

Organizational Trust in the Canadian Army

Specifications for a Conceptual Model and a Proposed Program of Research

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Abstract

Trust has been termed “a fundamental enabler” of military operations, a ‘strategic advantage’ to military effectiveness, and a bedrock of the Army Profession. Yet, one recent United States (US) Army-led report concluded that “leaders are not familiar enough with the frameworks to understand trust and do not have the language to discuss it effectively” (Allen & Braun, 2013). Nowhere is this more apparent than in the understanding of the role of organizational-level trust on organizational and operational effectiveness. The current report is intended to complement existing Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) assessments of unit peer and leader confidence and trust. Three objectives are pursued: 1) a review of the civilian and military literature that is relevant to trust at the organizational level; 2) the integration of these literatures to inform the development of an initial conceptual model of organizational trust for the Canadian Army (CA); and 3) the outline of a proposed program of research in this domain for CA’s consideration.

Regarding the third objective the following research recommendations are made based on the literature reviewed 1) develop and validate an Organizational Trust Measure, and 2) conduct empirical research studies to refine and the preliminary conceptual model of Institutional Trust.

Significance to Defence and Security

There is an acknowledged lack of understanding of the factors that influence trust, and the mechanisms that underpin organizational-level trust in a military context. The benefits to the Canadian Army (CA) of a research program in this area would be: 1) evidence-based recommendations to instantiate, to monitor and to maintain organizational-level trust in the CA that and that would inform concepts policy and doctrine, and 2) the development of frameworks and educational tools for CA leader professional development to better understand organizational-level trust and its importance to operational and organizational effectiveness in the Profession of Arms.

Résumé

La confiance est une condition « fondamentale » aux opérations militaires, un « avantage stratégique » pour l'efficacité militaire et sous-tend la profession militaire. Un rapport de l'armée américaine publié récemment a toutefois conclu que les dirigeants ne connaissent pas suffisamment les cadres pour comprendre le rôle que joue la confiance et qu'ils ne savent pas comment en discuter efficacement (Allen et Braun, 2013). C'est d'autant plus vrai lorsqu'il s'agit de comprendre le lien intrinsèque entre la confiance organisationnelle et l'efficacité organisationnelle et opérationnelle. Le présent rapport vise à compléter les évaluations existantes des Forces armées canadiennes (FAC) concernant la confiance des pairs et des leaders d'unité. Il vise trois objectifs : 1) un examen de la documentation civile et militaire concernant la confiance à l'échelle de l'organisation; 2) l'intégration de ces documents qui serviront de base à l'élaboration d'un modèle conceptuel de confiance organisationnelle pour l'Armée canadienne (AC); 3) l'élaboration des grandes lignes d'un programme de recherche proposé dans ce domaine pour examen par l'AC.

En ce qui concerne le troisième objectif, voici les recommandations de recherche après examen des documents : 1) créer et valider une mesure de confiance organisationnelle; 2) réaliser des études de recherches empiriques afin de peaufiner le modèle conceptuel préliminaire relatif à la confiance institutionnelle.

Importance pour la défense et la sécurité

Les facteurs influençant la confiance ainsi que les mécanismes qui sous-tendent la confiance organisationnelle dans un contexte militaire sont méconnus. Avantages d'un programme de recherche dans ce domaine pour l'Armée canadienne (AC) : 1) recommandations fondées sur des données probantes pour recenser, surveiller et maintenir la confiance organisationnelle dans l'AC, et servant de base à l'élaboration de concepts, de politiques et de doctrines; 2) élaboration de cadres et d'outils d'éducation pour le perfectionnement professionnel des leaders de l'AC afin qu'ils comprennent mieux le concept de confiance organisationnelle et son importance pour l'efficacité opérationnelle et organisationnelle dans la profession des armes.

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1 Introduction

At the 2012 Association of the United States (US) Army Annual Meeting and Exposition, Washington, DC. Army Chief of Staff General Ray Odierno stated that trust is the bedrock of the Army profession (Piper, 2012). Trust has similarly been termed “a fundamental enabler” of military operations (Gizewski & Rostek, 2007; Shay, 2001; Stouffer, 2008), and a ‘strategic advantage’ (Steele, 2011). Yet, despite being seen as essential in the military, as is the case in other nations, Stouffer (2008) has noted that “the word ‘trust’ is sprinkled liberally throughout C[A]F literature with limited explanation or attention afforded to its antecedents, implications and the actual manner by which it operates” (p. v). Similarly, a recent US Army analysis also concluded that “leaders are not familiar enough with the frameworks to understand trust and do not have the language to discuss it effectively” (Allen & Braun, 2013, p. 74).

This is particularly true regarding discussions of trust at the organizational level. For instance, Paparone (2002) declared that “[un]fortunately the Army offers little doctrine or professional literature on how to address the requirements for trust within and between organizations. Army professionals are left largely to their own experience and learning” (p. 46). The current report begins to address this issue, responding to a Canadian Army (CA) Personnel (G1) research requirement made to the Personnel Portfolio of Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC) to investigate organizational trust and its implications and applicability to the Canadian Army. As such, the current work is intended to complement and extend the previous research programs of DRDC – Toronto Research Centre on trust in peers and leaders, and trust violation and repair in military contexts (see Thompson, Adams, & Niven, 2014, for a review of this program of research), as well as the confidence in peers and leader aspects of Director General Military Personnel Research and Analysis (DGMPRA) Human Dimensions of Operations (HDO) project (e.g., Dobрева-Martinova, 1999; Ivey, Sudom, Dean & Tremblay, 2014; Murphy & Farley, 2000). Accordingly, this Scientific Report has three objectives: 1) review the civilian and military literature that is relevant to trust at the organizational level; 2) integrate these literatures to inform the development of an initial conceptual model of organizational trust for the CA; and 3) outline a proposed program of research in this domain for CA’s consideration.

1.1 Challenges

Early on in the process of reviewing the literature to address this research requirement, a number of challenges emerged. The first challenge is that, despite being seen as essential, investigations of trust have been relatively rare in the military. Although the past decade has seen increased attention in this regard, these studies have focused almost exclusively on trust in military peers and direct leaders (e.g., Adams & Bruyn, 2005; Adams, Bryant & Webb, 2001; Adams, Bruyn, & Chung-Yan, 2004; Adams & Sartori, 2006; Sartori, Adams, Waldherr, & Lee, 2007; Cassel, 1993; Collins & Jacobs, 2002; Cox, 1996; Deluga, 1995; Ivy, 1995; Shamir, Barinin, Zakay & Popper, 2000; Sweeney, 2010; Sweeney, Thompson & Blanton., 2009; Van der Kloet, Soeters & Sanders, 2004; Thomas & Barios-Choplin, 1996). There are few empirical research studies investigating organizational trust in the military.

A second challenge is that although organizational trust is a prolific research area in civilian work environments (Searle & Skinner, 2011), a significant amount of conceptual ambiguity exists (Bachmann & Zaheer, 2013), particularly in terms of the specific target, or referent of the trust assessment (Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012; Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995). For instance, McCauley and Kuhnert (1992) argued that organizational trust involves both lateral and hierarchical elements in the organization. And indeed, many studies of organizational trust reflect this perspective, and are in fact, investigations of interpersonal trust (Mishra & Mishra, 2013a; 2013b); that is, trust between people, when the interpersonal relationship happens to occur in an organizational context. Such research includes for instance, trust levels between co-workers within an organization, or between subordinates and supervisors or vice versa (e.g., Mayer et al., 1995; Shockley-Zalabak, Ellis & Winograd, 2000). Other organizational trust research has investigated the level of trust between different units within the same organization (e.g., Becerra & Gupta, 1999) or between different organizations (e.g., Currall & Inkpen, 2002; Dirks, Lewicki, & Zaheer, 2009; Sydow, 1998). Kramer (2010) recently introduced the term ‘collective trust’ in which the referent is the “the organization and its collective membership as a whole” (p. 82), a perspective echoed in the approach presented by Sydow (2006). Still other theorists (e.g., Luhmann, 1979) have depicted organizational trust as being based on employees’ perceptions of the organization as a stand-alone entity, distinct from their perceptions based on their daily interactions with their immediate supervisor (Nyhan & Marlowe, 1997), suggesting that interpersonal and organizational trust can be considered distinct and differ from each other, at least some of the time (Zaheer, McEvily & Perrone, 1998, see also Sydow, 2006)—yet all are referred to as organizational trust.

A third major challenge of the existing literature is that the vast majority of research in the area has been correlational. Thus, while we know a great deal about those variables that tend to be related to organizational trust (however it is defined) such as organizational commitment, and job satisfaction, or decisions to leave an organization, little research has identified variables that are uniquely and consistently identified as antecedents or consequences of organizational trust. Fourth, the majority of the empirical research in the area focuses on the effects of organizational trust (however it is defined) on one or two variables of interest, either as hypothesized antecedents or consequences, for instance risk taking, commitment, job satisfaction, etc. (e.g., Aryee, Budhwar & Chen, 2002; Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004; Mayer et al., 1995; McAllister & Bigley, 2002;—although Albrecht & Travaglione, 2003 is a notable exception which investigated four outcomes and Ralston (2006) outlined six variables assumed to be antecedents of organizational trust). While these results certainly add to our knowledge concerning specific research questions, the aggregate of these findings do not result in a truly integrative model of organizational trust (Adams, Thomson, Brown, Sartori, Taylor & Waldherr, 2008).

Indeed, one group of researchers who have attempted to identify a more complete set of the antecedents and consequences of trust (Seppänen, Blomqvist & Sundqvist, 2007) readily acknowledged the challenge inherent in doing so as the relationships between trust and a number of other relevant variables are often reciprocal. The result of their efforts is more of a mind map¹ than what is usually termed a conceptual model that includes the anticipated directions of the

¹ A mind map is a diagram used to visually represent and organize information around a single concept, drawn as a central image around which associated images, words and parts of words are added. Major ideas are connected directly to the central concept, and other ideas branch out from those (Nesbit & Adesope, 2006).

relationships between variables. Certainly the first conceptual model (Mayer et al., 1995) is a useful starting point but is limited to detailing the dimensions of trustworthiness, their direct effects on organizational trust, and in turn the anticipated effects of organizational trust on risk taking and generic organizational outcomes. Even a recent excellent review of the organizational trust literature that has speculated on potential antecedents and consequences of organizational trust did not integrate these variables into a conceptual model (Searle, Weibel & Den Hartog, 2011). As noted earlier, an exception in this regard is Albrecht & Travaglione's (2003) conceptual model of organizational trust which articulated four antecedents of trust in senior management (i.e., procedural fairness, organizational support, security, and communication) and four consequences of trust in senior management (i.e., affective commitment, continuance commitment, change cynicism, turnover intention). However, while these researchers went on to test their conceptual model; their analytic approach did not set out to determine if the effects of the variables assessed were unidirectional or bi-directional. This means that they do not rule out that trust is also an antecedent of at least some of the variables that they identify as antecedents or a consequence of some of the variables specified as consequences in the model.

With these challenges in mind, the next two sections of this report summarize the extant civilian and military literature to inform an initial conceptual model in which organizational trust is the central feature. The remaining variables are then placed in the model according to the preponderance of the literature, but, as noted above, in many cases, the current state of knowledge precludes a neat categorization into antecedents versus consequences of organizational trust. Thus, in order to accurately reflect the state of knowledge in this area, the initial conceptual model remains largely correlational in nature. We acknowledge its preliminary nature and recognize the importance of empirical tests to verify the model's validity, particularly with respect to conceptual refinement of antecedent and consequent variables. Indeed, this is one of the empirical questions of our proposed follow-up research program outlined at the end of this report.

2 Overview of the Literature

This section reviews the civilian literature beginning with the introduction of the key concepts of organizations, interpersonal trust and organizational trust that inform and anchor the conceptual model. We then summarize the other selected organizational variables that have traditionally been investigated along with organizational trust, using these to further inform the proposed conceptual model.

2.1 Organizations and Institutions

Although the term organization may appear to be self-explanatory, it is important to keep in mind what that actually means as it assists in developing a specific definition for organizational trust. At their heart, organizations are social entities that enable groups of people to coordinate the planning and execution of a variety of tasks in the pursuit of a shared objective—an objective that could not be attained through the efforts of individuals alone (Handy, 2006; Scott, 2008). Work toward attaining these shared goals is usually divided both “laterally by function (e.g., manufacturing and sales, or in the case of the military infantry and logistics for instance), and hierarchically by authority and responsibility” (Schein, 1970, p. 10). Organizational activities and practices are developed to support organizational goals and when these activities and practices become formalized they become organizational rules, processes and procedures. Organizations are also characterized by a range of informal and sometimes unspoken norms of thought and behavior that often guide the activities in and the decisions of an organization. Referred to as organizational culture, these unwritten aspects are often influential as the formal aspects of the organization (see McAuley, Duberley & Johnson, 2007; Searle & Skinner, 2011).

