuring as highly for trust in peers – whereas they were not taken as a given for leaders who had to continue to prove their CBI. Benevolence was of high salience to trust within dyads, at both the inter and intra-hierarchical level, but was found to be interpreted differently according to the cultural context, by comparison with interpretations of C and I which resembled each other in both cultural settings; again this was linked to C and I being bound up in professional manifestations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trust in:</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Personal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor</td>
<td>benevolence</td>
<td>benevolence; common values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CBI; common values</td>
<td>reciprocity; common values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer</td>
<td>benevolence and reciprocity</td>
<td>benevolence and reciprocity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinate</td>
<td>C and I</td>
<td>Benevolence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Summary of the main findings of Wasti et al.’s study in relation to professional and personal aspects of trust

Despite benevolence being the most salient component there were still references to C and I throughout. This demonstrates that whilst affective bases of trust appeared to have a more salient role to play (especially in assessments of trustworthiness of supervisors and peers), there was an important combination of both cognitive and affective bases at the inter-hierarchical level and they were not mutually exclusive but mutually affecting. Finally, the findings also demonstrated that instances of personal trust had clear positive impacts on workplace trust. The current study will build on this work by exploring the relative weightings of CBI and the importance of common values (i.e. the role of cognitive and affect trust) in both professional and personal trust in intra and inter-hierarchical trust dyads.

This research will also extend prior work on behavioural integrity. In 2011, Palanski and Yammarino examined the impact of leader behavioural integrity on job performance claiming this to be the first such study of its type. Although not directly related to job performance, leader BI was found to be indirectly related through trust in the leader and also levels of follower satisfaction in the leader. Their findings

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33 Cognitive trust (i.e. CBI assessments) and affect trust (value congruence).
demonstrated that job performance was impacted indirectly through trust in the leader being damaged as a result of leader integrity attrition. The current study builds on this by examining whether perceived lapses in personal integrity have an impact on workplace trust. A second study focusing on behavioural integrity, already referred to above, was conducted by Simons who defined BI as,

The perceived pattern of alignment between a managers’ words and deeds [which] entails the perceived fit between espoused and enacted values and perceived promise keeping (Simon, 2002: 2).

Although Simons (2002) used the Mayer et al. (1995) CBI definition of trustworthiness, these components do not feature explicitly in the development of their model of the antecedents and consequences of BI, a short-coming which the current study will address. Furthermore, this model does not take into account professional or personal value congruence which has been highlighted as a potential mediator of trust. For instance, Jung and Avolio’s (2000) study, in line with Posner (1992) and more recent research by Gillespie and Mann (2004) and Redman et al. (2011), surmised value congruence as having a mediating role in inter-hierarchical trust which this research will explore qualitatively.

Both Gillespie and Mann (2004) and Forgas and George (2001) have promoted the importance of the empirical investigation of cognitive and affect trust in leadership. Forgas and George (2001) created an affect-infusion model which combined the bases of these two types of trust and used it to test the presence of affect and cognitive processes in inter-hierarchical trust-related judgements of employees. A relationship was found between affect and cognitive bases whereby affective reactions were combined with cognitive judgements in decisions of whether to trust the leader. Accordingly, this will be taken into account in the design of the research tool in combining quantitative measurements of CBI (cognitive trust) together with questions designed to test affect trust e.g. how would this affect your thoughts, feelings, actions? Yang and Mossholder (2010: 51) have asserted that making this distinction would “... provide a more nuanced examination of trust in organisational leaders”.

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34 By implication this could then impact job performance since Palanski and Yammarino showed the impact which damaged trust had on job performance.
3.10 Lacunae
Having outlined previous work which the current study will build on, in order to make a relevant contribution to the literature, specific calls for research are now presented. In general terms previous scholars have identified and stressed the significance of the lacunae addressed by this research. In mirroring the two literature review chapters, these are separated into first, the internal construction of trust and second, inter-hierarchical trust.

3.10.1 Internal construction of trust
Various scholars have called for further contextual and hierarchical exploration of the internal construction of trust. In contrast to Mayer et al.’s (1995) “one size fits all” general cognitive CBI framework of trustworthiness for all situations, Wasti et al. (2011) specifically noted that this model merits further exploration and nuance regarding contextual variations and power differentials. Burke et al. (2007) likewise concluded that future research should examine the relative importance and necessity of the three components of trustworthiness. In particular, Wasti et al. (2011) expressed the need for further examination of the competence component of this model in cognitive assessments of trustworthiness which they suggested should be attempted using mixed method research (further discussed in chapter four). RQ2 will address this in exploring the relative weightings of competence together with benevolence and integrity using mixed methods. In outlining further lacunae for empirical consideration, Wasti et al. (2011) opined that the investigation of differences in trust formation (intra/inter-hierarchically and inter-contextually) should be the remit of future studies. In particular, they proposed that greater investigation of the internal construction of trust was needed across foci i.e. in dyads between employees and also employee-leader dyads: “While the same behaviours (e.g. support) may be relevant for trust building across foci, their specific meanings ought to be studied to understand the nuances hierarchical differences create in trust building.” (Wasti et al. 2011: 19).

Various scholars have called for research into cognitive, affect and institutional trust within professional relationships as summarised in Table 23.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wasti et al. (2011)</td>
<td>described the need to further understand the contextually more sensitive affect base of trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachmann (1998: 319); Bijlsma-Frankema and Costa (2005)</td>
<td>called for studies examining institutional trust in general, due to a scarcity since its being coined by Zucker in 1986, and in particular in reference to understanding the trust-control nexus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gillespie and Mann (2004)</td>
<td>expressed that future research should focus on the role of shared values in cognitive/affect/institutional bases within inter-hierarchical trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasti et al. (2011)</td>
<td>promoted the need for further research to build on their findings of multiplexity (i.e. examining the interplay of cognitive and affect bases of trust)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23: Summary of calls for research into cognitive/affect and institutional trust

### 3.10.2 Inter-hierarchical trust

Calls for research to specifically focus on various themes, within the broader context of trust in leaders, are summarised in Table 24.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Call for Research</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ammeter et al. (2004); Whitener et al. (1998; 2006); Dirks and Ferrin (2002)</td>
<td>observed the need for contextual studies of leadership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijlsma-Frankema and Koopman (2003)</td>
<td>called for research which utilises systematic comparison between more and less stable work environments in order to address the question of how trust and control interact according to the context</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palanski and Yammarino (2011)</td>
<td>asserted that no studies had examined the relationship between behavioural integrity of a leader and job performance of a follower</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simons (2002: 18)</td>
<td>noted that “behavioural integrity is a construct that warrants further study” and later asserted that behavioural integrity “has profound consequences for employee retention and performance” and that it has been “the subject of little direct empirical research” (ibid., 2002: 32)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasti et al. (2011)</td>
<td>called for research which further investigates the personal domain and the implications which interactions and incidents in this arena can have on the professional trust relationship. On the basis of their findings Wasti et al. specifically called for future research to further investigate the role of variables such as family values in existing models of trust</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall et al. (2004)</td>
<td>called for empirical research to develop understanding on leader reputation and its influence on trust taking into account the role of factors such as value congruence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones and George (1998)</td>
<td>recommended further research to better understand the connections between shared values, leadership behaviours and trust</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gillespie and Mann (2004)</td>
<td>promoted two directions for future research into role of shared values in inter-hierarchical trust, specifically: 1. “which values are most important for leaders and team members to share remains to be explored” (ibid., 2004: 603) 2. “whether shared values are a necessary condition for establishing trust, or a condition that enhances but is not essential for trust” (ibid., 2004: 603)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24: Summary of calls for research in inter-hierarchical trust
3.11 **Research questions**

In order to build on current understandings of intra and inter-hierarchical trust, three research questions were derived from the gaps identified in the literature:

- **RQ1**: Explore the trust profile of three different organisational contexts

- **RQ2**: Explore the internal construction of intra-hierarchical trust (i.e. between colleagues) in each cohort.

- **RQ3**: Explore the internal construction of inter-hierarchical trust (i.e. employee trust in line manager) following a breach of personal integrity in each cohort.

Each RQ is centred on understanding the impact of context on inter-organisational variation in the internal construction of trust. This is in line with calls for research from the management community at large (e.g. Bamberger, 2008; Johns, 2001) and the trust research community in particular (e.g. Hall *et al.*, 2004; Bijlsma-Frankema and Koopman, 2003) and in response to Rousseau and Fried’s (2001: 11) plea for contextual research:

> We invite our colleagues to construct their research reports and theory development with greater attention to and discussion of the variability underlying the phenomena they study and how it links to the context of the study.

Data for the 2002 meta-analysis, conducted by Dirks and Ferrin, encompassed research studies conducted in many different contexts; however, the impact of the difference in work environment was not taken into account so this will be of particular consideration here in making inter-organisational comparisons on inter-hierarchical trust. The review of the trust literature, in chapter two, demonstrated the centrality of vulnerability\(^{35}\), risk and interdependence as pre-conditions for and important contextual factors to consider when studying trust. Understanding the role which context plays on the internal construction of intra and inter-hierarchical trust is thus an important research imperative for the current study. Further to this general remit, the particular focus of each RQ is presented in greater detail below.

### 3.11.1 RQ1 and RQ3

Although the research on trust erosion has been emerging in recent years, this has tended to focus on trust violation at the level of organisation and society rather than at

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\(^{35}\) i.e. culminating in Mayer *et al.*’s (1995) definition of trust as a willingness to be vulnerable.
the interpersonal level. In particular, there is a dearth of studies examining trust violation at the inter-hierarchical level and the researcher has not come across any studies examining the role of institutional trust within this process. Factors, identified in the literature, with the potential to both influence and be influenced by inter-hierarchical trust, will be examined through consideration of the three perspectives on trust in leaders. An exploration of these factors could provide explanations for breakdown in inter-hierarchical trust. In addition, no known studies, to date, have specifically examined the impact of leader personal integrity on inter-hierarchical trust, willingness to be vulnerable, team effectiveness and overall achievement of departmental objectives which will be the remit of RQ3.

3.11.2 RQ2
Chapter two demonstrated the need for research on the internal construction of trust across different work settings; in addition the scarcity of empirical research testing Mayer et al.’s CBI framework was highlighted. RQ2 thus encapsulates a main aim of this research, for extending the trust literature, in exploring the relative weightings of CBI within different organisational contexts.

In summary, this research will address the lacunae, identified earlier, through a contextual exploration of the internal construction of intra- and inter-hierarchical trust in general and the impact of personal integrity on professional trust relationships in particular. Table 25 summarises the lacunae underpinning each research question.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RQ1</th>
<th>RQ2</th>
<th>RQ3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inter/ intra-hierarchical exploration of internal</td>
<td>Intra-hierarchical exploration of internal construction of trust</td>
<td>Inter-hierarchical exploration of internal construction of trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>construction of trust (Wasti et al., 2011)</td>
<td>(Wasti et al., 2011)</td>
<td>(Wasti et al., 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive/ affect/ institutional trust (Kramer, 1999; Bijlsma-Frankema</td>
<td>CBI relative weightings (Burke et al., 2007)</td>
<td>Role of shared values in inter-hierarchical trust (Gillespie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Costa, 2005; Wasti et al., 2011)</td>
<td></td>
<td>and Mann, 2004; Jones and George, 1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of shared values in inter-hierarchical trust (Gillespie and</td>
<td>CBI contextual exploration (Wasti et al., 2011)</td>
<td>Behavioural integrity of leader (Palanski and Yammarino, 2011;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared values/ value congruence Hall et al., (2004)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Personal trust and personal values (Wasti et al., 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context (Ammeter, Douglas, Hochwarter, Ferris and Gardener, 2004;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall et al., 2004; Bijlsma-Frankema and Koopman, 2003)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 25: Summary of the lacunae from the literature underpinning each RQ

3.12 Chapter summary
This critical overview of the trust literature has demonstrated the contradictions and challenges in researching the highly complex nature of trust, its development, in some cases transitory existence, and breakdown in relation to employee-leader dyads. Having established the importance of inter-hierarchical trust, for effective organisational functioning, research examining factors that have the potential to both influence and be influenced by trust in leaders was reviewed. Resulting research questions and lacunae were then presented to draw together the direction and impetus for this research.

In addition, Bijlsma-Frankema and Costa (2005: 262) have argued:

> In integrating elements from each of these types of trust [i.e. both interpersonal, consisting of cognitive and affect bases, and institutional trust] a better understanding of trust can be formed [than simply treating them separately].
In line with this, it was demonstrated that an integrated trust approach\textsuperscript{36} will be necessary for gaining adequate insight into the role of CBI across different organisational trust contexts. Table 26 summarises CBI leader attributes which have been shown to contribute to trust building, according to the type of trust, within the literature. The current study will build on this by enriching understanding of the salience of different types of trust and the role of CBI in different work settings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td>C – task and situation knowledge I and B – control/ reward systems; leader personification of procedural justice (fairness in appraisals etc.) and interactional justice (encouraging discussion of errors)</td>
<td>Burke et al. (2007)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 26: The salience of CBI leader attributes in inter-hierarchical trust building, according to type of trust, as found by previous research**

Similarly, viewing the breakdown of trust from cognitive, affect and institutional perspectives gives a fuller picture of possible occurrences of trust attrition. However, empirical work on trust in leadership has not tended to consider the role of institutional trust on trust erosion which the current study will seek to address (see Table 27).

\textsuperscript{36} i.e. taking into consideration cognitive, affect and institutional trust perspectives
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cognitive</th>
<th>C and I assessments shown to be most salient in trust breakdown</th>
<th>Lapidot et al. (2007)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affect</td>
<td>B most salient in trust building so lack of B demonstration by leader = lack of affect trust development</td>
<td>Lapidot et al. (2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social exchanges need to be regular in order for trust levels to be maintained</td>
<td>Flores and Solomon (1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td>= in need of investigation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27: The salience of CBI leader attributes in inter-hierarchical trust erosion, according to type of trust, as found by previous research

In line with these research objectives, the method and research methodology will now be described in chapter four.
Chapter 4  Research Methodology and Method

4.1  Introduction
The main literature on trust and trust in leaders has been reviewed in chapters two and three together with a consideration of factors that build or undermine trust. This enabled the identification of research objectives and lacunae from the literature showing how this research seeks to build on previous studies including the seminal Mayer et al. (1995) CBI framework. This chapter now outlines and justifies the research method chosen and, prior to this, addresses the underpinning methodology. A number of assumptions are made on the basis of these methodological underpinnings which, together with the philosophical underpinnings, outlined from the outset, combine to explain the choice and design of research tools.

4.2  Traditions of thought/ philosophical debate
Research of any kind is based upon various assumptions regarding the crucial components of valid research and appropriate methods (Myers, 1997). Gill and Johnson (2002: 167) stated: “Decisions on methodological matters are largely determined by the philosophical assumptions researchers implicitly and explicitly make”. Two major epistemological and theoretical perspectives have dominated the social science scene: positivism and interpretivism. There is a significant difference in emphasis on the purpose and aims of research from these different philosophies resulting in two distinct methodological positions; the basic assumptions and implications of each of these methodological frameworks are now examined.

4.2.1  Positivism
The natural sciences are founded upon the ontological, epistemological and theoretical tenets of positivism. This paradigm, “Provides the backdrop against which the other paradigms and perspectives operate” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 184). Positivism traces its origins, in the social sciences, to theorists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to August Comte and Emile Durkheim in particular. Taylor and Bogdan (1984: 1-2) opined, “The positivist seeks the facts or causes of social phenomena apart from the subjective states of individuals”. Durkheim asserted the need to consider social facts, or social phenomena as “things” that exercise an external influence on people thus
applying the rigorous principles of natural science to the study of people. Grey (2010: 6), in commenting on the positivist position, surmised:

Maybe the core of positivism is that there exists an observable, objective organisational reality which exists independent of organisational theory. The task of organisational theory is to uncover this reality and discover the laws by which it operates, and perhaps then to predict future events.

Therefore the aim of research from this paradigm is to uncover facts and causal links between phenomena through the quantification and measurement of specific variables. Since the social world is treated as “being hard, real, and external to the individual” (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 2) the impetus is on examining relationships and regularities between the various components of the social world. Having established these variables, at the outset of the research process, predication as to the outcomes is followed by testing and explanation of the findings. Quantitative research thus, “Requires the specification of main variables and the statement of specific research hypotheses based on an explicit theoretical framework” (Patton, 1990: 44); this means that general constructs provide the framework for understanding specific observations or cases. Finally, alleged objectivity is a central pursuit within the positivist paradigm as has been summed up by May (2001: 10):

This tradition may therefore be characterized in terms of the prediction and explanation of the behaviour of phenomena and the pursuit of objectivity, which is defined as the researcher’s ‘detachment’ from the topic under investigation.

May (2001: 10) concluded, “Positivism thus explains human behaviour in terms of cause and effect”.

4.2.2 Interpretivism

By contrast, the interpretivist paradigm “Challenges the idea that there can be any form of “objective” knowledge that can be specified and transmitted in a tangible form,” (Morgan and Smircich, 1980: 493), thus contesting the objectivity of the researcher. From this perspective,

Organisational reality does not have an objective existence but [is] constructed by people in organisations and by organisational theory itself. There are no laws to be discovered and prediction is nigh-on impossible (Grey, 2010: 6).
The above assumptions stem from an interpretative philosophical orientation and are usually complimented with the use of qualitative methodologies as the researcher attempts to understand phenomena from different points of view (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984). In order to gain access to this type of data, qualitative research is first, “Based on methods of data generation which are flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced” and, in relation to extrapolation of meaning of the data, second, “Based on methods of analysis and explanation building which involve understandings of complexity, detail and context” (Mason, 1996: 4). In addition, within data analysis, given that from this perspective, “There are no laws to be discovered and prediction is nigh-on impossible” (as above, Grey, 2010: 6) the focus is instead on research approaches which seek to understand,

How people make sense of their worlds, with human action being conceived as purposive and meaningful rather than externally determined by social structure, drives the environment or economic stimuli (Gill and Johnson, 1997: 133).

This has been described as a phenomenological theoretical perspective which is where the researcher attempts to understand social phenomena from the individual/actor’s own perspective with “The important reality [being] what people perceive it to be” (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984: 2). The phenomenologist is seen to strive for verstehen, described by Taylor and Bogdan (1984: 2) as “Understanding, on a personal level, the motives and beliefs behind people’s actions” which concentrates on the meaning events have for the persons being studied (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994: 3). Max Weber introduced the term into the social sciences in order “To emphasise the importance of comprehending the motives and feelings of people in a social-cultural context” (Patton, 1990: 57). Adoption of an “empathic stance” has since been established as a crucial component in research from this position (e.g. Saunders et al., 2009: 116). In summing up the interpretivist paradigm, Denzin and Lincoln posited:

Qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 3).

Since this world is perceived differently from differing perspectives this stance invalidates the positivist claim to measure “truth” and the “real world” and instead accepts multiple realities as a product of these individual perceptions.
4.2.3 **Strengths and limitations of each perspective**

The positivist paradigm has prediction, reliability, validity as its focus besides also claiming to be a building block of knowledge (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) which have been seen as unique strengths of research from this philosophical position. However, Patton has made two criticisms of quantitative methods, as regards their claim to objectivity, which need to be considered, arguing that they are first, “designed by human beings and are, therefore, subject to the intrusion of the researcher’s biases” (*ibid.*, 1990: 54-55). Second, Patton (1990: 55) also points to the possible presence of “unconscious bias in the skilful manipulation of statistics to prove a hypothesis” thus proposing two levels of possible bias in the use of quantitative research methods which therefore need to be acknowledged. Additional criticism of this position has been made by Saunders *et al.* (2009: 115-116) who argued that:

> The social world of business and management is far too complex to lend itself to theorising by definite ‘laws’ in the same way as the physical sciences. Indeed, researchers critical of positivism argue that rich insights into this complex world are lost if such complexity is reduced entirely to a series of law-like generalisations.

Lincoln and Guba (2000) have likewise discussed the limitations of this paradigm including its inability to address the value-laden nature of facts and theory and the inherent problem that despite the assumption of objectivity, these findings can be used to support different stories (see Lincoln and Guba, 2000 for further details). Qualitative research addresses these main criticisms since, according to Patton (1990: 51), one of the major advantages of qualitative data is that “Greater attention can be given to nuance, setting, interdependencies, complexities, idiosyncrasies, and context” thus allowing unfettered complexity and multiple understandings to emerge. Conversely, Patton also gave examples of common criticisms made regarding the subjectivity of qualitative research since, “The researcher is the instrument of both data collection and data interpretation” and besides having “Such negative connotations in the public mind” (Patton, 1990: 55), “From the perspective of the logical-positivist scientific paradigm, subjectivity is the very antithesis of scientific inquiry” (Patton, 1990: 54). Thus both of these research paradigms can be criticised on the grounds of the strengths of the other and conversely the main strengths of each address the limitations of the other. In seeking to benefit from the strengths of these pole positions, this research can be situated mid-way across Burrell and Morgan’s continuum of positivism and
antipositivism (interpretivism)\textsuperscript{37} as adopting a pragmatist epistemology. The next section presents arguments to support this position, including contention which has surrounded it, in reference to relevant scholars. As such, this provides an initial justification for the adoption of pragmatism which is then further developed in the subsequent sections.

4.2.4 Combining paradigms – the pragmatist epistemological underpinnings of this research method

The issue of whether the positivist and interpretivist paradigms can be combined or must remain mutually exclusive remains contentious\textsuperscript{38} (e.g. Denzin and Lincoln, 2005) and yet pragmatism, in adopting a combined approach, is becoming increasingly used in research studies in the social sciences in general (Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998 and 2003), and within the field of trust in particular (e.g. Lyon, Mollering and Saunders, 2012). In embracing the pragmatist position Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) demonstrated how this rejects the either-or dichotomy, and asserted incompatibility of the extremes of Burrell and Morgan’s continuum, instead incorporating both points of view. Creswell et al. (2003) argued that central to the knowledge claims of pragmatism is the assumption that such insights arise from actions, situations and as the consequence of behaviour rather than absolutist notions of conditions. As such, the main concern of the pragmatist is a method which best meets the needs of the aims of the research in general, and the RQs in particular, which is the position taken here. Further, Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) showed pragmatism to have a direct orientation towards mixed methods. Thus a mixed method approach is adopted in line with the pragmatist epistemological assumptions underpinning this research. Justifications for this approach, in demonstrating compatibility between the pragmatist epistemological underpinnings, the method adopted and RQs explored, are now presented and followed by a discussion of the nature of mixed methods.

4.3 Justification for a mixed method approach

First, the justification for mixed methods – involving the pragmatist integration of paradigms traditionally at odds with each other – is outlined. Second, this is followed by

\textsuperscript{37} See Burrell and Morgan (1979) for a full explanation of their classic framework for understanding the sociological paradigms and theories of organisation.

\textsuperscript{38} Denzin and Lincoln, come from different paradigmatic backgrounds and continue to hold differing views on this matter despite being co-editors in research methods.
definitions which highlight the nature of mixed methods and an exploration of the breadth of differing ratios of quantitative to qualitative techniques, possible within mixed methods, in line with Johnson et al. (2007). The subsequent section then outlines examples of studies using mixed methods in trust research.

4.3.1 The paradigm debate

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) have engaged fully in reviewing the paradigm debate\(^\text{39}\) and in answer to whether paradigmatic integration is possible they conclude with a "cautious yes" stating, “This is especially so if the models (paradigms) share axiomatic elements that are similar or that resonate strongly between them” and assert that "commensurability is an issue only when researchers want to ‘pick and choose’ among the axioms of positivist and interpretivist models, because the axioms are contradictory and mutually exclusive” (ibid., 2005: 200). Taking a more decisive position, Saunders et al. (2009: 109), amongst other writers who have actively engaged in this debate, have provided strong justification for the use of mixed methods from the pragmatist position:

> Pragmatism argues that the most important determinant of the epistemology, ontology and axiology you adopt is the research question… if the research question does not suggest unambiguously that either a positivist or interpretivist philosophy is adopted, this confirms the pragmatist’s view that it is perfectly possible to work with variations in your epistemology, ontology and axiology.

Further, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003:87) concluded that pragmatists, “… believe that either method is useful, choosing to use the full array of both qualitative and quantitative methods.” In line with this, a theme which runs throughout Saunders et al. (2009: 109) is summed up in the quote: “Mixed methods, both qualitative and quantitative, are possible and possibly highly appropriate within one study”\(^\text{40}\). In direct response to this debate, Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) earlier argued in their book: “Mixed methodology: combining qualitative and quantitative approaches” that it is more appropriate for the researcher, in a particular study, to think of the epistemological standpoint adopted as a point on a continuum as opposed to having to choose between pole positions. In highlighting the strengths of such an approach, Flick (2002) asserted:

\(^{39}\) For a comprehensive outline of both sides of the debate on the war of the paradigms see Tashakkori and Teddie (1998: 3-9).

\(^{40}\) See section 5.4 in Saunders et al. (2009).
The combination of multiple methodological practices, empirical materials, perspectives and observers in a single study is best understood, then, as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to any inquiry (ibid., 2002: 226-7)\(^{41}\).

and in contrast to Grey’s (2009) highly critical view of all positivist approaches and preference for qualitative methods on every occasion, Flick (2002) argued that even qualitative research is “inherently multi-method” in focus. Finally, these scholars unanimously agree with Creswell (2003) that ultimately, in line with the logic of pragmatism\(^{42}\), the research questions should dictate the choice of paradigm and that this will “… rarely fall neatly into only one philosophical domain” (Saunders et al., 2009: 109). As such, it has been argued that pragmatism is not only the paradigm which best justifies mixed methods (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998 and 2003; Rallis and Rossman, 2003) but also goes beyond this in acting as the corner stone of mixed-method research (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998 and 2003).

4.3.2 The nature of mixed methods: towards a definition in line with Johnson et al. (2007)

In 2003, Creswell et al. laid out the nature of mixed method studies in their definition as,

\[
\ldots \text{the collection or analysis of both quantitative and/or qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involve the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research (Creswell et al., 2003: 212).}
\]

According to Johnson et al. (2007: 112) mixed methods is gaining prominence within the social sciences to the point where it is now, “… recognised as the third major research approach, along with qualitative research and quantitative research”. In seeking to study current understandings of mixed methods, Johnson et al. (2007) asked a number of scholars, active in employing this methodology, to provide their own definition. One such definition was provided by Huey Chen:

\[^{41}\text{For further details see Flick (2002: 229).}\]
\[^{42}\text{See Cassell and Symon (1994) for a full review of the strengths and limitations of the pragmatist position.}\]
Mixed methods is a systematic integration of quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study for purposes of obtaining a fuller picture and deeper understanding of a phenomenon (cited in Johnson et al., 2007: 119).

In particular this scholar went on to highlight the different forms of mixed methods possible whereby quantitative and qualitative methods are either used equally (pure form mixed method) or one or the other is shown to dominate (modified form mixed method):

Mixed methods can be integrated in such a way that qualitative and quantitative methods retain their original structures and procedures (pure form mixed methods). Alternatively, these two methods can be adapted, altered, or synthesized to fit the research and cost situations of the study (modified form mixed methods) (cited in Johnson et al., 2007: 119).

This demonstrates the breadth of combinations possible, ranging from quantitative dominant to qualitative dominant mixed methods, as expressed on a continuum (with extreme ends of pure qualitative and pure quantitative methods respectively) produced by Johnson et al. (2007)\(^{43}\). Due to the more extensive use of qualitative techniques employed in this research which were needed in order to address the RQs, this study sits within the qualitative dominant mixed methods area on this continuum.

Besides the importance of methodological parsimony, another advantage of mixed methods is the combination of the strengths of each paradigm. Various scholars have argued that since research in the area of organisational behaviour (OB) must explore complex, unique situations, which are a function of a particular set of circumstances and individuals coming together at a specific time, they can only be adequately captured through qualitative methods (e.g. Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Taylor and Bogdan, 1984; Easterby-Smith et al., 2004; Flick, 2002; Patton, 1990). Meanwhile in addressing the advantages of using quantitative variables and indicators in OB research, Patton has argued these to be (1990: 50) “parsimony, precision, and ease of analysis”. In sum, a mixed-method approach, involving the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data (but where the qualitative data was dominant), was used here, in line with the pragmatist epistemology.

\(^{43}\) This continuum can be viewed on p124 in Johnson et al.’s, 2007 study “Toward a definition of mixed method research”
4.3.3 Justification of mixed methods in trust research

Within the literature there has been much written in support of mixed methods (e.g. Tashakkori and Teddie, 1998) but also more specifically for the study of trust. Arguments presented from prominent trust scholars, calling for the need to combine quantitative and qualitative methods to better understand the complexities of the trust construct, are outlined below.

First, Bijlsma-Frankema and Koopman (2003) espoused the necessity of mixed methods to increase validity, through the use of triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods, in trust research; this was deemed necessary, “In order to achieve greater parsimony in models of the antecedents of trust” and “to enrich the field” to complement the current dominance of positivist research studies. Second, Nooteboom (2006) outlined nine paradoxes of trust (see 2006: 247-8) which could lead to confusion in interpreting data when solely using quantitative methods (and surveys as a research tool in particular) therefore advocating the use of mixed methods in general and “in order to clarify meanings” from quantitative data in particular. Third, Currall and Inkpen (2006: 244) highlighted the strengths of using qualitative methods in “empirically mining for explanations” alongside quantitative methods.

Finally, given that the internal construction of trust has been shown to comprise a combination of cognitive, affect and instrumental perspectives, in chapters two and three, mixed methods are particularly appropriate for exploring these various bases of trust, as demonstrated by Kramer (2006) writing in the handbook of trust research. In seeking to “explore the cognitive and behavioural systems” of trust, Kramer (2006: 77) argued that in-depth interviews were the most appropriate method to employ in order, “to ask people directly about the kinds of social cues they pay attention to when trying to assess others’ trustworthiness” in organisational settings where people face “real-life trust dilemmas” (ibid., 2006: 77).
4.4 Demonstrating epistemological and methodological compatibility with RQs
To reiterate the research questions outlined earlier, this research aimed to investigate the trust profiles in different organisational settings, either wholly or partly funded by public money, and to explore the internal construction of intra-hierarchical trust (i.e. trust between colleagues) and inter-hierarchical trust (i.e. employee trust in line managers) in each organisational setting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions:</th>
<th>Methods used to address:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RQ1: Explore the trust profile of three different organisational contexts</td>
<td>Quantitative trust scale developed by Schoorman and Ballinger (2006) and qualitative interview data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ2: Explore the internal construction of intra-hierarchical trust (i.e. between colleagues) in each cohort.</td>
<td>Likert scales and qualitative data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ3: Explore the internal construction of inter-hierarchical trust (i.e. employee trust in line manager) following a breach of personal integrity in each cohort.</td>
<td>Likert scales and qualitative data</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28: Summary of the methods used to address each RQ

In order to address the research objectives, a mixed method approach was adopted to enable quantifiable comparisons to be made between the three cohorts, together with more nuanced data, exploring reasons why. Therefore, within this study, evidence was gathered from two sources: both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data was obtained from the results of the Likert data collected. Meanwhile, the qualitative data emanated from the individual perspectives of professionals, working in organisations in receipt of public funding.

In sum, since the researcher needed to gain an in-depth knowledge of trust in a particular organisational setting and perceptions of employees in regard to a variety of issues whilst also making broader inter-organisational comparisons, a mixed method was selected as a highly appropriate way to address the research questions. In addition, mixed methods have been widely used in trust research as demonstrated below.
4.4.1 Summary
Despite the contestability of the epistemics of a mixed method approach, this is balanced against many prominent writers on research methods and trust scholars actively encouraging this as a valid methodology with sound epistemological foundations and therefore highly appropriate for the study of trust in particular. Finally the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, used in this research, was shown not only to be complimentary and necessary to fully address the research questions, but also a unique strength of this method since a pragmatic (combined approach) was shown to address the limitations of both paradigms.

4.5 Validity and reliability
Discussions of reliability and validity form an essential part of quantitative studies. However, the debate remains as to whether these should have equal importance in qualitative studies or whether the issues should instead centre around the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability as alternative ways of ensuring quality in qualitative research (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). Taking the latter perspective to the extreme, Smith (cited in Kelle and Laurie, 1995) asserted that there is no need to address validity and reliability in qualitative research; they have argued that the epistemological foundations of the interpretive paradigm are distinct from the positivist natural sciences approach such that this is not necessary due to this stance making its own “knowledge claims” (Smith, 1984: 380 cited in Kelle and Laurie, 1995: 20). Miller and Fredericks (1996: 64), by contrast, taking the former position, asserted the importance of such a discussion within qualitative research\(^\text{44}\). In also taking the former perspective Kelle and Laurie (1995) identified two problem areas of validity and reliability to be addressed by qualitative researchers: first, sampling issues and, second, “Problems of the consistent and reliable application of coding schemes” (ibid., 1995: 22).

4.5.1 Sampling issues
Kelle and Laurie (1995: 23) first addressed important sampling issues in reference to qualitative work. By contrast with quantitative research they opined that since,

Qualitative researchers are generally not concerned with statistical generalizability, but with discovering new phenomena through a careful in-depth

\(^{44}\) See Denzin and Lincoln (2005: 205) for a detailed discussion of the current debates around validity and its new pertinence in qualitative research.
analysis,… a central prerequisite… is that the two organisations are not chosen at random but selected purposefully according to theoretically relevant criteria. Qualitative researchers have thus developed several kinds of purposeful sampling with theoretical sampling being the most prominent technique. The main purpose of these sampling procedures is, “To allow for systematic comparisons between cases that are similar or different in certain respects defined in line with the research interest.” According to Kelle and Laurie (1995: 24), “The central issue here is how the sample is drawn\(^ {45} \) and the main purpose of the research being carried out”. Kelle and Laurie (1995: 27-28) posited:

Instead of being concerned with sample size, one has to apply theoretically informed, purposeful sampling strategies in order to ensure that the investigated cases display theoretically relevant aspects of the empirical domain under study.

In line with this, two public sector organisations and one in receipt of public funding (in the case of the university setting) – the National Health Service (NHS), Royal Air Force (RAF) and a higher education institution (AC) – were thus chosen ex-ante on the basis of theoretically informed purposeful sampling. Following a review of the trust literature, risk, interdependence and vulnerability were identified as preconditions for trust. It was predicted that professionals in the RAF and NHS would be more interdependent and those in academia less interdependent in meeting organisational goals and therefore the organisations were chosen on this basis. Three organisational settings were thus selected ex ante as suitable contrasting contexts for the exploration of the research questions.

### 4.5.2 Coding

Bryman and Bell (2007) have highlighted three problems with coding. First, when taking chunks of speech from the interview, it is likely that the context will be lost (Bryman and Bell, 2007: 597) and certain layers of meaning with it. A second issue is that the resulting interruption in the flow of the interlocutor’s speech leads to fragmentation of the data which make it an unsuitable method for certain types of research. Third, the issue of the subjectivity of assigning codes is discussed. However Bryman and Bell have asserted that despite these criticisms of coding, it has widespread acceptance and usage in the research community and its validity can be aided with the use of computer software. For instance, Kelle and Laurie (1995: 27) suggested that,

\(^ {45} \text{e.g. Is it a random sample or a purposefully selected sample?} \)
Computer-aided methods can enhance the validity of the research findings from qualitative studies in two ways: first they can assist the management of larger samples and, second, given that a reliable and stable code is applied, they offer facilities to retrieve all relevant information about a certain topic.

As such, this particularly addresses reliability issues in ensuring that any conclusions made from the findings are grounded in the data rather than being based on single and highly untypical incidents (Kelle and Laurie, 1995). There are some purist qualitative researchers, such as Ann Cunliffe, who disagree with the use of computer software in this process and view coding as being indicative of a quantitative technique and an attempt to quantify human behaviour. Also there is the danger that responses are simply “pigeonholed into standardised categories” (Patton, 1990: 46), a criticism which is commonly made regarding quantitative research. However, the mixed method approach of this study makes the use of coding in general, and computer software to aid in the organisation and fast retrieval of data within this process, highly appropriate.

