



NINA LAINE

# Trust in Superior-Subordinate Relationship

An empirical study in the context of learning



ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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# Foreword

I have been fortunate to have been able to carry out both my academic studies and professional career at the same time. It is a great opportunity to be a citizen of a country where higher education is free of charge, and the access to university studies open to everyone. I sincerely appreciate the possibility for life long learning that the education system in Finland provides.

My journey towards PhD has lasted approximately 5 years, and in that time I have matured professionally, and deepened my knowledge of developing organizations. Several times I have been in awe when I've realized the infinity of knowledge and interlinkages of different fields, theories, and research traditions. My study is interdisciplinary, and at times I've plunged into new knowledge and tried to find a way to bind different aspects together. Hopefully my old ways of thinking have been challenged, and I've learned something. And hopefully this book has provided new knowledge that will challenge others to think in new ways, and to learn more about trust.

My research interest in trust arose when I posed myself the question: What is this invisible thing that everyone wants to have but disagree of ways to gain it? My experience as a leadership trainer made me realize that trust is the starting point of all cooperation in work life. Eventually trust became a riddle that intrigued me, and I wanted to find out what it was made of. How wrong was I, thinking that I could identify the ingredients of trust!

Now I'm one of the many trust researchers who know that trust is a very challenging concept to capture. Trust research moves forward, and new definitions are made but still trust remains partially elusive.

During the long research process many people have helped me. First of all, I want to thank the International Affairs of University of Tampere for offering me the chance to teach and study at the University of Oregon during the academic year 2006–2007. Also I want to thank *Andrew Verner*, Assistant Dean of Graduate Programs, for allowing me to take part in the Executive MBA program in the Lundquist College of Business. Professor *Alan Meyer* and his students I thank for fascinating doctoral seminar in organization theories. *Elayne Quirin* I thank for inspiring teaching and wise words.

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Accordingly I want to thank my family for Sunday lunches and company that counterbalanced my life during the long weekends spent researching. I have been blessed with number of great friends who have helped me to fulfil this project. Thank you all!



# Abstract

This qualitative study in the field of vocational education explores the phenomenon of trust in superior-subordinate relationship. The study, using phenomenological research method, is based on the constructivist paradigm. The research data was collected in Finland, in Finnish. The writing process was conducted in English, both in Finland and in the United States. The data consisted of in-depth interviews and writings. Informants were from business world and public sector, and included both men and women.

Becoming a manager requires learning to lead people and to manage organization's operations. Often these skills are learned at the workplace and in extension studies. Therefore learning to become a leader can be seen as vocational education – learning the profession of leadership. Building trust is essential in leadership and learning to build trusting work relationships is leaders' task, among others.

Trust is an intriguing topic to study because it is relevant both socially and scientifically. Nowadays people live in an interdependent world where globalization brings forth new challenges for cooperation. As people working together tend to have ever tighter interlinkages, trust becomes a necessity. This has led to a contradiction: While trust is at the same time diminishing in Western countries, its significance is increasing and new forms of building trust are evolving.

Scientifically trust has raised interest in different literatures – psychology, sociology, political science, economics, anthropology, history, and social biology – but each literature has approached trust with its own disciplinary lenses and filters. Remarkably little effort has been made to integrate these different perspectives.

Trust in superior-subordinate relationship merits to be researched because, for majority of people, social networks at work are central in their daily human interaction. Also, the power hierarchy in superior-subordinate relationship makes it scientifically interesting. Being a superior and subordinate are work related roles, which are always affected by power asymmetries. Another reason for studying trust in superior-subordinate relationship is the need of empirical qualitative research related to trust.

According to this study, trust is both emotion and knowledge, but the emphasis is clearly on emotion. The building blocks of trust are: Integrity of talk and action, respecting and allowing emotions related to trust, active communication, and taking time to build trusting relationships. Also, superior's support is essential in trust. However, superior-subordinate relationship is reciprocal and subordinates impact is crucial, too.

This study binds learning and trust together by presenting three aspects: 1) learning to trust in relationships, 2) learning to trust as single-loop and double-loop learning (see below), and 3) learning to trust as a transformative process. Learning in relationships refers to constant mirroring of our values, thoughts and actions with other people. All this enables trust.

Learning to trust can also be described by using Argyris's (1982) theory of *single-loop* and *double-loop* learning. In single-loop learning, learning to trust may be based on generalizations and what is taught. In double-loop learning, ideas are confronted and challenged, and the processes are disconfirmable and not self-sealing. When people challenge themselves to take a double look over their views, they can remodel their operating norms and come to conclusion that their criteria for trust or distrust were too narrow. Learning to trust can sometimes be a transformative

process, which fundamentally changes the frame of reference and affects values and attitudes of the trustor.

Theoretically this research has added to previous theories of trust a view that puts *priority on feelings* and *binds learning and trust together*. It has brought forth, to a concrete level, the topic related differences and similarities of superiors' and subordinates' viewpoints. The study has also stressed *the moral and value related aspects* of leadership and trustworthiness by describing leaders' transformative learning processes and *personal narrative moral stories*, both of which emerged spontaneously from the data. In addition, this study has contributed to the research of trust in leadership by addressing the lack of empirical qualitative study.

In addition to theoretical contribution, this study has several managerial (practical) implications. These are related to the development of leadership and promoting well-being at work. This research has created new knowledge about trust in work context, and can provide tools for thinking for leaders. Getting acquainted with different aspects of trust in superior-subordinate relationship can help leaders to realize its significance.

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# I Introduction

This qualitative study explores the phenomenon of trust in superior-subordinate relationship. The study is based on the constructivist paradigm, and the research method is phenomenology. The research data was collected in Finland and in Finnish, and the writing process was conducted in English, both in Finland and in the United States. Chapter 1.1 of the introduction presents the topic and reveals the motives and aims of studying trust in general. The relevance of studying trust in the superior-subordinate context is introduced in chapter 1.2. Part 1.3 provides an overview of the research process, the methodology, the research questions, the data, and the analysis. The structure of the report is equally presented in the end of chapter 1.3.

## 1.1 The Relevance of Studying Trust

Trust is one of the most fuzzy, dynamic and complex concepts in both social and business relationships. (Chang & al. 2003.)

Trust is a topic that has been studied a lot lately. There are both social and scientific grounds for this. In the following I will present the social and scientific relevancies that I find significant in studying trust.

The social relevance of trust can be explained by two reasons. First, the world in which we live is influenced to a growing extent by purposeful human interaction; societies are shaped and reshaped, history is made and remade. More and more people take active orientations toward the future, and they recognize their own agential powers. Second, our world has become extremely interdependent. Across various societies the process of globalization has bound people in a network of tightening interlinkages. Cooperation becomes a pressing need, a crucial challenge, but also a domain of uncertainties. (Sztompka 1999, 11–12.) Extremely high uncertainty has become the institutional context of postmodern societies, and therefore there is a great need for trust and social capital (Li 2007, 234; Jalava 2006, 202). This has led to a twofold situation: On the one hand trust has been diminishing in Western countries in the last decades (see Berggren & Jordahl 2006), and on the other hand the role of trust is becoming more significant and new forms of building trust are evolving. I will illustrate this with few examples.

Nowadays it no longer sounds strange to announce increases in profits and major downsizings in the same annual company report. On the contrary, the redundancies can even be seen as achievements (Herriot & al. 1998, 19). In Finland, downsizings made by profitable companies are quite recent phenomena, and public opinion has been strongly against this kind of policy. Accordingly, the concept of organizational citizenship (see Keskinen 2005) has received a controversial reception in Finland. On the one hand, some people say that it is good to talk about employees' duties and encourage people to be in charge of their own performance, development, and skills. On the other hand, however, there is the dilemma that people have a hard time trusting the companies and organizations since they don't seem trustworthy. Employees fear for their jobs, which does not beget trust. Misztal (1996, 8–9) suggests that in general the proposed remedy, the rebirth of civil society and active citizenry, should be seen as

a means of ensuring cooperation, self-realization, freedom, and solidarity. This puts trust at the center of an understanding of modern societies and their politics.

Another example of societal change can be found in the internet. Nowadays it is usual that people have transaction with people whom they don't know or they know only superficially. When people have time to get to know each other trust or distrust develops naturally. To replace the familiarity that people used to have in face-to-face contacts, some internet communities have started to leverage knowledge about its members in order to strengthen trust. For example on eBay, buyers can comment on sellers; if a person has sold a used car with a broken engine, then he or she probably won't attract new buyers. But if a person has several positive comments from happy new car owners, then it is easier for new buyers to trust the seller. Hospitality Club is a website that aims to match travelers and local people. On the website you can choose a place where you want to go and ask the locals to host you. Like on eBay, in Hospitality Club people comment, both the travelers and the hosts. Thankful comments bring more hosts or guests and a critical comment closes doors.

Scientifically speaking, trust is an ambiguous concept that has been used and defined in many ways by philosophers, economists, psychologists, and researchers of marketing and law (Kotkanvirta 2001, 57; Blomqvist 1997). The concept of trust has also received attention in different social science literatures – psychology, sociology, political science, economics, anthropology, history, and social biology (Lewicki & Bunker 1996, 115). Sztompka (1999, 11) suggests that the intellectual attractiveness of trust as a topic may derive from the fact that it has a rich and continuous tradition in philosophy, social and political thought, and ethics represented by Hobbes, Locke, Ferguson, and others.

However, each literature has approached trust with its own disciplinary lens and filters. Remarkably, little effort has been made to integrate these different perspectives. (Lewicki & Bunker 1996, 115.) Many scientists have paid attention to the problem of defining trust, but a comprehensive and universally approved definition has remained elusive (Kramer 1999, 571). For example, trust has never been a topic of mainstream sociology. Luhmann (1988, 94) already remarked that neither modern sociologists nor classical authors use the term in a theoretical context. Even though the trust research has much expanded in twenty years, the elaboration of theoretical framework has been troublesome.

There are several reasons why the research of trust has long remained problematic. First of all, there has been lack of clarity of the key concepts such as trust and risk. The antecedents and outcomes of trust have also been blurred and the roles of trustor and trustee haven't been clear enough. (Mayer & al. 1995, 709.) Perhaps the interdisciplinary interest in trust is one of the reasons why the concept of trust lacks clarity. Since trust research has spread to several disciplines, a single researcher needs to collect the bits and pieces of trust related studies in various disciplines and try to make his or her synthesis to add something new to the scientific discussion of trust. However, for a new researcher, trust as a research topic gives many possibilities. For example, trust is also one of the key concepts in the knowledge-based co competition of the network era and has been keenly studied recently in computer science related areas (see Gharbi & al. 2003; Jameson & al. 2006; Nissenbaum 2004; Paakki 2008). New technologies have raised the interest in trust all around the world. Examples of currently researched topics are studies questioning what makes consumers trust a certain website and how trust can be built in online buyer-seller relationships and dot com companies.

Trust is a culturally significant phenomenon which has raised interest all around the world. There is a strong research tradition of trust in the United States (see Hardin 2002; Kramer 1999; Mayer & al. 1995). Accordingly, trust has raised research interest outside the anglophone world. For example in France confidence has been studied during the last forty years but, however, scientific publications haven't been as numerous as in the anglophone world (Neveu 2004). In the French tradition trust has been studied among others in economics (Reynaud 1998), in information and communication technologies (Gharbi & al. 2003), in psychology (Anzieu 1985), in linguistics (Froeliger 2004), in sociology (Quere 2001), and in organization theory (Neveu 2004). Recent academic research of trust has raised interest in Finland, and academic dissertations and articles have been published in social sciences and technology (Blomqvist 1997 and 2002; Blomqvist & Ståhle 2000; Hurmelinna & al. 2005; Jalava 2006; Tuomela 2006).

The research interests vary in different countries, and likewise the levels of general trust vary in different countries. For instance, Finland has usually been regarded as a very trustworthy society. Finns seem to trust their legal system to some point. At least it is assumed that the penalties are the same whether a person is rich or poor and that public authority is not corrupted. Finland ranks fourth both in general trust and in legal structure and security of property rights. Denmark, Norway, and Netherlands rank before Finland. To take another example, the U.S. ranks very high in legal structure and security of property rights, but is mediocre in generalized trust. Uganda and Philippines are low both in trust and legal structure and security for property rights. (Berggren & Jordahl 2006, 155.)

In general, in countries where the population is more equal, citizens also are more trusting. For example, as the income difference has increased in the U.S., Americans have become less trusting, thus contributing to the general decline of trust mentioned earlier. People who believe in other people are usually more strongly attached to legal systems. When people become less attached to each other they feel less obligated to follow social norms and to maintain civic order. (Uslaner 2002, 3, 210.)

Another example of culturally related phenomenon of trust is the Japanese *keiretsu* which is an exceptional trust relationship in the business world. It means that both assembler and supplier will be dealing with one another over the long term and will not switch to alternative partners because of a small price difference. When the trust is very high in *keiretsu* the supplier can permit the engineers of the parent company to look at cost data and suggest how to share the economic returns from the productivity improvements. (Fukuyama 1995, 261.) In Western countries it is common to complain that assembler-supplier relationships are very short because price is often the most important matter when a supplier is chosen.

A linguistic approach to the concept of trust also reveals how differently trust and trusting someone can be expressed in different cultures. In earlier Anglophone research it seems like researchers have used different expressions for the same phenomenon and given it different definitions (see Mayer & al. 1995; Blomqvist 1997). However, *trust* has been the most common expression, even though it has been defined in various ways. In Finnish there is a noun for trust, *luottamus*, and "I trust you" is translated as *minä luotan sinuun*. In Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish the noun for trust does not exist and trust is always expressed reflexively like "I trust you" *jag litar på dig*. In French trust can be translated *confiance*, and it is also expressed reflexively *je vous fais la confiance* or *j'ai confiance en vous*. This means that the research of trust also has cultural-linguistic aspects and the translation process always affects the meaning to some point.

Since the data of this research was collected in Finnish, but the study is written in English, linguistic matters are also to be taken into consideration. The quotes were translated from Finnish to English which makes translations in this context easier since the Finnish language has only one expression of trust: *luottamus*. Informants talk about *luottamus* in Finnish and it has been systematically translated as *trust*. Naturally, every human being gives their own connotations to words. However, in this study the word trust is used to give a common definition to the researched phenomenon.

## 1.2 Why Study Trust in the Superior-Subordinate Relationship?

Trust is extended first and foremost to another human being who is assumed to have a personality with which one can come to terms (Luhmann 1979, 39). Therefore, trust is seen in this study as part of the *human interaction* between two persons. This human interaction can take many forms, but I'm personally interested in interpersonal trust between superior and subordinate, which is a socially and scientifically significant research topic. Trust in a superior-subordinate relationship is socially relevant because superiors affect directly to the well-being at work of many people. Being a superior brings certain rights and responsibilities. For example, a superior is in charge in the unit meetings and it is his or her responsibility to get people to collaborate. A superior is also obliged to take care of workers' safety and wellness at work. The responsibility about staff and results is heavy to carry. For instance, one of the most unpleasant things that a superior may have to handle is to intervene if a subordinate has a drinking problem and needs to be put in rehabilitation.

Scientifically speaking there are at least two major reasons why study of trust in the superior-subordinate relationship is essential. The first reason is connected to the way relationships at work function. Unlike romantic relationships – in which trust is also essential – social relationships at work are more public and more formal. This, however, doesn't make them any less important. For the majority of people social networks at work are central in their daily human interaction. The power hierarchy in superior-subordinate relationships also makes it scientifically interesting. Being a superior and subordinate are work related roles, which are always affected by power asymmetries.

The second scientific reason for studying trust in superior-subordinate relationships is the lack of empirical research. So far there has been little empirical research of trust in the leadership context (see Dirks & Ferrin 2002). For this reason I found out during the research process that my study is unique in two ways: It uses the qualitative phenomenological method in describing the phenomenon empirically. Furthermore, it investigates the phenomenon of trust from the perspective of professional and vocational education, which is very rare.

For these reasons the intellectual benefit of this research is that it will provide empirical information about trust in superior-subordinate relations and will bind the phenomenon of trust and learning theories. At the practical level the results of this study can be used to improve trust in superior-subordinate relations and to develop better leadership training programs. Creating new knowledge of trust and then leveraging it to leaders and supervisors will help to make people in managerial positions more aware of trust. In addition, this study adds new information to the existing trust theories.

The used concepts of *superior* and *subordinate* may raise some questions. In English it would have been possible to choose to use the terms employer and employee or leader/boss and employee, or leader and follower. If this study would have been conducted entirely in teams then it would have been possible to use the terms team leader and team member. But I chose to use a quite an old fashioned pair of words: superior and subordinate. The reason for this is that to my understanding there is usually some kind of hierarchy in work organizations, and it affects the relations that people have in these organizations. An exception to this would be a totally self-guided team where no one would have a leading position. Usually people are quite well aware of who is their superior. They go to their superior when they want to take a day off, or if they need an authorization to make a big deal or to order some new equipment for the workplace. Often people are also evaluated by their superior; many people wish to give a good expression of themselves to their superior. Most people have a development discussion at least once a year with their superior where they can discuss about their performance and development in more detail.

In this study I use the words subordinate and superior to point out the significance of these *roles*. People tend to think differently in different roles. And when they move into new roles their thinking is molded by the new attributes of the roles. Most superiors have dual roles: at the same time they are superiors to their subordinates but subordinate to their superior.

### 1.3 The Research Questions, Research Process, and Structure of the Report

The research process has consisted of many phases during which my understanding of the topic has deepened. This continuous learning process has included many short pauses, which I have needed to be able to gradually start to see the entire picture of the phenomenon. The research questions were:

1. ***What is trust in the subordinate-superior relationship on the ground of phenomenological analysis?*** In addition to this main question, the following sub questions were examined:
  - 1.1 *What is the meaning of trust in a superior-subordinate relationship?*
  - 1.2 *What are superiors' and subordinates' views regarding trust?*
2. ***How are trust and learning related in the context of subordinate-superior relationship?***

Data collection has been done in cooperation with the Center of Extended Studies at the University of Tampere. Informants were superiors from firms and the public sector who participated in the Center of Extended Studies leadership and management training programs during the years 2005–2006. Informants were asked to write an essay about trust in superior-subordinate relationships from the subordinate's point of view and later on from the superior's point of view. The total amount of essays was 98: 49 from subordinates' and 49 from superiors' point of view. Later on 10 participants were chosen for an in-depth interview on the grounds of the essays. The data from interviews was chosen for the primary data, and it was analyzed with

the N-vivo qualitative data analyzing program. The data from the essays was aligned with the primary data and served as backup.

Even though this study is focused on interpersonal trust in the work context, the related phenomena like organizational trust or trust in group discussion situations were also researched if they emerged from the data. Face-to-face situations and distant leadership with the help of modern communication technology were equally studied if they were brought up by the informants. Accordingly, external variables affecting trust like education, economical status, race, gender, and politics were not in the main focus of the study (see Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002, 151–165). But naturally, if the ability to trust or external variables rose from the data, they were taken into account, too.

During the research process I have mainly followed Spiegelberg's (1982, 682) seven steps of phenomenological process which are: 1) investigating particular phenomena; 2) investigating general essences; 3) apprehending essential relationships among essences; 4) watching modes of appearing; 5) watching the constitution of the phenomena in consciousness; 6) suspending belief in the existence of the phenomena; and 7) interpreting the meaning of the phenomena.

The phenomenological method requires awareness of one's preconceived understandings and refraining from making conclusions too early. To be fully aware of my preconceptions I have written a journal about all my trust relationships with my former superiors. This has helped me to detach my opinions from the data as much as possible. While doing the analysis I was also alert to any personal connection with something that an interviewee said. That way I could keep my reactions and opinions limited.

In qualitative study the researcher's background can affect the rapport between informants and researcher. My background as a researcher is that I have been teaching leadership for several years. Therefore I have learned something about this topic by listening to my students, who often have long working experience. All the discussions on leadership trainings have convinced me that trust is a critical factor in subordinate-superior relationship. People seem to value trust and want to be trusted by others, but still the concept of trust remains ambiguous and fugitive. I have heard leaders tell their subordinates that they need to decide to trust him or her. On the other hand, I have heard subordinates claim that their leader is not trustworthy. In leadership training it is often thought that trust is something you have to earn, but the ways trust can be gained are difficult to define. So what is this phenomenon that everyone sees as vital but disagrees on the ways of sustaining and increasing it? This question has intrigued me as a researcher, and I hope that my work contributes to bring new knowledge of it. My interest in the topic has started from my experiences as a subordinate, as a leadership teacher, and through reading as in a dialogue between theory and experience (see Kyrö 2003, 39). After the research process I can conclude that I was fortunate to be able to connect to my informants via leadership trainings and have the chance to gather authentic data from different work places. My familiarity with the interviewed superiors' daily leadership challenges eased the openness of discussions.

\* \* \*

The structure of the report is presented in the following. Chapter 2 presents trust, leadership and the central theories of adult learning that will form theoretical background for the

research. It offers a multidisciplinary overview on the research of trust. It starts by defining the three common characters in the definitions of trust: benevolence, risk, and competence (Tschannen-Moran 2004; Gustafsson 1996; Misztal 1996; Hardin 2002; Ullmann-Margalit 2004; Offe 1999; Gambetta 1988), and then moves to other views on trust, trustworthiness, and distrust. Benevolence means that in order to trust a person the trustor needs to believe that the trusted one has good intention. Risk is an essential element in trust because trust cannot be forced or then it is not trust. Competence is needed because that makes people trust that a person is competent and able to do whatever he or she is assigned to do. Then trust in relation to leadership is introduced. Contemporary ideas of adult learning are presented through two central theories: constructivist learning theory and transformational learning theory. The effect of emotions on learning is also covered. These notions form the educational theory base of this study. Later on the analysis of the results ties back to learning theories. The research questions are presented in more detail in the end of chapter 2.

Chapter 3 presents the research design and strategy of inquiry including qualitative research and constructivist paradigm. The phenomenological method, narrative method, and moral stories are equally presented. Results starting with core findings are delivered in chapter 4. The discussion and conclusions in chapter 5 mirror the core results with the existing theory and current society. Accordingly the theoretical contribution, managerial contribution, and further research issues are covered. Finally, research is evaluated in the end of chapter 5.





## 2 Theoretical Framework of Trust and Learning

Trust seems to be an important factor in nearly all human interaction: Efficient communication, learning, and problem-solving all require trust (Blomqvist 1997, 283). In society or in an organization, much depends on the general level of trust. The varied and complex doings of society would be cut in half if most people couldn't trust other people most of the time. It is necessary to be able to trust that other people will follow the laws and rules and behave with some predictability. (Gardner 1990, 14.) In this chapter I present common definitions of trust and propose my comprehension of defining trust based on three common characters: *benevolence*, *risk*, and *competence*.

### 2.1 Defining Trust

Defining trust is challenging for there is no commonly accepted definition of trust. There are several reasons for this: First of all, the interdisciplinary nature of trust research has allowed researchers to approach the topic from very different viewpoints. A common trait in trust related scientific articles is to present a vast list of different definitions of trust by different authors (Blomqvist 1997; Blomqvist & Ståhle 2000; Burke & al. 2007; Mayer & al. 1995; Seppänen & al. 2007).

Secondly trust is of a very fuzzy, dynamic, and complex nature. The term *fuzzy* refers to the imprecise, indefinite, and occasionally unclear nature of trust. The term *dynamic* means that trust is not stable but changes as time passes. *Complexity* refers to the variety in views on trust and multiple ways of measuring it. (Chang & al. 2003, 161–163.) Likewise, Blomqvist (1997, 283) claims that no universal definition of trust seems possible because trust is always situation specific. Accordingly, trust is often a difficult phenomenon to articulate. This means that trusting people may not be able to explicitly specify their beliefs about the trusted person or an agent. Often trust can only be estimated. Trust can also take place in many levels: It can involve only one person (I trust myself) or involve another party or an agent (I trust my boss) or an organization (I trust the insurance company). (See Chang & al. 2003, 161–163.)

Even though trust is an ambiguous concept, it can be examined from different aspects, which I will do in the following. To start, I will introduce the *future orientation in trust*. Most human action is oriented toward the future, because the ends we seek or unintended consequences occurring independent of our will, are always later in time than the means we adopt. In large measure the world changes independently of our actions but it also changes as a response to our actions. (Sztompka 1999, 18–19.) Trust is essentially risky because our present action is premised upon an expectation of a future favorable response. We can neither enforce nor predict the future's responses with any certainty and in the absence of which we can suffer a loss or damage (Offe 1999, 48). Uncertainty of the future and making right choices makes trust continuously intriguing.

A sense of the future is a key concept in understanding the meaning of trust and the risk taking it involves. Bets are high in the gamble of life. Misplaced trust can put at risk our

children (in the care of an incompetent nanny), our life savings (in a risky business), our career prospects (during downsizings made for the sake of profit), our heart (given to a cheater), or our health (if our doctor is incompetent). On a smaller scale, we are annoyed when we buy mandarins full of seeds, notice that our colleagues have not finished their part of the project as discussed, or we realize that hotel room is much more modest than what the brochure promised. Dasgupta (1988, 51) uses the word *trust* in the sense of correct expectations about the *actions* of other people that have bearing on one's own choice of action when that action must be chosen before one can monitor the actions of those others. So, trust can be broadly summarized as the expectation that another agent would perform some action as part of an exchange, as a result of one's relationship with the other, or of the power one has over the other (van Overwalle & Heylighen 2006). Trust is built up over a long period of time and in several circumstances (Bennis & Nanus 1985, 184). The following citation summarizes the necessity of familiarity, time, and common experiences in trust.

Of course, trust is only possible in familiar world; it needs history as a reliable background. One cannot confer trust without this essential basis and without all previous experiences. But rather than being just an inference from the past trust goes beyond the information it receives and risks defining the future. The complexity of the future world is reduced by the act of trust. In trusting, one engages in action as though there were only certain possibilities in the future. (Luhmann 1979, 20.)

Suspension in reaching trust plays a central role in trust and it is interesting to know what makes the trustor to make a leap of faith (Möllering 2006, 125). Why do we trust other people when it is so risky? Why would anyone voluntarily make him- or herself vulnerable to the risks of another person's unpredictable actions? The answer is: Trusting a person usually has good prospects of some particular benefit. Trusting behavior often gives new options and it can open the door to new opportunities. In other words, trusting serves our interests. For instance, a father who trusts that his baby will be taken care of by a neighbor hopes to have a bit of time for himself or wants to run some errand. In daily life we are in many ways dependent on other people and their performance. As we don't have the power to control other people's behavior completely, we have to trust. Given the complexity of life today, we need to trust many people – sometimes total strangers. Traditional bonds of personal relationships cannot anymore serve as the general foundation of trustful interaction. (Lahno 2001, 171–172.) A hundred years ago it was quite common in Finland to live in small villages where everyone knew everyone at least by name. People's reputation and habits were usually well known among the village people, which made trusting easier. Nowadays life is more hectic and one is frequently exposed to risky situations. For example, if your car breaks down on a remote highway, will you accept the lift offered by a passing driver? If you do, you may benefit by getting quickly to the next town, but on the other hand, some people may feel uncomfortable or even scared riding with a stranger (see Wrightsman 1990, 343).

There are three common characters in the definitions of trust: *benevolence*, *risk*, and *competence*. First, with regard to *benevolence*; many writers point out that trusting a person means believing that the trusted one will not harm the one who trusts. To trust is to believe that the results of someone's intended action will be appropriate from our point of view. (Tschannen-Moran 2004; Gustafsson 1996; Misztal 1996, 10; Hardin 2002; Ullmann-Margalit 2004; Offe 1999; Gambetta 1988, 219). For example, I can trust that my best friend would never willingly

harm me by speaking ill of me or doing something that could cause trouble to me. Several academics (Mayer & al. 1995; Rousseau & al. 1998) refer to trust as the willingness of a person to be vulnerable to the actions of another party, but I prefer to use the term believing in the other party's benevolence. The explanation is that in the work life context and especially in the superior-subordinate context, the willingness to be vulnerable to the other party's actions may sometimes be questionable. I assume that learning to trust one's superior or subordinate at least on some level is possible without a willingness to be vulnerable.

Second, the notion of *risk* is central in several trust definitions (Brower & al. 2000). Trust always involves an element of risk resulting from our inability to monitor others' conduct, from our inability to have a complete knowledge about other people's motivations and, generally, from the contingency of the social reality (Misztal 1996, 18; Offe 1999, 47; Gambetta 1988, 219). The one who trusts recognizes the potential for betrayal and harm from the trusted one. Trust is not an issue in situations where one has complete control over the actions of the other. (Tschannen-Moran 2004, 17; Hardin 2002, 12.) Trust is relational; it involves a person making himself or herself vulnerable to another individual or a group that has the capacity to betray him or her or to bring harm to him or her (Levi & Stoker 2000, 476). In a trusting situation one allows the other to possess a certain amount of control in matters that are essential to him or her. A trusting person is more vulnerable and open to harm possibly caused by the trusted person. And when a person trusts, he or she intentionally agrees to take a risk and to be vulnerable this way. (Lahno 2001, 171.) Trust must be given freely; it cannot be demanded or normatively prescribed. Trust has its social functional value only if it sees the possibility of distrust as well and rejects it. (Luhmann 1995, 129; 1988, 95.) For example, if a person is forced to obey by means of violence, then obedience is not trust.

Third, *competence* is also common in definitions of trust (Hardin 1999, 35). Govier (1998, 6) summarizes that a trustworthy person is one who has both good intentions and reasonable competence. Ullmann-Margalit (2004, 62–63) implies that the full trust of another person requires that the trustor attributes to the other persons' intention, right reason, and competence. It is necessary with respect to the matter at hand that the trustee has the competence to behave or act so as to promote the trustor's interests. In general, people expect professionals to have a certain competence, whether they need surgery, juridical assistance, or just a new haircut. At work people's credibility is formed by two things: expertise and relationships. People are considered to have a high level of expertise if they have proved themselves knowledgeable or they have a history of sound judgments. On the relationships side, the trusted people have usually shown over time that they can listen to others and that they can work for the best interest of the company. It is an advantage to be a trusted person at work. People who have been noticed to be reliable and steady usually have a better position to negotiate than the less trusted ones. (Conger 1998, 199.)

Another perspective to analyze trust is *the rational choice approach*, which sees trust as a lubricant of cooperation. Misztal (1996, 68–88) summarizes that the rational choice theory assumes that any participation in collective action can be explained by models of rational individual action, where rationality is understood in utilitarian terms as a matter of satisfying the individual's preference, and consists of choosing that action that is most likely to produce the highest "utility" for the actor.

Hardin's (2001; 2002; 2004; also Farrel 2004) idea of trust is close to rational choice views. He claims that trust as a concept should be kept in *the category of knowledge and belief* rather than in the category of action and behavior. Trusting is merely a bit of knowledge, and naturally, knowledge is fallible. Trusting is not risky; it is acting on that trust that is risky. Fallible trust can give us grounds for acting when the acting can turn out to be harmful to our interests. (Hardin 2001, 10.) Trust is clearly separated from actions, which are results of trust and rules and norms that influence trust (Edelenbos & Klijn 2007, 30). Treating trust as a form of behavior is confusing and gets in the way of an explanation of behavior which is incorrect. People may take a huge risk with someone they do not trust on a certain matter, or hardly any risk at all with someone they trust very much on that matter. In other words, a person's behavior may be exactly the same, but the amount of trust differs. (Hardin 2002, 59–60.) For instance, if I buy flight tickets online for me and my friend, I know that she will pay her share. When another friend asks me to lend some money, I hesitate because I'm not sure if I will get the money back.

Hardin (2002, 1–27) also conceptualizes trust as *encapsulated interest*, which means that I trust you because your interest encapsulates mine, so you have an interest in fulfilling my trust. Trust is also a three-part relation: I might trust you with respect to x in matters y (Hardin 2002, 1–27; Offe 1999, 47). For example, I can trust my colleague with gossip, but I might not trust him or her with money if he or she has the habit of conveniently forgetting debts. Acting on trust involves risk: trust is embedded in the capacity or even the need for choice on the part of the trusted. Van Overwalle and Heylighen (2006) also argue that different trust weights exist for every meaningful object or attribute in the same network. We may trust someone's knowledge on a psychological topic but distrust his or her sport expertise; or we may trust someone's idea on honesty but disagree that they apply to the particular person. On the other hand, Hardin (2001, 9) defines trust as a workable notion that can be used to cover much of our experience of relying on others in that it can be used to explain variations in our behavior and beliefs about the reliability of others, including collective others.

Dasgupta (1988, 50–51) has presented an idea similar to encapsulated interest: You trust a person only because, knowing what you know of his disposition, his available options and their consequences, and his ability, you expect that he will choose to do as you thought beforehand. His promise must be credible, and this is what distinguishes "trusting someone" from "trusting someone blindly". Tuomela (2006, 21) claims that the relationship of mutual respect can be considered to be a relationship with a "we-perspective." The trusting person thus believes that they have such a relationship that when the trusted person performs an action, he or she ought to and will take into account the point of view of both parties. This is also closely related to Hardin's concept of trust as encapsulated interest.

These rational choice views that Hardin and Dasgupta present have been criticized by Quere (2001, 130), who points that this perspective leaves no place for morals. When trust is regarded as a purely cognitive choice there is no need to choose whom to trust or distrust. Trusting means taking risks, and when we base our trust on evaluating the other party's motivations and interests, there isn't much trust to talk about. Kramer (1999) argues that trust is fundamentally a psychological state that includes motivative and affective components. This view is generally found in the sociological tradition, and it will be presented in more detail in chapter 2.1.1.2. According to Kramer, the rational choice perspective that political scientist Hardin also

represents regards trust similar to other forms of risky choice where people are assumed to be motivated to make rational and efficient choices. In other words, they are expected to maximize gains and to minimize losses in their transactions. Such notions of trust don't value enough the emotional and social influences of trust decisions. However, Hardin's notion of trust is not a mere calculation but it also has a sophisticated understanding of the other party's interest.

Gambetta (1988, 217) summarizes trust as a particular level of subjective probability with which an agent assesses that another agent or group of agents will perform a particular action, both before he can monitor such action and in a context in which it affects his own action. When we say we trust someone or that someone is trustworthy, we implicitly mean that the probability that he will perform an action that is beneficial or at least not detrimental to us is high enough for us to consider engaging in cooperation with him. Trust, even if always misplaced, can never do worse than lead to distrust, and the expectation that it might do at least marginally better is plausible; this can motivate rational individuals to trust or at least to trust trust (Gambetta 1988, 234–235). The lack of trust simply withdraws activities and reduces the range of possibilities for rational action. The lack of confidence will lead to feelings of alienation and eventually to retreat to smaller worlds of purely local importance, to a fashionable longing for independent if modest living, to fundamentalist attitudes, or other forms of retotalizing milieux and “life-worlds”. (Luhmann 1988, 103–104.) Trust can also be seen as a human passion which may rest on close familiarity or massive social distance. For example, many have trusted the Queen (or Stalin) as implicitly as ever they have trusted their favorite sibling or their spouse. The essence of trust as a passion is the confident expectation of benign intentions in another free agent. (Dunn 1988, 74.) This leads us towards the concept of *generalized trust*.

If trust is a one-part relation and one trusts anyone and everyone with respect to anything, it makes the trustor the only variable part. This so-called generalized trust, which is trust in the general other person whom we might encounter, is rare; mainly children can take this kind of disposition. (Hardin 2002, 9.) Mansbridge (1999, 306–307) argues that besides being predictive, trust can also be altruistic, which derives from the intent of helping others and which is morally praiseworthy. So, Mansbridge stresses the moral aspects of trust that Quere (2001, 130) also supports. Nevertheless, Hardin (2001, 14–15, 25) points out that in general we trust only certain others and generalized trust seems nothing more than an optimistic assessment of trustworthiness of others. Personally, I disagree to some extent with Hardin's comprehension of generalized trust, which I will comment upon later along the *Montegranesi* example (see chapter 2.1.1.2).

General trust is also a complex phenomenon to measure since it is related to internal processes and a *person's ability to trust*, which I will briefly cover next. Even though the study puts the main focus on trust in interpersonal relations, I will briefly present *psychological aspect* in trust research. I will also explain the reasons for focusing on trust relations, not intrapersonal psychological processes. Studying *the propensity to* or *the general level of trust* a person holds in a superior-subordinate relationship is such a vast topic to research (see Good 1988, 32) that it would need research of its own. Likewise, the question of whether the ability to trust is genetic, social, or cultural still remains ambiguous, and it makes the study of propensity to trust very complex.

Nevertheless, the *psychological aspect of trust* probably affects to some extent every research of trust based on human experience. The ability to trust is built during the individuals' early formative years, and it will influence their relationships during their whole life. Available evidence now suggests that before ages two or three, children lack cognitive abilities necessary to grasp the very possibility of false belief, but these abilities start to develop soon after (Chandler & Hala 1991, 156). Children's sensitivity to others' cues affects their interpersonal trust and in effect children's friendship should be negatively affected by the extent to which the peers engage in lying and deception. Those effects may be mediated by attributed trustworthiness (Rotenberg 1991, 170.) Some scholars like Govier (1998, 87–99) point out the importance of self-esteem, self-trust, and self-respect in building trust in others. Trusting in ourselves can support and enhance trust in others, and trust in others can support and enhance trust in ourselves (Govier 1998, 118). On the other hand, Ullmann-Margalit (2004, 68) sees self-trust and believing in one's competence the only sensible way to act. She regards one's suspicion of one's own motivations as questionable and even suggests that this kind of attitude of constant self criticism belongs in the pathological department.