2.2 Interpersonal Trust

Trust is a psychological state reflecting one’s confident expectation that another person or group of people will respond with positive behavior and/or intentions, specifically as it relates to something important to us (see Barney & Hansen, 1994; Blomquist & Stahle, 2000; Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004; Mayer et al., 1995; Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt & Camerer, 1998). The strength of this confident expectation leads us to willingly let ourselves be vulnerable to others. Trust then always involves dependency and risk because we leave ourselves open to being let down or even to being exploited by the other. The urgency surrounding trust will increase as the degree of risk and dependence increases (Gambetta, 1988; Lewicki, Tomlinson & Gillespie, 2006) and trust is particularly important in a crisis (Krishnan, Martin & Noorderhaven, 2006; Mishra, 1996). Despite the risks, trust occurs when we are willing to assume the risk. Still, while our degree of confidence may increase as a result of positive past experiences, trust always remains an estimate of the other’s future intent and/or behavior, and as such it always remains a ‘leap of faith’ (Holmes, 1991).

An assessment of trust can involve thoughts (i.e., the expectation) and feelings (i.e., the confidence) to various degrees (Holmes, 1991; Mayer et al., 1995; McAllister, 1995). How and the extent to which thoughts and feelings are combined reflects the bases of our trust assessments, which can range along a continuum from those that are mainly cognitive, rational, self-focused

and extrinsic or instrumental to those that are linked to more emotional, and based on intrinsic relationship-based considerations (Mayer et al., 1995; Searle et al., 2011). Such considerations are often, although not always, associated with the type and length of contact and experience with the target (Mayer et al., 1995; Jones & George, 1998; Kramer, 2010). For instance, in initial interactions an individual may decide to trust based on a relatively simple and largely cognitive weighing of the costs versus the benefits of trusting, that is, what we will get from the decision to trust—where the perceived benefits outweigh the costs we will decide to trust (i.e., calculative trust). Self-interest and tangible, instrumental rewards or benefits are the primary concern here. As interactions continue, there may be sufficient consistency in the reactions of the other to allow us to at least believe that we can predict the response, and where that predicted response will be positive and responsive to our needs, we are more likely to trust (referred to as knowledge-based trust). This is still a relatively rational and cognitively based trust. However, where continued interactions and experience with the other highlights similarities, a shift may occur. The affective bases of trust begin to take on an increasing prominence and the relationship becomes rewarding in and of itself rather than being based on external benefits. This form of trust is said to be relation-based. As experience continues and deepens, if shared central values become apparent, trust deepens and becomes even more socially and emotionally driven reflecting a “... strong mutual understanding that operates in a variety of contexts” (Searle et al., 2011, p. 148) which is referred to as identification-based trust. Another important distinction between these types of trust is norms of reciprocity. In calculative-based trust reciprocated benefits are usually expected to be more explicit and occur quite quickly. In more relational- and certainly identification-based trusting relationships, reciprocation is “premised on long-term exchange and is based on a diffuse obligation to reciprocate [and] the benefits exchanged are indicative of mutual support and investment in the relationship” (Aryee et al., 2002, p. 267–268). Therefore we are more likely to offer benefits to others without assurances and are willing to invest in the relationship and wait longer for reciprocation, which may be forgone entirely if we believe that we are contributing to the relationship overall.

When high trust exists, it is associated with a range of important positive outcomes. As many of these outcomes are assessed in a group or organizational context, they will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this report. Suffice it to say, for the individual, trust provides the individual with the confidence to act and to feel less vulnerable in acting (Lewicki et al., 2006). It also reduces cognitive ambiguity and complexity as there is less need to process each new piece of information that arises, allowing better focus on the central aspects of the task at hand (Mishra & Mishra 2013b). Not surprisingly, trust is said to be especially important for success in complex, ambiguous and uncertain environments (Branzei, Vertinsky, & Camp, 2007), and absolutely essential in a crisis (Mishra, 1996). Although trust generally leads to the anticipated positive outcome, another one of its potential important benefits is that its presence provides the individual with continued confidence, even if the actual outcome is not ideal. In such cases, trust allows an individual to continue to hold the belief that everything that could be done on his or her behalf was done, despite a poorer than expected outcome.

Although it can provide an important buffer against negativity, trust still can be challenged or broken if a trusted other seems to betray important beliefs and expectations (Bigley & Pearce, 1998). Violations of trust can be associated with any of the dimensions of trust. The impact of a trust violation is most severe when the violation is deemed likely to have been deliberate and voluntary (Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003), reflects the real characteristics or intent of the offender, is perceived as likely to occur again in the future (Elangovan & Shapiro, 1998),

and/or is made by someone with authority over the trustor. Although trust violations can affect any kind of relationship, their impact can actually be most destructive to relation- and identification-based trust (Yaklova, Reilly & Werko, 2010) because of the assumed similarity and benevolence that are part of these relationships and because of the person's investment in the relationship. Although some investigations have sought to determine whether specific actions are useful for different kinds of trust repair (e.g., Kim, Cooper, Ferrin, & Dirks, 2004), in general betrayed trust can take a long time to rebuild, and may never be restored to pre-betrayal levels (Slovic, 1993; Gill, Thompson & Febraro, 2011), and are usually determined by the concreteness and the perceived genuineness of the repair attempts (Tomlinson & Meyer, 2009), and the extent to which the parties are invested in maintaining that relationship (Moreland & McMinn, 1999).

2.3 Trustworthiness: How We Decide to Trust

Our trust in another is based on our perceptions of their trustworthiness, which is a combination of specific attributes that we believe that the other possesses. These include the degree to which the other is perceived as being competent (i.e., possesses the requisite knowledge, information, skills, and/or attributes), predictable (i.e., behavioral consistency), benevolent (genuine care and concern for others) and has integrity (possesses valued principles and beliefs and acts upon them). These dimensions are widely assumed to be conceptually distinct (Mayer et al., 1995). For instance, while a high skill level and consistency (i.e., competence and predictability) often go hand in hand, they need not always do so (e.g., a highly talented but inconsistent or unpredictable co-worker). Considered to be additive in nature at least by some in the area (Schoorman, Mayer & Davis, 2007) it is generally agreed that the extent to which each dimension is deemed important will be determined by the specifics of the situation (Searle et al., 2011).

Although virtually always conceptualized as a multidimensional construct, it should be noted that the exact number and name of the dimensions used to make an assessment of trustworthiness, and thus upon which a trust judgment is made, differ (Searle et al., 2011; e.g., Payne & Clark, 2003). For instance, based on 30 years of research Mishra and Mishra (2013b) renamed the critical dimensions of trustworthiness as Reliability, Openness, Competence and Compassion, although these terms are certainly consistent with the commonly used terminology for trust dimensions. Other "conceptualizations of trustworthiness combine benevolence and integrity into a single character variable (Gabarro, 1978), suggesting that those two dimensions might be redundant with each other" (Colquitt, Scott & LePine, 2007, p. 917.) Still other conceptualizations do not include the predictability dimension (e.g., Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012; Mayer et al., 1995). At least one other conceptualization contains all four dimensions and as well as an additional dimension of referred to as identification (see Shockley-Zalabak, Ellis & Winograd, 2000). Moreover, at least some empirical studies have failed to demonstrate significant, unique effects for all three dimensions when predicting overall trust (Jarvenpaa et al., 1998; Mayer & Gavin, 2005), and in many studies the trustworthiness dimensions are fairly highly correlated in civilian (e.g., Colquitt et al., 2007; Kramer & Tyler, 1996) and in military samples (e.g., Adams et al., 2004; Adams & Sartori, 2006), although some researchers have pointed out that correlations tend to be higher in lab settings than in field studies (Schoorman et al., 2007).

2.4 Organizational/Institutional Trust

Definitions of organizational trust share core features of the phenomenology of interpersonal trust discussed above. It too is conceived of as a confident expectation of the positive intent and/or the provision of resources and also involves assessments of competence, predictability, benevolence and integrity (Shockley-Zalabak et al., 2000). It is also based on the perception of shared, important core beliefs, values and principles and an adherence to common basic rules (Sydow, 2006; Wehmeyer, Reimer, & Schneider, 2001). However, as stated earlier, one of our goals in this report is to elucidate those features that might be unique to organizational aspects of trust per se, and thus distinct from the interpersonal trust that has been the focus of prior CAF research.

Speaking to this issue, Kramer (2010) described organizational trust as a more impersonal, indirect or abstract form of trust. Luhmann (1979) elaborated on this arguing that organizational trust reflects the system level and as such it “is latent and stands beyond the day to day experiences that influence personal trust” (cited in Nyhan & Marlowe, 1997, p. 58). Corroborating this perspective, Perry & Mankin (2007) reported that employees definitions of organizational trust included “the social significance of the organizational mission, quality of output, and the organization’s persistence beyond the human lifespan”.

Despite this level of abstraction, employees nevertheless attribute trust-related human qualities to their organizations (Levinson, 1965). Indeed, the same psychological mechanisms that determine interpersonal trust are an important way that employees attribute core values and principles to an organization (Wehmeyer et al., 2001). For instance, whether based on their own experience, the experience of trusted others or on the company’s overall reputation, trustors’ make inferences concerning the competence, integrity, benevolence and predictability about the abstract entity that is the organization (Sydow, 1998; see also Seppänen et al., 2007). Also similar to interpersonal trust, the bases of organizational trust can vary along a continuum ranging from strictly calculating costs versus benefits through to identification-based trust. In essence, organizational trust then is the degree to which employees believe that they can rely on the organization for resources and support when needed and that their inputs are of value to the organization (see Ambrose & Schminke, 2003; Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison & Sowa 1986; Rhoades Shanock & Eisenberger, 2006).

Trust is consistently identified as “an important factor in determining organizational success, organizational stability and the well-being of employees” (Albrecht & Travaglione, 2003, p. 76). For Luhmann (1979), this is chiefly because trust enables workers to reduce the complexity of the information about their organization, essentially allowing them to act ‘as if’ certain possible futures (e.g., downsizing) will not occur, limiting possible futures to a more manageable number, that are no doubt largely positive for the organizational member. “Without trust the complexity of contingent futures will paralyze action” (Nyhan & Marlowe, 1997, p. 618). This notion is borne out as trust has been shown to have a range of beneficial effects in organizational contexts. For instance, higher levels of trust have been associated with higher perceived organizational effectiveness, greater job satisfaction, higher motivation, and higher efforts among workers, with more risk taking and innovation, greater task performance, higher organizational identification, increased efforts to promote group welfare, even in instances where team or group members are not co-located, reduced absenteeism and greater intention to stay with an organization (Bigley & Pearce, 1998; Den Hartog, De Hough & Keegan, 2007; Edwards & Cable, 2009; Travaglione, Albrecht, Firms & Savery, 1998; Montes & Irving, 2008; Restubog, Hornsey, Bordia & Esposito, 2008; Semerciöz & Hassan, 2011; Shockley-Zalabak et al., 2000; Wiseman & Gomez-Mejia, 1998).

Trust also increases cooperation and the sharing and receiving of knowledge among employees (McEvily, Perrone, & Zaheer, 2003), because there is less concern with being taken advantage of or that shared proprietary or sensitive information will be exploited (Krishnan et al., 2006). These facilitate joint problem solving at the organizational level (Song, Catterjee & Wang., 2010) and the adoption of mutually beneficial solutions (Walton & McKersie, 1965). High trust also reduces the incidence and impact of conflict and enhances conflict management and resolution should differences arise (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004) because trust motivates more forgiving and constructive interpretations which are associated with more stable relationships (Uzzi, 1997; Zaheer et al., 1998). Deemed particularly important in a crisis, trust works to promote continued communication, the sharing of scarce resources, goodwill when unforeseen contingencies arise, and facilitates mutual adjustment allowing for the synchronization of critical tasks (Mishra, 1996; Krishnan et al., 2006).

Trust is also associated with more positive extra-role behaviors (termed organizational citizenship), to fewer organizationally destructive behaviors in work settings (Colquitt et al., 2007). It is also associated with less organizational cynicism and resistance to organizational change (Albrecht, 2002; Albrecht & Travaglione, 2003; Song et al., 2010). In fact, Tyler (1994) reported that personnel who trust their organization were even more willing to accept and abide by unpopular organizational decisions.