4.5.3 Addressing validity in mixed methods
By contrast with the on-going issues of validity in qualitative methodologies, mixed method research has thus been shown to have a unique strength in addressing such validity concerns, as opined by Saunders (2009: 23):

> Integrating qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques and analysis procedures [serves] to strengthen the validity and quality of data analysis and research findings.

Likewise, Patton (1990: 464) outlined the importance of methods triangulation in combining and reconciling qualitative and quantitative data to increase validity (see Patton, 1990: 464). Thus mixed method research addresses both validity issues arising from qualitative methods in general and coding practices in particular demonstrating a further strength of this methodological approach.

In addition, Kelle and Laurie (1995: 22) remarked: “The aim of the validation process is not to prove the perfect agreement between results and reality but to identify possible sources of error”. From this perspective a result can be regarded as valid providing precautionary measures are taken, in the form of safe guards, to avoid error which can, in and of themselves, serve to build validity. As such, an example employed here to address validity, following Denzin and Lincoln (2005), was to take regular notes during
interviewing then refer back to them during analysis as a useful technique to increase reliability.

4.6 Research method
In line with Kelle and Laurie (1995), three organisations were chosen ex-ante. Initially professional networks were used, in each case, to obtain access to three gatekeepers: a consultant in the NHS, a Wing commander in the RAF and a professor in academia. An email outlining the project was sent to the gatekeeper (see appendix 3a). A second email (see appendix 3b) was also sent to the gatekeeper who sent this on to a number of colleagues. The email contained the researcher’s contact details and enabled the employees to subsequently contact the researcher directly without the gatekeeper’s knowledge of who had agreed to participate. Subsequently 22 NHS healthcare professionals agreed to be interviewed (one of which eventually withdrew as explained below). The final number included a mixture of consultants (14), registrars (2) and senior nurses (5). All interviews were conducted off-site, to enable interlocutors to speak freely, during autumn 2008.

Initially the emails of several different military contacts were obtained through professional networks and those that responded were then pursued over the phone over two months to establish suitability and willingness to participate (see email trail as an example of this in appendix 4). Due to the practicalities of timings of missions abroad and obtaining appropriate permission an RAF base was finalised as the organisation for the second phase of interviewing. The military contact was then used as a gatekeeper and, as before, forwarded an email outlining the project to all the RAF personnel involved in flying a particular aircraft on an RAF base. Subsequently the researcher travelled to the base and all the interviews were arranged on the base during a two week period during summer 2009. The number of RAF personnel interviewed was 21, consisting of 11 pilots and 10 crewmen.

Once a suitable gatekeeper was found, enabling access to an academic institution, an email was forwarded to a large number of academics with a request to contact the researcher personally if they agreed to participate. This resulted in 19 interviews being conducted; 17 of these were conducted in the private office of the academic in question and two were conducted off-site at the academic’s request.

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46 i.e. The two emails in appendix 3 were sent to the RAF gatekeeper
Prior to interviewing, the interview was trialled with an additional member from each organisation to ensure that the questions, and in particular the situation specific scenarios, were measuring the intended construct and appropriate for the work context. These results were considered a pilot study, due to slight changes made following this initial interview; since this included discussion and contextualisation of the aims of the research, with these members, the transcripts were not subsequently included in the final data.

Information sheets were given to each participant, prior to each interview, to allow them to make an informed decision about their possible involvement and then to give their consent where they were happy to be interviewed (see appendix 5 for both information sheet and consent form). Additional consent was sought regarding the recording of interviews. Participants were also given the opportunity to ask questions they had regarding the study before giving their consent to participate.

At the beginning of each interview, having signed to give their informed consent (see form in appendix 5), each interlocutor was also verbally assured that their evidence would be fully anonymised and non-attributable to enable them to speak freely on their views. Each interlocutor was verbally assured that they could pass on any parts of the interview which they did not feel comfortable discussing and could subsequently withdraw their contribution, should they wish to, at any time. A member of the NHS cohort made this request a few days following the interview and therefore, as promised, this data was subsequently destroyed and has not be used or reported on.

A semi-structured interview was used with a standard list of questions for all three cohorts. The study used concurrent mixed methods in the form of Likert scales in response to scenarios and a trust measure from the literature. A number of follow-up questions were asked in order to establish each interlocutor’s views. Thus clarifications were sought and “Occasional tangential diversions indulged in as deemed appropriate” (Campbell and Slack, 2008: 16, Research report 104). At suitable junctures during and at the end of the interview, interlocutors were given the opportunity to talk uninterrupted for as long as they wanted about their own experiences of trust and loss of trust. All interlocutors were asked for permission for the recording of the interview and given the option to opt out. One member of the academic cohort did not grant permission and therefore the interview was not recorded and instead extensive notes were made during the interview and written up immediately afterwards; the interlocutor
was allowed to make any changes to ensure accurate portrayal of their views. In addition, the interlocutor admitted that their reluctance to be recorded was due to their lack of trust in their manager; being recorded would have inhibited their ability to speak openly on matters pertaining to trust since they had lost all trust in management due to certain managerial actions. This in itself was an interesting finding which further substantiated the findings from this cohort. A typical interview lasted around 45 minutes.

4.6.1 **Gate keepers**
A senior colleague from each organisation acted as gatekeeper; thus the judgement of these senior internal colleagues was relied upon to select appropriate interlocutors based on the following specific selection criteria: a spread of people in a range of trust situations who had worked in the organisation for at least seven years. The importance of gaining a cross-sectional sample was conveyed to each of them; in each case assurance of this was given by the gatekeeper.

As detailed above, cohorts of approximately 20 individuals were interviewed from each of the three organisations. The aim was to use three similar sized cohorts to make quantitative comparisons possible for the numerical section of the interview. This resulted in 21 interviewees being included for each of the RAF and NHS cohorts whilst the academic cohort totalled 19 due to this being the total number that responded and agreed to participate in the study. These sample sizes were found to be appropriate for mixed method research (in line with Wasti et al., 2011) and approximately similar cohort sizes enabled quantitative comparisons of the Likert data to be made.

4.7 **Research instrument: rationale and design**
Validity, in reference to research tools, has been described as “The ability of an instrument to measure what it is designed to measure” (Mason, 1996: 153). This was of central concern in the design of an appropriate research tool as now outlined.

4.7.1 **Interviews**
In-depth interviews were chosen as the research instrument for two reasons. First Perakyla (2005: 869) argued that “By using interviews the researcher can reach areas of reality that would otherwise remain inaccessible such as people’s subjective experiences

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47 One interviewee from the academic cohort did not give any numerical data and therefore could not be included in this part of the analysis and one NHS professional later asked for her contribution to be removed and hence was not included.
and attitudes.” Since the research questions were concerned with understanding trust at the inter-personal level this was deemed the most appropriate method to obtain such data. Second, with the high demands on professionals, and therefore constraints on arranging group discussions, interviews were more practical and indeed more appropriate (than focus groups) given the personal nature of the questions being asked.

Kvale (1996) gave a detailed description of seven stages in the design, conducting and analysing of interviews which acted as useful guidelines to adhere to (see Table 29\textsuperscript{48}) during the process of interview design and subsequently in the conducting and analysing of interviews. However, it should be noted that Kvale outlined this from a purely qualitative rather than mixed-methods perspective\textsuperscript{49}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Thematizing</td>
<td>the need to have clear aims on the purpose of the study and the topic to be investigated in order to ensure methodological compatibility with research questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Designing</td>
<td>the importance of having an overall research plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Interviewing</td>
<td>factors to consider outlined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Transcribing</td>
<td>practical steps suggested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Analyzing</td>
<td>steps outlined (as referred to below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Verifying</td>
<td>discussion of validity i.e. confirmability, dependability, credibility and transferability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Reporting</td>
<td>achieving balance in reporting on verbatim quotes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29: Summary of Kvale’s seven stages of interviews

In-depth interviewing has been deemed the most fundamental of all qualitative methods (Easterby-Smith \textit{et al.}, 2004; Taylor and Bogdan, 1998). It is a technique useful for “Understanding social phenomena from the actor’s own perspective” (Gummesson, 1991: 150); in enabling privileged access to this information, research interviews were deemed an appropriate technique. Kvale (2008) has defined qualitative research interviews as,

Attempts to understand the world from the subjects' point of view [in order] to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations; to obtain descriptions of the interviewees’ lived world with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena (Kvale, 2008: 11).

\textsuperscript{48} See Table 29 for a summary and \textit{ibid.} 1996 for a full description.
\textsuperscript{49} and therefore advice from scholars using mixed methods was also sought
One of the key strengths of using interviews, according to Patton, is that by contrast with a questionnaire, “An open-ended interview permits the respondent to describe what is meaningful and salient” (Patton, 1990: 46). In addition, Kvale (2008: 12) noted:

Descriptions of specific situations and actions are elicited, not general opinion. On the basis of comprehensive accounts of specific situations and events, the interviewer will be able to arrive at the meanings on a concrete level, instead of general opinions.

Within the context of mixed methods, a strength of this research tool is that it allows the researcher to examine the same issues with each interviewee (Cassell and Symon, 1994) thus allowing comparisons to be made within and across cohorts. However there are also limitations that need to be taken into consideration.

In addressing the limitations of interviews, Marshall (1994: 95) noted the power differentials between interviewer and interviewee and the need to consider any impact which this might have. Considerations regarding other possible influences on the data disclosed also need to be taken into consideration. For example, Marshall (1994: 95) opined “It can be argued that participants may offer only a limited version of accounts in an interview setting”. Regarding another possible source of subjectivity, Taylor and Bogdan (1984: 81) suggested: “The responses elicited are also likely to be highly dependent on the individual given that different people say and react differently [and therefore] look very different”. Also commenting upon a similar limitation, Fontana and Frey (2005) identified three possible sources of error from the structured part of a semi-structured interview: 1. interviewee trying to please the interviewer and modifying opinions and misrepresenting views and even exaggerating stories accordingly; 2. in the sequence of wording of interview questions; 3. interviewing techniques which could impede communication of the question. However, they also noted, “The relatively minor impact of the interviewer on response quality” due to the “standardised and predetermined nature” of this type of interviewing (ibid., 2005: 703). In addition, Fontana and Frey (2005) found that although set questions are designed to elicit rational responses they often inadequately assessed the emotional dimension. Besides taking measures to reduce error in relation to the first three points in the conducting of the current study, this final issue was addressed through questions specifically asking for/encouraging interlocutors to disclose their thoughts and feelings and reflect on how this
would impact their behaviour, in response to specific scenarios, besides being specifically addressed in asking for examples of critical incidents.

The overall aim of the use of interviews was two-fold. First, to test prominent themes from the academic literature for applicability; these were tested primarily through the use of Likert scales to obtain comparative Likert scores to enable the comparing and contrasting of any inter-organisational differences. Second, interviews were used to allow the collection of in-depth qualitative data by enabling probing of attitudes and reasons for the differences. Justification of the semi-structured interview, in achieving these aims, is now presented together with examples from trust research.

### 4.7.2 Justification for in-depth semi-structured interviews

The use of a semi-structured interview was an appropriate research tool given the ontological underpinnings of this research and its objectives. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to gain all the information needed to address the research questions, first, in obtaining data for making direct comparisons between three cohorts of public sector professionals/professionals working in a context in receipt of public funding, via quantitative Likert measures, and second, in simultaneously eliciting reasons for behaviour and actions through the in-depth interrogations that they made possible.

In addition to earlier justifications made for mixed methods, within the field of trust research at large, scholars have further delineated the importance of gaining access to quantitative numerical data, but in particular the need for in-depth qualitative data in order to adequately examine trust in general and inter-hierarchical trust in particular. These arguments are outlined below as justification for the suitability of semi-structured interviews for obtaining such data.

Since its inception, research into trust has and continues to be dominated by research from the positivist paradigm using solely quantitative techniques. The continued need for these techniques within the field is evident. For example House & Aditya (1997) and Hall et al. (2004) have been clear in prescribing the need for systematic scientific inquiry in order to further enlighten understanding of the complex interaction between personal and contextual factors in employee perceptions of and reactions to leadership behaviours. Also in line with the positivist tradition, Podsakoff et al. (1990) expressed the need for future research on inter-hierarchical trust to employ a comprehensive measure of trust. Acknowledgement of the valuable contribution of qualitative
techniques has been much more recent. For example, Burke et al. (2007), widely known for their almost exclusive reliance on quantitative methods, recently acknowledged the restrictions in this view, when relying solely upon these methods to investigate trust. As such Jones and George (1998) have stated that looking at trust will involve unpacking a person’s attitude which will contain beliefs about the trustworthiness of an individual based on knowledge, interactions and past experience requiring qualitative methods. In addition, despite their preference for and predominant use of quantitative methods, Dirks and Ferrin (2001) have stressed the need for research which investigates employee interpretations of leader behaviour and how this affects individual reactions to leaders and thus colours inter-hierarchical trust i.e. only made possible with the incorporation of qualitative methods.

In order to achieve these two aims – of obtaining both quantitative comparisons and rich qualitative data – four further research techniques are outlined that have been widely used in trust research. First, Likert scales, as a form of collecting quantitative data, are explored, together their suitability for measuring trust and examples from trust research. Second, issues surrounding the measurement of trust, are explored, in reference to trust scales in the literature. Third, the use of scenarios (in combination with Likert scales) is demonstrated as an appropriate technique for measuring trust. Fourth, the critical incident technique is presented as a method of obtaining additional qualitative data during research interviews. Finally, examples of studies, using a combination of these research techniques in mixed method trust research, are presented together with justifications for using concurrent mixed methods.

4.7.3 Likert scales
Likert measures can be used to measure attitude (Likert, 1932). According to Taylor and Heath (1996), Likert scales have become one of the most widely used methods for measuring social and political attitudes. In this research it was necessary to seek an appropriate measure for trusting attitude which would enable replicable and valid comparisons to be made within and between individuals and cohorts. Attitude has been defined as a concept which enables first, the understanding of a people’s reaction to an object or change and second, subsequent prediction as to how behaviour could be affected (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975); as such the measure of trusting attitude is imperative to this research. According to Triandis (1971) there are three generally accepted components of ‘attitude’, namely, cognitive, affective and behavioural (see Table 30).
Component of attitude\(^{50}\) | As defined by Triandis (1971)
---|---
Cognitive | the person's beliefs or knowledge about the object of the attitude
Affective | the person's feelings about the object of the attitude
Behavioural | the person's inclination to act toward the object of the attitude

Table 30: The three generally accepted components of 'attitude’ according to Triandis (1971)

Likert scales have become an important component of trust research over the last twenty years in particular and as such have been widely used by trust researchers and published in highly reputable journals (e.g. Posner, 1992; Jung and Avolio, 2000; Yang et al., 2009; Redman et al., 2011). For example, in a recent study Lee et al. (2010) used Likert scales in combination with each measure that they employed in their examination of the effect of leadership and trust on knowledge sharing and team performance. In 2006, Dietz and Den Hartog published a review of trust measures, all of which used item measures, together with Likert scale responses, demonstrating the integral use of Likert scales as a prominent and useful research tool within trust research\(^{51}\).

In 2009, Ballinger et al. (2009) used Likert measures to measure LMX and trust together with affective reactions in employee evaluations of relationship with their leader. This shows the importance of combining Likert scales with qualitative data in order to ascertain “affective reactions” i.e. a person’s feelings. However, a limitation of this study was that students were used and thus the team work was simulated, as was the manipulation of leadership succession. Whilst the difficulties in gaining access to data in-vivo, in the immediate aftermath of a leadership succession, are understandable and such experiments can further understanding, this does pose the question whether helpful generalisations can really be drawn from a group of students taking part in a simulation where they know that the “leader” will only hold such a position for the duration of the experiment. Although insightful in demonstrating the importance of leader ability in driving the exchange relationship, this is only in reference to initial trust. As highlighted

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\(^{50}\) These three same components have been applied to the trust literature most notably in Gillespie and Mann’s 2004 study and affective and cognitive trust have, in particular, gained widespread coverage in the literature (as reviewed in the previous two chapters).

\(^{51}\) Important to note is that the majority of the trust research examined used a Likert scale range of 1-5 (1= strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) (e.g. Gillespie and Mann, 2004; Yang and Mossholder, 2010) in conjunction with trust measures suggesting that this gives an ample range of choice for analysis.
in the literature review, much research has demonstrated the unique nature of initial trust and therefore such observations cannot reliably highlight inter-hierarchical trust at further stages of development or give an accurate portrayal of the relative importance of CBI weightings of leader trustworthiness. This demonstrates the merit of mixed method trust simulations but that these should be used in organisations where employees’ continued relationship with their leader is of on-going concern.

4.7.4 The measurement of trust
Whilst a consensus for the use of Mayer et al. (1995)’s definition of trustworthiness has been established, discussions over the measurement of trust remain contestable and contested. Nooteboom (2007) highlighted various problems in the measurement of trust including the need to demonstrate consistency between definition and trust measure. In setting out to achieve this, Mayer et al. developed a measure over the course of several research studies. Schoorman, Mayer and Davis’s first attempted measure of trust surfaced in 1996 in the form of a 4-item scale used in a study where they found that veterinary doctors took bigger risks with employees they trusted more. A second instance of this 4-item measure evolved and was tested in a restaurant setting to measure the trust that employees had in the general manager. This measure of trust significantly predicted subsequent sales, profits and employee turnover in restaurants (Schoorman et al., 2007). From this study it was concluded that trust could become a competitive advantage when cultivated and maintained and that the CBI framework should be investigated further. Following this research impetus, subsequent measures were developed by other trust researchers, including a 10-item measure, developed by Mayer and Gavin (2005), and Gillespie’s 10-item Behavioral Trust Inventory, but all with limited success. Schoorman and Ballinger were part of continued attempts to develop a trust measure and achieved significant results in 2006 with a measure containing 7-items. This is the measure subsequently used in this study. Additional reasons for using this measure are as follows: first, as described above, the 7-item measure was developed by building directly on work by Mayer et al. and therefore demonstrates coherence with the definition of trust used in this research; second, this measure was designed specifically to measure trust in leaders; third, it is consistent with the character-based perspective of trust in leaders and thus again served to strengthen internal consistency.

52 This debate is outlined in Dietz and Den Hartog’s (2006) review of several attempts to devise trust measures.  
53 i.e. develop a trust measure coherent with their definition of trust 
54 As such this addresses Nooteboom’s concern above.
Two further issues have been highlighted in the literature in relation to measuring trust. First, as advocated by Kramer (1996), the need to have qualitative accounts of actors in research on trust as opposed to the sole use of Likert measures. Second, regarding trust measures, there have been debates regarding a preference for multi-item scales versus single-item scales. Traditionally, the trend has been to steer clear of single-item measures, in line with studies in the social sciences, due to reliability considerations; these concerns have likewise been hotly debated amongst trust researchers (e.g. Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006; Redman et al., 2011). More recently there has been a growing number of advocates for single-item measures in organisational behaviour in general and trust research in particular. Having compared multi-item and single-item measures of job satisfaction, Wanous and Reichert (1997) concluded that single-item measures were more reliable than multi-item scales. Meanwhile, Dirks and Ferrin (2002) suggested that single-item measures are more appropriate and necessary in order to obtain more parsimony in the study of the antecedents of managerial trustworthy behaviour. In keeping with these two issues above, items from the Schoorman and Ballinger (2006) scale were only used if the themes emerged as important antecedents of trust in the qualitative data and items were used as single measures of each of the antecedents rather than in combination as a trust scale.

### 4.7.5 Scenarios

Besides the use of established trust measures, scenarios have become another method for simultaneously gathering Likert and qualitative data, as a way of addressing Kramer’s (1996) concerns above. A proponent of this method is Audrey Korsgaard (2010)\(^ {55}\), a prominent trust researcher, who has conducted research using scenarios to measure trust and performance appraisal. Also using this method, Palanski and Yammarino (2011) created scenarios of leader behavioural integrity to enable them to measure the impact of leader BI\(^ {56}\) on job performance. Two disadvantages of using such vignette studies, given the hypothetical nature of scenarios, have been outlined by Barrera, Buskens and Raub (2012). First, choices vocalised by interlocutors can be viewed as having no “… real consequences for decision makers” which in turn “… questions the salience of the incentives in driving these choices” \(\text{(ibid., 2012: 204).}\) Second:

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\(^{55}\) Research presented during an ESRC funded trust seminar held at Durham University (7 June 2010).

\(^{56}\) This study used Simons (2002) definition of behavioural integrity (BI), as the consistency between words and actions.
… more potential sources of unreliability and bias can affect interpretation of the actors’ responses (for example people do not always act in accordance to their stated intentions) (ibid., 2012: 204).

In order to address these limitations, interviewees were encouraged to reflect on examples from their own experience and CIT was introduced to aid this process. As a result, interlocutors, from each cohort, were found to have experienced each scenario and reflected on their actual past behaviour in response; this demonstrates the contextual relevance of the vignettes used and justifies use of this method. Therefore collecting Likert data concurrently with affective, cognitive and behavioural reactions (i.e. qualitative data collection in line with Triandis, 1971\textsuperscript{57}), through scenarios, has been shown to be an appropriate method within the field for measuring both trust and the impact of leader behavioural integrity on trust.

In making oneself vulnerable, Mayer et al. viewed trust as risk taking in a relationship. If trust is the willingness to take risk then the level of trust is the amount of risk one is willing to take based on assessments of the trustee’s CBI. On the basis of this logic, Mayer et al. asserted that a measure of trust can be found through asking questions, “That assess the extent to which a trustor is willing to voluntarily take risk at the hands of the trustee,” (Schoorman et al., 2007: 347). This was the theoretical basis used in devising the scenarios.

4.7.6 The critical incident technique

Whilst considering various qualitative research methodologies, the critical incident technique (CIT) was found to be a suitable method to explore trust attitude being an established research tool for examining trust\textsuperscript{58} and particularly appropriate for the air force context since it was developed by Flanagan (1954) specifically for research with pilots (Flanagan, 1954; Yukl and Van Fleet, 1982; Lapidot et al., 2007). In reference to the strengths of this method, Chell (2004: 56) connoted, “The CIT enables issues to be viewed in context and is also a rich source of information” and as such enables the researcher to gain an appropriate contextual appreciation of the reactions, attitudes and feelings of interlocutors. One of the main criticisms of this approach is that it

\textsuperscript{57} According to Triandis (1971) there are three generally accepted components of ‘attitude’, namely, cognitive, affective and behavioural (see Table 30).

\textsuperscript{58} For more detailed outlining of this method see chapter 6, “Using CIT in trust research” (Münscher and Kuhlmann, 2012: 161-174) in Handbook of research methods on trust (edited by Lyon, Mollering and Saunders).
encourages participants to internalise success and externalise failure (i.e. to attribute credit for success to self and blame others for problems)\textsuperscript{59}. In order to control against this it was specifically demonstrated that the interview material would remain completely confidential and non-attributable i.e. all participants were assured that their revelations would have no impact on their current position. This was not found to be an issue to the extent that the majority of participants felt able to disclose responsibility for negative actions and mistakes.

A paper using the CIT was presented by the prominent trust researchers Wasti, Tan and Erdil at the bi-annual Workshop on Trust in Madrid in 2009 (and later published in 2011). This technique was used, during the course of 60 semi-structured interviews\textsuperscript{60}, in order to obtain data on the antecedents of both intra and inter-hierarchical trust. They concluded that using CIT enabled a rich qualitative understanding of cross-cultural differences in inter-personal trust development across two collectivist cultures. As such this was found to be an appropriate method for obtaining inter and intra hierarchical trust data. Lapidot \textit{et al.} (2007) also used this technique in order to obtain data on the relative weightings of CBI in incidents of trust building and erosion in the air force which further demonstrates its suitability for this context.

4.8 Studies using mixed methods in trust research

Likert scales are widely used as an appropriate quantitative technique for making inter-organisational comparisons and in mixed methods need to be combined with a collection of affective, cognitive and behavioural qualitative data (Triandis, 1971: see Table 30). Interviews have frequently featured in mixed method trust research studies; several key studies, using mixed methods, which have made recent contributions to the field of trust research, are summarised in Table 31.

\textsuperscript{59} For more criticisms of CIT see Bettman and Weitz, 1983.

\textsuperscript{60} They interviewed 60 employees working in a variety of large-scale organisations: 30 in China and 30 in Turkey.
Gillespie (2003) established her measure of behavioural trust (split into reliance and disclosure based trust) on the basis of in-depth mixed method research.

Norman *et al.* (2010) used mixed method research in their study on the impact of positivity and transparency on trust in and perceived effectiveness of leaders.

Six and Sorge (2008: 857) conducted surveys, participant observation and “half-open interviewing” observing and measuring “the generation of trust and the handling of trouble when trust was threatened or destroyed” in two consultancy organisations “with different trust policies but otherwise similar characteristics”.

Bijlsma and van de Bunt (2002) used a combination of interview and survey data in order to carry out research on the antecedents of managerial trust.

Murphy *et al.* (2003: 61) used a combination of questionnaires and also interviews in order to examine whether social exchange relationships formed within a manufacturing work context “would mediate the relationship between perceptions of interactional and distributive justice and social loafing”.

Gillespie and Mann (2004) used a combination of questionnaires, using measures of cognitive, affective, behavioural and overall trust, transformational leadership and common values, together with Likert response scales, and interview data in order to examine value congruence and the impact of personal behavioural in inter-hierarchical trust.

Lee *et al.* (2010) used Likert data, in combination with a trust measure, and interviews to study the impact of leadership and trust on knowledge sharing and team performance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 31: Summary of studies using Likert scales in mixed method trust research</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gillespie (2003)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Norman <em>et al.</em> (2010)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Six and Sorge (2008: 857)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bijlsma and van de Bunt (2002)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Murphy <em>et al.</em> (2003: 61)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gillespie and Mann (2004)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lee <em>et al.</em> (2010)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.9 **Concurrent mixed methods in trust research**

Lee *et al.* (2010), as the final example above, recently used interviews as a vehicle for simultaneously collecting Likert scores and in-depth qualitative data. They used concurrent mixed methods to gain simultaneous explanations of the choices made in the quantitative numerical data within their study. The use of in-depth semi-structured interviews and Likert scales in concurrent mixed methods, in combination with the CIT, trust scales and scenarios, have thus emerged as appropriate methods for trust research. In addition, the suitability of this method is confirmed by recent calls for research. In

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61 This study, using concurrent mixed-methods, has been subsequently published in a 4* journal.
2006, Lewicki, Tomlinson and Gillespie, called for more research using in-depth interviews and critical incidents in the study of trust. Burke et al. (2007) relied almost exclusively on trust scales using Likert measures in their 2007 study of trust in leadership and yet acknowledged that trust measures may be restrictive in gaining a deeper understanding of trust and thus promoted the need for mixed methods research in this area. This justifies the use of concurrent mixed methods in trust research in general, and the use of interviews containing trust scales, as an appropriate method for concurrent qualitative and quantitative data collection, in particular.

4.10 Summary
Since this research sought to examine trust in line with Mayer et al.’s (1995) definition, this provided justification for using mixed methods to examine both the cognitive and social aspects of affect trust through a combination of Likert scales and qualitative data collection. In addition, semi-structured interviews were shown to be an appropriate overarching tool providing the context for testing and exploring contextual differences in the cognitive, affective and institutional bases of trust.

4.11 Interview structure and format
A prominent aim, in the design of this research instrument, was the development of semi-structured interview questions to test differences in CBI salience across the three cohorts. Further to this, an outline of the main aims of each section of the interview is first summarised in Table 32 and then described below.

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62 i.e. “a willingness to take risk based on a trustor’s assessments of a trustee’s CBI”
63 i.e. “a willingness to become vulnerable”
64 The interview originally had the first four sections; a fifth section, with the CIT, was later added for the RAF and academic context. However the original RQs remained unchanged.
Table 32: Overview of interview structure outlining section contents and aims

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Aim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Introductory questions</td>
<td>to establish the interviewees’ own definition of trust together with general beliefs about trust in the work environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Scenarios</td>
<td>to gauge relative contextual weightings of each component of trust using organisational specific scenarios of CBI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3.      | Trust in line managers | 1. to measure inter-hierarchical trust using the trust scale developed by Schoorman and Ballinger (2006)  
2. to measure impact of perceived leader personal integrity on inter-hierarchical trust and vulnerability/effectiveness of team working/meeting of organisational objectives. |
| 4.      | Definition of trust by Mayer et al. (1995) | to test applicability of this definition in the workplace of interviewee |
| 5.      | Critical incidents<sup>65</sup> | to obtain additional qualitative data on actual trust behaviour |

4.11.1 Sections 1 and 4: definitions of trust

Section one had a main function of ascertaining participants’ own definition of trust before this was influenced by the interview process. Other introductory questions served to act as an ice breaker<sup>66</sup> in line with suggestions from Cassell and Symon (1994). According to Rousseau <i>et al.</i>, (1998) there is consensus in the essential elements of trust between theory and practice. However, the researcher did not make this assumption and therefore in line with Saunders<sup>67</sup> (2009) the research instrument was careful in controlling for different definitions of trust and as such, having established the

<sup>65</sup> An additional section added for the RAF and academic cohorts.

<sup>66</sup> Gillespie’s (2003) behavioural trust index combines two dimensions of trust: willingness to rely on another’s work-related skills, abilities and knowledge (reliance) and to disclose sensitive work or personal information to another (disclosure). (See Lee <i>et al.</i>, 2010 for a short summary or Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006 for a review of the full scale.) This measure was not used but elements of reliance and willingness to disclose information in particular were used as a basis for forming questions exploring beliefs about trust in the first section of the interview.

<sup>67</sup> During the ESRC funded Trust and HRM seminar series, the prominent trust scholar and professor of business research methods, Mark Saunders problematised issues of methodological validity when the researcher and researched have contrasting ideas about what trust is; accordingly the interview included asking the participants how they would define trust in section one. Each participant was later given Mayer <i>et al.’s</i> (1995) definition and asked to comment on it and whether this definition of trust was applicable to their own work situation (in section four).
perceptions of trust of interlocutors, all interviewees were given Mayer et al.’s definition as the understanding of trust to be used as a common point of reference for the remainder of the interview.

4.11.2 Section 2: scenarios
In line with Korsgaard (2010), relevant vignettes were devised specific to each organisational context; these were adjusted slightly for the audience during consultation with an introductory interlocutor in the organisation. The scenarios depicted the hypothetical loss of CBI in a colleague at the same rank as the individual. Participants were asked to gauge their level of concern in each case on a scale from 1-10 and qualitative data was encouraged in reference to their reaction. Although the scenarios were hypothetical, many interlocutors did then reflect on their reactions and behaviour in similar situations. These scenarios were developed in order to test Mayer et al.’s theoretical model to see whether the relative importance of CBI would differ according to the work situation.

4.11.3 Section 3: trust in line managers (inter-hierarchical trust)
Mayer et al. (1995: 709) highlighted failing to consider both the trusting party together with the party to be trusted as a possible source of confusion in research. To ensure that this did not cause confusion here, and in line with the lacunae identified earlier, section three set out to test trust in line managers. This was done using the trust scale developed by Schoorman and Ballinger (2006) together with simultaneous collection of qualitative data on justifications for the numerical choices.

4.11.4 Section 5: critical incident events
Before phase two of data collection in the RAF, the critical incident technique (CIT) was added as an extra section on to the end of the interview as this technique has been successfully used in military settings and with pilots in particular. In line with research conducted by Lapidot et al. (2007), in the military, this section was thus included in order to provide a deeper insight into incidents of trust building, erosion and rebuilding elicited via the CIT. This served principally to provide additional narrative data particularly in articulating instances of trust building and erosion and then actual

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68 Mayer et al. (1995)’s definition of trust as “a willingness to become vulnerable”
69 A prominent trust researcher and contributor to the ESRC funded trust and HRM workshops
70 And where possible on the basis of similar previous research (e.g. using Lapidot et al., 2007)
71 Although a limitation of this method is the extent to which each particular scenario can be said to be equivalent in each context, the Likert scale data nonetheless provided a measure for cross-comparability.
72 Attempts were made to obtain a range of cognitive, affective, and behavioural qualitative data in asking interlocutors to comment on the impact this scenario would have on their thoughts (cognitive), feelings (affective) and behaviour.
behaviour and action in response to these real life incidents of trust building and erosion. This was also used when conducting interviews with academics; however it proved to be less successful in this context.\textsuperscript{73}

The CIT was thus was added during the second phase of interviewing (in the RAF and academic cohorts), as a way of gaining extra qualitative data, principally due to its having been developed for research in the air force and was found to be most effective in this setting. However the main RQs remained unchanged.

4.12 Interview design in line with Caldwell et al. (2009)

The interview was designed in line with Caldwell et al.’s (2009) application of the theory of reasoned action (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975) to trust, a model which shows the interrelatedness of beliefs, attitudes, intentions, and behaviours (see Figure 4). Consistent with the “theory of reasoned action”\textsuperscript{74}, Caldwell et al. (2009: 3) argued that ultimately trust involves behaviours and actions\textsuperscript{75} (Caldwell and Clapham, 2003). According to Triandis (1971) those behaviours and actions are dependent upon the cognitive, affective and behavioural processes\textsuperscript{76} that reflect the complexities of a person’s choices. Caldwell et al. (2009) demonstrated that the decision to trust ultimately is manifest by a person’s actions, and that behaviours reflect core beliefs and assumptions.

\textsuperscript{73}Within the close-knit team of an aircraft it was shown to be in the person’s best interest that trust is maintained and that problems are resolved and so these incidents were deemed to adequately demonstrate trust building, erosion and rebuilding. The main reason for this technique being particularly successful in the RAF context is presumed to be because after each flight RAF personnel are systematically required to debrief after each sortie and are therefore in the habit of talking through incidents and analysing the strengths and weaknesses in each other’s actions and engaging in self-critique before coming to conclusions about where the problems lie.

\textsuperscript{74}Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) developed the theory of reasoned action, showing the interrelations between beliefs, attitudes, intentions and behaviours, which was later applied to trust by Caldwell et al. (2009).

\textsuperscript{75}Examples of authors who have directly addressed these components, in relation to trust, are given in Figure 4.

\textsuperscript{76}According to Triandis (1971) there are three generally accepted components of ‘attitude’, namely, cognitive, affective and behavioural (see Table 30).
As stated earlier, Dirks and Ferrin (2001) called for research which gives greater attention to understanding the significance of the role that trust plays on interpretations of behaviour, the motives underlying those behaviours and how this affects an individual’s responses. With this in mind, the interview was designed to explore each of these areas (see overview in Table 33).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Theory of reasoned action (Caldwell et al., 2009)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Interview section addressing this aspect of reasoned action</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beliefs</td>
<td>Sections 1 and 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes</td>
<td>Section 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intentions</td>
<td>Sections 2 and 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaviours</td>
<td>Sections 2, 3 and 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 33: Summary of how each interview section corresponds to each component of trusting attitude outlined by Caldwell et al.’s (2009) application of the theory of reasoned action to trust

4.12.1 Interview approach, in line with Patton (1990) built into format: probes, follow-up questions and prefatory statements

Besides the standard questions, forming the main interview structure, probes and follow-up questions were added, in line with Patton (1990), in order to elicit further information if the interviewee was not forthcoming and in order to delve deeper into reactions and reasons for these. According to Patton (1990: 325) such probes can be used to “obtain a complete and detailed picture of some activity or experience”. Patton (1990: 321) noted:

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77 For example during the scenario questions: “How would this affect your behaviour or actions towards that person?”.
The purpose of prefatory statements is to let the person being interviewed know what is going to be asked before it is asked. This can serve two functions. First, it alerts the interviewee to the nature of the questions that are coming, it directs their awareness, and it focuses their attention. Second, an introductory announcement about subject matter about to be broached gives respondents a few seconds to organise their thoughts before the question is actually asked.

