

# **TRUST AND MISTRUST IN ORGANISATIONS –AN EXPLORATION USING AN ORGANISATIONAL JUSTICE FRAMEWORK**

Dr Mark NK Saunders  
The Business School  
Oxford Brookes University  
Wheatley Campus  
Wheatley  
Oxford  
OX33 1HX UK

Dr Adrian Thornhill  
Gloucestershire Business School  
University of Gloucestershire  
The Park  
Cheltenham  
Gloucestershire  
GL50 2QF UK

Telephone: +44(0)1865 485915  
Email: mnksaunders@brookes.ac.uk

Telephone: +44 (0) 1242-543260/586  
Email: athornhill@glos.ac.uk

**Short title:** Trust and Mistrust in Organisations

**Author to whom correspondence should be sent:**

Dr Mark NK Saunders  
The Business School  
Oxford Brookes University  
Wheatley Campus  
Wheatley  
Oxford  
OX33 1HX UK

Telephone: +44(0)1865 485915  
Fax: +44(0)1865 485871  
Email: mnksaunders@brookes.ac.uk

# **TRUST AND MISTRUST IN ORGANISATIONS –AN EXPLORATION USING AN ORGANISATIONAL JUSTICE FRAMEWORK**

## **Abstract**

This paper commences with an overview of trust and mistrust, focusing on the debate about whether these are two ends of a continuum or distinct but interrelated concepts. Building on this review, the relationship between employees' perceptions of organisational justice and their self categorized feelings of trust and mistrust is considered. It is suggested that organisational justice offers a useful means through which to explain and understand employees' feelings of trust and mistrust. Using case study data drawn from a United Kingdom public sector organisation, the relationship between employees' feelings of trust and mistrust is explored within a change context. The data suggest that, while some employees perceive trust and mistrust as two ends of a continuum, others see them as distinct concepts. These findings are conceptualised as a Trust-Mistrust-Absence triangle. Drawing on organisational justice as an explanatory theory, reasons for these findings are offered. The paper concludes with a discussion regarding the co-existence of trust and mistrust and the explanatory value of organisational justice theory in understanding this.

## **Introduction**

Traditionally researchers have seen trust and mistrust, the latter often termed distrust, as opposite ends of a single continuous variable (Bigley & Pearce, 1998). Not surprisingly mistrust or distrust has been defined in contrary terms to trust using notions of unfavourable or negative expectations and an unwillingness to become vulnerable. However, more recently there has been debate as to whether trust and mistrust lie upon such a continuum (Mishra, 1996), or if such judgements are asymmetrical (Kramer, 1999). In particular, it has been theorised that these are separate but linked dimensions (Lewicki, McAllister & Bies, 1998) and that it is possible for employees to trust and mistrust within a specific context. However, the extent to which simultaneous trust and mistrust occurs and the reasons why both can develop within particular organisational contexts are less well understood.

Recent research has argued that organisational justice theory offers a means through which to explain and understand employees' feelings of trust and mistrust more fully (Saunders & Thornhill, 2003). Organisational justice integrates perceptions about the outcomes of organisational decisions, the methods used to make them, and the treatment of those affected (e.g. Greenberg, 1987). In so doing it offers an important means to consider employees' reactions of trust and mistrust and their reasons for these feelings.

In this paper, we commence with definitions of trust, mistrust and distrust as well as an overview of the debate about these, focusing in particular upon Lewicki et al.'s (1998) work. Building on this we consider the relationship between employees' perceptions of organisational justice and their self categorized feelings of trust and mistrust. Using a case study drawn from a United Kingdom (UK) public sector organisation, we explore the

relationship between trust and mistrust drawing on organisational justice as an explanatory theory. We conclude with a discussion about the co-existence of trust and mistrust and the explanatory value of organisational justice theory. As part of this we reflect on the limitations of this study and directions for future research.

## **Trust, Mistrust and Organisational Justice**

### *Trust and mistrust*

The development of trust theory has, to date, focused on a range of levels of analysis from the interpersonal to the inter-organisational (e.g. Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt & Carmerer, 1998). Although this has resulted in a variety of definitions of trust, these exhibit a number of reoccurring components and in particular notions of favourable or positive expectations (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996) and a willingness to become vulnerable to others (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995). The former of these components considers trust as a psychological state based upon expectations and perceptions of others' motives, whilst the latter considers trust in terms of a positive intention towards these others which may manifest itself in terms of behaviour. These and other conceptualisations are reviewed in some detail by Bigley & Pearce (1998). Emerging from these definitional components, it has been argued that trust is a multidimensional construct being not only a 'psychological state based on perceptions and on perceived motives and intentions of others, but also a manifestation of behaviour towards these others' (Costa, 2003: 608). Within this definition, behaviours are considered to be part of trust enabling individuals to learn about each others intentions through observation and interpretation, make judgements about trustworthiness and act upon these judgements.

The literature on trust has viewed both mistrust and distrust as opposites of trust. Omedei & McLennan (2000) highlight that researchers have construed trust and mistrust as opposites arguing that mistrust is an unwillingness to become vulnerable. Similarly, Bigley & Pearce (1998) highlight the centrality of vulnerability to definitions of both trust and distrust, emphasising how many researchers consider these terms to be polar opposites of the same concept. Although these and similar discussions use either the term mistrust or distrust, they both appear to be treated synonymously as the opposite of trust in common parlance. This observation is supported by the Oxford English Dictionary (Soanes, 2002), in which no distinction is made between the terms mistrust and distrust, both being defined as a 'lack of trust'. Therefore for clarity we will use the term mistrust throughout this paper.

Within the trust literature some researchers have recently begun to question whether mistrust is a distinct concept from trust, despite the symmetry of definitions (e.g. Sitkin & Roth, 1993; Sitkin & Stickel, 1996). As part of this they have argued that these are distinct constructs, the judgements made having different determinants and effects. Building upon this debate, Lewicki et al. (1998) theorise that trust and mistrust are separate but linked dimensions with each ranging from low to high, rather than opposite ends of a continuum. Consequently it is possible for an employee to experience both trust and mistrust within a given context.