Mooradian and al. (2006, 526–533) claim that high trustors – people who trust easily in general – would make for a better work force, and therefore companies should identify their potential by using personnel testing. High trustors are more likely to share information and help their co-workers in an organization. Low trustors, on the other hand, prefer to keep information to themselves and are less likely to do favors for others. However, the main focus of this study is on relations between two actors. Therefore, going deep into the psychological aspect and personal ability to trust are left for other researchers. The individual propensity to trust is such a vast area, however, and research of which would require a psychology major, that I'm forced to focus on interpersonal trust relations. Earlier trust studies have focused on two factors: on the individual's expectations on trustee and on the propensity to trust (see Dunn & Schweizer 2005, 736). This research will follow the guidelines of the individual's expectations tradition by putting the interpersonal relations first.

Mayer and al. (1995, 712–729) propose a model of trust (Figure 1) that explicitly considers both characters of the trustor and the trustee. The model differentiates trust from factors that contribute to it and also from its outcome of risk taking in the relationship. Several terms like confidence, cooperation and predictability have been used synonymously with trust, and this may have made the concept of trust obscure. Along the trust model the authors present following propositions considering trust:

- 1) The higher the trustor's propensity to trust, the higher the trust for the trustee prior to availability of information about the trustee.
- 2) Trust for trustee will be a function of the trustee's perceived ability, benevolence, and integrity and of the trustor's propensity to trust.
- 3) The effect of integrity on trust will be most salient early in the relationship prior to the development of meaningful benevolence data.
- 4) The effect of perceived benevolence on trust will increase over the time as the relationship between the parties develops.
- 5) Risk taking in relationship is a function of trust and perceived risk of the trusting behavior (e.g., empowerment of a subordinate).

(Mayer & al. 1995.)

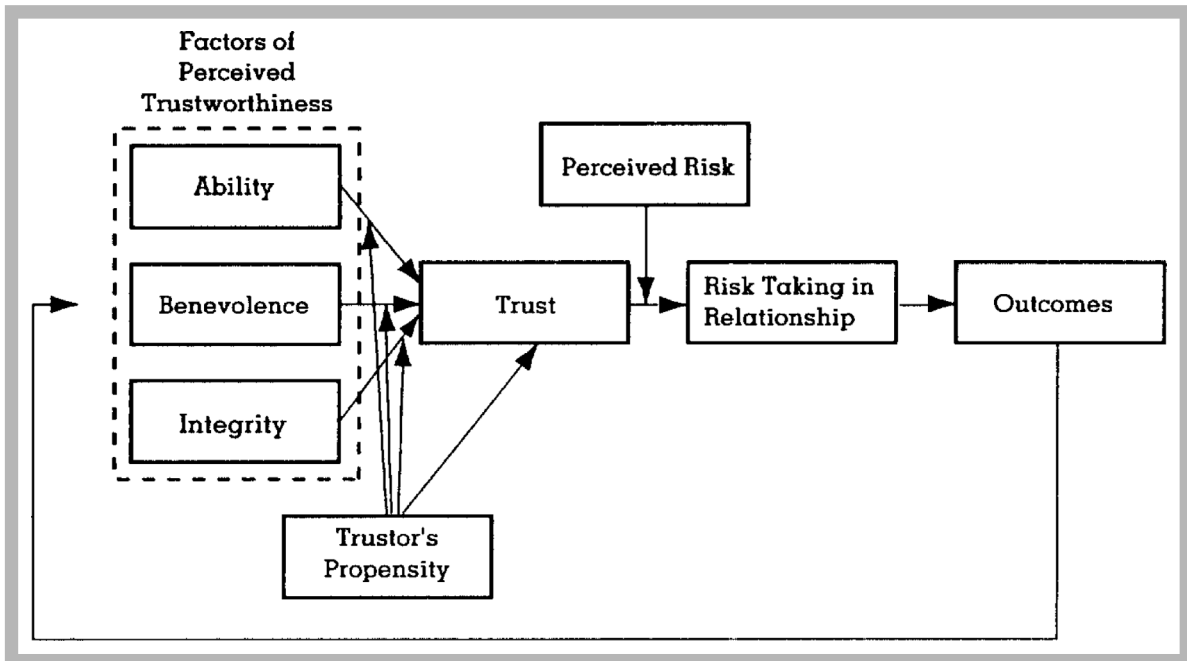


Figure 1. Proposed Model of Trust by Mayer and al. (1995).

Even though the model of trust and propositions have clarified the concept of trust, they have also evoked critique. Neveu (2004) regrets that trust has been reduced to the willingness of a person to be vulnerable to the actions of other party. She would rather use the term “intention of behavior” (*intention de comportement, volonté d’agir*). I also have my own reservations regarding the absence of emotions in this model, which I will discuss in more detail later on.

### 2.1.1 Trust and Trustworthiness

Some academics define *trust* similarly to *trustworthiness*, which reveals how hard it is to define what it really means to be *trustworthy*. For someone it is integrity of speech and action and for someone else openness and reciprocity. In the following Table 1 are presented researchers’ different views of antecedents of trust which could also be regarded as factors affecting trustworthiness.

Even though trustworthiness is hard to define, some aspects related to it can be explicated. Among these conditions, *time* and *experience* are mentioned as critical for deciding whether to trust or not to trust. We are learning to trust in successive stages, conditionally and tentatively. (Misztal 1996, 84.) If two persons have only a passing relationship, it is not a trusting relationship (Hardin 2002, 3). For example, when a manager starts in a new job it takes a while before the employees decide whether this new person is trustworthy or not. Parties in an emerging relationship are consciously or unconsciously constantly assessing the trustworthiness of the other party. Evaluation of trustworthiness is based on the signs and signals in the other’s speech and behavior. Parties try to assess whether they can trust the other person’s integrity and willingness in promoting mutual good. Meanings are created in an iterative and evolutionary process in human interaction. (Blomqvist & Ståhle 2000; see also Figure 2.)

Table 1. Antecedent Factors of Trust by Mayer and al. (1995, 718) in chronological order.

<i>Authors</i>	<i>Antecedent</i>
Hovland, Janis, & Kelley (1953)	<i>Expertise, motivation to lie</i>
Strickland (1958)	<i>Benevolence</i>
Deutch (1960)	<i>Ability, intention to produce</i>
Solomon (1960)	<i>Benevolence</i>
Griffin (1967)	<i>Expertness, reliability as information source, intentions, dynamism, personal attraction, reputation</i>
Boyle & Bonacich (1970)	<i>Past interactions, index of caution based on prisoner's dilemmas outcomes</i>
Kee & Knox (1970)	<i>Competence, motives</i>
Farris, Senner, & Butterfield (1973)	<i>Openness, ownership of feelings, experimentation with new behavior, group norms</i>
Jones, James, & Bruni (1975)	<i>Ability, behavior is relevant to the individual's need and desires</i>
Rosen & Jerdee (1977)	<i>Judgment of competence, group goals</i>
Frost, Stimpson, & Maugham (1978)	<i>Dependence on trustee, altruism</i>
Gabarro (1978)	<i>Openness, previous outcomes</i>
Cook & Wall (1980)	<i>Trustworthy intentions, ability</i>
Larzelere & Huston (1980)	<i>Benevolence, honesty</i>
Lieberman (1981)	<i>Competence, integrity</i>
Johnson-George & Swamp (1982)	<i>Reliability</i>
Hart, Capps, Cangemi, & Caillouet (1986)	<i>Openness/congruity, shared values, autonomy/ feedback</i>
Dasgupta (1988)	<i>Credible treat of punishment, credibility of promises</i>
Good (1998)	<i>Ability, intention, trustees' claims about how (they) will behave</i>
Butler (1991)	<i>Availability, competence, consistency, discreetness, fairness, integrity, loyalty, openness, promise fulfillment, receptivity</i>
Ring & Van de Ven (1992)	<i>Moral integrity, goodwill</i>
Sitkin & Roth (1993)	<i>Ability, value congruence</i>
Mishra (1995)	<i>Competence, openness, caring, reliability</i>



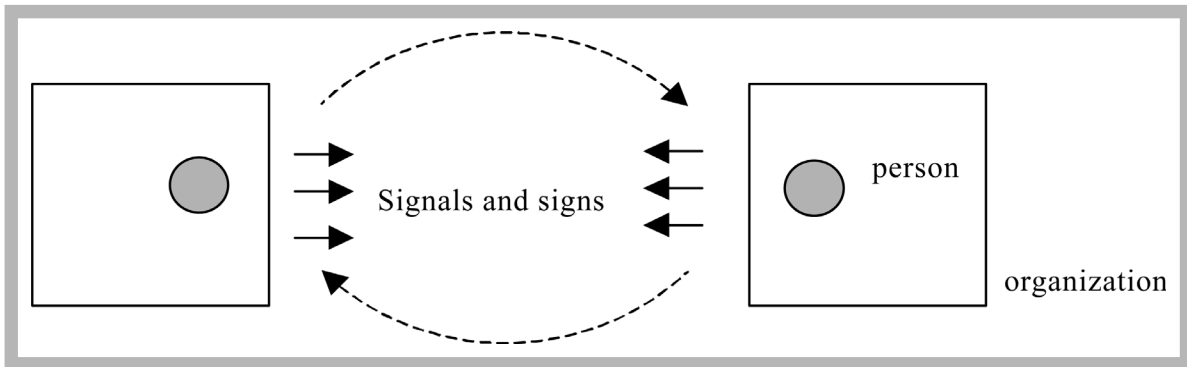


Figure 2. Mutual Assessment of Trustworthiness according to Blomqvist and Ståhle (2000).

Even though trust is often described as a process that needs time to evolve, sometimes people need to build trust swiftly (Tyler 2003, 567). Blomqvist (2002) has found that sometimes analytic trust evaluations in business are done very quickly which is called *fast trust*. This analytic and quick trust enables asymmetric partnership formation in a business context and allows managers who can build fast trust to take lower orientation toward contracting (Hurmelinna & al. 2005, 336–380). This raises the question how close the concept of *fast trust* is to *intuition* (see Kakkonen 2006).

A trustworthy person can also be defined as one who has both good *intentions* (or *motivation*) and reasonable *competence*. Motivation is based on others' intentions to act well and to not do harm, while competence implies that the other knows enough to be capable of doing as required. Therefore a trustworthy person needs to have both adequate competence and good intentions. (Govier 1998, 6–7.) Levi and Stoker (2000, 476) also point to the same phenomenon, though they use different concepts. According to these researchers, a person or an institution can possess attributes of trustworthiness which make the potential trustors believe that the trusted party will not betray their trust. In their opinion, these attributes fall along two dimensions: *promise keeping* and *competence*. The first dimension involves caring about the trustor and commitment to act in the best interest of the trustor. The second dimension is trust in competence; a trustworthy person will not betray the trust as a consequence of inaptitude or bad faith.

As previously mentioned, Hardin (2001) suggests at least two forms that might characterize *trustworthiness* that would give us a reason to trust. The first is a special case of the *encapsulated-interest* account. This fact makes my trust more than mere expectations of your behavior. My expectations are grounded in an understanding of your interests specifically with respect to me, and my understanding may be mistaken. There may be a trusting relationship if you are my close friend, or I know you love me and that you genuinely encapsulate my interests. The second form is based on a *moral*. I may trust you because I know you have strong moral commitments to fulfill certain kinds of trust placed in you. Reputational effects also have an influence. I might trust you because you have relationships with others that may be damaged by your failure to fulfill certain trusts with me. (Hardin 2001, 3–4.) For example, if I buy spoiled fish at the local market, I am likely to tell my friends and neighbors, and the fish market will lose customers. The widespread preference for transacting with people of known reputation implies that most of us don't rely only on general trust or institutional arrangements

against malfeasance. Information and common contacts carry strong expectations for trust. (Granovetter 1985, 490.)

As we have seen, trustworthiness begets trust. For example, my trustworthiness potentially rewards your trusting me if you act on your trust. Further, if something conceptually entails or causes trustworthiness, then indirectly it tends to cause trust. The causal fact that trustworthiness begets trust allows and possibly even encourages fretting about the ostensible decline in trust in modern societies. (Hardin 2001, 16–17, 32.) Trust can be lost in many ways; often we realize the value of trust only when it is lost. What if we couldn't trust public transportation to be safe, the bank to keep our money safe, or food to be pure? Occasionally consumers can lose their faith in a service or in a product. In the last years this has happened on a large scale in the food sector in many countries. Numerous food scandals like BCE and salmonella-tainted eggs have frightened consumers. Meijboom and al. (2006) argue that the way to restore trust is not related to consumer behavior and information, but rather the trustworthiness should start from the food sector itself, including government. If one wants to be trusted, then one needs to be trustworthy. It is not enough to be transparent and to provide lots of information. Reflection of one's values and actions is required, too.

Different organizations have different trust and trustworthiness expectations. In high reliability organizations, working together requires strong trust. High reliability organizations often relate to emergency situations where you need to have absolute trust in your partner or team. Fire fighters, police, and aircraft crew are a few examples of organizations where trust is a necessity. A study of new fire fighters shows that they put forth considerable effort to gain the trust of other members of the organization. They work hard, eat their lunches next to a phone and voluntarily do many heavy and unpleasant tasks. The senior fire fighters appreciate hard work and admit that they find it easier to trust humble and hard workers. Accordingly, those newcomers who were not engaged in hard work were regarded lazy and even untrustworthy by the other fire fighters. In ordinary organizations trust is not a matter of life and death but it still has a great significance. In some organizations trust may involve developing confidence that the new member will show up for work, will take care of his or her responsibilities and will not steal. (Myers 2005.)

If trust is very low, it is possible to try to build confidence. For example, therapeutic trust tries to increase the trustworthiness of a person in whom trust has been placed. The underlying idea is that we can stir the other person's conscience and make this person live up to our belief in him or her. If this kind of trust is effective, the person in question will become more trustworthy. When treated as a morally responsible being, a person is capable of responding as such. Occasionally a teacher may count on a student to be additionally motivated by the signal of trust from the teacher. (Govier 1998, 170; Lahno 2001, 184.) For example, I can tell my friend that he can change his life and quit drinking just to coach him to do it. Likewise, it is often the case that the mere fact that someone has placed trust in us makes us feel obligated, and this makes it harder to betray that trust (Dasgupta 1988, 53). The norm of reciprocity – the human tendency to respond to the actions of others with similar actions – is very strong. A single round of action followed by reciprocal response can work itself into an ongoing cycle. A cooperative interaction usually initiates a virtuous cycle in which cooperation sustains itself, while hostile interactions often perpetuate a vicious cycle of contention and suspicion. (Allred 2007, 267.)

2.1.1.1 *Development of Trust*

When trust is regarded as a process, the natural starting point is to ask where the level of trust begins. In my opinion when the development of trust is described, the calculus-based views have their benefits. According to Lewicki and al. (2006, 1010), all trust relationships start in the context of an actor evaluating the cost and benefits derived by staying in the relationship and the costs and benefits that would be derived if the relationship was broken. Trust often begins at zero level, but it is also possible to have a mildly positive starting stance. For example, a good reputation can give someone a stance above zero. We learn to trust little by little in stages, conditionally and tentatively. (Misztal 1996, 84.)

Some relationships never develop past the *calculus-based trust* and towards the more profound trust. There are several reasons for this: First, sometimes the parties don't need a more complex relationship. For example, if I take my bike to the local garage when needed, I'm happy to get the service, but I don't feel like I should build up a profound trust relationship. Second, sometimes the interdependence between parties is heavily regulated and bounded by both norms and law. This is why people can trust their money to their stockbrokers. However, most of this trust is grounded on the fact that brokers are bound by securities industry laws. Third, it is possible that the parties have come to the conclusion that the relationship is unlikely to develop any further. Maybe the parties have found out unpleasant information about each other or a trust violation has already occurred, which has ended the development of the relationship. (Lewicki & al. 2006, 1010.)

Trust reduces uncertainty of the behavior of others. When parties know what they can expect from each other, relationships become smoother. Trust will also lead to mutual commitment and willingness to be vulnerable with respect to the actions of the other party. (Edelenbos & Klijn 2007, 31.) Over time, calculus-based trust can turn into *knowledge-based trust* in which parties come to know each other better and they gain more information about each other. This usually happens in extended relationships where repeated and varied interactions generate the data of the other party. As people work together, talk to each other, and see the other person respond in various circumstances, they truly get to know each other. Eventually they learn to trust each other because the other person becomes more predictable and understandable. These interactions can occur unintentionally and casually. For example, two people at work may exchange a word or two and eventually start to learn more about the other person. It is worth noticing that predictability enhances trust. Even in cases when someone is predictably untrustworthy in some matters, it is usually easier to deal with if there is a consistent pattern. For instance, a person who is always late is not even expected to be on time, since everyone knows that he or she has a habit of being 15 minutes late for everything. (Lewicki & al. 2006, 1011.)

The third stage is *identification-based trust* which occurs only in a few relationships. This development happens when the parties employ their building knowledge base to develop identification with the other party as a strong affect develops between the parties. Over time, the parties in close relationship shift their focus from maximizing their self-interest to a disposition emphasizing joint outcomes. The shift from calculus-based trust to knowledge-based trust tells about the change from an emphasis on contrast and differences between self and the other to an emphasis on similarities between self and the other. In other words, focusing on risk and vulnerability turns into assimilation. The shift from knowledge-based

trust to identification-based trust in a relationship is mainly balancing with the strengthening common identities and maintaining one's identity at the same time. (Lewicki & al. 2006, 1011; This three stage model very much resembles that of Shapiro & al. 1992, according to Lewicki & Bunker 1996, 119–120.) In the work life, most relationships remain on levels of calculus-based trust and knowledge-based trust. However, in some cases companionship at work can deepen and develop to the level of identification-based trust. As I will propose later on in my results, relationships at work place can be meaningful and evoke many feelings.

Blomqvist (2002) has suggested that an individual's experience, analytical skills, and ability to make judgments may affect perceived trust. In other words people with better analyzing and self reflective skills could make more accurate estimation's of the other person's trustworthiness. Does this propose the question that people who are aware and conscious of trust are able to discern its more delicate dimensions (Seppänen & al. 2007, 261)? To some point it probably is possible to learn to trust better or to make more accurate predictions of the other person's trustworthiness. But it wouldn't be trust if it was easily explained. We cannot be 100 % sure even of our own behavior, so how could we foresee the other's comportment in the network of social ties? Everything affects everything, and future and risk go hand in hand.

#### 2.1.1.2 Trust, Social Capital and Generalized Trust

This chapter aims to present the phenomenon of trust in a more extensive social scientific context in which trust has been conceptualized and defined in many ways. Sociological views of trust have been developed by Talcott Parsons, Niklas Luhmann and Anthony Giddens, among others. Since the views are sociological, their common trait is combining micro and macro levels together. In a sociological view, trust cannot be fully understood without an examination of surrounding institutions, which leads to the argument that the problem of constituting trust in society is an issue concerning the conditions for social order. (See Misztal 1998, 9, 68–91.) It is typical of the discipline that most sociologists see the actor as socialized and the action governed by the norms and obligations, while for instance, the economists regard the actor as having goals, acting independently, and wholly self-interested, as is often presented in the rational choice theories. While in sociology social relations and obligations are seen to be mainly responsible for producing trust in society, in more economical perspectives (e.g., rational choice approach) emphasis is put on individual approach and sometimes trust is regarded as a way to get immaterial gain.

These two views can be combined. From the very beginning the concept of *social capital* attempted to bring together the sociological and economical views. Nowadays social capital and social networks are crucial in several academics' definitions (Putnam 2000; Harisalo 1996; Harisalo & Miettinen 1995a; Harisalo & Miettinen 1995b; Coleman 1988). Lin (2001, 3) defines social capital as investment of resources with expected returns in the market place and argues that it involves action in pursuit of profit. Social capital is defined by its function and it is productive like other forms of capital. It makes it possible to achieve certain ends that otherwise would not be possible to achieve. Social capital inheres in the structure of relations between actors and is especially common in close ties and closed networks.

According to Coleman (1988) there are three forms of social capital: *Trustworthiness*, *information*, and *norms and sanctions*. Trustworthiness depends on the trustworthiness of the

social environment. In other words obligations are repaid in a trustworthy society. Information channels provide important information as a basis for action. Norms and sanctions guide action, facilitate certain actions, and constrain others. A norm for collectivity is crucial for a well functioning society. Together trustworthiness and information constitute a reputation or image. Therefore, closure creates trustworthiness in social structure. When information of other institutions or a persons' trustworthiness is shared, then it is easier to execute norms and sanctions. (Coleman 1988.) Other researchers have presented similar views on social capital. For instance Seligman (1997, 171) crystallizes that the concept of trust as a condition of interaction between morally autonomous individuals became a central part of the principles of generalized change in society. Another example of an academic cultivating the concept of social capital is Florida (2002, 247–249), who implies that the movement in society is from social capital to *creative capital*, which refers to the new knowledge workers and the immaterial capital they possess.

Berggren and Jordahl (2006, 141) define social capital as *generalized trust* and claim that it has several advantageous consequences. They point out in their study of social capital and economic freedom that core elements of the economic market can help to form trust. Likewise, the existence of a legal system that is perceived to be just and effective can enable trust. A functioning legal system makes it easier to trust others, because one knows that people should be trustworthy and those who aren't will be caught and punished. Accordingly, the more trustworthy citizens perceive government to be, the more likely they are to consent and to comply with its regulations and demands (Levi & Stoker 2000, 491).

A peculiar example of the lack of generalized trust can be found in Banfield's (1958; Bjornskov 2006, 2) famous study about a southern Italian village that demonstrated that particularized trust and generalized trust need to be kept apart. The people of the village were connected by extremely strong bonds within families, but not at all between families. Banfield used the term *amoral familism* to describe the phenomenon where no trust exists between individuals who don't know each other through kin groups or families.

That the Montegratesi [the village people] are prisoners of their family-centred ethos – that because they cannot act concertedly or on the common good – is a fundamental impediment to their economic and other progress. (Banfield 1958, 163.)

The same amoral familism can also be found elsewhere. Sometimes 20th century nationalism had these features. Likewise, contemporary mafia and gang cultures contain the same elements. A less serious but still detrimental form of the same phenomenon is nepotism or favoring one's family or friends. This protects the benefits of a small group, but it is unequal and harmful for others.

Of all the dimensions along which forms of social capital vary, perhaps the most important is the Putnam's (2000) distinction between *bonding* (or *exclusive*) and *bridging* (or *inclusive*) social capital. Bonding social capital is good for undergirding specific reciprocity and solidarity. Examples of bonding social capital are ethnic fraternal organizations, church-based reading groups, and country clubs. Another form of social capital is bridging networks that are better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion. Examples of bridging social capital include ecumenical religious organizations, youth service groups, and the civil rights movement. (Putnam 2000, 22.) In a work organization, the superior and the subordinate may have bridging social capital as they link different stages in the hierarchy. On the other

hand, superior and subordinate should have bonding social capital as they represent the same company for external groups.

Compared to Putnam's concept of bonding social capital, the example of Montegranezi shows that fostering trust relations just inside a specific group doesn't necessarily benefit society as a whole. Likewise, the aforementioned Hardin's critique of generalized trust (chapter 2.1) can be questioned in the light of the example of Montegranezi.

Trust can also be defined through *reciprocity*. Networks involve mutual obligations and foster a sturdy norm of reciprocity. Sometimes reciprocity is specific: a favor is done if the other one pays it back. More valuable is the norm of generalized reciprocity: favors are done without expecting anything specific back, in the confident expectation that someone else will do something for them sooner or later. (Putnam 2000, 20–21.) For example, a person may open the door for elder people and wish that someone else would do the same for his or her own aging parents. Granovetter (1985) remarks that people usually pursue economic interests through gentlemanly means. This is because malfeasance is too costly: sanctions can be high and there is the threat of loss of image or reputation. Generalized morality guides people to behave even when they deal with strangers and there is no one witnessing. Personal relations stress generating trust and discouraging malfeasance.

## 2.1.2 Distrust

According to Hardin (2004, 3), trust is cognitive; it is a de facto assessment of the trustworthiness of the potentially trusted person, group or institution. Distrust is, like trust, a three-part relation: A distrusts B with respect to X. A might trust B on several matters but not on others. Distrust, like trust, is also a matter of degree. For example, Ellen trusts John to be a good father to their children if he does not gamble. So, Ellen trusts John on several significant matters, excluding gambling. When John starts gambling, he cannot be trusted to be a good father because he forgets to take care of the children and gambles all his money.

Distrust and trust are an odd pair in that they do not fully cover the range of possibilities. Between active distrust and active trust there can be a simple lack of either trust or distrust. In the vernacular English usage, to say "I don't trust you" normally means "I distrust you," as though a lack of knowledge on which to base a judgment of either trust or distrust were not a possibility. (Hardin 1999, 23.) Even if a person would distrust a friend on one matter, it is usual to use the expression "distrustful" when the question is really about only one matter. In some approaches low trust is not the equivalent of high distrust; the former evokes the hopelessness and uncertainty of the other's future behavior, whereas the latter evokes fear and skepticism (Lewicki & al. 2006, 1002). Therefore, trust and distrust should be treated as different phenomenon, not just the different sides of the same coin.

Distrust is often sensible, but it does not mean that it is always justified. It is important to distinguish good distrust from bad distrust. Viewing distrust as a prudent response to risk means that we ought to take the other's risks seriously. If distrust is misplaced, it can be undermined through unilateral actions and third-party mediation. (Larson 2004, 49, 54.) Often in situations of practical deliberation, the need to act, and therefore the need to trust or distrust, is pressing: you must act and you must act now. Regarding trust and distrust, there

could be two alternative possible presumptions. First, in the case of doubt, act as if you trust – unless or until you have specific reasons for distrust. The second alternative presumption would be this: In case of doubt, act as if you distrust – unless you have specific reasons to trust. (Ullmann-Margalit 2004, 69–70.) In certain circumstances some distrust can be healthy and functional, especially if there are reasons to believe that the other party is not trustworthy (Lewicki & al. 2006, 1016).

Many types of behavior often identified as moral can be clearly understood as self-interested in several contexts. Honesty, promise keeping, and fidelity to others often make sense without any supposition of a distinctively moral commitment beyond interest. A strong external force generally backs promises, because the loss of credibility follows from breaking them. Without credibility, one loses the possibility of making promises. The real penalty is not that others will no longer rely on an untrustworthy person's promises, but that they will not let the untrustworthy person rely on them any more. (Hardin 2002, 19.) As a result of a frequent repetition of a lying pattern, the liar is likely to experience a loss of power in the long run. While the initial motivation to lie was to obtain power, the liar becomes less trusted and less credible. The impact of discovered lies on the deceived not only produces an emotional reaction but is also likely to change the deceived's perspective on future interaction. (Lewicki 1983, 78–79.) Likewise, to break any kind of promise is to cast doubt on one's reliability for promising in general (Hardin 1988, 60).

Crucial to changing conceptions about the risks involved in trusting others are the changes in the social institutions that sanction those who violate trust. Social institutions can exert both formal and informal control over the behavior of individuals, making untrustworthy behavior costly. Different social groups can informally sanction rule-breakers by refusing to deal with them. As a consequence, people value their reputation and try to protect it. (Tyler & Kramer 1996, 4.) In distrust there are certain natural dynamics that can result in a downward spiraling of attitudes: things go from bad to worse. Distrust is communicated, it results in alienation and hostility, and is confirmed and spreads. An important factor in the dynamics of increasing distrust is our tendency to function so as to confirm the beliefs we have already. We want to see other persons as stable, predictable characters, so we tend to construct a picture of them, and regard it as definitive, as really indicating what they are like. (Govier 1998, 148–149.) Deep distrust is very difficult to invalidate through experience, for it either prevents people from engaging in the appropriate kind of social experiment or, worse, it leads to behavior which bolsters the validity of distrust itself. Once distrust has set in it soon becomes impossible to know if it was ever really justified, for it has the capacity to be *self-fulfilling* and to generate a reality consistent with itself. (Gambetta 1988, 234.) For example, if a person deeply distrusts a colleague then that person's behavior towards the colleague probably becomes tensed, which may trigger untrustworthy behavior in the distrusted fellow worker.

The initial reaction to betrayal is often a stunned disbelief that will later turn into anger and the desire for revenge. Victims of betrayal report feeling confused and being left with a sense of unreality. In betrayal, the perpetrator makes a choice to violate the expectations of the trusting party, because he or she lacks the motivation to conform with the expectations of the other or may become motivated to violate these expectations. (Govier 1998, 63–84.) For example, when a business partner and long time friend has betrayed a firm, taken its money, and moved to the Bahamas, it takes time for the betrayed one to get over the disbelief. First of all, the betrayed

party has a hard time believing that a friend would do such thing, and second, he or she needs to overcome the regret of misplaced trust. Bohnet and Zeckhauser (2004) argue that when an individual's trust is betrayed, they will incur an additional, non-monetary loss as well. This loss will make them reluctant to take more chances on another individual. So betrayal of trust is always a non-monetary loss of the ability to trust but it can also include financial losses. Robinson and al. (2004, 335) conclude that if the initial trust is high, then the sense of betrayal of the victim will be extremely acute. Therefore, those with initial high trust in the situation will more angry, hurt and upset than those with low initial trust.

If trust has turned to distrust, Lewicki and Bunker (1996, 131–132) suggest the following steps for a trust repair process, both for the violator and the victim of violation. First, recognize and acknowledge that a violation in trust has occurred. Second, determine the nature of the violation that caused the distrust. Third, admit that the event that occurred was destructive of trust. Fourth, be willing to accept the responsibility of the violation. A victim of violation of trust should be willing to engage in these four steps in order to recover from the betrayal.

Trust and distrust may be problematic in an organization in many ways. The assumption usually is that the people we work for or with share the same values as we do. This is not always the case, and when a violation of trust occurs in the organization, it creates an atmosphere of fear and mistrust between employees who thus start to lose confidence in each other. (Fleckenstein & Bowes 2000.) Another phenomenon that may affect trust, especially at the workplace, is white-collar deviance, which is traditionally called white-collar crime. White-collar deviance includes both criminal and noncriminal forms of economic deviance carried out by high-status people as part of an occupation for their personal gain or on behalf of their corporation. Examples of occupational deviance are employee theft, financial fraud, products made defective on purpose, medical misconduct, or accounting abuse. (Thio 2001, 335–351.) Being caught for criminal or noncriminal distrustful acts at the workplace, like stealing or lying, probably has many kinds of affects on trust. In the most serious cases the person can be condemned and even in the best cases the incident has a reputational effect on the person in question. White collar crime often appears to have no direct victims, but donors who can lose their trust in the organization's ability to handle funds are victims, as is the organization itself (Fleckenstein & Bowes 2000). Olekalns and Smith (2007) claim that there is support for an opportunistic betrayal model of deception: deception increases when the other party is perceived as trustworthy and benevolent. However, this does not mean that trust and integrity would be a bad thing; it just makes a person vulnerable to misuse. Arnulf and al. (2005, 235) propose that managers should bring to the surface the trust dynamics and provide suggestive explanations that could help employees to create the knowledge needed to bridge the gaps of distrust. Distrust is often expressed through opinions and actions of the team members. Therefore, distrust may sometimes be expressed vicariously unless managers address it.

## **2.2 Trust and Leadership**

From this arises the following question: whether it is better to be loved than feared, or the reverse? The answer is that one would like to be the both the one and the other; but because it is difficult to combine them, it is far better to be feared than loved if you cannot be the both. One can make this generalization about men: they are ungrateful, fickle, liars, and deceivers, they shun danger



and are greedy for profit ... For love is secured by the bond of gratitude which men, wretched creatures as they are, break when it is their advantage to do so; but fear is strengthened by dread of punishment which is always effective. (Machiavelli 1961 [1532], § XVII.)

Machiavellian leadership is based on control and keeping the power to yourself. No wonder that Machiavelli has become an icon for immoral leadership and manipulation. Leadership is always based on a conception of humanity. First of all, leaders need to define how they see people, and then they can find their own way to lead. Machiavelli's notion of a human being is harsh. He sees his subjects as low-moral wretches capable of doing anything to others in order to benefit themselves. Therefore, Machiavelli recommends the highest possible control over subjects. Nowadays, leaders also need to examine what their concept of a human being is. Are people benevolent, independent, and creative when well led? Is coaching and facilitating the right way to go? And are there situations where, after all these human oriented leadership styles, the ghost of Machiavelli still affects the leadership? Machiavelli's *Prince* has greatly influenced the western world's concepts of trustworthiness. It has even been used as a base for a psychological measure of people's general strategies for dealing with people and especially their feeling that others can be manipulated in interpersonal situations (see Wrightsman 1990, 346).

Many writers on leadership regard trust as a crucial component of leadership (Bennis & Nanus 1985, 43–46; Locke 1991, 6–79; Reynolds 1997). Increasingly, leaders today are coming to see their role as a task of creating a trust culture to undergird both personal and institutional growth (Fairholm 1994, 2). Creating trust is essential in leadership because trust influences acceptance of dispute resolution procedures and outcomes. Efficient organizational behavior depends on the individual's willingness to defer to organizational authorities and willingness to comply with the organization's directives and regulations (Kramer 1999, 585). Trusted leaders have been characterized to have good self-knowledge, to be able to take responsibility, to be consistent, to be sincere in their intentions, and to have no hidden agendas. They are able to trust other people and to show their interests openly. (Bibb & Kourdi 2004, 61–71.)

Trust is the lubrication that makes it possible for organizations to function. It's difficult to imagine an organization without some level of trust, and an organization with no trust would be an anomaly. Trust implies reliability, accountability, and predictability which make it easier to anticipate the future. Trust is the glue that maintains integrity in organizations and keeps them going. Like trust, the concept of leadership is problematic to define, but still we know when it's present and when it's not. In general we trust people who are predictable. Therefore, leaders who are trusted make themselves known, make their positions clear, and keep at it. Through establishing a position and staying the course, a leader can establish trust. (Bennis & Nanus 1985, 43–46.)

Allred (2007, 269) points out that professionals who are rated to be effective at listening to, understanding, and respecting others' perspectives were best able to sustain cooperative and trusting relationships. Managers and executives who were most successful in avoiding contentious relationships were rated by their colleagues as 1) above average in their ability to recognize that reasonable people could come to a different conclusions and 2) slow to blame others and willing to accept personal responsibility for problems. Morgan and Shelby (1994, 24–25) claim that trust is a major determinant of relationship commitment, and communication is a major precursor of trust. When a partner perceives that the other party's communication has been frequent and of high quality, then greater trust will result. High quality communication

means that it is relevant, reliable, and timely. Caldwell and al. (2008) summarize that great leaders are ethical stewards who generate high levels of commitment from subordinates. They define ethical stewardship as the honoring of duties owed to employees, stakeholders, and society in the pursuit of a long-term creation of assets. Ethical governance is crucial both in dealing with employees and in the creation of organizational systems that are congruent with espoused organizational values. Trust has been found to be an important factor in the level of acceptance of feedback from supervisors (Ilgen & al. 1979). Thus, communication skills can help to build trust.

Since feedback is not judged independently of its source, it is imperative that the nature of the source be taken into account. For interpersonal sources, this means that the individual must work to establish credibility as a source through development of his or her expertise and/or the creation of a climate of interpersonal trust with the recipient. (Ilgen & al. 1979, 367.)

Hartog (2003, 137) claims that trust in a leader has a high positive correlation to the leader's integrity, fairness, and trustworthiness; results of his research put emphasis on the process of building confidence in relationships. Accordingly, Conger (1998, 199) enhances the meaning of credibility in all relationships. Trust is part of leadership behavior, and often leaders' suitability to their position is evaluated through their character, including their trustworthiness (Sydänmaalakka 2004). However, most managers seem to overestimate their own credibility to a considerable degree (Conger 1998, 199). Regular 360° comprehensive performance evaluations could be a cure for unrealistic credibility beliefs and could help managers to build their leadership and trust on a more solid basis. In a study (Kostamo 2004, 148–152) made of Finnish managers' median leadership profile (N=1672) it can be seen that "values" is the highest ranked leadership factor in Finland. Self-evaluation and evaluation made by colleagues and subordinates shows that managers rank their ability slightly higher than others. The most visible difference was on the factor of cooperation, where managers' evaluation of their ability could be 0.32 points better (on scale 0–5) than evaluation made by others. In Åhman's (2003, 215) study of Nokia managers, she found out the importance of leaders' self-knowledge and authenticity. Cooperation skills and ability to work in networks were also seen as important factors for leadership success. Accordingly, Ammeter and al. (2004) put emphasis on the individual's skills of creating personal trust at work.

Trust can be divided in two main forms: *Organizational trust* and *personal trust*. Organizational trust is trust that people (or organizations) have in organizations – in their decision making, in their processes and in their ability to function properly. Personal trust occurs in human relations and can have several levels: trust between two agents (dyad) or trust in different group levels. Even if the development of trust is based on both personal and organizational trust, only persons can build trust and evaluate trustworthiness (Blomqvist & Ståhle 2000). Trusting an organization and trusting a person (leader, superior) are evidently two different things, even though they may be adjacently intertwined. (Blomqvist 1997, 281; Galford & Seibold Drapeau 2002, 6–7.) Galford and Seibold Drapeau simplify it this way in their textbook: Sometimes employees trust their leader even if they do not trust the company. People may know that the company isn't strategically very well led, or that the products they make are not very competitive. Still, they can trust their leader as a person. Or, to take another example: An employee may think that he or she is working in a successful firm that can produce high quality products and

takes care of its stuff. At the same time, he or she may despise his or her superior and think that he or she is unable to perform in his or her job as a leader. Extreme distrust and trust are polarities that may result in specific incidents like rewards or disappointments. The grey area of neither trust nor distrust is probably the most common state at workplace. In the following table I present examples of possible outcomes of trust in superior and trust in organization.