One of the main advantages of doing this, according to Patton (1990: 321), is that it can “… help the flow of the interview and reduce the amount of time taken up in what is sometimes an awkward silence while the interviewee is reflecting on or remembering the information necessary to answer a question”. Patton (1990) proposed several different formats for interviews: the transition format, the direct announcement format and the attention-getting preface. The format of the interview and scenario sections were most suited to the direct announcement format, of the three approaches, which was accordingly used in order to introduce each section. In defence of this approach Patton (1990: 322) asserted that “A preface to a question that announces its content softens the harshness or abruptness of the question itself [and] direct prefatory statements can make an interview more conversational and easy flowing, less like an interrogation”.

4.13 Data analysis
In line with the epistemological underpinnings of this research and the mixed method approach, data was processed using appropriate methods for the qualitative and quantitative data and therefore consisted of both narrative data analysis and statistical tests respectively.

4.13.1 Narrative data analysis
The techniques for analysing qualitative data are many and varied. Initially, various types of discourse analysis were explored as possible means of analysis, including critical discourse analysis, historical discourse analysis and various other branches of discourse analysis. However, these were found to be too complex to implement and incompatible with the aims and objectives of this research. Following this, advice was taken from various authors, including Patton (1987, 1990), who has outlined a number of techniques for quantifying and analysing qualitative interview data (in line with a mixed method research tool). As such, coding was seen as central to the process of qualitative data analysis within this mixed method study and thus merited careful
consideration. Various researchers have proposed systematic ways of doing this, two examples being Mason (1996) and Kvale (1996) who each outlined a framework for narrative data analysis. Mason’s (1996: 240-241) version proposed that qualitative data analysis would involve four main steps, namely:

1. identify the main themes
2. assign codes to the main themes
3. classify responses under the main themes
4. integrate themes and responses into the text of your report

Kvale (1996: 189-90), by contrast, outlined six more detailed steps of narrative analysis; steps 1-4 were deemed appropriate for this study and were followed as now described. First, Kvale (1996) argued that analysis should begin during data collection and, as such, outlined the importance of making notes and checking meaning whilst interviewing; in line with this, the initial process of analysis, i.e. stages 1-3 on Table 34, began during the process of collecting of data in each cohort.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Participants identify their lived world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Participants discover new meaning in what they experience and do during the course of the interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Interviewer condenses and interprets meaning of interviewee and checks this with the interviewee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Transcription:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Structuring for analysis using NVivo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Clarification (e.g. eliminating irrelevant digressions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Analysis proper: developing the meaning of subjects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Re interviewing (checking meanings with participants where necessary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Extending continuum of description and interpretation to include action.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 34: Kvale's 6 stages of narrative analysis**

Step four was undertaken as soon as possible after the interviews were completed and all transcriptions were completed within a month of the interviews taking place. Having found NVivo useful as a way for storing the transcriptions and as a way for quick retrieval and organisation, the process of elimination and focusing attention on the relevant narrative data was conducted. This involved eliminating irrelevant digressions
and “distinguishing between essential and non-essential dependent on the purpose of the study and in line with the theoretical presuppositions” (Kvale, 1996: 189). Additionally, within stage four, Kvale (1996) outlined five more detailed processes involved in the analysis of meaning as follows: 1) meaning condensation, 2) meaning categorization, 3) narrative structuring, 4) meaning interpretation, and 5) generating meaning through ad hoc methods. Type five, i.e. the generation of meaning through ad hoc means, was the method generally employed here. The process of coding was conducted alongside this to ensure that codes were attributed to relevant sections of narrative data (see appendix 1 for excerpts of narrative data from the NHS interviews which coded under “value congruence”).

Less prescriptive approaches have formed more recent advice from Cassell and Symon (1997) and Perakyla (2005: 870) regarding the analysis of qualitative data as part of a mixed method research project. Cassell and Symon argued for the need to isolate any examples of apparent similarities, differences or variation in what was being said: “The aim is to read and reread the transcripts and pick out recurrent patterns in the organization and content of the texts” (ibid., 1997: 97). Finally, Perakyla (2005: 870) connoted: “An informal approach may, in many cases, be the best choice as a method” in research which is mixed method and “No more sophisticated text analysis methods may be needed.” The logic behind this approach was that more sophisticated types of approaches should only be considered in purely qualitative projects where textual analysis is the sole data source. In line with Perakyla (2005) a less prescriptive method was shown to be appropriate for this particular study. However, this was applied in combination with guidelines from the authors above in reference to coding. In summarising this process Kelle and Laurie (1995: 24) noted:

The coding scheme will become more and more concrete, solid and structured in the on-going process of analysis, serving as a basis for the developing of theory: certain codes will be dropped and links will be established between the remaining ones, and the analysis focuses on one or two codes to which subcodes are attached.

This was found to be the case in this research. Consistent with the pragmatic epistemological positioning – midway between positivism and interpretivism – codes

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78 See Kvale, 1996: 189 onwards for full details.
79 For a full description of the method see ibid., 1997: 96-100
were both taken from the established academic literature (outlined in chapters two and three) and allowed to emerge from the data. Mayer et al.’s (1995) CBI components of trust were therefore used to represent three initial codes from the literature. Sub-categories were then allowed to emerge, from these main categories, together with unrelated free nodes which formed new categories of their own, as key themes emerged.

4.13.2 Computer-aided methods of analysis
The computer package, NVIVO, was used to aid the process of data analysis. Reasons for this, in line with Kelle and Laurie, are now presented. The main advantages of using computer-aided methods, as promoted by Kelle and Laurie, (1995: 27) were first, “Easy and quick retrievals helped to explore the data more fully than would have been possible by manual means”. Given a total number of 61 interviews this was deemed to be an efficient way to store all the data and then enable quick retrieval for a thorough exploration of the data as part of the process of data analysis. Second, “the facility to have easy access to all of the collected data increased our confidence that interpretations were not based on one or two highly untypical cases”. Therefore since the same criteria were applied to all the data, i.e. each interview transcript in turn, during the process of data analysis this can be shown to “increase confidence in the findings” and means that “an analysis which is highly selective or which neglects critical information in the data is less probable” (Kelle and Laurie, 1995: 27). Finally Kelle and Laurie (1995: 27) warned of the need to remain vigilant in the consistent application of codes:

If some sort of hypothesis examination is conducted, the reliability of the code system is indeed of crucial importance. If the codes have been applied with different meanings at different points this can produce contradictions which are artefacts of the coding process and which at worst lead to spurious conclusions.

This emphasises the need to assign codes consistently to text passages to ensure a stable coding scheme which provides a more systematic analysis. In line with Kelle and Laurie (1995: 22) therefore codes were assigned using NVivo in an attempt to minimise such sources of error.

4.13.3 Quantitative data analysis
In line with the trust studies using trust scales and Likert data, reviewed above, mean Likert scores were found to be appropriate for making direct inter-organisational comparisons. Appropriate statistical tests were subsequently used to analyse the

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80 in addition to those already outlined above in regards to validity
numerical data. This involved the use of t-tests to obtain P values of significance in order to enable the distinction of significant and non-significant inter-organisational differences.

4.14 The limitations of self-report data
A limitation of this research method is the use of self-report data since it could be vulnerable to common method bias (Podsakoff et al., 2003); however, in defence of this choice of method the same criticism could be levelled at Redman et al.’s (2011) study which was found to be an adequately robust way of measuring trust. In addition, it has been shown in the literature, that since trust is an attitude, the sources are limited since the trustor is the main source of data, as described by Brower et al. (2000: 231):

The measure of trust is a measure of a construct that exists within an individual. In fact there is no objective measure of trust. We can measure behaviour that indicates trust through risk taking, but it is a consequence of trust, not a proxy. Therefore the trustor is the most appropriate source of measures of trust.

This provides justification for the sole use of self-report data as highly appropriate to the study of trust. Further possible limitations are addressed in the self-critique section in the discussion (chapter eight).

4.15 Ethical considerations
The very personal, conversational nature of interview situations means that certain ethical issues must be carefully considered (Patton, 1990). Mindful of this, the principles of codes of ethics laid out by Christians (2005), as a comprehensive overview of issues for researchers, were adhered to as follows. First, interlocutors were informed of the broad research area and in line with Soble, (1978) and Christians, (2005) the principles of informed consent were followed. Christians (2005) noted the dilemma of researchers in obtaining informed consent concluding that “codes of ethics should serve as a guideline prior to fieldwork but not intrude on full participation” (ibid., 2005: 144). Thus care was taken to ensure that participants were fully aware of what their

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81 A measure of the quality of the research can be seen in the fact that it was published in a 4* journal.
82 i.e. care should be taken to divulge the important principles of participation without needing to reveal “innocuous” details only to colour and distort any subsequent data collection.
participation would involve without being given the full details of the research topic so as to invalidate their responses.

Second, privacy and confidentiality were assured and preserved. Following Christians (2005) and Coles (1997) all personal data was securely held, and, as promised, the researcher was the only person to have access to the original pre-anonymised data which was subsequently anonymised before incorporation into any written documentation. Particular care was taken to preserve anonymity since this has been shown to be “the single most likely source of harm in social science enquiry (Reiss, 1979: 73).

Third, in order to ensure accuracy, interlocutors were allowed to make changes to their responses and qualifications were made to ensure that the recordings were a fair representation of their view (see Coles, 1997, for further details of these issues.)

As such this project complied in full with the University ethical protocols in place at the time (see form included in appendix 6).

4.16 Chapter summary
The epistemological and philosophical assumptions of the researcher have been outlined together with the ontological underpinnings of the research; on the basis of these assumptions, a suitable methodology was delineated in this chapter together with a description and justification of the methods used and tools of data analysis employed. Compatibility between the assumptions made and methodology employed, in order to most adequately address the research questions under investigation, was demonstrated together with consideration of issues of validity and reliability. Thus based on previous trust research (reviewed in chapters two and three) and the gaps identified in the literature (identified at the end of chapter three) semi-structured interviews were found to be a suitable research instrument. A semi-structured interview was developed in line with the mixed method approach of this research, particularly in order to ensure consistency (over the structured sections) so that comparisons could be made between the three cohorts. The following chapters (5-7) will each present the findings addressing one of the three research questions combining findings from both narrative and numerical data.
Chapter 5  Findings one: exploring the trust profiles of the three cohorts

5.1  Introduction
This chapter explores the trust profiles of the three organisational contexts which was the focus of research question one. In presenting the findings, first, inter-hierarchical trust is explored using the 7-point Schoorman and Ballinger (2006) scale which measures employee trust in their line managers. Second, both inter and intra-hierarchical trust, in each cohort, is examined through themes which emerged in the narrative data. These are the key findings from a combination of the Likert and narrative data.

5.2  Key findings
- There was a difference between cohorts in members’ willingness to become vulnerable to managers and each other.
- RAF was most interdependent and therefore employees were more vulnerable to line managers and each other.
- AC was least interdependent and least willing to become vulnerable (in fact showing contempt in some cases for management).

The following matrix was produced as a summary of the findings indicating the low versus high levels of independence and vulnerability with peers on the horizontal axis and low versus high levels of vulnerability with line manager on the vertical axis for each cohort. Low independence and vulnerability can be seen as indicative of cognitive trust and high independence and vulnerability indicative of affect trust.
Figure 5: Matrix showing the contextual separation of the three cohorts according to low versus high vulnerability with line manager and low versus high interdependence and vulnerability with peers

5.3 Trust in line management (inter-hierarchical trust)
Evidence for the key findings, relating to trust in management for each cohort, is presented in two parts: first, quantitative and qualitative evidence from the Schoorman and Ballinger scale; second qualitative evidence of themes that emerged in the narrative data.

5.3.1 Evidence for the key findings from Schoorman and Ballinger
Likert evidence, collected using the Schoorman and Ballinger scale, provided evidence for the key findings. Schoorman and Ballinger originally intended this scale to be used as a multi-item overall measure of trust. However, there are two main reasons for using four of the original seven statements as single measures. First, as discussed in the methodology, the literature provides evidence of the weaknesses in using a multi-measure scales twinned with various calls in the literature to use single measures. Second, these four statements were used since they all measure a subordinate’s willingness to be vulnerable to their line manager and/or the subordinate’s perception of line manager benevolence (see Figure 6) and therefore were consistent with the literature – and Mayer et al.’s definition of trust – as a measure of inter-hierarchical trust.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Measurement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statement A</td>
<td>My line manager keeps my interests in mind when making decisions.</td>
<td>Measure perceived leader benevolence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement B</td>
<td>I would be willing to let my line manager have complete control over my future in this organisation.</td>
<td>Measure of willingness to be vulnerable to line manager and perceived leader benevolence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement F</td>
<td>I would not be prepared to become more vulnerable than I currently am to my current line manager.</td>
<td>Measure of willingness to be vulnerable to line manager.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement G</td>
<td>If I had my way, I wouldn’t let my line manager have any influence over decisions that are important to me.</td>
<td>Measure of willingness to be vulnerable to line manager and perceived leader benevolence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6: Statements A, B, F and G, from the Schoorman and Ballinger scale, and how they specifically measure trust as defined by Mayer et al. (1995)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement A</th>
<th>Statement B</th>
<th>Statement F(^3)</th>
<th>Statement G</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean scores for AC</td>
<td>AC: 2.5</td>
<td>AC: 1.44</td>
<td>AC: 1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean scores for RAF</td>
<td>RAF: 4.02</td>
<td>RAF: 2.33</td>
<td>RAF: 2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t value</td>
<td>4.062</td>
<td>2.440</td>
<td>3.111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p value</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Means scores for NHS | 2.76 | 1.57 | 1.67 | 2.98 |

**Table 34: The mean Likert scores for each statement on the (2006) scale (NB scores reversed for statements F and G due to negatively worded statement).**

Clear inter-organisational differences were found for each of these four statements demonstrating significant differences, between the RAF and academic cohorts (see Table 34) in levels of interdependence and willingness to become vulnerable to line management. For statements A, B and F the differences between the RAF and AC were significant at the 1% level whilst statement G was significant but to a lesser extent i.e. at the 5% level. For each statement, the mean scores in the NHS were between these two extremes and not significantly different from either cohort. The Likert evidence provided clear evidence that of the three cohorts, RAF members were most vulnerable to their line managers and academics were at the other extreme being almost completely invulnerable to line management. A small quantity of narrative data was contributed by interlocutors as they talked through the rationale for their choice of Likert scores in reference to statements F and G. This is presented below, in reference to statements F and G, to demonstrate further evidence of the inter-organisational differences found in willingness to be vulnerable. Reasons for these differences are also explored in reference to the narrative data.

\(^3\)N.B. due to negatively worded statements, scores in relation to statements F and G have been reversed so that the higher the Likert score indicates the higher the willingness to allow a line manager to have influence over important decision making which will affect the individual.
Statement F: *I would not be prepared to become more vulnerable than I currently am to my current line manager.*

Mean Likert scores (see Table 34) and narrative responses to the above statement were indicative of overall attitude to line manager together with levels of vulnerability.

Typical responses to statement F, from each cohort, are now presented to illustrate these findings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AC</th>
<th>RAF</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t value</td>
<td>3.111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p value</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Table 35: Means and t-test result for academia and RAF response to item F on the Schoorman and Ballinger (2006) scale: "I would not be prepared to become more vulnerable than I currently am to my current line manager" (5=strongly agree; NB scores reversed).

Typical responses to statement F amongst the NHS cohort\(^{84}\) demonstrated a clear unwillingness to be vulnerable to their line manager as exemplified by NHS_14: “…I mean yes you’ve signed an agreement with the Trust but you’re not giving a blank cheque to someone to do whatever they want with you” and NHS_12 who asserted, “I certainly would not wish to be any more vulnerable, I take a pretty measured approach to my immediate line manager”. By contrast with this, RAF_07’s response was typical of the clear willingness to be vulnerable to line management in the RAF cohort:

Effectively you’re saying that you’re throwing yourself at someone else’s feet literally or metaphorically… I am willing to put myself in the position where – to use your example – I would be perfectly happy to present some information to my line manager that would potentially put me in that situation… so I suppose I could say I agree.

\(^{84}\) For each statement, the mean scores in the NHS were between these two extremes and not significantly different from either cohort.
The low mean Likert score within academia demonstrated that those within this cohort were least willing to become vulnerable to line management. Responses to this statement amongst academics were typified by AC_08: “I’m not vulnerable at all” and AC_03: “I said in the first place that I wouldn’t want to become any more vulnerable so that’s the thing... so that’s the starting point”.

Statement G: If I had my way, I wouldn't let my line manager have any influence over decisions that are important to me.

Mean Likert scores and narrative responses to statement G were likewise found to be indicative of overall attitude to line manager together with levels of vulnerability.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AC: 2.72</th>
<th>RAF: 3.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>df</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t value</td>
<td>1.975</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p value</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 36: Means and t-test result for academia and RAF response to item G on the Schoorman and Ballinger trust scale: If I had my way, I wouldn't let my line manager have any influence over decisions that are important to me" (5=strongly agree; NB scores reversed).

Within the NHS cohort there was a general admittance that line management should have some influence in decision making. For example in reference to the above statement NHS_02 commented: “No I don’t agree with that – they should have some influence, well they should have some discussion… number two.” In agreement NHS_04 justified their Likert score as follows:

… I’m erring between two and three. I’m erring between those because I think that line managers have to have some decisions even if things are very important to you… I think they’re in a role to guide you still.

NHS_12 stated bluntly:

No I don’t agree with that because I think you’re working within an organisation that has to be managed, I mean it’s an incredibly expensive entity and you’re
dealing with very expensive things, so I think having an independent or outside audit of practice is appropriate… I don’t think I strongly disagree… well… but I do believe that within the NHS there has to be… people who are managing. So I’m down at one, two on that.

NHS_05 insisted that he would be wary of anyone who felt they had no need of a line manager to make this level of decisions within the organisation on their behalf,

... because I think that shows a kind of selfish arrogance… yes obviously me and my career and everything is important to me but equally there are bigger issues and things so I think I would disagree with that because I think it has to all be in the context of where you work and things as well.

The majority of the interlocutors likewise recognised the role of management in making decisions for the wider team however were explicit in expressing the difficulties which they had in accepting the line manager’s authority over certain important issues and thus remained sceptical of management, as exemplified by the following quotations.

NHS_10 gave reasons for having decided on “somewhat” as opposed to “strongly agree”:

Somewhat agree… because at the end of the day they’re also doing a job and they’re part of a trust… there are strategic objectives of the trust and I can’t be flouting it big time just because it doesn’t suit my purpose… so all I would say is… to work as a team, if that is an objective which the trust has and they’re telling me that it can be in everybody’s collective interest to be following this which I don’t agree with, I’d have to think about that.

Similarly, NHS_14 felt that although being managed by non-medical managers was not an ideal situation, it was part of what they had signed up to in being employed in this organisation and therefore something which had to be accepted. In commenting on the first half of the statement he said: “well you’ve signed a contract… I’m not owner of the firm I’m working for so yes you have to behave in accordance to whatever’s going on even if you don’t agree with everything.” For the vast majority, even those vehemently opposed to line managers (as expressed in other parts of the interview), a reluctant acceptance of the status quo was expressed in recognition that line managers should have some influence, albeit of a restricted variety, for the common good.
By contrast with the NHS, those in the RAF were much happier with their line managers having influence over decisions important to them. RAF_01 simply responded to this statement, “I’d strongly disagree with that (1)” showing that it was important to this interlocutor that their line manager was mandated involvement in important decision making which would affect them. In agreement with this stance the typical response from this cohort was exemplified by the following excerpts.

RAF_08 stated: I’d always let him have some decisions over me… if I want to do something it should inherently come back to me no matter what with but with most things I’d say yes.

RAF_18 demonstrated confidence in his line manager’s decision making capabilities due to him having,

... a wealth of experience so that I know when my line manager asks me to do something, he’s done exactly the same experience, he’s been through the same trials and tribulations and experiences but he’s also got a wealth of operational experience and years of flying to make those decisions.

The importance which experience and knowledge of the actual job had, even when performing line managerial duties, in inspiring confidence and respect in subordinates emerged as a clear theme in the majority of the interviews with this cohort. In particular narrative data from this cohort demonstrated a firm belief that the line manager would act benevolently towards interlocutors and therefore on this basis managerial decisions would be accepted regardless of their palatability. For example, RAF_18 also acknowledged,

Obviously if I wanted to do something and he says ‘no you can’t’ I’d be a bit miffed but the way I know our relationship I know he’d let me go if he could, if you know what I mean.

So this demonstrated belief in the justice and fairness of the line manager as being proportionate to the level of trust subsequently invested.

Akin with the NHS cohort, many academics felt that by nature of the position, line managers were entitled to have influence over some decisions and that by signing a work contract they had themselves agreed to this allowing this as expressed by AC_11:
In a work situation, you take on a job... you sort of agree to take on the job, to do what you’re told to a certain extent. I mean line managers have got to have influence over decisions.

Many, including AC_15, acknowledged that, “having your own way” as expressed by in statement G (on the Schoorman and Ballinger scale) was “unrealistic” and had simply resigned themselves to this fact. AC_17 agreed, stating,

The reality is... the real world is that line managers will always have influence, their decisions will always impact you whether it’s individually or decisions for the collective. So I don’t think there’s too much you can do about it in that respect.

Similarly AC_09 stated, “being in a situation where no one has any influence over decisions is almost an unrealistic scenario and you have to accept that”. Around half of the academic cohort commented that personally they “strongly agreed” with this statement but, for the reasons explored above, felt that it was an unrealistic scenario 85, often given as a reason for not responding with a score of five.

Others, such as AC_16, expressed opinions similar to those of the NHS cohort, whereby, despite their dislike of being line managed, it was accepted as a fact of organisational life and would result in “an impractical situation if that wasn’t the case”. AC_16 continued:

I think someone’s got to take overall responsibility for it therefore they’ve got to have some sort of right to make decisions even if you aren’t sort of happy with them (emphasis added).

However, as emphasised above, this summed up the general dislike of management in this cohort. Several academics, including AC_18, surpassed the “inevitability” of needing to be managed and instead viewed the relationship with their line manager as purely utilitarian. AC_18 explained this view as follows:

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85 The phrase from statement G: “if I had my way” was felt to be unrealistic
It’s not about your line manager making decisions about what you actually do; it’s about supporting what you want to do, so it’s not an equal relationship for sure.

This demonstrated the lack of vulnerability with line managers which was echoed throughout the cohort. There was an overall reluctant acknowledgement that, despite many academics disliking the idea of having a line manager in general, this position was a necessary evil which involved delegating authority to making certain decisions which could influence them at a higher level. However this did not extend to any form of vulnerability with their line manager.

**Summary:** the Likert and narrative data, collected using the Schoorman and Ballinger scale, demonstrated clear associations between levels of inter-hierarchical vulnerability and inter-hierarchical trust; these were found to be highest in the RAF, lowest in academia and between these two extremes in the NHS (where they were still relatively low by comparison with the RAF levels). Evidence of and reasons for these inter-organisational differences are now further explored through detailed reference to the narrative data from each cohort.

**5.3.2 Evidence for the key findings from emerging narrative themes**

Evidence for the three key findings, emerging from key themes in the data, is presented below. The theme of professional value congruence (VC) emerged in the narrative data for all three cohorts and was found to relate to levels of leader vulnerability and inter-hierarchical trust as summarised in Table 37.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NHS</th>
<th>RAF</th>
<th>AC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inter-hierarchical trust</td>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>LOW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>LOW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional VC</td>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>LOW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 37:** Summary of the general levels of inter-hierarchical trust, as expressed within the narrative data, for each cohort
Evidence for all key findings: having shared values\textsuperscript{86} (value congruence) emerged as an important theme in all three cohorts and was found to be indicative of willingness to be vulnerable to line management and therefore important to explore in unpicking reasons for the inter-organisational differences in levels of inter-hierarchical trust. Different issues within, and manifestations of, value congruence or lack of it were shown to surface in the three cohorts. For the NHS it was medical practitioners versus the management staff and there was a similar situation with academics being managed by a separate management body\textsuperscript{87}. Where there were high levels of value congruence this was shown to engender a willingness to be vulnerable to line managers; conversely low value congruence (i.e. high value incongruence) was synonymous with a lack of interdependence and unwillingness to become vulnerable.

NHS: In the NHS cohort low value congruence with line managers was another indicator of low vulnerability and trust. NHS\_16 expressed the importance of value congruence and trust in line management in their definition of trust and how it should theoretically translate into the work environment, “if you trust people further up the chain, what their vision is and what they’re doing, then you’re much more likely to do your bit I suppose.” However, low levels of value congruence between medical professionals and line management emerged as the unanimous view of the medical professionals interviewed. For instance, NHS\_12 talked openly about the inter-professional value incongruence that existed within the NHS: “I think one of the most difficult lines is the kind of culture of the management versus the medical staff”. This interlocutor explained this significant difference in culture in greater detail and differentiated between the medical staff and the managers running the NHS according to different values (i.e. as a money making enterprise) whilst acknowledging “It is a business now whether I like it or not,” adding, “These divisions [between management and clinical staff] have become clearer” demonstrating an acknowledgement of the two very different cultures running alongside each other yet perceived to be grounded in and focussing on different values. NHS\_18, likewise, drew attention to the, “… different levels of operation” in the NHS context and referred to his perception of the value incongruence and the resulting lack of inter-hierarchical trust, “… at a management level where the management’s agenda is different from ours at a clinical level and I

\textsuperscript{86} termed value congruence in the literature.

\textsuperscript{87} Whilst there was no such issue in the RAF two un-commissioned crewmen spoke of value incongruence with the commissioned officers who were pilots; however they were in the minority amongst the crewman interviewed and since this did not impact on their inter-hierarchical trust this is not included here.
think that is often something that leads one to suspicion”. There were clear examples of such suspicion leading to a lack of openness and vulnerability. NHS_12 gave a clear example of the typical effect which such perceived value incongruence subsequently had on willingness to be vulnerable with management:

**NHS_12: You try to be as open as can but I don’t think that there’s any doubt that you’re economic with what you say…** especially if you have a sense that they, in some way, have some authority over you and you don’t know how or to what extent they have been affected by the culture in which they’re working, which is different from the one which you’re working in (emphasis added).

In addition, some quoted examples of management action perpetuated perceptions of value incongruence as explained by NHS_01, “There are issues to do with relationship with management not participating fully”. This demonstrated that actions, or in this case lack of action, have the potential to portray value incongruence or at least be interpreted this way by others. As mentioned above, the majority of the cohort acknowledged the utility of this role, as acknowledged by NHS_12: “I do basically accept it in the broader context of, you know, money has to be spent appropriately and honestly and effectively.” However the stark value incongruence with line management was present throughout the cohort demonstrating a lack of interdependence and vulnerability with the administrative body.

**RAF – evidence for key finding 2:** by contrast with the NHS and academic contexts, all the RAF personnel interviewed had line managers who were RAF professionals. RAF_11 highlighted the absolute importance of intra-professional value congruence with a line manager: “You couldn’t have a non-aircrew person being my line manager: it wouldn’t work”. Likewise, RAF_09 commented on the importance of having confidence that their line manager was able to empathise, precisely because they had undergone the same gruelling training programme themselves:

We’ve all gone through the same syllabus... because the station commanders will have gone though it 20 years before they understand the frustration when they crack the whip.

RAF_01 echoed the unanimous view, within this cohort, of the importance of having line managers who had been in the same position as them previously:
I think it’s really good that they understand exactly how you do your job so I think that’s extremely important – I think that does help, yes. It does massively help.

Similarly RAF_14 stressed, “You know that they’ve done what you’re attaining to do”. In this particular work environment interlocutors viewed it as essential that their line manager had a clear understanding of the situation, mainly through having years of experience in the high risk contexts that they are exposed to. Respect, in part commanded by this position of expertise, was shown to undergird value congruence and trust in this context as exemplified by RAF_14 commenting on how he would view a non-RAF manager: “You’d have no respect for those people”.

Many made reference to the fact that there was complete interdependence between all four crew members during any flight; since hierarchical differences were not brought into the cockpit this did not translate into value incongruence in this particular environment. The common military training, thus, served a source of value congruence.

General expectations of the role and responsibilities of a line manager, from RAF interviews, also provided further evidence for key finding two. In the RAF cohort, the necessity of a line manager demonstrating benevolence emerged as a salient character trait, important in reinforcing a willingness to be vulnerable to a line manager. According to RAF_02 the main remit of a line manager was, “Managing your career and looking after you,” showing that benevolence featured heavily in the basic mandate of a line manager akin to progression, as was the typical view. The same two aspects were highlighted by RAF_01 who summed up the majority view of line management in this cohort as follows:

Yes I do think they have your interests at heart and that does increase trust; yes, if they’re willing to speak to other people about your future career and write reports and help you with that, then that does help increase trust.

Benevolence was viewed as composite to the nature of the position and responsibilities of a line manager. As such, help with career progression and general benevolence were shown to be vital components for trust and confidence in line managers in this context and seemed to form the basis of confidence that consideration of subordinate needs

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88 This is an example of institutional trust serving to reinforce both cognitive and affect trust in this context.
would be included in decision making. Ultimately these high expectations culminated in high levels of inter-hierarchical trust amongst this cohort as summed up by RAF_19: “If you can’t trust your boss then who can you trust?”.

**AC – evidence for key finding 3:** the narrative data, from the academic cohort, revealed there to be extremely high levels of perceived value incongruence with line managers in this work environment. Similar to the NHS context, but to an even greater extent, inter-hierarchical value congruence, for the majority of the academics interviewed, resulted in a deep seated negative attitude towards management. Many strongly disliked the idea of being line managed or simply felt that it was unclear as to who their line manager was due to the non-essential role which this played in their professional existence as expressed by AC_01:

> Actually the concept of line manager is completely bizarre to me as I guess it is to most academics! Yes – the line manager is sometimes the editor of the journal I want to publish in… i.e. in terms of setting deadlines!

In general, distrust of line management was perceived to be, in principle, as summed up by AC_13, “…just a result of different agendas”89. Data expressing this value incongruence typically pertained to differing values regarding the raison d’être of the entire department as expressed by AC_05:

> [This department] is a major cash cow for the university and they just want to get more and more students through – it’s just through put really… so there are major conflicts between the academics who want to actually enjoy (laughs) teaching, teach good quality students and do a good job… and actually having large numbers on PG courses [has resulted in] a big tension on the teaching side which does not particularly concern higher management.

Besides the value incongruence, springing from the difference in agenda, perceived by the academics, communication of the management “vision” for the school as a money making venture (under the guise of research excellence) served to increase this trend since this was perceived to be resulting in the degradation of the actual day to day reality of the job of an academic. AC_05 voiced the opinion of the majority in concluding, “The job is not as attractive as it used to be”. In addition AC_13 felt that

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89 This echoed the sentiments of many in the NHS (e.g. NHS_01 and NHS_18) demonstrating that, in line with Sitkin and Roth, value incongruence, was shown to be indicative of distrust.
lack of clarity and honesty regarding this differing managerial agenda had led to further alienation:

And I suppose what I mean by them sometimes not being very transparent is that their actions are sometimes different to their words... so they would sign up to... REF and research quality, etc.

The common view, amongst this cohort, was that by contrast with the management rhetoric, the reality of increased teaching pressures had not been backed with adequate resource in-put. This perceived lack of concern from management, in addressing this issue, served to simply perpetuate the negative attitude and deepen inter-hierarchical distrust. Furthermore, AC_19 gave an example of behaviour exhibited by management to illustrate the sense of increasing alienation and diverging values:

Whenever you find somebody doing a road show to explain things, you know that there is a huge gap between the people presenting the road show and the audience – they shouldn’t have to do that.

This indicated that simply the act of communicating a vision had further increased the sense of value incongruence with management since the need to do this fell completely at odds with academic values. Finally, there was an acknowledgement that a base level of value incongruence existed simply by virtue of the line manager’s lack of background in the subject. AC_01 stated bluntly: “There’s so much of the knowledge which is outside of their expertise” however, in demonstrating further evidence of a purely utilitarian relationship AC_01 continued, “…which is quite handy to exploit I guess!”

Further evidence for key finding three emerged in reference to a general lack of confidence in management decision making amongst academics. More specifically, the narrative data demonstrated that value incongruence was both as a result of and underpinned by a lack of confidence in management decision making. AC_01 and AC_04 and AC_11 all commented that despite their current level of disdain towards management, failure of management to act or intervene in certain situations would destroy the already low level of trust completely: “If it looked like they were willing to just tolerate this, for whatever the reason was, obviously my trust in them would really be shot, even if it does confirm my feelings about their incompetence”. Equally, AC_05 opined, “So if you ask whether I trust the senior staff in the school and the university –
no I don’t!” This asserted lack of trust was as a direct consequence of a perceived lack of consideration of the needs of subordinates in decision making. AC_19 highlighted, “I mean one of the reasons why I distance myself from decision making is because I don’t trust most of the people in this organisation to pursue decision making in a sensible way.” This shows the importance of managerial action and decision making not only for trust but also, as seen above in the NHS cohort, as important markers for perceived value congruence; where they were perceived absent disillusionment and value incongruence was seen to result. This was representative of the academic cohort’s attitude towards line management.

As in the NHS, decision making in regards to recruitment was likewise highlighted as an important indication of inter-hierarchical value incongruence. For instance AC_05 felt that the university managers were incompetent as exemplified in the types of unwise decisions they were making regarding recruitment: “[they’re], recruiting people that the subject group don’t feel are appropriate, who are unlikely to be research active, and we feel that things are going to be difficult in the near future.” Mirroring these concerns AC_13 commented:

> In practice we have a problem with retention of good hires... and sometimes when they [management] look at CVs they don’t always choose what I would consider to be a good academic hire. We don’t want bad ones but I don’t trust their judgement on that.

Just over half of the interviewees, likewise, specifically made reference to value incongruence being demonstrated through poor decision making in relation to recruitment and/or line managers choosing to ignore the preferred candidates of the academic professionals. Furthermore, AC_10 commented that this had changed their whole view of being involved in the recruitment process: “This means that this whole process is now just a token gesture and staff know that they have no influence.” This demonstrates that one incident had the potential to shape this person’s view of management, serving to reinforce perceptions of value incongruence and also causing re-evaluations of leader benevolence. As such, it can be concluded that participative decision making is important to inter-hierarchical trust and lack of it has the potential to propagate value incongruence. In this cohort the lack of willingness to be vulnerable to

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90 This relates back to statement A on the Schoorman and Ballinger trust scale, confirming its relevance as indicative of inter-hierarchical trust.
line management was found to be due to a perceived lack of professional value incongruence, but also perpetuated through perceptions of value incongruence leading to expectations that any future decision making, entrusted to management, would be made on the basis of values at odds with the academic agenda. Thus a lack of confidence in management decision making was indicative of low value congruence and willingness to be vulnerable to management in this cohort.

The general feeling amongst academics was that being vulnerable, in any way, to a line manager was not only totally undesirable but furthermore, associated with weakness and therefore something to be avoided, as exemplified by AC_07:

I’m big enough and old enough now to be able to fight my own corner so it’s the word vulnerable. I mean, ‘vulnerable’ carries different connotations to me – it makes me feel weak in that sense.

In reference to being willing to become vulnerable to a line manager, in the context of a performance development review, AC_02 commented:

It’s only rarely that you get to do that with someone who gives a d*** enough to discuss your development within the organisation for the mutual development of both; it can very easily be taken over by attempts to manage and control and impose things and intimidate to doing things.

This demonstrates that the attitude of line managers towards supporting subordinate career development can influence willingness to be vulnerable. This determination to remain invulnerable to line managers was a common theme in this cohort. As an example of this, AC_03 felt the need to closely guard all information which might then put them at a disadvantage if a current line manager was promoted to a different role:

There is the problem of internal politics, conflicting internal interests... the fact that people are in one position today but could be in another tomorrow; so perhaps you need to think ahead... you know, what’s appropriate to say or to do.