Drawing upon Luhmann (1979), Lewicki et al.'s (1998) work suggests that trust and mistrust allow people to manage uncertainty and complexity in different ways. Trust reduces complexity and uncertainty by removing unfavourable expectations and allowing favourable expectations to be seen as certain. In contrast mistrust reduces complexity and uncertainty by removing favourable expectations and allowing unfavourable expectations to be seen as certain. Consequently under conditions of low trust an employee has no reason to expect that

she or he will be treated favourably and is more likely to be passive and hesitant. This type of situation may be defined as an absence of trust. In contrast under conditions of high mistrust an employee has reason to expect that she or he will be treated unfavourably and will be unwilling to become vulnerable and is wary and vigilant. For conditions of high trust an employee has reason to expect that she or he will be treated favourably and is therefore, due to their confidence and assurance, willing to become vulnerable. For conditions of low mistrust, an employee has no reasons to expect she or he will not be treated favourably and so will not be vigilant or wary. Low mistrust may therefore be defined as the absence of mistrust. Based upon this, Lewicki et al. (1998) propose a two-dimensional trust-mistrust framework in which each are characterised as either low or high. From this they identify four typical relationship conditions based upon perceptions of fairness of past treatment and expectations of future treatment:

- *low trust/low mistrust*: employee' perceptions provide no reasons to expect s/he will be treated favourably as well as no reasons to expect s/he will be treated unfavourably, which promotes ambivalence (neither a willingness or unwillingness) about becoming vulnerable;
- *high trust/low mistrust*: employee' perceptions provide reasons to expect that s/he will be treated favourably and no reasons to expect that s/he will be treated unfavourably, which promote a corresponding willingness to become vulnerable;
- *low trust/high mistrust*: employee' perceptions provide no reasons to expect that s/he will be treated favourably as well as reasons to expect that s/he will be treated unfavourably, which promote a corresponding unwillingness to become vulnerable;
- *high trust/high mistrust*: employee' perceptions provide reasons to expect that s/he will be treated favourably and a corresponding willingness to become vulnerable as well as

reasons to expect that s/he will be treated unfavourably and a corresponding unwillingness to become vulnerable.

Lewicki et al. (1998) argue that each of these four conditions have face validity within the context of relationships between actors. They suggest that the prevalence of sustained high trust/high mistrust relationships is likely to have been understated, these being most prevalent within multiplex working relationships, particularly between executives, certain aspects of each relationship reinforcing trust whilst other aspects reinforce mistrust. In contrast they suggest that the prevalence of high trust/low mistrust relationships is likely to have been overstated. However, it might also be argued that for most employees the combination of high trust/high mistrust based on favourable and unfavourable expectations within a relationship would lead to a strong sense of contradiction and so would be unlikely to occur.

The notions of favourable expectations and vulnerability have been developed by Möllering (2001), who argues that trust develops from favourable expectations that are based upon interpretations of the reality to which that trust relates. These may be enabled by a suspension of disbelief and a corresponding leap of faith, to vulnerability. Trust is therefore, according to this approach, based upon the acceptance of interpretations that includes awareness that information is likely to be imperfect. Building upon Möllering's ideas it can be argued that mistrust is likely to develop from unfavourable expectations enabled on occasions by a leap of doubt. Researchers have noted that whilst trust builds incrementally, it is easier to destroy than create (Kramer, 1999). Even if trust and mistrust are not opposite ends of a continuum, building on Lewicki et al's (1998) contention that they are linked dimensions, it seems probable that, in circumstances of mistrust, such a leap will occur earlier relative to that for faith as mistrust is established more quickly (Burt & Knez, 1996).

### *Organisational justice*

Organisational justice theory (Greenberg, 1987) focuses on perceptions of fairness in organisations, by categorising employees' views and feelings about their and others' treatment within an organisation. As such it has close parallels with the concept of expectations based upon perceptions and perceived motives in the definitions of trust and mistrust outlined earlier. In addition, this can allow for trust and mistrust to be considered as responses to multi-dimensional intra-organisational relationships and for individuals to hold a range of seemingly contradictory views.

Perceptions about outcomes of decisions taken form the basis of distributive justice (Homans, 1961; Leventhal, 1976). Perceptions about the processes used to arrive at, and to implement, these decisions form the basis of two further dimensions of justice that are sometimes treated as one in the literature: procedural justice and interactional justice (e.g. Cropanzano & Greenberg, 1997). Procedural justice focuses on employee perceptions of fairness of procedures used to make decisions (Thibaut & Walker, 1975). This has been distinguished from interactional justice which focuses on employees' perceptions about fairness of interpersonal treatment received during implementation (Bies & Moag, 1986). However, there has been considerable debate concerning interactional justice. Initially researchers (e.g. Bies & Moag, 1986; Greenberg, 1993) suggested that it consisted of two distinct types of interpersonal treatment; treatment of people (interpersonal justice) and explanations provided to people (informational justice). Subsequently, it was argued that, as interactional justice produces the same type of perceptual outcomes as procedural justice, it should be considered a facet of procedural justice rather than as a separate dimension (e.g. Cropanzano &



Greenberg, 1997). More recently, research has suggested that procedural, interpersonal and interactional justice are three empirically distinct dimensions (Colquitt, 2001; Kernan & Hanges, 2002). The separation of these dimensions of organisational justice allows for the possibility of differential impacts on trust and mistrust. We now consider each of these types of organisational justice in turn alongside the likely implications for trust and mistrust.

### *Distributive justice*

Distributive justice is concerned with perceptions of fairness or otherwise about organisational allocations and outcomes. It arises from the outcomes of an exchange, based upon inputs made previously (Homans, 1961). Consequently, perceptions are based upon a subjective assessment of outcomes in relation to investments made or costs incurred. Such assessments are based largely on comparisons with others (Adams, 1965; Cropanzano & Greenberg, 1997; Greenberg, 1987). Similarly, perceptions about the relationship between obligations or outcomes and the development of trust and mistrust are likely to be related not just to absolute measures, about whether obligations or outcomes have been fulfilled, but also to one or more relative, social comparisons. These are termed referent comparisons or standards (Mayer et al., 1995).

A number of formulations about how referent standards are chosen have been suggested. An employee's perception of outcome fairness may be derived from comparison with others such as co-workers. Feelings of inequity would arise where the ratio of a person's outcomes in relation to their inputs from an exchange were perceived as disproportionate, as the result of this comparison with others (Adams, 1965). Such comparisons may also be generalised so that the referent standard is an external group (Greenberg, 1987). Feelings of trust and

mistrust are therefore likely to be affected by comparisons to the relative treatment and outcomes of others and by more generalised opportunities available within a person's occupational group, organisation or perhaps another organisational context.

### *Procedural justice*

Assessments of trust have been found to be associated with procedural justice (Konovsky & Pugh, 1994; Mayer & Davis, 1999; Tyler, 2003), which is concerned with perceptions of fairness about the procedures used to make organisational decisions. Many of the facets that promote procedural justice have been linked to employees' belief that they are not being deceived. These emphasise in particular the impact of integrity in ensuring the fair and consistent application of moral and ethical procedures upon trust and mistrust. Such perceptions may be seen to have a greater impact than those related to distributive justice because, whereas outcomes are viewed as happening only once, procedures are considered to have a more enduring quality (Pillai, Williams & Tan, 2001; Tyler, 1989).

Since the conceptual development of procedural justice in the mid-1970s (for example Leventhal, 1976; Thibaut & Walker, 1975), the importance of this concept for many aspects of human resource management has been recognised (Folger & Cropanzano, 1998). In particular, genuinely fair procedures and processes have been found to moderate the impact of negative reactions arising from decisions leading to undesirable employee outcomes (Brockner & Siegel, 1996). Research to understand the dynamics of procedural justice has focused on the related concepts of voice (Folger, 1977) and process control (Thibaut & Walker, 1975). Voice allows those affected to exercise some degree of process control, or personal influence, in relation to the process of reaching a decision (Thibaut & Walker, 1975;

Greenberg & Folger, 1983). This ability has been linked to a number of positive reactions (Mishra, 1996; Tyler & Lind, 1992). However, the distinction between formulation and implementation of change decisions and the scope for different implementation practices to occur in practice supports the need to differentiate between the structural nature of procedural justice, the accuracy and quality of subsequent information received and interpersonal treatment arising from the implementation. These are discussed in the following sub sections.