Table 2. Trust in Superior and in Organization. Author's compilation.

	<i>High trust in organization</i>	<i>Unspecified trust in organization</i>	<i>Distrust in organization</i>
<i>High trust in superior</i>	Maximal trust: <i>"Best place to work! Love my boss and I'm proud of the company I work for!"</i>	Trust in superior, neutral trust in organization: <i>"I like my boss and company is quite ok as well."</i>	Trust in superior, distrust in organization: <i>"I like my boss but I should find another job."</i>
<i>Unspecified trust in superior</i>	Neutral trust in superior, high trust in organization: <i>"I like to work for this company and boss is quite ok."</i>	Neutral trust in both: <i>"Things are ok around here but what really keeps me working in this company?"</i>	Neutral trust in superior, distrust in organization: <i>"My boss is bearable but I need to find another job."</i>
<i>Distrust in superior</i>	Distrust in superior, high trust in organization: <i>"I like to work for this company but I can't stand my boss."</i>	Distrust in superior, neutral trust in organization: <i>"Company is not bad but I can't stand my boss."</i>	Minimal trust: <i>"I'll resign as soon as I can."</i>

Galford and Seibold Drapeau (2002, 6–7) make one further distinction with the concept of *strategic trust*. This is a form of organizational trust that people may have in the ability of the organization to be successful. If strategic trust is very low, it will sooner or later affect other trust relations as well because, when people don't trust the company they often start to think that the managers are incompetent, too.

Even if organizational trust is essential, the focus of this research is on personal trust, which is close to the social-psychological perspective emphasizing the nature of trust in interpersonal transactions (see Lewicki & Bunker 1996, 116). In workplaces' hierarchical superior-subordinate relations, personal trust can be seen as employees' trust in their leader and as the leader's trust in his or her employees. According to Bachmann (2003, 19) developing trust in the form of personal trust demands notable efforts on the part of individual actors. Regardless

of the efforts it requires, personal trust is the central building bone of trust, both in personal and organizational level.

According to Shamir and Lapidot (2003), trust in a superior is both an interpersonal and collective phenomenon where the personal level, the group level, and the systemic level are linked. Even though the personal level of trust matters a lot, trust in formal leaders is likely to be affected by systemic considerations. Likewise, subordinates may base their judgment of a leader's trustworthiness on collective evaluations, especially if they work in teams. Leaders represent the system or the organization in the eyes of the subordinates, and therefore the organization affects the interaction between superior and subordinates. The two bases of trust affect each other: *systemic trust* affects *trust in particular leaders*, and trust in particular leaders affects systemic trust. In most trust studies the dynamics of systemic trust and particular trust have been ignored. It is worth noticing that whether a subordinate trusts a given leader depends heavily on whether there are intermediary personal contacts who can assure the subordinate about the trustworthiness of the leader. Trust in leaders is also integrally related to the capacity to predict their behavior. (Granovetter 1973, 1374.) Therefore, employees' networks and shared information can greatly affect the trust processes in organizations.

Dirks and Ferrin (2002) examined findings and implications of the research on trust in leadership that has been conducted during past decades. Their framework consisted of three antecedent factors: Leader action and practices, follower attributes like propensity to trust, and relationship attributes like how long the relationship had lasted. The researchers ended up proposing a framework for trust in leadership (see Figure 3). In the figure, concepts in italics represent processes and concepts that are part of the theoretical model but were not examined empirically because of insufficient data. A minus sign marks negative relationship with trust.

The proposed model (Figure 3) provides evidence for primary relationships between trust and 23 variables that are classified as potential antecedents, consequences, or correlates according to how researchers have defined them theoretically. The framework includes only those variables for which sufficient data was available at the time of the meta-analysis. The definitions of trust can be seen in the middle of the model: *Cognitive definition*, *overall definition* and *affective definition*. Dirks and Ferrin attempted to discuss and to clarify the different definitions of

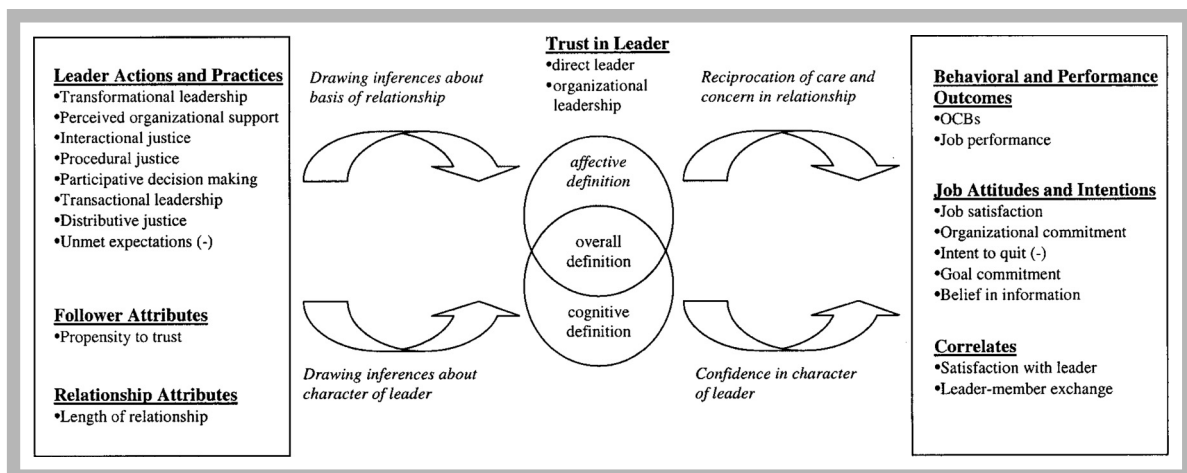


Figure 3. Framework for Trust in Leadership by Dirks and Ferrin (2002).

trust by classifying them in cognitive and overall definitions. They focused on these two types because nearly all of the research they included in the meta-analysis used either cognitive or overall definition. There was insufficient data to directly examine affective trust.

Atkinson and Butcher (2003) added their literature review of trust in managerial relationships in the discussion. They claimed that the pursuit of scientific clarity has clouded the concept of trust with distracting and confusing conclusions that may not be in accord with the reality of trust. Atkinson's and Butcher's contribution is especially in distinctions between impersonal and interpersonal trust and in motive-based and competence based trust development. They also conclude that trust and interpersonal relationships are both socially constructed phenomena that deserve more extensive empirical attention in a managerial context.

An empirical aspect was offered by a focus group and survey research on trust in manager-subordinate relationship by Connell and al. (2003). The results addressed that organizational support, procedural justice, and transformational leadership were significant predictors of trust in managers. Accordingly, commitment and turnover intent were outcomes. Gillespie and Mann (2004) published an empirical quantitative study on transformational leadership, shared values, and trust. The results provided empirical support for the crucial role of effective leadership and shared values in building trust in team leaders. An active leadership style characterized by transformational leadership, consultative leadership, and contingent reward was related to team members' trust in their leaders. Team members' common values with the leader were also strongly associated with trust in team leader.

According to Tyler (2003), trust is linked more directly to social relationships, and therefore we need more information about new consensual forms of co-operation and better understanding of how to develop supportive values and attitudes. *Motive based trust* is a social motive like procedural justice, but it is linked more directly to social relationships, not to the way decisions are being made. According to Tyler trust is internally or socially generated; it grows in people. Hence, the future research should be associated to the literature of motive attributions as a way to better frame the discussion of trust issues.

Burke and al. (2007) propose another model in their multi-level literature review. They aim to present an integrative model of trust in leadership and focus primarily on trust in leadership from the perspective of the team and individual levels. Similarly to Dirks and Ferrin, Burke and al. seem to have a common starting point: A myriad of definitions of trust has arisen, and there is need for clarification of the concept. Their model depicts trustee characteristics like ability, benevolence and integrity, moderators at individual, team and organizational level, and proximal and distal outcomes. Affect is situated in proximal outcomes and can be seen as willingness to follow. (See Figure 4.) I personally am of the opinion that affect has more central place in trust that is presented in this model. I will refer to this later on in result chapters (4) and theoretical contribution (5.1).

So far I have mainly discussed the role of the superior. However, leadership and trust doesn't involve just superiors but also *subordinates*. The relationship between leader and subordinate is a two-way reciprocal process. I will illustrate this with few studies. Jones and al. (1975) pointed out that individual variables such as job involvement may moderate relationships between perceived leadership behavior and evaluative reactions of subordinates, such as confidence in the leader. Another study, van Dierendonck and al. (2004) suggested that leadership behavior and subordinate well-being are linked in a feedback loop. The researchers stressed the crucial

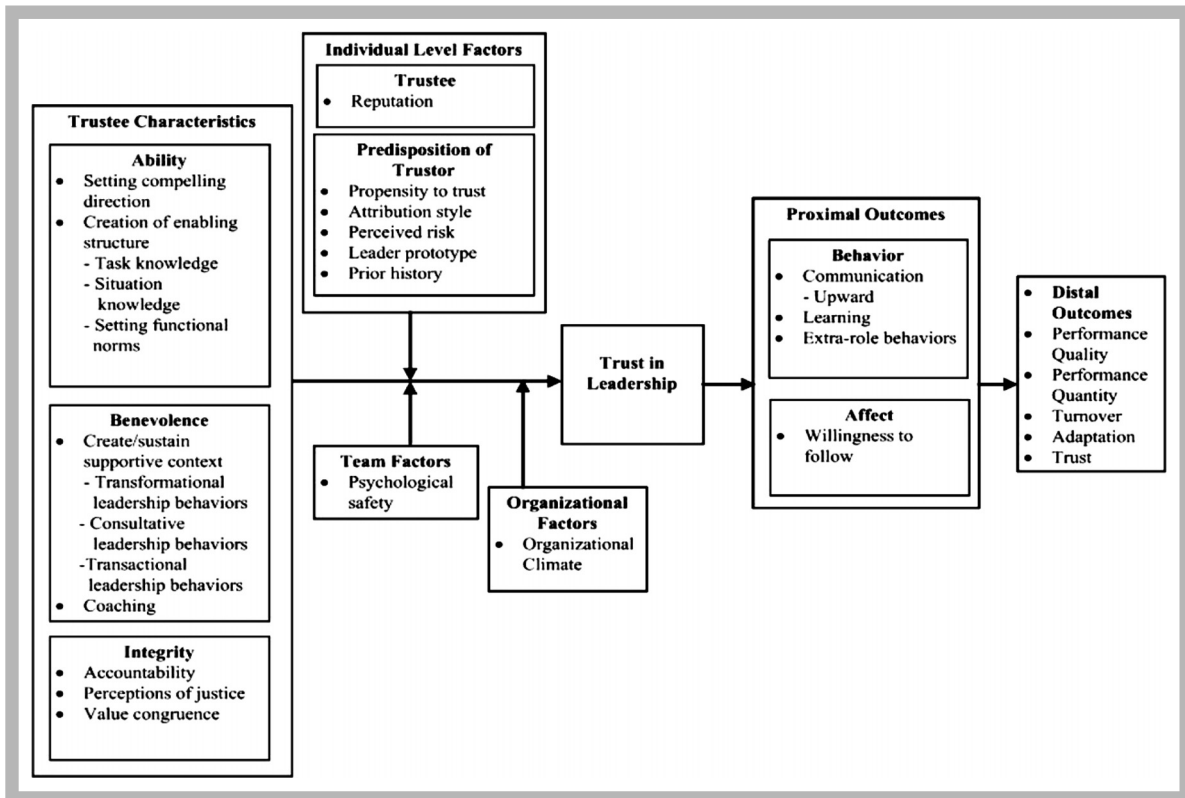


Figure 4. Integrated Multi-Level Framework for Understanding Trust in Leadership by Burke and al. (2007).

role that leaders can play in enhancing subordinates' well-being. Subordinates also have influence in determining the character of the relationship with their manager. Subordinates who feel better about themselves say that their manager has a more active and supportive leadership style. However, it is worth noticing that the relation between leadership behavior and well-being can also be a consequence of increases in negative feelings leading to a decrease in supportive leadership behavior.

*Power asymmetries* affect relationships, even thick relationships that carry considerable emotional weight. In the presence of such asymmetries, power can have an important impact on trusting relationships. One can distinguish between situations in which asymmetries of power exist but are not so marked as to prevent trust, and situations in which such asymmetries are so pronounced that they render credible commitments (and therefore trust) impossible. (Farrell 2004, 88–94.) Luhmann (1993, 200) refers to the same asymmetry in his risk theory. Management has, in addition to competence in deciding substantive matters, the power to decide on staffing questions, and it is this area that risk perception among subordinates is concentrated. Employees place value in working conditions in line with their conceptions. In risk taking, leaders must perceive leadership's risk of success or failure, whereas subordinates perceive theirs in acceptance or rejection by the leaders. In other words, managers look at the big picture and the future of the company, while employees are interested in keeping their jobs. From a manager's point of view, downsizing can be a success because it increases the profits. But if you happen to be the employee who just lost a job, it is hard to see beyond the personal loss and appreciate the corporal gain. Reynolds (1997, 8–9) claims that instead of the false hope of

empowerment, relationships at the work place should be based on trust. People will do things because they are confident that the superior has their best interests at heart.

It is also worth noticing that superior-subordinate relationship does not need to present different polarities, but it can also be quite egalitarian. According to the network theories approach, it is possible to be free from the limiting role expectations if both superior and subordinate are free of clique-embeddedness with peers. If a leader is embedded in a clique with other supervisors, then he or she will probably be constrained to uphold supervisory behavior and attitudes in interactions with subordinates. When a leader is occupied with the supervisory role, then he or she will have less time to build friendship ties with subordinates. On the other hand, multiplexity in superior-subordinate relationship is difficult and risky. For example a strong friendship tie or even an affair with a subordinate may make the superior's accountability questionable and affect the relations in the whole work unit. (Kilduff & Tsai 2003, 33–51.) Therefore, balancing between suitable self-disclosure and friendliness and a constraining supervisory role is relevant.

Leaders' first challenge is to model trust, closure, and commitment to themselves, so that people have confidence in them as human beings as well as business leaders (Ciancutti 2001, 17). Maintaining credibility is a significant challenge because it is a quality that others confer upon to you, not one that you can control, and it depends upon their personal interpretation of your deeds and words. Establishing rapport and winning credibility, while maintaining personal integrity and getting on with the work at hand, even when that involves some discomfort on the part of your constituents, is an administrative art. (Beairsto 2003, 25.) When it comes to trust, leaders may understand that they are able to control their behavior, and if that behavior is trustworthy, then it will beget trust in the employees. Other people's trust cannot be controlled or commanded even if their behavior can be regulated.

Common values build trust; therefore trust is the foundation of cooperative action. The kind of leadership that grows out of shared values flourishes only in a climate within which individuals can accept the individuality of others without sanctioning their behavior or words. In a climate of trust, individuals can give open reactions to what they see as right or wrong. (Edmondson 2004, 263; Fairholm 1994, 11.) Accordingly, research on vocational education shows that a growth oriented atmosphere generates togetherness and reflects on developing leadership which creates commitment in employees. Factors contributing to a growth oriented atmosphere include supporting and rewarding management, supportive value of the work, operational capacity of the team, and managing work related stress. (Ruohotie 2000, 51; Ruohotie & al. 2001, 201.) Therefore, a leader could also pay attention to how openly people are communicating with each other. Are opinions expressed in the meetings, or do people keep their ideas to themselves and talk afterwards with some trusted colleagues? If this is the case, then people don't trust the freedom of speech in official meetings, or they just don't think that expressing an opinion would make any change.

Leaders can facilitate their subordinates' autonomous and responsible work. To give time is a means to show appreciation, so discussion and being present can be seen as a resource to enable employees' autonomous work. (Harisalo 1996, 23–24.) Closure is critical to trust in relationships, especially in leadership situations. It is important to confirm what is decided and how things will be handled, otherwise cooperation becomes difficult. (Ciancutti 2001, 21.) Closure gives a feeling of certainty and employees don't need to guess what is expected from

them. Being present is also crucial in leadership. Only by being physically present in a leadership situation can one be socially and psychologically present as well. Ethical leadership means giving a face to leadership actions and putting one's personality into the game. (Siltala 2002, 129.) When interacting through mediated communication, subordinates are less satisfied with their superiors than when interacting face-to-face. This indicates that superiors may need to spend extra effort on increasing subordinates satisfaction when not interacting face-to-face. (Hoyt & Blascovich 2003.) Morals are essential in all leadership, whether it happens face-to-face or not. However, Jones (1996) points out that the details of moral decision-making processes become irrelevant if people don't realize that they are dealing with a moral issue. Therefore in the context of superior-subordinate relationship it is vital that leaders will recognize that being a leader means making moral decisions.

Prerequisites for empowerment and personal growth seem close to prerequisites for building in trust. Support and encouragement from management – such as rewarding competence and supporting the development of professional identity – influence positively growth-orientation (Beairsto & Ruohotie 2003, 130). The leader's relationship with members of the institutional team must be perceived as one where the individual is seen as a key figure in the organization. One has to be able to feel good about oneself and where one is headed in professional and personal growth roles before contributing significantly to the mission and goals of the institution. (Klein 2003, 317.) The same prerequisites – rewarding competence, developing a professional identity, and personal growth – constitute a good basis for building trust.

The implication for leadership development is that the development of strategic and negotiation skills may be entrusted to the business schools, but the greater needs for self-knowledge and empathy are far more personally recognized and met. Empathy is hard to acquire unless one has experienced or seen first hand the life of those with whom one has to empathize. For example, managers with disabled children have an entirely different attitude toward disability in the workplace. (Herriot & al. 1998, 176.) The key characteristic of the human investment philosophy is a willingness to invest in education designed to enhance the technical competencies, decision-making abilities, business understanding, and the self-governance capabilities of all members of one's firm. Such investments make sense only if managers have high confidence in both the educational potential of organizational members and their trustworthiness. (Creed & Miles 1996, 30.) The growth and sustainability of any institution rests upon the ability and willingness to enhance human capacity. According to this view, human capacity is seen as increasing knowledge and wealth in each person so that a context of justice can prevail within the institution as well as in the larger society. (Hartoonian 2003, 62.) From a post-modern perspective, leadership discourse is aimed at facilitation of or to creating change. At its best, leadership discourse is coaching and empowering, while at its worst it constructs vain promises of everyone's potential to become an "inner hero" or a "mystical wizard" (Juuti 2001). When these mystifying views are combined with trust building the outcome may be questionable. With an open perspective the organizational and leadership issues are safer to handle. Facilitating open discourse and discourse on change can open new perspectives and a need to work together. (Juuti 2001, 346.) Some applications of charismatic leadership can be especially risky, if subordinates are expected to trust their leader and follow and respect the leader's decisions unquestioningly and in every case. That kind of approach gives lots of power for the leader but leaves almost no chance for employees' rational choice.



It is also possible to see leadership and superior-subordinate relationship as a negotiation process. In these cases the condition of trust from which parties negotiate with different interests can make a difference between desired and undesirable outcomes. Trust is firmly embedded in the psychological process of individual negotiating parties and the social psychological processes between them. A sense of otherness can accelerate conflict and decrease trust. In order to understand the dynamics of trust, it is better to treat trust as a characteristic of relationships (processes) rather than individuals, teams, or organizations (traits). Individuals and their traits do matter, but as parts of processes. Instead of asking: “Can I trust Bob?” it is more relevant to ask: “Can Bob and I construct a relationship where trust would be possible?” It is vital to develop a reflective voice and sustain it through negotiation. In this way, being aware of other-anxiety and staying self-reflective can smooth up negotiations and mitigate negative effects and hostility. (Wu & Laws 2003.) Therefore in superior-subordinate relationships it is beneficial to seek unity, openness, and collaboration. Other-anxiety can in the worst case divide employees and management in to two separate camps. In order to strengthen healthy ties among superiors and subordinates it is crucial to generate common values and open communication.

In this research the informants are Finnish, and therefore it is useful to present some views related to trust and leadership in the Finnish culture. According to Sydänmaalakka (2004, 125–126) in Finland, leading through being a role model is appreciated. Being a role model means that a leader has to behave in a way that others are expected to behave. For example, if a leader wants the team members to give constructive feedback about other’s ideas, then the leader needs to give constructive feedback and let that behavior be an example for others. Siltala (2002, 127–130) puts emphasis on ethics and morality as essential factors in leadership and in building trust. Whether we are leaders, managers, or subordinates, we have to be aware of the morality of our behavior and to take responsibility of our actions. The moral question of right and wrong includes responsibility for ones’ action. Pirnes (1995, 20) sees the ethics of leadership as a group of personality and behavior traits that form the basis for successful leadership. Only ethical choices can provide sustainability in leadership. According to Harisalo and Miettinen (1995b, 22), responsibility can be understood as realizing that people are the same at home with their families, at work, and at their recreation. In all these situations people need to be able to trust other peoples’ words and promises to be true. In general, people are able to take responsibility and to meet challenges they are committed to, but external demands rarely evoke the desire to fulfill them (Juuti & Vuorela 2002, 106). So, trust is also a phenomenon that does not arise from external demands. Every person is free to decide whether to trust someone or not and whether to act in a trustworthy way or not.

### **2.2.1 Review on Development of Leadership**

In this chapter I will present a few central concepts of leadership that are essential for building the needed understanding for trust in leadership. Early leadership studies focused on leader traits and after the Second World War on leadership styles. In the early 1960s there was a tendency to propose the one best way of doing things. However, at the end of the decade the *Contingency theory* challenged Weber’s bureaucracy and Taylor’s scientific management models. Several contingency approaches suggested that there could be no one superior way to do things.

The contingency theory is connected to Joan Woodward's (1958) research on technologies and organizations. She claimed that organizational attributes such as centralization of authority were directed by technologies. Fred Fiedler started the measurement processes and later on sought to develop a theoretical construct. (Miner 2005, 232–253; Iles & Preece 2006, 318–321.)

Nevertheless, in the 1980s the focus was more on *management* than on *leadership*, with an emphasis on management development, managerial assessment, and management competencies. In contrast, the 1990s enhanced the creation of corporate culture with organizational leadership. Likewise, it was the era for transformational leadership especially in large organizations facing global challenges. The first decade of the 21st century is a time of renewed interest in leadership, and leadership has become the subject of numerous books, articles, and conference papers. (Iles & Preece 2006, 318–321.) Whereas in the 1980s and 1990s we found continuous interest in management, now management doesn't seem to be enough: we need leaders as well, and management has almost become a negative word (Iles & Preece 2006, 318; Bennis & Nanus 1985).

*Charismatic leadership* influenced greatly the leadership styles in the 1980s. House (1977, according to Miner 2005) defined charismatic leadership by referring to a leader who has unusually high charismatic effects on followers. These impacts include devotion, obedience, trust, loyalty, commitment, identification, confidence in the ability to achieve goals, and radical changes in beliefs and values. The more favorable the perceptions of the subordinate are toward the leader, the more the subordinate will model the valences of the leader, the expectations of the leader, the work-related emotional stimuli of the leader, and the leader's attitudes toward the organization and the work.

A very impressive model of leadership comes from the work of Burns (1978) on transformational leadership, which was later continued by Bass (1985). They compared the two basic types of leadership: *transactional leadership* and *transformational leadership*. Transactional leaders exercised contingent reward and management without exception while transformational leaders idealized influence and motivation in a charismatic and inspirational style. Such leaders stimulate their subordinates intellectually and give them individualized attention. Transformational leaders look for potential motives in their followers, engage the full person of the follower, and seek to satisfy higher needs. The moral aspect of leadership emerges from and returns to the fundamental values, needs, and aspirations of subordinates. It means that leaders take responsibility for their commitments. If they promise some economic, social, or political change, they will use their leadership for bringing that change. (Burns 1978, 4.) To sum up, transformational leaders motivate subordinates to do more than they were originally expected to do (Bass 1985, 20). Transformational leadership has positive effects on trust, team efficacy, and commitment. Even though encouraging values and norms in a team is a way to build commitment, the use of transformational leadership is a more effective way to encourage trust, commitment and team efficacy. (Arnold & al. 2001.)

Goleman's (1998) work has enhanced the importance of *emotional intelligence* to leadership, particularly to transformational leadership. He has associated emotional intelligence to ability, leadership styles, and emotional intelligence. Successful leaders were said to be more emotionally intelligent and better able to perceive, understand, and regulate emotions. Leaders who are high on emotional intelligence are able to better understand and manage their own emotions, and they are also more likely to build cooperation and trust with subordinates. They

are able to develop an atmosphere of trust and cooperation through their ability to develop high quality relationships with their followers. (George 2000, 1042.)

Changes in the way we think about leadership nowadays have opened up doors for future studies. Apparently the leader as an individual is stepping out of the centre of the organization and giving space to alternative ways to lead. Development of this approach can have a social constructivist perspective or move away from the individualistic focus of leadership by focusing on distributive and shared leadership. The adoption of social capital and the related focus on bonding, bridging, and brokering have become the key processes of developing leadership. This points to the links with emerging research on the potential influence of intermediaries and “in-betweenness”. (Iles & Preece 2006, 318–336.) Accordingly, Pondy and Mitroff (1979, 31) have earlier suggested that managers should pay attention to language and metaphors and see organizations as language-using and sense-making cultures.

## 2.3 Learning and Trust

Nowadays learners are seen as goal directed agents who actively seek information. A logical extension of the view is that new knowledge must be constructed from existing knowledge. New development in the science of learning also emphasizes helping people to take control of their own learning. Learners need to learn to recognize when they understand a topic and when they need more information. They should be able to build their own theories of the phenomena and to test them effectively. (Donovan & al. 2000, 10–12.)

So how does a person *learn* to trust or to distrust? Is learning to trust more accurately learning to evaluate people and situations so that a person can avoid disappointments or betrayal? Or is learning to trust simply learning to trust more like Putnam (2000, 20–21) proposes with his concept of generalized reciprocity of trust? Putnam suggests that favors are done without expecting anything specific back, in the confident expectation that someone else will do something for them sooner or later. Or is learning to trust actually learning to be more careful and even distrustful? Hardin (2002, 9) claims, as cited earlier, that this so-called generalized trust, which is trust in the general other person whom we might encounter, is rare and mainly children can take this kind of disposition.

Usually a trusting relationship develops on the basis of mutual favors and small scale activities. Kindness, help, or small gifts are offered in a way that the receiver still has a chance to politely back off. The relationship can gradually deepen if both members are involved and the friendship is reciprocated. Little by little the relationship can evolve to a level where commitment is greater, favors are bigger, and gifts are more expensive. At this point, a sudden break of reciprocation is regarded as a sign of mistrust. Such behavior makes it impossible for the other person to trust if the trustee is not responding any more. (Luhmann 1979, 44.)

Reciprocity is a quite understandable feature in trust; it is in accordance with the principle of balance theory. According to the principles of interpersonal balance theory, people prefer balanced relationships; for example, they wish their friendship to be reciprocated and they also prefer that their friends will like each other. Likewise, people prefer to interact with other people with whom they share one or more strong attachments to one or more shared things. Unbalanced relationships cause discomforts, and therefore people are likely to change

unbalanced relationships to balanced ones. (Kilduff & Tsai 2003, 43–44.) The principle of reciprocity has guided the chosen research focus in this study, as the emphasis is on human interaction and trust between superior and subordinate.

Since trust develops little by little, it could also be assumed that the signs of trust and distrust could be learned to be decoded. Bjornskov (2006, 17) suggests that educated individuals may be better equipped to judge the underlying motivations of actions of other people (see also Blomqvist 2002). Therefore, they may also be able to make more accurate estimations of the trustworthiness of other people.

Morgan (2006, 81–84) argues that cybernetics can explain a big part of our learning. Cybernetics is a discipline which aims to create machines with the adaptive and computational abilities of a living brain. According to cybernetics negative feedback is crucial in learning: We don't actually just learn to do something but we learn to not to make mistakes. If we pick up a pen from the table we actually avoid missing it. Negative feedback guides our behavior by eliminating the errors and by creating desired system states by avoiding harmful states. Likewise, it may be that trust is learned by avoiding distrust or by learning to decode untrustworthiness. Learning by experience happens when a person finds out that a certain person cannot be trusted in certain things. But what happens if this distrust is generalized? People who look like that, speak like that, or act like that cannot be trusted. This easily leads to bias and even discrimination (e.g., racism, sexism). Generalizing particular distrust can lead to false conclusions and diminish one's capability to trust others.

Occasionally learning to trust or to distrust can have unfortunate consequences. People who say they have learned something as a result of unrequited love seem to change for the worse. They can say that they have learned to not trust others or that they learned to hold themselves back so that they would not be vulnerable to another's disappointment. Accordingly they see that they have learned that good relationships in general and love have to be mutual and balanced. This suggests that unrequited love solely teaches one to avoid situations of unrequited love. (Baumeister & Wotman 1992, 192.) Sometimes learning to distrust can limit people and bring more constraints to their lives.

To look at learning in a wider scale it is well-grounded to bring in the results of Chris Argyris's pioneer work on *single-loop learning* and *double-loop learning*. Single-loop learning includes the ability to detect and correct error in relation to a given set of operating norms. In single-loop learning, people generate a particular kind of quality of learning that will go within the actor and the environment and the actor. There is quite little testing of ideas, and actors will not seek information that would confront their ideas. This way many ideas will become self-fulfilling, and learning will be limited to what is acceptable. Double-loop learning rests on the ability to take a "double look" at the situation by questioning the relevance of operating norms. In double-loop learning the emphasis is on the consequences of learning. The idea behind this is that hypotheses are tested publicly, ideas are confronted, and the processes are disconfirmable and not self-sealing. (Argyris 1982, 88, 104; Morgan 2006, 84–87.) In terms of trust, a person could learn by experience or could be taught by elders to not trust certain kinds of people. When such persons challenge themselves to take a double look over their views, they can remodel their operating norms and come to the conclusion that their criteria for distrust were too narrow. They may learn to think in a more open and complex way that some people are trustworthy and some are not, regardless of the group to which they belong.

Argyris (1993, 84–85) uses the example of a thermostat that automatically turns on the heat when the room temperature drops below 68 degrees Fahrenheit to represent single-loop learning. A thermostat that could question, why it is set at 68 degrees, and that could invent alternative ways to heat the room, would be a good example of double-loop learning. Learning is often understood too narrowly as mere problem solving. But if a person wants to learn, he or she needs to look inward. Learners need to reflect critically on their own behavior, identify how they often contribute to the problem, and then change the way they act. Highly skilled professionals who have very profound knowledge about their topic are often very good at single-loop learning. However, they may not be that skilled in double-loop learning because it requires questioning. The double-loop learning process should decrease dysfunctional group dynamics because the win/lose, low-trust, low-risk-taking behaviors are replaced by cooperative, high-trust, inquiry-oriented processes. Moreover, dysfunctional norms and games of deception should decrease as well as the need for camouflage and other defensive activities. Organizational learning cycles should not be isolated from the larger organizational dialectics. Good organizational dialectics is an open ended process in which cycles of learning create new conditions for error, to which members of the organization react by taking them to the next phase of inquiry. (Argyris 1982, 106.)

The next chapter presents some of the current perceptions of adult learning that will later on serve to interpret the results of the study.

### 2.3.1 Constructivist Learning

Contemporary innovations in education involve a paradigm of learning in which the focus is on the learning and the development of the students, not on the teacher (Geijssel & Meijers 2005, 419). *Constructivism* is a theory of learning that has emerged from a theory of knowing. It is an epistemological concept that draws from a variety of fields, including psychology, philosophy, and science. The what and why of knowing render the process both philosophical and psychological. According to Walker (2002, 7) individuals do more than assimilate and accommodate as described in biology. They actually reformulate their schemes to make sense of dissonant information and experience. Growth and development are prompted by disequilibrium between what is believed to be true and what is now revealing itself in experience.

Humans seek meaning and coherence. They act on and within their environments with their strategies, or schemes, as they seek to make their world and their understanding of it similar. When new problems emerge that contradict earlier notions or when new problems make earlier strategies insufficient, bifurcations often result and structures evolve. Human organisms act on their world, interpreting every experience. They do not simply absorb, or take in, information. They organize it, interpret it, and infer about it with the cognitive structures they have previously constructed. (Fosnot 2005, 278.) The question is how do people construct *trust*? And can a leader serve as a teacher or facilitator of trust at the workplace?

Constructivism differs from other learning theories in several ways. It puts an important role on affect, whereas many other learning theories describe knowledge acquisition in merely cognitive terms. Constructivism claims that learners are more likely to become intellectually engaged when they are working on personally meaningful projects and activities (this viewpoint

is in accord with current brain research, see e.g., Damasio 2005). In constructivist learning, forming new relationships with knowledge and forming new representations of knowledge are seen as equally important. Diversity is also emphasized in constructivism; learners are allowed to make connections with knowledge in many different ways. (Kafai & Resnick 1996, 2–3.)

From an epistemological point of view, constructivism can be seen as a philosophical explanation about the nature and origin of knowledge and its construction. Constructivism concentrates on questions of what knowledge is and where it comes from. (Muniandy 2000, 32.) Epistemological constructivism refigures the relationship of object to knowledge by eliminating resource to the external object from theory. Since knowledge cannot be reduced to a direct apprehending of reality, its development in students cannot be reduced to the transmission of observed truths. Likewise, since knowledge is the product of a construction, conveying such knowledge thus amounts to a reconstruction by either the interlocutor or the student. (Morf 1998, 29–30.) To understand constructivism it is necessary to be constantly aware of the ambiguity in the ordinary use of the term reality. On the one hand, it refers to an ontological reality that lies beyond all knowing. On the other hand, there is the lived tangible reality of our experience from which we derive what we call knowledge. (Glaserfeld 1998, 23.)

While constructivist theorists believe that existing knowledge is used to build a new knowledge, it does not presume that constructive teachers should never tell their students anything directly. This perspective confuses a theory of pedagogy with a theory of knowing. Even a constructivist teacher needs to pay attention to students' interpretations and provide guidance when necessary. (Donovan & al. 2000, 11.) Constructivism is a theory about learning; not a theory about teaching. Sometimes the reformed practice has been called fuzzy and relative. This is because many educators who attempt to use such pedagogical strategies confuse discovery learning and constructivism. In the middle of the 1990s constructivism was an emerging and controversial new theory in cognitive science. Now – more than 10 years later – the theory is no longer controversial. Most contemporary cognitive scientists and neurobiologists agree: Knowledge is actively constructed, and constructivism has become the dominant paradigm in learning. (Fosnot 2005, 276–279; Palmer 2005, 1853.)

Even though constructivism is the prevailing paradigm, it is worth noticing that both the *acquisition metaphor* and the *participation metaphor* influence our understanding of learning. The choice of metaphors is a highly consequential question because they bring with them certain expectations. Therefore, different metaphors may lead to different ways of thinking and different activities. The acquisition metaphor makes us think of learning as actual acquisition of knowledge as if it would be a possession or commodity. For example, we can think of the human mind as a container that is filled with knowledge and the learner as an owner of this knowledge-commodity. The idea of learning as possession has persisted in various frameworks, from moderate to radical constructivist, to sociocultural theories, and to interactionism. (Sfard 1998, 4–5.)

A participation metaphor suggests that a learner is merely a person more interested in participating in certain kinds of activities than in accumulating private possession of knowledge. The learner turns into a member of a team instead of being a lonely entrepreneur. While an acquisition metaphor emphasizes the inward movement of the knowledge, the participation metaphor values the mutuality character of part-whole relationships. It emphasizes that the very existence of the whole is fully dependent of its parts, and that the whole and the part affect

and inform each other. However, both acquisition and participation metaphors are needed because one is not enough to build a homogenous theory of learning. For example, transfer does not fit well with a participation metaphor, for there is no commodity to transfer and no clear boundaries to be crossed over. Therefore an acquisition metaphor is needed too, even in several cases. (Sfard 1998, 5–13.)

Walker (2002, 26–28) points out that there are certain principles that distinguish constructivist learning theory from other theories. Several of these principles, presented below, are widely accepted by other contemporary education scholars. These selected principles can also be seen as applicable to the movement toward coming to know of trust as a phenomenon.

*Knowledge and beliefs are presumed to be formed within the learner.* This view is shared by most contemporary education scientists (Fosnot 2005; Donovan & al. 2000; Palmer 2005; Walker 2002). Rather than considering learners as empty vessels, the constructivist learning theory assumes that learners bring their experience and understanding to the learning process. Learners do not encounter new information out of context but rather apply what they know to assimilating this information.

*Learners are assumed to personally imbue experiences with meaning.* Meaning is constructed and is shaded by learners' previous experiences, so two learners may have two different meanings for exactly the same thing. The meaning is determined first by every learner's personal schemes and second by the interaction with the perspectives being formed by other learners' perspectives. (See Muniandy 2000, 34; Walker 2002, 8; Kafai & Resnick 1996, 2.)

*Reflection and metacognition are essential aspects of constructing knowledge and meaning.* Learners clarify their understandings when they are able to reflect on their learning and analyze the ways they construct meaning and knowledge. Constructivism presents a more complex and dynamic process for learning than is traditionally described and in which students are thought to absorb information like sponges. Learners develop their ability to learn when they are aware of the process they engage as they "come to know". (Walker 2002, 26–28.)

*Learners have a critical role in assessing their own learning.* A constructivist approach suggests that learners can help to determine how much they have learned as well as the process by which they have come to know. Self-assessment makes the process of learning explicit to the learners, shaping their personal schemes and enabling them to actively engage with the new learning in the future. (Walker 2002, 26–28.)

*The outcomes of a learning process are suggested to vary and to be unpredictable.* Constructivist approaches allow learners to generate both understanding and meaning and to direct the learning. Constructivist learning theory takes into account the way the knowledge is constructed and to consider the subtleties and nuances that emerge when learners create meaning from what they know, value, and believe. (Walker 2002, 26–28.)