Likewise the majority of the cohort talked in terms of deliberately taking steps to be invulnerable to management. This was summed up by AC_18 who stated that their aim was to eliminate all vulnerability:

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91 in reference to “a willingness to be vulnerable”, as an integral part of trust as defined by Mayer et al. within the literature
The name of the game is to be totally invulnerable... no one’s totally indispensable but to make sure that the department needs you more than you need them basically!... if you can publish in the American 4* journals frankly you’re nearly untouchable and that’s the name of the game... to be invulnerable to management in a sense (emphasis added).

Both the Likert and narrative data, as expressed above, provided evidence that interlocutors in the academic environment were least willing to be vulnerable, of the three cohorts. In both the NHS and academic context, the narrative data demonstrated that where management’s communication of a vision was at odds with the professionals’ values or where management were found to have a hidden agenda these were viewed as two areas of further inter-hierarchical value incongruence which served both to compound and to confound inter-hierarchical distrust. This was expressed in an increased unwillingness to be vulnerable, found to be strongest in the academic cohort.

**Summary**: Extent of professional value congruence with leaders was found, in all three cohorts, to coincide with mean Likert levels of willingness to be vulnerable to management thus providing reasons for levels of inter-hierarchical trust. The stark contrast in attitude towards managerial decision making in the RAF, as opposed to the NHS and academic cohorts, was summed up by RAF_13:

> I trust my captain that he’s making the right choices, you might question something but if he gives you the reason for it then you’d completely trust his decision. The actual entire operation of the aircraft depends on trust.

This demonstrates the readiness to be vulnerable to managers in this context as being underpinned by high levels of inter-hierarchical trust and manifested in confidence in management decision making. Value congruence was found to be influencing and influenced by levels of inter-hierarchical trust. In line with the literature, the presence of value congruence with leaders can be seen as indicative of strong affect trust in leaders in the RAF cohort; the evidence of value incongruence demonstrates the barriers to the development of affect trust in management in the NHS and AC and that it is predominantly cognitive trust in leaders in these contexts. Trust in leaders in the NHS and AC was found to be based on cognitive assessments of the leader’s C and I with no evidence of affect trust. It was likewise seen to be member’s assessments of the fairness of these procedures, and the values portrayed therein, which contributed to their assessment of the CBI and hence the trustworthiness of leaders.
5.4 Trust in peers (intra-hierarchical trust)

Intra-hierarchical trust was explored qualitatively. The key findings, in relation to intra-hierarchical trust, were as follows: first, RAF interlocutors were found to have the highest levels of interdependence with their peers and therefore were more vulnerable to each other; second, conversely the academic cohort was characterised by very low levels of intra-hierarchical interdependence. The general trends in the narrative data are summarised in Table 38.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intra-hierarchical trust</th>
<th>NHS</th>
<th>RAF</th>
<th>AC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interdependence</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>LOW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>LOW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional VC</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>Not commented on</td>
<td>Not commented on</td>
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Table 38: Summary of levels of intra-hierarchical trust and key themes which emerged to explain these in the narrative data

5.4.1 Levels/demonstrations of intra-hierarchical interdependence and vulnerability

In stark contrast to levels of trust in management, high levels of intra-hierarchical interdependence and vulnerability characterised the NHS cohort. An important part of this was open sharing of specialist knowledge and best practice and reliance on each other’s expertise. For instance, NHS_20 felt certain that interdependence in these terms was of crucial importance: “We ask each other for advice all the time” later commenting, “… that’s part of trust”. Linked with this, NHS_18 commented on the need to understand one’s own limitations and be open in asking for help as being important within interdependence:

Over time you realise that the experience that you have may be confined to a particular area in children’s services, for example, but you also build up an impression of people who’ve got perhaps a parallel experience and you’ve got trust in what they do.

The constant act of making decisions on the basis of the decision making and judgements of others thus demonstrated that interdependence was fundamental to the
job of a medic. NHS_14 felt that interdependence, in being able to work well as a team and rely on each other, was crucial:

Without trust I don’t think that we would be able to work as a team, full stop! I wouldn’t put grades in it… it’s black or white! It’s such a high dependency input there and such a high value is at stake that you can’t… you just have to work as a team otherwise there’s nothing there (emphasis added).

Various examples were volunteered, by interviewees, showing the need for interdependence in this organisational environment. NHS_08 talked about the interdependence experienced: “… we share a lot of the work load; we do a lot of things for each other” whilst NHS_18 connoted “… you have to have a certain amount of faith in each other’s practice in order to be able to work” suggesting that many aspects of work within the NHS were built on the premise of having to trust others and be interdependent on the skills and decision making of others as examples below demonstrate.

First, interdependence was fundamentally part of day to day work in relation to continuation of care; a member of medical staff cannot offer round the clock care and yet a patient’s care must remain at a constant and consistent level. NHS_19 explained the process of continuation of care, whereby medical staff are constantly working interdependently:

It happens on a day to day basis… when you’re working shift systems… you’re dealing with a baby and then you hand over to the team coming on at night to look after the baby and you do trust them with… that they will deliver the same sort of care which you’ve been delivering.

Second, interdependence was found to be bound up in decision making in this context. As an example of this, NHS_04 explained that certain decisions were made by doctors and then carried out by nursing staff: “We work so closely together that if we’re making decisions they’re usually following a protocol.” This demonstrated the close team work and inter-reliance needed in order to carry out an adequate level of care. NHS_09 meanwhile summed up the very nature of the day to day work of a medical professional as being bound up in and wholly characterised by interdependence, which necessitated trust in the judgements and decision making of others, not only of other doctors but the whole multi-disciplinary team:
You have to trust your colleagues to trust you... very few doctors work single-handed so almost invariably you’re going to be working with other Drs. At one end of the spectrum that means that you have to trust the opinions of other Drs – so that if I have an x-ray report I have to trust the radiologist – or at the other end of the spectrum if I’m leaving my patients in someone’s care I have to trust them to look after my patients and to fulfil my plans for those patients.

However, this level of interdependence required a committed investment of time. NHS_08 spoke about the level of commitment needed for interdependence which relied on taking time to discuss issues and reach an agreed way forward rather than simply making a decision:

So we try not to function independently. I’m reluctant to make decisions that could potentially affect my peers without discussing them with my peers first and we’ve put time aside each week to deal with tricky issues.

The general view of trust, characterised by high levels of interdependence in this cohort, was summed up by NHS_20: “I don’t think you can even work without trust because you can get a very dysfunctional team or a dysfunctional family so to speak if there’s no trust.”

5.4.2 RAF – key finding three

The narrative data demonstrated the high levels of vulnerability and interdependence in this context at the intra-hierarchical level (mirroring the high levels of willingness to be vulnerable to managers). RAF_16 commented on the importance of interdependence in this work environment, particularly whilst in the air in the helicopter; the four man crew is split between the front end, which consists of two pilots, and the back end which consists of two crewmen. As an example of the high interdependence between the pilots and crewmen in this context, RAF_16 asserted:

We’re the pilots’ eyes and ears in the back of the aircraft so we’ll be, say with under slung loads… we’ll be voice marshalling the aircraft to a specific area, lowering it down over the load to pick it up etc. so we’ve got quite an interconnection there... there’s got to be a real cohesion between the front and the back end.
RAF_07 commented on the context of the job being, “Very high vulnerability” and went on to describe why, in reference to the cockpit context:

RAF_07: I don’t think that ever a case was more apparent: I’ve got my back to that part of the aircraft, I’m completely at his [a colleague’s] mercy. If he doesn’t do his job right it’s literally going to bark me up the arse… and it’s the same for the front, in situations like that, all they’ve got are the controls of the aircraft. They’ve got no means of defending themselves at all… they are completely… they throw themselves completely at our feet in the back of the aircraft. So it’s quite an acute scenario that you’re looking at there.

These descriptions clearly demonstrate that this context required high intra-hierarchical interdependence and vulnerability. In talking about the impact of close interdependent team work, RAF_07 commented on the most effective work being done when interdependence was at a premium:

The really smooth running job or the really smooth running trips in the aircrafts or job taking place on the ground are the ones where everybody in the chain has just relied on the guy previous to him and to have done the job.

This demonstrated the crucial importance of interdependence and vulnerability to team functioning in this context. In linking this back to trust, RAF_13 referred to the central importance of interdependence in engendering trust:

The actual entire operation of the aircraft depends on trust. But if you didn’t have trust in the crew, then I guess it would all break down and there’d be too much of an argument and you wouldn’t be able to carry out the job and the role, so yes it’s very important.

The high levels of interdependence and vulnerability amongst peers within this cohort were summed up by RAF_19:

I think particularly in the armed forces, trust between your close circle of colleagues is as strong a bond as you could ever get really. I’ve crash landed places you would never want to go but you trust your training… so you trust the system but you trust the colleagues you work with because you know that they will do for you what you would do for them.

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92 This is the context in which all interviewees, from this cohort, operated, on a daily basis.
In addition, this demonstrates the importance of a close connection between institutional and interpersonal trust whereby institutional trust can be seen to undergird cognitive and affect trust in this context. This is in line with Rousseau et al.’s (1998) model of trust (Figure 1) and in particular provides clear evidence of the interconnectivity between these various bases of trust and the need for a comprehensive consideration of all three.

5.4.3 AC – key finding three
As further evidence for key finding three, the narrative data portrayed an almost complete lack of interdependence amongst the academics interviewed. Reasons for this, highlighted through the narrative data, pointed principally to the independent nature of the work; the specialist knowledge, developed through a role which enabled independent development of highly specialised and individual research interests, meant that to some degree academia was viewed, from within, as being self-selecting of people preferring independent work.

First, there was overwhelming evidence of completely independent work in this context. For example, when asked about team work, by complete contrast with the examples of close team work described in the RAF and NHS, AC_02 replied:

Well I don’t work with a team – I really don’t. Not even when I was managing a programme, there wasn’t a team… it was more like a network approach so you pool the resources that are required at a given time, pray for the best, you know, hope that people will help and advise and support and deliver good results... rather than ignore and sabotage.

This exemplified the common experience of lack of interdependence experienced by this cohort. In seeking to explain this low level of interdependence, AC_17 opined: “Most of the colleagues you don’t really have any direct engagement with,” whilst AC_19 commented that interdependence was superfluous because, “Most of the work is routine, the work is not life endangering [and therefore] most of one’s working life is not dependent.” The context was, hence, seen to promulgate the low levels of intra-hierarchical interdependence; AC_02 spoke for the majority in summing up the academic context as follows:

Well again I have to undermine your idea of a team because I don’t think that in the academic world, unless you are talking about researchers working on a
project together, there is much of a team... I’ve never experienced working in a
team so I couldn’t comment on that.

This was also deemed to have direct implications for trust according to AC_04 quite
simply because, “…a lot more of the work is in isolation so probably trust isn’t always...
it isn’t as important”. Therefore the lack of interdependence can be linked to the lack of
trust required in this particular context.

Second, due to the specialist nature of the research of many academics, interdependent
relationships with colleagues were not necessitated in terms of offering and receiving
knowledge specific advice and support (by comparison with the NHS and RAF)
therefore providing little opportunity for interdependence and vulnerability. AC_05
commented that colleagues within the department did not have the expertise to be able
to comment on their research:

I don’t have much in common with the other academics in this department even
though it is the same subject area. My research is in an area that no one else is
interested in in this university. Therefore when I talk to people, it’s in other
universities. So therefore I operate largely independently and I’m quite
comfortable with that.

Like AC_05, the academics interviewed mirrored this level of contentment with the
status quo. Personality was therefore seen to be, in some cases, a mildly contributing
factor to the extent that AC_06 felt that academics were self-selecting: “I like to be sort
of self-sufficient… So there is a tradition of self-sufficiency which I suppose mitigates
against trust in that sense”. In speaking for the majority, AC_08 used a metaphor to
describe this lack of interdependence amongst academics: “Here we’re all ships being
directed from time to time but taking various different courses.”

Third, there was a general dislike of the whole idea of making oneself vulnerable to
another, amongst the academic community interviewed; several of the cohort
interviewed made specific reference to this being due to the context. For instance,
AC_18 related vulnerability to the context and simply felt that it was not applicable
within this particular work environment: “No... the issue of vulnerability is not an issue
because we don’t need to make ourselves vulnerable”. Equally, there were many who
linked this dislike of the idea of vulnerability to their personality, for example, AC_03
commented,
I don’t like to make myself vulnerable which sounds, I suppose, the opposite of what I said earlier about being quite open etc. but I don’t like to be vulnerable. I don’t like to think that I’m vulnerable and relying on other people.

Similarly AC_02 opined: “This may be a personality trait but… even if it was my own mother, I would not want to be vulnerable towards anyone”. In agreement with AC_06 above, AC_05 described this general dislike of being vulnerable as “… a natural selection process” amongst academics; he felt that he could pinpoint a general tendency for this to be a common trait amongst the academic community because

There are an awful lot of academics who lock themselves away and get on with thinking about things… they don’t interact a lot… they’re insular and they don’t trust people – it’s almost self-selection.

Therefore this type of personality was shown to be well-suited to the independent nature of niche academic research.

5.4.4 Further evidence for key findings – aspects of institutional trust reinforcing levels of interdependence in RAF and academia

Aspects of institutional trust emerged as a key theme in the RAF and academic cohorts, whereby examples were given of policies serving to reinforce the underlying levels of high and low interdependence respectively93.

Within the RAF, the system of debriefing, as a procedural act of making oneself vulnerable, was widely mentioned as underpinning trust, as described by RAF_04:

We have a long debriefing process where we actually talk about things when we get back: what we did and how we could have done it better, whether we were happy, who did what, whether that was right, whether we could have done that a different way. So actually we are brutally honest with each other and it is an integral part of what we do.

Therefore this created a formal requirement, but even more importantly, an expectation of collegiate accountability amongst peers, that each person would own up to errors, as RAF_02 explained:

93 In the case of trust erosion, in the academic cohort, this can be seen as a clear contribution to the literature due to the current lack of attention given to understanding the role of institutional trust in trust erosion which will be further explored in the discussion.
It’s very good and there are no massive repercussions; if you make a mistake and it’s a pure mistake, as long as you’re not doing anything stupid, then it’s relatively easy… there’s no kind of bad repercussions to be concerned about.

The reassurance that admitting to mistakes would not result in serious professional repercussions served to encourage and promulgate this kind of openness and hence reinforce high levels of willingness to be vulnerable and interdependence amongst peers. In explaining the reasons why this engendered trust, RAF_01\textsuperscript{94} offered the following:

I think it probably builds trust because I think if people are… you know, if you’re willing to say – ‘I’ve made an error’ then people know when to actually look out for you making that mistake again or to actually think well actually you’re willing to say when you’ve made an error – I’ll trust you a little bit further. I think if you try and hide a mistake, that’s when people don’t trust you. So if you admit to your mistake then people will trust you, if you hide it then the trust goes straight away.

RAF_06 also commented that the importance of being willing to open up and be vulnerable in admitting mistakes was emphasised by the organisation, in their training, from the start: “… it’s sort of drilled into us from an early stage the idea of CRM\textsuperscript{95} and the idea that you work as a crew and therefore that you need to be open and honest with each other.” Thus the debrief process, as an aspect of institutional trust was serving to undergird trust through a willingness to be vulnerable to each other thus actively building affect trust. This was further explained by a pilot (RAF_01 as above) who, as flight safety officer, was responsible for documenting mistakes and ensuring that they were used as learning opportunities; in talking about the importance of this process in maintaining high levels of trust and just guarding against reaching a point of complacency with regards to safety regulations RAF_01 asserted:

I think trusting too much can sometimes lead to complacency because people are human and make errors; so I think if you trust people without thinking, ‘Oh I’ll just check that’, the one time you don’t check it is the one time actually they’ve forgotten to do it; so yes I think it’s trust to a certain level and then once you get

\textsuperscript{94} RAF_01, who agreed to this additional vocational information being published, was currently acting as safety officer and so actively involved in the formal overseeing of this process
\textsuperscript{95} CRM = crew resource management
past that sort of level of ‘yea, he always does that’, then it becomes complacency.

Coming from a different perspective, RAF_04 felt that regulation could only go so far and that a balance between trust and regulation was needed:

I think trust is far more important than regulation. I think in a lot of cases regulation formalises trust and I think unless that trust is there, it doesn’t matter what regulation you have in place, it won’t happen… or to an acceptable level anyway.

Therefore the narrative evidence demonstrated that a formalised level of safety checks were necessary, as part of institutional trust, to undergird high levels of interdependence providing confidence that high trust would not lead to compromises in safety. It was, however, also recognised that without high levels of interpersonal trust, such aspects of institutional trust would not be effective in maintaining trust. In addition to enhancing intra-hierarchical openness and trust amongst peers, trust in leaders was indirectly reinforced through such institutional trust mechanisms.

Conversely, an aspect of institutional trust was found to be contributing to maintaining low levels of interdependence amongst academics. Despite the academic context already being a place of reported self-sufficiency, AC_14 commented on the fact that the organisational processes were continuing to reinforce the lack of interdependence because the underlying reward systems meant that,

It doesn’t actually pay to do things with people in the same university; the driver is actually to do stuff with people from other universities because of points… because papers means points means prizes so you can’t put in for the same paper if you’re in the same institution [the result being that] people are now less inclined to work with other colleagues.

Thus aspects of institutional trust, in the form of research policy and reward schemes, were found to be reinforcing the underlying trend, i.e. actively discouraging collaboration with peers and hence any form of interdependence. Within the academic cohort a second aspect of institutional trust emerged as a common theme in the narrative data as serving to further undermine interdependence, as expressed by AC_07:

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96 and as such could not be considered a replacement for trust
No I don’t think trust’s an issue there. I think it’s an issue about people being allowed to get away without fulfilling their organisation’s commitments basically – attendance at boards of study or exam boards or curriculum committees. So it’s not about trust…

The salience of this issue to academics varied according to the degree of importance attributed to collegiality, but in general there was some degree of resentment towards colleagues who were seen to be ignoring certain organisational commitments (which did not figure in reward schemes) for their own good, to the detriment of the whole as summed up by AC_01, “They are just looking out for themselves”. However, for the majority this did not dramatically affect trust in colleagues, since there was often no trust in the first place. But crucially it did affect views of organisational justice, due to lack of repercussions in place for those failing to invest time in organisational commitments, which translated into reinforcing low trust in the competence, integrity and benevolence of management. Since management was not seen to be taking action to address this issue this had the potential to severely damage trust in organisational justice in general (in the perceived fairness of monitoring systems) and management’s ability to fulfil their job in particular. In addition, the lack of action from management was perceived as further evidence of value incongruence since reward systems were failing to encourage collegiate behaviour, thus again reinforcing a lack of interdependence.

In sum, the aspects of institutional trust in the AC and RAF cohorts, outlined above, though opposite in their results were both shown to a) reinforce current levels of intra-hierarchical trust b) be interpreted as indicative of a prior levels of VC with managers and to reinforce such perceptions.

5.5 Chapter summary
This chapter presented findings relating to RQ1 exploring the trust profiles of the three organisational contexts; inter-hierarchical trust was explored using the 7-point Schoorman and Ballinger (2006) scale resulting in the following inter-organisational differences being highlighted:

- There was a difference between organisations in members’ willingness to become vulnerable to managers and each other.
- RAF was most interdependent and therefore employees were found to be more vulnerable to each other.
- Peers, in the academic cohort, were least interdependent and least willing to become vulnerable to each other.

Both inter- and intra-hierarchical trust, within each cohort, was also explored through emerging themes in the narrative data which supported and explored reasons for these findings.

The evidence shows that of the three cohorts, RAF members were most vulnerable to their line managers. This was indicative of strong affect trust in leaders in this cohort whilst the scores demonstrate that it was predominantly cognitive trust in leaders in the NHS and academic cohorts.

### 5.5.1 Summary of narrative data findings

Narrative data was presented as evidence for the key findings. Key inter-organisational differences were found in levels of inter and intra-hierarchical trust, as illustrated by Table 39. These were firstly shown to be due to contextual differences in interdependence and vulnerability. Reasons for these differences were further explored through in-depth qualitative data collection and could be principally linked to the presence or absence of professional value congruence, found to both influence and be influenced by levels of inter-hierarchical trust. The presence of personal value congruence was found to be a necessary condition for an employee to be willing to be vulnerable to a line manager and indicative of interdependence with a colleague.


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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NHS</th>
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<th>AC</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>LOW</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vulnerability</td>
<td>LOW</td>
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<td>Professional VC</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intra-hierarchical trust</td>
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<td>Interdependence</td>
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<td>Professional VC</td>
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<td>Not commented on</td>
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Table 39: Summary of the main findings from the qualitative data

These findings demonstrated that a mixed method contextual consideration of the inter-connected nature of interdependence, vulnerability and value congruence, was crucial to furthering knowledge of inter and intra-hierarchical trust in addressing RQ1.

Furthermore, these findings provide two clear additional contributions to the literature: first, qualitative findings serving to deepen understanding of managerial actions which impact positively and negatively on employee perceptions of value congruence; second, qualitative data regarding the role of institutional trust in employee perceptions of inter-hierarchical trust$^{98}$. Implications of these contributions will be presented in the discussion chapter.

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$^{97}$ See appendix 1 for NHS data
$^{98}$ This was highlighted, in chapter three, as an area warranting research.
Chapter 6  Findings two: the internal construction of intra-hierarchical trust (i.e. between colleagues) in each organisational setting

6.1  Introduction
Addressing RQ2 involved exploring the internal construction of intra-hierarchical trust in each research setting, on the basis of Mayer et al.’s (1995) framework of trustworthiness. The Likert scores (ranked 1 = not at all concerned, 10 = extremely concerned) were attributed by interlocutors as an indicator of their level of concern in response to a context specific scenario, involving an independent loss of each of these components of trust. The mean Likert score for each CBI component, in each cohort, is given in Table 40 in order of overall within-cohort ranking thus showing within cohort ranking of component salience.

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<tr>
<th>Cohort</th>
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<tr>
<td>NHS</td>
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<td>B (6.9)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>AC</td>
<td>I (7.5)</td>
<td>B (4.9)</td>
<td>C (4.7)</td>
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Table 40: Summary of the order of importance and overall mean Likert scores for Mayer et al.’s (1995) components of trust: C (competence), B (benevolence) and I (integrity) within each cohort (shaded sections indicate low i.e. < 5)

The higher the score, the higher the level of concern was demonstrated for a perceived loss of this component. As can be seen from Table 40, competence in the NHS (8.4) was attributed the same level of importance to trust as integrity within the RAF (also 8.4) and similarly integrity in the NHS (7.4) was considered of equal importance to benevolence in the RAF (7.4). These scores indicate that a higher level of trust is warranted within these two organisations by comparison with academia. Within academia the same ordering of the components occurred as within the RAF indicating some similarity concerning CBI salience. However, the scores for both benevolence and competence within academia were both below half, demonstrating that these components did not feature heavily in a trustor’s perceptions of trust in colleagues in

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99 Mayer et al.’s (1995) defined trustworthiness as a trustor’s willingness to become vulnerable to a trustee based on assessments of the trustee’s competence (C), benevolence (B) and integrity (I).
this organisational context. CBI also provided three initial categories for coding the narrative data\textsuperscript{100}.

6.2 Key findings
The main findings in relation to research question two indicated that:

- Professional integrity was of high importance in all three organisations.
- There were significant differences between organisations regarding the importance of competence and benevolence to trust, with the mean score for academics being significantly lower in both cases.
- Within academia the only component of trust higher than five (out of ten) was professional integrity. This indicated that academics viewed competence and benevolence as being relatively unimportant on average.
- Competence was highest in the NHS which was consistent with the \textit{a priori} assumption that, for medical professionals, competence is of greater importance than both professional integrity and benevolence.

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows: firstly professional integrity is explored, followed by competence and finally benevolence. Within each of these sections the findings are presented as follows. Inter-organisational comparisons of the Likert scale data relating to that particular component are made. This is followed by a presentation of the narrative data from each organisation in three sub sections: first from the NHS cohort, second, from the RAF and third, from academia.

6.3 Professional integrity
High mean scores for each cohort indicated that professional integrity was a key factor in all intra-hierarchical relationships (see Table 41).

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<td>NHS</td>
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<td>AC</td>
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\textbf{Table 41: Mean Likert scores for each cohort in response to context specific professional integrity scenarios (see 6.3.1-3).}

Key findings relating specifically to professional integrity indicated the following:

\textsuperscript{100}This numerical data is a crude indication of relative CBI salience and so is analysed in conjunction with the narrative data below; the qualititative data revealed reasons for the overall impact on trust.
Professional integrity was of high importance in all three organisations.
Within academia the only component of trust with a score higher than 5 (out of 10) was professional integrity. This indicates that academics viewed competence and benevolence as being relatively unimportant on average.

The narrative data likewise emphasised the importance of integrity in all three cohorts and is analysed in detail below, by cohort. Each section begins with a copy of the scenario for ease of reference.

6.3.1 RAF

Your colleague has had a subordinate brought before the evaluation committee for reasons which you know are unjust and inconsistent with the cadet’s character. The subordinate is not expelled and later your colleague goes and tells this person that he was fighting his case even though it was known for certain that he was the one who had him brought before the committee.

a) Would this concern you?

b) How would this affect your trust in the person?

c) How concerned would you be on a scale of 1-10?

Of the three cohorts, the average Likert for professional integrity was highest in the RAF. The narrative data was consistent with the Likert data in exhibiting the extreme importance of integrity as the main component of trust in this context. For instance, RAF_20 asserted that a perceived loss of integrity in relation to this scenario: “...would clearly be a plummet in trust.” and RAF_17 claimed: “For me that would probably destroy it... in my book you’re a snake and not to be trusted”. Indeed this was the general strength of opinion throughout the cohort which helps explain why the quantitative data showed integrity to be the most important component of trust in this work environment. Many interlocutors subsequently talked through reasons why this scenario would directly lead to a decrease in trust, commenting especially on the importance of integrity in the operational environment. For example, RAF_12 suggested that any lapse of professional integrity would result in a general questioning of a peer’s integrity; this suggests that integrity, unlike competence, is not domain specific – i.e. that it results in generalisations of overall character – and hence is extremely important in a high risk situation requiring teamwork.
RAF_12: ... I like to think that we operate in an environment where we have black and we have white so you know exactly where people are, because you have to be that way in an aircraft when you operate as a crew and I think if someone is starting to do that then, yes, their trust and their integrity would start to be brought into question.

RAF_16, like many in this cohort, was quick to link honesty to trust and therefore any ambiguity and dishonesty would lead to distrust; RAF_16 justified the Likert score given as follows: “10… all the time because you don’t know what’s going on. There’s no honesty there, so you can’t trust”. RAF_14 insisted on the centrality of honesty within work relationships: “... it would obviously affect it in a negative way. I think the biggest thing you’ve got to be is honest with people.”

Stating their reason for giving a Likert response of 9.5/10, i.e. extremely high levels of concern, RAF_17 explained that in the RAF this kind of scenario, i.e. a loss of professional integrity, would be a “… betrayal for me… it’s like a cardinal sin” and would have a particular effect on operations in part due to a reluctance amongst the team to work with the person involved:

It would take a lot of work to get back from that. I would be very very worried, very dubious… I would do quite a lot to avoid working with you if possible and avoid jobs with you. I’d just want to stay out of your way and would not want to associate with you unless I absolutely had to.

This demonstrated the dramatic effect which a lapse of professional integrity could have on team work and hence the central importance of integrity in operating effectively with others in this highly interdependent work environment. Meanwhile, peer regulation of this type of behaviour within the RAF, was emphasised by RAF_21 who explained that rather than leaving this issue for the organisation to reprimand, collective action, from those of the same rank, would be instigated sending a clear indication to the individual that this type of behaviour would not be tolerated:

We’d do something about it... We live together, dine together, live together for a long period somewhere on detachment, so if someone’s like that it becomes very widely known and it can be... it’s quite a harsh world this… if someone thinks you’re a ‘watsit’, they’ll tell you in no uncertain terms.
Peer regulation was therefore used for penalising unacceptable behaviour and considered more effective than official censure due to the close intra-interdependence mitigating against falling out of favour with colleagues. A cohort wide common agreement as to the unacceptable nature of this type of behaviour showed that having and being seen to have integrity was central to trust in this context and therefore the most important aspect of trust in dyadic intra-hierarchical relationships within the RAF.

### 6.3.2 NHS

#### NHS integrity scenario

You notice that your colleague frequently accepts sponsorship to ‘drug freebies’ including international trips, golfing conferences etc. in a way that you think may be affecting his/her drug choice decisions.

a) Would this concern you?

b) How would this affect your trust in the person?

c) How concerned would you be on a scale of 1-10? (1 = not at all concerned, 10 = extremely concerned)

Integrity, as for all three organisations, scored highly (in the Likert results) in the NHS cohort, but was second to competence. The narrative data illustrated this same finding in reference to the integrity testing scenario, namely that whilst professional integrity was important to trust, competence had a greater weighting for the professionals in this cohort:

NHS_05: it’s actually going to have less of an impact on the patient than the [competence] scenario where they’re actually making calls that are sort of potentially harming someone.

However, the narrative data was also consistent in demonstrating that integrity was still considered to be an important aspect of trust and that a perceived loss of professional integrity would impact on perceptions of trustworthiness. NHS_18 stated that in this scenario his trust would definitely be affected, “… if I did feel that one of my colleagues was sort of in bed with some particular drug,” whilst NHS_01 commented, “It would horrify me beyond belief,” demonstrating the severity with which they regarded this issue. NHS_03 commented, as was a common worry amongst this cohort, that this perceived breach of professional integrity would cause them to doubt the
impartiality of the decision making capabilities of the colleague concerned, “Well you wouldn’t trust them to be making the right decisions because they are swayed by the power of the drug rep.”

Several interviewees talked about the impact which this scenario would have on the clinical working relationship. A loss of trust in professional integrity was shown to have potential knock-on effects as exemplified by NHS_02’s unwillingness to entrust the individual with patient care. NHS_02 began by explaining that this would cause them to “… lose respect for them as a clinician…” which would, in turn, affect decisions made regarding the delegation of continuity of care for patients in their absence: “That’s not the person I’d choose, that would be the last person.” This demonstrated that loss of perceived professional integrity resulted in decreased or even loss of interdependence.

First, this clearly demonstrates that a breakdown in professional integrity led many clinical professionals to doubt the motives of the individual in other areas of clinical practice, for example, whether they would be adequately professional, conscientious and give the level of care and attention expected of them within the workplace. Second, NHS_02 suggested that this scenario would also affect personal relations with the colleague:

I would lose trust, absolutely... on a personal level I think it does change, so you don’t view them in the same way... they lose something on a personal level that’s not quite definable.

This demonstrates a spill-over effect which a breach of professional integrity can have on both the working relationship and on personal relations with a colleague, which suggests a personal side to trust.\footnote{This is explored further in chapter seven in reference to RQ3.}

Whilst for the majority interviewed this scenario was an issue of moral conscience, several from this cohort felt that interaction with pharmaceutical companies had recently become a more complex affair. Although this scenario was drawn up by a practising consultant and designed to test a lapse in perceived professional integrity, several consultants felt that this issue was more ambiguous than the interlocutors above exemplified. As such, just over half of the consultants interviewed illustrated how drug representatives have increasingly been employing new tactics e.g. sponsoring courses
and funding expenses related to holding clinical workshops and seminars as expressed by NHS_18:

They’ll support educational programmes without having anything to do with their drug in it as long as they can have some acknowledgement of the funding they’ve given.

Many did acknowledge that, despite this change in sales approach, the underlying principles of the drug representatives, in essence, remained the same; rather than sponsoring a golfing holiday they were simply providing more professionally palatable incentives. Such incentives meant that, whilst formerly being against any kind of drug rep involvement, many had started to condone and even endorse drug company sponsorship of educational programmes, due to the professional benefits attached, but often with a certain level of unease:

NHS_18: We don’t like the idea… but we have meetings that have got off the ground because of drug company sponsorship.

NHS_10 I mean I must tell you I have gone on a drug sponsored trip to the world epilepsy summit but I’m going there to learn because they bring a group of high class world experts.

NHS_07: Quite a lot of people are dependent on sponsorship to attend courses and so on and if they make that declaration of interest and they know that they are doing that then I think it’s ok.

NHS_10 was keen to express that he was aware of the influence they were trying to wield over him but also that drugs would, regardless of this influence, only ever be used on the basis of scientific evidence:

Most of us retain our clinical freedoms despite them trying to subtly influence the decision making but we are weighing up their product with what’s there on the market and at all times being concerned about the patient – is it the right one for this particular patient?

An interviewee’s stance on this issue thus determined whether or not a breach in this area would compromise assessments of trustworthiness in a peer. For the majority, a repackaging of drug sponsorship had led doctors to re-evaluate their own positions on what was formerly seen as a clear professional integrity issue; despite the general
unease, expressed by many of those who were now endorsing drug sponsorship of educational events, a general trend of acceptance and pressure from peers within the team had also accelerated this process of normalisation together with the lure of clinical learning opportunities. The narrative data thus helped to explain the lower weighting of professional integrity in this context.

6.3.3 Academia

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Your colleague has been found guilty of using someone else’s research data and passing it off as their own.</th>
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<tr>
<td>a) Would this concern you?</td>
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<tr>
<td>b) How would this affect your trust in the person?</td>
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<tr>
<td>c) How concerned would you be on a scale of 1-10?</td>
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Professional integrity was the most highly scored component of trust in this cohort\(^\text{102}\). Despite having established, in the previous chapter\(^\text{103}\), the fact that trust was of little importance in academic working relationships, maintaining standards of professional integrity were considered, by the majority, to be of considerable importance in working relationships and hence a loss of it was perceived to be by far the most detrimental to trust, of the three components. This was exemplified by AC_09: “I think there’s a kind of rank order in there... the one that concerns me the most is the professional integrity issue”. As such, the narrative data was consistent with the quantitative data findings. The majority were quick to acknowledge the seriousness with which they viewed this type of conduct, e.g. AC_12: “well that’s a cardinal sin in academia... it’s unforgiveable... it’s never forgivable...”; AC_16 commented: “... they would have breached one of the social mores of the sort of academic community”; AC_06 opined: “[it]’s about as low as you get” and AC_18 asserted: “...it’s like a felony... you know, it’s really serious...you might as well run round the building naked – that’s such a serious offence!”

Reputation emerged as a key theme, widely referred to in relation to professional integrity, in this cohort. This was apparent as AC_18 described the types of risk aversion behaviour that they would engage in to ensure that their reputation remained

\(^{102}\) In addition, it was the only component which scored higher than the same component weighting in the a cross-organisational comparison, scoring slightly higher than integrity in the NHS at 7.5.

\(^{103}\) In reference to RQ1.
untarnished by the offending party: “...you wouldn’t ever want to work with that person... because your reputation would be tied with them potentially.” In agreement with this AC_19 commented:

I certainly wouldn’t collaborate with them, that's for sure! I mean, that’s a major breach of etiquette at best... it’s fraud and you couldn’t trust someone that had done that or at least not in a research scenario.

Central to understanding the importance of professional integrity, in this context, was the impact which it was shown to have on reputation. This was exemplified by AC_05 who expanded on the far reaching effects which this particular scenario would have, commenting that their reputation in the wider academic community would be tainted along with those of fellow academics in anyway associated with the individual’s research:

I think you’re trying to drag me back to the concept of trust whereas... I mean that damages the reputation of the individual, it damages the reputation of anyone who’s worked with that individual, it damages the reputation of the department or the school where the individual works and of the university. So I think reputation is the major consideration there rather than trust.