### *Informational justice*

Justification of organisational decisions through effective explanations has been found to produce an effect similar to that of process control (Daly & Geyer, 1994). This may be explained through the finding that employees are more likely to accept decisions, even unfavourable ones, when given an adequate and genuine reason (Brockner & Wiesenfeld, 1993; Daly & Geyer, 1994). Such findings point to the role that communication may play in engendering trust or mistrust (for example, Folger & Cropanzano, 1998), influencing perhaps the likelihood of suspending disbelief and a corresponding willingness to become vulnerable.

In discussions about informational justice, emphasis has been placed on the quality of communication and, in particular, employees' perceptions of the consistency between the realities of the implementation and management's stated strategy (Kernan & Hanges, 2002). Although initial explanations are important (Bies & Moag, 1986), Kernan & Hanges (2002) suggest that employees value information that continues beyond the initial justifications or explanations for organisational change, thereby reflecting the ongoing nature of trust (and mistrust) relationships. Thus the quality of information and the consistency between

management's stated strategy and the realities for employees is also likely to impact upon trust and mistrust.

### *Interpersonal justice*

The extent to which a procedure or process engenders trust or mistrust may be altered by the perceived fairness of the interpersonal treatment received. In particular, the sensitivity and benevolence with which employees are treated and the support they receive has been found to relate to their trust in management (Kernan & Hanges, 2002, Mayer et al., 1995). The nature of the way in which employees are treated is therefore likely to have a significant impact on the perceptions that they form about fairness, not only about the process of implementation in general but also about the moral obligation to treat everyone fairly that underpins this process. This suggests a clear role for line managers in relation to the development of employees' perceptions of fairness and the generation of trust (and mistrust) through acting benevolently (Mishra, 1996; Tyler & Lind 1992). It also indicates how employees may develop trust in relation to their interpersonal treatment, for example, but not in relation to the procedures used or the nature of information provided.

### *Sources of trust and justice: supervisors, managers and organisation*

Lewicki et al. (1998) believe that organisational relationships are based on trust and mistrust and that organisations need to be structured to deal with both. Citing Zucker (1986), they assert that mistrust is institutionalised in managerial roles and organisational procedures. According to Luhmann (1979), it is the institutionalisation of mistrust that helps to promote the development of trust relationships in organisations. Supervisors and managers undertake

activities related to the management of mistrust because of the authority devolved to them rather than because of their personal views. Such depersonalisation is likely to be combined with procedures about performance and discipline that set expectations and limit sanctions. The ways in which supervisors and managers follow these procedures will affect perceptions about justice and trust, particularly in aspects where they are granted some degree of discretionary behaviour. The study by Whitener, Brodt, Korsgaard & Werner (1998) suggests that supervisory behaviour often initiates trust among employees. Organisation will therefore affect the incidence and levels of trust and mistrust, relationships between the two, as well as indicating a number of different foci for trust.

Research by Schminke, Cropanzano & Rupp (2002) indicates that justice perceptions will be influenced by level within an organisation. Those who are at higher levels in an organisation will be more likely to experience a greater sense of justice related to their greater rewards, influence and better treatment. However, Schminke et al. (2002) found that lower level employees offered some improvement in their treatment will place a higher value on this in relation to higher level employees offered the same improvement. In addition, the development of close interpersonal relationships based on exchanges perceived as fair, helped to develop justice perceptions. This reinforces the existence of different foci for justice and indicates how justice perceptions may not only be moderated but also potentially reinforced, positively or negatively, by events across an organisation. We will return to these relationships below.

## **Method**

Data were collected in 2002 within the context of employees' reactions to strategic change in a case study public sector organisation that we refer to as 'Newcounty'. Newcounty had come into existence on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1998, as part of the local government reorganisation in England and Wales and was the county council responsible for provision of education, caring services, police, traffic, road building and maintenance, libraries and strategic planning. In the period 1998-2002, Newcounty's senior management team sought as part of their strategy for the new authority to develop a 'can do' culture in which employees 'strive[d] for excellence' in the public services they provided. To support this strategy, change had been made incrementally in the form of a series of actions that would have impacted upon individuals differentially. In the year preceding this research this had included adjustments to the corporate support systems and procedures such as training and development, and developments in the way front line and support services were provided by the council's directorates. Although this involved some increase in the use of outsourcing, for example of financial systems, there had been no redundancies since the Council's inception. Incremental adjustments were also made in response to the external environment such as UK government initiatives involving market testing through 'Best Value' as well as 'Comprehensive Performance Assessment'. At this time employees were becoming aware of the emerging debate regarding regional assemblies for England and the associated uncertainty this might place on the future for county councils.

Data collection incorporated two integrated methods that utilised a structured card sort of possible emotions and a subsequent in-depth interview to explore and explain each respondent's categorisation of her or his emotional experience. These data were obtained from a random sample of 28 employees stratified according to level within the organisation's hierarchy including administrative and technician employees (10), professionals and middle

managers (15) and senior managers (3); the sample being drawn from across the five directorates, namely Corporate (8), Educational excluding those based in schools (3), Environmental (7), Financial (3) and Social Services (7).

The first data collection method involved participants being asked to sort forty cards each containing a single emotion that might be experienced in relation to organisational change. These emotions reflect a wide range of possible feelings (table 2) and were derived from the literatures relating to psychology and stress (Brockner, 1988; Brockner & Greenberg, 1990; Brockner, Grover, Reed, Dewitt & O'Malley, 1987; Brockner, Tyler & Cooper-Schneider, 1992; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Sorting emotions was chosen as the initial means to collect data because it was felt that this approach would draw directly on the experience of each participant, providing not only a sense of validity but also a subsequent means to explore these through the in-depth interview. It also allowed the possibility of the simultaneous existence of 'trusting' and mistrustful' to be explored. Each employee was informed that the purpose of the study was to establish and understand her or his feelings 'in relation to the change in the past year at [Newcounty]', and it was stressed that there were no wrong answers. After assurances of confidentiality and anonymity had been offered and consent obtained, employees were asked to categorise each card into either 'do not feel' or 'feel to some extent'. Those cards that contained an emotion categorised as 'do not feel' were removed and recorded, following completion of this initial sort. Cards containing an emotion felt to some extent were also recorded. Each participant was then asked to undertake a second sort of those cards containing an emotion that he or she felt to some extent. During this second sort, participants were asked to select those cards containing an emotion that she or he 'felt strongly' and from these to identify three about which they 'felt most strongly'

(Table 2). Emotions selected under each of these categories were recorded for each participant.