2.5 Dispositional Trust

Dispositional trust is an individual's general or typical level of willingness to trust others. Also referred to as one's propensity to trust, it is "the extent to which a person tends to believe that the words or promises of others can be relied on" (Colquitt et al., 2007, p. 911; see also Kramer, 1999; Rotter, 1980; Stack, 1978). It is assumed to reflect one's overall faith in humanity (the assumption that most other people are competent, benevolent, honest and predictable) and a trusting stance (the belief that better outcomes are achieved by dealing with people as if they were benevolent, honest and reliable) (see McKnight, Cummings & Chervany, 1998). It is thought to be established early in life based on a combination of parental influences, attachment styles, and early interpersonal experiences and then to remain largely stable as an adult (see Rotter 1967; Webb & Worchel, 1986). Research suggests that it should be considered as a distinct variable. For instance, Colquitt et al. (2007) found that an individual's level of trust propensity was related to overall trust assessments and to have effects that were distinct from assessments of trust in the situation on risk taking, task performance, citizenship behaviors and (lower) counterproductive behaviors. Based on the extant research then, all things being equal, higher levels of dispositional trust or trust propensity should be related to higher trust levels, an effect that may be lessened as experiences in the organization accumulate (e.g., Payne & Clark, 2003). Dispositional trust may again play a greater role in organizational trust levels when the focus of a trust assessment is unknown to the trustor or the situation is unfamiliar to the trustor, or when a known situation becomes more ambiguous or negative in tone (Bigley & Pearce, 1998; see also McKnight et al., 1998; Mayer et al., 1995; Schoorman et al., 2007).

2.6 Organizational Structures

The literature makes clear that trust in an organization is affected by various inputs, but the non-social inputs are largely related to existing organizational structures, practices and processes

(Bachmann, 2010). Organizational structures allow employees to complete their assigned tasks (Adler & Borys, 1998) by describing and defining the way in which an organization operates in order to achieve its mission (Ranson, Hinings & Greenwood, 1980). Thus organizational structures can become important proxies for the 'real' intent and mission of an organization. They are comprised of explicit structures that identify who in the organization has responsibility for what activities in the organization as well as the rules, processes and policies by which an organization operates. They establish the mechanisms for decision making (i.e., the governance structure) and for interaction and collaboration (i.e., standard operating procedures and routines) between people in order to meet organizational objectives. Yet, organizational structures are also acknowledged to include implicit or informal understandings of how the organization works and who is responsible for particular activities: in fact, these informal aspects are seen to be equally as influential as the explicit structures (Ambrose & Schminke, 2003).

These structures affect organizational trust because

“within each organization, the choices of strategies and policies offer statements of intent, and the nature of their implementation and delivery provides tangible evidence of the extent to which managements' intentions are genuine and can be trusted (Skinner et al., 2004) ... [and are] indicative of the personified organizations' commitment to [the employee] ... [Moreover policies and structures] can affect employees' perceptions of their individual fit within the organization and the extent to which they believe their explicit and implicit contract with the organization is being adhered to” (Searle & Skinner, 2011, p. 5–6).

Organizational trust will be linked to organizational structures that promote predictability and a sense of security (Zaheer & Zaheer, 2006; see also Kiefer, 2005) and shared understanding. Carnevale and Weschler (1992) enumerated several characteristics of an organizational environment that influenced employee trust levels. These included openness of communication (see also Sydow, 2006), fairness of rewards and punishments, job security, organizational ethical climate and in-group-status. Certainly the research tends to support the importance of these factors. For instance, employee trust was reduced when organizational structures are perceived to be less fair. This was true in mechanistic organizations (characterized by rigid, formal, traditional, centralized, hierarchical and bureaucratic structural features), whereas higher trust levels were associated with greater perceived interactional justice, that is the perceived fairness of how people felt that they were treated within organic organizations (characterized by looser, more decentralized and less formal and more adaptable structures) (Ambrose & Schminke, 2003). Structural features are thought to be important because they influence the real and/or the perceived risks associated with trusting (Bachman, 2001). In general then, those organizational policies, processes and structures that reflect and promote fairness (akin to the integrity dimension) magnanimity (i.e., the benevolence), predictability (i.e., clarity and consistency), and appropriateness to the efficient and effective execution of organizational tasks (akin to the competence dimension) will be associated with higher levels of organizational trust (Adams et al., 2008).

Knights and colleagues (Knights, Noble, Vurdubakis & Willmott, 2001) further argued that organizational trust is closely related to the power and control that is inherent in organizational or institutional structures, and the degree of control they impose on people and their interactions.

Importantly, when the organizational structures and processes implemented emphasize (or are perceived to emphasize) control and power differentials, organizational trust will be undermined (Das & Teng, 1998; Sitkin & Roth 1993). This is because formal control processes usually restrict autonomy, and when they explicitly specify or appear to be methods of monitoring, they suggest a lack of trust (McAllister, 1995; Thompson & Gill, 2010). Not only does monitoring explicitly reduce the degree of risk taken (hence its association with a perceived lack of trust), but also deprives opportunities for trust to develop (Rousseau et al., 1998; Kramer, 1999). Finally, when structures, processes are unclear or not consistent (for instance in a climate of continual process and policy change, see Kiefer, 2005), organizational trust is also undermined. In these cases, the level of interpersonal trust that exists (or does not exist) with key organizational representatives is likely to play a more important role. While peers certainly play a role in organizations, most of the research in this area has focused on leaders as organizational representatives.

2.7 Trust in Leaders

Although we have attempted to distinguish organizational- or institutional-level trust from interpersonal trust that occurs in an organizational setting, we readily acknowledge that there likely are close linkages between trust in an abstract entity such as an organization and the key representatives of that organization (Sydow, 2006). This is because management governs the strategic actions of the organization that often have direct implications for the future of each worker (Schoorman et al., 2007). Supervisors also personify the organization to employees who often “generalize from their feelings about the people in the organization who are important to them, to the organization as a whole (Levinson, 1965, p. 377; see also Sousa-Lima, Michel & Caetano 2013). In addition, employees draw inferences concerning how the organization feels about them from the actions of authority figures (Tyler and Bies, 1990).

Organizational leaders serve as conduits of organizational trust in a number of ways. They provide concrete information to employees. This reduces uncertainty and thereby increasing overall trust (Luhmann, 1979). Beyond providing concrete information, organizational leaders interpret information to the employee about the competence, integrity and benevolent intentions of the organizational system (Perry, 2004).

“One part of the supervisor role is to “interpret” the organization and its management for employees ... A trusted supervisor can provide “believable” interpretations of organizational intent and reassurance that the desirable value structure of the organization will be sustained. ...Such understanding can serve as a means of maintaining morale and productivity when employees are faced with the now clichéd “doing more with less” ... Lacking such interpretation and assurance can seriously erode employee perceptions of the organization ...” (Perry, 2004, p. 145).

Employees also actively look to their leaders for signs of integrity, competence and benevolence (Mayer & Gavin, 2005) and these attributes reliably distinguish managers who are more or less trusted (Davis, Schoorman, Mayer & Tan, 2000). Leaders who demonstrate personal trustworthiness and engage in trusting behaviours contribute to an overall positive organizational climate in a number of important ways, including fostering collaboration among interdependent units, and by promoting risk-taking and innovating behaviours (Gambetta, 1988; Kramer & Cook,

2004; Mishra and Mishra (2013b). A meta-analysis of the empirical research (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002) found that trust in leaders is associated with increased organizational effectiveness in a variety of ways. These include increased job satisfaction, organizational commitment and lower turnover intention, and (although to a lesser extent) commitment to leader decisions, as well as to better job performance and more organizational citizenship behaviors. Employees who trust their leaders have increased job involvement and perceptions of organizational fairness (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004). In turn, these factors are associated with better overall organizational performance. Indeed, trust in leaders has also been found to buffer the effects of organizational disruption, such as organizational change, market downturns, etc. (see Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004; Morgan & Zeffane, 2003). Similarly, “leaders who are trusted by their followers, particularly in terms of competence, effect change more easily and more quickly in their organizations.” (Mishra & Mishra, 2013b, p. 8), and personnel who trust their leaders are more willing to accept and abide by unpopular organizational decisions (Tyler, 1994). Overall then, higher trust in organizational leaders is associated with higher levels of organizational trust.

Although leadership has often been addressed as a generic construct, some theorists and researchers in the area have called for a closer examination of leadership at multiple levels of the organization (e.g., Bai, Li, & Xi, 2012; Ellis & Shockley-Zalabak, 2001; Mishra & Mishra, 2013a). Two levels that are typically pursued in this regard: direct supervisors and senior organizational leaders. According to Costigan and colleagues (Costigan, Insinga, & Berman, Kranas & Kureshov, 2011) “[t]he two types of leader trust differ in their nature. Trust of the direct leader is more commonly understood in that it is formed in a dyadic interpersonal relationship with the supervisor. Trust of top management, on the other hand, is based more on the reputation of the organization’s top leadership than on information gained through a direct interpersonal relationship” (p.74). In particular: “[f]or most employees, the decision to trust top management is based more on the outcomes of organizational decisions made by these top managers and less on direct personal experience of their character, words, and actions ... [and on the] ... perceived efficiency and fairness of the organization-wide systems” (Costigan, Ilter & Berman, 1998, p. 309, see also McCauley & Kuhnert, 1992).”

Empirical work has tended to support the distinction between these levels of leadership, although the exact pattern of results across studies has tended to be inconsistent in terms of which level of trust in leader is more influential in employees’ perceptions concerning the organization as a whole. For instance, across diverse organizations, industries, and geographic locations (Ellis & Shockley-Zalabak (2001) found that “trust in ... top management and [direct] supervisor are strongly, but differentially related to perceptions of satisfaction with organizational outcomes and perceived organizational effectiveness, with trust in top management as the most closely associated variable” (p. 393). For instance, the amount of information received about job and organizational issues was twice as important in employee trust in top management versus trust in their direct supervisors (26 vs. 13%). In addition, in other multi-nation research, level of trust in a CEO was found to be more directly related to employee turnover intention than was the employees’ level of trust in their direct supervisor (Costigan et al., 2011). Among public sector employees, Albrecht & Travaglione (2003) found that trust in senior management was related to perceptions of a climate of open communication, fairness in organizational policies and procedures, and perceived organizational support, job satisfaction and job security. In this case, trust in senior leaders also partially mediated the effects of these antecedent variables on organizational consequences such as feeling part of the organization, organizational cynicism and turnover intention. On the other hand, the meta-analysis of organizational trust research revealed

that direct leaders (i.e., supervisors) were particularly important trust referents for their employees (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002). Other research demonstrated that “direct experience and the expectations that people have of their line manager strongly influences trust ... At the same time it seems to also make it more difficult to predict the intentions of one’s senior leaders” (Payne & Clark, 2003, p. 136). It has also been demonstrated that employees who report greater trust in their direct supervisors also tend to have greater trust that the organization as a whole would honor its obligations to the employee (Neves & Caetano, 2006).

2.8 Psychological Contracts

Strictly speaking psychological contracts encompass mutual and reciprocal obligations between the employee and the employer (see Conway & Briner, 2005 for a comprehensive review). However, the literature has focused on the employee’s point of view, that is their beliefs and the unwritten assumptions regarding what they as employees owe to, and what they are owed by their employers (Kingshott 2006; Rousseau, 1989; 1995; 2001), and to some degree the extent to which employees’ believe that they could attain a similar or better psychological contract elsewhere (Ng & Feldman, 2008). These assumptions can range from more time-limited often economically-based exchanges (transactional contracts) through to more typically socio-emotionally-based issues (relational contracts) (Richard, McMillan-Capehart, Bhuian & Taylor, 2009). More specifically, psychological contracts reflect employees’ beliefs concerning the obligations of their employer in a variety of areas including good faith and fair dealing, work conditions and benefits, and intrinsic job benefits (Rousseau, 1995), implicating trust, respect and loyalty (De Meuse, Bergman & Lester, 2001).

Empirical studies have demonstrated that psychological contracts perceived as being honored were related to higher trust levels in organizational contexts (Bal, Delange, Jansen, Van Der Velde, 2008; Kingshott, 2006). Indeed a meta-analysis revealed that psychological contracts, in particular presumed breaches of psychological contracts significantly and negatively impacted a range of important outcomes (Zhao, Glibkowski & Bravo, 2007). These included affective outcomes such as feelings of violation and mistrust, job related attitudes, including job satisfaction (see also Rosen, Chang, Johnson & Levy, 2009), organizational commitment (see also Richard et al., 2009) and turnover intentions, as well as markers of individual effectiveness such as organizational citizenship behaviors and in-role performance.

2.9 Organizational Justice

Organizational justice is defined as employees’ perceptions about fairness in their organization (Skarlicki & Folger, 1997) and is generally recognized as being comprised of three distinct components (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001). First, procedural justice refers to the perceived fairness and acceptability of organizational policies and practices and is said to exist when the implementation of procedures appears to follow six “normatively accepted principles” (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001, p. 280). These include: impartiality, consistency, integrity, relevance and accuracy of the information used, and the ability to correct decisions, if necessary (Leventhal, Karuza & Fry, 1980). A second component, distributive justice, refers to employees’ perception of fairness concerning the distribution of resources and rewards within the organization (Costigan et al., 1998). The third component, interactional justice refers to employees’ perceptions of fairness with respect to how organizational members treat each other and are treated by the

organization (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001), especially in terms of conflict resolution (Blodgett et al., 1997). More specifically, this involves perceptions of deception, invasion of privacy, derogatory judgments and general disrespectful treatment (Bies, 2001).