### 2.3.1.1 *Heritage of Piaget, Vygotsky, and Dewey*

In the following, I will present a few pioneer works in education which provide the background for understanding how constructivism has emerged. The two quintessential forms of this theory were those proposed by Piaget and Vygotsky. The cognitive constructivism of Piaget and the social constructivism of Vygotsky are different perspectives but they have some similarities as well. In both views the reconstruction of meaning requires effort on the part

of the learner. (Palmer 2005, 1855.) The theories of Piaget, Vygotsky and others as well the biological landscape characterized by the autopoietic systems and dissipative systems provide a basis for learning theory called constructivism. Implied is the position that we as human beings have no access to an objective reality since we are constructing our version of it. At the same time we are transforming it and ourselves. (Fosnot & Perry 2005, 27–28.)

One of the central notions in Vygotsky's account of development is internalization. In his frequently cited general genetic law of cultural development, Vygotsky argued that:

Any higher mental function was external and social before it was internal. It was once a social relationship between two people. We can formulate the general genetic law of cultural development in the following way. Any function appears twice or on two planes. It appears first between people as intermental category, and then within the child as an intramental category. (Vygotsky 1960, 197–198, according to Cobb 2005, 45.)

From the cognitive constructivist perspective, this account of internalization from the social realm to the internal cognitive realm leads to difficulties; the interpersonal relations that are to be internalized are located outside the child. Sociologists and developmental psychologists have long noted that one's knowledge of the reality is the result of communication and social construction, rather than of individual observation. Cognition involves interaction with other minds and it is not limited to the mind of one individual agent. People usually construct their own scaffolds of knowledge, but bridging also occurs when a more knowledgeable person suggests scaffolds to a less knowledgeable one. This is one way to develop new, higher-level knowledge out of previous and lower-level knowledge. (Granott & al. 2002, 133.)

Concept formation is a result of a complex activity in which all the basic intellectual functions take part. The process cannot, however, be reduced to association, attention, imagery, inference, or determining tendencies. They are all indispensable, but they are insufficient without the use of the sign, or word, as means by which we direct our mental operations, control their course, and channel them toward the solution of the problem confronting us. (Vygotsky 1962, 58.)

The French developmental psychologist Jean Piaget described in his theory how intelligence is shaped by experience. Intelligence arises as a product of the interaction between the person and his or her environment. It is not just merely an innate internal characteristic of the individual. For Piaget action is the key and he has shown that abstract reasoning and the ability to manipulate symbols arise from the child's actions in exploring and coping with the immediate environment. The child's system of knowing develops through several stages until the knowledge can be represented in symbolic terms. Finally, symbols can be manipulated internally with independence of the experiential reality. (Kolb 1984, 12–13.)

Piaget (1955, 382) claims that thought in all realms starts from surface contacts with the external realities, a simple accommodation to immediate experience, and asks why then does this accommodation remain superficial? And why does it not at once lead to correcting the sensory impression by rational truth? That is because primitive accommodation of thought, as previously that of sensorimotor intelligence, is undifferentiated from a distorting assimilation of reality to self and is at the same time oriented in the opposite direction.

En effet, durant cette meme phase d'acomodation superficielle à l'expérience physique et sociale, on observe une assimilation continue de l'univers non pas seulement à la structure imperesonelle



de l'esprit – laquelle n'est précisément pas achevée, sauf sur le plan sensori-moteur – mais encore et surtout au point de vue proper, à l'expérience individuelle et même aux desirs et à l'affectivité du sujet. (Piaget 1937, 391.)

During the phase of superficial physical and social experience, we observe a continuous assimilation of the universe. It does not affect only the impersonal structure of the mind – which is not completed except on a sensory motor level – but also and basically to the personal point of view, to individual experience, and even to the subject's desires and affectivity.

The concept of *adaptation* comes from biology and it indicates a particular relationship between a living organism or species and their environment. To say that they are adapted means that they have been able to survive given the conditions and the constraints of the world in which they happen to live. Piaget took the notion out of the biological context and made it into a cornerstone of his genetic epistemology. He had realized that whatever knowledge was, it was not a copy of reality. The relationship of viable organisms to their environment provided a means to reformulate the relationship between the cognitive subject's conceptual structures and the subject's experiential world. Knowledge, then, could not be treated as an accurate representation of external situations, things, and events, but rather as a mapping of actions and conceptual operations that had proven viable in the knowing subject's experience. (Glaserfeld 2005, 4.)

Piaget has pointed out that knowledge is not a commodity to be transmitted; nor is it information to be delivered from one end to another end. Knowledge is experience in the sense that it is constructed and reconstructed through direct interaction with the environment. This idea is similar to other situation cognition scholars: to know is to relate. Piaget's functional theory of intelligence provides a solid ground for understanding how people regulate their own boundaries in the world. Nevertheless, Piaget was mainly focused on the assimilative pole of the adaptation, and has almost entirely overlooked the self-correcting function of accommodation. A close examination of different forms of self-projection and self-diffusion is a necessary correction to Piaget's overemphasis on the assimilative pole of the adaptation to reset the balance by specifying the actual contribution of accommodation. (Ackermann 1996, 26–34.)

Pragmatic social constructivists reject the idea of consciousness that dominates modern thinking about the self and the mind. For a long time the philosophy of consciousness has assumed the mental phenomena to be conscious. It also assumes that consciousness includes introspection of one's mental state. For example, Descartes' famous line "I think, therefore I am" (*Cogito ergo sum*) is a well known statement of the philosophy of consciousness. The pragmatic social constructivism puts emphasis on embodied action rather than abstract reason. Pragmatists recognize the "I can do" rather than the "I think" as the stable core of personal identity. At the very basic level, every living organism must act effectively to coordinate itself with the environment that sustains it, and all living beings must act by virtue of being a life. (Garrison 1998, 43–44.)

For Dewey, intellectual and emotional clarity emerge together in a person's effort to coordinate action in a specific situation. In the unity of action a person is harmoniously attempting to coordinate her or his behavior within the world. It is possible to distinguish between activity, the feeling, and the idea in the activity that is initially unified. The relation between ideas and affect is circular and it is not necessary to stress the dualism between mind and activity or affect. For example, we will think differently about a person for whom we

feel affection than a person to whom we are not attached. (Garrison 1998, 44–45.) Dewey (1929, 39) argues that the impact of social life on education is so immense that if social life is not beneficial it may cause problems. In his essay on the Soviet Union's educational system, which Dewey admired in 1920s, he describes the relation of social life and education.

I do not see how any honest educational reformer in western countries can deny that the greatest practical obstacle, in the way of introducing to schools the connection with social life that he regards as desirable, is the great part played by personal competition and desire for private profit in our economic life. This fact almost makes it necessary that in important respects school activities should be protected from social contacts and connections instead of being organized on the principle instituting them. The Russian educational situation is enough to convert one to the idea that only in a society based upon the cooperative principle can the ideals of educational reformers be adequately carried into operation. (Dewey 1929, 39.)

For Dewey, objects emerge as a consequence of a process to transform indeterminate situations to determinate form. Since a person is among those things included in the situation, the person's mind and self are also those new objects, and they emerge at the end of the process of reconstructing a situation. Mind, self, and meaning are emergent and constructed; they do not exist innately from birth. (Garrison 1998, 47–48.)

Dewey was a pragmatist and best known for his philosophy called *learning by doing*. Kolb (1984, 5), the developer of theory for experiential learning, claims that Dewey is without a doubt the most influential educational theorist of the twentieth century. However, Bereiter (2002, 301) argues that Dewey's assumptions have caused two fallacies: First is the "hands on" fallacy and second is the problem-centered and project-based learning. The "hands on" fallacy has led to situations where teachers don't trust learners' ability to use their imagination and put too much emphasis on concretizing the learning situations. Project-based and problem-centered learning has led to a false conclusion that practical tasks and problems naturally lead to inquiry into the underlying science.

### 2.3.2 Transformational Learning

In *transformational learning* the process of learning is understood as using a prior interpretation to construe a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience as a guide to future action. Learning may be intentional (the result of a deliberate inquiry), incidental (a by-product of other intentional learning), or mindlessly assimilative. Aspects of both incidental and intentional learning take place outside learners' awareness. Transformative learning, especially when it involves subjective reframing, is often a threatening emotional experience in which we have to be aware both of the assumptions undergirding our ideas and those supporting our emotional responses to the need of change. (Mezirow 2000, 5–6.)

Transformative learning refers to the process by which we transform our taken for granted references like, for example, perspectives, habits of mind, and mind-sets to make them more inclusive, open and emotionally capable of change so that they may generate beliefs and actions that will prove more true or justified to guide the action. It involves participation in constructive discourse to use the experience of others to assess reasons justifying these assumptions and acting on decisions based on the resulting insight. Transformative learning has both social

and individual dimensions and implications. It demands that we be aware of how we come to knowledge and awareness about the values that lead us to our perspective. (Mezirow 2000, 7–8.)

A habit of mind becomes expressed as a point of view which comprises clusters of meaning schemes like sets of immediate specific expectations, beliefs, feelings, attitudes, and judgments. These expectations tacitly direct and shape a specific interpretation and determine how we judge and typify objects, and attribute causality. They arbitrarily determine what we see and how we see it – cause/effect relationships, scenarios of sequences of events, what others are like, and our idealized self-image. (Mezirow 2000, 18.)

In transformative learning, the learner comes to a new understanding of something that has caused a fundamental reordering of the paradigmatic assumptions he or she holds about the idea or action concerned. Transformative learning cannot happen without critical thinking being involved in every stage of learning. Critical reflection is not equivalent to transformative learning but it is a necessary condition for it; the existence of transformational learning depends of the presence of critical thinking. (Brookfield 2000, 140–142.)

Learning aims at changes; not only what we know, but changes in how we know comes closer to the etymological meaning of education ('leading out'). Informative learning involves a kind of leading in, like filling in a form. *Transformative learning puts the form itself at risk of a change.* Meaning forming is the process where we shape a coherent meaning out of the raw material of our outer and inner experiences. Constructivism recognizes that reality does not happen preformed and waiting for us just to copy a picture of it. Reforming our meaning-forming is a metaprocess that affects the very terms of our meaning constructing. We do not only form and change meanings; we also change the very form by which we are making our meanings. The constructive developmental theory suggests that a form of knowing always consists of a relationship or temporary equilibrium between the subject and the object in one's knowing. The subject-object relationship forms the core of an epistemology. (Kegan 2000, 49–53.) Constructivist learning is the base for learning, and transformative learning takes learning to a second level by challenging the whole framework of learning to change.

Kegan (2000, 53–57) uses Ibsen's play *A Doll's House* as an example of coming to a new set of ideas. Nora's emancipation from her suffocating marriage to Torvald is a transformation where she comes to know herself, adapts a new mindset and abandons her life as a housewife, mother and spouse. When transformation begins it may create a dilemma where former assumptions, beliefs, values are no longer true and the relationships to others are affected (Taylor 2000, 155). In Nora's case the transformation changes her whole life, but even smaller transformations can change people's lives since they change the way they see the life, even if the outer changes weren't that radical.

### 2.3.3 Emotions and Learning

Many educators spend a lot of time and effort to create a pleasant atmosphere in the classroom in order to facilitate students' learning process. Emotions have a crucial affect on learning. A frightened, disappointed, or angry learner cannot concentrate on learning and is unable to absorb any information or create it. Common sense calls emotions states by saying that an emotionally upset person is in a state, and actually modern neuroscience is aligned with this argument. It is

possible to get some limited information about these emotional states even if a person is in one. For example, a person may say that he or she is too angry to talk to his or her colleague now and decide to put off their meeting till tomorrow. (Bereiter 2002, 44.) To understand the role of emotions in learning, it is necessary to answer some basic questions like: What are emotions? How do they function? And finally, the last question is: How do emotions affect learning?

Emotions arouse when some object is appraised. An event or an object can be experienced as pleasant or unpleasant. It can be liked or disliked, accepted or rejected, and treated that way. Generally speaking, appraisal is essential of the arousal of emotion. Cognition plays an important part in this appraisal process. It is involved in arousal of emotions when emotions are stated as action readiness that motivates action. (Frijda 2007, 93–115.) An emotion is always a cognitive appraisal of an object, whereas a sensation like pain is always bodily appraisal, and sensations are always physically localized. For example, if a person walks in the woods and runs into a bear, his or her interpretation of the situation may be that the bear is dangerous and it might eat him or her. The appraisal of the situation is threat which causes fear. If the person gets bitten by the bear, the real or imagined bodily stimulus will activate pain receptors, and the appraisal of that bodily object is pain. Therefore, emotions and sensations must be kept apart; an emotion always has a cognitive basis. (Power & Dalgleish 1997, 57.)

Another definition of emotions is that they are states elicited by reinforcers like rewards and punishments. According to this point of view, brains are designed around punishment and reward systems. This has helped genes to develop a complex system that will produce appropriate but flexible behavior to increase their fitness. Emotions have several functions which partially overlap (Rolls 2005, 16–19):

- 1) Emotions elicit autonomic responses. For example, emotions can release adrenaline which prepares the body for action.
- 2) Emotions produce flexibility of behavioral responses to reinforcing stimuli, and there is flexibility of action to the stimuli. E.g., a person who wants to get a raise in pay can choose his or her action to reach this goal.
- 3) Emotions are motivating. For example, fear causes motivation to avoid fear, and happiness promotes actions to stay happy or become happy.
- 4) Emotions are part of communication. Even monkeys use their facial expressions to communicate their emotional states, and this may influence the behavior of the other monkeys.
- 5) Emotions are part of social bonding. The relationships in a family are examples of this area. Parents are attached to their children, and children are attached to their parents.
- 6) Emotions can affect the cognitive evaluation of memories or events. The current mood may affect evaluation so that if a person is in a bad mood he or she may make more pessimistic evaluations of situations.
- 7) Emotions can facilitate the storage of memories, especially with the episodic memory. This may be advantageous while storing many details of the prevailing situation. For example, someone may be able to remember his or her wedding day in detail.
- 8) Emotions may produce continuing and persistent motivation which directs behavior to reach the goals.

Lahno (2001, 175) argues that emotions are like glasses, through which we see the world. There are three ways in which emotions shape our perceptions and thoughts. First, emotions determine in a direct manner how we perceive the world around us. They give some perspective to the world and guide our attention by making some things seem more salient than others. Second, emotions determine how we think and what kinds of judgments we make. Emotions suggest certain patterns of interpretation and stimulate certain associations. Third, emotions motivate our action and guide our evaluations on certain aspects of the world. However, this does not mean that emotions would not be affected by beliefs or reason. Emotions are relatively dependent of beliefs and they determine our thoughts. Therefore, both emotions and thoughts are the basis for all our reasoning.

Emotions are usually considered crucial to personality development, but less important to cognitive development. Anyway, emotions may serve the same functions for both. For example, Vygotsky and Piaget have presumed that emotions are necessary for cognitive development. (Lewis 2002, 190; this viewpoint is also in accord with current brain research, see Damasio 2005.) On the other hand, Printz (2004, 49–51) argues that emotions are not cognitive. He concludes that emotions are not conceptual, nor generated by acts of cognition. Emotions are unlikely to be structured in a way as complex as cognitive theorists claim. Most of the time emotions are passive and people seem to be helpless spectators of their emotional reactions and responses. When a person reacts emotionally to a snake, he or she does not *choose* to be afraid. It is not a matter of act or will. In fact, sometimes people can explicitly try not to be afraid, but the fear takes over anyway. In many cases emotions are automatic responses. If emotions were cognitive, they should be under cognitive control, which they obviously aren't. Emotions can be described as cognitive when we generate them in our imagination or when we reflect them. Emotions in everyday life, however, are not concepts but more like perceptions. They originate externally and are not in total control of the subject.

Whatever is experienced in our sensory modalities arouses a memory of similar experiences and situations in the past. Experiences also revive the corresponding affects and bring back the old feelings in a similar situation. A situation with relevant memories makes a person anticipate similar outcomes in future situations. Thus emotion appraisal stimuli are primary based on memory and imagination. (Philippot & Schaeffer 2001, 83.) Memories affect feelings, and a scent or a voice can take us back to our childhood. Proust (1922) has described this very well in his famous novel *In Search of Lost Time*. There the grownup main character sips his tea in which he has soaked a morsel of cake. This sensation takes him back to his childhood, to the mornings in Combray, where his aunt used to give him Madeleine-cake dipped in tea. And the memory of those mornings, evoked by the soaked morsel of Madeleine-cake, is very detailed and full of life.

Already Dewey argued that the relation between ideas and affect is circular and put equal emphasis on affect and on mind (Garrison 1998, 44–45). Feelings of competence and control play a pivotal role in learning. Behavior of the learners can be characterized by those feelings, or by the loss of those feelings. Emotions influence behavior but feelings of competence, control and self-determination are important, too. It is necessary to foster students' feelings of competence and control to help them to develop into healthy and constructive individuals. For students the perceived meaning is an important motivator in learning. A capable learner is able to find meaning in work. On the contrary, if learners don't find work meaningful, then they

may develop work avoidance. If the topic doesn't make sense to students, then they may not be able to see the relevance of the topic. Similarly, students may not find the work meaningful if they do not feel capable of understanding the topic. Therefore, it is critical that educators put emphasis on teacher-student interaction and make an effort to promote the learner's feeling of competence and autonomy. (Seifert 2004, 147–148.) Positive feelings have been studied much less than the negative ones. One reason for that are the serious problems caused by prolonged negative feelings. Depression, aggression, anxiety, and eating disorders, just to mention a few of them, produce many grave problems both for the individual and the society. (Cf. Fredrickson 2004.) However, in education positive feelings matter a lot since they are essential in building the learner friendly atmosphere.

Argyris (2004, 212–213) puts emphasis on feelings in learning. He claims that if a learner's sense of competence is threatened it inhibits learning. Defensive reasoning is also destructive for learning. In defensive reasoning the objective is to defend or protect the actor or the group and validate their assumptions. Defensive reasoning avoids transparency in order to protect the self and denies any kind of self-deception by cover up. In organizations, defensive reasoning causes negative feelings and blocks the communication. (Argyris 2004, 1–3.) The interpersonal risk inherent in learning in organizational settings can be mitigated by a climate of psychological safety among co-workers and colleagues. For example, a work team can provide a safety net for learning and increase their ability to learn. (Edmondson 2004, 263.)

Learners' emotional experiences are often *domain specific*, and different emotions vary in their extent of domain specificity. It seems to be more appropriate to speak of domain-specific rather than domain-transcending emotional experiences. For example, a student may enjoy biology but not school in general, or a student may dislike mathematics but like history. Thus, students should not be seen as domain general attributes but domain specific actors. Likewise, teachers and educators should be aware of the domain specificity of students' emotional experiences. (Goetz & al. 2006, 25–26.)

Emotions need to be recognized for their crucial role in teaching and likewise, the emotional dimension of teaching should be part of the professional discussion among educators. This kind of dialogue and sharing can happen in relation to evaluation of existing practices and design of new practices. However, people generally feel like sharing their personal meaning-making only with the people that they trust. Therefore, in daily life the personal conversations are mainly held with family and friends. This kind of personal sense in schools dialogue needs a platform where dialogue can be used for personal sense making. (Geijsel & Meijers 2005, 427–428.)

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*Intuition* is a phenomenon closely related to emotions. Sinclair and Ashkanasy (2005, 359–361) suggest that intuitive decision making is affected by four broad categories of factors: problems, disposition, context, and decision. The use of intuition is a dynamic process where antecedent stages are also included. Intuition is by no means a new thing to be applied in management. March (1976) already wrote about the technology of foolishness and claimed that rationality should also give space to playfulness and the process of intuition, by means of which people may do things without fully understanding why. Kakkonen (2006, 120–129) concludes in her study of family entrepreneurs' managerial intuition that intuition experiences consist of social

intuition, opportunity intuition, and action intuition. According to the research, different people have different intuition experiences. Therefore, people use intuition differently and it also appears in different ways to different people. Intuition experiences also vary by gender. Women have more social intuition than men, but in general, both sexes have an equal amount of intuition, but it just has different emphasis. According to Kakkonen, intuition is a managerial skill. It is not just an in-born skill but can also be learned and developed.

Webster's Dictionary (1989) defines *feeling* in psychology as *consciousness taken as a state in itself and independent of any reference in a specific thought perception*. Accordingly, *emotion* is defined as *an affective state of consciousness in which joy, sorrow, fear, hate, or the like is experienced*. In this study I will use the word feeling when I refer to emotions in the research results chapter. The reason for choosing the word feeling is my will to respect the words the informants use. In Finnish, the word *tunne* is used in order to refer to feelings. *Tunne* could be translated by both feeling and emotion but in the Finnish language there is an educational word *emootio*, which would be more appropriate to translate as emotion. I use the word feeling in the results chapter because this is a phenomenological study, and I want to describe the phenomenon of trust with the words the interviewees use. Otherwise I use word emotion in the theory part.

## 2.4 Summary of Trust, Leadership, and Learning

Future is essential in defining trust. Trust is a mechanism that people sometimes implicitly use to predict the future: Will he keep his promise and do his part of the project work if I do mine first (fulfilling promise)? Or is she really willing and able to fix the computer (competence)? Trust makes things run smoother and promotes cooperation. It should be a natural state to trust the people we know. Trust can break down if the trustor expects the trustee to act in a way that he or she won't do. For example, a person may give money to an acquaintance for a charity project. If it turns out that the money didn't go to the orphanage as agreed but to the collector's personal use, trust probably will break.

Trust is often defined by benevolence, risk, and competence. Different academics use different concepts like goodwill instead of benevolence, and rather talk about the trustor's willingness to be vulnerable to the trustee's actions. However, from the wide variety of concepts, I have chosen these three to be the theoretical background of this study. The reason for that is that I find benevolence, risk, and competence to adequately and sufficiently define trust for this research purpose.

First, benevolence means that you trust that the other person will not harm you in any way. Trust is believing that the other person is willing and able to see things also from your point of view and to act on your behalf. (Gustafsson 1996; Hardin 2002; Misztal 1996; Offe 1999; Tschannen-Moran 2004; Ullmann-Margalit 2004.)

Second, the element of risk results from our inability to control others' behavior. We are not able to have complete knowledge about other people's motivations. Trust is not an issue in situations where one has complete control. For example, if a person obeys while being menaced by physical violence, then it obviously is not a matter of trust but a matter of yielding to force. (Gambetta 1988, 219; Hardin 2002, 12; Misztal 1996, 18; Offe 1999, 47; Tschannen-Moran 2004, 17). Trust needs to be given freely; it cannot be commanded or normatively prescribed (Luhmann 1995, 129; 1988, 95).

Third, competence is also common in definitions of trust (Hardin 1999; Govier 1996; Ullmann-Margalit 2004). A leader needs certain skills and competence to run a company, and equally, a pharmacist has to be competent enough to give a client the right prescribed medications.

Trust is usually kept in the category of knowledge. It is expected to cumulate or become more accurate when people get to know each other better and thus obtain more information about the other party's behavior. (See Hardin 1999; 2002; also Quere 2001.) Yet, there are recent scholars who put more emphasis on emotions and argue that the role of feelings and their affect on trust should be clarified (see Blomqvist 1997; Solomon & Flores 2001).

As noted earlier, many writers on leadership regard trust as a crucial component of leadership (Locke 1991, 6–79; Reynolds 1997). Trust maintains integrity in organizations and keeps them going. Like leadership, the concept of trust is challenging to define, but still we know when it's present and when it's not. In general we trust people who we find predictable. Thus, leaders who are trusted make themselves known, make their positions clear, and keep at it. Through establishing a position and staying the course, a leader can establish trust. (Bennis & Nanus 1985, 43–46.) Increasingly, leaders today are coming to see that the task of creating a trust culture to undergird both personal and institutional growth is part of their profession (Fairholm 1994, 2).

Creating trust is vital in leadership because trust influences acceptance of dispute resolution procedures and outcomes. Efficient organizational behaviour depends on the individual's readiness to defer to organizational authorities and willingness to comply with the organization's directives and regulations (Kramer 1999, 585). Trusted leaders have been characterized to have good self-knowledge, to be able to take responsibility, to be consistent, to be sincere in their intentions, and to have no hidden agendas. They are able to trust other people and willing to show their interests openly. (Bibb & Kourdi 2004, 61–71.) Trust in a leadership or managerial context has been especially studied through conceptual literature analysis, but there is great demand for empirical testing. Also the affect of emotion on trust isn't sufficiently covered by research (see Atkinson & Butcher 2003; Burke & al. 2007; Dirks & Ferrin 2002.)

Nowadays, learning is as an active process and learners are regarded as goal directed agents who actively seek information. Hence, knowledge must be constructed from existing knowledge and learners need to learn take more responsibility of their learning process. They need to be able to build their own theories of the phenomena, cumulate information and test them. (See Donovan & al. 2000, 10–12.) Constructivism has been the prevailing teaching/learning paradigm lately. According to constructivist principles, knowledge and beliefs are presumed to be formed within the learner. Likewise, learners are assumed to personally imbue experiences with meaning. Meaning is constructed and molded by learners' previous experiences, so two learners may have two totally different meanings for exactly the same thing. The constructed meaning is determined first by every learner's personal schemes and then in the interaction with the perspectives being formed by other learners. (See Donovan & al. 2000; Fosnot 2005; Kafai & Resnick 1996, 2; Muniandy 2000, 34; Palmer 2005; Walker 2002, 8.) The affect of emotions in learning is widely recognized. Frightened and angry emotions prevent learning and trusting, positive feelings encourage it.

Transformative learning, especially when it involves subjective reframing, is often a menacing emotional experience in which we have to be aware both of the assumptions undergirding our ideas and those supporting our emotional responses to the need of change. In transformational learning, the process of learning is understood as using a previous interpretation to construe



a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience as a guide to future action. In the transformative learning process, we transform our taken for granted references like, for example, perspectives, habits of mind, mind-sets. By quitting the old ways of thinking we mould prior schemes to make them more inclusive, open and emotionally capable of change so that they may generate beliefs and actions that will prove more true or justified to guide the action. The process involves participation in constructive discourse to use the experience of others to assess reasons justifying these assumptions, and acting on decisions based on the resulting insight. Therefore, transformative learning has both social and individual dimensions and implications. It demands that we are constantly aware of how we come to know and be aware about the values that lead us to our perspective. (Mezirow 2000, 5–8.)

## 2.5 The Research Questions

After having presented the theoretical background needed to analyze trust in superior-subordinate relationship, I will continue to explicate the research questions. Again, my research questions were:

1. ***What is trust in the subordinate-superior relationship on the ground of phenomenological analysis?*** In addition to this main question, the following sub questions were examined:
  - 1.1 *What is the meaning of trust in superior-subordinate relationship?*
  - 1.2 *What are superiors' and subordinates' views regarding trust?*
2. ***How are trust and learning related in the context of subordinate-superior relationship?***

In this study the research questions considering the essence of and the meaning of trust in superior-subordinate relationship were designed way before the data collection. Originally the first questions, no. 1 and no. 1.1, were displayed as two major questions, and the third question (1.2) concerning different viewpoints was presented as sub question.

During the analyzing process, main question two was added to bring forth the learning related results, and the question 1.1 was altered to a sub question. This is a quite general procedure, as qualitative research designs have a built in flexibility that allows paying regard to unexpected empirical materials and growing sophistication (Denzin & Lincoln 2005, 376).

The order in which research questions are now presented was carefully considered. On the one hand, the question about learning could have been covered first because this dissertation is in the field of vocational education. On the other hand, the understanding of phenomenon of trust should be presented first in order to comprehend the relation of learning and trust. After consideration I chose to present the questions in an order that allows question no. 1 to build the needed comprehension to understand the question no. 2. Both questions were needed to describe the phenomenon of trust in superior-subordinate relationship and its relation to learning with a phenomenological method.

In the next chapter the research design and strategy of inquiry are presented.



### 3 Research Design and Strategy of Inquiry

A research design describes a set of guidelines that connect *theoretical paradigms* first to *strategies of inquiry* and second to *methods for gathering material*. Out of these three, defining strategy of inquiry is essential. It comprises a bundle of skills, assumptions, and practices that the researcher employs in moving from the paradigm to the real world. (Denzin & Lincoln 2004, 22.) However, in this research these three parts – theoretical paradigms, strategies of inquiry, and methods for gathering material – form a certain entity. In the following I will present the reasons for this intertwining.

This research strives for understanding and creating new knowledge of the phenomenon of trust in superior-subordinate relationships in Finland. The study is qualitative and uses the constructivist paradigm. Methodology and theories are mainly driven from *existential-phenomenological* and *hermeneutic* systems. Chosen guidelines for this study are presented in more detail in the following Table 3.

Table 3. Chosen Guidelines for the Research (see Kyrö 2003, 66 (adapted) and Anttila 2001).

Ontology	<i>World is seen as a network of realities. Truths and interpretations can be as many as actors. Therefore trust is also studied as personal experience.</i>
Epistemology	<i>The participants of the research are in interaction with the researcher. Participants' accounts are treated as providing insight to their psychological and organizational lives (see Symon &amp; Cassell 2004).</i>
Paradigm	<i>Constructivist – examines the relationship to reality and approaches it by dealing with constructive processes (see Flick 2004, 88–89).</i>
Methodology and Theories	<i>Existential-phenomenological and hermeneutic systems.</i>
Methods of inquiry of data gathering of data analysis	<i>Phenomenology » in-depth interviews » writings » N-Vivo computer based qualitative research program</i>

As noted earlier, in this study theoretical paradigms, strategies of inquiry, and methods for gathering material cannot be completely separated because of the used research approach, *hermeneutic interpretation*, proceeds from entity to components and back in a circle between researcher and the data. In hermeneutics meaning is negotiated mutually in the act of interpretation; it is not just simply discovered. In this sense, philosophical hermeneutics also oppose a naïve positivism, realism and objectivism with respect to meaning and endorses the

conclusion that there is never a finally correct interpretation. (Schwandt 2000, 195.) However, it is generally assumed that this approach has its benefits. At the heart of the hermeneutic approach is the notion of *openness to the data*, the artful development of the interplay between the intuition of the researcher, the data, of the subjects of the study, the interpretive frameworks that are brought to bear on the analysis of the text and, ultimately, the reader. If this openness is undertaken in good faith then the product of the research is an account that is on one hand *truthful* or *authentic* to the data but is, on the other hand, not the only truth that could be produced. (McAuley 2004, 201.) One could also point out that a hermeneutic approach is used to reach *practical understanding* and renewing of the phenomenon (Kyrö 2003, 63).

The so-called *hermeneutical circle*, the idea of understanding an entity from a part of the whole and vice versa, dates from the rhetoric tradition of antiquity. In modern hermeneutics, entity is being anticipated explicitly, for the components that are determined by the entity are at the same time determining the entity. (Gadamer 2004, 29.) The whole in parts principle can be seen in this study in the way that every single interview and writing contains the same kinds of particles which finally constitute the big picture of trust. The summary of research consists of the same things that can be found in a single interview. This does not imply that the whole results of the study are imbedded in a single interview, but that the same kind of basic ideas are there.

The hermeneutic approach I am using is suitable for the phenomenological research and study of human perception and experience because it lets the researched phenomenon emerge as it is. As can be seen, this study relies strongly on the humanistic paradigm, which recognizes subjectivity and which is appropriate to research the phenomenon of trust through *individual experience* because such an experience is always subjective. This leads to one further thing, that of an underlying paradigm. In this study human beings are studied from the social perspective and truth is seen as a *social construction*. This is also related to *social interaction*, a process that forms human conduct instead of being merely a means for the expression of human conduct (Blumer 1969, 8).

### 3.1 Qualitative Research and Constructivist Paradigm

Qualitative study means different things in different settings and any definition of qualitative research should be seen in its complex historical field. Nonetheless, a generic definition may be offered: Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible and transform it. (Denzin & Lincoln 2004, 3.) Basic theoretical assumptions of qualitative research are: Social reality is understood as a shared product and attribution of meanings; processual nature and reflectivity of social reality are assumed; “objective” life circumstances are made relevant to a life-world through subjective meanings and the communicative nature of social reality permits the reconstruction of constructions of social reality to become starting points of research. (Flick & al. 2004, 7.) One could say that different ways in which individuals invest objects, events, experiences, etc. with *meaning* form the central starting point for this kind of research; in addition, the reconstruction of subjective viewpoints becomes the instrument for analyzing the social world. (Flick 1998, 17.)

Likewise the used paradigm, *constructivism*, aims at understanding, and its nature of knowledge is based on individual reconstruction. Knowledge accumulation in constructivism is seen as gaining more informed and sophisticated reconstructions. Criteria for goodness or quality in constructivism are trustworthiness and authenticity. Constructivists take their primary field of interest to be precisely that subjective and intersubjective social knowledge and the active construction and co-creation of such knowledge by human agents that is produced by human consciousness. (Lincoln & Guba 2000, 166, 176.) What is common to all constructivist approaches is that they examine the relationship to reality and approach it by dealing with constructive processes. For constructivist epistemology knowledge and the constructions it contains become the relevant means of access to the objects with which they are concerned. (Flick 2004, 88–89.)

Nowadays, constructivism is a widely accepted paradigm. Its criticism is mainly devoted to the questions of the approach to the external reality. However, Glasersfeld (1992, 30, according to Flick 2004, 89) underlines that even radical constructivism does not deny an external reality. Most people probably don't want to deny the existence of external. To my understanding, constructivism can be seen as a counter-reaction to naïve positivism's fundamental ontological premise that there exists an actual reality, a "way things really are", that can be easily discovered. Given this ontological position, it follows that scientists, in their work of discovery, must be objective, so that they will not influence the outcome of the inquiry nor allow their values determine the results. (Lincoln & Guba 2003, 223–224; Lincoln 1985, 139.) However, to my understanding positivism and the research of trust are not very compatible because trust is a subjective matter. What is trust for one can be distrust for another, and what one regards trustworthy may not be from the other person's view. I prefer moderate relativism, which accepts the expression of the human finitude. We must see ourselves as moral and practical beings, and abandon hope for knowledge that is not embedded within our historical, cultural, and engendered ways of being. Relativists recognize the need for value of plurality, multiplicity, acceptance and celebration of differences. The essential problem is to honor this need without giving over to excesses – to inquiry that is so fragmented that lines of connection have been lost. (Smith & Deemer 2000, 886–894.)

Even if I am using qualitative methods in my study, I am not opposed to quantitative research. On the contrary, the most interesting research settings can often be obtained by combining the two methods. In this study the qualitative approach was optimal because of the delicate nature of the topic, but in several studies of trust the quantitative method has been fruitful (see Zaheer & al. 1998).

## 3.2 Phenomenological Method

Existential-phenomenological and hermeneutic systems were developed within the framework of the "Continental schools of metascience," and they focus on the lifeworld (*Lebenswelt*) – that is, on human experience as it is lived. The phenomenological (descriptive) approach focuses on the structures of experience, the organizing principles that give form and meaning to the lifeworld. It aims to uncover the themes, schemes, or basic structures that constitute the human experience. The hermeneutic (interpretive) approach seeks to understand the human expressions

and actions by concentrating on the historical meaning of experience and its developmental and cumulative effect, both on the social and individual level. Together these two methods supplement each other, the first focusing beneath the surface of individual events in order to describe patterns, the second focusing on the linguistic and nonlinguistic actions aiming to penetrate the meaning of these events. (Polkinghorne 1983, 201–203, 213–214.) Both of them, unlike the normal objective and deductive understanding of science, begin with the experience of the individual and develop this in a reflexive form.

Phenomenology is not less than man's whole occupation with himself in the service of the universal reason. Revealing life's norms, he does, in fact, set free a stream of new consciousness intent upon the infinite idea of entire humanity, humanity in fact and truth. Metaphysical, teleological, ethical problems, and problems of the history of philosophy the problem of judgment, all significant problems in general, and the transcendental bonds uniting them, lie within phenomenology's capability. (Husserl 1927, 10.)

Even if the father of modern phenomenology, Husserl, previously described his overextended concept, nowadays phenomenology is – like hermeneutics – is a concept that pulls together several distinct approaches (among others *transcendental*, *realist*, and *existential* phenomenology). In addition, as I pointed out above, *phenomenological study* focuses on descriptions of how people experience what they experience and what people experience in the first place. In this study I will use the term phenomenology with the previously defined meaning. However, conducting research with a phenomenological focus is somewhat different from using phenomenology to *philosophically* justify the methods of a qualitative inquiry. (Patton 2002, 107.)

Schütz (1945), a member of the existential phenomenology school, stresses in his work the importance of cognitive styles that are related to different worlds of dreams, art, science, children etc. In each of these provinces of meaning the subject may receive a specific accent of reality. A specific tension of consciousness belongs to the cognitive style peculiar to each of these different provinces of meaning. Thus, also a specific epoch, a prevalent form of spontaneity, a specific form of self experience, a specific form of sociality, and a specific time perspective affect cognitive style:

Consistency and compatibility of experiences with respect to their peculiar cognitive style subsists merely within the borders of the particular province of meaning to which those experiences belong. By no means will that which is compatible within the province of meaning P be also compatible within the province of meaning Q. On the contrary, seen from P, supposed to be real, Q and all the experiences belonging to it would appear as merely fictitious, inconsistent and incompatible and vice versa. (Schütz 1945, 553.)

In other words, in his phenomenological process of reconstruction, Schütz claims that the meaning of experiences is determined by acts of consciousness. A meaning relation arises when experiences are brought together to form a unit by synthesis of a higher order. The total coherence of the experience forms the quintessence of all subjective meaning-relations and the specific meaning of an experience arises from the way in which it is classified within this total coherence of experience. (Hitzler & Eberle 2004, 67–68.) In my understanding, Schütz puts emphasis on a relevant matter: An individual is most able to describe his or her own experiences. If experiences are examined by the help of other people's ideas and schemes, the researcher can lose a lot of their amorphous structure. Thus, the first objective of the phenomenological method is the deepening and enlarging of the measurement-range of our immediate experience.