As such, a breach of professional integrity, by contrast with competence or benevolence\(^{104}\), was considered by the majority of this cohort to be much more serious due to the impact this had on reputation, which was deemed to be of greater importance than trust; one reason for this appeared to be that national and international reputation was the main marker of academic kudos and means of progression. Furthermore, this scenario was considered a serious offence which would result in professional annihilation, as expressed by AC_12: “… if it came out, that person would never work in academia again”. The importance of reputation, therefore, helps to explain why professional integrity was considered the most important component for the vast majority in this cohort. However, since this was considered to be the ultimate irredeemable offence in academia, why was the score still relatively low by comparison with the mean score for professional integrity in the RAF and only 0.1 higher than in the NHS?

\(^{104}\) Despite a failure to meet competence and benevolence expectations reflecting badly on a colleague’s performance of their own particular duties, within their current institution, the narrative data (in reference to competence and benevolence) showed that this seemed to be independent of and have little if any effect on trust.
Greater understanding of the complexity of this integrity scenario, for certain academics, was enabled through analysis of the qualitative data. AC_03 stated that although this was a serious issue, this particular scenario held additional complexity due to the practice of increasing numbers of academics outsourcing various parts of their research projects and then having no qualms about taking all the credit for the paid work:

I think otherwise these things happen... people take other people’s data and PhD supervisors notoriously use their PhD students work and it’s seen as... and in some areas it’s not even seen as using someone else’s data because it’s just seen as something that they’re entitled to. People publish work... people publish papers based on other people’s work without always acknowledging that, so that’s not something that would kind of shock me.

It was suggested, therefore, that this type of behaviour lies at one extreme end on a continuum of what is otherwise acceptable behaviour. Rather than being completely shocked by this scenario, as a scandal threatening the integrity of the profession, AC_03 instead bemoaned the fact that various shades of grey along the same continuum are increasingly becoming accepted norms of academic practice:

I have so little trust in the overall system of academic knowledge production or output production that I wouldn’t be certain that just because someone is found guilty that it is in anyway a more ethically dubious case than in other cases where people just feel that they are entitled to do it. So trust in the system would be more of an issue.

This showed a loss of trust in the system which tolerated and even allowed this sort of behaviour to exist as, AC_03 explained: “... you see a lot of people getting away with a lot of stuff, which you don’t think is right and then suddenly something blown out of all proportion”. This demonstrated this academic’s disillusionment with the hypocrisy of the system whereby the extreme case would result in indefinite exclusion from academia whereas practice which is not so far removed from this, but has become acceptable, fails even to raise ethical questions of professional integrity. Therefore professional integrity was found to be important in the academic context and also an issue which related to institutional trust.
6.4 Competence
By complete contrast with professional integrity, clear inter-organisational differences were found for the relative importance attributed to competence in each organisation. The Likert scores, in Table 42, indicate the mean level of concern which a perceived loss of competence in a colleague would provoke in each cohort.

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<th>Means:</th>
<th>AC: 4.7</th>
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<td></td>
<td>NHS: 8.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>df</td>
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<tr>
<td>t value</td>
<td>4.347</td>
</tr>
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<td>p value</td>
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Table 42: RAF, AC and NHS means and t-test results for competence scenario

Competence was thus found to be of high importance in the NHS and low importance in academia and mid-way between these two scores within the RAF. A t-test of significance revealed that there was a significant difference between the levels of competence in academia and the NHS, at the 1% level; however there was no significant difference between the academic and the RAF cohorts (P= 0.079). The key findings in reference to competence can be summarised as follows:

- Competence was highest in the NHS which was consistent with the a priori assumption that, for medical professionals, competence is of greater importance than both professional integrity and benevolence.
- There were significant differences between organisations regarding the importance of competence to trust (with the mean score for academics being significantly lower than the NHS).
- Within academia the only component of trust higher than 0.5 (5 out of 10) was professional integrity. This indicated that academics viewed competence as being relatively unimportant on average.

The narrative data supported these findings and highlights the reasons for the clear inter-organisational differences that were found in reference to the relative importance of competence, now presented according to cohort.
6.4.1 NHS

A colleague, at the same clinical level, has made a number of clinical decisions that you know are detrimental to patients.

a) Would this concern you?

b) How would this affect your trust in the person?

c) How concerned would you be on a scale of 1-10?

The numerical data showed competence to be the most salient component of trust in the NHS, a result which was confirmed by the narrative data; whilst professional integrity was important to trust, competence had a greater trustworthiness weighting as explained by NHS_05,

… it’s actually going to have less of an impact on the patient than the previous scenario [competence] where they’re actually making calls that are sort of potentially harming someone.

NHS_13 expressed how such a perceived decrease in competence would and in fact had affected trust in a colleague:

Well I can think of an example of that and the answer is it diminishes your trust; you are less likely to respect their clinical judgement, less keen to refer patients on to them for example or generally discuss them because you wouldn’t agree with what they were saying and I think that if it’s consistent then it would be a big thing.

A perceived lack of competence clearly can have a serious impact on respect and reputation in this context and resultant withdrawal of interdependence. As shown in the above example, this resulted in attempts to prevent the medical professional, whose competence had been brought into question, from having any contact with NHS_13’s own patients due to a heightened concern over care. A second outcome, widely acknowledged, was an unwillingness to collaborate and enter into clinical discussions with the person concerned. As such, several interviewees from this cohort, as exemplified by NHS_15, expressed that this scenario would lead to a loss of trust in the decision making abilities of the colleague involved:
Well if they are consistently malfunctioning then I would lose all trust and I would not allow that person to determine decisions any more as it could be detrimental to patients.

To this end, similar deliberate attempts to withdraw interdependence and vulnerability frequently emerged in reactions to this scenario, resulting in a sudden block in the flow of interdependence (discussed further in chapters 6 and 8) which would create an automatic decrease in trust. By complete contrast with the academics, NHS interviewees felt not only that the competence issue merited action but also a responsibility to begin this process themselves e.g. NHS_09: “I think if there was a pattern of behaviour that was leading to adverse clinical outcomes then you’re mandated to do something about that,” and NHS_03 similarly expressed that they “… would be very bothered… I would be bothered enough to have to deal with it… because I just can’t let this go on.” However, NHS_09 commented on the practical challenges in actually carrying this out:

Now saying you’re mandated to do something… actually putting that into practice can be very difficult because I certainly don’t go around keeping records of what my colleagues do.

In considering the difficulties facing those who take on the responsibility of whistle blower, there was also acknowledgement that simply taking action in response to this scenario would, in and of itself, have repercussions on both their working relationship with the individual and also relations on a personal level, as expressed by NHS_16:

It can be difficult. I have been in that sort of situation where suddenly your relationship with that person alters quite radically because you’ve, if you like, blown the whistle on them and inevitably you don’t quite trust them to do things independently as you would have done before that scenario.

This is clear evidence of decrease in cognitive assessments of competence having a knock-on effect on affect trust. Therefore the data was unanimous in demonstrating the importance of competence to professional trust in this context.

\[105^\text{providing potential theoretical linkages for the role of competence in cognitive and affect trust in trust erosion in a high trust context}\]
### 6.4.2 RAF

A colleague, at the same level, has made a number of technical errors whilst out on missions over several months.

a) Would this concern you?

b) How would this affect your trust in the person?

c) How concerned would you be on a scale of 1-10?

Competence was seen to be the least important component of trust within the RAF work environment; however it still scored relatively highly and from the numerical data was concluded to be of medium importance. Obviously deficiencies in the area of competence were seen to be serious e.g. RAF_01: “... unfortunately those kinds of things in our world can lead to quite serious incidents,” and therefore were of grave concern as indicated by RAF_21:

> If an individual was producing poor performance left, right and Chelsea – oh very concerned because unlike… well in so many walks of life if someone is incompetent, the accounts don’t get done in time or the bread doesn’t get baked in time. For us it could mean the aircraft’s not properly fixed and we’re… toast. So it’s more important.

Amongst the RAF cohort there was widespread acknowledgement of the serious nature of incompetence in such a high risk context, as expressed by RAF_21: “In any environment that’s dynamic like this, if someone is not performing then they need to be removed”. Several interviewees spoke of the risk aversion behaviours which they would engage in following such a scenario, e.g. RAF_01 asserted: “I think you’d probably check more often”. However the numerical data shows that competence was only rated of medium importance by comparison with integrity and benevolence demonstrating that amongst this cohort a perceived loss of integrity or benevolence was deemed more detrimental to trust. The narrative data helps to uncover reasons why, despite the substantial risks involved in this work arena and a strong sense that incompetent people should be dismissed, competence was placed third in order of importance.

The main reason for this, which emerged from the narrative data, was due to aspects of institutional trust. Rather than being “extremely concerned” by this scenario, the majority instead spoke of their trust in the organisational training, for example RAF_04
opined: “... if it’s a deficiency in training of whatever, it’s easily corrected” and RAF_19, a pilot instructing officer, speaking of his firm confidence in the training programme asserted,

If I couldn’t get them to change, and I’d be very surprised if I couldn’t, I know that I could just go up to the next level and in an extreme case, if someone was being particularly bad, they’d just be moved from flying duties.

All of this helped to engender trust and reinforce confidence in the competence levels of peers; in addition, a second aspect of institutional trust, the debrief system, was designed to catch and correct errors. Following each ‘sortie’ the crew had a debrief session where they systematically and openly talked through any mistakes and difficulties and were vulnerable with each other in both owning up to and highlighting problems as explained in the following two excerpts:

RAF_11: If the fault happened it would already have been discussed because we debrief every mission and if it had happened over three or four things then I’d not say the trust had changed, it’d just be: ‘Mate you’ve got a problem, we need to sort it out!’ and extra training would be done.

RAF_18: We debrief ourselves every trip that we do. We’ll always debrief as a crew. If you saw a pattern of things emerging, in this job, it would manifest itself quite early that someone needs to have conversionary training... you’d be raising questions and saying: ‘Right, nip this in the bud – it either needs remedial training or it needs to be addressed’. So because of the debriefing system we have and the reporting it tends to be co-tailed so that it’s not going to extend to a true pattern setting of errors.

There was a unanimous confidence that any necessary remedial action needed, in terms of retraining, would be immediately put into action and any learning points for other crews likewise disseminated to avoid common mistakes being replicated elsewhere. This tight and systematic obligatory practice of debriefing helps to explain why competence was scored lowest, of the three components of trust, within this cohort. This process was summed up by RAF_09 as follows: “... that’s why we have this continual cycle of debriefing and learning to hopefully bring out things that weren’t quite right.” This demonstrates that whilst incompetence was not tolerated, and would be a matter of grave concern, the RAF cohort had high trust in the rigorous debrief and training
systems in place to address this, demonstrating that institutional trust clearly undergirded interpersonal trust in this context. In particular, competence was not weighted as strongly in perceptions of trust in colleagues since there was an inherent trust in the system to be constantly regulating and monitoring competence so that it did not need to be the immediate concern of each individual.

6.4.3 Academia

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>A colleague, at the same level, has been unable to get any journal articles published in a 2, 3 or 4 star journal in time for the REF and consistently gets poor scores for his/ her teaching and is not putting in the effort required.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Would this concern you?</td>
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<tr>
<td>b) How would this affect your trust in the person?</td>
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<tr>
<td>c) How concerned would you be on a scale of 1-10?</td>
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Within the academic institution, competence was found to be the least important component in trust. The mean Likert score was significantly lower than in the NHS. The majority of academics felt that relationships with colleagues had little, if anything, to do with assessments of their competence which explained the low numerical scoring for loss of perceived peer competence. In response to this scenario, AC_08 commented: “But that doesn’t mean to say that I don’t trust the colleague as an honest individual, it’s just that they’re either lazy or not competent or both.” Likewise, this cohort was unanimous in the view that such a scenario would have no effect on trust in a colleague, as summed up in the following excerpts:

AC_07: No I don’t think trust’s an issue there.

AC_02: I really don’t care what kind of output people have... I treat people as people and not as journal paper machines!

AC_18: ...well how would it affect my trust in that person? Well it wouldn’t! It wouldn’t because their relationship with their teaching and their struggles to get published are nothing to do with their relationship with you... period. It just doesn’t affect you really.
Instead, AC_16 emphasised that the only important issue for consideration was whether or not that colleague was meeting the expectations you had of them, and even if they were to be found wanting in this area, incompetence still would not relate to trust:

... well it wouldn’t affect your level of trust at all, I don’t think, but it would affect your level of expectation because you think you would expect less of that person but you wouldn’t necessarily trust them less.

AC_02 commented on the nature of the work environment and the effect which this had on the need to trust:

So I suppose in a multitude of minor ways there is somewhere this implicit idea of trusting people to deliver what they are supposed to be delivering but it doesn’t go beyond anything that you’ll just assume that they get paid for. No I don’t have to trust people to save my life or correct my mistakes.

This clearly demonstrated that for most academics competence was not even a matter for consideration in trusting a colleague; as many connoted, this was principally because levels of contextual risk\textsuperscript{106} were low and incompetence would not lead to a life or death situation. The narrative data helped to nuance and provide additional reasons for this finding. First, it was frequently highlighted by interlocutors that they were totally unaffected by the performance levels of their colleagues, as expressed by AC_05:

The fact that other colleagues may not be functioning does not bother me one way or the other... over performing or underperforming has no effect on me whatsoever.

Academics tasked with extra administration responsibilities, such as leading modules, did feel some sense of responsibility since this was part of their contractual role and workload but, as expressed by AC_11, even this was not viewed as trust per se: “I need to think my colleagues are doing a good job but I don’t know whether that is trust or not”. AC_09 summed up the majority feeling within this cohort: if they had any contractual responsibility for the students being taught by the individual in question, after passing on any issues to a third party, they would consider their duty done and that was where the concern ended:

\textsuperscript{106} identified as an important precondition for trust in chapter two
AC_09: I’m all for an easy life! Yes I have an overall collegiate responsibility to the school and the university and I have a background concern, and I have, in the past, when I’ve had UG tutees and issues have been raised to me, informally about members of staff… I have passed those concerns on, but it doesn’t directly affect me so I’m not... that worried.

Whereas if the individual was not under their direct supervision it would simply be a case of:

e.g. AC_09: Same scenario, if this person’s not teaching on any of my programmes, frankly I don’t care that much – that’s someone else’s problem.

This echoed the view of the majority in this cohort. Several, like AC_03, expressed the concern they would have as module leader, whereby the teaching performance of the individual had a bearing on their own performance targets, but even in this instance they were unable to relate this to trust.

AC_03: As someone who is managing a programme, I would certainly have doubts about whether it makes sense to ask this person to take up responsibility for a large module, right… you know this kind of thing. But would that be trust? That would be something around my perception of competence.

In terms of response to this scenario, many saw this as an issue for management to deal with and not something which they themselves (unless they had a mandated role as mentioned above) felt they had a responsibility even to address, as explained by AC_11:

I mean I’m not quite sure to what extent it is a trust thing anyway. It would be my personal feelings towards the person but it’d be more an issue for management to deal with.

Since it was considered to be solely within management’s remit to deal with this, a lack of change in the status quo would simply lead to a loss of trust in perceptions of managerial competence as AC_11 explained: “If management failed to deal with it... it would affect my trust in management to do their job”. Therefore competence can be seen to relate to trust in management, but this component of trust was not found to concern immediate colleagues, if the individual’s performance would bear no reflection upon their own. So whilst this would reflect badly on an individual’s ability to
contribute to the organisation the majority, like AC_09, felt this would not be an issue about trust:

... erm. Trust... that’s a difficult one because I’m not sure it would necessarily affect my trust… it would affect my judgement of their value to the organisation but that’s not necessarily about trust that’s about them not contributing, not pulling their weight.

AC_05 summed up the opinion of the cohort in concluding: “I think I would just accept that whatever they do is just what they choose to do and I personally just try get on with what I want to do,” demonstrating a general acceptance, amongst this cohort, that different colleagues had different priorities but equally of low concern since this would have no bearing on what they as individuals were trying to achieve.

To this end, it can be concluded that the academics interviewed did not regard competence as an important component of trust; further to this the importance of trust in operating as an academic was questioned throughout the narrative data and almost unanimously found to be unnecessary. Again this highlights the complete lack of interdependence which academics required for fulfilling their individual roles within the university. AC_18 summed up the general feeling, explaining that because academics work independently, have little need to rely on each other and have no strong allegiance to their current institution, since many academics placed more importance on their standing within a niche international academic community, all these factors made trust in colleagues a redundant commodity thus rendering assessments of peer competence similarly superfluous:

AC_18: …if they’re seen as not competent teaching... in terms of they just can’t do it... again it’s just kind of their problem in a way... as long as my scores are alright, as long as I’m publishing because [here] in a way we sit on it like fleas on a cat, as long as the cat is there we’ve got somewhere to live but if the cat dies we’ll just go somewhere else. I don’t think we see ourselves as particularly bound up with the cat and its fortunes really so we’re not necessarily worried if someone’s not contributing... as long as it’s not creating work for the rest of us and we sort of, ‘oh that’s terrible isn’t it!’ but does anybody really care? (emphasis added).
The only sense of disgruntlement, therefore, was seen in reference to incompetence creating more work for them as an individual. Providing this was not the case, incompetence was considered almost unanimously irrelevant to workplace trust. Such was the level of independence that most academics ultimately saw trust in colleagues as desirable but totally unnecessary for them to operate and therefore not worth the costly investment\textsuperscript{107}.

### 6.5 Benevolence

The final component of trust, benevolence, was found to be of high importance in both the NHS and the RAF and conversely of low value to trust in academia (see Table 42), whereby the score was less than half – i.e. a loss of perceived benevolence was of relatively little concern).

\textsuperscript{107} Several acknowledged that, for them, trust was only sought in relation to personal friendships which occurred with those they choose to spend time with outside the workplace in a non-work capacity.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means:</th>
<th>AC: 4.9</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>4.405</td>
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<td>p value</td>
<td>0.000</td>
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Table 42: NHS, RAF and AC means and t-test results for the benevolence scenario

T-tests were carried out and revealed that the inter-organisational differences between academia and the RAF and also, to a slightly lesser degree, between academia and the NHS were both significant at the 1% level:

AC vs. RAF P > 0.01 (0.000)

AC vs. NHS P > 0.01 (0.001)

Key findings relating to benevolence indicate the following:

- There were significant differences between organisations regarding the importance of benevolence to trust with the mean score for academics being significantly lower, at the 1% level, from both the RAF and NHS cohorts (see Table 42).
- Within academia the only component of trust higher than 0.5 (5 out of 10) was professional integrity. This indicates that academics viewed benevolence as being relatively unimportant on average.

6.5.1 NHS

You notice that your colleague is not showing the support or care that you think he/she should towards trainees and junior colleagues.

a) Would this concern you?

b) How would this affect your trust in the person?

c) How concerned would you be on a scale of 1-10?

Benevolence was shown to be the least important component of trust within this cohort. Despite this, the mean Likert score was still relatively high and the narrative data was
consistent in illustrating this. For example NHS_19 felt that this scenario would have an indirect impact on patient care and therefore that it would affect their trust ‘significantly’:

I think supporting junior doctors and colleagues is as important as patient care because ultimately patient care is going to be affected, so I think it is something which would definitely affect my trust in that person, something which I could not turn a blind eye to (emphasis added).

The majority of the interviewees, whilst not all having as equally strong a view regarding the impact on patient care, did view the training of juniors as an important part of their professional mandate. Furthermore, as expressed by NHS_10 and NHS_12, to be neglecting this was viewed as a serious breach of the professional contract and therefore would affect trust in that individual:

NHS_10: ... it will affect my trust in this person, definitely, because at the end of the day one of our job responsibilities is mentoring, supporting, nurturing junior colleagues. So if this person is not doing it right, yes they will forfeit my trust.

NHS_12: If the professional contract is one of teaching and support and counselling then... and if that’s part of what you’re signed up to be doing, then I think you have to honour that... and if you’re not honouring those responsibilities then I think inevitably that trust is eroded.

As expressed by NHS_18, for many, the resulting lack of trust would stem from a perception of value incongruence towards someone dedicating time solely towards their own progression at the expense of fulfilling this aspect of their contracted role,

NHS_18: I would actually feel either their insight into their role is something that they’re not very perceptive about or that they’re too preoccupied with their own advancement to think about their role as a trainer.

NHS_16, likewise, viewed this scenario as an indication of value incongruence, which in and of itself would affect trust, but would also result in extra vigilance in supervising the individual rather than being able to count on them to fulfil their mandate:
NHS_16: If they don’t demonstrate the same kind of values then yes my feeling that you can leave someone to get on with something – obviously that’s undermined so yes I think inevitably it would reduce your trust in them.

A loss of benevolence thus had the potential to trigger perceptions of professional value incongruence but also to affect the trust relations on a personal level (i.e. affect trust) as NHS_18 expressed, following on from the quote above, “I used to think they were a fair enough individual but they’re not really showing that any longer”. For many of the interviewees, therefore, benevolence was an important aspect of personal trust which would be negatively affected by this scenario,

NHS_06 commented: I think it would make me disappointed in them and that I would feel embarrassed by their behaviour.

Thus, affect trust (also called personal trust in the literature) had the potential to be affected by this scenario. Following the competence scenario, it was shown that many of the cohort would then do everything possible to avoid delegating patient care to that particular colleague and here, though to a much less extent, around a third of the cohort echoed NHS_02 assertions that a lack of benevolence would have a similar effect:

I’d actually avoid giving them responsibility for my patients or my students and that is to do with trust and it’s to do with belief in their whole being as a professional.

In mirroring reactions to the competence testing scenario, this loss of perceived benevolence, would again result in risk aversion behaviour whereby student supervision, and therefore indirectly, also patient care, would no longer be entrusted, as readily, to the individual concerned. Although not considered as fundamental as competence, this scenario, for around half of the interlocutors, had a more profound impact on trust at a personal level. For instance, several would automatically infer that other areas of the job were not being given due attention, highlighting a perceived spill-over effect to other areas of trust:

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108 This provides evidence to support the important role of benevolence in affect trust, consistent with the literature.
NHS_03: That would affect my trust because that’s their job to do that and that means they’re not doing their job and if they’re not doing that part of the job then that’s quite worrying because what else in their job are they not doing.

Despite the demonstrated importance which benevolence had, as a component of affect trust within this organisation, interviewee responses showed that ultimately a deficiency in competence would be considered the more serious issue, as expressed by NHS_13 who felt this issue would affect trust, “I think maybe less so than the other two examples which are more determined.” Similarly NHS_12 commented:

Where do I put that on the pecking order, if that’s the right expression, of clinical issues… life and death issues of clinical practice are more important... so I don’t perceive that as quite as important as the clinical stuff.

Once again, as with the competence scenario, several interlocutors talked through specific action which they would take to address this issue. There was a general agreement that some response was required but no unanimous view as to an appropriate level of action since this was shown to be a politically sensitive issue. For several interlocutors this presented an ethical dilemma in deciding whether to intervene, given the lower weighting of this scenario on patient care, knowing that if they did act, this had the potential to impact on their personal trust relationship with that colleague. As such, NHS_21 explained their hesitancy to get involved being due to their need to prioritise the long-term relationship with the fellow consultant, and someone with whom they could potentially be working for many years, and unwillingness to jeopardise this for the sake of supporting the short-term transitory nature of the relationship with the junior colleague on temporary rotation within the team:

NHS_21: ... it’s not desirable but that’s life... those trainees will move on but I’ve got to work with that individual for the rest of my professional career.

Responses at the other end of the scale mirrored NHS_08 who would bring this to the attention of others and then set about instigating decisions on agreed expectations within the team on this aspect of their work:

NHS_08: I wouldn’t be able to let it pass, I don’t think, without thinking about an opportunity to raise it... if you’re worried about one of your colleagues and there’s four of you and there’s four trainees then you’d have to try and set out
some ground rules: what do we as a team aim to do when providing people with support.

However the number of responses towards the other end of the scale was marginally higher, as interlocutors were, on average, less keen to interfere. For instance NHS_21 justified this in his own mind by the fact that this issue “Can always be addressed by other pathways”. Despite the need to preserve the relationship with his fellow consultant, this interlocutor did admit that “the individual would go a little bit down in my estimation,” again providing evidence that a purely professional act of perceived misconduct can negatively impact the personal relationship as well as trust in the clinical sphere. Benevolence was therefore considered an important aspect of trust in the NHS but the narrative data is consistent with the Likert scores in showing that a lack of benevolence would be of lower concern than incompetence.

6.5.2 RAF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>You notice that your colleague is not showing the support or care that you think he/she should towards subordinates and is interested only in looking good in front of senior officers in order to gain promotion.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Would this concern you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) How would this affect your trust in the person?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) How concerned would you be on a scale of 1-10?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Benevolence was found to be the second most important component of trust within the RAF cohort and although not considered as important as integrity, still had a high mean Likert score. In relation to this scenario, the majority of the interviewees commented that this would affect trust in their colleague, as exemplified in the following excerpts:

RAF_14: Yes it diminishes it quite significantly – I’ve seen that sort of thing happen before.

RAF_07: ... that would have an impact on my trust because I am very wary about people who do that... Yes, I’d be pretty concerned!

RAF_20 and RAF_03 both mentioned that they would keep a note of this at the back of their mind which shows that the incident would have a detrimental long-term effect on their perceptions of the colleague. In explaining this further, RAF_03 connoted that they
felt this to be indicative of a selfish, untrustworthy character which would lead them to doubt their motives in other areas: “They’re only out for themselves. It doesn’t mean they’re not competent though in many respects. However it’s still a sign of weakness in my book.” Similarly, for most within this cohort, this scenario would impact on overall confidence in the goodwill of the person in question. In explaining why this was the case, RAF_01 referred to the underhand nature of this incident and the constant suspicion that this would create, leaving doubt as to whether their motives could be considered genuine:

It probably would decrease my trust in him because you don’t know what he is saying to the management sort of to try and get the next rung up the ladder so it probably would decrease my trust as well.

As with the benevolence scenario in the NHS, many interviewees within the RAF also admitted that this type of behaviour would cause them to question and re-evaluate their trust in their colleague in other areas too, as exemplified by the following interlocutors:

RAF_04: ... yes it’s something that gnaws away at you once it starts because it prompts you to revisit the whole trust thing because if they would do that… what else would they do. So it brings out a whole hypothetical… that may or may not ever materialise but it brings all that into question.

RAF_20: In the operational environment then he’s probably still going to do everything that he’s asked on the operational side but clearly he’ll then try and get away with some of the other stuff.

RAF_02: I wouldn’t have the trust that they were doing something because that was the best thing to do – for the crew or for their student or whatever; trying to make yourself look good in front of other people is not the way you keep aircraft safe.

For many within this work environment, therefore, there would be a spill-over effect i.e. whereby they would subsequently trust the colleague less in other areas within the work environment. The most acute examples, as mentioned by RAF_02 above, involved perceptions that this scenario could then impact on flight safety. Due to the highly interdependent work environment, with strong bonds of personal trust running alongside professional trust (e.g. RAF_19: “Everyone’s quite close-knit in every section”), many
interlocutors, by comparison with the other two cohorts, noted that this scenario would affect personal trust:

RAF_07: From a personal point of view it would just make me think less of the person.

RAF_13: Same thing, professional manner, operating the aircraft it doesn’t really, I don’t think it would have an effect on it but on a personal level it would affect it.

RAF_09: Again I’ve got no time for people like that so I may have to work with them because that’s the situation we’re in but I certainly wouldn’t be ringing them up in the mess and saying do you fancy coming down to the bar for a pint.

RAF_17: I wouldn’t associate with you any more than I had to to maintain a sort of peaceful existence within work and outside work in a sort of group environment if we had to socialise... I would want to distance myself from you.

Therefore this situation had the potential to acutely affect the personal relations between colleagues, but the majority opinion was that this was not considered as detrimental to trust as integrity: RAF_21, “So not quite to the same degree [as the integrity scenario], probably about a 7, I’d have thought”; RAF_13, “Not probably to the same extent as the other one [integrity] but yes it would affect my feelings of trust for that person”. Overall, responses amongst the RAF personnel depicted the extreme importance which benevolence had as a component of trust; for the majority, a lack of professional benevolence, demonstrated by a colleague, would not only affect their trust in that particular area of work but also in other areas within the professional context and especially impact on personal trust\textsuperscript{109}. The data showed that this was principally due to the nature of benevolence being an important aspect of personal trust and the added salience which this obviously had in a high risk military work environment.

\textsuperscript{109} This provides evidence of benevolence being important to affect trust
6.5.3 **Academia**

You notice that your colleague is not showing the support or care that you think he/she should towards students that he/she is supervising at masters/PhD level.

a) **Would this concern you?**

b) **How would this affect your trust in the person?**

c) **How concerned would you be on a scale of 1-10?**

Benevolence was considered to be of low importance to trust amongst the academics interviewed. The mean Likert score for benevolence was slightly higher than for competence – i.e. would have a greater impact on trust – but was still just less than half and so considered low. From the narrative data, this scenario was found to concern some academics to the extent that this would raise questions of a spill-over effect; as an example of this AC_04 felt they would, “… lose a certain amount of faith in their ability to do a good job or to be trusted to do everything in their remit properly.” So as in the NHS and RAF cohorts, showing a lack of benevolence similarly cast doubt on interlocutors’ confidence in a fellow colleague’s intentions to carry out other areas of their work. Although some academics expressed a dislike for this lax attitude towards student support and supervision, e.g. AC_18: “I would take a dim view of it…”, the vast majority, as with the competence scenario, struggled to see how this scenario would affect trust in the workplace as summed up in the following excerpts: AC_18, “… but I’m not sure it’s related to trust!”; AC_06, “Again the trust thing is the thing I’m having difficulty with”. Relating back to the findings from the previous chapter, this was principally due to academic workplace relationships having no association with trust. Others, such as AC_17, expressed some level of sympathy with this scenario recognising that the pressure on academics to spread themselves over many areas was a difficult balance to perfect and so they preferred not to judge:

I think that’s a more difficult one because, let’s assume that we notice, I think the reality is that most of us are so busy that we recognise that being asked to be a teacher, a researcher, an administrator, to provide pastoral care as well, that it’s a tall order, that there aren’t enough hours in the day and it may be that individuals are focusing on some things rather than on other things and there may be a logic in doing it... My view is that I wouldn’t judge on that basis (emphasis added).
As emphasised above, many academics simply acknowledged that different colleagues had differing priorities, but this did not relate to trust. AC_16 echoed AC_17 in asserting that this was a problem with levels of expected responsibility rather than an issue of neglect and therefore they would take a more sympathetic view,

AC_16: “In some ways, you know, procedures have become too student centric so I think there’s more of an imbalance. So I’d probably say it wouldn’t really affect it”.

Therefore responsibility was deflected onto management, as was the reaction of the majority of this cohort, and raised little concern, as exemplified by AC_08 and AC_09 below, who depicted this as a management issue rather than as something that would affect trust:

AC_08: It wouldn’t affect my trust in the person... but it would mean that I would require the head of department or school to speak to them

AC_09: Some of my colleagues may behave in a way which I’m not that happy with but it’s not in my remit to change that because they’re given their responsibility by management. I could perhaps say to management, ‘I don’t think that person is doing their job properly’ and then it’d be up to management to decide whether they were or not.

Thus even where there would be value incongruence with the colleague in question, this would not impact on the work relationship. As a further example of this AC_12 also talked about the same issue of value incongruence, from experience, whereby the colleague concerned could not be relied upon to provide adequate support for students. However, due to lecturers in the field being in such short supply the interlocutor felt that management were reluctant to do anything to rectify the situation: “We’re finding it very difficult to recruit so whoever’s in... we’ve not much choice...” As such, several interlocutors implied that although this would not be a trust issue, management’s inertia in dealing with this situation had increased feelings of value incongruence with management\textsuperscript{110}. Certain academics felt that they had, as AC_09 expressed it, “An overall collegiate responsibility to the school and the university”. However the majority position, as summed up by AC_18, was, “It’s not about trust because it doesn’t affect me,” and simply echoed AC_05’s sentiment,

\textsuperscript{110} as further evidence for the findings in relation to RQ1
I think what I’m finding difficult to address is *if I’m not actually connected with them, in terms of some deliverable outputs, then I don’t care* (emphasis added).

Even when value incongruence, with a fellow academic’s views on supervision commitments, was acknowledged as viewed to be less than ideal, this was in very vague terms and it was still considered independent of affecting trust¹¹¹. Where this scenario of neglect of benevolence did cause minor frustration, amongst certain members of the cohort, this was directed towards management for failing to penalise low commitment where such colleagues were deliberately curtailing certain areas of their remit and thus being allowed to forward their own careers at the expense of others; however, as with the competence scenario, this was not seen as a trust issue. Therefore the narrative data is clear in supporting the key finding of the low weighting which benevolence had within this cohort.

### 6.6 Summary of chapter

The Likert scale and narrative data have demonstrated that in relation to research question two indicate that:

- Professional integrity was found to be of high importance in all three organisations (there were no significant inter-organisational differences found).
- There were significant differences between organisations regarding the importance of competence and benevolence to trust with the mean score for academics being significantly lower in both cases.
  - Competence was highest in the NHS. The mean Likert was significantly different in comparison with academia (at the 1% level) where competence was lowest (whereas there was no significant difference between the RAF and academia). This demonstrated consistency with the *a priori* assumption that, for medical professionals, competence was of greater importance than both professional integrity and benevolence. Competence was of least importance, of the three components of trust, in both the RAF and academia.

¹¹¹ The reason for this was again surmised to be in relation to the findings from the previous chapter, due to the lack of *a priori* trust present in academic dyads even before such a scenario should emerge.
There were significant differences between organisations regarding the importance of benevolence to trust with the mean score for academics being significantly lower, at the 1% level, from both the RAF and NHS cohorts (see Table 42).

- Within academia the only component of trust higher than 0.5 (5 out of 10) was professional integrity. This indicated that academics viewed competence and benevolence as being relatively unimportant on average.

Reasons for these inter-organisational differences were then explored through analysis of the narrative data.
Chapter 7  Findings three: the internal construction of inter-hierarchical trust (i.e. employee trust in line manager) following a breach of personal integrity

7.1  Introduction
Analysis of research question three involved examining the internal construction of inter-hierarchical trust following a breach of personal integrity in each organisational setting. The narrative findings of chapter six demonstrated that the attrition of certain components of trust had a consequent impact on professional trust. Here a generic scenario, for all three cohorts, from the personal setting was brought into the professional setting in order to gauge potential impact on inter-hierarchical workplace trust.

Final scenario: (supposing you have a line manager whom you trust, who always keeps your interests in mind when making decisions)

You discover for certain that your line manager is having an affair and you know that his/ her partner would be devastated if they were to find out.

In relation to line manager:
1. This would affect my trust in that person (1-5)
2. I would be less willing to become vulnerable to them (1-5)

How would this affect your thoughts/ feelings/ actions?

3. Questions of personal integrity could affect the effectiveness of the team (1-5)
4. This could ultimately affect the achievement of the department’s objectives (1-5)

Can you say in what respect?

7.2  Likert scale data
Participants were asked to give a Likert response indicating the extent to which this scenario would affect their 1. trust in line manager, 2. willingness to become vulnerable to them, 3. team effectiveness and 4. the achievement of departmental objectives. Correspondingly, the mean Likert scale findings to these four questions are now presented together with a short inter-organisational comparison, first, in relation to the first two questions (trust in line manager and willingness to become vulnerable) and
second, in relation to impact on team effectiveness and achievement of departmental objectives.