This process allowed data to be collected for each employee by recording the response to each emotion using a four category ordinal scale. This was followed by an interview that was structured around each respondent's categorisation of these emotions, of approximately one hour's duration, that sought to explore and explain each level of this categorisation commencing with the emotions that were felt most strongly. Within each interview, the selection and relative positions of each employee's feelings of 'trusting' and 'mistrustful' was introduced and discussed, generally by using the question '...I've notice that you categorised... .. can we talk about this?' This process allowed the structure for each interview to be grounded in each respondent's categorisation of the emotions that he or she had experienced because of organisational change, involving a form of respondent validation during the interview (Pidgeon, 1996) and provided an initial means of organising and analysing these data related to whether each emotion had 'not been felt', 'felt to some extent', 'felt strongly' or 'felt most strongly'.

From these card sort and in-depth interview data we sought to develop an analysis to explore and make sense of relationships between trust and mistrust in this organisational context (Figure 1). Our analytic procedure may be described as pragmatic (Dey, 1993) as initially we utilised respondents' categorisation of 'trusting and 'mistrustful' to locate each within a four-fold discrete categorisation of trusting, at least to some extent, with an absence of mistrust; mistrustful, at least to some extent, with an absence of trust; neither trusting nor mistrustful, or; trusting and mistrustful, at least to some extent.



(Figure 1 about here)

The next stage involved categorising each paragraph of interview data according to whether the respondent had feelings that appeared positive, negative, mixed (both positive and negative), or unclear. After agreeing definitions we undertook this analysis independently before comparing our categorisations and, where we disagreed, debated and expanded that definition and, subsequently agreed that categorisation. By adopting check coding (Miles & Huberman, 1994) problems of reliability associated with a single person coding were minimised. Through this process it was possible to place each respondent's feelings in relation to the change into one of three groups: focussing upon negative aspects, focussing upon positive aspects, having mixed feelings. This, when combined with the card sort data and an initial analysis of interview responses, allowed their feelings of trust and mistrust to be contextualised in relation to the other emotions they were feeling. In doing this we sought to develop our analysis in a way that was grounded in our respondents' data and which would be recognised as valid by them.

The four dimensions of organisational justice theory were introduced subsequently as an analytical device to help to explore and make sense of the relationships between trust and mistrust emerging from these experiences of organisational change. For this analysis we focussed upon responses relating to trust and mistrust, each sentence within these responses being coded regarding the presence or absence of distributive, procedural, informational and interpersonal justice. Once again we adopted a process of check coding, using agreed definitions derived from the literature to undertake the initial coding of the responses independently prior to considering the few sentences where we disagreed initially regarding the category assigned. This third stage of analysis may be seen as introducing or adding a

perspective from which to view these data (Giles, 2002), whereby our second stage of analysis was related to these dimensions to help to contextualise the reasons for feelings of trust and mistrust.

### **Employees' Perceptions: The Trust-Mistrust-Absence Triangle**

The card sort provided both a four group categorisation of employees' feelings of trust and mistrust in relation to the change that had occurred in Newcounty over the previous year and the context of this in relation to their most strongly felt emotions. The largest of the four groups, trusting at least some extent with an absence of mistrust, consisted of 16 respondents (57%). In contrast only three respondents (11%) felt mistrustful at least to some extent with an absence of trust. Remaining respondents in the other two groups appeared to be ambivalent. Six respondents (21%) felt neither trusting nor mistrustful and three respondents (11%) felt both trusting and mistrustful at least to some extent.

(Table 1 and Figure 2 about here)

Examination of Table 1 reveals that employees' feelings occur within a triangle in which those employees who had stronger feelings of trust appeared most likely to have low feelings of mistrust whereas, to a lesser extent, those who had stronger feelings of mistrust appeared more likely to have low feelings of trust. This can be represented conceptually as a Trust-Mistrust-Absence (TMA) triangle, the vertices symbolizing 'trusting' as one of the most strongly felt emotions, mistrustful as one of the most strongly felt emotions and both trusting or mistrustful being absent from the emotions selected (Figure 2). Consequently, the high trust/high mistrust relationship suggested by Lewicki et al. (1998) does not occur in its most

extreme form. Rather, where employees are ambivalent, this appears likely to be either due to them feeling neither trusting nor mistrustful or feeling both trusting and mistrustful only 'to some extent'.

Exploration of the justifications given for selecting those emotions felt most strongly by each of these four groups provides some indications as to the reasons for these feelings. 11 of the 16 respondents who felt 'trusting' at least to some extent (but not mistrustful) spoke positively about the changes at Newcounty when explaining their choices (Table 2). Two professional employees highlighted changes to the organisation such as '...looking to do things differently –how things can be improved' and '...realistically thinking about [Newcounty] for the first time because, despite a low Government grant, they are going about things in the right way.' However, the majority of these trusting respondents focussed upon positive change that had occurred at directorate or team level and the associated impact of this on their work. This was typified by one technician who justified selecting 'determined' as an emotion she felt strongly: 'I work in [name] services. This is no longer a duty but a desire and so I am determined to make the service work and ensure commitment [to the service] from the County Council.' A line manager justified his choice of 'involved': 'I feel listened to and am asked what to do. The Head of Service is interested in hearing what will something mean for me.'

Four of the remaining five trusting respondents spoke with mixed feelings about the changes. Although these respondents explained their selection of emotions such as 'enthusiastic' in terms of their roles within Newcounty, their work team and their job security, they were 'concerned' about the implications of external pressures on the County Council. A senior manager summarised this: 'The Authority has lost sight of where it is going. Instead of

focussing on service delivery to the general public, the focus is on initiatives and targets – artificial things.’ This concern was highlighted by a middle manager in another directorate who was ‘...concerned in a negative sense that the organisation loses sight of what it is there for and rhetoric becomes sloganeering.’ The technician who spoke negatively about change highlighted his frustration at being passed over for promotion and his disinterest in the ‘... extra management layers for bean counting for central government.’

In contrast, the three respondents who felt ‘mistrustful’ at least some extent (but not trusting) spoke about change in the past year negatively in two instances and with mixed feelings in one. Without exception, these mistrustful respondents emphasised central government legislation and associated unrealistic expectations when talking about their most strongly felt emotions (table 2). The one administrative assistant with mixed feelings also highlighted the supportive team and in particular her line manager: ‘I am expectant of Newcounty. I give them a lot so expect a reasonable amount back. ...my current boss has paid for this year at College. My line manager put my case (4 pages) to senior management and it was accepted.’

The six respondents, for whom feelings of trust and mistrust were absent, spoke both positively and negatively about the change when explaining their selection of most strongly felt emotions (table 2). Those with mixed feelings appeared to feel positive about ‘...making things work’ within their teams and with regard to their personal job security. However they appeared to feel negative regarding the wider impact of the change and their frustration and lack of power to influence that which was externally imposed. In addition they emphasised their lack of control over their own work within Newcounty. The explanations given by the three respondents who felt both ‘trusting’ and ‘mistrustful’ for their most strongly felt emotions were more varied. One focused upon positive aspects of the change, another

negative whilst the third incorporated both, in all instances discussion focusing on the implications for that employee and their department. It is to possible reasons for these types of response represented by the TMA triangle that we now turn.