When an organization is perceived by an employee as being unjust it calls into question the organization's real intentions and the benevolence, lowering employee trust. When organizational justice is low, employees are more likely to react with anger and resentment (Folger & Baron, 1996; Greenberg, 1990; Sheppard, Lewicki & Minton, 1992). In some cases, retaliatory behaviors can be engaged ranging from more passive actions such as resistance behaviors or withdrawal (Homans, 1961; Moorman, 1991) to more active behaviors such as vandalism (DeMore, Fisher & Baron, 1988) or theft (Hollinger & Clark, 1983).

Many researchers study the effects of the components of organizational justice separately (Aryee et al., 2002) and the preponderance of studies in the area are largely within the procedural and distributive justice domains, with far fewer studies focusing on or including interactional justice (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001). The results of a major meta-analysis of 190 studies (148 field and 42 laboratory studies) concluded that the three dimensions of justice tend to be distinct, although positively related (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001).

Speaking to the purpose of the current report, perceived organizational justice has been found to be positively related to organizational-level trust (e.g., Folger & Konovsky, 1989), although this effect has not always been found (e.g., Mansour, 2014). More specifically, the aforementioned organizational justice meta-analysis concluded that across studies organizational trust was found to be positively and strongly related to both distributive and procedural justice dimensions. Skarlicki and Folger (1997) found evidence of a complex relationship between organizational trust and justice. Specifically they concluded that when procedures are seen to be fair there is less likelihood of retaliatory behaviors, even if perceived distributive and interactional justice was low. Similarly, when perceived interactional justice is high it moderated the effects of lower perceived distributive and procedural justice. Other research has further highlighted the complexity of the relationship between organizational trust and justice. For instance, organizational trust appeared to significantly influence the relationship between distributive and procedural justice and job satisfaction, turnover intentions and organizational commitment (Aryee et al., 2002).

Not surprisingly, the dimensions of organizational justice were also related to 'the usual suspects' in organizational research, for instance, increased employee motivation and performance (Folger, 1993) and to more positive extra-work role behaviors (Moorman, Blakely & Neihoff, 1998). Moorman and colleagues addressed the last result, speculating that procedural justice increased employees' perceived organizational support leading them to engage in more positive extra-work role behaviors. Meta-analytic results (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001) indicated that distributive justice was more related to greater rated job satisfaction, and aspects of work performance while procedural justice was more related to work commitment being based on prior investment in the work and a perceived lack of alternatives (termed continuance commitment) and (termed normative commitment). Both procedural and distributive justice were about equally related to more positive extra-job role behaviours, increased management satisfaction, positive emotional ties to the organization (termed affective commitment), and to fewer counterproductive work behaviors and to less reported conflict with others. Finally all three dimensions were related to turnover intentions, although the association was stronger for distributive and procedural justice than for interactional justice (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001).

2.10 Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction refers to the attitude and feeling employees have toward their job (Callaway, 2006). One derives job satisfaction from the overall job experience, which is influenced by intrinsic and extrinsic factors, with the former referring to the degree of satisfaction employees have in completing their work and the latter referring to the extent to which employees feel comfortable with colleagues, superiors, the organization, and recognition (Naumann, 1993). Several other factors contribute to an employee's job satisfaction including a supervisor's participative management style, employees who believe they have input in strategic planning, as well as employees who believe they have effective communication with their supervisor (Kim, 2002). Satisfied workers are viewed as critical to an organization's effectiveness (Rowden, 2002); in contrast, those with low job satisfaction (intrinsic or extrinsic) are likely to make little contribution to the organization.

The results of the Dirks and Ferrin (2001) meta-analysis found empirical support that trust was positively related to job satisfaction. Certainly individual research studies have identified a positive relationship between organizational trust and higher job satisfaction (e.g., Driscoll, 1978). Moreover, this relationship was consistently found across various occupational contexts including the US Federal Service (Callaway, 2006), nursing (Spence Laschinger, Finegan & Shamian, 2001; see also Williams, 2005), university faculty (Vineburgh, 2010), the casino industry (Lee, Song, Lee, Lee & Bernhard, 2013) and the Indian banking industry (Mohamed, Kader & Anisa, 2012).

The research reveals the similar positive relationships between job satisfaction and other organizational indicators that have been the case in other parts of this report. Again, higher job satisfaction was also related to the other organizational factors such as higher job productivity, greater organizational commitment (Mohamed et al., 2012) and to more extra job-role behaviors (Bateman & Organ, 1983; Chiu & Chen, 2005; Mohamed et al., 2012; Organ & Ryan, 1995; Schnake, 1991).

2.11 Organizational Commitment

Organizational commitment is an important part of the employee's psychological relationship with an organization and refers to the member's degree of psychological attachment to the organization. It is commonly recognized to consist of three distinct components: Affective Commitment (AC), Continuance Commitment (CC), and Normative Commitment (NC) (Gade, 2003). Affective Commitment refers to an employee's emotional attachment and/or identification with the organization. Continuance Commitment refers to the need to stay with an organization as there are no other options. Normative Commitment refers to the employee's feelings of obligation to stay with the organization. Speaking to the current concerns, research has revealed that greater organizational commitment is associated with higher organizational trust (Chen, Aryee, & Lee, 2005; Gade, Tiggel, & Schumm, 2003; Hermawati, 2014), and other markers of organizational health such as higher job satisfaction (Kim, 2002; Mohamed et al., 2012), lower absenteeism, turnover, and stress, higher employee work performance, positive extra-job role behaviors and their decision to stay in an organization (Kim, 2002; Gade et al., 2003; Gilbert & Tang, 1998).

2.12 Organizational Identity

Organizational identity refers to individuals defining themselves in terms of their organizational membership; specifically, it is “the degree to which a member defines himself or herself by the same attributes that he or she believes define the organization” (Lee, 2004, p. 626). This includes the extent to which employees believe that they share common goals, norms, values, and beliefs about their organizations culture (Moghadam & Tehrani, 2011), as well as how connected one feels toward management and colleagues (Callaway, 2006). Voss, Cable, and Voss (2006) concluded that organizational identity is formed by an upper management cadre that establishes core values and beliefs that then drive the organization’s behavior.

Organizational identity has been hypothesized to be positively associated with overall organizational trust (Maguire & Phillips, 2008; Puusa & Tolvanen, 2006). Lower organizational identity (i.e., alienation from the organization) has been shown to be related to lower levels of organizational trust and effectiveness (Ellis & Shockley-Zalabak, 2001). Indeed, there are also a variety of other trust-related positive effects that identifying with an organization can have for employees. For instance, Lee (2004) found that for employees who had high organization identification, both trust in the competence of the organization and continuous employee improvement behaviors (defined as behaviors an employee takes to improve the quality of their work or improve work procedures) increased. However, there was no relationship between trust and improvement behaviors for those employees whose organizational identification was medium to low. Moreover, research has demonstrated that organizational identity is positively correlated with the constellation of other variables that are traditionally associated with organizational trust. These include organizational citizenship behavior (Moghadam & Tehrani, 2011; Lee, 2004) and intention to stay with one’s organization (Lee, 2004), compliance, lower turnover, and increased behaviors consistent with the organization’s goals (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994; Haigh & Pfau, 2006), as well as to enhanced organizational commitment (Ashforth, 2001) and higher appraisals of meaningfulness in work (Dutton et al., 1994).

2.13 Perceived Organizational Performance

Perceived organizational performance refers to the employee’s perception of the organization’s level of performance, often in comparison to other similar organizations, e.g., is more innovative, and has more success (Paliszkiewicz & Koohang, 2013). Research has demonstrated that higher levels of organizational trust are associated with higher perceived organizational performance, particularly in terms of innovation as compared to competitors (Paliszkiewicz & Koohang, 2013). Other research has suggested an indirect effect of organizational trust on perceived organizational performance in which organizational trust increases employee motivation which in turn increases perceptions of the organization’s performance (Becker, Billings, Eveleth, & Gilbert, 1996).

2.14 (Intention to) Stay/Leave

As the term states, an employee’s intention to stay or leave an organization is their current assessment of how likely they are to stay or leave. Research has documented that as the level of organizational trust increases, inclinations to quit one’s job decreases (Costigan, Ilter, & Berman, 1998). Moreover, many psychological variables, also associated with organizational

trust, have been found to impact intent to leave one's organization. For instance, perceived organizational support and perceived supervisor support were major contributors to employee turnover (Eisenberger, Stinglhamber, Vandenberghe, Sucharski & Rhoades, 2002). Similarly, employees who hold and discuss negative perceptions of the management, were also more likely to report feeling of inequity, which in turn led to higher scores for intent to leave the organization (Cropanzano, Rupp & Byrbem, 2003; Geurts, Schaufeli & De Jonge, 1998).

2.15 Job Performance

While the term job performance appears straightforward and self-explanatory, it is actually a fairly complex construct in many real world organizational settings. For instance, the easiest metric, objective measurement of job performance in terms of the quality and quantity of job-related outputs or products is actually relevant only when such outputs or products are the direct result of the individual employees' skill and effort. Thus, this remains a metric only for a proportion of modern-day jobs, particularly in the case of knowledge-based teams. In most cases, assessing job performance is quite complex and often relies on a combination of job outputs and the professional assessment of one's supervisor (Viswesvaran, 2001).

Mayer et al. (1995) original model of organizational trust clearly delineated the hypothesized relationship between trust and work performance, a relationship confirmed by the results of a meta-analysis (Colquitt et al., 2007). Other studies have also demonstrated the positive relationship of high trust to better individual job and team performance (Dirks, 2000; Paliszkievicz & Koochang, 2013; Perry & Mankin, 2007; Porter & Lilly, 1996).

2.16 Organizational Citizenship Behavior

One of the most often used metrics of job performance in the organizational literature is Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB). This usually refers to discretionary job-related behaviors that an employee engages in that are "not related to the formal organizational reward system and promote the effective functioning of the organization" (Pillai, Schriesheim & Williams, 1999, p. 898, see also Deluga, 1994; Izhar, 2009; LePine, Erez & Johnson, 2002; Organ, 1990). OCBs include any behaviors that help the organization; for instance, making helpful suggestions to make process/communication more effective (Aryee et al., 2002). Not surprisingly, OCBs are related to greater job satisfaction (e.g., Chiu & Chen, 2005; Organ & Ryan, 1995) and productivity (Podsakoff, Whiting, Podsakoff & Mishra, 2011) as well as to lower levels of employee turnover intentions, actual turnover, and absenteeism (Podsakoff et al., 2011). The literature has also documented that higher levels of organizational trust, are related to higher OCBs (Hodson, 2004). A further study spoke to the temporal relationship between perceptions of organizational justice, organizational trust and OCBs. Specifically, the greater the employees' perceptions of organizational justice (i.e., employee perceptions of the fairness of conditions of employment) the greater their trust in the organization (measured as level of trust in supervisor), appeared to result in more OCBs (Ismail, 2014). These results are consistent with other studies examining organizational trust as a mediator between organizational justice and OCBs (Frazier, Johnson, Gavin, Gooty, & Snow, 2010; Guh, Lin, Fan, & Yang, 2013). Notably however, a more detailed examination of this relationship in which trust in supervisor and trust in the organization were measured as distinct constructs, found that OCB was related to trust in supervisor but not to trust in organization (Aryee et al., 2002).

2.17 Summary

The preceding literature underscores the importance, but also the complexity, of organizational trust. For instance, it is a voluntary choice to assume a degree of risk in an organizational setting that is based on a multi-dimensional assessment of the trustworthiness of the target (i.e., its competence, integrity, benevolence and/or predictability). These decisions to trust become more important and more challenging as the degree of risk, complexity and ambiguity in a situation increases. The literature reviewed here also makes clear that, like other forms of trust, organizational-level trust is fluid and dynamic and is reactive to both actual and perceived events. It can ebb and flow, although regaining trust can be particularly challenging. Organizational trust is also a multi-level concept in that it can often incorporate both interpersonal and more structural and process aspects of an organizational environment to varying degrees. Although often treated as an intangible, a wide body of empirical research demonstrates that high trust is an organizational staple that is related to a variety of important, positive organizational outcomes, both for the individual (e.g., job satisfaction, organizational commitment and identity) and for the organization itself in terms of stability and in terms of overall performance and goal attainment. The literature also makes clear how organizational trust contributes to these positive outcomes, for instance by increasing cooperation, as well resource and knowledge sharing, and reducing transaction costs, such as the time and effort devoted to formal and informal proactive protections and to defensive monitoring.