One could say that the common concern of all 'schools' of phenomenology is that of giving the phenomena a fuller and fairer treatment than traditional empiricism has accorded to them. This emancipation from the preconceptions is perhaps the most teachable part of the phenomenological method. (Spiegelberg 1982, 679–689.)

But how to do phenomenological research in practice? Now it has to be understood that phenomenological analysis is analysis of the *phenomena themselves*, not of the expressions that refer to them. Phenomenological analysis primarily undertakes tracing the elements and the structure of the phenomena obtained by *intuiting*. Phenomenological description of the phenomena thus intuited and analyzed usually goes hand in hand with the preceding steps. Phenomenology begins in silence, and rushing into descriptions before having made sure all the things to be described may be called one of the main pitfalls in phenomenology. To give an account of phenomenological description, its nature, its problems, and its limitations, we would have to fall back to general definitions of description. Describing is based on classification of the phenomena and a description, therefore, presupposes a framework of class names, and all it can do is to determine the location of the phenomenon with regard to an already developed system of classes. (Spiegelberg 1982, 689–696.) In praxis, specific ways to conduct phenomenological research are several; one applicable method can be found from Spiegelberg (1982, 682–715), who presents the steps of the phenomenological method in the following order:

- 1) *Investigating particular phenomena*, which this includes three operations: phenomenological intuiting, analyzing, and describing. The “customary” label for these operations is phenomenological description, but it is beneficial to distinguish between the intuitive, the analytic and the descriptive phase, even though they belong close together. Phenomenological descriptions deal not only with the subject’s side of experience, with his acts and dispositions which can become thematic only in a reflective return upon himself, but at least as much with those contents of his acts which confront him as the objects of his experience and which do not require any reflective turn. No particular direction, outward or inward, is prescribed by the essential nature of phenomenological intuiting.
- 2) *Investigating general essences*, or eidetic intuiting, is adequate only with the antecedent or simultaneous intuiting of exemplifying particulars. Such particulars may be given either in imagination or perception or in a combination of both. In order to apprehend the general essence, we have to look at the particulars as examples, as instances which stand for the general essence. Thus the intuiting particulars provide stepping stones for the apprehension of the general essence.
- 3) *Apprehending essential relationships (among essences)* includes the discovery of certain essential relationships or connections pertaining to such essentials. Essential relationships are of two types: relationships within a single essence or relationships between several essences. In the case of internal relations within one essence, the question is whether its components are or are not essential to it. For example, can a triangle without these elements still be a triangle rather than another figure? Essential relations between several essences are established by the procedure of imaginative variation. Keeping one essence constant, we try to combine it with various other essences, leaving off some, substituting others for them, or adding essences not hitherto encountered together with them. If the omission or substitution of

associated essences proves impossible, we diagnose an essential necessity; if they prove at least compatible with one other, an essential possibility; if they repel each other, an essential impossibility.

- 4) *Watching modes of appearing.* Phenomenology is the systematic exploration of the phenomena not only in the sense of *what* appears, but also of the *way* things appear. Watching modes of appearing has at least three different senses of appearance which must be distinguished and kept apart. First, the side or aspect of the given object from which we know the object is whole. Second, the appearance of the object may be the perspectively “deformed” or present a slanted view to the perceiver. Third, the same object, appearing with the same sides and the same perspective, may still be given with very different degrees of clarity and distinctness, which can be called the modes of clarity.
- 5) *Watching (or exploring) the constitution of the phenomena in consciousness* can be interpreted, according to Spiegelberg (1982, 706–707), to the reflexive use of the verb according to which objects “constitute themselves” in our consciousness. For example, an illustration of such a constitution can be the experience of getting oriented in a new city, whose picture gradually takes place in our mind. Regardless of whether such a constitution is under our conscious control, there is a definite pattern in its development. Its building stones are perceptions of the more elementary kind which fall into larger patterns, as our perceptions enlarge and enter into relationships with other perceptions and with our acquired fund of perceptual patterns.
- 6) *Suspending belief in the existence (of the phenomena)* facilitates genuine intuiting, analyzing, and describing of the given phenomena, for it frees us from usual preoccupation with “solid reality” which makes us brush aside what is “merely in our imagination” or “by convention only” as unworthy of our attention.
- 7) *Interpreting the concealed meaning of phenomena* aims to discover meanings which are not immediately manifest to our intuiting, analyzing and describing. The interpreter has to go beyond what is directly given, and he or she has to use the given as a glue for meanings which are not given, or at least not explicitly given.

\* \* \*

In addition to the phenomenological method there is also another approach, symbolic interactionism, which has affected this research. Originally symbolic interactionism was a sociological and social psychological perspective that had its roots with the early American pragmatists (James, Dewey, Peirce, and Mead). However, Blumer (1969) is recognized as the father of symbolic interactionism. This perspective has entered into the discourse of other social sciences, and today the symbolic interactionist tradition is quite active.

Symbolic interactionism is related to other epistemological approaches of this research. For example, both phenomenology and symbolic interactionism tend to pursue subjective meanings and individual sense attributions (Flick & al. 2004, 5); have apparent similarities, just the approaches and the emphasis differ. In Blumer’s theory the term *symbolic* refers to the underlying linguistic foundation of human group life, just as the word interaction refers



to the fact that people do not act toward one another, but *interact* with each other. (Denzin 2004, 81–86.) For me Blumer's interactionism has been an approach that has helped me to realize how the topic is regarded from the subject's point of view. Blumer (1969, 2) summarizes the symbolic interactionism in three simple premises; the first one is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in an interpretative process used by the person dealing with the things he encounters.

### 3.3 Narrative Success Stories and Moral Tales

In addition to constructivism, hermeneutics, phenomenology and symbolic interactionism, I have to introduce one more theoretical element; narratives and moral tales. Sometimes narratives can be identified in interviews and similar data, even if the data was primarily gathered for another purpose. This happened to Coffey and Atkinson (1996, 59) while they researched graduate students' and their advisors' personal accounts, but found out that some interviewees produced narrative responses to particular questions. The same thing also happened with the data of this research. After the data was collected it was obvious that many interviews contained stories about personal overcoming of different kinds of obstacles like a bad superior or an unmotivated team. For that reason the data is also analyzed for narrative success or moral stories. For the same reason I am here presenting some academic and some popular publications.

The research of different kinds of narratives tales, so-called *linguistic turn*, has been part of social and educative sciences for long time. In past decades the research of narrative has developed greatly and raised wide interest. For instance, Sarbin (1986) claimed that the earlier mechanistic model of social psychology, heavily reinforced by positivistic philosophy and the 19th century understanding of natural science, were of limited utility. Using the narrative metaphor, he proposed that a person's life (or periods of it) can be interpreted as a story and claimed further that this model has a rich relevance to social psychology. The story or narrative model allows psychology to make contact with the historical context of individuals and with the insights into human social behavior found in stories, literature, drama, and history. To sum up, narratives can be seen as an organizing principle for human action. (See also Vitz 1990.)

Before humanistic, social and educative sciences were interested in narratives and moral stories, these had a long tradition within everyday ethics, religion, folk psychology, fairy tales, and children's stories. These traditional commonplace teachings are often so self-evident that they may seem trivial and function like hidden codes in our culture. One of the most cited guidelines for promoting moral and trust is the *Golden Rule*: Do unto others as you would have them do unto you (Reitz & al. 2007, 216). As generally known, different religious doctrines include several examples of moral stories related to faith and trust. Even if *faith* in God (or religious faith in general) isn't exactly the same as *trust*, they undisputedly share many common features. Etymologically both words come from the Latin word *fidere*, and one can, according to Webster's dictionary (1989) determine faith as *complete trust or belief and trust and loyalty in God*. On that account, faith can be understood as a special and very strong form of trust.

(Lahno 2001, 177.) In *the Bible* probably the most famous example of trust and testing of faith can be found in Genesis (24: 2, 7, 8), where Abraham is to sacrifice his only son for God, but at the moment of sacrifice it reveals to be a mere test of faith:

[2] And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee in to the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of. ... [7] And Isaac spake unto Abraham, his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here am I, my son. And he said, Behold the fire and the woods: but where is the lamb for offering? [8] And Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for burnt offering: so they went both of them away together.

Trust, distrust, and betrayal in the arts have been central moral themes throughout the times. Classical fairytales often describe the battle of good and evil where the hero or heroine is in danger because of treachery or an evil plot. For example, in *Little Red Riding-Hood* a wolf first eats the grandmother and then disguises himself as the grandmother in order to eat the granddaughter as well. Accordingly in *Snow White*, a witch offers the heroine a beautiful apple to eat, which in fact is poisonous and would kill her. These are the classical fairy tale examples of misplaced trust; the hero or the heroine trusts an untrustworthy character and gets in trouble.

In literature classics and plays, trust and distrust is an equally repeating theme. In Shakespeare's *King Lear* and Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*, betrayal changes the course of everyday life. In Chekhov's (1915 [1889]) short story *The Bet*, there is an interesting example of being trustworthy to the extreme. A banker and a young lawyer make a bet of two million that the lawyer cannot stay imprisoned for 15 years. The young man keeps his promises and lives almost 15 years in a small room in the banker's backyard. A day before the bet would have been fulfilled the lawyer escapes leaving a message saying that his 15 years spent in the room mainly reading had made him despise mundane things; before he longed for money, but now he disdains it. He would leave five hours before the set time and intentionally break his promise so that the banker would not have to give him the two million and would not be economically ruined.

An interesting example of uncertainty and unpredictability can be found in Carroll's novels *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass*, where Alice meets the Queen and Fanny Rabbit whose behavior is totally unpredictable, which creates the fascinating ambience where everything is possible and at the same time uncertain. This characterizes well the importance of a future aspect of trust. Other people don't have to be bad or untrustworthy; just being unpredictable is enough to harm trusting relations. On the other extreme is the famous example of profound personal trust and friendship: *The Three Musketeers* of Dumas. The well-known motto of Amos, Porthos and d'Artagnan was "One for all and all for one", and it was clear that this promise was to be kept. In the middle of most uncertain situations and adventures, the three musketeers could rely on their friendship.

Previously presented ethical teachings, novels and fairy tales follow certain narratic patterns, and they also have some societal aspirations. Endings of "and they all lived happily ever after" pull together a tale and present the end as success. Similarly, the moralistic tale, which often presents a sad or unfortunate story, serves as a collective reminder of how not to be or what not to do. Stories of others' and of our own are often told with a point in mind. Such narrative

accounts of success and atrocity can be analyzed both in terms of what they tell us about the individuals or the research setting and in terms how the stories are developed and built up. The evaluation of narratives can be closely linked with the result. The evaluation typically highlights the point of the narrative, while the result, which follows either the complication or the evaluation, describes the outcome of the events or the resolution of the problems (Coffey & Atkinson 1996, 60–63).

Telling stories is a powerful way to teach what is accepted and what is not in the society. Bedtime stories read to little children point out that good behavior is rewarded and that the evil ones will suffer. Stories told at workplaces guide people's behavior in the same way. Therefore, it wasn't surprising that the data of this research also contained narrative elements. People probably tend to make sense of their experiences by putting them in narrative form. With success stories, an organization lets it be known how a hard-working employee got a reward and a raise. Likewise, a moral story can teach how a dishonest worker was fired and couldn't find a new job. Stories teach how to behave, and the members of a community often start to narrate these stories to strengthen the moral code of a group. People's general experience of justice or injustice is rooted in childhood and turns into moral guidelines and starts to guide their behavior. Equally, the sense of injustice is the base of moral judgments for us and others. The process of becoming moral is mainly done by projective role-taking. Already early in childhood children are taught that they have to think how their actions make others feel. If children tease someone they can be asked: "How do you think that it would feel if you were the one who were teased?" As adults, people usually have high-order principles that have emerged by projective role-taking, and violation of these principles causes a sense of injustice. The sense of injustice eventually becomes independent of a person's own experience. It extends to a moral orientation that guides our action towards others and equally directs our reactions to both victims and perpetrators of injustice. Events that are against our own moral principles violate our sense of justice, even if we weren't the recipients of the violation. So the moral guidelines aren't just directing our own behavior, but they are more general action principles. This moral orientation is also the basis of legal obedience. The law guarantees that justice will be done to everyone. Therefore, it becomes morally binding to individuals to obey the law. Because of the connection of law and justice, people tend to view the violations of laws as unjust acts, even if the acts weren't directly affecting them. (Karniol & Miller 1981, 83–84.) Rest (1979, 22–23) specified in his model six stages of moral:

- 1) Stage one focused on the morality of obedience: "Do as you are told". In this stage the care-taker made known certain demands on the child's behavior.
- 2) Stage two is interested in the morality of instrumental egoism and simple exchange: "Let's make a deal." In this stage each person is understood to have his or her own interests, but an exchange of favors could be decided.
- 3) In stage three the morality of interpersonal concordance is in focus: "Be considerate, nice, and kind and you'll get along with people." Through reciprocal role taking, individuals could attain a mutual understanding of each other and their interactions.
- 4) Stage four concentrated on the morality of law and duty to the social order: "Everyone in the society is obligated and protected by the law."

- 5) Stage five focuses on the morality of societal consensus: “You are agreed by whatever arrangements are agreed to by due process procedures.” In this stage the formal procedures are institutionalized for making laws, which rational people should accept.
- 6) In the final sixth stage the morality of non-arbitrary social cooperation is central; how rational and impartial people would organize cooperation is moral.

As Rest (1979, 260) describes the development in judging moral issues, he also points out that the developmental order of moral judgment stages need not correspond in a linear way to the justification of decisions. To predict the relation of moral judgment to behavior an interpretive framework needs to be taken in account too.

### 3.4 Method of Inquiry, Data Collecting, and Data Analyses

Information gathering methods chosen for this study were in-depth interviews and writings. For instance, *critical incident technique* (see Chell 2004) and *the structure laying technique* (see Flick 1998, 84–88) would also have been possible methods, but they seem to serve best while studying a topic which is very familiar to the interviewees. Trust in superior-subordinate relationship may not be familiar enough for interviewees to find critical incidents or to be able to make structures. Writings and interviews are suitable means to collect data from this focus group because they offer a way to bring forth personal experiences, thoughts, feelings, and self-reflections. Superiors are supposedly able to reflect the topic autonomously both orally and in written form. The subject is sensitive, so group discussions were not an option for gathering data.

As I noted before, data collection was done in cooperation with the Centre of Extension Studies at the University of Tampere in Finland. Informants were participants of leadership and management training programs during the years 2005–2006 at the Centre of Extension Studies at the University of Tampere. However, it is worth noticing that these people were currently working as superiors, and some of them had a long history of supervisory positions. Informants were participant from four different training programs, which had a quite similar curriculum consisting of 8–10 days. Training programs started with leader’s moral, values and tasks and then communication skills, labor legislation, management of change, and leadership psychology were taught. Small job related development projects were also included in the trainings. Trust was not an issue dealt with or discussed during the trainings. One of the training programs had participants from different municipalities and state offices. Three of the training programs were customized for different companies. My role was to be the head teacher of the training programs, and I usually taught the first day consisting of basics of leadership, tasks, values, and moral. Other subjects were taught by experts of the area, both from the academic and the business world.

Informants were asked to write an essay about trust in superior-subordinate relationship from the subordinate’s point of view and later on from the superior’s point of view. The use of dual role was explained to informants by bringing forth how middle management in real life is in dual role: subordinates to their own leaders and superiors to their subordinates. This information gathering by using the dual role technique aimed to capture the two-sided phenomenon of being a leader in middle management as it is. The risk of using this technique

is that it may press the views of superiors. However, both in writings and in interviews, the voice of the subordinates came out strongly. It seems like the informants of this study still have a clearly subordinate role when they talk about their superiors. The benefit of this technique was that it allowed and even forced the informants to look at the phenomenon of trust from both views. Whatever they said about their superior could also be applied to them. This may have helped to prevent very limited or even hateful views, which may occur if people feel like they present different camps. According to Brower and al. (2000, 231–232) the trustor is the most appropriate source of evaluation of trust. For superior and subordinate, the perception of the level of trust may vary depending on which party is responding to the question. Therefore, trust as a relational construct actually means two constructs: leader trust in subordinate (LTS) and subordinate trust in leader (STL), each measured from either the leader's or subordinate's perspective. In this research the phenomenon of trust is approached both from superiors' and subordinates' perspectives.

Again, the amount of essays totaled 98: 49 from subordinates and 49 from superiors' points of view. Later on 10 participants were chosen for an in-depth interview on the basis of the essays. The interviewees were chosen in order to get as rich data as possible. Sampling was done according to Patton's (2002, 243) *purposeful sampling strategies*. The chosen sampling strategy was intensity sampling which aimed at learning from information rich cases that manifest phenomenon intensely, but not extremely. All interviewees had different kinds of experiences of trust and some experiences of distrust as well. Informants were from different companies, state, and municipal organizations. Half of the interviewees were men and half were women. The age range was from 30–55 years. Geographically, the interviewees were from different parts of Finland, although the emphasis was on Southern Finland. The clientele of the Centre for Extension Studies is mainly from Pirkanmaa, Häme, and Uusimaa, which affected the informants' companies' locations. All participants of the research were team leaders or managers or in a process to become one. All interviewees were already in superior's position and had managing experience from 2–15 years. The interviews were conducted in the interviewees' offices or in some cases in a separate room during the training programs. The average length of an interview was approximately an hour. All interviews were recorded.

The interviews were nonstructured, but the essay on trust in superior-subordinate relationship that the interviewees had written earlier as part of their leadership training served as a starting point for discussion. Some interviewees spoke very openly and freely, and I mainly tried to guide the flow to the issues of trust. Some interviewees were more comfortable when I pointed out some parts of their essay and then asked an open question. I also asked informants to tell more or to be more precise about the matters they brought up. Working with this method allowed us to go deep into the personal experience of the informant.

Trust is a sensitive topic and a constructed reality between the trustor and trusted person. Therefore, during the interviews informants were encouraged to freely discuss issues of interest. For the sensitive nature of the issue, it was important to avoid the situations where the informant felt pressed to tell an altered truth or give socially acceptable answers. (Järvinen & Järvinen 2000, 153–155.) Likewise, it was important to avoid leading informants to suggest an answer, or to agree or disagree with an answer. For example, if an interviewee did not understand the question, it was not interpreted, but repeated several times. (Fontana & Frey 2000, 650.) The latest trends in interviewing have come some distance from structured questions – we have

reached the point of interview as negotiated text. Ethnographers have realized for some time that researchers are not invisible or neutral entities; rather they are part of the interactions they seek to study and influence those interactions. (Fontana & Frey 2000, 663.) The purpose of most qualitative interviewing is to derive interpretations, not laws or facts, from respondents' comments (Warren 2002, 83).

A key feature of the qualitative research interview method is the nature of the relationship between the interviewee and the interviewer. The relationship is part of the research process, not a distraction from it. The interviewee is seen as a participant in the research, actively shaping the course of the interview, rather than passively answering to the interviewer's preset questions. (King 2004.) A researcher can have a status of stranger, visitor, initiate or insider while entering into the field (Flick 1998, 60). In this case, the fact that I had been teaching leadership for the interviewees earlier did naturally affect the situation. Teacher and researcher are very different roles but most of the interviewees seemed to be very clear with my new role of a researcher. In the interviewing situations the signing of a license to study and the taking out of the recording equipment seemed to make my role as a researcher visible. On the other hand, the earlier connection as a teacher may have helped interviewees to talk confidentially and to move more easily to sensitive issues. The familiarity with informants' work places and their experiences also made it easier to me to listen to them and to ask suitable questions. As a researcher I was in a role as a frequent visitor, who had already gained some background information from the informant's life.

It is also necessary to ask whether qualitative research succeeds in gaining access to the constructs of the interview partner (Flick 2004, 94). Chirban (1996, xiii) points out in his interactive-relational approach that the relationship between interviewee and researcher provides the vehicle for the interviewer to know the interviewee. In this relationship, the two people exchange their ideas, beliefs and feelings that enhance growth and understanding. Gaining trust is essential to the success of the interviews and, once gained, trust can still be fragile. Any faux pas by the researcher can destroy days, weeks, or even months of painfully gained trust. (Fontana & Frey 2000, 655.)

Gender issues may also affect interviews. Some women may feel powerless, without much to say. In many societies girls are still raised as objects who should be seen but not heard. Even well educated women in managerial or professional occupations are not immune from self-censoring or silencing. (Reinharz & Chase 2002, 225.) On the other hand, men's expressive behavior is often aimed, sometimes strategically and perhaps more often as a matter of unconscious habit, at creating. The interviewing situation is potentially threatening to the masculine self because the interviewee relinquishes control, the exercise of which is a basic way in which masculinity is signified. Therefore, men being interviewed may try to exert a sort of compensatory control over the interview situation. (Schwalbe & Wolkomir 2002, 205-207.) Later on when the interviews were conducted, the knowledge of male and female differences in the interviewing situation helped to adjust and steer the communication.

The permission to research was asked in written form from the director of the Centre of Extension Studies at the University of Tampere. Permission was also asked individually from customer companies and organizations, every training program's manager, and every participant attending the training programs. Of the ten people who were asked to be interviewed, all ten agreed. Additionally, a few others would have been interested in serving as an informant and to

be interviewed. Likewise, only one of the hundred writings of the potential informants was not permitted to be part of the study. The reason for refusal was that this person was afraid that his or her case could be identified in the dissertation and that would cause trouble. Generally, several informants gave encouraging feedback about the research topic and said that trust is an important issue to talk about.

The phenomenological analysis was a long process which began long before the data collection even started. First of all I wrote a journal-like story of all my experiences as a subordinate or a superior. The story was mainly about the 11 different superiors who have at some point been affecting my life and molding my idea of good or bad leadership. Experiences were both positive, and negative and the idea of writing them down was to relive the situations and get some distance from the past experiences. Some of the very vivid memories of early work life have greatly affected my views as can be seen in the next example of my researcher's journal:

I was 14 years old and I had two weeks training (TET) period from elementary school at the local gym. I was very pleased to be at the gym, it was a novelty at the 80's and very trendy. Then one morning my supervisor told me that he will go to the solarium and that I was to stay by myself at the desk and to answer the phone etc. So I stayed there and answered the phone and told someone asking for my supervisor that he is in the solarium. Then the person on the phone told me to go get the man from the solarium immediately, which I did. The woman on the phone was the owner, and solarium during working hours was strictly forbidden. Afterwards my supervisor yelled at me and called me fucking idiot for I hadn't understand that I should cover up for him...

This journal writing process helped me to see which are the critical situations or ways to behave that may get me as a researcher to react on the basis of my past experience. Consequently, I found out that I relate easily to superiors who have a strong sense of justice and who can admit if they are wrong. On the other hand, I have problems with dealing superiors who are caught lying or misbehaving in some other way. Going through one's own experiences, thoughts and feelings helps one to be more aware of their possible impact on research. This process has helped me to let go of my pre-understandings as much as I could at this point. After writing it all down I have a better understanding of what triggers can get me to confuse my own opinions with the data. Being aware of the risks helps to avoid the pitfalls.

The phenomenological analysis aims to reveal the phenomenon as real as possible. This means that the researcher should be aware of personal interests and opinions in order to keep them from interfering with the research too much. The phenomenological analysis was made by applying Spiegelberg's (1982, 682) steps of phenomenological method: *investigating particular phenomena, investigating general essences, apprehending essential relationships among essences, watching modes of appearing, watching the constitution of the phenomena in consciousness, suspending belief in the existence of the phenomena, and interpreting the meaning of phenomena.*

Once the interview material had been gathered and written down, I started to read it through as open mindedly as possible to get the first preview of the data. Already at this point I was quite familiar with the material, because as a teacher at the training programs I had to give feedback of every essay. And during the time-consuming writing process I had to go through the interview tapes several times. I gradually started the phenomenological analysis by reading through the data carefully. Then I drew two mind maps on the basis of the interviews: one including matters related to trust and one with matters related to distrust. With the help of these mind maps I started to formulate coding categories for the analysis. All the themes

for coding were driven from the interviews; however, the theory base probably steered me to pay attention to factors that are well known in all theories of trust. Before starting the analysis I tried to make an analysis of every single interview. Anyway, it did not work with the data because the information was fragmented. Interviews were rich in data, but since they weren't narratives or telling about personal processes, the information was fragmented and it was impossible to interpret the meaning of every interview individually.

After formulating the coding categories, I analyzed the data with computer based N-vivo analysis program. Analysis was done two times; first I coded everything related to trust and then I went through the data another time to code references to distrust. This helped to bring in the differences between trust and distrust. Every theme was also coded separately from superiors' and subordinates' points of view in order to make salient the differences in thinking.

At the beginning of this part I stated that the theoretical paradigms, strategies of inquiry, and methods for gathering material of this study form an entity which is common for hermeneutic research. In the long run I found out that using the phenomenological method makes one very careful with making any conclusion based on the data. Even though some themes were clearly appearing, it seemed difficult to talk about the results before the analysis was completed and the results were written. According to Spiegelberg's steps, I noticed that I wanted to give time for the analysis process and to suspend belief in existence of the phenomena before its time.

Clear ideas about the nature of the research questions that are pursued are necessary for checking the appropriateness of methodological decisions chosen. Which methods are necessary, and is qualitative research the appropriate strategy to answer these questions? (Flick 1998, 47–48.) In my opinion, in this study the qualitative research was the suitable research strategy because trust as a topic is very personal and it can be best described with qualitative methods.



## 4 Research Results

... the normal situation is that you have this basic trust when you have no reason to expect anything else and from there it can grow stronger or weaker ...

On the basis of phenomenological analysis, 16 themes related to trust and 11 themes related to distrust emerged which I will analyze in this part. The results of this study cumulate on two viewpoints: the one of superiors and the one of subordinates. The superiors' viewpoint tells how superiors see their subordinates and also how they see themselves or their colleagues in the role of superior. Part of superiors' aspect is self-reflection of their own behavior and professional growth. The subordinates' viewpoint tells how subordinates see their superiors and how they see themselves in the role of subordinate. Similarly to the superiors' aspect, the subordinates' aspect also includes some self-reflection of their own behavior as subordinates. In addition to the two previously mentioned viewpoints there was also a neutral viewpoint used in the analysis.

The phenomenological analysis of the research data shows that the phenomenon of trust cannot be described without the opposite phenomenon: distrust. Trust and distrust are not just the different sides of a coin as if distrust was the negative of trust. The phenomenon of trust consists of certain matters which are not necessarily relevant with the phenomenon of distrust. Likewise, distrust consists partially of the same matters as trust but also has traits of its own.

From here on the results are delivered starting with core results (chapter 4.1), including answering to the two main research questions and sub questions. Moral stories are findings that emerged spontaneously from the data, and they are presented in chapter 4.1.2 as part of the learning related research question. After core results, I will present my findings in more detail (chapter 4.2). This chapter also analyses the notion of *trust* as the informants articulated the phenomenon. The phenomenon of *distrust* is presented equally in chapter 4.3 and a summary of results in chapter 4.4.

### 4.1 Core Results

The data included several mentions describing trust which are displayed here as an introduction to the results. Only the core findings are presented here, like for example, trust at work should be a norm. Most of the references are interpreted for the suitable subcategories as well. Most interviewees agreed that it is necessary to have some kind of basic level of trust between superior and subordinate just in order to get the work done efficiently. Interviewees also regard trust as a normal situation. If everything is going well at work, people should be able to trust each other. If trust is weakened or lost, it is an exceptional situation that should be fixed. But trust doesn't come automatically. A good superior-subordinate relationship takes time, listening, and discussion:

... I should develop listening and that kind of things and discussion in my work so I would have more time to stop ...

... if the situation is stable then the trust is just there in the background and if it is ok then I don't think it needs to be analyzed. But if you lose it, it is hard to restore and you'll need to start from the bottom ...

#### 4.1.1 Answering the Research Question I

This chapter answers the first research question which was: *What is trust in the subordinate-superior relationship on the ground of phenomenological analysis?* Accordingly sub questions – *what is the meaning of trust in superior-subordinate relationship?* And *what are superiors' and subordinates' views regarding trust?* – are covered in the end of this chapter.

To answer the question what trust is I would say that it is both *feelings (emotion)* and *knowledge*, a viewpoint which is also recognized by Kramer (1999). The relevance of *feeling* emerges clearly from the data. However, even though feelings are clearly a significant part of the phenomenon of trust, they present just one aspect of the entity. At the same time, many interviewees tell stories about how they gained trust or how they lost trust in a certain person, which also tells that the new *knowledge* of another person has affected their trust evaluation. Which one, then, is more important: emotion or knowledge? There is no need for an exclusive definition – trust doesn't need to be either an emotion or knowledge based phenomenon. Both elements, emotion and knowledge, are needed to build trust. However, even though the informants mentioned knowledge-based themes more often than feelings, it seems to me that the emphasis is on emotion. Anyhow, knowledge and emotions are difficult to separate. Time brings knowledge about the other person's behavior. Emotion affects knowledge and guides our perception. But likewise, knowledge can affect emotion: When we perceive something unpleasant in another person it also affects our feeling toward him or her.

The previous view is in accord with Power's and Dalglish's (1997, 57) claim that an emotion always has a cognitive basis. On the other hand, as I noted in chapter 2.3.3, Printz (2004, 49–51) argues that emotions are not cognitive. He claims that in many cases emotions are automatic responses. If emotions were cognitive, they should be under cognitive control, which they obviously aren't. Emotions in everyday life are not concepts but more like perceptions, and they may originate externally and aren't in total control of the subject. When informants describe their feelings, they often tell about their emotional reactions related to other people. In these cases, the negative emotions may especially be closer to the reactive view of emotions. In any case, whether emotions are defined cognitive or not, it is clear that they affect the development of trust or distrust. Trusting and being trusted is a very pleasant feeling that can have a positive impact on both atmosphere and efficiency at work.

\* \* \*

*16 themes related to trust* and *11 themes that related to distrust* emerged from the data in my analysis. On the following pages when I refer to these specific themes I will capitalize the first letter (e.g. Acts and Behavior). In these core results I will mainly concentrate on *trust*. Distrust will be presented in a chapter (4.3) of its own. Nevertheless, next I will briefly describe how *trust and distrust are intertwined and how distrust completes the analysis of trust*.

Trust and distrust are not identical in the way that one would be the positive and the other would be the negative side of a coin. Trust and distrust bring up different kinds of issues and

emphasize different things. For example, in the case of distrust, the severe consequences it causes are an essential finding but consequences of trust were hardly mentioned. Yet there were some comments like “trust makes me feel good”, but these were interpreted primarily as expressions of feeling. Obviously, distrust gets people to easily think about undesired consequences, but trust doesn’t evoke the same kind of causal thinking. Some phenomena are hard to approach directly, and it is easier to describe a matter by pointing what it is not. For instance, if people are asked what health means to you, some may find it challenging to define. If a person has a broken leg, it is easier to describe the meaning of a healthy leg by listing the annoyances and aches related to a broken leg.

I will now introduce Figure 5, which illustrates the core results (five most significant themes) of trust in superior-subordinate relationship. In the figure can be seen the two general aspects of trust mentioned above: *knowledge* and *emotions*. The specific themes that describe them are Acts and Behavior (knowledge) and Feelings (emotion). Time and Superior’s Support are also included. The arrow representing Time points to knowledge – time allows one to gather information of other party’s action. The arrow of Superior’s Support points to emotions illustrating how crucial it is for the affective aspect of superior-subordinate relationship. The figure illustrates neither superiors nor subordinates, because they are implicitly included in the picture – the Figure 5 illustrates the trust relationship between superior and subordinate. The last element of the figure, communication, refers to the theme Discussing, but in the picture I chose to use the word communication, for it includes both verbal and nonverbal communication.

As the Figure 5 illustrates, peoples’ conduct, *Acts and Behavior*, cumulates knowledge of the possible trustworthiness of the other person. This finding clearly emerged from the data during the phenomenological analysis. According to the results, the most significant theme that affects other people’s evaluation of a persons’ trustworthiness is Acts and Behavior. Trust is integrity

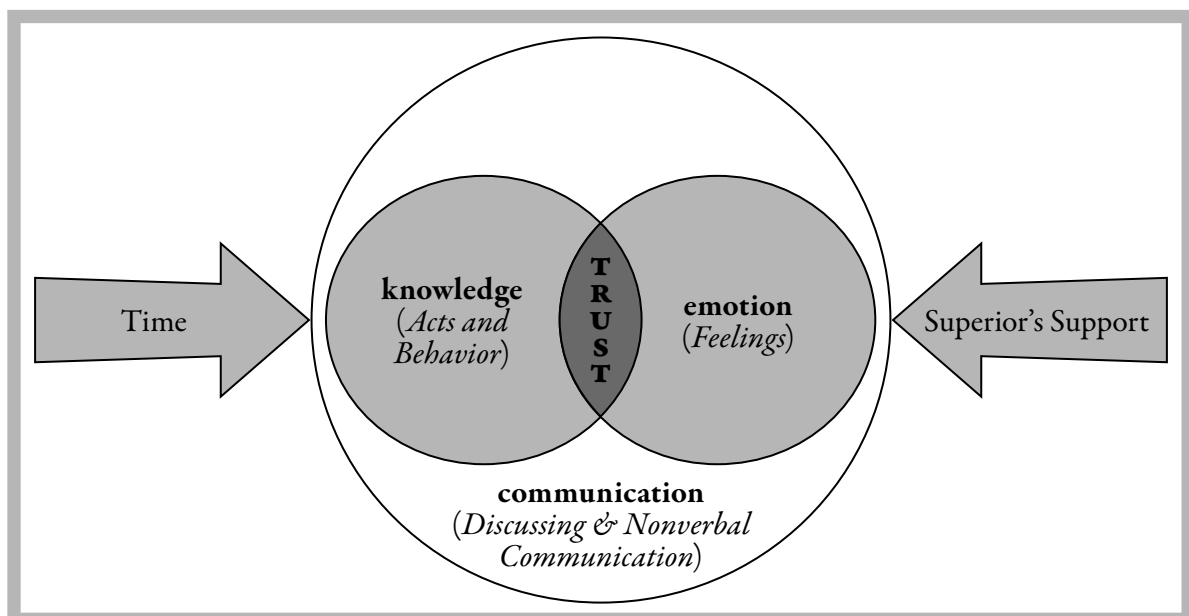


Figure 5. Illustration of Trust in Superior-Subordinate Relationship Based on Results. Author’s compilation.

and correspondence with talk and action: Both superiors and subordinates put emphasis on people's conduct. They expect people to do what they have promised and to put the common interest above personal gain. Words and action should be aligned in order to beget trust. But in case they aren't, then the action shows the true nature of a person. Superiors value subordinates who take responsibility for their tasks and keep their promises. Subordinates should also be able to think about the organization's or team's best interests and not to concentrate on their personal benefits. On the other hand, subordinates respect superiors who are willing to lead by example and who are fair and just towards all the employees.

There is some connection in these results to those of Cremer and al. (2001) who found that when work is made accountable, then low-trustors and high-trustors put as much effort to their tasks. Low-trustors are usually less willing to invest their labor in common goals because they are afraid that others may not reciprocate their cooperative behavior and may therefore need additional motivation to be engaged in the cooperation. When low-trustors' work is made accountable, they put in more effort because their exertion will be visible for others. Accountability means that people's conduct may be constrained to some degree as they expect that their behavior may be linked to the person they are. In order to maintain a socially favorable image, they work harder when they are accountable. In a social dilemma situation people may be concerned about how other people see their action. Compared to the results of this study, this indicates that accountability should be emphasized in leadership. For example, authoritative leadership and coaching leadership styles that train people to take responsibility can also have a positive impact on workplace trust relations.

The negative side of trust, Distrustful Acts and Behavior, was mentioned even more often than its opposite, trust-evoking Acts and Behavior. In general, the misuse of power, being too sure of one's rightful behavior, and the inability to see one's faults were regarded as fatal to trust. Unjust behavior, like having favorites or fraternizing with someone in the organization while neglecting others, was also seen as distrustful. Contradiction between words and action was equally destructive to trust. If a person says one thing and does something else (or doesn't do what he or she is supposed to do), then that person is considered untrustworthy. A case study made in Singapore reported similar results (see Lee & Teo 2005). For example, one subordinate in the study asked: "How can you talk about trust when you don't show it yourself?" This suggests that the need to have a superior who leads by example is broadly perceived.

Taking responsibility for one's action is crucial in trust. In attribution theories, people's behavior and causality of events are explained by giving them attributes (Weiner 1974, 4-20). Although there is no single attribution theory, different cognitive models usually state that people have rather fixed ideas about how things should be when they enter into interpersonal relationships. These views serve as filters which process the information about behaviors or characteristics of others. (Miner 2005, 184-185.) Being aware of the possible member "impression management" on leader's attributions and performance appraisals may help managers to reduce the impact of impression bias. Likewise, knowledge of the possible effects could help to improve relations between superiors and subordinates. (Bitter & Gardner 1995, 189.) For example, a leader may see his favorite employee watching out of the office window and think: "Oh, she is just resting her eyes for she has been working so hard again." In her mind this employee is classified as an excellent team member and she mainly seeks and filters information that supports this picture. When the same leader sees another employee gazing out of the window

she may think: “I see that she is lazy. Why does she complain that she is overloaded when she obviously has time to sit?” The latter employee is stigmatized in her mind as a bad team member, and so she sees every incident merely as a proof for her beliefs. In organization theories, the research on attribution theories have focused on managerial perceptions of poorly performing subordinates (Miner 2005, 184).