(Table 2 about here)

### *Trusting at least to some extent*

All but two of the 16 respondents who felt trusting at least to some extent (but not mistrustful) justified this feeling as their response to the informational and interpersonal justice aspects of the change that had occurred at Newcounty over the previous year. When referring to the informational justice aspects of the change respondents referred to both line managers and management in general. In contrast their discussions of the interpersonal justice aspects of the change were related predominantly to line managers. In their discussions respondents explained their lack of feeling ‘mistrustful’ in terms of the reasons for feeling trusting.

Strongly trusting respondents felt, in particular, the quality of information they received from Newcounty’s senior managers was good and the justifications these managers provided for the change were genuine. A typical response from an administrator, who said trusting was something she felt strongly, emphasises this ‘They [management] let people know what’s happening, consult and get issues out in the open.’ A manager who also placed trusting in the felt strongly category also emphasised the adequateness and genuine nature of line managers’ responses, ‘I have not been lied to –I do get answers when I ask and these are not evasive, so I have trust in the line managers I have for this reason.... the officers do not hold

back in *Newcounty*. This includes when the message is not a good one.’ Half of these strongly trusting respondents also emphasised the importance of the support they received, in particular from their line managers in relation to the change. Such feelings of interpersonal justice appeared not to be related to a specific incident but to a general attitude of helpfulness on behalf the employee’s line manager throughout the change. One middle manager commented, ‘I have great trust in my line manager and superiors because they help me’ whilst an administrator justified her trust in her line manager because ‘my best interests are being looked after.’

Despite being drawn from the same directorates, respondents who felt only trusting to some extent (but not mistrustful) appeared to be more circumspect about the quality of information they received from senior management in relation to the change. These respondents did not appear to have concrete outcomes upon which to base their perceptions of informational justice and their justifications appeared less precise. For example, an administrator stated ‘I’m given a lot of information about things. I assume and trust the things I’m told are right.’ For some respondents there also appeared to be a degree of uncertainty regarding the consistency between the explanation given and the actual reasons for the change. This was typified by a middle manager who stated ‘Sometimes I feel there is an ulterior motive in decisions which is not communicated. This has not affected me personally, but real reasons are not always being given –hence ‘to some extent’’. Although these respondents had different line managers to those who felt strongly trusting, it is unclear as to the extent this influenced the strength of their feelings of trust.

A minority of respondents who felt only trusting to some extent also justified their perceptions in terms of the procedural aspects of the change. These feelings appeared to be

related to the operation of the political structures within Newcounty as well as reported inconsistencies regarding how processes and procedures associated with the change had been operationalised. In particular these respondents appeared concerned about the fairness and consistency of the political procedures used to arrive at decisions and how these were ‘at the mercy of councillors’ who were ‘chasing voters rather than real needs’ (professional employee). Discussion of the distributive aspects of the change appeared to be set within the wider context of continuing local government reform within England and Wales and a changing funding allocation from the UK government. In general respondents appeared to recognise that such outcomes were outside Newcounty’s control, a typical response being, ‘We have to work within the Government’s parameters of what we’re getting and within this try and do our best’ (senior manager).

#### *Mistrustful at least to some extent*

Only three respondents felt mistrustful to at least some extent, but not trusting. However, despite this, there appear to be differences between trusting and mistrustful respondents’ perceptions of justice. Respondents who felt mistrustful to some extent justified their feelings in relation to the change principally in terms of the distributive outcomes of the change, the procedures by which these were reached and, to a lesser extent, the informational and interpersonal outcomes. In the interviews respondents explained their lack of trusting using the reasons for feeling mistrustful.

For these mistrustful respondents, outcomes from the change were not necessarily perceived to have been unjust for Newcounty’s employees, but for the people the county council served. This was typified by one professional respondent, who justified her feeling of mistrust

saying, ‘The organisation plays a tokenistic game with Government set targets etc... so whose needs are we meeting? –is it ticking boxes, or is it really meeting the needs of those who need help?’ For all mistrustful respondents, mistrust thus appeared to be related to the fact that although outcomes, in terms of UK government targets, had been fulfilled this was not necessarily meeting the needs of the people of Newcounty. Mistrustful respondents therefore appeared to be considering the change within the wider context of the application of UK government targets to Newcounty and justifying their feelings of mistrust on the basis that the outcomes were unfair for the people of Newcounty. Unlike trusting respondents, mistrustful respondents, without exception, cited specific incidents of the impact of such unfair outcomes as justification as to why they were mistrustful. However, it was unclear whether these had resulted in their mistrust developing more quickly.

#### *Neither trusting or mistrustful*

Six respondents felt neither trusting nor mistrustful. They typically described themselves as ‘wary of trusting but not mistrustful’ (senior manager) suggesting ambivalence in relation to the change. Respondents explained their feelings in a variety of ways, a common theme being the emphasis placed upon factors which constrained trusting and mistrustful feelings. An administrative worker talked about how she wanted to trust but was not sure if she could due to what had happened in her previous job with Newcounty. A middle manager who felt that he had been misled by information provided by management regarding outcomes related to the change stated, ‘I don’t trust because of frustration, but mistrust isn’t there due to they didn’t set out to be purposively misleading.’ A senior manager who had reservations about the change argued that although he was not mistrustful in relation to the plans for change, neither was he convinced.



Feelings of mistrust appeared to be deterred by the sensitivity of treatment and support of respondents by their line managers and, to a lesser extent, their colleagues in relation to the change. In contrast, feelings of trust were deterred by worries about the lack of consistent application of organisational messages, such as ‘saying ‘job for life’ and then ‘bye bye’ tomorrow’ (senior manager), and the mismatch between Newcounty’s stated strategy and the processes by which some of the decisions were then made. One professional respondent, explaining why she did not feel trusting, also referred to the inconsistent application of some procedures commenting ‘If this is happening in my team, what is going on Social Services, Education etc?’

*Both trusting and mistrustful at least to some extent*

The three respondents who felt both trusting and mistrustful at least to some extent explained their feelings of trust in similar ways to those respondents who felt only trusting, and their feelings of mistrust in similar ways to those respondents who felt only mistrustful.

Consequently, feelings of trust were justified partially in terms of the general quality of information received in relation to change and the fact this was ongoing; for example, ‘they [line managers] tell me as much as they can... they tell me things that are relevant to me because they let us know what is going on’ (professional employee). In contrast feelings of mistrust were justified by inconsistencies in both information and the application of procedures by managers with one professional employee explaining his feeling of mistrust: ‘I’m told one thing one day and a colleague is told the opposite. Management tries to please all people all the time and therefore I wonder what colleagues are up to which breeds mistrust’ (middle manager). In their discussion of their feelings of trust and mistrust these

respondents highlighted they had contradictory ideas about the justness of different facets of the change. Though these were contradictory, the different foci of their trusting and mistrustful feelings meant it was possible for them to hold what appeared at first opposing views.