3 Trust in the Military Context

3.1 Organizations and Institutions

We began our review of the literature by defining the attributes of an organization. Certainly the CA (and by extension the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF)) meets the all of the defining features of an organization. For instance, the CA has a unifying overarching shared objective (the defence and support of Canada and Canadian interests) and it certainly has hierarchical and lateral structures, as well as explicit and implicit approaches, processes and procedures. These enable a large group of people to coordinate the planning and execution of a variety of tasks in the pursuit of a shared objective—an objective that could not be attained through the efforts of individuals alone (Handy, 2006; Scott, 2008).

However, we would argue that the CA/CAF also includes aspects that make it more than just a simple organization, but rather something larger and in many ways more profound: an institution. Like all institutions, the CA/CAF reflects an important national-level concern or value (Yancey Martin, 2004), that is defence of the nation and Canada's ability to support international missions. Similarly, the CA/CAF is enduring in nature, has societal-level recognition and acceptance, and has direct ties to and control by the government or state—all features of institutions (see Searle, 2005). Institutions are also often defined by the fact that they are comprised of individuals who consider themselves to be part of a profession (Downes, 2007). Similar to other professions, members of the Profession of Arms are accorded a special societal position, recognized as possessing special knowledge, skills and abilities, that they must attain through lengthy and specialized training and education that make them uniquely qualified to conduct themselves in the service of the institution of which they are a part. As with other professions, the CAF “retain[s] autonomy and control over recruitment, education and training of its members and professional standards of behavior (Downes, 2007, p. 148). Also consistent with the notion of a profession, the military is characterized by the notion of selfless service to others (Caslen, 2011; Downes, 2007). “[O]nce in the military, Soldiers, Sailors, Marines and Airmen become part of something different. They become a part of a highly respected force, whose members willingly sacrifice their lives for the betterment of the other 99 percent of the nation” (Lewis, 2008, p.1). We would argue that the enduring, profound and value-laden nature of an institution, in this case the CA, may well affect the nature of trust that its members associate with it, a point to which we will return in our proposed program of research.

3.2 Trust

Given its foundational dynamics of risk, ambiguity and interdependence, trust would seem to be immediately relevant to the military context. This notion is certainly buttressed by the quotes in the introduction of this report from various military sources that referred to the importance of trust. As further evidence of its importance to the CAF, the Canadian Defence Academy (CDA) devoted a full volume in their ‘In Harm’s Way’ book series to the personal accounts of the role of trust in various military contexts. The CDA Commandant characterized trust as “one of the most important force multipliers that we [the CAF] have at our disposal” and that there was a “need for leaders to understand the implications of both the presence and absence of trust in their daily

relationships, especially in dangerous and demanding operations” (cited in Stouffer & Mantle, 2008, p. iii). These dynamics are described in more detail:

In military operations, trust reassures soldiers that all reasonable efforts will be made to ensure their safety, and that the risks assumed, hardships endured, or sacrifices made, will be necessary and justified. It instils the confidence in soldiers that their commanders and their comrades in arms will watch their backs, doing their utmost to ensure their welfare. This is why trust is said to provide an important psychological safety net for activities that involve risk ... [M]ilitary operations ... require competent mutual support under risky and uncertain conditions (Thompson et al., 2014, p. 131).

Certainly trust is often referred to in military doctrine (e.g., Canadian Forces Joint Publication: Canadian Military Doctrine, 2009; (British) Army Doctrine Publication, 2010; (US) Army Doctrine Publication (ADRP) 1: The Army Profession, 2013) and these discussions of trust centre on the interpersonal (as opposed to organizational) aspects of trust (Thompson et al., 2014). Trust is especially invoked in discussions of military leadership and underscores the multidimensional nature of trust (see Stouffer, Adams, Sartori & Thompson, 2008; Sweeney et al., 2009). For instance, American Army doctrine defines trust as the “assured reliance on the character, ability, strength or truth of someone or something” (Glonek, 2013, p. 41). Canadian leadership doctrine similarly articulates trust as a multidimensional concept and its links to outcomes important to military success “trust ... is positively related to individual and group performance, persistence in the face of adversity, the ability to withstand stress, job satisfaction, and commitment to continued service. A climate of trust ... is also positively related to such ‘good soldier’ qualities as conscientiousness, fair play, and cooperation” (Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2005, p. 53). Moreover, the attributes of good leaders, summarized in Table 1 are clearly associated with competence, integrity and benevolence.

Table 1: Attributes of a Good Leader, from *Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Doctrine (2005)*.

Leadership Quality	Dimension of Trustworthiness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrate high levels of proficiency in the performance of core functions and take advantage of opportunities to enhance their professional expertise and competence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exercise good judgment in decisions that affect others and do not expose people to unnecessary risks. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competence • Benevolence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Show trust and confidence in their subordinates by giving them additional authority and involving them in decisions where circumstances allow. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competence • Benevolence • Integrity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstrate concern for the well-being of their subordinates, represent their interests. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Benevolence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure subordinates are supported and taken care of by the organization. Show consideration and respect for others, treating subordinates fairly – without favour or discrimination. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Benevolence • Integrity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on the mission, maintaining high standards as well as honest and open communications. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competence • Integrity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lead by example, sharing risks and hardships and refusing to accept or take special privileges. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competence • Integrity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Keep their word and can be counted on to honour their obligations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrity

While not a huge research area, there is a small body of empirical investigations of trust in military contexts, although admittedly the focus of this research is usually on trust in unit peers and leadership, not trust at the organizational level. Still, that research is useful to begin to document how trust is understood in the military and the important aspects that might most relate to trust at the organizational level by supporting the importance of trust to military personnel. For

instance, US research determined that almost half of the US soldiers sampled had re-evaluated their trust in their unit leaders prior to entering combat (Sweeney, 2010). Trust was similarly found to be important in other varied settings and nationalities including for Israeli Defence Force military cadets (Lapidot, Kark & Shamir, 2007) and for Dutch soldiers in a non-combat mission (Van der Kloet, Soeters, & Sanders, 2004). Findings from DRDC Toronto's past program of research similarly indicated the importance of trust, as reflected in one soldier's assertion that "trust is the foundation of what we do" (Adams, et al., 2004, p. 45). Indeed, across multiple studies that used a variety of interview, survey and experimental methodologies, Canada's soldiers consistently reported that trust in their team members and their team leaders was "very" to "extremely" important in a military context (summarized in Thompson et al., 2014; see also Adams et al., 2004; Adams & Sartori, 2006; Adams, Waldherr, Sartori & Thomson, 2007).

Military research has also made clear that soldiers think about trustworthiness as involving a combination of competence, integrity, benevolence and reliability (e.g., Doty & Fenalson, 2015). For instance, DRDC Toronto research indicated that CAF soldiers understood trust to involve their perceptions of benevolence, competence and, integrity (Adams et al., 2004). Moreover, these soldiers could reliably distinguish between these dimensions of trust although these dimensions were positively correlated (i.e., higher integrity levels tended to be related to higher levels of competence and benevolence). These three dimensions were also central to Israeli cadets' assessments of their trust in their team leaders (Lapidot et al., 2007). Similarly, for US soldiers who made trust assessments of their platoon leaders during combat operations and in garrison, trust was primarily related to their assessments of their leaders competence and character, the latter construct being comprised of trust dimensions of integrity and benevolence (Sweeney et al., 2009).

Although not a focus of research, there is also some evidence that soldiers have also articulated the links between the dimensions of trust, interdependence and increased risk. "At all times you must always feel concern and have section integrity and competence. But during combat, belief in your section's competence, concern for your troops and predictability push themselves up to the top. Having those attributes are what makes a unit work like a machine" (Adams et al., 2004). Sweeney (2010) reported that prior to combat the majority of soldiers surveyed re-evaluated their trust in their team leader and reported focusing on whether the leaders had the competence and character to meet the demands of combat. Moreover, competence seemed to be the dimension that was most influential in the development of high trust in "the high vulnerability context of combat" (p. 70).

Empirical results concerning the benefits of high trust in military contexts are entirely consistent with the wider trust literature. Certainly, it affects organizational-level outcomes that should be important to the military. For instance, higher trust levels are related to higher performance and achievement (Ivy, 1995), lower unit attrition (Thomas & Barrios-Choplin, 1996), and to engaging in more organizational citizenship behaviors (Deluga, 1995). Higher trust is also associated with a range of positive organizational attitudes for the military including a greater reported intention to remain in the military (Collins & Jacobs, 2002), greater perceived combat readiness (Shamir et al., 2000), to greater perceived effectiveness in training and in-garrison settings (Adams & Sartori, 2006) and a more positive command climate (Cox, 1996). Not surprisingly, military research has also demonstrated that higher trust is also related to greater higher morale and team cohesion, (Cassel, 1993), even when team members come from diverse backgrounds (Cox, 1996). Higher levels of trust also results in greater mutual influence between leaders and subordinates in

garrison and in combat, with subordinates being more likely to emulate the leader's positive behaviour and to internalize the leader's and, importantly for the purposes of the current report, to internalize that organization's values as well (Sweeney et al., 2009).

Although the bases (affect versus cognition) and types of trust (e.g., calculative-, knowledge-, relational- and identification-based trust) have not been a specific focus of military research, not surprisingly, there is evidence that trust assessments reflected soldiers' history with the target being rated. In the previously cited US research (Sweeney, 2010), US soldiers trust assessments were based on their recollections of their leaders' behaviours over time, including during pre-deployment training and exercises, pre-combat training, mission rehearsals and pre-mission checks which were combined in their assessment of their trust in their leader. Similarly, Canadian HDO research indicated that confidence in leadership ratings varied not only between samples but also across the course of a deployment (Murphy & Farley, 2000). DRDC Toronto's experimental research also indicated variations in soldiers' trust of a target as a result of the specific interactions that took place over a very short period of time (Adams et al., 2007).

Again, although not a specific focus of research, the empirical results that do exist are consistent with the civilian trust literature on trust violations. That is, trust violations certainly occur in military contexts and are affected by factors such as the nature of the betrayal or violation, and the relationship between the trustor and the target of the assessment. For example, Lapidot et al., (2007) found that Israeli Defence Force (IDF) cadets were more vigilant about potential trust violations than were their supervisors, and tended to recall more negative behaviours than their supervisors—presumably reflecting the power and authority differential because subordinates are more dependent and vulnerable in these cases (see also Kramer, 1999). Further, these more negative recollections had a larger effect on the cadets' levels of perceived trust in their superiors (than did negative events on the supervisors' trust in the subordinates). In fact, fully two thirds of the examples of interactions involving their supervisors generated by IDF cadets resulted in decreases in trust, with the greatest declines in trust being associated with perceived violations in terms of the supervisors competence and their integrity. Our experimental results also revealed that, once betrayed, trust levels did not return to pre-violation levels (Adams et al., 2007; see also Gill, Thompson & Febraro, 2011). In addition, Sartori, Adams, Waldherr & Lee (2007) found that integrity and benevolence violations appeared to be especially resistant to attempts to repair trust.

3.3 Organizational Trust

Although some military discussions of organizational trust focus on the civilian population's trust of the military (e.g., Allen & Braun, 2013; Caslen, 2011; US Army Training and Doctrine Command, 2012), there is an acknowledgement that soldier trust at the organizational/institutional level is important (e.g., Odierno, cited in Piper, 2012; Paparone, 2002) to military personnel. In these cases, the specific definitions utilized in the military literature are consistent with the notions of organizational level trust in the wider literature: "...organizational trust refers to the trust that personnel attribute to an organization, in this case the Australian Army" (Drobnjak, Stothard, Talbot, Watkins & McDowall, 2013, p. 163). "Member trust in the Army as an institution is based on the relationship between its members and the profession's senior strategic leaders, as well as perceptions of the organizational bureaucracy that operationalizes those senior leaders' choices" (Allen & Braun, 2013, p. 75).

Allen and Braun (2013) further noted that organizational trust is related to the perception that the “organization [has] the ability to accomplish tasks and missions in an efficient, effective and ethical manner ... [the] “perception that organizational procedures (policies and regulations) are established for the common and greater good” (p. 76)... [and] “a perception that the Army would [not] be intentionally” (p. 80) deceptive. They also went on to acknowledge that “[o]rganizational level trust is also related to a belief that senior leaders “will act in good faith and do what is best for the Army” (p. 76) and that they will demonstrate “competence in managing service—level processes and establishing priorities for the force (e.g., personnel, training, acquisition, sustainment, family programs)” p. 84 “Conversely low organizational trust would involve the [p]erception of the Army as self-serving, exploiting soldiers, exhibiting poor stewardship (fraud, waste, abuse, mismanagement). Finally, Allen and Braun (2013) suggested that a “lack of trust related to a culture that fails to exhibit candor, does not permit honest mistakes” ... [and] ... is not considered to be” a good steward of people facilities, equipment, and funds placed under their care” (p. 76).