7.2.1 Trust in and willingness to become vulnerable to line manager

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. This would affect my trust</th>
<th>2. I would be less willing to become vulnerable to them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NHS</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAF</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 43: Mean Likert scores of impact on inter-hierarchical trust in response to line manager having an affair (5=strongly agree)

T-tests were carried out in order to make cross-cohort comparisons between the mean Likert scores – first, the RAF vs. AC and second, the NHS vs. AC – in order to comment on any differences found in trust in and willingness to become vulnerable to line manager following the above scenario.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. This would affect my trust</th>
<th>2. I would be less willing to become vulnerable to them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Means:</td>
<td>AC: 25</td>
<td>AC: 3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RAF: 3.8</td>
<td>RAF: 3.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t value</td>
<td>2.769</td>
<td>1.318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p value</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.098</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 44: RAF and AC mean Likerts and t-test results for statements 1 and 2

The t-test results showed that there was a significant difference between the RAF cohort and academia at the 1% level (P= 0.005) in the extent to which this scenario would affect trust in that line manager (see Table 44). Although there was a difference in
willingness to be vulnerable to the same line manager between the RAF and AC cohorts, this was not significant at the 5% level (P= 0.098) (See Table 44).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. This would affect my trust</th>
<th>2. I would be less willing to become vulnerable to them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Means:</strong></td>
<td>AC: 25</td>
<td>AC: 3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NHS: 3.4</td>
<td>NHS: 3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>df</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>t value</strong></td>
<td>1.941</td>
<td>1.292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p value</strong></td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>0.103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 45: NHS and AC mean Likerts and t-test results for statements 1 and 2

As can be seen in Table 45, the mean Likert values for the NHS were once again found to be in between the two other cohorts, though marginally closer to the RAF than the academic cohort in affecting trust and willingness to become vulnerable. Whilst the difference between the NHS and AC cohorts was significant in affecting trust in the line manager (statement 1) at the 5% level (P= 0.031), there was no significant difference between the same two cohorts in subsequent willingness to be vulnerable to the same leader (statement 2) (see Table 45).

Thus, these findings were consistent with the findings relating to RQ1 in demonstrating that the higher the level of *a priori* inter-hierarchical trust, the higher the impact on inter-hierarchical trust and willingness to be vulnerable.
7.2.2 Team effectiveness and achievement of departmental objectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Effect on effectiveness of the team</th>
<th>4. Effect on achievement of department’s objectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Means: RAF: 4.45</td>
<td>RAF: 4.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC: 3.47</td>
<td>AC: 3.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t value</td>
<td>2.578</td>
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<tr>
<td>p value</td>
<td>0.009</td>
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<td></td>
<td>26</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1.507</td>
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<td></td>
<td>0.071</td>
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</table>

Table 46: RAF and AC mean Likert scores of impact on effectiveness of team and achievement of departmental objectives in response to scenario (5=strongly agree)\(^{112}\) and t-test results

T tests, conducted on the data, demonstrated that for impact on team effectiveness the difference between RAF and AC was significant at the 1% level (P= 0.009) (see Table 46). For the difference between the RAF and academic cohorts, in achievement of the department’s objectives, the p-value was 0.071 and therefore was not significant\(^{113}\) at the 5% level (see Table 46).

7.3 Summary of key findings

The key findings are summarised below. These four key findings will form the main structure of this chapter; in reference to each, prominent themes which emerged in the narrative data will be presented:

- **Key finding 1:** The mean Likert scores demonstrated that the affair would impact trust most strongly on the RAF cohort, followed by those in the NHS,

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\(^{112}\) The NHS cohort was the first to be interviewed and the Likert scale was not added to answering this question until later so whilst there is qualitative data in response to this scenario for this cohort, discussed below, this is why there is no numerical data for the NHS in Table 45. (N.B. For all previous Likert data – for all the statements on the Schoorman and Ballinger scale, used in reference to RQ1 in chapter 5 – the means for the NHS cohort always fell between the RAF and academic cohorts and were not significantly different from either, as was the case with the first two parts of this question in reference to the same scenario.)

\(^{113}\) These findings again mirror the findings presented in relation to RQ1 showing that the higher the level of interdependence between peers, the more likely that team effectiveness and ability to meet organisational objectives would be adversely affected.
with academics being least affected; the separation between the RAF and academia was significant at the 1% level (P = 0.005) and between the NHS and academia this was significant at the 5% level (P = 0.031).

- **Key finding 2**: The RAF cohort also had the highest score for integrity in research question two. The contention is therefore that stronger intra-hierarchical integrity might be associated with inter-hierarchical integrity intolerance.

- **Key finding 3**: Amongst the academics, the mean score for personal integrity was less than 3 (i.e. half marks). This suggests a high integrity tolerance in inter-hierarchical relationships (or a low integrity intolerance in inter-hierarchical relationships).

- **Key finding 4**: In the RAF cohort 4.45 (out of 5) said the affair would affect the effectiveness of the team. 4.05 (out of 5) say it would affect the achievement of department objectives.

7.4 **Key finding 1**

| The mean Likert scores demonstrated that the affair would impact trust most strongly on the RAF cohort, followed by those in the NHS with academics being least affected; the separation between the RAF and academia was significant (P = 0.004). |

The Likert data (see Table 46) demonstrated that the affair would affect the cohorts in this order of decreasing importance: 1. RAF, 2. NHS, 3. AC. Evidence from the narrative data, to support the underlying contextual reasons for key finding one, is now presented. The narrative data revealed that reasons for the inter-organisational differences found linked back to contextual differences which explains the extremes found in the RAF and AC cohorts.

The impact of this scenario was greatest in the RAF cohort. RAF_21, as did many other RAF interlocutors, commented that the severity of this scenario on inter-hierarchical trust was a direct result of the high risk nature of the job in general and high levels of interdependence and vulnerability in particular: “It’s because we’re so closely knit…it’s really serious”. The necessity of close teamwork meant that any impact would be

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114 The narrative data demonstrated that reasons for the inter-organisational differences found linked back to contextual differences which explains the extremes found in the RAF and AC cohorts.

115 as presented in chapter five in relation to RQ1
particularly exacerbated in this organisational environment as exemplified by RAF_08: “...because we’re such a close knit organisation, these things are even more important”. RAF_17 summed up the general feeling in responding as follows:

I think that in any walk of life it’s going to affect your professional work… but particularly in a relatively close knit team… where people’s lives ultimately are at stake. I think it’s even more so in those environments… it takes on much more of an importance and yes I would be dubious as to how trustworthy you were after that!

In the NHS and academic\textsuperscript{116} cohorts, by contrast, there was a lower impact on inter-hierarchical trust and willingness to be vulnerable due to low levels of vulnerability and \textit{a priori} trust in line managers in these settings (see Figure 7\textsuperscript{117} for a summarised reminder of RQ1 findings).

\textbf{Figure 7: Matrix\textsuperscript{118} showing the contextual separation of the three cohorts according to low versus high vulnerability with line manager and low versus high interdependence and vulnerability with peers (from RQ1 findings)}

Reasons for the inter-organisational differences found, in reference to impact on team effectiveness and meeting organisational objectives, can be understood in conjunction with the findings from RQ1, summarised in Figure 7.

\textsuperscript{116} Narrative data for the academic cohort is presented in detail in relation to key finding three.
\textsuperscript{117} N.B. Figure 7 is a direct replication of Figure 5 for ease of reference.
\textsuperscript{118} The contextual separation of the three cohorts is shown according to low versus high vulnerability with line manager and low versus high interdependence and vulnerability with peers (from findings in relation to RQ1) as contextual explanations for the impact of the scenario on inter-hierarchical trust, willingness to be vulnerable to line manager, team effectiveness and organisational objectives
There was a general recognition, from various interlocutors in all three cohorts, that even if this scenario did not affect their own trust in a leader, this situation could be viewed differently by others and therefore reduce team effectiveness indirectly. As such the level of interdependence would determine the extent of such an indirect impact. Hence indirect impacts on team effectiveness were reported in both the NHS and RAF cohort where interdependence with peers was crucial to meeting organisational objectives. (Due to levels of interdependence being low amongst academics such an indirect impact was non-existent.) Examples from the narrative data, providing evidence for this, are now presented, first from the RAF and then the NHS.

Around a quarter of the RAF cohort, in agreement with RAF_08, specifically stated that although this scenario would not affect their trust in a line manager per se, this was still likely to affect others within the team:

RAF_08: I personally wouldn’t have a problem with it, however I do think it would still affect some people (emphasis added).

Meanwhile the other three quarters of this cohort echoed RAF_05’s sentiments:

RAF_05: Yes – if people are same minded as I am then course it will. If someone thinks it’s horrific to be doing that it will affect the working relationships in that arena and stuff like that then, yes you would struggle.

Therefore in the RAF context, regardless of whether this scenario affected an individual’s own inter-hierarchical trust, an adverse impact on team effectiveness was still registered. In the NHS, similarly, there was general acknowledgement that if other team members felt that this was an issue, there was potential for an overall impact on the team.

NHS_03: Well it can if people see it as something that matters… some people might think it doesn’t matter, then it’s not going to affect anything; but if people see that it matters it could…

NHS_12: it depends in some measure how important these things are not just with one or two people directly but within the bigger picture.

As in the RAF, certain NHS interlocutors, for whom the scenario would not affect inter-hierarchical trust, felt this could potentially adversely affect the team, if others viewed the scenario differently. Thus, context also played a role in indirect impact, according to
level of team interdependence required in the meeting of organisational objectives, even where there was no individual impact on inter-personal trust.

In summary, this key finding reinforced the findings from RQ1; in the RAF, in a high intra- and inter-hierarchical trust environment, this scenario had the highest overall impact; not only on inter-hierarchical trust and willingness to become vulnerable to line manager but also team effectiveness and meeting organisational objectives. In the NHS, where there was a high team interdependence with colleagues, team effectiveness was obviously important but since there was low \textit{a priori} vulnerability and trust with line managers, the impact on inter-hierarchical trust was found to be moderate but not as dramatic as in the RAF cohort, and therefore not significantly different to the RAF cohort. Unsurprisingly, in the academic cohort, where there was low intra and inter-hierarchical vulnerability and interdependence, the impact was lowest. Deeper, qualitative explorations of the key themes, which emerged in the narrative data, are now presented in relation to key findings 2-4.

7.5 **Key finding 2**

| The RAF cohort also had the highest score for integrity in research question two. The contention is therefore that stronger intra-hierarchical integrity might be associated with inter-hierarchical integrity intolerance. |

In line with this finding, and contention, the narrative data demonstrated the importance which RAF personnel placed on leaders modelling integrity. For many within the RAF cohort, an affair was viewed as indicative of inconsistency between words and actions\textsuperscript{119} and for this reason would cause them to reassess and downgrade perceptions of the trustworthiness of their line manager. Closely linked themes were importance of leader honesty, respect, credibility and demonstration of benevolence, also emerging as salient themes in the data. Where this scenario was perceived to have a negative impact on any of these important leadership attributes, inter-hierarchical trust was shown to decrease due to perceived downgrades in leader integrity. These salient themes are now outlined below as evidence for key finding two.

The narrative data demonstrated that the majority of the RAF cohort held high expectations of those in leadership positions, stemming from the nature of the

\textsuperscript{119} which links to Simons (2002) definition of behavioural integrity, in the literature, as consistency between words and actions
responsibilities bestowed upon them. First, this was seen in expectations of behavioural integrity, in line with Simons (2002), interpreted as consistency between words and actions as exemplified by the following assertions:

RAF_21: The guy's word cannot be his bond... so why would you trust that individual when lives are at stake? I think that’s outrageous and that’s not me being a puritan Victorian… no we have to trust each other here and if you can’t you shouldn’t (emphasis added).

RAF_20: Yes it’s clearly going to affect it [trust in line manager]… especially if they’re then pulling out the line that: you shall behave at all times...

Thus evidence from the narrative data showed that behavioural integrity had high salience in a high vulnerability environment. The contention is that because integrity was at such a premium in the RAF context this engendered heightened expectations of leaders to model this. Accordingly, honesty was shown, for the majority, to be an attribute from which generalisations about professional integrity would be made even on the basis of a purely personal decision. As exemplified by RAF_21, the responsibility bestowed upon someone in the position of line manager, made this scenario particularly significant to the interlocutors in this cohort:

I think that if someone is able to deceive to that extent when in a particular position of power, it does beg the question, what else are they being deceptive about or deceiving about. That’s a hard question to answer, isn’t it, really!

The majority opinion was likewise that this scenario would result in generalisations about a leader’s character; in considering implications of this, within a high risk environment, many would subsequently become more wary of the leader. In particular, downgrades in the perception of leader personal integrity would cause them to generalise to leader deception within the professional environment. As an example of this, RAF_17 commented that they would interpret this scenario as indicative of other potential problems: “I mean we’re all human, people do make mistakes but that to me is the first step down the slippery slope and once you’ve taken that one, the rest will be easier.” RAF_15 reached a similar verdict and concluded: “Whereas I think that if he can lie to his wife and children, he can lie to me,” showing evidence of a clear perceived

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120 in line with Simons (2002) who related BI salience to levels of vulnerability as reviewed in section 3.7.5
121 in line with findings from RQ2, being shown to be the most important component to trust in chapter six
overspill between dishonesty in private and professional life. In sum, evidence from the narrative data showed that, for the majority of this cohort, this scenario would result in a downgrade in perceptions of leader integrity with a parallel downgrade of inter-hierarchical trust and willingness to be vulnerable. Thus it is surmised that high expectations of leader integrity, in conjunction with the importance of integrity to trust in a high trust context, are associated with high integrity intolerance.

Also linked to behavioural integrity and honesty was the importance of leader credibility. In the literature Simons demonstrated the close links between behavioural integrity and credibility. Within the RAF cohort, leader credibility and respect were quoted as being adversely impacted by this scenario. In particular, having faced a similar scenario RAF_20 asserted:

Yes it’s clearly going to affect it… yes I’ve come across this, generally you just respect the person less... your trust in them drops – I think it’s more your respect for them which ultimately knocks on to trust.

As such, the narrative data showed that this incident would undermine respect and so have a negative impact on the perceived credibility of a line manager, of particular salience in the RAF context. Similarly, RAF_12’s response was typical in expressing that reasons for the impact on inter-hierarchical trust would be due to: “… their credibility – they wouldn’t hold any credibility any more”. This shows the close connection between the themes of credibility and respect in undergirding – and honesty in being indicative of – behavioural integrity; each of these leader attributes were shown to be key in providing confidence in a manager’s trustworthiness and ability to lead, and therefore were felt, by the majority, to be compromised following this scenario.

Within the RAF cohort, the position of line manager was unanimously regarded as a position which demanded responsibility for the well-being of subordinates; therefore confidence in a line manager’s integrity was strongly linked to perceptions of benevolence. Evidence from the narrative data showed that knowledge of an affair would cause some interlocutors to assume that a lack of concern shown in private relationships would potentially be mirrored in the work environment. Thus the scenario

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122 Whilst behavioural integrity was shown to be backward looking and evaluated on the record of previous behaviour, credibility was shown to be forward looking and therefore a determinant of future decisions of whether to invest trust.

123 As referred to in 3.7.5 chapter four, Simons also demonstrated the impact of the hierarchical effect i.e. that symmetries of power resulted in increased employee vulnerability and therefore that these would have added pertinence in an employee-leader dyad.
served to decrease perceptions of leader benevolence, which explains the marked detrimental effect on trust within this cohort. As an example of this, RAF_17 commented, from experience, on the impact of this scenario on perceptions of inter-hierarchical trustworthiness:

That pretty much made me think, if you can do that to your wife in the current circumstances – this is a time when she really needs your support – what can you do to the rest of us that, let’s face it, you might care about... but you shouldn’t care about us anywhere near as much as you care about your wife.

Thus generalisations about this scenario were again made from the private to the professional setting. Of major concern amongst this cohort, in reaction to this scenario, was the potential impact this would have on their leader’s ability to lead, therefore either directly or indirectly impacting onto teamwork effectiveness, as discussed in relation to key finding four below.124

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124 Lapidot et al. (2007) found that the domain of leadership activity was related to whether C or I breaches led to trust erosion and speculated that this was linked to the extent and nature of subordinate vulnerability in each case. From these findings it can be suggested that in organisations where affect trust is high, and in particular where benevolence is of particular importance to workplace trust, if a leader is perceived to demonstrate a lack of benevolence, even within the personal setting, it has been shown that this can also translate into trust erosion in the workplace. This shows both a cognitive reassessment of CBI (cognitive trust) and reduction of benevolence perception impacting on willingness to engage in social exchanges (affect based trust). These findings thus provide an enriched understanding of the impact of an affair on both cognitive and affect bases of trust.
7.6 Key finding 3

Amongst the academics (AC), the mean score for personal integrity was less than 3 (e.g. half marks). This suggests a high integrity tolerance in inter- hierarchical relationships (or a low integrity intolerance in inter-hierarchical relationships).

This key finding can again be linked to the context (findings from RQ1) in suggesting connections between a priori levels of inter-hierarchical trust and leader integrity tolerance. As in the other cohorts, several academics admitted that their opinion of their line manager would be affected; however, this did not translate into a tangible organisational impact as exemplified in the following excerpts. The fact that that the line manager was prepared to sacrifice and jeopardise the long term commitment with their partner would cause some academics to revaluate their opinion of the person:

AC_15: I think you’re going to be more wary of them if they can do that. If it’s been a long term relationship it does make you wonder if they can do other things.

AC_05: ... I guess if you see that they don’t have that sense of responsibility towards someone as important as their partner.

However, even if this was generalised to their workplace commitments (for a small number in this cohort as hinted at in AC_15 above) in every case it was shown that this would not be of concern to them. For instance, in certain cases academics echoed AC_04’s comments interpreting this as indicative that the person could not be relied upon in other areas: “I think these are kind of guides to character.”. However, AC_04 also admitted that even though he had experienced this very scenario, this had not altered levels of confidence in management (since expectations around management were low from the outset). In echoing the majority opinion of the academic cohort, AC_08 felt that within this work context issues of personal integrity, “…can be left out totally”. Many saw this scenario as either a private matter for the line manager, and therefore not their concern, or as simply an issue of contrasting worldviews. Providing the person was fulfilling their professional mandate, there was a general recognition that different people have different values so even where they were dissimilar that would not be cause to judge them and would not be their concern e.g. AC_17:

Providing they’re doing their job and it hasn’t affected their ability to do the job, I don’t see it as basically the concern of the staff... I think their personal issues
are their personal issues... I don’t make judgements on them.

AC_05 wanted to make clear that he did not agree with having an affair: “I mean I’m not saying that I don’t have any sort of a moral position,” but wanted to highlight that even if aware of this value incongruence with any colleague, he would not judge the person:

...from an organisational perspective it wouldn’t alter my trust one way or another because I take the view that... people have different perspectives on life and different views on things like infidelity – some would stone you to death, others would think there was no moral issue there at all. As a matter of morality I don’t tend to judge people too quickly... I prefer not to... (emphasis added)

Similarly, this overall cohort reaction that ‘from an organisational perspective’ the scenario would not affect trust in the line manager is exemplified in the following excerpt:

AC_11: People’s world’s standings are individual so whether someone has an affair... whether morally you might not approve of it or ethically as far as that affecting someone’s integrity at work, I don’t feel that you could question it ... if it’s nothing to do with work... you know, if somebody’s had an affair in their private life, then it's not a work related thing (emphasis added).

Interestingly it was highlighted that if this scenario affected the integrity of the line manager in the workplace then it would be an ethical issue, but the conclusion was reached that this was not a matter for workplace trust. Accordingly, AC_13 asserted: “… so somehow I separate that from anything else.” Despite having a different moral position to the line manager regarding the affair, in the hypothetical scenario, AC_11 and AC_13’s belief that personal and professional contexts should be separate meant that this scenario would not affect their trust in their line manager. Although AC_05 stated that this could affect the opinion they held of the person, again this would not affect the working relationship because trust and personal feeling towards a colleague would have no bearing on the work context:

AC_05: It would not affect my trust in terms of the way that I deal with them in a business context. It might affect my opinion of them, slightly. So I think in terms of the organisation, and so on, it wouldn’t affect my trust at all.
AC_19 felt that this scenario had the potential to affect their trust in their line manager but acknowledged that trust was not present within work relationships, neither with line managers nor colleagues and therefore that it would not change anything: “Well it would affect my trust if I did trust them but I don’t so it doesn’t!” Similarly AC_09 spoke for the majority in concluding, “... I’d be neutral. I don’t care. What people do in their private life is entirely their responsibility.”

Due to the lack of team work in this cohort, the question regarding team effectiveness was deemed to be almost irrelevant in this context. Likewise, those interviewed were clear in demonstrating that this scenario would not impact on organisational objectives. AC_13 was convinced, as was the majority, that this scenario had, at most, the potential for only minimal impact on organisational objectives:

Well it would have to be something pretty dramatic… I don’t think it would impact too dramatically in the bigger scheme of things.

AC_07 similarly saw no danger of this type of scenario having any bearing on the overall meeting of departmental objectives, admitting that this scenario could theoretically affect organisational objectives but only if it was a really serious case:

I mean, having an affair, the situation we’re talking about… there’d have to be some really adverse consequences of that before it affected the department.

Similarly, AC_18 summed up the general feeling as follows, “My honest answer is they can do what they like!” Since an academic’s own career was mainly found to develop in a wider arena, outside the academic institution where they happened to be currently employed, even if the departmental objectives were not being met this would have very little, if any, impact on their own progression in the wider academic community. Therefore this issue was of little concern.

In sum, the context was found to be important in understanding the relevance of this scenario on inter-hierarchical trust. A context featuring low *a priori* inter-hierarchical trust and levels of interdependence with colleagues meant that this issue would be of little concern, since issues of inter-hierarchical trust and team effectiveness were almost irrelevant in this context. Another feature of the context, conducive to high integrity tolerance, was the highly individual pursuit of meeting personal career goals, within the

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125 The majority viewed progression to be almost entirely on the basis of their publication record (key finding from chapter 5, in reference to RQ1)
context of organisational objectives which were not felt to be endangered following this scenario, by contrast with the RAF context. Thus even where the interlocutor’s opinion of the line manager was affected this did not necessarily have any bearing on the professional environment.

7.7  **Key finding 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the RAF cohort 4.45 (out of 5) said the affair would affect the effectiveness of the team. 4.05 (out of 5) say it would affect the achievement of department objectives.</th>
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</table>

In the RAF, the role of leader was crucial in directing and leading the close knit team in order to meet organisational objectives. This clearly differentiated this cohort from the other two; in the NHS whilst there was also close team work amongst peers, in general it was felt that through extra effort, on the part of the team members, team cohesion would continue regardless of the line manager (due to the focus of this role being on managerial affairs rather than clinical objectives). At the other end of the spectrum, from the academic cohort, amongst the RAF interviewees this scenario was found to have a strong impact on both team effectiveness and meeting organisational objectives. The key themes which emerged as providing explanations for this concerned doubts and anxieties regarding the leader’s continued ability to lead, given the high risk environment; in particular, linking to key finding two above, many expressed the importance of having confidence in a leader’s integrity to the general overall functioning of the team. Therefore, if integrity was found to be remiss, this was perceived to have a negative impact on team effectiveness. Furthermore, the majority felt that an attrition of leader integrity was indicative of a lack of diligence in carrying out their work, resulting not only in a downgrade in team effectiveness, but also in safety concerns. Narrative data, demonstrating the emergence of these two key themes is presented below: first, concerns aired by interlocutors in relation to impacts on team effectiveness and second, anxieties about safety, both of which were seen to impede the meeting of organisational objectives.

In relation to the first of these themes, more than half of the cohort inferred that if the leader was not working effectively this would downgrade the overall effectiveness of the whole team as exemplified by the following interlocutors:

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127 See appendix 1 for further NHS narrative data, not included here since they did not relate specifically to key findings 2-4.  

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RAF_06 opined: … if one person isn’t working effectively within the crew then the crew’s effectiveness can be downgraded significantly. There’s got to be trust for you to work together effectively in this job.

RAF_01 asserted: I think if you do call into question people’s personal integrity it kind of can alienate them from the team because people are not willing to… if they’re messing about or whatever I think people will be a bit aloof with them and that breaks down the trust within the team.

Second, in addition to reduced team effectiveness, safety issues were seen to be an even greater issue in this high risk environment. For instance, RAF_09 was convinced that this scenario had the potential to affect the leader’s ability to carry out their professional duties: “If the pilot has got his mind on other things because of problems at home, then they’re not concentrating on what they’re doing”. Lapses in concentration were deemed to have grave repercussions in a high risk environment due to the highly interdependent nature of the work; this emerged as a frequent concern as did other aircraft safety issues typified in the following excerpt:

RAF_06: Everybody’s got a job to do and they’ve got to do it effectively otherwise you’re putting the aircraft and the people within it at risk (emphasis added).

Also with regard to flight and general safety, several from this cohort made reference to their worries of the serious impact which the fallout from this scenario could have on the safety of the crew and in addition the extra pressure of the role reversal i.e. subordinates having to support their leader and cope without the support they would normally be given. As an example of this, RAF_15 voiced their concerns that a leader, in such a scenario, would not only be impeding the meeting of organisational objectives but in addition be endangering the crew as a whole as described in detail below:

RAF_15 … what state are you going to be in? Are you going to be fit to lead, are you going to be fit to deploy? Are you going to be fit to spend two months away from home? I would suggest not! So I think issues of trust go beyond just ‘oh he lies to the Mrs, he might lie to me’ actually it’s a bit more serious than that because she could find out and then his life falls apart… when that hits home and it all implodes, your life falls apart and who’s left picking up the pieces? It’s
us because we have to put up with someone on deck not being focussed – potentially suicidal.

Furthermore, concerns around the lack of an organisational response to address such potential safety issues were a major concern which emerged in the narrative data. First in terms of the organisational response to this scenario RAF_15 made comparisons with the army:

The affair thing is interesting because in the army, when I was in the army, you’d get thrown out of a regiment for it. If you had an extra marital affair you would be thrown out – it’s that simple.

When asked about the current situation RAF_15 replied:

Yes, I have a friend who was sacked, a few years ago, from the regiment because they had an affair. The air force is different completely. I’m not saying it’s endorsed but it’s not frowned upon at all. **Whereas I think that if he can lie to his wife and children, he can lie to me** (emphasis added).

This demonstrated that even though this scenario would not result in organisational punishment in the RAF, it would certainly affect RAF_15’s inter-hierarchical trust. Others agreed. For example RAF_21 and RAF_08 talked about the damage to institutional trust that could result when the organisation failed to react to such a scenario:

RAF_21: … when the organisation – in the full knowledge of what has happened – doesn’t do anything about it, which this organisation has the power to do, then the organisation loses too.

RAF_08: When the organisation doesn’t castigate that individual in any way shape or form or worse than that is even seen to reward that individual, trust in the system, the organisation and the individual is almost destroyed.

The interlocutors above were representative of one third of the cohort who specifically mentioned that their trust in the organisation would be adversely affected if leaders were allowed to continue to lead following such a scenario. Although not a majority view, this explains one reason for the higher impact on meeting organisational objectives in this cohort.
It was acknowledged, within the narrative data, that due to the high risk context, an incident perceived to undermine the leader’s personal behavioural integrity could have serious repercussions on team effectiveness and the meeting of organisation objectives, regardless of personal convictions and whether or not an individual’s trust in that line manager would be affected. Institutional trust was a dominant theme, unique in emerging in the RAF cohort in reaction to this scenario. The narrative data demonstrated that lack of an organisational response, following this scenario, had the potential to deepen loss of inter-hierarchical trust thus exacerbating the impact on team effectiveness and meeting organisational objectives. In particular, the evidence suggested that potential loss of institutional trust was due to the perceived hypocrisy of a training system stating the importance of integrity whilst endorsing leaders, perceived, by some, to be at odds with modelling this.

This links back to Simons’ definition of behavioural integrity – as being consistency between words and actions – and the need for this to be demonstrated by leaders and institutional systems alike (particularly since aspects of institutional trust, in line with Whitener et al. (1998) have been shown to colour employee perceptions of leader trustworthiness). Returning to the levels of vulnerability highlighted within the literature (section 3.7.5), of the three cohorts, the RAF context can be seen to exemplify the highest levels of vulnerability on each level as summarised in Figure 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of vulnerability identified in the literature</th>
<th>Findings in relation to RAF vulnerability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level 3</strong> Individual</td>
<td><strong>Importance of focal issue</strong> (Simons, 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level 2</strong> Inter-hierarchical</td>
<td><strong>Hierarchical effect</strong> (Kramer, 1996; Lapidot et al., 2007; Yang and Mossholder, 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level 1</strong> Work context</td>
<td><strong>Situational vulnerability</strong> (Lapidot et al., 2007; Simons, 2002)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 8: Levels of vulnerability in the RAF, from findings (relevant RQs shown), as expressed on three levels of vulnerability, outlined in the literature.**

Simons (2002) connoted that that the higher the level of vulnerability, the higher the salience of leader behavioural integrity within employee assessments of leader trustworthiness; this assertion was supported by the findings of this study. This again
highlights the importance of context, and levels of vulnerability in particular, in explaining the salience of leader behavioural integrity within inter-hierarchical trust in the RAF (as highlighted in key finding 2 above) and the consequent impacts on team effectiveness and the meeting of organisational objectives.

7.8 Chapter summary
Likert data for each cohort, together with narrative data, has demonstrated the clear inter-organisational differences found in how this scenario would impact on inter-hierarchical trust, willingness to be vulnerable, team effectiveness and the achievement of organisational objectives; this resulted in the presentation of the following key findings:

- The mean Likert scores demonstrated that the affair would impact trust most strongly on the RAF cohort, followed by those in the NHS, with academics being least affected; the separation between the RAF and academia was significant at the 1% level (P= 0.005) and between the NHS and academia this was significant at the 5% level (P= 0.031).

- The RAF cohort also had the highest score for integrity in research question two. The contention is therefore that stronger intra-hierarchical integrity might be associated with inter-hierarchical integrity intolerance.

- Amongst the academics, the mean score for personal integrity is less than 3 (i.e. half marks). This suggests a high integrity tolerance in inter-hierarchical relationships (or a low integrity intolerance in inter-hierarchical relationships).

- In the RAF cohort 4.45 (out of 5) say the affair would affect the effectiveness of the team. 4.05 (out of 5) say it would affect achievement of department objectives.

Reasons for these differences were explored using narrative data. Whilst value congruence was found to explain individual reactions to the scenario and how this would impact on inter-hierarchical trust and willingness to be vulnerable, this alone could not account for the inter-organisational differences observed. Therefore contextual factors (highlighted in chapter 5 in reference to RQ1) were important in
explaining the impact on inter-hierarchical trust, willingness to be vulnerable, team effectiveness and the achievement of organisational objectives.
Chapter 8 Discussion

8.1 Chapter introduction
The key findings of the research have been outlined in chapters six, seven and eight. This chapter now examines three broader general findings, in reference to aspects of institutional trust. Using the Giddens (1984) framework, implications for informing theory and practice are explored, before tying these findings back to, and discussing them in the line with, relevant academic literature as reviewed in chapters two and three.

Mollering (2006: 373) asserted, “Institutions are both a source and an object of trust”. To date, little attention has been dedicated to the role of institutional trust in trust building and erosion (see Table 27). In reference to the work of Giddens (1984), Sydow (2006) outlined three aspects of structure needing consideration for understanding institutional trust, two of which are as follows: first, rules of legitimation which refer to institutional acts of sanctioning and second, rules of signification, referring to shared meanings and understandings amongst professionals. These two aspects of structure underpin the three general findings proposed in this chapter, as presented in Table 47, thus demonstrating their relevance for discussions of institutional trust and wider issues of governance and accountability.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>rules of legitimation</td>
<td>such as honesty and tolerance in sanctioning behaviour</td>
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<td>rules of signification</td>
<td>shared meanings and understandings</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8.2 trust and control</td>
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<td>8.3 impact of VC</td>
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<td>8.4 impact of private behaviour</td>
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Table 47: Chapter sections relating to aspects of structure as outlined by Giddens (1984)

The specific aims of the current study were to address the following research questions which emerged from the trust literature:

RQ1: Explore the trust profile of three different organisational contexts

RQ2: Explore the internal construction of intra-hierarchical trust (i.e. between colleagues) in each cohort.
RQ3: Explore the internal construction of inter-hierarchical trust (i.e. employee trust in line manager) following a breach of personal integrity in each cohort.

The contextual factors of interdependence and vulnerability\textsuperscript{128} were found to be important in explaining the inter-organisational differences shown for all RQs. The clear inter-organisational differences found in levels of intra and inter-hierarchical trust, shown to account for all the key findings, stemmed in part from differences in value congruence. Playing a central role in trust, value congruence thus emerged as a key theme across cohorts and underpins each of the three main themes of this discussion. First, the potential for value incongruence, resulting from techniques of managerial control, is discussed within the context of the relationship between trust and control; contradictions within the literature are addressed followed by implications for managers. Second, the direct impact of value congruence on inter-hierarchical trust is discussed, in further detail, together with theoretical and managerial implications. Third, the impact of private behaviour on inter-hierarchical trust is discussed from the perspective of perceived value incongruence with the leader in question, from both a theoretical and practical position. For each of the three themes the relationship with and resulting impact on trust is discussed, first, in relation to implications for theory – whereby relevant consistencies with or challenges to the relevant academic literature are discussed – and second, practice. The chapter ends with a self-critique and analysis of the strengths and limitations of this study followed by proposed future directions for research.

8.2 Trust and control: high levels of managerial control do not necessarily precipitate an increase in inter-hierarchical trust

Managerial control emerged as a theme, within the narrative data, as a type of managerial behaviour which heavily influenced levels of inter-hierarchical trust. This has particular significance for discussion here, first in reference to the trust-control nexus\textsuperscript{129} and equally for practical issues of public sector governance/ governance within academic institutions. Discussions of trust and control therefore promulgate important theoretical but also managerial implications which will be considered below.

This section is structured as follows: first, a consideration of the theoretical implications which begins with a brief summary of the findings with examples demonstrating a

\textsuperscript{128} as specifically presented in chapter five

\textsuperscript{129} i.e. the conundrum in the literature as to whether trust and control have a positive or negative relationship as presented in chapter 3
simultaneously positive and negative relationship between control systems and inter-hierarchical trust. Following this, theoretical linkages between various conceptualisations of control and trust are presented as a theoretical contribution to better understand this complex relationship; in enabling a discussion of value congruence this serves to aid demystification of the conundrum from a theoretical perspective. Second, implications for managers in understanding value congruence, within this trust-control nexus, are presented as wider issues of governance.

8.2.1 Implications for informing theory
Within the academic literature there is a controversy as to whether control affects trust negatively or positively (Bachmann, 2001; Mollering, 2001; Bijlsma-Frankema and Woolthuis, 2005; Bijlsma-Frankema and Costa, 2005; Weibel, 2007). To this end, Bijlsma-Frankema and Costa (2005: 260) have asserted that, “Among the matters addressed in studying trust, the relation with control is one of the most controversial”. In keeping with this conundrum, the qualitative data from this research clearly showed examples in support of each of these two extreme views demonstrating that managerial control had the potential for either a positive or negative impact on trust as now summarised.

Within the RAF, a high trust environment, high levels of control were not considered detrimental to inter-hierarchical trust. Within this organisational context, high levels of managerial control were seen to be necessary and acceptable due to them being set by managers who understood the nature of, and had experience of, the day to day work. Although characterised by a high level of control, this organisational context was simultaneously accompanied by line managers with high levels of professional knowledge. The findings of this study are consistent with the study conducted by Weibel (2007) in showing that high levels of control can increase trust. Reasons for this were found to be in line with Weber (1905) and du Gay’s (2000) assertions that bureaucratisation ensures a certain level of fairness and guards against partiality. By contrast, academics and NHS professionals tended to interpret examples of managerial control negatively (e.g. target setting), leading them to distrust their managers. This is consistent with studies such as Argyris, (1952), Ghoshal & Moran (1996) and Strickland (1958).
Control mechanisms, in the form of the second of Edward’s categorisations i.e. measurement and evaluation (Edwards, 1979)\textsuperscript{130} were perceived to be on the increase particularly in the NHS and academia where inter-hierarchical trust – i.e. between professionals and managers – was found to be low. According to academics, this stemmed from the creation of a separate, parallel management and administrative body which was subsequently becoming increasingly powerful and dominant in resource allocation. This perception was mirrored amongst NHS professionals also facing the increasing power of managers from a purely administrative background. The measures of evaluation and control which had subsequently been introduced by such managers, tasked with a purely managerial agenda (i.e. rather than medical/ teaching and research responsibilities), were perceived by NHS and AC interlocutors to have a negative impact on trust. Examples of this in the narrative data, from academics, were most commonly in reference to the managerial use of external accreditation standards to micro-monitor and grade research output.