## **Discussion**

This paper commenced by discussing the nature of trust and mistrust and the relationship between these concepts. It was recognised that trust and mistrust may either be seen as opposite ends of a continuum, or alternatively as being separate but linked dimensions, each ranging from high to low (Lewicki et al., 1998). The latter scenario suggests that employees may experience both trust and mistrust in a given organisational context. In developing this scenario, Lewicki et al. (1998) re-conceptualised trust and mistrust as a two-dimensional framework, which comprise four cells: low trust/low mistrust; high trust/low mistrust; low trust/high mistrust and high trust/high mistrust. However our findings from the case study organisation lend only weak support to this model of trust. Over half (16) of respondents felt trusting, at least to some extent, without also feeling any sense of mistrust. A further three felt mistrust, at least to some extent, without feeling any sense of trust. This might either be considered as lending support to the thesis of trust/mistrust as a single dimension or alternatively, where trust and mistrust are still conceptualised as separate but linked dimensions, that the four possibilities in the Lewicki et al. model are insufficient to demonstrate the realities of trust and mistrust for many participants.

Our findings illustrate that some participants did experience both trust and mistrust and that others experienced neither of these emotions. Three participants reported that they

experienced both, lending support to the argument that because relationships are multifaceted they have the propensity to generate feelings related to both trust and mistrust (Lewicki et al., 1998). We may expect this to be evident in an organisational context, where participants generally have relevant multiple relationships that range from their supervisor through to a more abstract relationship with their organisation, each of which may be affected differently by the experience of organisational change. However, six participants in our study reported that they experienced neither trust nor mistrust in relation to the change that had occurred in the case study organisation. While both of these groups of participants (the three and the six) may be seen as lending support for trust and mistrust as separate dimensions, the latter group again indicates that the four possibilities in the Lewicki et al. model are insufficient to demonstrate the realities of trust and mistrust for many participants.

As a result of these perceived insufficiencies, and based on our findings, we believe that the Trust-Mistrust-Absence triangle (Figure 2) provides a better representation than the Lewicki et al. model described earlier. The Trust-Mistrust-Absence triangle incorporates not only separate dimensions for trust and mistrust but also includes the possibility that for some these are opposite ends of a single continuum as well as incorporating the further possibility that for others one or both constructs may be absent.

Little support was found for the notion that employees might develop trust based on a leap of faith related to favourable expectations (Möllering, 2001). The exploration of the reasons for feelings about trust and mistrust revealed that our case study participants were able to rationalise these, based on perceptions about the changes to the organisation they had experienced rather than projections about expectations.

The range of possibilities related to the existence of trust and mistrust: that these may co-exist, that they may be mutually exclusive, or that neither may be experienced raises the question about the conditions that might explain these different outcomes. This suggested the need to explore the emerging relationships between trust and mistrust through an analytical device that facilitated a multifaceted and multi-dimensional examination. Like trust, organisational justice theory is concerned with perceptions about fairness linked to expectations, interactions and outcomes. Different dimensions of organisational justice, related to perceptions about distributive, procedural, informational and interpersonal forms, also allow for the possibility of differential impacts on trust and mistrust. Just as an employee may feel that an outcome is fair although the procedure used to reach it was unfair, for example, that same employee may potentially feel trust in relation to one person or aspect but mistrust in relation to another. The application of organisational justice theory allowed these to be considered in a multifaceted and multi-dimensional manner and offered a useful and valid to explore and understand the existence of trust and mistrust and the nature of relationships between the two and their different foci.

The majority of respondents who were trusting explained this in terms that related to the informational and interpersonal sub-types of interactional justice (e.g. Kernan & Hanges, 2002) and, in contrast to the findings of Schminke et al. (2002) did not appear to be influenced by their level within the organisation's hierarchy. Those experiencing mistrust were more likely to give reasons for this related to distributive and procedural injustice. This may indicate that such respondents felt their personal outcomes had not matched their expectations, leading to mistrust based on explanations related to unfair outcomes and procedures. However, in this case study the relationship between mistrust and distributive and procedural injustice focussed upon external issues, rather than any personal set of

outcomes. In particular, respondents highlighted Newcounty's need to meet UK governmental targets was seen as not meeting the needs of the people they served. For those who were neither trusting nor mistrusting, feelings related to distributive, procedural and informational injustice were given to explain why these respondents did not develop trust. In contrast, lack of mistrust was explained through reasons related to interpersonal justice emphasising in particular the role of the line manager. For those who were both trusting and mistrustful at least to some extent, interactional and in particular interpersonal justice was seen as encouraging the development of trust, while perceptions about informational and procedural injustice were seen as explanations for the development of feelings of mistrust.

Our discussion of how respondents explained feelings of trust and mistrust emphasises the importance for employers of understanding both the personal and wider organisational contexts within which these feelings are created. For employers seeking to engender trust from employees this has two key implications. Firstly it emphasises the importance of both management in general and line managers providing employees with information beyond an initial justification for decisions. This needs to be appropriate to the employee's work context and consistent with both that received by others and, the organisation's stated strategy. Secondly it emphasises the importance of line managers being sensitive to individuals' needs during the implementation of change, whatever their level in the organisation in initiating trust. The research also highlights that organisations need to be mindful that their reactions to the external environment may influence employees' feelings of mistrust, even where these do not impact upon employees directly. In particular, an organisation's response may result in the adoption of procedures that are perceived as unfair or in outcomes that, although they do not affect individual employees, are considered unjust and, as a consequence, engender feelings of mistrust. However, we recognise that these

conclusions are based on a single case study with 28 respondents who experienced a particular episode of organisational change. This highlights that there is scope for more empirical work to explore and further test the theoretical conceptions advanced in the literature.

## References

Adams, J.S. (1965). 'Inequity in Social Exchange', in L. Berkowitz (ed.) *Advances in experimental social psychology Volume 2*, New York: Academic Press.

Bies, R.J. & Moag, J.S. (1986). 'Interactional Justice: Communication Criteria for Fairness'. In R. Lewicki, B. Sheppard & M. Bazerman (eds.) *Research on Negotiation in Organizations*, (pp. 43-55) Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Bigley, G.A. & Pearce, J.L. (1998). 'Straining for Shared Meaning in Organisational Science: Problems of Trust and Distrust', *Academy of Management Review* 23, 405-21.

Brockner, J. (1988). 'The Effects of Work Layoffs on Survivors: Research, Theory and Practice'. In B.M. Staw & L.L. Cummings (Eds.), *Research in Organizational Behaviour*, (pp. 213-255) Greenwich, CT, JAI Press.

Brockner, J. & Greenberg, J. (1990). 'The Impact of Layoffs on Survivors: An Organizational Justice Perspective'. In J.S. Carroll (Ed.), *Applied Social Psychology and Organizational Settings*, (pp. 45-75). Hillsdale, N.J: Erlbaum.