Attribution can equally be used to explain one’s own behavior. A leader may refuse to use much time for development discussions because he thinks that he is not a people person and that kind of soft things should be left for others. If a person refuses to see faults in his or her own action, then it can diminish the trust. For example, in the data a few subordinates claimed that their superiors are distant and don’t support them, and gave negative feedback in a demotivating way. When superiors have blind spots and they don’t see or they are not ready to admit what is wrong in their behavior, that attitude causes the employees to lose faith in them. Accordingly, the self-explanation models that people use are crucial in trust. People find it easier to trust people who admit their faults and don’t try to deny or hide them. Likewise, if people who see no blame in themselves, and accuse others or the situation for everything, they make it really difficult to form a trusting relationship with them. Miner (2005, 201) points out that areas such as performance appraisal might benefit a lot from input from the attribution theory. To sum up, attributes we give to others’ and our own behavior have an affect on trust.

Like I pointed out above, in addition to knowledge related *Acts and Behavior*, interviewees also seem to listen to their *feelings* (emotions) a lot and to make their judgments of people’s trustworthiness based on them. Feelings significantly affect other people’s evaluations. Both superiors and subordinates describe how they feel in the presence of other people. The chemistry may be positive and give the feeling that it is really easy to trust a person. When superior-subordinate relationship is good and trust doesn’t need to be questioned, then the work gets done smoothly. When the feeling of a person is unpleasant, it is more difficult to trust. Anyhow, being able to work together does not require liking. Action is a more important factor than feeling in the work life. If a person’s action is correct and the employee takes care of one’s responsibilities, then an unpleasant feeling should not affect the relationship. It is also worth noticing that both superiors and subordinates mention that *being a trusted person is a very pleasant feeling*. Superiors take pride in good reviews they have gotten from their subordinates and they mention that it feels good if a subordinate dares to tell them about his or her private matters, because it is a sign of trust. On the other hand, subordinates feel that in a way it is an honor to be the trusted by their superior and they are willing to listen to their superior in their turn. According to Lahno (2001, 185) trust does have an intrinsic value. In general, people appreciate being trusted and are displeased if trust in them is withdrawn. Being trusted is rewarding, and therefore people, including the interviewees, tend to see trust as an object of high regard. The affect of emotions on trust has been raised in the recent trust research: even in the business context the emotional level greatly affects the organizational trust building (Blomqvist & Ståhle 2000; Blomqvist & al. 2005). Connection between emotions, affective attitudes and trust have been suggested by different scholars: trust has been described as an affective attitude and the affect of emotions and moods on both trustor and trustee has been stressed (see Dunn & Schweitzer 2005; Jones 1996; Williams 2007). However, there has long been a need for empirical proof of the connection between trust and emotions, which this research has tried to make visible.

On the negative side of trust related emotions, *Feeling Distrust* is described with emotions like fear and uncertainty. Distrust makes a person feel insecure and anticipate the other's negative reactions. Finding someone unpleasant seems to affect a lot on an emotional level but it doesn't prevent two people from working together. In the case of loss of trust, some interviewees describe their own feelings as awful and shocking. This is in line with earlier research where victims of fraud describe their reactions as disbelief and shock (see Govier 1998). Subordinates commonly claim that they feel left alone with their responsibilities, which weakens their trust in their superior.

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In earlier trust research, feelings have not usually held a central place (see Dirks 2002). Among others, Hardin (2001; 2002; 2004) locates trust solely in the realm of knowledge. He also claims that trusting is another thing than acting on trust. In this research, feelings are relevant and interviewees report that feelings have an impact on their behavior. Basically people want other people to trust them. But since trust itself is an elusive concept that seems to have the same traits as feelings, it would be sufficient to ask other people to act on trust as Hardin (2001) puts it. The question is: Why don't people act on trust if they don't intuitively feel that they trust? If trust is a feeling, then wouldn't it be short-sighted to suppress it and do other than what the person's intuition says? Trust cannot be commanded or forced. If a superior tells subordinates to trust him or her it won't work, for it is not psychologically possible to command other people to feel something. Furthermore, acting on trust if there is no trust is against many people's value of integrity and honesty.

Another example may clarify the difference between acting on trust and trusting. If a person is ordered to love someone it probably won't happen, but he or she can still act as if he or she would love the designated person, get married and have a family. This kind of situation rarely lasts in western cultures because when the inner feeling is in conflict with the action then it becomes a psychologically insupportable situation for most individualized westerners. If people were able to command their feelings like trust and love, then divorces would be unnecessary. Instead of seeing a counselor or lawyer, people could just command themselves to trust or love or at least act on trust or love. After having come to the conclusion that trust and love have a lot in common, I found Solomon's and Flores's (2001, 103-108) publication that supports the centrality of feeling in trust. They suggest in their conceptual analysis that trust is an emotion and compare it to love.

Distrust is also accompanied by a wide range of emotions, particularly anxiety, fear, and resentment. Some people argue that trust should not be counted as an emotion because it lacks the passion and the violence of true feelings like love and hate. Yet, not all emotions need to be violent, overwhelming, or intrusive. Trust is most evident in its quiet expressions, in its modesty, in its congeniality, and in its subtle pervasiveness. Trust and trustworthiness depend on different kinds of emotional attitudes. Trust includes feelings of mutuality, confidence, and even dependency. Trustworthiness on the other hand involves feelings of responsibility, duty, and respect. Still, both authentic trust and trustworthiness involve emotions derived from and directed to a relationship between two or more human beings. Accordingly, Lahnö (2001) argues that trust is an emotion and emotions are not directly under the control of rational choice.

She criticizes the traditional view that sees trust more like a question of a rationally calculated risk. As an emotional attitude, trust is to some point independent of objective perception and information. Trust as a concept should be kept closer to common sense that tells us that trust is an emotion. Close personal relationships especially show how important a factor emotion is in trust. Why do we usually trust our family and closest friends? Not just because we have a lot of knowledge about them, but because there is so much feeling in the relationship. Both Lahno (2001) and Solomon and Flores (2001) base their theories on conceptual analysis. Therefore, it is worth noticing that even though this study has partially similar results, they are based on an empirical research process.

However, as it is noted before (see chapter 1.2), social relationships at work are more public and more formal, not emotional in the same sense as family ties or romantic relationships. When I claim that trust can be compared to love, I use the concept of love in a more general sense than it is often understood in personal relationships. Trust is strong, positive feeling which manifests itself by increasing a person's ability to accept the other party as he or she is, thus lubricating the cooperation. When the emotional aspect of trust is compared to specific feelings it can also be said to resemble a deep level friendship. This relevance of balancing between professional roles and friendliness (Kilduff & Tsai 2003, 33–51) was previously discussed in chapter 2.2. To sum up, the interaction at work is in general aimed at fulfilling a given project in collaboration with others. The primary reason for organizations to exist is that there is work that needs to be done and both superiors and subordinates go there to fulfill their designated and role-related tasks. However, while people are at work, they are still human beings with the whole spectrum of their feelings. Roles – being a superior and subordinate – are often needed to get the organization running. Emotions need to be taken in account, because feelings are an inseparable part of humanity. I will illustrate this role/emotion distinction with a real life example. A manager retired from a big company where he had been in charge of procurements of one division. Most of his acquaintances from like business were mainly interested in him because of the buyer role he happened to be in, and gifts and invitations were floating into his office. After retiring the attention from most sellers and business acquaintances ceased, but this former manager still had a few friends that he had encountered during his career. Their underlying friendship tie was so strong that when the work roles didn't exist any more, they could go fishing as pals.

According to my core results (see Figure 5), *Superior's Support* is also an important theme in the superior-subordinate relationship. Superiors are very self-reflective and they seem to think a lot about how they could be supportive. Subsequently, subordinates evaluate how their subordinates manage to be supportive or, in some cases, fail to do so. Noticeably, the superior's support is a vital thing in the superior-subordinate relationship. To explain the importance of the superior's support, the key term here is benevolence. It is clear that every superior should be benevolent towards his or her subordinates. Otherwise working together and delivering results would be really hard. But from the subordinate's point of view, the superior's benevolence has even a greater meaning. Superiors' unsupportive behavior sends a message to subordinates that the superiors don't have the subordinates' best interest in mind. The best interest and the best for the company may sometimes be two different things, depending on a person's role. A superior may think that the best thing to do on a busy day is to hurry to another meeting without seeing his or her subordinates. On the very same day the subordinates may feel that the best thing that the superior could do for them and the whole company is to advise them

so they could do their work better and more efficiently. Subordinates often feel left alone with their oversized work loads and feel alienated from their superiors. This finding clearly shows the differences in thinking, depending on the role one is in. From the superiors' point of view it is hard to see when more support is needed. And from subordinates' point of view it is difficult to comprehend superiors' workloads and to understand why they prioritize other things and aren't available when needed. Trust is often connected to a certain point of view, and how things go depends on how one perceives the situation and the partner in it (Lahno 2001, 180).

In addition, *Time* has a central place in much research on trust and this theme was accordingly mentioned several times in this data. Most comments concerning time were neutral, so time is not a strongly role-related matter. Interviewees agree that it is easier to work together when you have known each other for a long time. Getting to know a person takes time, but when you become familiar then cooperation gets smoother. Lack of time seems to be a common problem for superiors and subordinates. Discussing and listening would especially need more time.

Superiors see that it is an advantage to know your subordinates for a longer period of time. When you know your people it becomes easier to anticipate how they will act in different situations. For example, if someone has always finished a project before deadline, then you can trust that person to act the same way in the future as well. Superiors also mention that if you have been working in the same company for a long time, then you become more accessible to your subordinates. When subordinates know the superior they don't hesitate to come to talk to him or her. Likewise, subordinates claim, too, that it is a benefit to have the same superior for a long time. In a long term superior-subordinate relationship, subordinates feel safer and are more willing to go talk to the superior. On both sides, the ability to predict the other's behavior increases the feeling of security.

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I have previously presented the Figure 5 that summarizes my core results – knowledge (*Acts and Behavior*), emotion (*Feeling*), *Superior's Support*, and *Time*. There is still one more element to be discussed, communication. As I mentioned earlier, it refers to several themes: *Discussing*, *Nonverbal Communication* (see chapter 4.2.14), and *Communicating Distrust*. Discussing (trust) and Communicating Distrust are more or less different aspects of the same phenomenon. Discussing was mentioned by all the interviewees, so discussing and communicating are closely related to trust. Interviewees put emphasis on listening which is needed in all functioning relationships. The changing roles in human interaction were also recognized; at times you are the listener and at times you are the one to be listened to. Once again, superiors show ability to be self-reflective by evaluating their own behavior. In order to be a good superior they discuss with their subordinates and try to have a positive attitude when some of the employees come to talk to them. Development discussions were seen as an essential part of a superior's work, but also a place and time for more personal conversation and as a chance to connect with subordinates at a more personal level.

Superiors claim that even difficult matters are to be discussed openly and that they welcome subordinates to come talk to them. Communication is a cycle that deepens by degrees and eventually it leads to a more open talk about work and about personal matters as well. Discussing is a means to keep in touch with the subordinates and to be aware of how they are doing both



at work and in private life. Superiors aren't interested in subordinates' private lives per se, but they see employees holistically and believe that problems like a divorce can also be reflected in work. When a superior is aware of what is happening it also gives a chance to offer help and to make arrangements to lighten the work load for a needed period of time. Discussing can also help to build in confidence and trust, in case it has been jeopardized.

Subordinates hope to be able to talk about professional matters with their superior. This is apparently a big concern in many expert organizations. When the superiors don't have the particular knowledge needed to understand the professional issues of their subordinates, then the superiors' roles may be bound to administration and management instead of leadership and coaching. Subordinates believe in openness and that unpleasant matters should also be shared and negotiated. For example, it is better to tell the superior openly and in a timely manner if one's work will be delayed. Subordinates look for sharing and transparency in communication.

Notably, most comments concerning *Communicating Distrust* were made by subordinates. A superior who is lying or tells different versions of a situation to different people is ruining the trust relationship. This leads subordinates to a state of ambiguity and uncertainty. Using harsh humor and making fun of other people in a questionable way is regarded as bad behavior and distrustful. Making fun of an absent person is seen especially badly and it makes the other people wonder what will be said about them when they are not around. When this is done by a superior it is very confusing for the whole organization and staff. Since a superior is always a role model and sets the norms for behavior, a bad example equally creates a model for bad behavior. This can lead into a collision of the subordinates' inner moral self and the work environment. Another extremity is to be too reserved and unwilling to disclose any personal information. If a superior is very restrained, then subordinates don't dare to share anything personal either. Eventually this can also affect the professional communication because people aren't accustomed to communicate with each other and don't feel comfortable doing so.

Superiors see that they have to be able to keep their word. For example, if a superior promises more meetings to the work team and nothing happens, then the promise seems untrustworthy. Vain promises add to distrust. If one is unable to keep promises then it is better to not make them. Sometimes superiors have lots of personal information about their subordinates, and they should strictly keep it to themselves and not use it to their own advantage. Leaking information about a subordinate's confidential matters is fatal to trust.

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On previous pages I have presented the core results of this study, which are summarized in Figure 5. However, there were two further themes that were regarded significant. I haven't included them in Figure 5 because the themes are related solely to distrust. Accordingly, they weren't mentioned as often as the themes included in the picture.

The first of these "independent themes", *Consequences of Distrust*, was the second significant theme in distrust. Distrust makes people cautious and uncertain. Open communication becomes difficult and people don't easily share information with each other. Working becomes challenging because people become scarce with their words. Distrust is harmful to the motivation and to the feeling of flow at work (see Csikzentmihalyi 1990, 143–163). Superiors see that in cases of distrust they need to be more attentive and check more often that the subordinates'

work gets done. If a superior cannot trust a subordinate it is an unpleasant situation. As cited earlier, Kilduff and Tsai (2003, 43–44) argue that unbalanced relationships cause discomforts and therefore people are likely to change unbalanced relationships to balanced ones. This can be seen in superiors' and subordinates' behavior in prolonged problematic relationships. In the worst cases the superior can even try to relocate the subordinate or recommend the subordinate to give a notice of resignation. From subordinates' side consequences of distrust are even more fatal, because superiors always have more power in the hierarchy. Therefore, it is difficult for subordinates to manage in cases of distrust. Subordinates may even consider quitting the job if they don't trust their superior. In general, subordinates find distrust extremely demotivating and frustrating. Distrust causes passivity because the subordinates feel that the official meetings or development discussions are nothing but theatre. Subordinates take part in them because they are obliged to do so, but since they have no trust in the superior they keep their ideas and true opinions to themselves. The following Figure (6) crystallizes my idea of the circle of the phases of distrust.

The second "independent theme", *Transference of Perceived Untrustworthiness*, seems to be a role-free issue. Most comments related to it were made from a neutral point of view. Most interviewees were of the opinion that if a person has committed an immoral act at work or

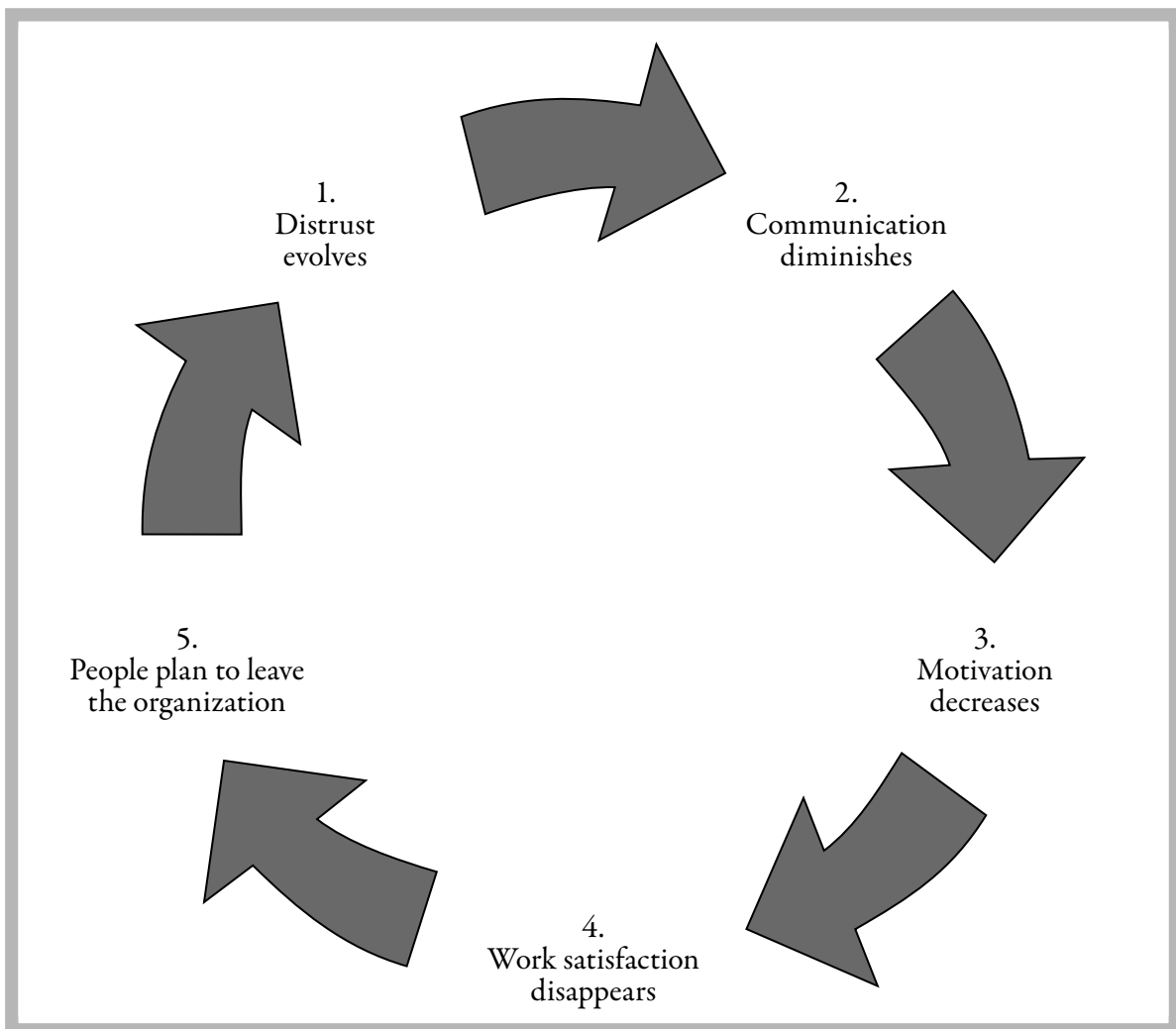


Figure 6. Cycle of Distrust at Work. Authors' compilation.

even in personal life, it will somehow affect their attitude towards this person at work. People become somehow on alert because they are unsure if this kind of immoral behavior will happen again. They can become more cautious, and more critical. They can also feel that they start to disrespect the person who has broken the moral code. Interviewees see that a human being is a holistic entity. Most people have a basic character and a person's behavior – for example, breaking promises – tells a lot about one's trustworthiness. Transference of Perceived Untrustworthiness also refers to the learning theories of trust. In a way transference can be seen as a way of learning: if a person is untrustworthy with one thing, he or she will likely act that way with other matters. On the other hand, transference can be limiting; anticipations soon become attributes (see Weiner 1974, 4–20) and start to guide our expectations and behavior.

Superiors see that very small things can affect a person's reputation and trustworthiness. The things that happen can be insignificant, like using the company's money to order unnecessarily expensive office equipment for a person's own use at work. The cost may be minimal at the organizational level, but this kind of conduct sends the message that the person puts personal gain before the company's profit. Equally, if a person is neglecting his or her responsibilities, it can be assumed that this person would act the same way in another situation.

There were only a few comments from the subordinate's point of view about the Transference of Perceived Untrustworthiness, but one of them indicates how long-standing these negative images can be. A subordinate related that his former superior had blamed him for being overly cautious and the rumors had spread in the organization. After a year, he got feedback from his new superior that he had heard the rumors but that he had soon noticed that the critique was unjust. The subordinate was surprised at how long a time it took to get his reputation back and how continual an effect his former superior's words had. Hence, transference can be just or unjust, but in any case it usually has long-standing effects.

\* \* \*

On previous pages I have presented findings that answer my first research question – *what is trust in the subordinate-superior relationship on the ground of phenomenological analysis?* In the following I will also cover the issues brought up in sub questions. The first sub question was: *What is the meaning of trust in superior-subordinate relationship?* First of all, on the basis of this study and previous research, I would say that *trust* cannot be forced, or commanded. It seems like trust relates to *values, moral* and *intuition*. Being trusted is rewarding and therefore people, including the interviewees, tend to see trust as an object of high regard. Trust greatly affects everyday life: trust lubricates action at work and distrust builds barriers between people. In a well functioning superior-subordinate relationship trust doesn't need to be questioned, and the work gets done smoothly. Accordingly, when the feeling towards a person is unpleasant, it is more difficult to trust.

Second, trustworthiness is something that people tend to try to foretell. If a person has been impeccably trustworthy so far, then he or she will be regarded as trustworthy also in the future. If a person has done something immoral, then his or her trustworthiness will be questioned in the future for a long time – possibly forever. People lay expectations for each other's behavior through predictions of trustworthiness.

Third, both trust and lack of it move people. If the primary trust relationship, that of superior and subordinate, is functioning well it suits people to stay in the current job. If not, people may

try to find another employer in serious cases because distrust is hard to bear on a daily basis. Distrust is described with emotions like fear and uncertainty. Experiencing distrust makes a person feel insecure and anticipate other's negative reactions. Like I said, finding someone unpleasant seems to affect a lot on an emotional level, but it doesn't prevent two people from working together. In the case of loss of trust, some interviewees describe their own feelings as awful and shocking. Distrust has several consequences: it makes people cautious and uncertain. In case of distrust, open communication becomes difficult and people don't easily share information with each other. When communication suffers, working becomes challenging and motivation decreases. Sometimes superiors can try to relocate the untrustworthy subordinate or recommend the subordinate to give a notice of resignation. Subordinates, who usually don't have the possibility of relocating their bosses, may consider quitting the job if they don't trust their superior. In general, both superiors and subordinates find distrust extremely demotivating and frustrating.

On the branch of marketing Doney and Cannon (1997; also Whitener & al. 1998) suggest that since the perceived trustworthiness of the seller makes the buyer more willing to buy, managers should train their salespeople how to build trust. This could be done by expressing benevolent motives towards clients and respecting their time. I claim that the same thing is applicable in leadership training programs. To start, leaders need some basic information about how trust is built, which can be taught in formal lectures. Then role-playing exercises and group work should be added so participants could train trust-building skills in a safe classroom environment before applying them to practice. Here I want to stress that using drama techniques in teaching has nothing to do with starting to act in real life. The aim of using role-playing isn't to swindle people, but to teach people to express themselves in a way that it makes possible to build common understanding. For example, giving constructive feedback has been thought via role-playing for a long time, and nowadays most people realize that expressing ones wishes and critique in a way that is acceptable for the other party is the only way to get cooperation going.

The second sub question was: *What are superiors' and subordinates' views regarding trust?* The significance of superiors' and subordinates' different viewpoints can be seen throughout the results. In work life most superiors are at the same time subordinates to their bosses. In other words, most people in managerial positions are accustomed to dual roles. Only some CEOs have no direct superior but even they usually have to listen to a board of directors. Based on this research, it seems that people's thinking and even values alter to some point, depending on their point of view. When a person is in the role of a superior it makes him or her think more about the organization's benefit first. And when the exact same person in another situation identifies himself or herself as a subordinate, then the well-being of the work force usually feels closer than company's gain. Obviously, this dualistic view has existed in organizations for a very long time – if not always. However, in conflicts it can have considerable consequences.

Starbuck and al. (1979) argue that processes of disintegration reinforce and feedback themselves. For example, after a downsizing people who remain are often told to work harder and often with unfamiliar tasks and fewer rewards, and instead of being thankful for saved jobs they may see their superiors as untrustworthy cynics.

The best interest and the best for the company may sometimes be two different things depending on a person's role. Subordinates often feel left alone with their oversized workloads and feel alienated from their superiors. This finding clearly shows the differences in thinking

depending on the role one is in. From the superior's point of view it is hard to see when more support is needed. And from subordinates' point of view it is difficult to comprehend superiors' workloads and to understand why they prioritize other things and aren't available when needed.

In this study some of the topics were less role dependent than others. For example, *Time* was described with several neutral comments when *Superior's Support* had no neutral comments at all but evoked numerous comments from either superiors' or subordinates' views. But for instance, some other themes which I will present later, such as *Trusted Persons*, were mentioned only from superiors' point of view. Apparently subordinates don't pay so much attention to the trusted persons, but when one becomes a superior it starts to matter more to have someone you can trustfully talk to. Most subordinates manage to find a peer or colleague to talk to confidentially, but in the superior's position it becomes more challenging to have someone with whom you can exchange your ideas. The moral stories found in interviews, which I will cover in detail in 4.1.2, equally point out the difference depending on the point of view. Several interviewees told about their bad experiences when they have felt that their former superior or colleague had treated them wrong. Now in their current superior role they emphasize the meaning of good leadership, and they want to be supportive superiors to their team members.

#### 4.1.2 Answering the Research Question 2

The second main research question was: *How are trust and learning related in the context of subordinate-superior relationship?* I would say that in superior-subordinate relationship, trust enables learning and learning enables trust. Trust makes people more willing to share information and to collaborate. Naturally, this augmented openness also makes possible for two parties to learn about each other and to some point predict the other person's reactions and behavior. On the contrary, distrust makes people limit communication to a minimum and to avoid each other. In a distrustful climate people retain information, and common sharing and learning diminishes.

Relationship learning isn't an independent theory in education, but several academics have mentioned it in their publications (see Hannon & al. 2000; Kram & Lynn 1985; Palakshappa & Gordon 2007; Ruohotie 2000; Selnes & Sallis 2003). I argue that relationship learning is central in building trust, and therefore it merits to be taken into account as a way to bind learning and trust together. Learning to trust cannot arise in solitude. Learning to trust is a social process and it is based on both trustors' and trustees' ability to learn about themselves and each other. See Figure 7 which illustrates the time bound development of relationship learning and trust. When the duration of the relationship is long then there is enough knowledge of other party's behavior and attitudes like benevolence. Emotions are related to the perceived benevolence. When the two parties in relationship find each other benevolent, then they feel emotionally safe, which begets trust.

Ruohotie (2000, 221–222) argues that there are several skills, like being friendly or explaining a complex thing in an understandable way, that haven't been regarded as drivers for organizational learning. Relationship related skills have often been regarded as personal traits. Therefore, it is vital that skills that enable learning in relationships are analyzed and made visible in a way that the system can understand them. Learning in relationships benefits

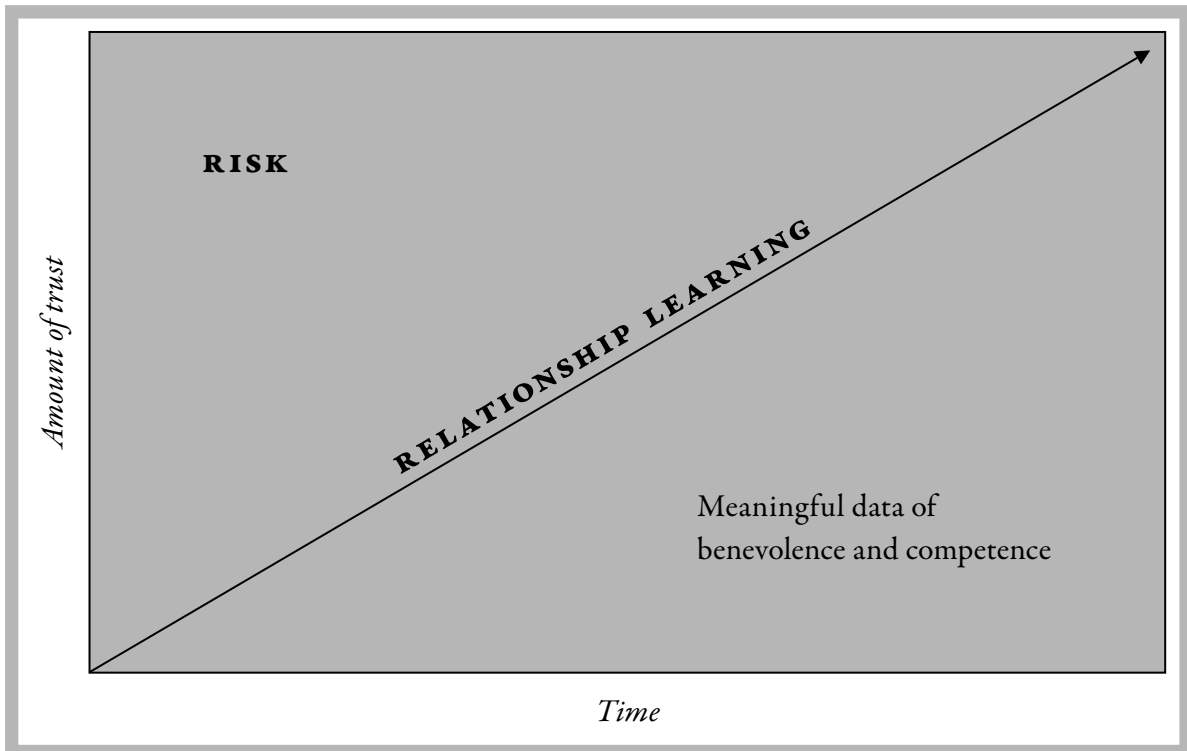


Figure 7. Relationship Learning and Trust. Author's compilation.

parties' interpersonal communication, but companies should also realize the intended benefits of collaboration and intangible assets that can be obtained by networking (Palakshappa & Gordon 2007).

In practice, trust fosters social sharing in many ways and thus makes working together easier. For instance, feedback is a thing that people in general would like to hear more at work. Yet, giving feedback is a risky situation, and therefore many people find it easier to avoid it. Giving feedback is part of a superior's role related tasks, but still it may not be taken to the full potential. For subordinates giving feedback to peers or superior may seem too risky because of the power asymmetries. The level of feedback giving is a good indicator of trust: when confidence is high then feedback giving is also frequent and easy. Feedback enables learning, and therefore it is a good scaffold for relationship learning. Kram and Lynn (1985) argue that peer relationships offer a vast range of developmental support for both professional and personal growth. Peer relationships may offer career-enhancing functions like information sharing and job-related feedback. In peer relationships that are characterized by higher self disclosure and trust, psychosocial functions like emotional support and personal feedback are common.

Relationship learning is a process which aims to improve the future behavior in relationship. However, relationships vary in their learning capabilities, and therefore some relationships perform better. This is caused by differences in relationship learning mechanisms: some relationships have developed more appropriate learning mechanisms than others. Relationship can be seen as a joint activity in which two parties share information, which is then jointly integrated into a shared memory that is specific to that particular relationship. Relational trust facilitates learning because in trusting relationships information is shared even about sensitive issues. In other words, relational trust creates a belief between parties that information sharing

increases the size of a pie more than information withholding would do. To sum up, the willingness to collaborate creates a climate for relationship-learning activities, and relationship learning mediates the effect of collaboration on relationship performance. (Selnes & Sallis 2003, 80–81.)

The second sub question pointed to how fundamentally different the views of superiors and subordinates can be – sometimes the gap is so wide that it becomes hard to find a common starting point. Therefore, trust and learning to trust in a superior-subordinate relationship becomes crucial. By intentionally promoting relationship learning in organizations and especially in superior-subordinate relationships, it is possible to create more trustful and more functional relationships. Creating a learning relationship can be made by learning to listen and learn, by openly admitting mistakes and then working to find solutions, creating processes to learn and to learn together, and by giving and taking constructive criticism without losing empathy (Hannon & al. 2000, 245).

While learning to trust is related to relationship learning, it also has connections to *constructivist learning* and *transformative learning*. (See chapters 2.3.1–2.3.2) Trust is personal and it can be described as a feeling. However, every trusting relationship is unique and it is constructed on the base of the trustor's experiences. What is trustworthy behavior to one may be dishonesty for another. It all depends on the criteria. What is typical for trust is that its components aren't often made visible. Trusting and especially distrusting are things that people rather keep to themselves. Cultural relativity is also another thing that supports the constructivist nature of trust. In every culture certain ways of acting are regarded as trustworthy. Yet, it doesn't mean that everyone in a given culture would value trustworthy behavior the same way. For example, in Finland telling the truth is valued a lot, but every trustor makes his or her interpretation of acceptable white lies, stretching the truth etc.

Thus, what binds trust and learning together is both intrapersonal learning and learning in relationships with other people. Learning to trust is a personal, constructivist process. Based on one's personal experiences or what we have learned from others, it is possible to learn to either trust or distrust. We may learn to avoid people that we regard as distrustful (an alcoholic asking money for bus ticket) or unpleasant situations (face to face campaign agents asking money for good cause), but compared to Argyris's (1982) theory of learning this kind of learning would be mere *single-loop learning* (see chapter 2.3). As I mentioned before, in single-loop learning one generates a special kind of quality of learning that will go within the actor and the environment and the actor. There is quite little testing of ideas, and actors will not seek information that would confront their prevailing thoughts. In this way many ideas will become self-fulfilling, and learning will be limited to what one finds acceptable. Learning may become detrimental by strengthening prejudices especially in cases of distrust.

Taking learning to trust to a second level means engaging into *double-loop learning*. The idea in the double-loop learning is that hypotheses are tested publicly, ideas are confronted, and the processes are disconfirmable and not self-sealing. Double-loop learning is based on the ability to take a "double look" at the situation by questioning the relevance of operating norms. (Argyris 1982, 88, 104; Morgan 2006, 84–87.) In terms of trust a person could learn by experience or could be taught by elders to trust or distrust certain kinds of people. When such persons challenge themselves to take a second look over their views they can remodel their operating norms and come to the conclusion that their criteria for trust or distrust were

too narrow. They may learn to think in a more open and complex way that some people are trustworthy and some are not, regardless of the group they belong. See Figure 8 below.

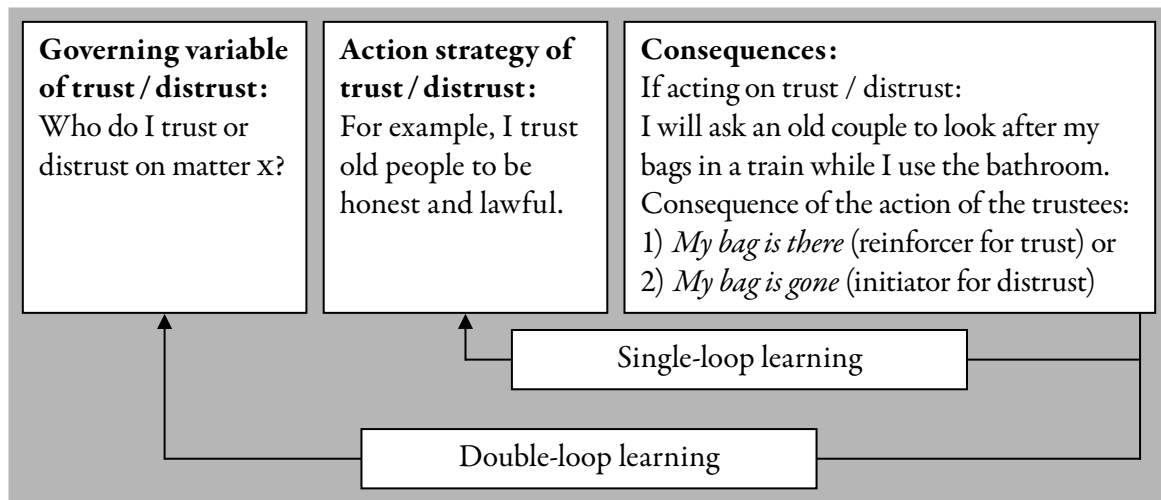


Figure 8. Single-loop and Double-loop in Learning to Trust.  
 Author's compilation on the basis of Argyris.

Transformational learning comes into the picture with *the moral stories* in which the informants describe their maturing experience of developing their own moral as a leader. Transformative learning means that the framework of the learner needs to change and it is quite a rare phenomenon. Nevertheless, I suggest that these moral stories are examples of transformative processes, where superiors have challenged the prevailing ways of leadership and through their first-hand experience have established their own leadership morals. Former bad leadership examples had been part of the organization's culture at that time. In a transformative process these superiors have weighed their values in their minds and have come up with a new leadership frame – one that is in accordance with their values and allows them to execute leadership in a trustworthy way. In these cases the transformation hasn't made the interviewees to completely abandon their previous views, but their transformational processes have forced them to crystallize what their personal values are. As cited before, Mezirow (2000, 5–6) claims that in transformational learning the process of learning can be seen as using a prior interpretation to construe a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience as a guide to future action. Learning may be intentional, the result of a deliberate inquiry; or incidental, a by-product of other intentional learning; or mindlessly assimilative.

I argue that finding the willingness to be trustworthy to the others is a transformative process like love. It demands ability and willingness to put general good and other people's benefit first, and thus requires a change of framework. As leaders mature in their roles, they shift to see the organization from a broader perspective, and their morals and willingness to be trustworthy and serve the community should change as well. Sometimes trust is described as a way to achieve something, for example trust in seller-buyer relationships is fostered because it adds sales. To my understanding, trust and love are also alike in their need for genuineness.