There were also examples of simultaneous positive and negative reactions to the same control mechanisms. Amongst the academics there were a small minority who reflected on previous experiences where the absence of such managerial control had allowed academics to abuse the system without any form of penalisation. For example AC_04 opined that despite the seemingly laborious levels of managerial micro-monitoring, they were an important deterrent to avoid opportunistic behaviour. However the majority spoke very negatively about the managerial control and how these had led to a decrease in inter-hierarchical trust. One example of this was AC_03 who, having come from an institution which had been a flourishing academic environment, felt that the constant monitoring, measurement and evaluation of outputs within the current work situation was not only intrusive and detrimental to their ability to work but also untrusting; since these control measures engendered a feeling of being deemed untrustworthy by line management this had a reciprocal effect in reinforcing low levels of inter-hierarchical trust. Although there were some isolated examples of control leading to an increase in trust, within the academic and NHS environments, the majority of the evidence showed that the imposition of monitoring and evaluation from a non-professional managerial body of professionals had a negative impact on trust.

These findings challenge the debate in the literature which claims that control has either a uniquely positive or negative relationship with trust since both these outcomes have

\textsuperscript{130} see chapter 3 section 3.7.3 for a summary of these
been shown to be possible within the same workplace. The role which past experience and personal preference play, together with personality and propensity to trust (Mayer et al., 1995), are factors mentioned within the academic theory, however the overriding impact was shown to result from context and levels of inter-hierarchical value congruence\footnote{i.e. the inter-organisational differences highlighted in findings one from chapter five}. In support of this, Bijlsma-Frankema and Costa (2005: 264) posited, “Control is dependent on certain characteristics of the situation”. This study found the trust profile, of a given workplace, to be highly contextual and therefore situational factors need to feature more prominently in theoretical frameworks linking trust and control. The theoretical linkages between trust, inter-hierarchical trust and control are now proposed as a contribution to the literature.

**Contribution to theory:** The three types of trust within the literature – cognitive, affect and institutional based trust – as presented in chapter three, formed the basis of the three main perspectives on research into trust in leadership outlined by Dirks (2006). Institution-based trust was conceptualised as resulting from institutional arrangements that evoke and sustain trustworthy behaviours and therefore wider discussions of the impacts of managerial imposition of control are of particular relevance to this type of trust. These trust frameworks can, in turn, be linked to Bijlsma-Frankema and Costa’s (2005) three contextual characteristics for formal control and Foucault’s (1975) three types of formal control as expressed below. Combining these various perspectives will enable a fuller picture of factors resulting in inter-organisational differences in perceptions of control and their impact on intra and inter-hierarchical trust, in order to address the three RQs of this research. The links between these various frameworks on trust, trust in leaders and control are shown in Table 48, as a theoretical contribution to the literature\footnote{Bijlsma-Frankema and Costa (2005) argued that formal control was dependent on three contextual factors: codification, ability to monitor and adequate enforcement. As presented in chapter three, several years prior to this, Edwards (1979) distinguished between three main types of control mechanism: standard specification, measurement and sanction and rewarding. Preceding this, and undoubtedly providing foundational work on which these two conceptualisations could be built, Foucault (1975) defined three types of formal control namely, hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and examination, in his book “Discipline and Punish”}. 

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131 i.e. the inter-organisational differences highlighted in findings one from chapter five
132 Bijlsma-Frankema and Costa (2005) argued that formal control was dependent on three contextual factors: codification, ability to monitor and adequate enforcement. As presented in chapter three, several years prior to this, Edwards (1979) distinguished between three main types of control mechanism: standard specification, measurement and sanction and rewarding. Preceding this, and undoubtedly providing foundational work on which these two conceptualisations could be built, Foucault (1975) defined three types of formal control namely, hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and examination, in his book “Discipline and Punish”. 

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8.2.2 Implications for practice

These findings have important implications for public sector governance. In support of the contingency perspective in the literature (Eisenhardt, 1985; Weibel, 2007) employees’ reactions to a control system were shown to be contingent on several contextual factors, demonstrating the relevance of this in practice. Contextually, the level of risk involved in tasks, extent of vulnerability and levels of team work and interdependency, required in the meeting of organisational objectives, were all shown to have a bearing on an appropriate level of control; these factors link directly to the preconditions for trust thus showing the relevance in combining the control and trust theoretical frameworks. As such, the findings from the current study highlighted that

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trust</th>
<th>Control</th>
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<td>Dirks (2006) three perspectives on trust in leadership</td>
<td>Bijlsma-Frankema and Costa’s (2005) three contextual characteristics for formal control</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cognitive trust</td>
<td>Normalising judgement (recording performance)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Character-based</td>
<td>Codification</td>
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<td>Standard specification</td>
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<td>Hierarchical observation and examination</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affect trust</td>
<td>Systems-based</td>
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<td>Process-based</td>
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<td>Enforcement</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Normalising judgement (reforming)</td>
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Table 48: The commonalities between two trust models and three frameworks of control in the literature

The findings demonstrated examples of each of these types of control leading to both positive and negative perceptions of inter-hierarchical control corresponding to positive and negative impacts on inter-hierarchical trust respectively. This reinforces the assertion above that whether managerial control mechanisms have a positive or negative impact on inter-hierarchical trust is partly contingent on contextual factors.
any form of control mechanism had the potential to affect inter-hierarchical trust. In particular, this research demonstrated that if a control mechanism was perceived to be unnecessarily intrusive, particularly in an environment which did not involve high risk or the need for inter-hierarchical vulnerability, this had a highly negative effect on inter-hierarchical trust. This has clear implications for managers in the design of control systems; first this will be discussed in relation to Foucault and second in relation to wider issues of governance and accountability.

Managers need to remain vigilant of the complexities in the relationship between trust and control to ensure that wherever possible control systems serve to support and build rather than negate trust. Foucault used the principle of Bentham’s Panopticon as an illustration of modern uses of control; he suggested that rather than using physical restraint, modern systems of control were achieved through internal monitoring which he labelled “hierarchical observation”. The narrative data demonstrated the perceived oppressive nature of such control systems within a low trust environment. Conversely this research also demonstrated that a lack of monitoring could likewise be detrimental to institutional trust and thereby trust in leaders if employees perceived that misbehaviour was not being adequately addressed by the organisation (consistent with Foucault's notion of the reformation of deviant behaviour within normalising judgement). Careful consideration of the organisational environment must be undertaken by managers to ensure a balance is reached (Long and Sitkin, 2006). As has been shown, aspects of the context in general and value congruence in particular can influence perceptions of leader trustworthiness resulting from any control system.

These findings have important application to wider debates of good governance and accountability. Consideration of such good governance and accountability principles has important implications for managers involved in implementing control systems within public sector organisations. Despite this, there have been limited attempts, to date, to address the practical issues associated with the complex trust-control nexus within the academic literature. One notable exception is a study by Bijlsma-Frankema and Costa from 2005. Setting out to conduct research with implications for informing policy, Bijlsma-Frankema and Costa promulgated the importance of studying trust and control. In particular, they spearheaded efforts to understand the complexities in this relationship in order to explore the similarities and differences between trust-based and control-based modes of governance. In a similar vein, whilst applying control to
discussions of good governance, Onora O’Neil (2002: 2) bemoaned the present revolution in accountability,

… not because accountability is undesirable or unnecessary, but because currently fashionable methods of accountability damage rather than repair trust. If we want greater accountability without damaging professional performance we need intelligent accountability.

Rather than prescribing solutions, O’Neil proposed the following possibilities for consideration: first, “intelligent accountability” which “… requires more attention to good governance and fewer fantasies about total control” (ibid., 2002: 2). This is in agreement with Branston, Cowling and Sugden (2008: 27) who, from the practitioner literature, asserted that “… to control a company is not to control every small decision made on a daily basis, but instead the ability to determine the major strategic decisions that control the nature and direction of the firm”. These principles have been increasingly proposed as ways to address good governance in practice. Echoing this, O’Neil asserted,

Serious and effective accountability, I believe, needs to concentrate on good governance, on obligations to tell the truth and needs to seek intelligent accountability. I think it has to fantasise much less about Herculean micro-management by means of performance indicators or total transparency.

This demonstrates the contradiction that certain attempts to increase transparency, where this involves tighter measures of control, can be detrimental to trust. Consistent with this assertion, two distinct barriers to inter-hierarchical trust, which emerged in reaction to control mechanisms amongst academics and NHS professionals alike, were acts of managerial micro-monitoring coupled with perceived value incongruence with the strategic direction being taken, due to the belief that this was principally acting in managerial interests. Such a pursuit of self-interest has been predicted in the practitioner literature by Branston, Cowling and Sugden (2008: 27 and 29): “Those able to exert control will rationally make choices that lead to the most beneficial outcomes for themselves”. Given that, “The decisions taken by this controlling group are probably not the choices that other groups with an interest in the company would choose” (ibid., 2008: 29) this has obvious but important implications for managers, in particular the need for collaborative decision making together with the communication of transparent agendas. In order for trust to flourish, absolute transparency should be exemplified by
leaders as they communicate a vision rather than in increasing levels of micromanagement, i.e. transparency should be modelled by leaders and not demanded of professionals to the detriment of their work as summed up by O’Neil (2002: 2): “If we want a culture of public service, professionals and public servants must in the end be free to serve the public rather than their paymasters.”

8.2.3 Section summary
The trust-control nexus in the literature was paralleled in the interview data gathered during this project. A general unease and negative feeling towards managerial control amongst the academic cohort was apparent; the majority agreed that the increasing imposition of control from target setting and monopoly on certain aspects of decision making had served to decrease their inter-hierarchical trust. The NHS cohort mirrored these same concerns. By very nature, the RAF context was ruled by large amounts of institutional control and yet trust was highest in this context. Within the RAF cohort institutional factors such as the strict protocols and debrief system provided confidence in competence levels. High levels of monitoring were also imposed on members of this cohort but this was not perceived negatively due to high levels of institution-based trust in this context. The presence or absence of value congruence emerged as a main theme in explaining these inter-organisational differences (discussed in detail below). Control, therefore, has the potential to act as an aspect of institutional trust, reinforcing trust in managers. However, where control systems are perceived to be incongruent with employee values, control can instead hamper institutional trust and thereby perceptions of managerial trustworthiness. Reasons for the impact of value congruence on inter-hierarchical are now explored.
8.3 Impact of value congruence on trust: inter hierarchical value congruence is an important determinant of inter-hierarchical trust.

Value congruence has been defined by Mueller and Lawler (1999: 327) as concerning, “The distance or extent of separation, between the values of a given organizational constituency and an individual employee’s own values”. As highlighted above, perceived mismatches in values, portrayed through managerial control systems, were shown to engender value incongruence. In addition, other aspects of managerial behaviour emerged from the narrative data as leading to value incongruence, each of which had a negative impact on inter-hierarchical trust. First, a previous study addressing general value incongruence is outlined and second, a summary of these leader behaviours leading to value congruence (see Table 49), which emerged from the narrative data, is presented as a contribution to the literature.

The findings of this research are consistent with a study conducted by Bijlsma-Frankema, Sitkin & Weibel (2009) examining inter-group distrust between Judges and Administrators in a Court of Law. The apparent distrust between the management and judges was a situation similar to those alluded to in the NHS and academic cohorts. Building on work by Sitkin et al. (1993), value incongruence was highlighted as the mechanism precipitating spirals of distrust in this organisation. As was found in the current study, the increasing dominance of a powerful parallel management structure, with limited professional knowledge, engendered perceptions of value incongruence thereby triggering distrust. Consistent with the findings of this research, such reactions to managerial monitoring were shown to stem from professional versus non-professional managerial decision making and target setting. Three additional examples of managerial behaviour which led to perceptions of value incongruence with leaders emerged from the narrative data (as listed in Table 49).
Table 49: Manifestations of leader behaviour and resulting impact on inter-hierarchical trust from congruence or incongruence with the values portrayed through these behaviours.

Each of these four aspects of managerial behaviour is now addressed in turn and linked to the work of Burke et al. (2007) on employee CBI deductions of leader behaviour as a discussion of the role of CBI within value congruence; the theoretical implications are firstly presented followed by the managerial implications.

8.3.1 Implications for informing theory

In reference to theoretical implications, evidence for these four instances of manager value incongruence is presented followed by a discussion of the theoretical contributions of this research to furthering understanding of value incongruence in relation to Redman et al.’s recent study.

Knowledge/ decision making: as presented in chapter four, the narrative data illustrated the significance which participants from each cohort placed on the professional background of line managers and the resulting impact on perceived value incongruence, and on inter-hierarchical trust. The fact that RAF line managers were further along the same path of military training meant that members of the cohort were confident in their leaders’ professional knowledge in general and decision making ability in particular, engendering respect and providing a solid foundation for trust. In a similar vein, Burke et al. (2007) found that employee perceptions of leader task knowledge formed part of an employee’s perception of leader competence. Value congruence, in relation to professional knowledge, was thus found to be an important aspect of cognitive trust in leader competence.
**Target setting:** in the NHS and academic cohorts managerial setting of targets was also found to be a source of value incongruence. Managers were perceived to be failing to measure and give recognition to what the professionals themselves perceived to be the important aspects of their job; instead the targets imposed were perceived to be based on managerialist criteria. It was this pursuit of a different agenda, as communicated through managerial targets, which led to increased feelings of value incongruence. Burke *et al.* (2007)’s framework of trust in leadership demonstrated how creating a supportive context, for example through the designing of reward systems, could be seen to strengthen perceptions of leader benevolence (and integrity) and thereby to increase inter-hierarchical trust. These findings extend the literature in showing that reward systems can also negatively impact inter-hierarchical trust where employees perceive managers as failing to measure, or give adequate recognition to, what they most value. As a contribution to the literature, this manifestation of value congruence was shown to impact on both affect and also institutional trust.

**Vision:** the communication of a vision emerged as an indicator of managerial values and hence a clear manifestation of value congruence or incongruence. Den Hartog (2003: 143) asserted, “When a leader’s vision is in line with organizational goals and s/he is seen as a representative of management, inspirational leadership increases trust in management in general”. However this was certainly not the case amongst the academic cohort. Instead the values represented in the vision – being peddled by senior management and endorsed by line managers – were perceived to be incongruent with the academics’ own values and what they deemed to be an appropriate organisational direction. Qualitative data from the NHS and academic cohorts similarly made reference to lack of inter-hierarchical trust being due, in part, to managers having “different agendas”. The managerial vision, in both cohorts, was perceived to fundamentally oppose interlocutors’ views and values about what the organisation was setting out to achieve and their mandate as professionals; in failing to take these values into account the managerial vision was therefore perpetuating and increasing the sense of value incongruence between managers and professionals. Burke *et al.* (2007) showed that in creating a vision, leaders were impacting perceptions of leader benevolence. Likewise, this study found that a managerial vision incongruent with an employee’s values impacted employee perceptions of leader affect trust (an important aspect of which, in the literature, is benevolence). These findings expand on Burke *et al.*’s (2007) model, demonstrating that attempts to create a “vision” do not automatically serve to increase
inter-organisational trust and instead may result in leader trust attrition. As such, rather than routinely building value congruence and inter-hierarchical trust, as suggested in much of the literature and the transformational literature in particular, presenting a managerial “vision” has the potential to perpetuate value incongruence.

**Organisational injustice:** value incongruence was also shown to be engendered through perceptions of organisational injustice. For example, several academics felt that the managerial targets set were easier to achieve in certain disciplines than in others. This served to fuel perceptions of low managerial benevolence (affect trust) in a system which failed to recognise the difficulties faced in trying to achieve the targets (institutional trust) and as such was shown to decrease, all three types of trust. Burke *et al.* (2007: 618) termed this “procedural” injustice; Burke *et al.’s* (2007) framework of trust in leadership demonstrated that perceptions of justice would impact on integrity perceptions. This study extends the literature by providing theoretical links between value incongruence, the three types of trust and the literature on perceived organisational support (Tan and Tan, 2000) and procedural and distributive justice (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001) which feature prominently in the leadership literature.

**Contributions to theory:** high levels of value incongruence were shown to accompany low inter-hierarchical trust in this research. These findings support Redman *et al.’s* recent study (2011: 2388) which concluded, “The further an employee perceives a party to be cognitively from themselves, the weaker the bond of trust.” The current research built directly on Redman *et al.’s* work in qualitatively exploring reasons for this recent finding; thus, as presented above, this study enriches understanding of how employee perceived value incongruence impacts on inter-hierarchical trust. Specifically, various leader behaviours, with the potential to engender inter-hierarchical value incongruence, were identified through this research (summarised in Table 49). A second contribution was in demonstrating the combined role of employee perceptions of CBI communicated through control systems which were interpreted as assessments of leader trustworthiness. The literature has previously focused on the role of integrity, to the exclusion of competence and benevolence, as can be seen in the following excerpt from Burke *et al.* (2007: 618):

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133 The perceived inequity was also linked to value incongruence with knowledge, i.e. based on the belief that managers had a limited understanding of the complexities of their discipline (cognitive trust) and target setting.
The degree to which there is value congruence between leaders and follower values the greater likelihood the leader will be viewed as having integrity and correspondingly trusted.

The current study serves to extend and nuance this finding by demonstrating that value congruence is inextricably linked to CBI (as outlined above and summarised in Table 49). In addition, the various manifestations of value congruence were found to operate on all three types of trust; this shows that value congruence is not uniquely an aspect of affect trust, reinforcing the importance of a combined approach, which equally considers cognitive, affect and institutional perspectives, when investigating trust. The practical implications of value incongruence on inter-hierarchical trust, as a governance issue for managers, are now discussed.

8.3.2 Implications for practice
For managers in general, and those attempting to manage academics in particular, an awareness of these issues of value incongruence is of notable importance. It should be emphasised that “solutions”, along the lines of Argris (1957), are not prescribed for managers, for example, as a means of “hiring the right type” through a recruitment process based on “culture fit” in order to precipitate what Kanter (1977) has described as a “homosocial reproduction system”. Although the “attraction paradigm” has been shown to affect hiring decisions within the scope of the social psychology literature (e.g. Rynes, 1991) this is considered inadequate to address the complexity of individual situations and is not what this research is proposing. Instead, in examining the prominent theme of value congruence, this discussion aims to raise managerial awareness of the implications of which value incongruence, in these specific contexts, in relation to trust. Practical implications for managers are now addressed in reference to these four same aspects of value incongruence.

Knowledge/ decision making: questions regarding the professional background of a line manager emerged as an important issue for discussion during the first phase of interviews – i.e. whilst interviewing the NHS cohort – and as an important point of inter-organisational comparison. For consistency, questions exploring the level of importance which interviewees placed on the professional background of their line manager were incorporated into the second and third phases of interviews carried out in the RAF and a higher education institution. The findings highlighted that in the RAF
having a professional manager (i.e. who had been through the same training or at the very least military training), was of immense importance.

This is a pertinent area for consideration, particularly given the recent discussions as to whether non-military managers should be brought in to manage certain aspects of the military. The qualitative interview findings suggested that such a move would be extremely detrimental to inter-hierarchical trust since all but one of the RAF interviewees asserted that knowing their line manager had been through the same military training was extremely important for inter-hierarchical trust.

For organisations with non-professional managers the situation remained complex. Academic research was of such a niche nature that it was unsurprising that managers, even those with some experience of academia, were not familiar with specialist fields. However it was still considered problematic, for the majority, that managerial decisions reflected a general under-appreciation and misunderstanding of the whole nature of the discipline. Being a manager, and also a former academic, likewise did not necessarily engender trust from academics. Several academics fundamentally disagreed with the notion of being managed and felt themselves superior in terms of knowledge and understanding which has led some to describe academics as inherently unmanageable. Therefore it is important for managers, in such an environment, to be aware that their academic background can be a potential source of value incongruence.

**Target setting:** within the academic cohort, many commented that their research was increasingly being judged purely on bureaucratic standards, i.e. journal ranking, rendering the merit of the actual content almost irrelevant to management. As such, several AC interlocutors alluded to being part of the ‘research machine’. The majority felt that the standards put in place, in order to ensure top quality research, had simply become an end, in and of themselves, and the most important criterion for recruitment and progression. Besides being a source of inter-hierarchical value incongruence, this is also an example of goal displacement\(^\text{134}\) (Merton, cited in Grey, 2010: 29) whereby the means become the purpose/ preoccupation of management rather than the ends they were originally intended to serve. Consequently, managers need to carefully consider whether meeting the targets they have set rightly reflects valued output in a given situation to ensure that hard work is not being penalised simply because it is fails to tick specific boxes on a list of managerial criteria. The narrative data indicated that

\(^{134}\) an example of the bureaucratic dysfunctionalist literature
managers without the same level of professional knowledge as those they are managing should set targets with extreme care, in consultation with professional representatives where possible, taking into account the values of the professional body, and with an awareness of the possible impacts of value congruence.

**Vision:** the frustration at the lack of managerial transparency, within the academic cohort, was summed up by AC_13 as follows:

> I know they have a different agenda; it’s just the pretence that annoys me! We don’t want to agree and have made that very clear so why [do management] pretend that we do!

Accompanying an awareness of value congruence needs to be an open acknowledgement of conflicting agendas, where these exist between managers and professionals, rather than pretence that the differences are non-existent. Transparency, in the clear communication of objectives, was found to be of extreme importance especially where controversial, oppositional or broadly unpopular agendas were to be communicated and embarked upon. Only when transparency is modelled by leaders will the building of leader respect be possible and inter-hierarchical trust a remote possibility. Where there is an attempt to hide the real agenda, as above, this resulted in perceived managerial dishonesty which was more damaging to inter-hierarchical trust, in the long term, than value incongruence. Dishonesty was shown to render inter-hierarchical distrust irreversible whereas open acknowledgement of value incongruence would retain the possibility of engendering respect where managed carefully.

**Organisational justice:** throughout all cohorts, the importance of managers demonstrating fairness was uniformly critical for inter-hierarchical trust. Any perceived penalisation in the setting of targets (deemed to be harder to achieve in one academic discipline than in another but judged by the same standards) inevitably led to disgruntlement and increased inter-hierarchical value incongruence. Managers of heterogeneous groups thus need to address issues of perceived organisational injustice through open and honest discussions with representatives from each department so that they are able to make carefully informed assessments.

**8.3.3 Section summary**
Managers should not necessarily expect high levels of trust in a heterogeneous milieu of professionals and staff. The exploration of the various levels of potential value-incongruence, within the professional dimension, demonstrates that whilst such
managers can expect there to be a given level of value incongruence, due to their lack of professional knowledge, they can take measures to minimise value incongruence in the other three areas, i.e. target setting, vision and organisational injustice as discussed above. Above all, the importance of demonstrating transparency in the communication of a managerial vision was expressed due to the highly negative impacts of deception on inter-hierarchical trust.

8.4 Impact of private behaviour on trust: in integrity intolerant organisations, private behaviour can affect the achievement of organisational objectives

It was found that spill-over can occur, in the aftermath of a leader personal integrity violation, to an employee’s perception of leader workplace trustworthiness. Linking back to the vignettes, in chapter one, Bass and Avolio (1990) found that leaders that were most trusted and admired were perceived to be a good role model; this demonstrates the additional expectations which many employees perceive to accompany a position of leadership. At present the literature upholds the unanimous view that trust is more salient in a dyad with a leader (than with a peer) due to the asymmetries of control and vulnerability present (e.g. Yang and Mossholder, 2010: 51). In addition, Simons (2002) argued that in such conditions of increased vulnerability, the salience of leader behavioural integrity perceptions for followers would also increase. Besides this hierarchical effect, in a relationship with a leader, Simons also added two further types of possible vulnerability from the literature: level of risk in the work context and importance of the focal issue to the employee. Following the logic of Simons, integrity violations would theoretically be most damaging to inter-hierarchical trust in a high risk situation where an employee placed high importance on leader personal integrity, although this had never been tested empirically. The findings of this research were consistent with this (see Figure 8).

As such, one of the contributions of this research was the addition of personal integrity as a component of inter-hierarchical trust. Although it may be possible to maintain separation between certain domains of leader expertise – in line with Lewicki et al.’s model (1995), so that inter-hierarchical trust and distrust can coexist depending on the task at hand – a violation of personal integrity, by contrast, had the potential to sour and irreparably damage the whole trust relationship. The theoretical implications of this are now discussed, followed by the practical implications for managers.
8.4.1 Implications for informing theory

The inter-organisational differences found in the relative weightings of CBI (in relation to RQ2 in chapter six, as fully presented in Table 40) demonstrated that in the RAF, integrity was of highest importance to trust, above benevolence and competence. This extends Mayer et al.’s (1995) theoretical framework of trust in two directions: first, in demonstrating possible different weightings of the CBI components dependent on the context. Second, the findings from this research demonstrated that within trust, the integrity component can have both a personal and professional component (however the salience of the personal component was also shown to be highly contextual). In addition, the loss of perceived integrity was shown to have the potential to colour the entire relationship. Extensions to current models of inter-hierarchical trust, to incorporate these findings, are now proposed: first, Caldwell et al.’s (2010) framework for interpersonal trustworthiness and second, Einarsen, Schanke and Skogstad’s (2007) definition and conceptual model of destructive leadership behaviour.

Framework for interpersonal trustworthiness: Caldwell (2010)’s framework proposed that inter-hierarchical trust is coloured by beliefs pertaining to resource utilization, relationship development and image management. The current study demonstrates that two additions can be made to this framework. First, a fourth category must be added encapsulating personal behaviour; second, there must be a consideration of the overall organisational context.

Destructive leadership behaviour: returning to Einarsen et al.’s frequently cited conceptual model of destructive leadership behaviour (see Figure 3 for the original model), alluded to in section 3.8, the findings from this study highlighted a needed refinement of this model. Einarsen et al. (2007) justified their model of destructive leadership as being “all-inclusive” since it also includes Buss’ (1961, cited in Einarsen et al., 2007) “classification of aggressive behaviours, which distinguishes between three dimensions: physical versus verbal; active versus passive and direct versus indirect”. In challenging the claim that this prominent model is “all-inclusive”, these findings highlighted necessary elaborations to include personal and professional trust behavioural dimensions and to acknowledge that inter-hierarchical trust constitutes employee perceptions of both leader and organisational trustworthiness (in Figure 9

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135 For a summary of this, see literature review on trust in leadership chapter three or for a full explanation of this framework see Caldwell (2010: 500).
136 one of the most frequently cited leadership models
137 See Einarsen et al. (2007) Leadership quarterly, p211 for full explanation of the original model.
138 See Einarsen et al. (2007: 209) for a summary of this.
“organisational trust” has been used to encapsulate these two elements. Rather than prescribe four types of leadership behaviour, the modified version of the model, in Figure 9, incorporates findings from this research to demonstrate levels of cognitive, affect and institutional trust accordingly.

Figure 9: Elaboration of Einarsen et al.’s (2007) leadership model to incorporate a perspective of leader pro/anti personal and organisational trust and result on employee trust in terms of cognitive, affect and institutional trust.

Blake and Mouton’s model of leadership, as the basis for this model of destructive and constructive leadership, has been commonly criticised for not being situational. First, this research addresses this criticism and extends this model by proposing that the relative importance and even relevance of the vertical axis (i.e. salience of personal trust behaviour) is highly context dependent. High personal trust salience was shown to correspond to high contextual levels of risk, interdependence and vulnerability\(^{139}\) and to be indicative of high affect trust.

\(^{139}\) identified as preconditions for trust in the academic literature and found to be important contextual factors in explaining the need for trust in each organisational setting within this research, as presented in chapter five and corresponding to affect trust in the literature

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8.4.2 Implications for practice
Managers need to be aware that personal behaviour has been shown to clearly affect inter-hierarchical trust to the extent that the achievement of organisational objectives can be severely affected. This research found the RAF cohort, shown to have a high level of interdependence between employees, to have high integrity intolerance (i.e. having high intolerance for low integrity). In this context, a perceived lapse of integrity in the personal domain was shown to have the biggest impact on inter-hierarchical trust. By contrast, academia was overall found to be a personal integrity tolerant organisation. In addition the lack of interdependence with a line manager, together with very low inter-hierarchical trust, meant that organisational objectives would not be affected. Despite this, these findings show that private behaviour does have implications for increasing levels of perceived value incongruence and especially in dictating trust in managers. Regardless of the context, private actions were shown to have the potential to affect an employees’ opinion of a leader; where leader credibility was important for the meeting of organisational objectives the impact of leader personal integrity was seen to have greatest salience.

8.4.3 Section summary
This research has demonstrated the extent to which context intensifies the importance of inter-hierarchical trust in high risk and high vulnerability situations where interdependency is high. It has likewise surmised that regardless of the context, private actions can affect an employees’ opinion of leader credibility. In the literature credibility is forward looking and thus the basis on which employees make the decision whether or not to trust (e.g. Simons, 2002). By nature of the reliance upon interdependence, in a high risk work environment, the leader affair scenario was shown to have a more damaging impact, in such a context, where close team work and vulnerability are needed to meet organisational objectives.

8.5 Self-critique of method
Several limitations need to be highlighted whilst evaluating the findings of this research. First, is the extensive use of self-report Likert data. However, as demonstrated in chapter four, this method has been widely used in management research and is considered a valid method particularly within the trust literature. Second, the possibility
of common source variance\(^\text{140}\) (Podsakoff and Organ, 1986) – due to the sole use of self-report data – could be considered problematic. Nonetheless this is a common limitation with trust studies as researchers struggle to overcome this problem with a non-tangible concept such as trust. Same source response bias was controlled for through the use of a mixed method approach; the use of qualitative data was seen as an essential part of the data and supports the Likert scale data which is only ever used in conjunction with the narrative data. Since the interview data was only collected from the one set of foci, i.e. subordinates in reference to their trust in other colleagues and line managers, it could be argued that a fuller picture of trust would be gained through reference to the managerial viewpoint in each organisation. However, this was beyond the immediate scope of this particular study which was to uni-directionally investigate factors undermining employee trust in their line managers, i.e. from the employee perspective. In addition, there is greater weight within the literature to show that employees and leaders can have differing views of the same trust relationship. Indeed, one of the common criticisms of LMX research is the unfounded notion that there is symmetry in employee and leader perceptions of trust in a given dyad\(^\text{141}\). In seeking to enrich understanding of these phenomena it has been shown that trustors are themselves the best source of trust perceptions since their assessments of a manager’s trustworthiness will determine their decision of whether or not to trust and consequent behaviour\(^\text{142}\).

In studying trust cross-sectionally, this study captures only a “snap shot” view in time in the life of these cohorts. As highlighted by Lee et al. (2010: 486), “Leadership behaviours, trust and knowledge sharing are dynamic processes that change across time in accord with the stages of team development, membership changes and project life cycle”\(^\text{143}\). Therefore a longitudinal study could have been used to address the dynamic nature of trust within these three cohorts. However, a cross-sectional study was justified in enabling a more in-depth study of the internal construction of intra and inter-hierarchical trust and was thereby an appropriate method for addressing the aims and RQs of this research.

The scenarios, devised for section two of the research interview, were compiled to test the effect of a loss of competence, benevolence and integrity on overall trust in order to

\(^{140}\) also termed common method bias

\(^{141}\) as shown in reference to LMX in chapter three

\(^{142}\) as already demonstrated in reference to the literature in chapter four

\(^{143}\) as has been shown in numerous studies (e.g. Tuckman, 1965)
test for significant inter-organisational differences in CBI salience. A limitation of this method is the extent to which each particular scenario can be said to be equivalent in each context. However, in line with previous trust studies using this method – and the recent featuring of “vignette studies” as a prominent method for trust research in the ‘Handbook of research methods on trust’ (Barrera, Buskens and Raub, 2012) – this was nonetheless a useful measure of cross-comparability and, together with the qualitative data, provided a rich source of data, deepening contextual understanding of the role of CBI. Limitations in the use of Likerts were fully addressed in chapter four; in defence of their use this was found to be a suitable method in allowing for cross-comparisons to be made, between the three different settings. In addition, this was in keeping with the constructivist nature of this research, in measuring the impact of CBI fluctuations on trust, and in line with the literature (and Mayer et al., 1995 in particular), in measuring perceived trustworthiness, and the definition of trust used throughout this research.

Despite the limitations highlighted\textsuperscript{144}, previous trust research has fully endorsed these methods; additionally, they are in keeping with the philosophical foundations of this research and have been shown to be appropriate for addressing the RQs derived from the literature.

Two principal reasons for using the Schoorman and Ballinger (2006) scale were as follows. First, this was the product of several years work, begun by Mayer et al. and continued by one of the co-authors, Schoorman, of the pivotal paper written by Mayer et al. in 1995. Second, the scale was specifically designed to measure trust in line managers (required to address RQ1) consistent with the Mayer et al. (1995) definition of trust. Concerns about the contextual clarity of certain statements, from the scale, were raised during the interviews; however, this issue was addressed, first, in only using four statements from the scale\textsuperscript{145} and, second, in recording the Likert scores in conjunction with narrative data, as presented in chapter four.

In acknowledgement of the “… specific challenges posed by trust”, in their introduction to the ‘Handbook of research methods on trust’, Lyon, Mollering and Saunders (2012: 1) have also highlighted:

\begin{quote}
… the relative methodological openness and pluralism we have observed in the trust research community. Perhaps more than in other fields, our research topic
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{144} outlined and addressed more fully in chapter four
\textsuperscript{145} justifications for this are outlined in chapter four
prevents methodological hubris as it constantly reminds us how no method can provide the perfect understanding of a phenomenon.

With this in mind, despite the methodological challenges highlighted above, this research has sought to build on the wisdom and insights of previous studies and demonstrated the appropriate nature of a multifaceted mixed-method approach for investigating the multi-faceted phenomenon of trust.

8.6 Future research
Within the RAF, high levels of control and VC with line manager were linked with high trust whereas generally negative perceptions of control and low VC with line manager were synonymous with low trust in the NHS and academia. The question remains whether these contextual factors engender a certain level of trust or whether high trust is conducive to the development of contextual factors such as interdependence; thus the direction of the causal relationship, as yet, remains unclear and merits future investigation. Further explorations of these contextual factors in a wider range of environments, including different cultural contexts, are additional avenues for future research. Extensions to the literature have been made in promulgating the role of CBI within aspects of institutional trust, in trust building and erosion. These merit further investigation longitudinally in seeking to deepen understanding of inter-hierarchical trust.

Finally, exploring the relationship between trust and respect is a potential research impetus for informing future debates on leadership. Six et al. (2010) have surmised that respect is a driver of organisational trust. Indeed, various issues pertaining to inter-hierarchical trust, within the current study, were shown to stem from a lack of respect in leaders; however this was found to be a symptom of value incongruence rather than a root-cause negating trust. This study has surmised that respect, resulting from value congruence\(^{146}\), underpins employee assessments of a leader’s CBI. The contention is that regardless of the context and the importance of inter-hierarchical trust, in achieving organisational objectives, respect is pivotal to leadership\(^{147}\). With the exception of Six et al.’s study (2010), to date, very little research has been conducted on inter-hierarchical trust and respect; indeed Six et al.’s (2010) working paper is entitled, “Respect and

\(^{146}\) also influenced by reaction to levels and type of managerial control

\(^{147}\) given that respect was reported to be important in inter-hierarchical dyads even in academia
organizational trust: an under examined relationship”. Therefore this merits further investigation in order to inform both academic and practitioner dialogues.