Brockner, J., Grover, S, Reed, T., Dewitt, R. & O'Malley, M. (1987). 'Survivors' Reactions to Layoffs: We Get by with a Little Help for Our Friends', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 32, 526-541.

Brockner, J. & Siegel, P. (1996). 'Understanding the Interaction Between Procedural and Distributive Justice: the Role of Trust'. In R.M. Kramer & T. Tyler (Eds.), *Trust in Organisations*, (pp. 390-413). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Brockner, J., Tyler, T.R. & Cooper-Schneider, R. (1992). 'The Influence of Prior Commitment to an Institution on Reactions to Perceived Unfairness: The Higher They Are, the Harder They Fall', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 37, 241-61.

Brockner, J. & Wiesenfeld, B. (1993). 'Living on the Edge (of Social and Organizational Psychology): The Effects of Job Layoffs on Those Who Remain'. In J.K. Murnighan (Ed.), *Social Psychology in Organizations*, (pp. 119-140). Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall.

Burt R.S. & Knez, M. (1996). 'Trust and Third Party Gossip'. In R.M. Kramer & T.R. Tyler (Eds.) *Trust in Organisations: Frontiers of Theory and Research*, (pp. 68-89) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Colquitt, J.A. (2001). 'On the Dimensionality of Organizational Justice: A Construct Validation of a Measure' *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86, 386-400.

Costa, A.C. (2003). 'Work Team Trust and Effectiveness', *Personnel Review*, 32, 605-22.

Cropanzano, R. & Greenberg, J. (1997). 'Progress in Organizational Justice: Tunnelling Through The Maze'. In C.L. Cooper & I.T. Robertson (Eds.), *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Volume 12*, (pp. 243-298). Chichester: Wiley.



Daly, J.P. & Geyer, P.D. (1994). 'The Role of Fairness in Implementing Large-Scale Change: Employee Evaluations of Process and Outcome in Seven Facility Relocations', *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 15, 623-638.

Dey, I. (1993). *Qualitative Data Analysis*, London: Routledge.

Folger, R. (1977). 'Distributive and Procedural Justice: Combined Impact of 'Voice' and Improvement on Experienced Inequity', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35, 108-19.

Folger, R. & Cropanzano, R. (1998). *Organizational Justice and Human Resource Management*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Giles, D.C. (2002). *Advanced Research Methods in Psychology*, Hove: Routledge.

Greenberg, J. (1987). 'A Taxonomy of Organizational Justice Theories', *Academy of Management Review*, 12, 9-22.

Greenberg, J. (1993). 'The Social Side of Fairness: Interpersonal and Informational Classes of Organizational Justice'. In R. Cropanzano (Ed.), *Justice in the Workplace: Approaching Fairness in Human Resource Management*, (pp. 79-103). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Greenberg, J. & Folger, R. (1983). 'Procedural Justice, Participation, and the Fair Process Effect in Groups and Organizations'. In P.B. Paulus (Ed.), *Basic Group Processes*, (pp. 235-256). New York: Springer-Verlag.

Homans, G.C. (1961). *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Kernan, M.C. & Hanges, P.J. (2002). 'Survivor Reactions to Reorganization: Antecedents and Consequences of Procedural, Interpersonal, and Informational Justice', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87, 916-28.

Konovsky, M.A. & Pugh, S. (1994). 'Citizenship Behaviour and Social Exchange', *Academy of Management Journal*, 37, 656-69.

Kramer, R. (1999). 'Trust and Distrust: Emerging Questions, Enduring Questions', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 50, 569-91.

Lazarus, R.S. & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, Appraisal and Coping*, New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Leventhal, G.S. (1976). 'Fairness in Social Relationships'. In J.W. Thibaut, J.T. Spence & R.C. Carson (Eds.), *Contemporary Topics in Social Psychology*, (pp. 211-239). Morristown, NJ: General Learning Press.

Lewicki, R.J. & Bunker, B.B. (1996). 'Developing and Maintaining Trust in Work Relationships'. In R.M. Kramer & T.R. Tyler (Eds.), *Trust in Organisations: Frontiers of Theory and Research*, (pp. 114-139). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lewicki, R.J., McAllister, D.J. & Bies, R.J. (1998). 'Trust and distrust: New Relationships and Realities' *Academy of Management Review*, 23, 438-58

Luhmann, N. (1979). *Trust and Power*, Chichester: Wiley.

Mayer, R.C. & Davis, J.H. (1999). 'The Effect of the Performance Appraisal System on Trust for Management: a Field Quasi-Experiment', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 84,123-136.

Mayer, R.C., Davis, J.H. & Schoorman, F.D. (1995). 'An Integrative Model of Organizational Trust', *Academy of Management Review*, 20, 709-34.

Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mishra, A.K. (1996). 'Organizational Response to Crisis'. In R.M. Kramer & T.R. Tyler (Eds.), *Trust in Organisations: Frontiers of Theory and Research*, (pp. 261-287). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Möllering, G. (2001). 'The Nature of Trust: From George Simmel to a Theory of Expectation, Interpretation and Suspension', *Sociology*, 35, 403-420.

Omedei, M.M. & McLennan, J. (2000). 'Conceptualizing and Measuring Global Interpersonal Mistrust-Trust' *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 140, 3, 279-294.

Pidgeon, N. (1996). 'Grounded theory: theoretical background'. In Richardson, J.T.E. (Ed), *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences*, (pp. 75-85). Leicester: BPS Books.

Pillai, R., Williams, E.S. & Tan, J.J. (2001). 'Are the Scales Tipped in Favour of Procedural or Distributive Justice? An Investigation of the U.S., India, Germany and Hong Kong (China)', *The International Journal of Conflict Management*, 12, 312-32.

Rousseau, D.M., Sitkin, S.B. Burt, R.S. & Carmerer, C. (1998). 'Not so Different After All: a Cross-Discipline View of Trust. *Academy of Management Review* 23, 393-404.

Saunders, M.N.K. & Thornhill, A. (2003). 'Organisational Justice, Trust and the Management of Change: An Exploration' *Personnel Review*, 32, 360-74.

Schminke, M. Cropanzano, R. and Rupp, D.E. (2002). 'Organization structure and fairness perceptions: The moderating effects of organizational level' *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 89, 881-905.

Sitkin, S.B. & Roth, N.L. (1993). 'Explaining the Limited Effectiveness of Legalistic "Remedies" for Trust/Distrust' *Organization Science* 4, 367-92.

Sitkin, S.B. & Stickel, D (1996). 'The Road to Hell: The Dynamics of Distrust in an Era of Quality'. In R.M. Kramer & T.R. Tyler (Eds.), *Trust in Organisations: Frontiers of Theory and Research*, (pp. 195-215). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Soanes, C. (Ed.) (2002). *Compact Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thibaut, J. & Walker, L. (1975). *Procedural Justice*, Hillsdale, N J: Erlbaum.

Tyler, T. R. (1989). 'The Quality of Dispute Resolution Processes and Outcomes: Measurement and Possibilities', *Denver University Law Review* 66, 419-36.