Being trustworthy or loving are hard feelings to pretend. But as we all know, misuse and cheating happens, and risk is an inseparable part of both trust and love. However, I would like to stress that it is crucial to adopt an attitude that sees trust as a way of promoting general good. If a superior pretends to be trustworthy and benevolent only to get good 360° evaluations and a promotion, his or her behavior is actually a way to further personal goals. Being selfish doesn't require a transformative process; most people are quite capable of that in their natural state. A superior being trustworthy in order to promote the organization's general good, staff's collaboration, and well-being goes through a frameset change from personal gain to fostering the entity. This expansion of perspective requires transforming learning.

During the research process it came up that informants have learned about trust by their first-hand experiences, and they communicated their learning experiences via narrative moral stories. Most of the interviewees (7 of 10) brought up their own experiences about how they have sometimes been treated wrongly by their superiors. But now they were striving their best to not pass the same to their subordinates. In this research these stories are included as examples of learning to trust, and they illustrate how the experience of learning to trust can be put into a narrative form. Narratives have always been a way to teach moral, and these moral stories show that it also applies to trust. Teaching can be self-reflective, but it can also apply to other people in the community, in these cases to the workplace. *These stories were a way to teach about trust and trustworthiness.*

Moral stories have a very long history in our western culture and they have greatly affected the way people tend to interpret their own experiences (see chapter 3.3). Fairy tales and children's stories have a recognizable pattern: the protagonist undertakes to fulfill a mission, for example, to save the kingdom, which means that the hero or heroine has to fight the dragon that menaces the world. On the journey the protagonist runs into different kinds of obstacles that serve as distractions. If the protagonist fights a way through these obstacles, keeps true to his or her ideals, and accomplishes the mission, then a prize waits at the end. (See Coffey & Atkinson 1996, 60–63.)

This same narrative structure about battle against evil forces can be found in the interviewees' stories. This time the protagonist is the superior whose mission is to be a good and supportive superior and to facilitate the work of the subordinates. Along the way the superior runs into obstacles like lack of time or resources, which makes it more difficult to stay true to the mission and to be a good superior. The dragon that these superiors need to fight is whether their current misbehaving superior or some former superior who has ill-treated them. Unjust behavior is a thing that superiors need to overcome to be able to facilitate the work of their own subordinates. If a superior feels that he or she is getting unfair feedback from his or her current superior then it is more challenging to be supportive in turn to one's own subordinates. Interviewees see that it is their duty to lead by example, even though their own superior or former superior would have given a bad example for them.

The following stories are based on interviews, but all names have been changed and several details have been left out to guarantee anonymity. The names of the stories are given; they are not straight quotations from interviews. The purpose of the names is to represent the attitude that a particular interviewee demonstrates within a story. All the moral stories aren't presented here because some of them contained information through which they could have been identified.

**Story 1: *I did it my way***

A young professional called Allen enters into a leadership position but the subordinates are reporting everything he does to the former superior. Allen does not submit to the old gossiping culture; he does what is needed in his position and tries to neglect gossiping. Eventually he leaves the organization to move to a new job. He hears from acquaintances that the old leader has returned but that his “gossip club” doesn’t exist any more. Allen didn’t submit to the workplace’s culture but did things his way. Now he is in another organization where he feels freer to carry out his way of leadership.

... first it bothered me that they were reporting everything I did to the former superior. But when I left he could not get the same gossipers back ... and now I’m doing fine and I have a better job ...

**Story 2: *I did the right thing***

Beatrice is quite a new employee in the organization. One day another employee asks for her help, and naturally she agrees to help a person in trouble. Later on Beatrice finds out that the person she helped is fired and that maybe her confidence in people was misused. She explains the situation to her superior who says that this should be a lesson to her – next time she needs to consider more carefully who to help. After the incident some people in the organization told Beatrice that what she had done could affect her career. A year after she got a promotion. Currently she is happy with her position in the organization.

... once I helped someone who was in trouble and got in trouble myself ... there were people who said that this will affect my career and so on. But after a year I got a promotion and I’ve been going forward ever since ...

**Story 3: *I stay true to my values***

Chris had a disagreement with his superior about a professional matter. Once he was in an audio-meeting and heard his superior call him overly cautious. Apparently, the superior wasn’t aware that Chris heard his words. Chris wasn’t overly cautious; his professional opinion about the matter that they had discussed was correct. Later on, the thing turned against the superior who later on moved to another organization. After a while, Chris was promoted and has been doing very well professionally after the incident. He has just been surprised how long the rumors can affect people’s opinions.

... my superior had the opinion that I am overly cautious, but it turned against him for he said it in an audio-meeting without knowing that I was there too. The managers at that time agreed with me, and in the end it turned against him ... finally he moved to another company ... my career has been going up ...

**Story 4: *I wanted justice but the system is unjust***

Diana used to have interesting work in an organization she liked. One day one of the superiors made a pass at her. Sexual harassment gradually got so serious that her superior asked her to sleep with him. When she refused, all her projects were delegated to other employees. Diana

had her desk and title but nothing to do. She could have sued the company, but she didn't want to sue an employer. She knew that it is really hard to find a new job when you have a reputation of suing your former employer. Justice wasn't done because it would have jeopardized her professional future.

...This is totally unjust and it is in a way wrong that I don't sue him but who would hire me after that? ... Even though he should get what he deserves ... somehow I want to be trustworthy in the way that I won't sue the company even if a person working there is doing wrong ...

**Story 5: *I don't hold grudges but...***

Frank is in a tough situation. The example he gets from his superior is totally different than what he wants to convey to his subordinates. His superior has hurt his feelings badly by telling him that he is no good and that he could be sacked. Regardless of this, Frank wants to be a good and supportive superior to his own subordinates. He doesn't want to threaten his subordinates even though his current superior uses that technique on him.

... My superior threatened to sack me and I don't think that it is very motivating, and I haven't said that to any of my subordinates even if I had a cause ... as superiors, he and I and all the others, we are responsible for the entity ...

\* \* \*

A common trait for these stories is that the protagonists (the interviewees) strive to keep up their morals even though they have gotten a bad example from their superior. These stories are at the same time moral stories and success stories pointing out that it is crucial to do your best as a superior even if you would have been ill-treated earlier. On the one hand, these stories are success stories in which the interviewees tell that after the hard time they have had they have gotten a promotion or good feedback at work. So, in narrative terms their loyalty has been rewarded by a prize like a promotion. On the other hand, the stories are moral stories pointing out that bad behavior is finally punished. And what happens to the crooks of these stories? They may have changed to another company, but interviewees don't mention anything positive about their career paths. The essential thing in these stories is that they display interviewees' successes like promotions in such a way that they have earned them through their loyal and trustworthy action.

Superiors also see these trials or bad experiences of leadership as a way to learn more about themselves as a person and as a trustworthy leader. One interviewee clearly says that he doesn't want to pass his bad experiences to his subordinates. Going through hard times has helped these superiors to be more sensitive to others' feelings and to understand what kind of consequences their action may have on other's motivation and the atmosphere at work. Experience is a valuable teacher, even though the deliberate use of bad examples in order to educate people to do better would be questionable. However, experiences can make people familiar with problems they would never before have paid attention to. For example, if a person gets injured and needs to stay in a wheel chair only for a few weeks, the experience will probably open that person's eyes to the needs and feelings of handicapped people. Figure 9 illustrates how the past obstacles have taken their leadership and trustworthiness to a new level in interviewees' experiences.

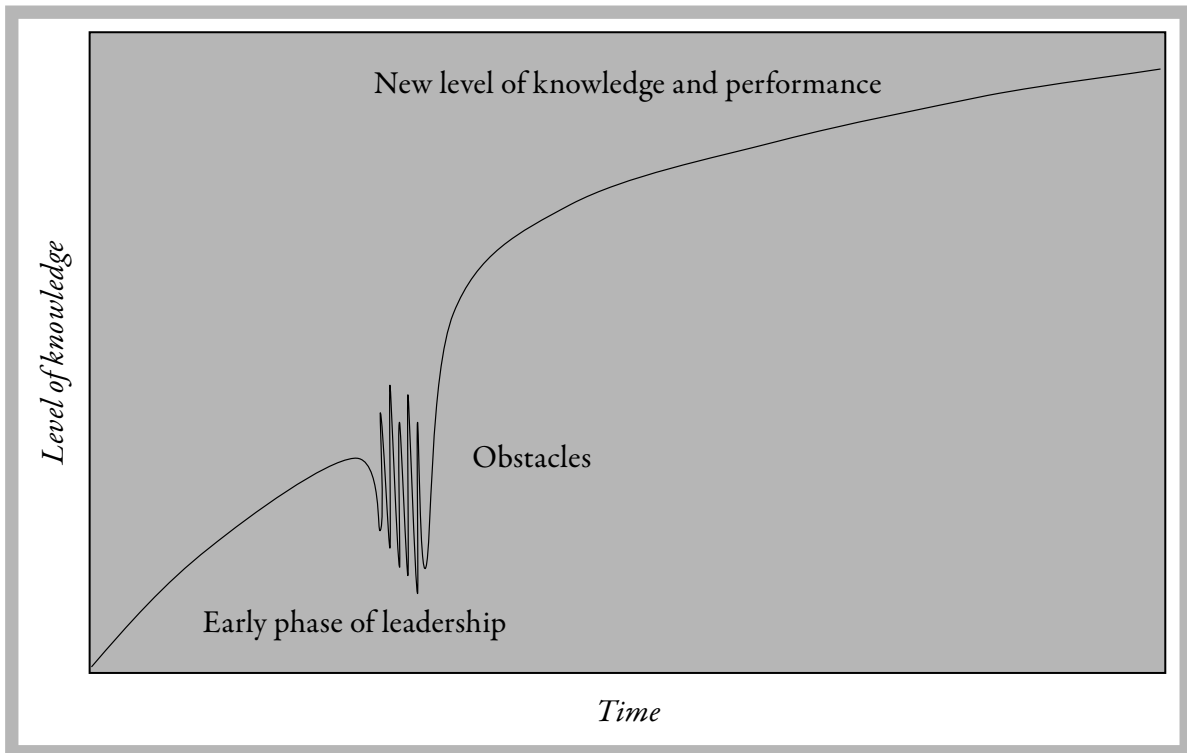


Figure 9. Obstacles refine Leadership and Ability to be Trustworthy. Author's compilation.

The sense of justice and injustice is a moral guideline. Earlier experience of justice or injustice turns into inner moral strength and starts to guide a person's behavior. The sense of injustice also defines the base of moral judgments for us and for others. Grown-ups usually have high-order moral principles (on the development of morality see chapter 3.3), and violation of these principles causes a sense of injustice. The sense of injustice grows eventually independent of a person's own experience. It becomes a moral orientation that guides our action. Events that are against our own moral principles violate our sense of justice, even if we weren't the recipients of the violation. So, as mentioned earlier, the moral guidelines aren't just directing our own behavior, but they are more general action principles. (See Karniol & Miller 1981, 83–84.) In interviewees' stories the situations are regarded as unjust, and that is why the interviewees feel so strongly about it. Bad leadership is against their sense of justice and offends their values. This contradictory situation is stressful and it is challenging to stay true to one's values when other people are bending the rules. It is painful to work in an organization whose value system is unacceptable or incompatible with one's own. In the worst case, it leads to frustration and nonperformance. A person needs to be able to stand for the values that the organization has. (Drucker 1999, 71.)

People tend to view the violations of laws and rules as unjust acts, even if the acts weren't directly affecting them. The law ensures that justice will be done to everyone and that is why it becomes morally binding to individuals to obey the law. (See Karniol & Miller 1981, 84.) People at work are often offended by things that don't directly concern them. When people see that leaders who have the power in the organization are acting in an unjust way towards someone, it affects the atmosphere. People's morals, principles, and values are hurt in a way that is hard to compensate. First, a sense of what is moral is rooted very deep starting from childhood

when people are brought up to learn to behave in a moral way. Even every fairy tale and many modern movies repeat the story of the good and the bad and how the ones who stay true to themselves get rewarded. Second, there is the culture and collective memory that guide people's action. If a person has been found untrustworthy earlier then he or she doesn't have the needed credibility to build trust. Creating and maintaining credibility and trust in the system is a key requirement for management and is especially important for middle management to sustain a continuous renewal process of trust (Ghoshal & Bartlett 1997, 203). In order to enable the dialogue between employees and management, it is necessary to pay attention to trust and respect people's moral principles.

Self-image in general means how a person sees oneself. Most people have a basic need to justify their behavior and see themselves moved by good motives. It is rare that a person aims to be a bad superior, an unfaithful spouse, or a lazy worker. People don't plan to exaggerate profits, pad expense accounts, or abuse power for their own causes. Instead, people with low impulse control just give in when an opportunity presents itself. (Goleman 1998, 98.) Interviews show that cherishing a positive self-image is needed in leadership. If leaders don't believe that they are acting in the best interest of their organization, then it is hard to stay motivated or to motivate others. Self-image and values are closely connected, and if a person acts against his or her values it causes unpleasant dissonance. These interviewees clearly see themselves as moral actors who – regardless of all obstacles – strive to keep doing their best to serve their subordinates and the organization.

## 4.2 The Results: The Phenomenon of Trust

In this chapter the 16 themes related to trust are presented in more detail. During the research process, every emerged theme was interpreted to be said from superiors' or subordinates' point of view. It was also possible to classify comments as neutral, which prevented forcing everything to be related either to superior or subordinate. The results are presented so that comments from a neutral point of view come first, if there are some. Then superiors' view on their own behavior is delivered, and then how they see their subordinates. Finally subordinates' view on their action is presented and then their view on their superiors. The classification is made on the basis of the *role* in which a person is while he is talking; not on the basis of whom he is talking about. Familiarity with the interviewees and the interview contents made it relatively easy to detect from which role people were speaking. The phenomenon of trust is described through 16 categories which are presented in the order of frequency.

### 4.2.1 Acts and Behavior

The most significant theme was Acts and Behavior. Altogether this theme had 43 references from all three points of view. Every interviewee mentioned trust-evoking Acts and Behavior several times. A few comments were neutral but nevertheless meaningful. According to the findings, people should be moral in their actions. So, if one has a clear conscience, then a good and trusting relationship can be established between superior and subordinate. In general, people's behavior reveals what kind of people they really are, and matters more than speech. Overall the interviewees said that "talk and action" should be "consistent".

### **Superiors' View on *Acts and Behavior***

Superiors point out that their own behavior needs to be equal towards the subordinates so that they give the same amount of attention to everyone, treat everyone equally, and don't have favorites. They see themselves as examples who should also be willing to take up the challenges of work by occasionally doing an evening shift or something else that is not part of their normal work:

Of course I have to be an example. How else could I demand it from the others?

From superiors' point of view subordinates' acts, choices, and attitudes show the trustworthiness of the subordinate. Superiors value subordinates who are willing to complete their tasks even if they had to stretch their day, who do more than was asked, and who are able to prioritize their work. Subordinates are expected to have common sense and to be willing to put the company's interests before their own personal interests.

Different levels of trust have evolved through action.

... to be willing to complete the task if it is important, even if it would mean working a little longer ...

### **Subordinates' View on *Acts and Behavior***

Subordinates have only a few comments on their own behavior. They point out that it is possible to take an active role as a subordinate and make sure that you can trust your superior at least the normal amount. It is also noticed that a subordinate's own trustworthy behavior can make his or her superior trust him more.

... it is not necessary to be passive, you can take an active role so that you can trust your superior that she is a person you can trust at least the normal level ...

Subordinates appreciate superiors who take the leader's role and make sure that employees know what to do. Superiors should have good working morals and they should be able to maintain a certain dignity, to take their place but not to be above other people.

A superior needs to take the superior's role when it is needed so that in normal operation employees know what to do ...

## **4.2.2 Feelings**

Feelings are not always brought up in theories of trust, but in this data the theme is clearly significant. All interviewees mentioned Feelings, so this theme emerged genuinely from the data. There were 29 references all together in this theme. Several comments were neutral. Comments described what kind of feelings the presence of another person can cause. Chemistry was also mentioned several times.

In my mind it is the whole feeling of the other person in that duty. Is he or she behind the cause or not ...

In situations of working with someone disagreeable, the interviewees pointed out that it should be possible to trust a disagreeable person in a professional context, though it might be

more difficult than trusting a pleasant person. In a case where the person in question was very unpleasant, then the contacts would stay strictly professional, and even that level of cooperation could be hard to maintain.

To some point it is possible but there probably is a limit. If someone is really disagreeable so it might not be easy to take it professionally to sort of keep separately how he or she seems to be and how he or she does his or her job ...

### **Superiors' View on *Feelings***

Superiors bring up that it is a pleasant feeling to be trusted by their own subordinates. A superior may also think of other people's feelings and how to handle delicate situations without hurting anybody. For instance, in the case of unjust feedback from a client, a superior can support the subordinate or in extreme cases even ask the client to beg pardon from the subordinate in question.

In that review it gave me such a good feeling to see that these people really trust me ...

Superiors also describe the feeling they get of other person being very intuitive, the feeling either is there or is not. For instance, in recruiting situations superiors may trust their feelings and comment that the feeling has never failed.

### **Subordinates' View on *Feelings***

Subordinates describe that it feels nice to be a trusted person and to talk to and confidentially listen to their superiors when needed. From the subordinates' point of view trust also makes a person more courageous and gives freedom to express one's opinions:

... if you trust you are also courageous in that relationship ...

Subordinates also mention that there are coffee table discussions where their superior may express feelings. Even though feelings are not officially discussed in the workplace, there is still need to go through them somewhere. This often happens in unofficial situations, during breaks and when people run into each other in corridors or meet accidentally.

## **4.2.3 Superiors' Support**

Superiors' Support did not evoke any neutral comments. All the references, 24 altogether, were made either from the superiors' or the subordinates' point of views. This can probably be explained by superiors' and subordinates' different views regarding their roles (see discussion of this in chapter 4.1.2).

### **Superiors' View on *Superiors' Support***

Superiors reflected a lot on their own ability to be supportive towards their employees. Superiors mentioned that superior-subordinate relationship takes effort every day in the sense that one should be able to connect with the subordinates at some level on a daily basis. Accordingly,

one should be genuinely supportive towards one's subordinates. Several comments were made about superiors' ability to counsel subordinates adequately at their work and to understand that different people need different kinds of supervising. Some are able to act more easily on their own, and some need guidance and several check points during a long project.

I have two very different people working for me, and I have noticed how differently they need guidance, but I can trust them both anyway.

One interviewee also pointed out that in order to be trustworthy, his priority over all other tasks is to be available and ready to help if his subordinates need him.

### **Subordinates' View on *Superiors' Support***

Subordinates expect to get support, understanding, attention, and a chance for dialog from their superiors. In problematic situations, like after returning back to work from a sick leave, subordinates would need more advice with their work priorities. When the superior has shown understanding in stressing situations, for example by offering more recourse, it has made the subordinate to trust his or her superior more. When a superior does things to make a subordinate's work go more smoothly, it gives the subordinate the feeling that the boss is also thinking of the subordinate's best interests.

We agreed on making different kinds of arrangements, for example I delayed my vacations a few times and I got someone from an other team to cover up for me during my travels and vacations, so my tasks did not pile up on my desk ...

### **4.2.4 Discussing**

Discussing (including listening) was equally mentioned by all the interviewees, 21 references altogether. The reciprocity and changing roles in human interaction were mentioned in neutral comments; sometimes a person is listening to someone else and vice versa. For example, one day a subordinate can be listening to his boss's problems but the next day he or she may need a listener. The importance of listening was brought up several times. This is in accord with Brunner's (2008, 80) suggested definition of trust: Trust is willingness for both parties to communicate and listen with an open mind. Roussin's (2008) findings on benefits of dyadic leadership in increasing trust are also in alignment with the results of this research. According to Roussin, the dyadic discovery process involves the leader joining in honest, revealing, and potentially trust-building discussion with individual team members. He claims that in general, dyadic-level discovery is psychologically safer and more effective than is group-level discovery in most work team settings. This lends support to the importance of discussing and listening in building trust found in this study. Like one of the interviewees said:

... of course the most important thing is listening ...

### **Superiors' View on *Discussing***

When it comes to discussing, superiors referred mainly to their own behavior and role as leader. They discuss with their subordinates and try to have a positive attitude when some of the



employees come to talk to them, even if the matter in hand would be difficult. Development discussions were mentioned several times, and they were seen as an essential part of a superior's work but also a place and time for more personal conversation:

... these development discussions will be the kind of personal time to discuss with every subordinate ...

Superiors mention that even difficult matters are to be discussed openly. Communication deepens little by little and occasionally it is not just work related things, but one may more openly talk about personal matters as well. Discussing seems to be a tool to keep in contact with subordinates and aware of how they are doing both at work and in private life. Discussing is also a way to rebuild confidence and trust, if it has been jeopardized.

... discussing on personal levels and with the whole team, yet I never told them that I am seeking back your trust but I just changed my own attitude ...

Superiors made only a few comments on subordinates related to Discussing. One of the interviewees told that his superior has always held the development discussion with him once a year, and he is trying to do the same with his subordinates. One superior told that her subordinates sometimes call her at home to discuss or to ask advice, and it is ok for her. She feels that the subordinates do so because they are not afraid that she would be annoyed to be bothered by them.

### **Subordinates' View on *Discussing***

Subordinates mention that they can be in the role of listener if their superior needs to talk to someone. Subordinates also reflect their own behavior and see that it is better to tell openly to their superior in case their work will be delayed, and it may affect deliveries or contracts. Subordinates look for opportunities to discuss the professional matters with their superiors. Even though it is possible to talk with colleagues, it matters to be able to talk to a superior:

... looking for some one to talk to ...

### **4.2.5 Time**

Time is an essential part of most theories of trust, so it is no wonder that several comments on Time were also found in this data, 20 references altogether. Time does not seem to be a strongly role-related issue: Most comments were neutral. Comments were very similar pointing out that it takes time to get to know a person and that it is much easier to trust if you have a long working experience together.

... it is a several years' long process. First you learn to know a person at some level and then it deepens more ...

Few comments were made about the lack of time pointing out that "there should be more time to stop and to listen", for common discussion.

### **Superiors' View on *Time***

While talking from a superior's point of view the interviewees brought up that it is important that you have known your employees for a longer time. Superiors thought that it is easy to trust a subordinate who has always acted in the best interest of the company. This gives the impression that a person is trustworthy and can be trusted in the future as well.

... the kind of trust that if he or she has always done everything in the best interest of the company, so probably I can trust him or her to do the same thing this time ...

Superiors who had worked a long time in the same company thought that the trust of their employees had built through the years. They also thought that the long relationship made it easier for the subordinates to come to talk to them.

### **Subordinates' View on *Time***

There were only a few comments on Time from the subordinates' point of view. They were all alike telling about the benefits from having had the same superior for a long time, which makes it easier to go to talk to the superior and also makes the subordinate feel safer. The ability to predict a superior's behavior increases the feeling of security among the employees.

... it is easy for me. I have had the same superior for years, so the trust has gotten deeper and deeper and it is easier to go talk to ...

## **4.2.6 Recognition of Trustworthiness**

This theme was rich in references from both superiors' and subordinates' roles, but did not include any neutral comments. The amount of the references was 17. The recognition of trust can mean various things; it may be a promotion after a task well done or giving a more challenging job.

### **Superiors' View on *Recognition of Trustworthiness***

Superiors see that they trust their employees when they give them more challenging tasks, autonomy, and empower them to decide how to handle things while the superior is away. Superiors find employees trustworthy when they are taking care of the given tasks and they handle things autonomously, if needed. Superiors feel that their subordinates trust them when they want to continue working in their team or are willing to talk to them about their problems. In other words, sharing personal information or telling about problems is a sign of trust. This is in accord with previously mentioned view of Lewicki and al. (2006, 1010); they suggest that all trust relationships develop gradually and start in the context of an actor evaluating the cost and benefits derived by staying in the relationship.

A superior's trust is that he or she trusts the subordinate by giving him or her tasks and when the subordinate does the tasks it is the best way to prove trustworthiness ...

### **Subordinates' View on *Recognition of Trustworthiness***

Subordinates point out that they want to be trustworthy. When they have gotten a new and more challenging project or more responsibilities, it has made them feel more trusted by their superior.

... these [are] big projects that I have gotten, and I have been the only expert to work with them ...

Subordinates don't comment on their superior's trustworthiness. However, subordinates feel that their superiors find them trustworthy when they tell them things that are not commonly known, whether it is a professional or a personal matter. Once again, sharing confidential information is a sign of trust:

... it is a matter of trust that these discussions are held anyway ...

### **4.2.7 Self-Disclosure**

Self-disclosure describes the amount and level of openness that one is willing to talk about oneself. Altogether there were 17 references from all three points of view. The cases where the interviewee described telling their superior about a difficult situation at work were coded to be self-disclosure. Basically, people are not willing to reveal their lack of competence or lack of ability to reach the set goals, so the interaction is similar to self-disclosure. Both self-disclosure and revealing unpleasant things of oneself require courage and trust, which can best be seen in neutral comments:

... I guess the kind of openness that one can freely speak about different things is part of trust, and if you don't have this courage then there cannot be trust ...

### **Superiors' View on *Self-Disclosure***

The regulation of Self-Disclosure seems to be a thing that most superiors have thought about. Superiors see that they should themselves be quite open in order to get their subordinates to talk to them. Some interviewees think that their long working experience together or their own friendly behavior has made it easier for the subordinates to come to talk to them. One interviewee has even told about his problematic situations in the personal life so that it would be easier for the employees to approach him when they have difficulties.

... I have to give some more of myself if I want to know something about the other ...

Superiors point out that communication is working well when in case of trouble, the subordinate comes to talk directly to them and not to someone higher in the corporate hierarchy. Superiors also noticed that in the long run communication becomes more open and it gets easier to talk about the matters of private life as well.

... I trust him or her to do his or her work, and in case he or she has a problem he or she will tell me about it and then we can solve it together ...

### **Subordinates' View on *Self-Disclosure***

Subordinates see that in general they have had a chance to talk about difficult things with their superiors when they have needed to do so. One interviewee points out that he has had the same superior for a long time, so the trust has gotten deeper and deeper, and it is easier to talk to him. Subordinates value a superior who can admit if they do not know something and who are on the same level with the employees: "... to show that he does not know and to approach me on the same level ..." Subordinates have also noticed that superiors have a need for self-disclosure and to tell someone what they think about things happening in the company.

### **4.2.8 Trusted Persons**

Most interviewees mentioned trusted persons – someone they can confidentially talk to at work. There were several neutral references on trusted persons and also some from the superior's point of view, 14 references altogether. None of the interviewees mentioned the trusted persons from the subordinate's point of view. The need for a trusted listener is probably greater when a person is a superior or in any managerial role. The theme of Trusted Persons seems to be similar to Kram's and Lynn's (1985, 121) concept of special peer which is the most intimate form of peer relationship. Becoming a special peer requires high levels of self-disclosure, self-expression, and trust. Accordingly, Geijssel and Meijers (2005, 427–428) recognize the need for personal sense making in professional conversations.

Interviewees brought up the need for trusted persons in neutral comments. It seems natural even in a working context that a person trusts some people more and some people less.

I think that everyone, I mean every worker, should have someone to go to talk to...

... you have to have those with whom you can talk more profoundly about your thoughts concerning ...

### **Superiors' View on *Trusted Persons***

Superiors see that it is essential to have a network of trusted people but that it shouldn't include any direct subordinates because the power relationship could cause problems. For example, if a leader spends a lot of time with one employee then it could cause accusations of favoring someone. The trusted people should be colleagues working in the same kinds of situations, which also make it easier to share experiences.

I cannot complain to my employees about my problems as a leader, of course not, but for that purpose I have this network of colleagues ...

Superiors admit that they also have trusted persons among the employees, but they are in the sense of trusted workers. These people are the most trustworthy employees who have always taken care of their responsibilities. One interviewee noticed that it can become difficult to be strict with these trusted workers if you have known them for years. Overall, the references show the importance of having trusted people at work, whether they are subordinates or colleagues.

We have been working 15 years together and we can talk about anything. There is the kind of natural trust that the other would never tell anything that could harm the other ... and it is really important ...

#### 4.2.8 Keeping Secrets

Most of the interviewees mentioned Keeping Secrets. References were from all three points of view. Altogether the number of references was 14. The neutral comments were about the need to keep some information secret, for example, to talk only in safe places like in a car where no one else can hear the discussion. It is equally important to keep quiet about clients' confidential matters and to know when things can be mentioned in public and when they can't.

... when we talk about our clients and we say what we really think about them ... it is always confidential ...

##### **Superiors' View on *Keeping Secrets***

Superiors see that professional confidence is vital and that it is essential to be able to keep secrets:

... I am the one to whom my staff can talk and the trust is very important ...

... to keep the secrets that I know all this about this person but I don't bring it up ...

Sometimes it is possible to ask a subordinate if the matter can be discussed in public, but that would be done only if the person in question allows it. Occasionally, superiors feel that they need to make it clear to subordinates when professional confidence is needed because the subordinates do not have the managerial experience and training and they may more easily slip something out.

##### **Subordinates' View on *Keeping Secrets***

Subordinates comment that it is crucial that a superior is able to keep secrets. In case this confidentiality would be broken, it would be the worst kind of violation of trust.

... a superior should be able to keep secrets somehow, one can write a diary if needed ...

#### 4.2.9 Receiving Feedback

Receiving Feedback had several mentions from superiors', a few from subordinates', but none from the neutral point of view. Altogether there were 14 references in this theme.

##### **Superiors' View on *Receiving Feedback***

Superiors claim that they value feedback from subordinates whether it is positive or negative. Positive feedback and being asked for advice is a pleasant situation for most interviewees.

Superiors try to do their best to get feedback; for example, they can make an effort to create a relaxed atmosphere in the development discussions to make it easier for the employees to give critique to their superior.

... when someone comes to ask for advice and how would you do this, it is a nice situation, for he or she thinks he or she can get an answer from me and I would say that these are particularly positive experiences ...

Superiors feel that it is easier to receive critique than to give critical feedback. One interviewee pointed out that critique in general and sometimes even getting unfair and personal critique is just part of superior's role and should be accepted. Superiors see that critical feedback especially from employees is valuable and shows that employees are not afraid of their boss's possible angry reactions. Well taken critique can also make the mutual trust deepen. One interviewee pointed out that the positive feedback from subordinates was not that important; it was nice to get praise but it was not that necessary. Corrective feedback is more relevant – it helps superiors to see what they could do better or differently in the future.

I love it when my subordinates criticize me and give me feedback. It makes me feel that they trust me so much that they dare to say these things to me and they are not afraid to make me mad ...

### **Subordinates' View on *Receiving Feedback***

Subordinates feel that positive feedback from the superior is very important and can deepen trust. Some interviewees describe getting positive feedback from their superior as top moments in their working life. While receiving negative feedback, it is crucial that the situation where critique is given is private, with only the superior and the subordinate involved. If the critique is given properly and in a constructive way, it can improve and deepen the superior-subordinate relationship:

When the critique is constructive, then it can deepen the trust. And I think that it is vital to be able to get critique and some suggestions to improve my work ...

## **4.2.10 Giving Feedback**

Giving feedback seems to be equally as important as receiving feedback. There were several references about giving feedback from all three points of view, 11 references altogether. The importance of trust was emphasized in giving feedback in many comments.

... the trust is emphasized in giving critique and in that kind of situation, so that the one receiving critique could take it in a positive way, that it aims to improve things ...

### **Superiors' View on *Giving Feedback***

Superiors notice that giving positive feedback is one of the best ways to deepen the trust and to motivate people. They also see that it is important to support and back up their subordinates in difficult situations. For example, when a client is criticizing a subordinate, a superior should be supportive.

... I think that the best way to build trust and to improve trust is giving good feedback ...

### **Subordinates' View on *Giving Feedback***

Subordinates bring up that giving critique, especially to their superior, is a difficult situation because of the power differences in the relationship. Sometimes subordinates need to put their words carefully and tell things overly nicely when they give negative feedback to their superior. It is easier to give critique if one has known one's superior for a longer period of time, because then it is easier to anticipate what kind of reactions the superior might have. If the relationship is good and there is mutual trust, then giving critique is easy.

... it is not easy to give negative feedback to one's superior. I don't know if I can do that either to tell things roughly, I rather tell everything in a soft way because it is difficult ...

\* \* \*

Previously, I have presented the most central themes from superiors', subordinates', and from the neutral point of view. From now on (chapters 4.2.11–4.2.16) I will not differentiate the viewpoints because of the scarcity of the mentions.

### **4.2.11 Reciprocity**

There were comments in the data on Reciprocity from both the neutral point of view and from subordinates' point of view, 9 references altogether. None of the interviewees mentioned Reciprocity from the superiors' point of view. This points to the feeling of power asymmetry, which I will discuss in the summary of results (4.4). From the neutral point of view, mutual trust and the Reciprocity in superior-subordinate relationship were mentioned several times. The importance of mutual trust was also brought up and the fact that everyone can concentrate on their work better when they trust each other.

... it is meaningful that there is mutual trust in both ways if you think about the superior-subordinate relationship that they can both trust each other ...

Subordinates point out that trust is something that one can affect in both ways. Superiors' openness gives subordinates the feeling that the relationship is reciprocal and that they are trusted.

### **4.2.12 Competence**

To trust a person's competence means believing that the person in question has the needed ability to take care of the tasks in hand successfully. For example, to trust in competence is to trust in the managers' ability to run the company and to trust in subordinates' ability to do the work they are hired for. There were a few comments in the data on Competence from the superiors' and from the neutral points of view. Only one comment was from a subordinate's view, 9 references altogether.

It was pointed out from the neutral point of view that sometimes a small accidental thing results in someone at the company taking more responsibilities and succeeding and becoming a key member in the team. This way a chance to prove one's competence is needed, and when a person has been found competent, then he or she may get new responsibilities.

Superiors don't seem to reflect on their own competence much, but they comment and evaluate subordinates' competences. A few comments were of general nature, such as "... we trusted in employee's competence ...". In other comments superiors notice that it is vital to show appreciation to the employees, especially for those who are very competent and responsible. This way they can keep the key players of the team happy:

... there are some very skilled and trusted persons. One just needs to know when one should not interfere and to slow down their excellent performance ...

### 4.2.13 Situations that Encourage Trust

Several interviewees mentioned specific situations or concrete places that encourage trust. In certain conditions it is easier to share information or to talk confidentially. Among the places mentioned were a car, an airplane, a bar, and a sauna. Altogether there were 8 references to this theme. Comments on Situations that Encourage Trust were both from a neutral and from the superior's points of view.

Superiors seem to know quite well when a discussion is confidential. Small signs, like an employee shutting the door behind him or her when entering a superior's room, tell that the matters to be discussed are to be held private:

... if someone asks me politely if you have a moment and then shuts the door then I know it is the kind of thing that should not be mentioned outside this room ...

Certain meetings or coffee break areas are also the kinds of places where everyone knows that subjects discussed may be confidential. Understanding unspoken norms and what is confidential and what can be shared with others is vital for both superiors and subordinates.

In addition, moving to another space seems to detach people from their usual roles. As one of the interviewees said:

... I don't know if it gives a perspective when you are away from work, but typically on business trips both superiors and subordinates tell about things that they wouldn't go through during a normal day at work ...

On business travels, it may happen that two people have time together, for example, in a plane seated side by side or in the evening at a hotel lobby bar over a drink. It is easier to open up when you know that you will spend several hours together and you will have time for a more profound discussion than usual. In Finland a sauna is also a place where confidential discussions often take place, and things discussed in the sauna shouldn't be told to others without asking permission. The sauna is a place to relax which seems to embed the idea that people talk there more freely than at the work place. Also, when people are naked, it is hard to keep up any status differences.

As we can see, physical space effects the roles of the workplace. Superior and subordinate may more easily loosen their work roles on a work trip, for example in the lobby of a hotel.



Probably for this reason it is often suggested that development discussions would be held in a negotiation room and not in superior's office, since certain places can either tighten or loosen roles. As organizations' negotiation rooms are kind of neutral territory, they are suitable for development discussions that involve deep dialog.

#### 4.2.14 Nonverbal Communication

Nonverbal Communication was mentioned 7 times, mostly from superiors' points of view. It seems that several interviewees consider that nonverbal communication and body language are genuine and more trustworthy than words. Face-to-face discussion and looking into eyes is needed to create a good contact and to get a good picture of the other person. Most interviewees prefer face-to-face contact, but because of the busy schedules a lot of communication happens via email and on the phone. This leaves the nonverbal cues like facial expressions and gestures unseen and makes it harder to send and receive messages without misunderstandings.

... at work from face-to-face, I always prefer to get this kind of contact ...

... the body language tells when you are being taken seriously ...

#### 4.2.15 Forgiving

Forgiving was mentioned 6 times, and most comments were made from the neutral point of view. Several references point out the significance of forgiving and giving second chances to people who are in trouble. Some interviewees had experiences that a superior had forgiven their mistakes and likewise they had forgiven and had given a second chance to someone else who is lower in the corporate hierarchy. If a person tries to solve a problematic situation and is genuinely sorry, then it is easier to forgive. On the other hand, if someone has violated trust very badly, especially in private life, then the forgiving may be very difficult.

I think that people should be given second chances. No one is impeccable ...

#### 4.2.16 Professional Growth, Problem Solving, and Transference of Perceived Trustworthiness

Each of the following topics was mentioned five or fewer times, so they don't really compose independent themes. References of *Professional Growth* were entirely from the superior's point of view. Interviewees told about their own experiences and how they had learned from difficult situations. Some had seen their previous superiors act in a way that they would never want to pass on to their subordinates. All these harsh experiences seemed positive in the end because they were seen as learning experiences that helped interviewees to grow to be a better superior. Some superiors also mentioned that employees' ability to grow and to learn needed to be respected.

... these experiences are educational, and I think that they have been a way to learn how I would not like to act ...