It is also clear that soldiers can and do make assessments of the military organization as a whole. For instance, Stouffer (2008) reported that “[u]npublished results from the 2006 Canadian Forces Retention Survey indicate that 67% of the sample ‘somewhat’ or ‘strongly’ agreed with the statement “if given the opportunity, the CF (Canadian Forces) would take advantage of me.” Similarly, the findings of a more recent US Profession of Arms/Army Profession Campaign survey revealed that while trust within military units was generally positive, that trust in senior leaders and institutional-level trust was much less positive. The institutional level result was described as reflecting a degree of skepticism regarding Army-level decisions. In particular, it seemed that there was concern about perceived violations to psychological contracts regarding families and veteran care (Caslen, 2011).

The direct links between soldier trust in senior leaders and their organizational-level trust has been assumed but not thoroughly tested in military contexts. Yet some data speaks to trust in leadership and yields results similar to that of the civilian organizational literature. For instance, HDO results showed that confidence in leaders tended to decrease as the leadership level being assessed became more senior (Murphy & Farley, 2000), presumably because the individual making the assessment had less direct contact as leaders became more senior from the junior enlisted ranks making these assessments. Similarly the “2006 Canadian Forces Retention Survey also indicate that 47% of the CAF personnel sampled indicated that they ‘somewhat’ to ‘strongly’ disagreed with the statement “I trust senior leaders to make the right decisions for CF members.” (Stouffer, 2008, p. xii). A reduction in trust in senior leadership has also been reported by the US military, presumably caused by a generational gap and the assumption by junior personnel that senior military leadership “succumb too easily to their political masters and budget appropriators whims” (Paparone, 2002, p. 45). Hinds and Steele (2012) reported similar low levels of trust based on the US Center for Army Leadership (CAL) Annual Survey of Army Leadership (CASAL) that assesses and tracks trends in Army leader attitudes, leader development, quality of leadership, and the contribution of leadership to mission accomplishment. “Perceptions of poor leader development affect beliefs in commitment to the Army and trust in the Army as an institution. Of those who indicated that they did not believe that the Army was headed in the right direction to face the challenges of the next 10 years [presumably at least associated with lower organizational-level trust], 26 percent indicated that this was because of the poor quality of current Army unit leader development” (p. 40). To the extent that organizational-level trust reflects and is reflected by soldiers’ trust in senior CAF leaders these results are quite sobering.

3.4 Summary

In summary then, we see a great consistency between the precepts that underlie civilian trust theory and research and military trust doctrine and research. This work has been valuable in many respects. It has demonstrated that trust is a relevant concept to soldiers, how soldiers think about trust, and the dimensions that soldiers invoke when thinking about their trust in their peers and unit leaders. It has also established the relationships between trust and a variety of variables that are key to operational and organizational effectiveness. Still the focus of this work has been on interpersonal trust among military personnel or between personnel and their direct leaders with the same unit (although results from the HDO program of research was aggregated to provide commanders with an overview of human dimensions including confidence in peers and leaders at the battlegroup level (see Dobрева-Martinova, 1999; Ivey et al., 2014; Murphy & Farley, 2000). While the case for the importance of organizational-level trust has been made in doctrinal and theoretical publications, to date it has not been a focus of much empirical research in military contexts. Still, the evidence that does exist and is recounted above suggests that organizational-level trust has the potential to be extremely relevant to and important in the military context.

4 A Preliminary Model of Organizational Trust

4.1 Model Overview

Our initial conceptual model, depicted in Figure 1 (and in Figures 2 and 3 in annotated forms), is based on the prior reviews of both the civilian and military trust literatures. In particular it incorporates and builds upon the early multi-dimensional approach of Mayer et al. (1995). In addition, other key assumptions guided its development. First, following directly from the sponsor research request, our intent was to identify the variables that would generally precede or lead to others, while in other cases we identify variables that could be either causes, consequences or co-occur with each other. Thus, as Figure 1 indicates we also grouped the variables discussed in our previous literature review into three broad classes of variables: 1) Antecedents, 2) Organizational Trust and its Psychological Correlates, and 3) Behavioral Consequences.

Second, the model is consistent with the assumption that a full conceptualization of the dynamics of trust is almost always multi-level (e.g., Currall & Inkpen, 2002; Doney & Cannon, 1997; Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012; McEvily, Perrone, & Zaheer, 2003; Rousseau et al., 1998; Schoorman et al., 2007; Sydow, 2006; Zaheer et al., 1998). For instance, even when the object of a trust assessment is limited to one other person, at least two levels must be considered: the trustor's overall proclivity to trust others as well as the trust-relevant attributes and behaviors of the person about whom the trustor is assessing (Mayer et al., 1995). Of course the potential referents to be considered become more numerous and potentially more complex as the object of the trust assessment becomes more complex and/or abstract, as will be the case in an assessment of organizational trust.

Third, our approach follows from another central tenet of major trust researchers. Thus, we treat the elements of trustworthiness as distinct from the assessment of trust itself (Mayer et al., 1995; Schoorman et al., 2007). That is, recall trust is defined as a willingness to be vulnerable to another entity (Mayer et al., 1995; Schoorman et al., 2007), which is affected by assessments of the trustworthiness (i.e., the perceived competence, integrity and benevolence) of the target. In fact, these researchers have developed several versions of trust measures based on this specific definition and distinction (see Mayer & Davis, 1999; Mayer & Gavin, 2005; Schoorman and Ballinger, 2006; see also Gillespie, 2003)—although it should be noted that in many instances the target of the trust assessment is the worker's supervisor and not the organization per se. Note that in our model we chose to slightly re-word the definition of trust to 'a member's expectation that the organization will be there when needed, and perform actions that are beneficial or at least not detrimental to him/her'. We believe that this wording continues to capture the spirit of the other definitions of trust, while removing a specific reference to 'vulnerability', which may be a less commonly used term, and one that might not resonate as well, in a military context. This belief in the responsiveness of the organization is, in turn, based on the soldier's perceptions of the organization's competence, integrity, benevolence and/or predictability. Interestingly, another implication of this theoretical decision concerning the distinction between trust and the dimensions of trustworthiness is that the previous DRDC developed measures of trust in unit leader and peers are more appropriately measures of unit leaders and peers perceived trustworthiness. It should be noted however, that this does not negate the findings that associated with these previously developed measures, for assessments of trustworthiness are a large

contribution to interpersonal trust assessments. The distinctions between trustworthiness and trust, evident in Figure 1 are represented and described in more detail in Figures 2 and 3. Fourth, our model follows the logic underlying the attitude-behavior relationship (e.g., Ajzen, 1996; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Bentler & Speckart, 1981)², and Affective Events Theory (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996), both of which depict attitudes and emotions as providing important cues that influence subsequent behavior. Accordingly, another assumption of our model is that organizational trust and its attitudinal and affective correlates will affect job related intentions and behaviors. Fifth, consistent with Self-Perception Theory (see Bem, 1972), our model also assumes that these resulting behaviors can have an effect on organizational trust and its affective and attitudinal correlates, as indicated by the feedback loop depicted in Figure 1.

We acknowledge the complexity of the current model. As such, at this point we have only specified the hypothesized major links between variables, and the assumed direction of those effects in Figure 1 (and in Figures 2 and 3). For instance, our model does not currently specify the inter-relations between all correlates of organizational trust, although empirical results from the literature suggests that there will be positive correlations among variables such as organizational commitment, job satisfaction, organizational identity, as well as perceptions of the state of the psychological contract with the organization and with organizational justice.

While Figure 1 provides a conceptual overview of the model of organizational trust, we also include two additional representations of the model (see pages 29 and 30). Figure 2 is annotated with the succinct definitions of each of the key variables in the full model. Figure 3 includes a further annotated breakdown of those variables in the model that the civilian and military trust literature generally recognizes as and treats as being multi-dimensional. These variables include organizational trustworthiness, leader trustworthiness, organizational justice and organizational commitment. The intent of these annotated versions of the model is twofold. First, it allows for the option of the specification of more detailed and nuanced hypotheses for future research. Second, Figures 1 through 3 also might be useful tools that could be used in military education settings that address the issue of organizational trust.

² Although we recognize the large variability that can occur in attitude-behavior correlations (Glassman & Albarracín, 2006).

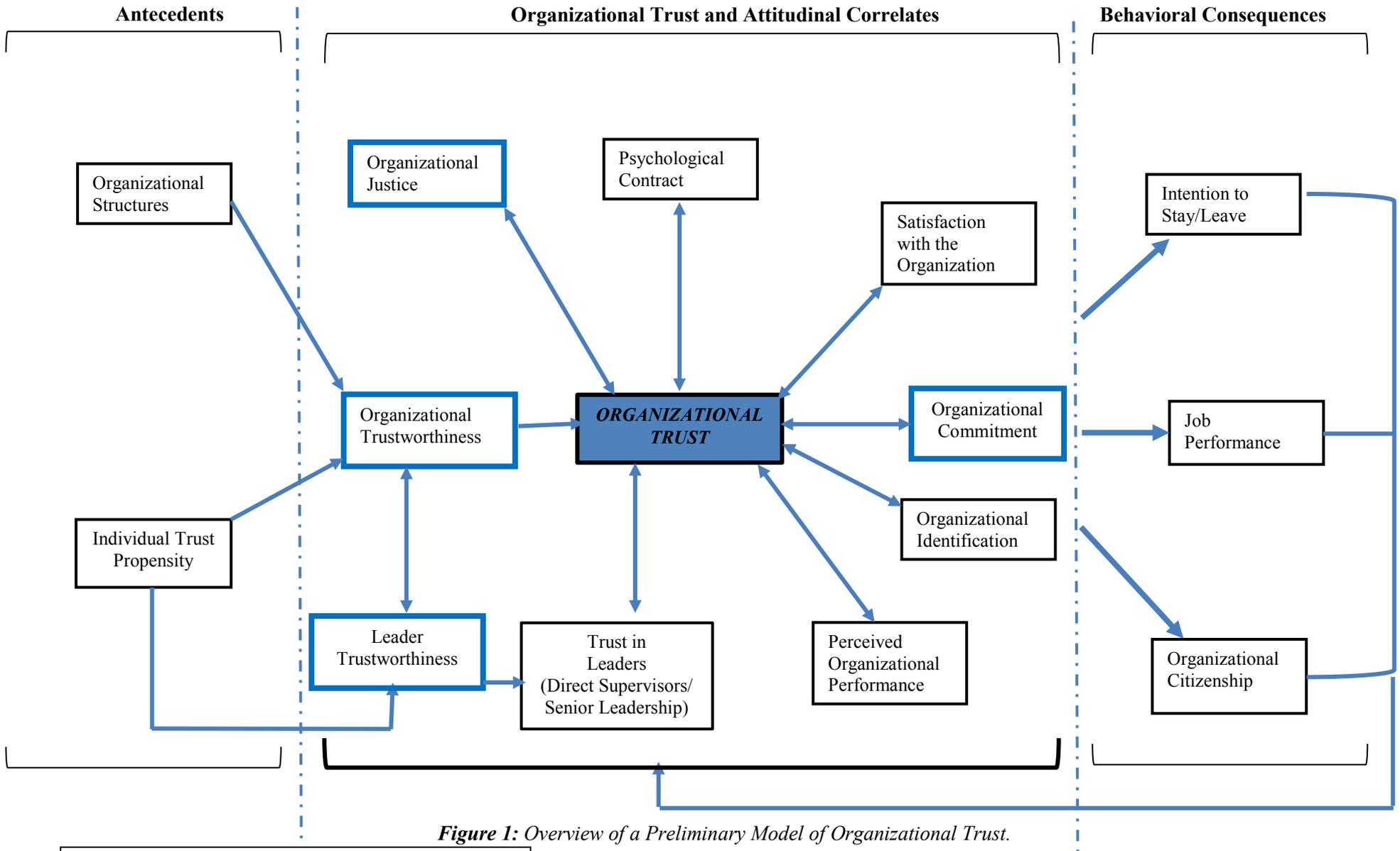


Figure 1: Overview of a Preliminary Model of Organizational Trust.

Note: Denotes a multidimensional construct

4.2 Antecedents of Organizational Trust

As Figure 1 illustrates our model begins on the far left side with the antecedents that are generally assumed to have an influence on an individuals' level of organizational trust. We included two variables as antecedents that are 1) generally the most stable over time, and 2) that the literature suggests are most likely to be consistent antecedents of organizational trust. Therefore, as is the case with other models of trust (e.g., Colquitt et al., 2007; Mayer et al., 1995), the first variable in the model is the individual's dispositional trust, that is their general propensity, or willingness, to trust others, believing that the words or promises of others can be relied on (Colquitt et al., 2007, p. 911; see also Kramer, 1999; Rotter, 1980; Stack, 1978). Also as indicated in Figure 1, we believe that the primary effects of dispositional trust will be on other trust assessments, in this case perceptions of the trustworthiness of leaders and the organization. We also concur that the effects of dispositional trust can be lessened as experience with the trust referent, in this case the CA, increases. Also following from the literature however, the effects of dispositional trust can increase again, should ambiguity risk and/or doubt associated with the situation, and/or the perceived trustworthiness of the organization occur. We also include organizational structures as an antecedent of organizational trust, as organizational structures, perhaps particularly those associated with a national institution like the military generally tend to be more stable over time. Following from the literature review then, those organizational structures that increase the perceived trustworthiness of the organization will be associated with higher levels of soldiers' trust in the Canadian Army.