Tyler, T.R. (2003). 'Trust Within Organisations' *Personnel Review*, 32, 556-68.

Tyler, T.R. & Lind, E.A. (1992). 'A Relational Model of Authority in Groups'. In M.P. Zanna (Ed.) *Advances in Experimental and Social Psychology Volume 25*, (pp. 115-191) San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

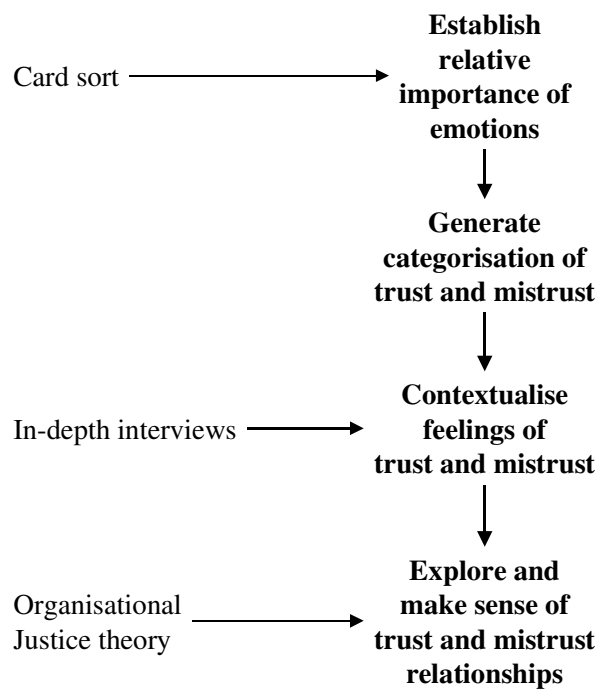
Whitener, E.M., Brodt, S.E., Korsgaard, M.A. and Werner, J.M. (1998). 'Managers as initiators of trust: An exchange relationship framework for understanding managerial trustworthy behavior' *Academy of Management Journal*, 23, 513-530.

Zucker, L.G. (1986). 'The production of trust: Institutional sources of economic structure, 1840-1920.' In Straw, B.M. and Cummings, L.L. (Eds), *Research in organizational behavior*, Volume 8, (pp. 53-111) Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

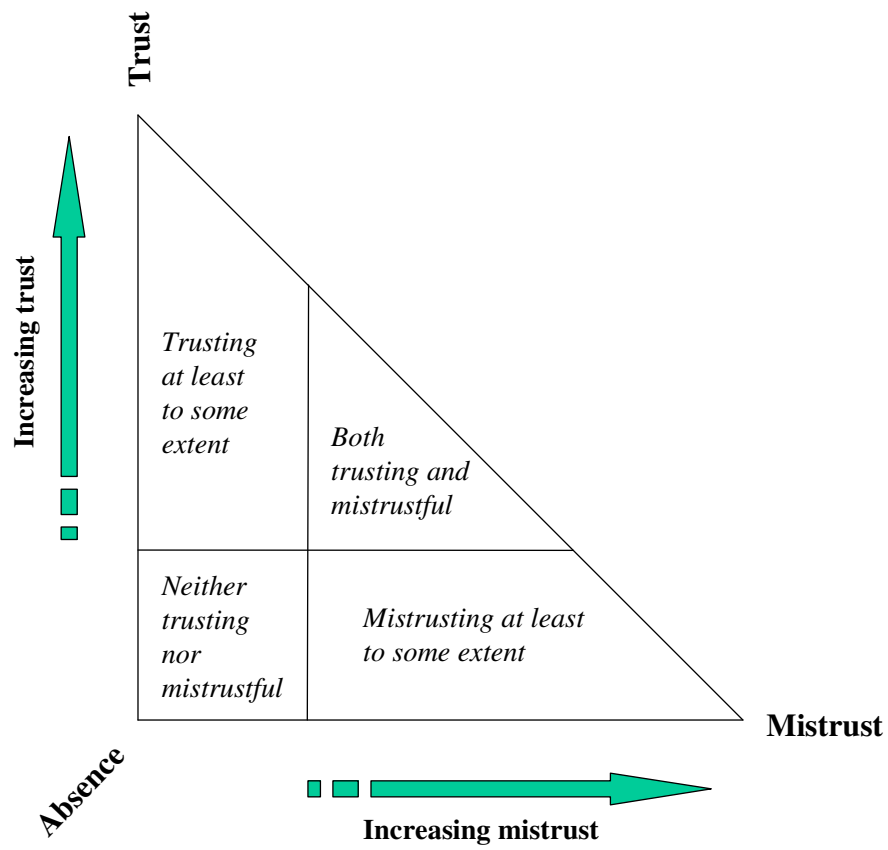
**Table 1: Respondents' categorisation of trusting and mistrustful**

		<b>lower ← mistrustful → higher</b>				Total
		not felt (absent)	feel to some extent	feel strongly	feel most strongly	
<b>higher</b> ↑ <b>trusting</b> ↓ <b>lower</b>	feel most strongly	1	0	0	0	1
	feel strongly	7	1	0	0	8
	feel to some extent	8	1	1	0	10
	not felt (absent)	6	3	0	0	9
	Total	22	5	1	0	28

**Figure 1: Relationship between data and analysis**



**Figure 2: The Trust-Mistrust-Absence Triangle**





**Table 2: Respondents selecting each emotion as one of those about which they felt most strongly**

<b>explanation for selection of these three emotions</b>	<b>trusting at least to some extent</b>	<b>mistrustful at least to some extent</b>	<b>absence of trust and mistrust</b>	<b>both trusting and mistrustful</b>
focused on positive aspects of change	determined (5) involved (5) hopeful (3) cheerful (2) keen (2) optimistic (2) positive (2) relieved (2) under pressure (2) calm comfortable concerned confident enthusiastic expectant secure trusting			involved optimistic positive
focused on both positive and negative aspects of change (mixed feelings)	concerned (2) enthusiastic (2) calm cheerful determined involved keen relieved relaxed secure	expectant enthusiastic under pressure	frustrated (2) concerned enthusiastic hopeful secure	determined resigned secure
focused on negative aspects of the change	disinterested frustrated resigned	determined (2) angry frustrated secure stressed	frustrated (3) powerless (3) determined (2) concerned demoralised enthusiastic under pressure	frustrated relieved resigned
<b>Total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>9</b>

Note:

The 40 emotions from which respondents selected the three felt most strongly are: angry, calm, cheerful, comfortable, concerned, confident, *confused*, demoralised, *depressed*, determined, disinterested, *eager*, enthusiastic, *excited*, expectant, frustrated, hopeful, *hopeless*, *in control*, *indifferent*, *insecure*, involved, keen, *mistrustful*, *on edge*, optimistic, *overwhelmed*, *panicky*, positive, powerless, relaxed, relieved, *resentful*, resigned, secure, stressed, trusting, under pressure, *vulnerable*, *worried*. Those in italics were not selected by any respondents as one of their three most strongly felt and are not included in this table.