8.7 Chapter summary
This chapter has outlined the theoretical and practical implications of the findings, summarised in the previous chapter, in relation to issues of institutional trust, in general, and trust erosion, in particular, given the current gap in the literature (as highlighted in Table 27). First, practical and theoretical implications of the relationship between trust and control were explored as a key aspect of institutional trust. Bijlsma-Frankema and Costa’s (2005) three contextual characteristics for formal control were linked to Foucault’s three techniques of enforcing control and Dirk’s (2006) three perspectives on trust in leadership, mirroring the three trust types\footnote{Cognitive, affect and institutional trust described in detail in chapter two}. The aim was to demonstrate the links between the theory on trust, trust in leadership and control; this revealed the three levels at which control mechanisms can operate, mirroring the three types of trust and trust in leadership, to show the strength in combing these three perspectives when exploring the relationship between trust and control. Four distinct instances of professional value congruence, which emerged from the narrative data, were found to impact on particular types of inter-hierarchical trust via one of the three types of trust; the role of CBI perceptions of leader behaviour were explored in each instance. Second, the implications of value congruence were explored in detail, as a second key issue of institutional trust. Whereas value incongruence was shown to accompany low inter-hierarchical trust in the NHS and academic cohorts, context was the overriding factor, colouring whether personal integrity impacted on inter-hierarchical trust and ultimately on the achievement of organisational objectives. Third, perceived personal integrity of leaders was shown to have the potential to adversely impact the workplace trust relationship. Finally, proposed extensions to two orthodox leadership models were made. Overall, this chapter demonstrated the significance of these three issues of institutional trust on the perceived fairness of governance systems and the resultant impact on inter-hierarchical trust; this underlines the salience of a combined trust approach, in general, and consideration of aspects of institutional trust, in particular, when investigating trust perceptions and trust erosion. Following a discussion of the theoretical implications, the practical implications of these findings were addressed in
reference to Onora O’Neil’s assertions regarding public sector trust. Finally, a self-critique was conducted to highlight the limitations of this study, followed by propositions for future research directions.
Chapter 9 Conclusion

9.1 Chapter introduction

The previous chapter discussed the main implications of the research findings, for theory and practice, followed by self-critique and future directions for research. Finally, this chapter presents the conclusions of the study, reiterating the key theoretical contributions and summarising the main points of discussion addressed in chapter eight, within an elaboration of the practical and policy implications for governance issues relevant to intra and inter-hierarchical trust.

9.2 Overall theoretical contribution to trustworthiness framework

Searle (2010) has posed the question: What are employees looking for from a trustworthy firm? Returning to Whitener’s assertion (2001: 530) that, “Employees interpret human resource practices & the trustworthiness of management as indicative of the personified organization’s commitment to them,” this question also entails: “What are employees looking for from a trustworthy leader?” The foundational work on trust (reviewed in chapter two) demonstrated the integral nature of competence, benevolence and integrity to trustworthiness (Mayer et al., 1995; Ross and LaCroix, 1996; Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006; Searle et al. 2011b). Three main theoretical contributions, proposed as extensions to this model, are as follows. First, CBI was shown to be attributed different relative weightings by employees in three different public sector contexts. In further enhancing this theoretical conceptualisation, a second contribution to the literature is the proposed separation of integrity into professional and personal components given that employees were found to include both elements in the leader trustworthiness assessment pot. Third, personal integrity was shown to have a greater weighting within trust in an employee-leader dyad due to the hierarchical effect of vulnerability.

9.3 Implications for leadership

In her exploration of trust, in the BBC Reith lectures of 2002, O’Neill highlighted pertinent public sector issues around the three key themes of freedom, deception and
accountability; these three issues likewise emerged from the findings of this research. Emerging issues around trust in leaders are presented, followed by implications for maintaining and managing intra and inter-hierarchical trust, first in relation to professional freedom and accountability and second in reference to deception.

9.3.1 Professional freedom and accountability

Freedom and accountability are addressed in conjunction with issues of control; whilst professional freedom demonstrates the potential negative impact which managerial control can wield on inter-hierarchical trust, accountability on the other hand personifies the positive relationship equally possible between control and inter-hierarchical trust. Relevant implications are discussed firstly in relation to professional freedom followed by accountability.

First, freedom involves allowing an appropriate degree of professional freedom and discretion in making judgements. The adoption of heavy handed managerial control approaches portrays a lack of trust in employees. As such, perceptions of increasing micro-management, from non-professional managers in the NHS and academia, were interpreted as impingement on professional freedom and had a detrimental impact on inter-hierarchical trust. This can be better understood in reference to the Mayer, Schoorman and Davis (1995) definition of trust as, “The willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other party will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party” (emphasis added). Following the logical of the reciprocal nature of trust, if managerial control techniques are interpreted as untrustworthy, distrusting behaviour is mirrored from employees (e.g. Whitener et al., 1998). In failing to allow the necessary precondition of and manoeuvrability for risk of opportunistic behaviour which trust dictates (“irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party”) this has the potential to lead to very low inter-hierarchical trust, since trust has no space to flourish.

Second, by contrast with this negative impact of control on professional freedom, the positive impact of managerial control on inter-hierarchical trust, through creating a dependable and fair source of accountability, was also clearly demonstrated in the findings. However, this too is not without potential for negative results as it can be shown to simply produce compliance rather than engendering trust, as highlighted by Plato in “The Republic” (380 BC). In a dialogue between Socrates and Glaucon, Plato’s
older brother, Glaucon, claimed that every one of us practices self-restraint in acting purely in self-interest due to the fear of detection and punishment. This demonstrates the balancing act which needs to be considered by managers in implementing appropriate accountability which is shown to address and reform deviant behaviour and yet avoids a situation of mere employee compliance.

In incorporating these two extremes, in the inter-play between trust and control, professional freedom and accountability can be seen as a pertinent issue for governance from Swift’s two views on accountability; this model depicts traditional accountability involving high levels of control which engenders, at best, lack of distrust and distrust at the other end of the scale. Conversely, an alternative form of contemporary accountability, allowing more professional freedom, was shown to accompany trust or lack of trust on a separate continuum. In reference to the trust-distrust controversy in the literature\textsuperscript{149}, these findings support the view of trust and distrust are separate constructs and Swift’s split trust continuum in particular (see Figure 2) in the interconnections between type of managerial control (traditional versus contemporary forms of accountability) and presence of trust and distrust. However, this research also demonstrates the complex nature of trust within governance systems and as such Swift’s clear dichotomy between traditional and contemporary governance types, utilising true and soft accountability systems respectively, is shown to be too simplistic.

In sum, this study has shown the importance of leaders being wary of the control mechanisms they put in place as these will have a direct impact on, and implications for, trust since control can impact inter-hierarchical trust either negatively (in reference to professional freedom above) or positively (in reference to accountability). Accordingly, a careful consideration of the potential impact of any control mechanism (as an aspect of institutional trust), before implementation, together with a careful consideration of the context, is imperative for managers. Of course, it is not possible to predict all the difficulties and pitfalls of individual situations and as such this research does not seek to generalise the findings to “one-size-fits-all” solutions. Instead managers should carefully evaluate the impact of any control mechanisms and seek to make adjustments rather than simply ignore the potential for negative impacts on the assumption that the measures will automatically engender trust. This research serves to equip managers with an enriched understanding of institutional trust and, as an aspect of this, an awareness of

\textsuperscript{149} referred to in section 2.9.1
control mechanisms which restrict professional freedom or result in mere compliance rather than serving to strengthen accountability. A failure to ignore these issues means that rather than supporting inter-hierarchical trust, control structures can unwittingly lead to trust attrition.

9.3.2 Deception and lack of managerial transparency
Kouzes and Posner (1995: 26) summed up inter-hierarchical trust as a confidence that a leader is telling the truth and will act on their words: “Above all else, we must be able to believe in our leaders. We must believe that their word can be trusted, that they’ll do what they say”. In line with this assertion, the findings of this study demonstrated the importance interviewees placed on line manager honesty as integral to integrity perceptions of leaders and hence to trust. As such, any form of perceived leader deception and/or lack of transparency was shown to be highly damaging to inter-hierarchical trust. Issues of deception are now addressed, first, in reference to lack of managerial transparency in the professional setting and second, in reference to employee perceptions of leader deception in the private setting followed by managerial implications.

First, transparency, in guarding against deception, was shown to be critical regardless of the trust setting. Even in academia, which had the lowest level of inter-hierarchical trust, the narrative data highlighted the premium which academics placed on managerial transparency. This was shown to be of particular importance in reference to the presentation of a vision. In the discussion chapter, vision was shown to be an area of potential value incongruence at the level of professional values. However, in addition, narrative data from academia and the NHS clearly demonstrated that a lack of managerial transparency, in presenting the real agenda behind a vision, was of greater detriment to inter-hierarchical trust due to the inherent deception. Academics made it clear that they had little respect for managers who presented an unpopular decision or course of action in a favourable light, but with a hidden agenda, rather than being prepared to present the true agenda despite the inherent value incongruence. This issue was mirrored in the NHS: as a cohort, the medical professionals spoke of a general distrust of management, due to the apparent inter-professional value incongruence. However, dishonesty – in un-kept promises or in hidden agendas – was more damaging to trust. Thus in each case a lack of managerial transparency was a greater barrier to inter-hierarchical trust than professional value incongruence, due to its interpretation as deception. This supports Simons (2002) in showing the integrity hierarchical effect
whereby integrity assessments have greater salience in employee assessments of leader trustworthiness even within a low trust environment. Honesty was often viewed as a personal character trait which transcended personal/professional dichotomies. As such, implications regarding the inevitability of leaders being judged on private choices in the workplace are now discussed.

Second, the findings demonstrated that for many interviewees there was a clear overspill between the private and professional dimensions of integrity. Where an interlocutor perceived value incongruence with a leader’s personal values, a leader’s involvement in an affair was often interpreted as an act of deception which, although unrelated to work, caused some employees to downgrade their assessments of a leader’s integrity. Thus the secretive nature of having an affair, for many interlocutors, was interpreted as evidence of leader integrity attrition in the professional setting. This extrapolation of private integrity to professional integrity suggests that the integrity component is not domain specific but generalised and as such has the potential to colour the whole trust relationship. However, it was the overall contextual importance of trust, within a particular work setting, that determined the level of impact. In an organisational context, highly reliant upon teamwork in the meeting of organisational objectives together with high inter-hierarchical vulnerability and trust (i.e. the RAF), the impact of personal integrity attrition was highest. Conversely, where there was a low willingness to be vulnerable to line managers (in the NHS), this scenario was seen to have a lower impact and finally in a context where low inter-hierarchical vulnerability was accompanied by low interdependence with colleagues (AC) the impact on meeting organisational objectives was found to be minimal.

In applying this to implications for practice, leaders need to be aware that despite the issues of inter-professional value incongruence, discussed in detail in the discussion, dishonesty is highly destructive to leader credibility. As such, the findings demonstrated the value of managerial transparency in unpopular decisions and presenting the real agenda, rather than later being accused of having a hidden agenda. Such honesty was shown to be of far greater value in maintaining long term employee confidence in effective leadership regardless of the context and particularly when managing a heterogeneous group of professionals. Second, in all three cohorts there were interlocutors who believed there to be no dichotomy between public and private life and

150 In particular, this research demonstrated that contextual factors (e.g. level of interdependence, vulnerability and value congruence) were key determinants of overall impact on inter-hierarchical trust
were found to extrapolate perceptions of deception in private life to professional life; therefore this suggests the inevitability of leaders being judged on the basis of private choices including perceived honesty in private life (even in a low trust environment).

9.4  **Summing up the impact of context**
The three themes of deception, freedom and accountability cover all four types of managerial behaviour in Figure 10 (namely: 1. knowledge/decision making, 2. target setting, 3. vision and 4. organisational in/justice) demonstrating the connection between control and value congruence as aspects of institutional trust. Deception, the final theme addressed here, also links to the personal dimension of value congruence. As such, value congruence is found to underpin these three public sector trust themes establishing it as an important contextual factor and aspect of institutional trust.
Trust in leadership was heavily influenced by value congruence at both the level of professional and personal values. Professional value incongruence with line managers, apparent in the NHS and academia, was found to be exacerbated by managerial action in four key areas within the professional value dimension (see Figure 10). In addition, each of these managerial acts was interpreted by interlocutors as single or multiple CBI attrition (see Figure 10). Personal value incongruence, in reaction to the affair scenario, was found in all cohorts. Whilst there were some participants, from each organisational setting, for whom this affair was not a trust issue, many still acknowledged others within their team for whom this would undermine leadership credibility which in turn would affect the team dynamics and overall efficacy\(^2\). In sum, although perceptions of the affair were mixed across cohorts, dependent upon personal values and convictions, the resulting impact, on the achievement of organisational objectives, was dictated by contextual factors. This demonstrates the continued need for research which considers context and seeks to enrich the literature in providing in-depth qualitative explorations

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\(^1\) e.g. level of value congruence with line manager, level of interdependence needed in achieving organisational objectives, extent of team work etc.

\(^2\) However, this effect, on inter-hierarchical, trust was moderated by the situational need for interdependence in meeting organisational objectives.
of CBI, value congruence and the interplay between trust and control in a range of trust settings.

Additionally, this study has demonstrated how the interaction of cognitive assessments of and affective reactions to both the leader and institutional arrangements combine to produce an overall assessment of leader trustworthiness. In particular, the role of institutional trust in trust erosion was highlighted as an under-investigated area in the literature (Table 27), a gap which the findings from this study have addressed as summarised in Table 50. As such, Table 50 amalgamates the issues which emerged from the narrative data, across the three cohorts, in reference to institutional trust.
Table 50: Summary of findings (across RQs) which emerged from each cohort relating to institutional trust; shaded sections relate to instances of trust erosion.

Thus a three pronged approach to the study of trust – taking into account cognitive, affect and institutional bases of trust – has provided an insight into variations in CBI salience according to context. Although highly specific to the cohort context, the examples from Table 50 emphasise the close connection between trust and institutional features of accountability, with such features serving to either build or erode trust. This reiterates the centrality of institutional trust undergirding both intra and inter-hierarchical trust.

9.5 Chapter summary and final reflections
First, the main theoretical contribution of this research – the significant differences found in inter-cohort CBI salience – was presented, followed by the distinguishing of
private integrity within the integrity component, in Mayer et al.’s (1995) model of trustworthiness, as a second contribution. These contributions extend the literature in first making this contextual distinction and second in acknowledging the impact of both private and professional integrity within the CBI model. Third, the weighting of personal integrity was shown to have added salience for leaders. Hence, the second and third theoretical contributions demonstrate the integral nature and additional salience of personal integrity in inter-hierarchical trust. This helps to explain that where perceived issues of value incongruence with leader personal values exist, some individuals will question the continued ability of public figures – such as Elizabeth Truss, John Terry and Michael Todd – to lead effectively. Furthermore, in high risk contexts, where leaders are reliant on an interdependent team for meeting strategic objectives, the potential for loss of leader credibility will be greatest.

The three themes of professional freedom, deception and accountability, identified by O’Neill (2002) as prominent public sector issues for trust, were found to be pertinent themes for discussion in this study and were thus used as a focal point for addressing final practical implications of the findings. Inter-personal differences in reaction to the affair, across cohorts, were largely determined by levels of perceived integrity attrition and value incongruence with leader personal values. However, overall inter-organisational differences were explained through contextual variation, namely the need for interdependence and inter-hierarchical trust in the meeting of organisational objectives. Considerations of the deontological view of trust, thus, have been shown to have implications for the teleological view of trust which demonstrates the short-sighted nature of simply considering the latter without reference to the former in implications for theory and practice.
Appendix 1 – Additional narrative data showing high VC amongst medical professional in the NHS cohort

A prominent theme which emerged in the NHS cohort, but not within academia or RAF, was value congruence amongst peers. The majority of the cohort alluded to their willingness to be vulnerable to each other being due to shared values partly as a result of and/or resulting from high levels of interdependence. The contention is that given the high value incongruence with managers in the NHS and the high levels of interdependence required for day to day functioning with peers, this created an environment where value congruence with peers had even greater salience, as demonstrated by the sheer amount of data here by comparison with very little in either the RAF or academic cohorts. (Whereas the lack of value congruence amongst academics was unsurprising given the asserted irrelevance of affect trust, in the RAF cohort, by contrast, it is surmised that value congruence was a given due to close interdependence with colleagues and a strong willingness to be vulnerable to line managers).

The following examples of value congruence, in the qualitative data from the NHS cohort, demonstrate that value congruence served to undergird intra-hierarchical interdependence and a willingness to be vulnerable amongst colleagues in this cohort.

NHS_11 suggested that this would have an impact both on individuals within the team and the team as a whole: “… you start off with a value system for the people that you work with and if they… consistently or seriously breach that then it’s going to have an effect on the team relationship and how well you’re able to do your job.”

NHS_11 likewise expressed the day to day importance of value congruence: “I think we all work under the assumptions that everyone is operating from a similar framework of attitudes and ethics” which suggests that within his team value congruence is seen to be important establishing this as a stabiliser of trust.
NHS_15 talked about the level of value congruence that they would expect with fellow medical professionals:

You would expect that everybody who’s doing the same sort of work – caring for the sick if you like – to have the same values or to have the same attitudes towards a diagnosis and towards care as you would. So you should have that – you should be able to work with that very strong knowledge that everyone else thinks the same way not just about the disease but about how you are approaching it, how you are handling or dealing with your patients. Everybody else should be thinking the same way. That’s how trust should be.

NHS_01:
“… you kind of line up with people who have a similar moral code, you know, and I suppose… within a team we look for team players, in a sense you can only really be a team player… and we’ve, as it were, chosen the members of the teams... people ... who you think will operate with a similar set of strategies, so yes, it’s really important”.

NHS_02 outlined the important attributes that constitute trust in a colleague as involving value congruence: “… there are some colleagues that I trust implicitly, completely, in every respect both in my personal understanding of them and their morals and their clinical ability and what they would do”.

NHS_02 also highlighted attitude towards professional ethos and teaching commitments as being important markers of value congruence: “… it is fundamental to us again as a profession that we are respectful towards our juniors but that we’re also supportive and also professional.” This demonstrates that benevolence was wrapped up in value congruence for this interviewee within this context. Therefore a loss of benevolence could also cause a loss of intra-professional value congruence in this context.

NHS_08 highlighted important aspects of value congruence: “I think that we all have a shared interest which is the particular specialism within which we work.” and part of value congruence can be having the same grievances within an organisation: “… as a group we may tend to whinge about other groups, we may tend to whinge about other things…” Having to pull together to form a united front against a common adversary
(viewed as management) served to further increase value congruence amongst the medical professionals.

NHS_08: “We are quite fortunate in that we have… I think I have a good working relationship with my peers and we have time when we can sit down and discuss a whole host of things and I would like to think that I have… that the nature of the relationship is such that we have time to talk about virtually everything that impacts on our professional lives.”

NHS_21 highlighted that “essentially it’s more down to reliability and professionalism rather than just trust”. So for this individual value congruence was not just a pre-condition for trust but actually deemed as almost having greater importance than trust in operating with work colleagues day to day

NHS_16 asserted that “… if they don’t demonstrate the same kind of values then yes my feeling that you can leave someone to get on with something… obviously that’s undermined so yes I think inevitably it would reduce your trust in them.” Therefore one of the consequences of value incongruence upon behaviour would be that NHS_16 would feel the need to monitor the work of a colleague more closely thereby meaning that they are working less efficiently as a team. This demonstrates the potential negative impact that lack of trust, through value incongruence, can have on performance/meeting organisational objectives.

NHS_18 reinforced this with comments on the importance of knowing that your struggles will be dealt with confidentially in being central to trust in general and team work in particular: “I think part of trust really is about knowing people well enough that you don’t have to hide anything from them really and I think that certainly happens with colleagues you know well and so actually you can talk. I feel I can talk through difficult situations with them and know that I’ll be… know that if it’s confidential it doesn’t go beyond that… that sort of thing.” Therefore close interdependence is shown to enable a willingness to be vulnerable.
Appendix 2 – Interview (academia)

Section 1: introductory questions
What is your role here within this department?
What does the word trust mean to you?
How does that apply to your work environment?
In what ways are you able to be honest about difficult work situations you face with your colleagues (the people of the same rank/ level of expertise/ same team)?
Are you a high self-discloser?
Is your working environment one in which you feel able to disclose information?
How does that affect the dynamics of your department?
How does trust (or lack of trust) in your colleagues effect the success of your team/ departments?
What methods of regulation are there in place and what effect does this have on your trust?

Section 2: CBI scenarios

• 1. Competence testing scenario
A colleague, at the same level, has been unable to get any journal articles published in a 2, 3 or 4 star journal in time for the RAF and consistently gets poor scores for his/ her teaching and is not putting in the effort required.

a) Would this concern you?

b) How would this affect your trust in the person? (Follow-up if needed: How would this affect your thoughts/ feelings/ actions?)

c) How concerned would you be on a scale of 1-10? (1 = not at all concerned, 10 = extremely concerned)

• 2. Integrity testing scenario
Your colleague has been found guilty of using someone else’s research data and passing it off as their own.

a) Would this concern you?

b) How would this affect your trust in the person?

c) How concerned would you be on a scale of 1-10? (1 = not at all concerned, 10 = extremely concerned)
3. Benevolence testing scenario
You notice that your colleague is not showing the support or care that you think he/she should towards students that he/she is supervising at masters/PhD level.

a) How would this affect your overall trust in the person?

b) How concerned would you be, again on a scale of 1-10? (1 = not at all concerned, 10 = extremely concerned)

Section 3: Trust in line managers

Intro:

- define ‘line manager’ (person who is responsible for certain targets being met/organisational functioning)
- looking at your willingness to become vulnerable to them as a measure of Trust (establishing common definition of trust i.e. Mayer et al., 1995).

Using this response scale could you indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of these statements in relation to your line manager:

**Response Scale**

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat agree
5. Strongly agree

**Trust Items from Schoorman and Ballinger (2006)**

A: My line manager keeps my interests in mind when making decisions.

B: I would be willing to let my line manager have complete control over my future in this organisation.

C: If my line manager asked why a problem occurred, I would speak freely even if I were partly to blame.

D: I feel comfortable thinking outside of the box although my line manager understands that sometimes these solutions do not work.

E: It is important for me to have a good way to keep a watchful eye on my line manager to ensure that my interests are being taken into account.

F: I would not be prepared to become more vulnerable than I currently am to my current line-manager.

G: If I had my way, I wouldn’t let my line manager have any influence over decisions that are important to me.
Hypothetical scenario:

Supposing you have a line manager whom you trust, who always keeps your interests in mind when making decisions etc. (using phrases above)

Final scenario:

You discover for certain that your line manager is having an affair and you know that his/ her partner would be devastated if they were to find out.

In relation to this line manager:

1. This would affect my trust in that person (1-5)
2. I would be less willing to become vulnerable to them (1-5)

How would this affect your thoughts/ feelings/ actions?

3. Questions of personal integrity could affect the effectiveness of the team (1-5)
4. This could ultimately affect the achievement of the department’s objectives (1-5)

Can you say in what respect?

Section 4: Definition of trust

Could you comment on how this definition of trust (Mayer et al., 1995) applies to your workplace?

Section 5: Critical incidents

a) Describe an incident or several examples which helped to build your trust in an individual in your team.

b) Describe an incident or several examples which led to erosion in the trust between you and a team member.

Do you have any questions or areas you feel I have not covered?
Appendix 3 – Emails sent to RAF gatekeeper:

Email 3a to provide general information to the gatekeeper regarding the project

Dear XXXXXX,

Thank you for your willingness to help with this project. It is much appreciated.

The project is seeking to build on previous management research looking at the components of trust (within trust building and erosion) in high interdependency team relationships. Trust is defined as a willingness to become vulnerable to another team member. If trust is the willingness to take risks then, according to existing research, the level of trust is the amount of risk one is willing to take.

For this study we are seeking to interview fairly experienced RAF personal working in high trust interdependency teams, i.e. those who depend heavily on each other in high risk situations where vulnerability to the actions/judgments of others is important.

I would ideally need to interview a minimum of 15 people (up to 20 would be even better) who work in such teams. Interviews usually take up to an hour and are semi-formal in nature.

As mentioned I will have some time in September before term begins and therefore can be fairly flexible between XXXX until XXXX.

Thanks again for your help with this and I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,

Susan
Email 3b sent to RAF gatekeeper to be forwarded on to RAF personnel prior to my visit.

Dear XXXXXX,

I am a PhD student conducting research on workplace trust. The project is seeking to build on previous management research looking at the components of trust (within trust building and erosion) in high interdependency team relationships. Trust is defined as a willingness to become vulnerable to another team member. If trust is the willingness to take risks then, according to existing research, the level of trust is the amount of risk one is willing to take.

For this study I am seeking to interview fairly experienced RAF personal working in high trust interdependency teams, i.e. those who depend heavily on each other in high risk situations where vulnerability to the actions/ judgments of others is important.

I am writing to ask whether you would be willing to participate in this study. I will be visiting the base in mid-September and am seeking to interview both pilots and crewmen. Interviews usually take up to an hour and will consist of both a set of questions and opportunities for you to expand on any areas that you feel are relevant to the topic. You will be given more details on arrival, be asked to give your consent and would be free to later withdraw that consent should you wish to do so. Any data used in my thesis and in subsequent publications would be completely anonymous.

If you would be willing to be interviewed during the week of… please email me directly on: s.addison@ncl.ac.uk

I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,

Susan
Appendix 4 – Information sheet & consent form for RAF participants

NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY BUSINESS SCHOOL

Interpersonal trust

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research project.

The researcher will provide a written document for you to read before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from this, ask the researcher before you decide whether to take part. You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

I confirm that I have read the statement provided for the above research project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without needing to give a reason.

_________________________  ___________  ____________________________
Name of participant        Date       Signature

_________________________  ___________  ____________________________
Researcher                 Date       Signature

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Information regarding the study

Interpersonal trust

I am a PhD student conducting research on workplace trust for my doctoral thesis. The project is seeking to build on previous management research looking at the components of trust (within trust building and erosion) in high interdependency team relationships. Trust is defined as a willingness to become vulnerable to another team member. If trust is the willingness to take risks then, according to existing research, the level of trust is the amount of risk one is willing to take.

Over the course of doctoral study I am seeking to interview fairly experienced RAF personal working in high trust interdependency teams, i.e. those who depend heavily on each other in high risk situations where vulnerability to the actions/ judgments of others is important. In also conducting research in the NHS and a university setting I am seeking to better understand differences in the importance of trust in team effectiveness, in the meeting of organisational objectives and employee perceptions regarding leader trustworthiness in a range of workplaces. This study will involve around 60 participants over the three organisations.

During the interview I will ask a series of questions regarding your thoughts, feelings and actions in response to various scenarios and asked to reflect on trust in your line manager and to talk through any incidents of trust building or erosion. At certain points you will be asked to give a rating between 1 and 5 to show your level of agreement with certain statements – you will be given a sheet with these statements and the response scale at the bottom. The interview should take around 45 minutes.

If you agree I will be audio recording for the purposes of transcription. The audio recordings and transcriptions will be stored securely and anonymously and any narrative data reported on will be used anonymously. The final research output will be my doctoral thesis and this may also be published in an academic journal but in each case this any reference to anything you have said would be anonymous and non-attributable (each participant will be given a code when referred to e.g. RAF_07).

You are not under any obligation to participate and may withdraw your contribution at any time. If, during the interview, there are any questions that you are uncomfortable answering, please indicate that you would like to pass on that particular question.
Appendix 5 – Part of email trail in obtaining an RAF contact

From: XXXXX  
Sent: 18 March 2009 09:16  
To: Susan Addison  
Subject: Re: Military Contacts

Susan,

I am chasing this on a constant basis but have been told that until certain operations have finished they can't deal with it. I will keep pressing.

XXXXX

Professional contact with military contacts

Dear Susan,

The reason that XXXX (professional contact) passed your details on to me is that my first specialisation in the Royal Navy was in diving and mine countermeasures (underwater bomb-disposal). Diving teams would meet your criteria of, "... those who depend heavily on each other in high risk situations where vulnerability to the actions/judgments of others is important". Interestingly, from a military perspective if not from yours, those interdependencies are irrespective of rank. I would be very happy to talk to you about this.

In addition, as I am no longer an active diver within the RN, I would also like to put you in touch with a colleague of mine who currently runs the Defence Diving School (XXXX see email below). I am certain that he would be delighted to help as well. He is on leave until 11 Aug, but I have forwarded your email to him and left a message asking him to contact me on his return.

If appropriate, I can also put you in touch with someone who would be able to arrange for you to visit a mine counter-measures ship, which is one of the platforms from which a diving team works.

I look forward to discussing this with you.

Best regards,

XXXX  
Commander XXXXXXXXXX  
Leadership and Management Strategy  
Defence Academy - College of Management and Technology
Susan

My name is XXXX (reference made to them in above email), I work in Fleet Diving headquarters where there are teams who would be suitable for your needs. Unfortunately I am part of Superintendent of Diving’s organisation responsible for safety and standards and only have a small team who are pretty much shore based. I will forward your request to the Fleet Diving Squadron where the relevant manpower is employed and will request they contact you direct. We are shortly about to go on summer leave but if you do not hear from us by early September please feel free to contact me to confirm the state of play.

I hope this is Ok with you and hope the teams are in a position to help. Happy to discuss further if required.

Kind Regards

XXXXX
Diving Standards Officer (Royal Navy)

From: XXXXX
Sent: 03 April 2009 16:01
To: s.addison@ncl.ac.uk
Subject: Re: Contacts

Susan,

I am a colleague of XXXX (professional contact above) and she has approached me to ascertain whether I can help provide the appropriate contacts to assist with the research project.

I am sure you are aware that we have a range of pilots in the RAF from fast jet through to fixed wing and rotary and all are (to a greater or lesser degree) dependent on each other and ground crews.

In assisting you to find the correct grouping, are there restrictions regarding the travel distance and what would you define as ‘senior colleagues’? Furthermore, have you made any contact with the RAF already or are you waiting on a response from us?

I am very happy to assist but clarification on the above points would be most useful.

Kind Regards,

Wing Commander
To: Susan Addison  
Subject: RE: PhD student  
From: XXXX  
Sent: 06 July 2009 09:53

Susan,

The Station Commander has agreed to this research taking place on his station and is very interested in the findings. I look after the Flight Safety on the station and risk taking is of particular interest to me, therefore the Station commander has passed this my way to host you and set up interviews. Please let me know what you require.

I will be in and out of my office for the next few days but there is an answer phone on the civ number. I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Regards,

XXXX  
Flight safety officer (RAF Gatekeeper)
Appendix 6 – Newcastle University ethics form

The University must ensure that all its projects undergo appropriate ethical review before commencement. This covers both internally and externally funded projects, including postgraduate and undergraduate projects. In addition to the institutional requirement, main research funders (e.g. Research Councils) now require assurances that projects have been through an appropriate ethical review and that the research will be conducted within a research governance framework embedded within the institution. The University has a two-stage approach, requiring ALL projects to undergo a preliminary ethical assessment process on which further guidance can be found at: http://www.ncl.ac.uk/res/research/ethics_governance/ethics/index.htm

Please complete the following Preliminary Ethical Assessment Form.

SECTION 1: Applicant Details

Name of Researcher (Applicant):

Faculty & School:

Email Address:

Contact Address:

Telephone Number:

SECTION 2: Project Details

Project Title:

Has ethical approval to cover this proposal already been obtained?  YES ☐ NO ☐

If YES, please confirm:

Approving Body:

Reference Number:

Date of Approval:

If you already have approval then you do not need to complete the rest of the form. Please go directly to the Declaration in Section 9.

SECTION 3: Animals

1. “Does the research involve the use and / or observation of “protected animals” as defined in the Animals (Scientific Procedures) Act 1986 (i.e. live vertebrates (excluding man), including embryos after half way through gestation, and cephalopods)?”

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If you answered YES to Section 3, you will need to submit an application to the University Ethical Review Committee, based in the Faculty of Medical Sciences. Please continue with the rest of the form.
SECTION 4: Data

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1. Does the research involve the collection and/or analysis of sensitive data which if made public could potentially cause harm?
   
   I.e. Sensitive Personal Data as defined by the Data Protection Act 1998, Data governed by confidential covenants such as the Official Secrets Act/commercial contract or by convention e.g. client confidentiality.

If you answered YES to Section 4, you will need to submit an application for Full Ethical Review to the appropriate Faculty Ethics Committee. Please continue with the rest of the form.

SECTION 5: Environment

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1. Is the research expected to lead to emissions to land, air or water above the permissible level according to UK regulations?

2. Is the research expected to lead to a detrimental effect on the landscape or cultural heritage, including artefacts?

3. Is it expected that the research might cause harm through environmental fieldwork such as sampling or monitoring a site?

4. Will the research be conducted in an environmentally sensitive area/area of special scientific interest?

If you answered YES to Section 5, you will need to submit an application for Full Ethical Review to the appropriate Faculty Ethics Committee. Please continue with the rest of the form.

SECTION 6: NHS & Social Care: Facilities, Staff & Patients

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Does the research involve any of the following?

1. Patients and users of the NHS

2. Relatives or carers of patients and users of the NHS

3. Foetal material, Human l and IVF involving NHS patients

4. The recently dead in NHS premises

5. The study is a clinical trial and/or requires the use of and/or access to, NHS premises or facilities (labs, clinics)

6. Participants aged 16 or over who are unable to give informed consent (e.g. people with learning disabilities; see Mental Capacity Act 2005)

7. Human participants (users) in a social care setting within the UK and N. Ireland?

8. Intergenerational studies in social care, where both adults and children, or families, are research participants?

9. That the research will come under the remit of GAfREC?

If you answered YES to any of Section 6, you need to submit an application for Full Ethical Review to the appropriate external health authority ethics committee through the National
Research Ethics Service (NRES) – see http://www.hra.nhs.uk/hra/ for the process. Please continue with the rest of the form.

SECTION 7: Human Participants in a Non-Clinical Setting

1. Does the research involve human participants (e.g. use of questionnaires, focus groups or observation, surveys)?

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If you answered **NO** to Section 7, please go directly to the declaration in Section 9
If you answered **YES** to Section 7, please complete Section 8.

SECTION 8: Human Participants in a Non-Clinical Setting – Further Information

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1. Does the study involve other vulnerable groups; defined as those who are relatively or absolutely incapable of protecting their own interests (for a full list see Section 59 of the Safeguarding Vulnerable Adults Act 2006), or those in unequal relationships e.g. your own students?

2. Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited e.g. students at school, members of a self-help group, and residents of a nursing home?

3. Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge and consent at times (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places)?

4. Will this programme/project involve deliberately misleading participants in any way?

5. Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use)?

6. Are any drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?*

7. Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from subjects>*

8. Is pain or more than mild discomfort likely to result from the study?

9. Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?

10. Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing?

11. Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?
*Please Note*: Depending on the details of this project, this may require NHS approval. You will be given further clarification if the project is awarded. You are also advised to consult the JRO Policy Regarding the Participation of Volunteers in Research Projects.

If you have answered **YES** to any of questions in Section 8: You will need to describe more fully how you plan to deal with the ethical issues raised by your research by completing the Full Ethical Approval application form (after your project has successfully been awarded). **This does not mean that you cannot do the research - only that you will need to seek and satisfy an ethical opinion from a Faculty Ethics Committee.**

**SECTION 9: Declaration**

| I certify that the information contained in this application is accurate. |
| --- | --- |
| Name of Principal Investigator: |  |
| Signed: |  |
| Date: |  |

If you have any queries about this or any other ethical issue, please contact your Faculty Ethics Coordinator or appropriate Grants and Contracts team.

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For office use only:

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NB We need to ascertain how applicants will obtain informed consent and maintain confidentiality of data – this is covered on the full form, but we also need to know this is being address for projects that do not hit a trigger which requires completion of the full form.
References


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