4.3 The Psychological Surround: Organizational Trust and Its Attitudinal Correlates

The middle section of the model refers to organizational trust and its attitudinal correlates. The first thing to note is that this section of the model articulates the relationship between trustworthiness and trust, both with respect to trust in leaders and organizational-level trust. Here we have specified that perceived trustworthiness directly affects perceptions of trust in leader(s) and trust in the organization.

Second, although our review of the organizational trust literature was extensive, as noted earlier it did not provide conclusive evidence as to whether other attitudinal and affective organizational-level variables such as organizational commitment, job satisfaction, organizational identity, etc., could be conclusively considered as exclusively antecedents or consequences of organizational trust. As a result this remains an empirical question (e.g., does organizational trust predict organizational commitment, or vice versa, or can they each predict the other, or predict each other in certain circumstances?) Therefore, at this point what we assumed is that these variables act together and are the 'psychological surround', ambience or climate that the individual soldier experiences in relation to their work and their organization. Thus, our model reflects that these variables are correlates that are assumed to impact upon but also impacted by organizational trust. As Figure 1 illustrates the correlates of organizational trust perceptions of leader include trust in leaders and perceptions of organizational justice, the psychological contract with the organization, satisfaction with the organization, organizational commitment, organizational identification and perceived organizational performance (multidimensional constructs are further defined in Figure 3).

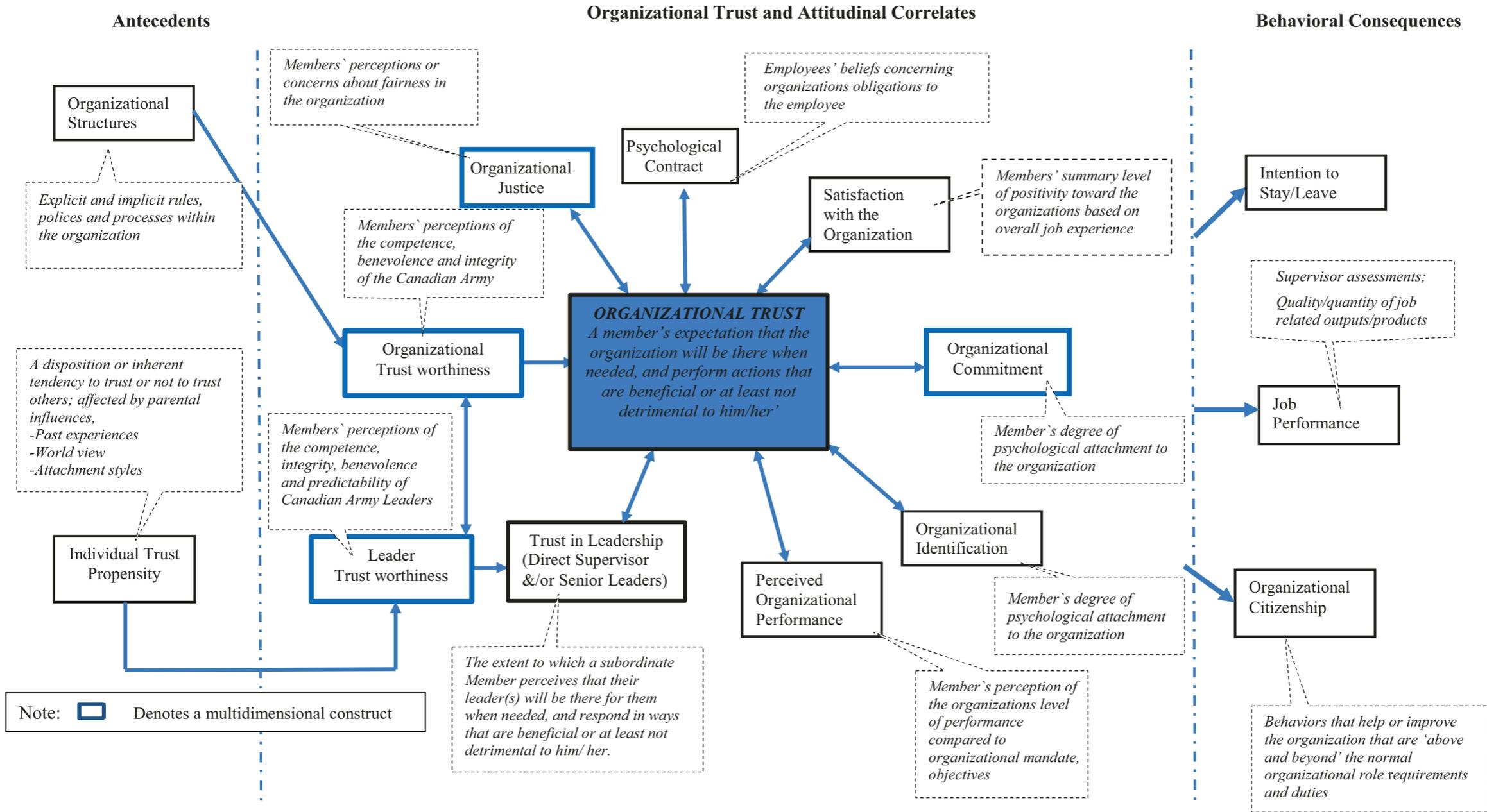


Figure 2: Descriptive Model of Organizational Trust with select annotated variables.

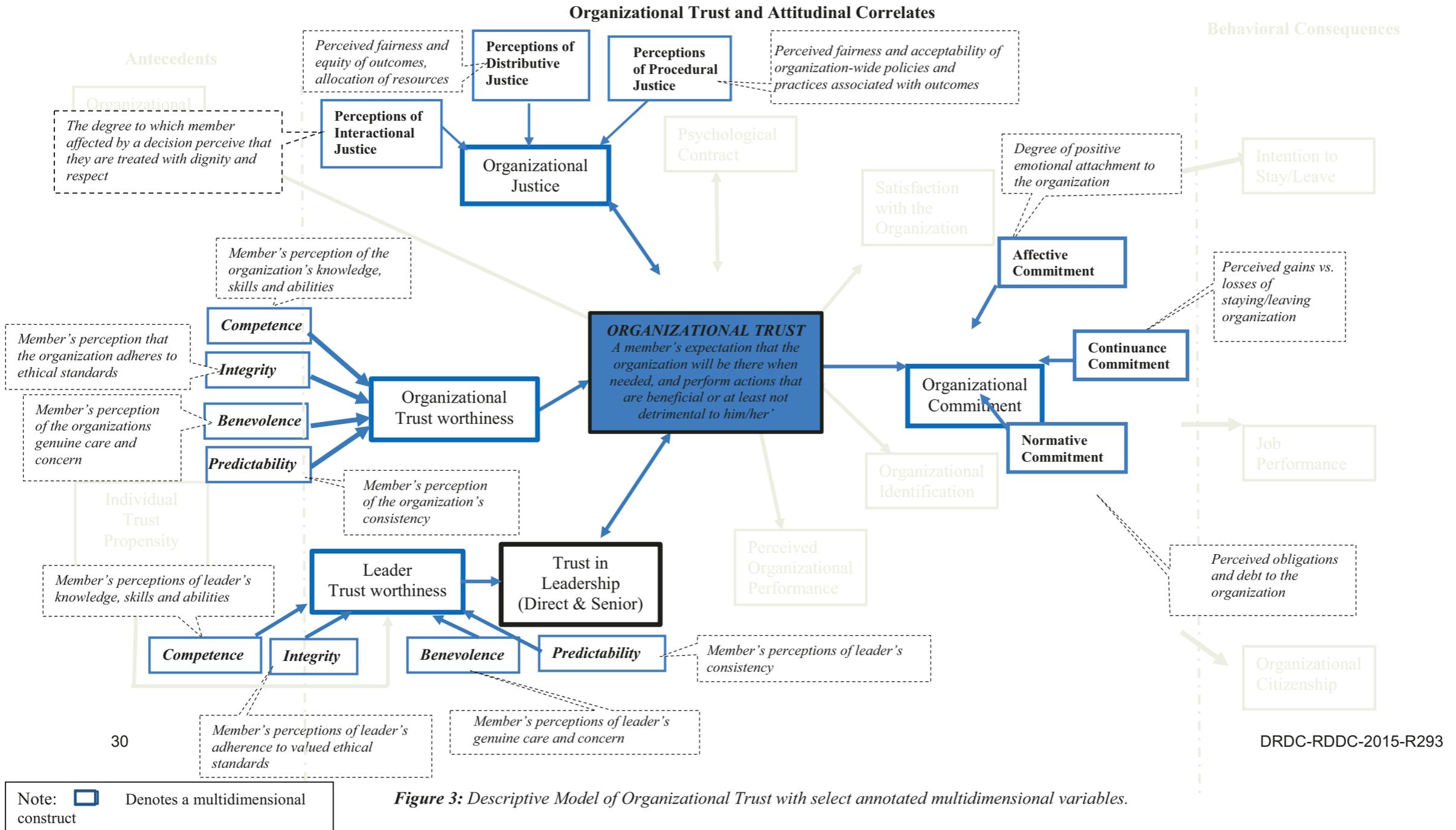


Figure 3: Descriptive Model of Organizational Trust with select annotated multidimensional variables.

4.4 Behavioral Outcomes

The right side of the model details the general-level behavioural outcomes of organizational trust. As noted earlier, our approach also reflects the theory and research regarding the attitude-behavior relation, specifically that attitudes are a chief driver of our behaviors. Drawn from the organizational and military trust theory and research as detailed in our literature review, Figure 1 details three behavioural outcomes: staying or leaving the organization, job performance measures, and organizational citizenship behaviors. Again, while our focus is on organizational-level trust, the extant trust literature does not allow us to conclude that organizational-level trust alone will account for behavioral effects. Thus as the right side of figure indicates, at this point we can only conclude that the ‘psychological surround’ depicted in the centre of the model will affect behavioral outcomes.

5 The Way Ahead: A Proposed Program of Research in Organizational Trust for the Canadian Army

The literature reviewed and the conceptual model that was developed in light of this literature suggest a number of research projects that could be pursued in a future program of research. In thinking about what might be the optimal program of research, we agree with Mishra & Mishra (2013a) who concluded that “[f]or researchers to capture the dynamics and subtleties of trust and trustworthiness, context needs to be considered and longitudinal designs need to be incorporated into studies” (p. 60). We also concur with their calls for mixed methods approaches to studying the dynamics of trust (see also Ellis & Shockley-Zalabak, 2001). Thus, we would see a variety of methodologies being used to investigate organizational trust in the CA including surveys, focus groups and/or interviews, field studies and laboratory-based experiments—and at least some of these approaches should be longitudinal in nature.

5.1 Soldier Conceptualizations of Organizational-Level Trust in the Canadian Army

Turning to specific empirical questions that might be pursued, our work here is predicated on the assumption that organizational-level trust is a concept that will resonate with a majority of CA members. While it appears that this will be the case, a responsible first step in a program of research is to confirm this hypothesis. Our recommendation for this first step would be to utilize qualitative approaches for this phase of the research program such as interviews, focus group and/or critical incident methodologies, for instance (see Cassell & Symon, 2014). Such approaches focus on developing an accurate, rich and deep description and understanding of a concept and place an emphasis on understanding the context in which it occurs (Van Maanen, 1979). It allows people to respond using their own words to describe a concept and their experience, rather than presupposing what their experience was and forcing participants to choose the answer that is at least closest to their own experience (see also Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The result is a more data-driven, inductive deep and complete exploration and understanding of the participants’ experience (Cresswell, 2014), which may be particularly important in the initial stages of a program of research. For instance, an inductive approach would allow an examination of the categories or themes that a researcher may have not thought of, which can be a limitation in a deductive approach. The resulting rich descriptions would enable a better understanding of perceptions of organizational trust in the CA and would guide further research. One approach to begin to answer this question is to conduct an initial interview or focus group study in which a sample of CA members would provide their definitions of organizational trust specific to their military experience. Further, this research may also serve to address the question as to whether soldier conceptualizations of organizational trust reflect a distinction between trust and trustworthiness as our current model depicts.

5.2 Organizational-Trust and Trust in Leaders

Other important questions would be well served by a qualitative approach, at least initially would be to describe soldiers’ understanding of organizational-level trust relative to trust in CA leaders.

While there is certainly evidence for this distinction in the civilian literature and some evidence of this in military studies—is that distinction reflected in the minds of CA personnel with respect to their trust in the CA? If their representations of CA-level trust are synonymous with trust in leaders and there is no distinct representation of trust in the organization distinct from these, then the notion of organizational trust in the CA may be less useful than in civilian organizational contexts. This is, of course an important consideration in a Canadian Army that is already heavily surveyed. An ethnographic methodological approach might be an alternative way to begin to address this issue.

Should trust in leader be distinct from organizational-level trust, a related question is which level of trust in leader most influences organizational trust. The civilian literature to date has assessed trust in direct supervisor as well as senior management translating to unit commander and senior leadership in the military context. But determining the correct referents for senior leadership in a CA context: Unit Commanding Officer, Base Commanding Officers, Level 1's, (i.e., environmental chiefs and their equivalents), the Chief of the Defence Staff or some combination of these) remains an empirical question.

5.3 Conceptual Model Refinement

The proposed model of organizational trust integrates the key findings in the area from both the civilian and military literatures. Yet it remains complex. Thus, another important area requiring future attention would be further conceptual refinement of the model. We would see an important first step in this endeavour involving discussions with CA G1 Scientific Advisors to delineate which variables they would see as key from their perspective, and thus which variables they would wish to see pursued in any future research program, including additional variables that they deem important but which may not have been a focus of prior research. Although there exists various excellent studies and literature reviews, there has only been one recent meta-analysis of trust (see Colquitt et al., (2007)); however, their analysis of the antecedents of trust was limited to trustworthiness and dispositional trust and only included affective commitment as a correlate of trust. Thus, perhaps it is time to conduct a more comprehensive meta-analysis of the literature to date in this area, as has occurred in other areas such as organizational commitment. Or perhaps the model should be further refined to focus only on those variables that reflect the military literature concerning organizational-level trust. Finally, discussions with DGMPPRA colleagues who are the custodians of the HDO project and survey might reveal how the model of organizational trust might be integrated into or perhaps inform the current HDO model being utilized and assessed in DGMPPRA. There may well be ways to integrate these two efforts—at least conceptually.

5.4 Organizational Trust Scale Development

If the above conceptual distinctions do emerge, in particular organizational trust as a stand-alone concept for soldiers, efforts could be directed toward scale development and refinement—again focusing on the unique aspects of organizational trust as distinct from interpersonal trust in organizational contexts that have been the focus of prior CA research. This is an area ripe for development, as our review of the current measures of organizational trust often focus almost exclusively on trust in leaders, rather than on the aspects of the organization itself. For instance, while nine of the 12 items in Nyhan and Marlowe's (1997) Organizational Trust Scale

specifically assess trust in supervisor and three of the remaining four items that are intended to assess organizational-level trust, the final item “My level of confidence that this organization will treat me fairly” seems to assess organizational justice. And as noted earlier the current DRDC measures of trust in unit peers and units leaders are more aligned with operational definitions of trustworthiness rather than trust. Thus, the first step in item generation should return to the specification of trust at the organizational level per se. And of course, the results from qualitative studies could also be used to inform or generate potential organizational trust items for a measure of organizational trust.

5.5 Relationships between Organizational Trust and Other Attitudinal Organizational Variables

Whether the current conceptual model is pursued or refined before further empirical work is conducted, it is clear that research needs to be devoted to clarifying the relationship between organizational trust and important attitudinal indicators to determine if it is possible to better specify which are more likely to be antecedents or consequences, or perhaps the conditions under which they might be more likely to be antecedents versus consequences of organizational trust, and whether there are specific variables that are relevant mediators or moderators of the effects between variables and whether any mediation effects are full or partial, the latter being more likely that the former (Rucker, Preacher, Tormala & Petty, 2011). Empirical work can also confirm hypothesized distinctions between the relevance and impact of organizational trust during deployments versus in garrison and perhaps at different stages of a military career.

5.6 The Development of Organizational Trust in the Canadian Army

How does organizational trust develop, and in particular soldier trust in the CA? As crucial as this question would seem to be to organizational researchers, a recent review of the organizational trust literature by Searle and colleagues (2011) concluded that there was only “limited research available on trust progression within organizations” (p. 161). They further outlined a number of issues that could be addressed via longitudinal research of this nature, including establishing levels of baseline trust for most people in an organization, in particular new arrivals to an organization, and the progression of organizational level trust for those people who enter an organization with different levels of trust. This would also allow for an examination of the potential for self-reinforcing aspects of trust (i.e., ‘Trust begets trust’ (p. 162), and indeed distrust begets distrust (which these authors refer to as ‘spirals of trust’).

Within a military context, examination of these issues might involve conducting a study to track trust levels as CA recruits undergo the basic military qualification training course or cadets across years at Royal Military College of Canada (RMCC)—although the organizational referents in this case may need to be the CAF as a whole for recruits and cadets at this stage of their careers, rather than the Canadian Army specifically. And of course two quicker studies within the RMCC context would be to determine if organizational trust levels increase across the first year of RMCC, or if organizational trust levels increase by year using a cross-sectional approach. While the HDO would provide the opportunity to track large numbers of respondents, given the sensitive nature of at least some of the questions it contains, it has typically been an anonymous

survey which means that individual soldiers cannot be tracked over time. Yet, if this issue was overcome, say via use of a unique and confidential personal identification number, the HDO might prove to be a very valuable tool with respect to this research question.

5.7 Organizational-level Trust Violation(s) and Repair

Given the potentially serious ramifications of trust violations, a number of research questions in this area would seem to be important to pursue. For instance, if organizational-level trust violations exist in a CA context, what is the nature of these for CA soldiers? Which of these are the most impactful for soldiers? Which dimensions of trustworthiness are most typically implicated? What are the impacts of trust violations and are these associated with the type of violation that is perceived to have occurred? Importantly are there measures at an organizational level that might be initiated to address and repair a trust violation? What might be the most successful organizational-level trust reparation strategies? Does organizational-level trust recover if the only the direct unit leader and/or senior CA leadership address the perceived violation and there is no organizational-level measures instituted?

In pursuing these issues, it is clear that qualitative methods would be a good starting point to begin to provide a rich understanding of the dynamics of organizational-level trust violations. Moreover, Gill et al., (2011) has developed a lab-based methodology to pursue these questions. Although developed to assess trust violation and repair between military and members of a fictional Other Government Department (OGD), the basics of this methodology may well lend themselves to pursuing questions of organizational trust violation and repair as well. Finally, Gillespie & Dietz (2009) have proposed a multi-level conceptual framework for understanding trust repair in organizations that should be important to answering questions of this nature as applied to the CA.

5.8 Organizational versus Institutional Trust

We also presented a distinction between organizations and institutions that may be relevant to a research program concerning CA organizational-level trust. First, do soldiers see the CA as an organization, an institution, or as both? Does their representation of the CA as an organization versus an institution affect the nature of trust that they possess? For instance, would those soldiers who view the CA as an organization, be more likely to utilize calculative and knowledge-based trust? Might soldiers who embrace an institutional view of the CA be more likely to possess or develop identification-based trust? If these distinctions exist, how does this affect soldiers' relationship with the CA? Following from trust theory, it may well be that those who view the organization as an institution may have different thresholds for reciprocity of rewards. What are the implications for the nature of the psychological contract that they hold and thus, their trust in the CA? Might soldiers' representations of the CA as an organization versus an institution change over time and what factors might affect any change in representations of this nature. Further do these distinctions differ between soldiers, e.g., are their rank differences, experiential differences? Finally, are violations of trust more profound for those who view the CA as not just an organization but also (or instead) as an institution?

5.9 Other Empirical Studies

Our model does not yet address the demographic variables that might be related to organizational trust levels. Yet applying the seniority results cited in Searle et al. (2011), rank may well be an individual difference that is related to levels of organizational trust. Similarly, promotions mean that the individual has conformed to organizational expectations and norms and has been recognized and rewarded by the organization. This logic too suggests that rank should be associated with organizational trust levels. Yet perhaps a more intriguing relation would be the possibility that there may be a curvilinear effect between rank and organizational trust. Only those members who were rewarded by the organization as reflected in things such as but not limited to military promotions would maintain their organizational trust levels. At the very least, we might expect to see less acute fluctuations in organizational trust in these cases. Moreover, if trust is related or triggered in relation to risk and ambiguity one might anticipate that deployment experiences might also be related—although there are of course various ways in which military personnel may feel vulnerable to the organization (e.g., how the CA handles them during/after illness and/or medical care). Finally, it may also be of interest to determine if there are long-term benefits of high organizational trust after leaving active service, that is, do the benefits of high organizational trust persist for CA veterans; does it affect their transition to civilian life, and if so, how?

6 Summary and Conclusion

Based on a review and integration of the extant literature, we have developed and proposed an integrative conceptual model of organizational trust for the CA. The resulting conceptual model builds on previous models of organizational trust, notably the seminal work of Mayer and colleagues (Mayer et al., 1995), as well as a variety of empirical results in the area. The resulting conceptual model is multidimensional, reflecting multiple aspects of trust itself as well as multiple antecedents, correlates and consequences. The model is also multi-level in that it reflects the influences of both organizational and interpersonal aspects of trust.

We have enumerated a number of conceptual and empirical questions that remain to be addressed and pursued in an integrated program of research. Initial foundational research in this regard includes validating the definition of organizational trust in the CA context, the relation between organizational and interpersonal aspects of trust with the CA, and additional conceptual model validation. Clearly, this report presents just an initial step. The way ahead will also involve discussions with CA on the concepts that will help to mitigate or close the gap on organizational trust. Similarly, the way ahead will involve close collaboration between DRDC scientific staff and CA project sponsors for model refinement and a series of empirical tests. Still, results from this course of investigation would better ensure that there exists valid evidence to make recommendations that will have maximal impact on CA doctrine, policy, leadership, education, and training areas related to organizational trust.

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List of Symbols/Abbreviations/Acronyms/Initialisms

AC	Affective Commitment
CA	Canadian Army
CAF	Canadian Armed Forces
CAL	Center for Army Leadership
CASAL	Center for Army Leadership Annual Survey of Army Leadership
CC	Continuance Commitment
CDA	Canadian Defence Academy
DGMPRA	Director General Military Personnel Research and Analysis
DRDC	Defence Research and Development Canada
G1	Personnel
HDO	Human Dimensions of Operations
IDF	Israeli Defence Force
NC	Normative Commitment
OCB	Organizational Citizenship Behavior
OGD	Other Government Departments
RMCC	Royal Military College of Canada
US	United States

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Trust has been termed “a fundamental enabler” of military operations, a ‘strategic advantage’ to military effectiveness, and a bedrock of the Army Profession. Yet, one recent United States (US) Army-led report concluded that “leaders are not familiar enough with the frameworks to understand trust and do not have the language to discuss it effectively” (Allen & Braun, 2013). Nowhere is this more apparent than in the understanding of the role of organizational-level trust on organizational and operational effectiveness. The current report is intended to complement existing Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) assessments of unit peer and leader confidence and trust. Three objectives are pursued: 1) a review of the civilian and military literature that is relevant to trust at the organizational level; 2) the integration of these literatures to inform the development of an initial conceptual model of organizational trust for the Canadian Army (CA); and 3) the outline of a proposed program of research in this domain for CA’s consideration.

Regarding the third objective the following research recommendations are made based on the literature reviewed 1) develop and validate an Organizational Trust Measure, and 2) conduct empirical research studies to refine and the preliminary conceptual model of Institutional Trust.

La confiance est une condition « fondamentale » aux opérations militaires, un « avantage stratégique » pour l’efficacité militaire et sous-tend la profession militaire. Un rapport de l’armée américaine publié récemment a toutefois conclu que les dirigeants ne connaissent pas suffisamment les cadres pour comprendre le rôle que joue la confiance et qu’ils ne savent pas comment en discuter efficacement (Allen et Braun, 2013). C’est d’autant plus vrai lorsqu’il s’agit de comprendre le lien intrinsèque entre la confiance organisationnelle et l’efficacité organisationnelle et opérationnelle. Le présent rapport vise à compléter les évaluations existantes des Forces armées canadiennes (FAC) concernant la confiance des pairs et des leaders d’unité. Il vise trois objectifs : 1) un examen de la documentation civile et militaire concernant la confiance à l’échelle de l’organisation; 2) l’intégration de ces documents qui serviront de base à l’élaboration d’un modèle conceptuel de confiance organisationnelle pour l’Armée canadienne (AC); 3) l’élaboration des grandes lignes d’un programme de recherche proposé dans ce domaine pour examen par l’AC.

En ce qui concerne le troisième objectif, voici les recommandations de recherche après examen des documents : 1) créer et valider une mesure de confiance organisationnelle; 2) réaliser des études de recherches empiriques afin de peaufiner le modèle conceptuel préliminaire relatif à la confiance institutionnelle.

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Organizational Trust; Canadian Army; conceptual model; research program