*Problem Solving* got a few mentions from superiors' point of view and a few from subordinates' points of view. Superiors see that it is their responsibility to look for solutions and try to solve problems with the subordinates in case their subordinates ask for help. Subordinates, on the other hand, wish to see their superiors make decisions and solve difficult situations.

... for example, if people working together don't have mutual trust, then it is the superior's duty to help to rebuild it

*Transference of Perceived Trustworthiness* means that if you know that someone does good deeds you will start to think that this person is very trustworthy with other things as well. A few interviewees thought that if a person acts in a noble way in personal life, then they can be presumed to do the same at work.

... I heard that this person had done a noble thing, and I thought that I respect him for doing that, and it put me to a new situation where I started to see him through new looking glasses ...

### 4.3 The Results: The Phenomenon of Distrust

In this chapter I will present the *11 distrust related themes* that emerged from the data. To get the whole picture of the phenomenon of trust it is necessary to find out what distrust is and what evokes it. Most interviewees talked quite a lot about distrust and told several anecdotes and examples associated with distrust. In some cases it seemed that it was easier to describe trust by pointing out what it is not. Altogether, the data had a lot of references to distrust and to behavior that weakens trust.

In the following Figure 10, I have gathered the most significant themes related to distrust in one picture. Like trust, distrust also contains knowledge-based and emotional aspects. Knowledge about the other party's possible distrustfulness is gained through their conduct (see chapter 4.3.1 on *Distrustful Behavior*). *Feeling Distrust* (4.3.3) presents the emotional side of distrust. *Communicating Distrust* (4.3.4) depicts the affect of communications in distrust. On the left side of the picture is arrow of *Transference of Perceived Untrustworthiness* that points towards knowledge, thus illustrating how bad experiences cumulate distrust. On the right there is an arrow of *Consequences of Distrust* pointing out the figure. It illustrates how the consequences of distrust spread and may have long term effects.

As in the previous chapters the results of distrust are presented in the way that comments from the neutral point of view come first, if there are any. Then come superiors' views on their own behavior and then how they see their subordinates. Finally subordinates' view on their own action is presented and then their view of their superiors. Similarly to prior analysis the classification is made on the basis of the *role* in which a person is while he or she is talking; not on the basis whom he or she is talking about.

#### 4.3.1 Distrustful Acts and Behavior

All the interviewees talked widely about their opinions and experiences concerning Distrustful Acts and Behavior. There were several comments from neutral, from superiors', and from subordinates' points of view, 55 references all together. The numerous comments on distrust

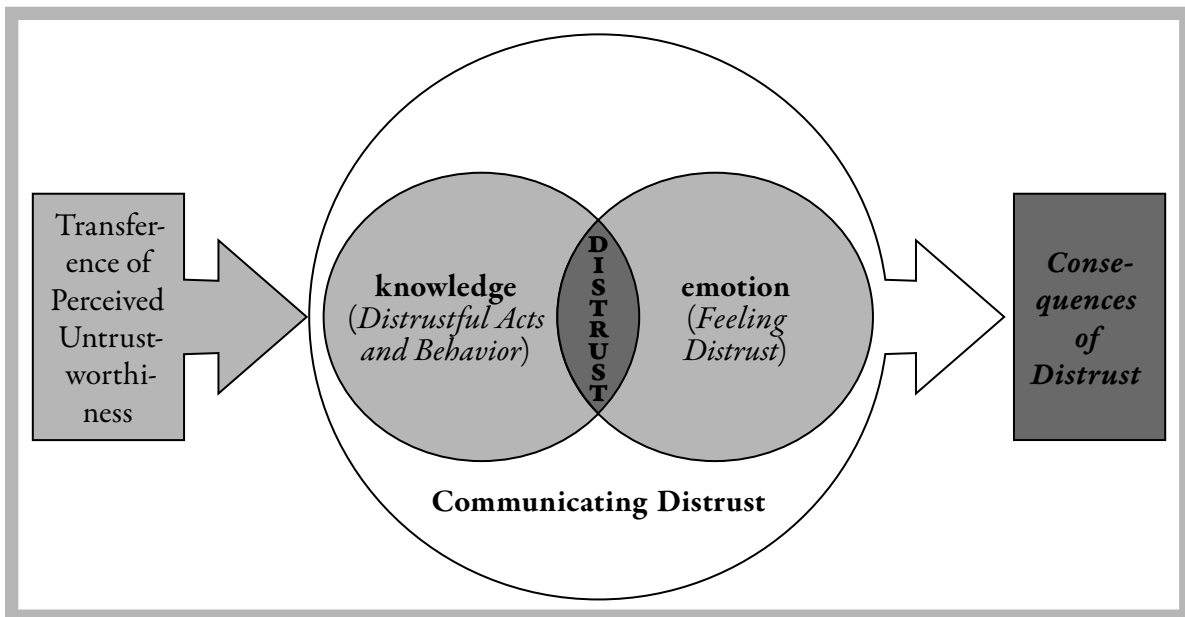


Figure 10. Core Results of Distrust in Superior-Subordinate Relationship. Author's compilation.

may derive from the fact that sometimes it is easier to describe a phenomenon by telling what it is not (see discussion in chapter 4.1.1).

Neutral comments varied a lot from the describing of small annoyances to illegal action. In general, the following behaviors were regarded as unfair and distrustful: misuse of power, being too sure of one's opinions and rightful behavior, inability to see one's faults, and unjust behavior like golfing and being friendly with someone in the organization while neglecting others. Contradiction between words and action was also regarded as distrustful. For example, if someone says that something is important but is not willing to do anything to promote the thing, it gives the impression that the person does not really care about that cause. It was also mentioned in the data that a person who does not trust others needs to verify and check everything.

... lack of trust is where a person who has power misuses it ...

### **Superiors' View on *Distrustful Acts and Behavior***

Superiors see that if they don't trust their subordinates then they start to verify and check things more, even if they wouldn't like to act that way. Superiors mention that the superior-subordinate relationship takes time every day and if it is neglected then the trust relationship will suffer. In case some superior tries to avoid responsibility, to blame other people, or to make sure that things are for their own favor, it will quickly lead to distrust. It is also possible that a superior avoids unpleasant tasks like making difficult decisions and giving negative feedback. For example, if an employee is incompetent and has an unfavorable attitude, it may happen that he or she circulates from team to team, because no superior will take the responsibility, give the critical feedback, and try to make the employee change his or her ways. One interviewee mentioned that she has learned to be more careful with her words, for sometimes talking may cause misunderstandings even though she doesn't mean to be ambiguous.

... if no one says it out loud that you are this kind of persona non grata [in original Finnish: *Musta Pekka*]. In a way it should be said that what is going wrong and in a way the superior hasn't taken care of his responsibilities if this kind of person circulates from superior to superior in an organization ...

Superiors mention several things in subordinates' behavior that cause distrust. One is misuse of sick leave, which does not mean that an employee should stay at work in case of sickness. Sometimes some subordinates just stay at home quite easily which makes the superior doubt if the sickness is real or whether staying home for flu is always necessary. Likewise, prioritizing one's own interests at work can be destructive to trust. Small things like taking private phone calls or ordering an exceptionally expensive calendar, even by a person who is going to be on a leave for most of the year, can cause distrust. One interviewee mentioned that she had to remind her employee to buy her own printing paper when she was trying to take a ream of paper home from the office. Otherwise there were no other mentions of criminal acts in the data except sexual harassment, which will be brought up in the next chapter. Interviewees were not asked deliberately about unlawful activities, for it usually causes distrust without exceptions. Illegal behavior mentioned here is brought up by the interviewees.

... is a person trying to do the job or does he or she go to ask sick leave even if he or she isn't ill and is he or she trying to buy the most expensive equipment and so on and putting personal interest first ...

Superiors see that if an employee goes to talk to someone higher in the hierarchy than their own nominated superior then it is an expression of distrust. Things should primarily be addressed with the closest superior and not brought to the upper levels in the organization. One interviewee wonders if some of his subordinates try to be on good terms with him in order to benefit from the situation and perhaps to be able to get advantages like a better job or a promotion.

... with my own subordinates I have thought whether there are some that try to take advantage and get to a better place and that is why they are seeking for my approval ...

### **Subordinates' View on *Distrustful Acts and Behavior***

Subordinates see that a common reason that causes distrust is that the superior is not familiar with the subordinate's work. A superior may lack special expertise in the area or just be unfamiliar with the subordinate's daily duties. When both superior and subordinate don't know what the other person does at work it is very difficult to build trust. Accordingly, a superior's lack of interest to a subordinate's work is destructive for trust – subordinates find it offending that their boss isn't interested in what they are doing. If the turnover is high and the superior changes, it often does not help to build trust either.

... we don't know about each other's work and we don't understand; that is one of the biggest problems ...

When a superior doesn't take care of his responsibilities and the blame is on the subordinate, it evokes distrust. A similar case is when a superior is most interested in his or her position and takes all the praise, even though the good work had been done by the subordinates. Alternatively, it is

possible that a superior is giving too many orders to employees and not letting the subordinate do the work autonomously. By checking tasks several times and by giving very specific orders, a superior sends a message that he or she does not trust the subordinate's competence to do a good job.

... I feel it like lack of trust if the superior is all the time checking whether I have done this and that. It is as if my skills are being dismissed when I am instructed to write this and this to the email ...

Subordinates also mentioned that the following behavior causes distrust: blaming subordinates for everything, being only interested in the profits, and sexual harassment. A few interviewees brought up the fact that superiors have more power and that it is a difficult situation for subordinates to have problems with their superior. The power asymmetry affects the way that people with less power, in this case subordinates, don't freely express their opposing opinions.

... if a superior is seeking his own personal interest, then it is not a very constructive situation for the subordinate for superior always has better chances to have his ways ...

### 4.3.2 Consequences of Distrust

All interviewees seemed to have clear ideas on the Consequences of Distrust. This theme was very rich in data, 48 references all together from all three points of view. The consequences of distrust were described in various ways. In case of distrust people become more uncertain and careful and they think how much information they should share with other people. Motivation diminishes and the feeling of flow at work disappears. Likewise, it is hard to work if one is uncertain about the approved action and needs to constantly think what to do and what to say. Lack of trust causes havoc in organizations very quickly. If trust has been completely ruined it is challenging to try to rebuild it. Sometimes the loss of trust may be so complete that it is difficult to genuinely forgive and to move on.

#### **Superiors' View on *Consequences of Distrust***

Superiors see that in case of distrust it is difficult to be open and it gives the feeling that they should be more attentive and check that the subordinate's work gets done. It is an unpleasant situation if a superior cannot trust his subordinate, and it may lead to a point where the superior moves the subordinate to another team or recommends the subordinate to give notice of resignation.

... if I don't trust some of my subordinates, then I think about what I can do to move him to another job in the organization or I may think how I can give him notice ...

Superiors said that on an emotional level the feeling of distrust is very disagreeable and affects their whole well-being at work. One interviewee brought up that when he had lost his own ability to lead it caused a moral problem in the whole team. So the superior's own action may also be a cause for trust problems.

Superiors noticed that if a subordinate cannot keep promises then the consequence is that the person can't be trusted. Superiors also point out that if a team does not trust its leader then

the ability to work independently diminishes. Distrust of a superior may also cause a situation where subordinates seem to agree but they are not really for the cause. This resembles the problems caused by asymmetric power relations described in the previous chapter.

... if a team does not trust the leader it often goes the way that people are told to sit down, but they don't have their thoughts for the cause and so it leads nowhere ...

### **Subordinates' View on Consequences of Distrust**

Several subordinates claimed that distrust is such a serious thing that it makes them consider quitting the job and moving to another company. Distrust is frustrating and demotivating. It makes negotiations and development discussions seem like theatre. Distrust causes passivity and prevents sharing any personal matters with the superior.

... I don't tell anything about my personal life ...

... if things don't change this will affect my motivation and I will become passive ...

Distrust can make subordinates cynical. It evokes negative and angry feelings. Subordinates may be afraid of their superior's reactions, for he or she always has more power. If subordinates see that the superior is not thinking of their best, it makes working together difficult. If a superior has been caught lying, it makes it difficult to believe in anything he or she says.

... if the superior-subordinate relationship is not working it is difficult to work together, for it gives the feeling that what comes next and clearly he is not thinking of my best interest ...

... if he improvises in every situation and says whatever, then I wonder if he does the same to me that does he tell the truth to me ...

In case of distrust, the subordinate may seek to talk with someone else who would be higher in the organization. If the contact with the superior is bad, it is possible to find someone else in the organization to handle things and to talk with. The fiercest example of violation of trust in the data is an anecdote of a superior who committed sexual harassment and after the subordinate's refusal to have sex with him, altered the subordinate's working conditions for the worse:

... in the end I had no tasks for a long time, I had my position but I had nothing to do because all my projects were taken away, for I did not sleep with my superior ...

### **4.3.3 Feeling Distrust**

Feeling Distrust was also rich in data, 26 references altogether, most of them from the neutral point of view. Several comments were also made from superiors' and subordinates' points of view. Mentions of problematic chemistry and regarding someone as unpleasant were also coded in this theme. In the case of distrust, a person feels that the contact with others is bad and he or she has less motivation or flow at work: "... the daily contact and dialog suffers ...".

Distrust makes a person feel uncertain and to anticipate whether others will get angry in case of giving critical feedback. Chemistry and regarding someone as unpleasant seem to affect a lot on the emotional level. Even if chemistry should not affect that much at work, several

interviewees admitted that if a person is very unpleasant then it is difficult to genuinely trust this other person. One interviewee brought up that distrust is an intuitive reaction and it needs no explication.

... well it is a bit difficult if one of your closest colleagues is very unpleasant person ...

### **Superiors' View on *Feeling Distrust***

In case of loss of trust, superiors describe their own feelings as awful and shocking. It may also be unpleasant for a superior to correct a subordinate, and sometimes it is possible that a superior is anxious to face a difficult subordinate. One interviewee also brought up that as a superior he has learned to hide his bad feelings.

... a superior is afraid that he or she is not competent to confront a difficult subordinate ...

### **Subordinates' View on *Feeling Distrust***

Subordinates feel that sometimes they are left alone with their work, and that is one of the reasons why it is difficult to trust their superior. Being absent can be physical like traveling a lot or mental like not caring about how subordinates manage to get the work done:

I feel all the time that I am working so alone ...

Subordinates feel that the superior is in a very important role at work and that it is demotivating to work if one cannot trust one's superior. Sometimes a superior may use a kind of inappropriate humor that depresses subordinates. Subordinates expect a superior to be an example to a certain point and to avoid unprofessional behavior that can make others feel bad. Occasionally, feelings toward superiors can be very negative and strong, described even as disgusting. Subordinates assume that it is superiors' own fear and inability to handle things that causes superiors to blame subordinates.

... often if you feel that you don't like your job any more it is that you don't trust your superior either, so the superior is in a very important place at work ...

## **4.3.4 Communicating Distrust**

Most comments concerning Communicating Distrust were from subordinates' points of view. I will discuss different views of superiors and subordinates in more detail in summary of results (4.4). Altogether there were 21 references in this theme. There were some comments from neutral and from superiors' points of view as well. In general, interviewees regard that it is doubtful if someone uses harsh humor and makes fun of other people. It makes one suspicious about what is said about him or her when he or she is not around. It is equally difficult to trust someone who enjoys other people's failures. If communication is very formal it may not lead anywhere and it is difficult to build a trust relationship. In a new relationship it is possible to misunderstand the other person's messages, which causes problems in communication. If things are announced and not negotiated it also diminishes trust.

... they make jokes about other people a way that they enjoy other people's failures, and it feels like you can't trust a person who does not take other people's matters seriously ...

### **Superiors' View on *Communicating Distrust***

There were only a few comments from superiors' points of view, and they were mostly self reflective. Superiors see that if a superior claims to change things but nothing really happens, it diminishes trust. For example, if a superior promises to give new instructions or new resources but he or she doesn't do anything, then it makes his or her action seem untrustworthy. Superiors may also have lots of personal information about their subordinates that they should keep strictly to themselves and not use for their own advantage.

... trust in superiors diminishes greatly if a superior claims to change things but in reality nothing happens ...

### **Subordinates' View on *Communicating Distrust***

Subordinates are sensitive to superiors lying and using inappropriate humor. Lying is destructive to trust, for after realizing that the superior lies to a subordinate, the subordinate will always suspect that the superior is lying again. One interviewee pointed out that once she had compared the different versions her superior had told to her and to her colleague, and they had come to a conclusion that if a superior lies he or she should be wise enough to stick with one lie and not to invent several stories.

... when you know that your superior is lying, then it is really difficult to trust again because you presume that you cannot trust what he or she says ...

Inappropriate humor is another thing that is destructive to trust. A superior making jokes at the coffee table about the people who are absent makes subordinates feel uncomfortable. Sometimes jokes told about customers may also be of so bad taste that subordinates feel that that kind of humor should not be used at all. Subordinates see that it is difficult for them to trust a superior if he or she seems to have a negative attitude towards everything. In case a subordinate has difficulties with his superior, it is possible to try to talk with someone else in the organization.

... in case of distrust one does not share information with one's superior but shares it with someone higher or at the same level in the organization, just to make sure that the information will not be used for wrong purposes ...

## **4.3.5 Transference of Perceived Untrustworthiness**

Most comments about Transference of Perceived Untrustworthiness were from the neutral point of view. The amount of references was 21 altogether. Several comments were from superiors' points of view, but only a few a from subordinates' points of view. All interviewees told some examples or opinions about Transference of Perceived Untrustworthiness.



From the neutral point of view most interviewees see that if a person has committed an immoral act even in personal life, it will somehow affect their attitude towards this person at work. It may be that they just start to be more cautious, more critical, and they feel that they start to respect less the person in question. One interviewee wondered whether she herself starts to look at the other person from another angle and starts to seek proof for her opinion.

... it affects the way that if you know that he or she does that in personal life, then it gives you a more critical attitude towards him or her ...

... if someone does something you cannot approve or respect, then it certainly affects you at least in subconscious ways ...

Interviewees point out that a person is an entity and that the basic character and the attitude toward keeping promises tell something about the person's whole attitude and trustworthiness. One interviewee also brought up an example about a person who caused Transference of Perceived Untrustworthiness for other people by blaming them without cause.

### **Superiors' View on *Transference of Perceived Trustworthiness***

Superiors see that small things and incidents may cause a loss or weakening of trust. If an employee always tries to get maximum profit out of the employer, orders very expensive equipment for himself or herself, or takes some office supplies home, it gives an untrustworthy picture of the employee. If a person does not take care of his responsibilities it raises doubts about his or her ability and willingness to take care of other tasks as well. If a person is always gossiping behind other people's back it is destructive for trust, for he or she will probably do the same for everyone.

... it took away my trust when a person said and I noticed myself that this person is always telling nasty things about people who are absent ...

... does he or she not understand that the kind of small choices he or she makes affect and reflect on how I can trust him or her with bigger choices ...

### **Subordinates' View on *Transference of Perceived Untrustworthiness***

There were only a few comments from subordinates' points of view. One interviewee told about his own experience when his former superior had blamed him for being overly cautious, and the rumors had spread in the organization. After a year he got feedback from his new superior that he had heard the rumors but he had soon noticed that the critique was unjust. The interviewee said that it took a long time to get his reputation back in the workplace:

... I just noticed that it had been the kind of thing that molded people's opinion of me in the organization. From my next superior I heard that he had gotten this feedback about me but he had noticed that it was inaccurate and that was a year after ...

Another interviewee had problems with a lying superior, which made co-operating and trusting difficult. Lying is especially problematic in situations where a subordinate needs advice or orders from his or her superior but is not sure whether all the information is correct.

### 4.3.6 Leaking Information

Leaking Information was mentioned from all three points of view, 11 references all together. None of the comments were self reflective; superiors notice subordinates leaking information and vice versa. Obviously, it is very challenging to admit that one would be guilty of leaking information oneself. Leaking information occasionally probably seems like innocent slipping out to the person who does it, while others may consider it leaking information. Neutral comments tell about situations where something confidential or personal information has spread to people who should not be aware of the matter. Neglecting one's being bound to secrecy was regarded as destructive to trust.

... if something that I would not have wanted to be known by the others has been told to them, then it is a complete lack of trust ...

#### **Superiors' View on *Leaking Information***

Superiors see that subordinates who are into gossiping are difficult to trust, for everything said will soon be known by everyone else. Superiors wish that subordinates would have enough consideration of what to say in public. One interviewee tells about his experiences when he was blamed for criticizing something in a confidential discussion after an employee had leaked the information. He assumed the previous conversation with the employee would stay private and not to become a subject for public debate. Being accused of leaking information was an unpleasant situation to this newly hired leader whose every turn was reported to the former leader by a group of subordinates.

... I wish they had consideration and they would think themselves, but even in this profession some lack consideration ...

#### **Subordinates' View on *Leaking Information***

In case a subordinate tells his or her superior something confidential about customers or themselves, it is critical that the superior will keep the secret. If this confidentiality is broken it is one of the worst violations of trust. When information is leaked it is always a delicate situation and occasionally it may lead to serious consequences. An interviewee tells that she was put in a risky situation by her superior leaking confidential information that could have led to a prosecution and then the blame would have been on her.

... if I have told something about my illness or my personal life it is not nice to hear it at public coffee break discussion ...

### 4.3.7 Testing Trustworthiness

Testing Trustworthiness is placed among the findings of distrust. It would have been possible to interpret some of the references as proof of trust and not distrust. However, most interviewees

agree that testing of trust is needed only if you are not sure whether you can trust the person in question. Testing of trust was mentioned 10 times in the data.

... it goes both ways, the superior is testing the subordinate and the subordinate is testing the superior ...

#### **Superiors' View on *Testing Trustworthiness***

Some superiors see that testing the subordinates' trustworthiness is ok. Testing can be checking that the employee takes care of his or her responsibilities or keeps classified information to himself or herself. When they get proof of subordinates' loyalty then they find it easier to keep in touch with this person. One of the interviewees had thought how much the testing is done on her.

... if I am a bit uncertain (while hiring) then I can call to someone I know and ask him or her to tell me some more about this person ...

#### **Subordinates' View on *Testing Trustworthiness***

Subordinates feel that talking about difficult or delicate matters with their superior requires trust and is in a way a test of trustworthiness. Matters of personal life are especially the kind that subordinates want to share only with a superior that has proven to be trustworthy.

... when you think about the matters of personal life at least I need to test that person's trustworthiness ...

### **4.3.8 Distrust in Competence**

To distrust one's competence means believing that the person in question doesn't have the needed skills and ability to successfully take care of the tasks at hand. For example, it can be distrust in managers' ability to run the company or distrust in subordinates' ability to do the work they are hired for. There were no comments on distrust in competence from the neutral point of view. Most comments in this theme were made from superiors' points of view. There were some mentions also from subordinates' points of view. Together the superiors and the subordinates mentioned Distrust in Competence 9 times.

#### **Superiors' View on *Competence and Distrust***

Superiors point out that they need to be able to guide and to council their subordinates in a way that even the slowest ones will be able to handle their work load. Superiors also notice that sometimes a superior can be afraid of his own inability to confront his subordinates. Superiors are aware that subordinates are different; some are very self-oriented and able to work independently. Others need more instruction and advice. Sometimes a subordinate may have problems with family or with alcohol which causes lower competence. Occasionally a subordinate can lack motivation which affects the productivity.

... some are a bit uncertain so you always have to be attentive and see that things are done well, even though they themselves think that it is a job well done ...

### **Subordinates' View on *Competence and Distrust***

Subordinates feel that their superiors don't trust them and their competence if they are always giving instructions and checking how things are proceeding. Interfering with subordinates' tasks may sometimes feel unnecessary if subordinates themselves feel quite competent to take care of them.

... a superior does not trust subordinates' competence to even write emails if he or she is always giving instructions ...

### **4.3.9 Receiving Feedback and Distrust**

Most comments on receiving feedback were from subordinates' points of view. This may derive from the fact that subordinates get more feedback from their superiors than other way round. From neutral or from superiors' points of view there was only one comment in each. Altogether the amount of references was 8. In a neutral comment an interviewee mentions that if a person gets angry it means that discussing and feedback is no longer possible in that moment.

### **Superiors' View on *Receiving Feedback and Distrust***

Sometimes a superior may be able to give critical feedback to a subordinate, but if the subordinate is just forced to listen to the critique then it will not lead anywhere. In order to be efficient, the feedback-giving situation should be motivating to the subordinate.

... if a subordinate is just told to sit and listen to the feedback, then the critique does not lead anywhere ...

### **Subordinates' View on *Receiving Feedback and Distrust***

Subordinates feel that if they receive critical feedback from their superior about their action, incompetence, or lack of skills, it weakens trust, especially if they themselves don't see the critique as just. For example, it is discouraging to hear from one's superior that the company is forced but not willing to pay the salary for the employee.

... well the critique of my action kind of weakens the trust ...

Giving and receiving feedback seems to be critical from subordinates' points of view. Subordinates are willing to get feedback, but they expect to be given a chance to discuss about it. Situations where an employee is not allowed to speak for himself or herself but receives critique are especially very stressing and unpleasant.

... in a development discussion he started by saying ... that you are under observation ...

#### 4.3.10 Giving Feedback and Distrust

In this theme amount of references was 9. From the neutral point of view it was mentioned that one should know well the person to whom one is giving critique. It is important to know on which point the person may get upset.

... you have to know the person well, what he can take and what will make him mad ...

##### **Superiors' View on *Giving Feedback and Distrust***

Superiors see that it is vital to be able to give critique in a constructive way when it is needed. If a superior can't give negative feedback when needed, it weakens trust and makes co-operation difficult. Knowing the person and being able to predict his or her reactions makes it easier to give feedback.

... a leader should know that he is being too nice if he cannot give negative feedback in a development discussion ...

##### **Subordinates' View on *Giving Feedback and Distrust***

Subordinates mention that they have tried to give negative feedback to their superior a few times but it has been difficult. Sometimes superiors aren't willing to receive feedback from subordinates:

... I have tried to bring it up in different situations [*critique to the superior*] and we have these surveys but ...

Many subordinates wish to have more feedback about their work, but sometimes their superior is unable to give corrective feedback at all. Some superiors don't like to confront difficult subordinates and they may avoid giving corrective feedback, even when it is needed. When negative feedback is given, it should happen in a face-to-face situation without other people and not the way that the subordinate will hear the critique from a third party later on. Hearing that a superior criticizes a subordinate from other employees is destructive to trust. If a superior is unable to help and to give instructions, it is easy to blame the subordinate. Sometimes subordinates feel that they get unjust negative feedback; when the boss is unsatisfied with something, then he or she may pour it on subordinates.

... giving the negative feedback should happen straight from face-to-face and not the way that you hear it from someone else ...

#### 4.3.11 Low Self-Disclosure, Lack of Support, Absence, Breaking Promises, and Reciprocity and Distrust

The following topics were mentioned 6 or fewer times, so they don't compose an independent theme of their own. *Low Self-Disclosure* means that a person is not willing to tell about himself or herself, to share his experiences, or to open up, especially in matters of private life. Low Self-

Disclosure has connection to trust, for if two persons don't trust each other then they don't probably share any information with each other. A superior brought up that he has learned to hide his bad feelings from the others in order to not to let them affect the workplace's atmosphere. A subordinate, on the other hand, claimed that her superior is so withdrawn and untalkative that it is hard to get her to tell anything; sometimes it is difficult to get even the needed work-related information.

... in just normal meetings we don't share information. I have to ask and ask again and again and it feels hopeless ...

In the only neutral comment regarding *Lack of Support* an interviewee points out that support seems to be the kind of thing that you will get when you won't need it but you won't get it when you need it. Accordingly, a superior mentions that it is critical to be able to see when one's subordinates need more support and give it to them instead of blaming them. That being said, Lack of Support seems to be a bigger problem for subordinates (4 references) than for superiors (1 reference). Subordinates claim that it is tough to not to get answers and guidance from superiors and that they have to figure out the solutions by themselves, even if it should be done by someone higher in the hierarchy. If a subordinate gets no support from a superior in a critical situation it may destroy the trust.

... I have asked both my superior and the manager and I get no help for the matter ...

*Absence* was a familiar problem for some (4) subordinates. They claim that occasionally they are alone with their responsibilities and are unable to talk with their superior. Sometimes the superior may be traveling and away even for a week which limits the communication. In the worst case, the superior and subordinated are alienated from each other and don't know what the other person is doing or where he or she is going. A subordinate also brings up that it is important to be physically at the workplace and available for the employees.

... I have a superior but I don't know where he or she is going or where he or she is coming from ...

*Breaking Promises* was mentioned by several superiors (4 references) and there were also a few comments from the neutral point of view. In general, in the organizations it may happen that promises aren't kept. For example, it has been promised that there will be more meetings in the future but nothing really happens – the same routines are carried out and no real change occurs. Superiors have some experience about having unreliable employees. Sometimes a subordinate promises to take care of a task but then fails to do it. One interviewee had had a subordinate who always gave good feedback face-to face but started to mention unpleasant things about the superior when she was not around.

... he promises to do the thing but he doesn't do as we have agreed and does not even explain ...

*Reciprocity and Distrust* are related in a way that several (5 references) interviewees mentioned reciprocity. Two subordinates noticed that when their superior doesn't take interest in their work or does not seem to trust them, it also prevents them from building a trusting relationship. Some people may have mutual resentment and they are unable to trust each other, even if the other person would like to. In a situation where confidence is lost, it usually is reciprocal.

... it left me with a doubt whether he or she (superior) respects me and that is why I cannot fully respect her either, which is quite natural ...

## 4.4 Summary of Results

Trust matters a lot at workplaces and it affects people's behavior greatly. Trusting superior-subordinate relationships are valued, and a trusting climate is preferred working condition, as it promotes well-being at work. On the contrary, distrust between a superior and a subordinate can have severe consequences; it may cause the follower to resign and the leader to try to move the problematic subordinate to another unit.

According to these results trust is both emotion and knowledge. Most previous research has stressed the cognitive nature of trust (Quere 2001; Dirks & Ferrin 2002), even though some research has started to acknowledge the importance of emotions in trust research and claims that the emotional aspect of trust should be acknowledged in organizations (Blomqvist & Ståhle 2000). Accordingly, this study suggests the same thing as Solomon and Flores (2001) in their conceptual analysis: trust is very personal feeling and it could be compared to love or deep friendship. However, in work life the interaction in general is aimed at fulfilling a given project in collaboration with others. Nevertheless, while people are at work, they are still human beings with the whole spectrum of their feelings as discussed in the chapter 4.1.1.

What this study adds to the previous research is the use of the qualitative phenomenological method that allows the phenomenon of trust to be known as the informants experience it. Additionally, this study goes into details and points out what are the building blocks of trust: Integrity of words and action, respecting and allowing emotions related to trust, active communication, and taking time to build trust relationships. The importance of the superior's support's is also emphasized. This doesn't mean that the quality of superior-subordinate relationship would solely lie on the shoulders of superiors. On the contrary, the superior-subordinate relationship is reciprocal and the subordinate's impact is crucial, too. Yet, in this research the importance of superior's support was pressed. Probably this is a role-related issue, and sometimes people may expect the superior to be the initiator in the superior-subordinate relationship. This can be compared to extra role behavior in organizational citizenship behavior (OCB; see Dirks & Skarlicki 2004). It would also be possible for subordinates to act beyond their conventional role and ask for the superior's attention. It was also acknowledged in the results (see chapter 4.2.1) that subordinates can take an active role.

The difference of superiors' and subordinates' views is a central result. Subordinates are more interested in their direct responsibilities and their future in the organization. Superiors' views have transferred to a wider scale and responsibilities are heavier. Work related roles seem to direct people's way of understanding an organization's strategic choices and development plans. Enhancing communication is an old remedy for miscommunications, but still it seems to be the only way to bring these viewpoint gaps closer.

Some of the topics in this study were more role dependent than others. For instance *Trusted Persons* were mentioned only in superiors' points of view. Apparently subordinates don't pay so much attention to the trusted persons, but when one becomes a superior it starts to matter more to have someone you can trustfully talk to. Accordingly, subordinates don't comment

on their superior's trustworthiness (*Recognition of Trustworthiness*), which can be interpreted to show that the superior's trustworthiness was not recognized by their subordinates. Maybe they haven't perceived the issue, or then it is not mentioned because interviewees don't believe that it exists. Likewise, the comments in the theme *Discussing* show that subordinates often feel isolated and look for professional dialog, while superiors don't recognize the same need. Furthermore, *Communicating Distrust* most comments are from subordinates' points of view. Accordingly, *Reciprocity* was not mentioned from superiors' points of view but it evoked comments both from subordinates' and neutrals point of view. Previously mentioned themes don't represent the core results and the scarcity of references has to be taken in account when conclusions are made. Nevertheless, I'd like to suggest that when the mentioned themes are examined collectively, it is possible to detect a pattern: Subordinates trust their superiors less than superiors trust in their subordinates. This empirical finding is aligned with the views of hierarchical power asymmetries, previously discussed in chapter 2.2.

Some themes were regarded as neutral, for example, *Time* was described with several neutral comments. Some themes were more polarized, like *Superior's Support*, which had no neutral comments at all but evoked numerous comments from either superiors' or subordinates' views. Accordingly, *Distrust in Competence* didn't contain any neutral comments: Most mentions were from superior's points of view.

The moral aspect of trust is also significant. Superiors seem to go through a transformative process which includes reflections of one's own trustworthiness. This refers to self-reflection and learning about one's intrapersonal ability to be trustworthy and also to build trustful relationships with others. Moral stories that informants told show that superiors strive to be good leaders, even though they had been treated badly when they were subordinates. Being a leader seems to be a continuous inner struggle of morality, as previously discussed in chapter 2.2. A superior may ask how can my decisions be equal to all and how can I still motivate my people? It is hard to define when the leadership task has been adequately fulfilled because the interpretation of the situation depends on who is looking. Moral choices are based on leaders' concept of humanity. Do leaders see people as benevolent, independent, and creative when well led? Is coaching and facilitating the right way to go? Or is there still remaining in the background the mechanistic idea of organizations and people that have to be kept in order and a need for hierarchy to function?

The aspect of learning brought up three issues in this study: 1) learning to trust in relationships, 2) learning to trust as single-loop and double-loop learning, and 3) learning to trust as a transformative process. By learning in relationships I refer to our fundamental need for other people (see Figure 7). By mirroring our values, thoughts and action with other people, we are able to grow to trust. Nowadays, with exhausting flow of information, no one can obtain genius by oneself. Top results in science and business and also often in arts require sharing information and collaborating. True learning happens in networks of relationships, and trust is an essential part in them. As Mayer and al. (1995) propose, the effect of perceived benevolence on trust will increase over time as the relationship develops. Relationship learning makes this time bounded trust enforcing process salient. When a trust relationship deepens, parties get more information about each other's benevolence and competence in various situations. Therefore, the risk of expecting something from the other that he or she isn't willing to do usually diminishes as time goes by.



Learning to trust can also be described with the help of Argyris's (1982) theory of single-loop and double-loop learning. In single-loop learning one generates a special kind of quality of learning that will go within the actor and the environment and the actor. There is quite little testing of ideas and actors will not seek information that would confront their prevailing thoughts. In terms of trust, a person could learn by experience or could be taught by elders to trust or distrust certain kinds of people. This way many ideas can become self-fulfilling and learning may be limited to what one finds acceptable. Especially in cases of distrust, learning may become detrimental by strengthening prejudices.

Double-loop learning takes learning to trust to another level. In double-loop learning ideas are confronted and challenged, and the processes are disconfirmable and not self-sealing. Double-loop learning is based on the ability to take a "double look" at the situation by questioning the relevance of operating norms. (Argyris 1982, 88, 104; Morgan 2006, 84–87.) When people challenge themselves to take a double look at their views, they can remodel their operating norms and come to the conclusion that their criteria for trust or distrust were too narrow. They may learn to think in a more open and complex way that some people are trustworthy and some are not, regardless of the group to which they belong or the learner's past experiences with similar people.

Learning to trust could also be called transformative if the learning process truly affects a person's values and attitudes. This can be seen in the moral stories that emerged from the data during the research process. Most of the interviewees (7 of 10) brought up their own experiences about how they have sometimes been treated wrongly by their superiors. But now they were striving their best to not pass the same to their subordinates. Informants' stories demonstrate how they have learned about trust through their first-hand experiences and how they communicated their learning experiences via narrative moral stories. In this research these stories were included as examples of learning to trust, and they illustrated how the experience of learning to trust could be described in a narrative form. Narratives have always been a way to teach morals, and these moral stories show that it applies also to trust. These stories were a way to learn and to teach about trust and trustworthiness. Learning could be self-reflective, but they could also concern relationships with other people in the community, in these cases superiors and subordinates.

As discussed in chapter 2.3.2, transformative learning refers to the process by which we transform our taken for granted references like, for example, perspectives, habits of mind, and mind-sets to make them more inclusive, open and emotionally capable of change. Thereby they may generate beliefs and actions that will prove to be more true or justified to guide the action. (Mezirow 2000, 7–8.) Transformative learning is learning where the learner comes to a new understanding of something that has caused a fundamental reordering of the paradigmatic assumptions he or she holds about the idea or action concerned. Transformative learning cannot happen without critical thinking being involved in every stage of learning. Critical reflection is not equivalent to transformative learning, but it is a necessary condition for it; the existence of transformational learning depends of the presence of critical thinking. (Brookfield 2000, 140–142.)

What differentiates learning from trust as double-loop learning and transformative learning is the depth, intensity, and the learner's awareness of the process. A total transformative process is a rare phenomenon, and it would be exaggerating to call every change in attitudes regarding

trust as transformational learning. When a learning experience is transformative it forces the learner to change, which can be emotionally frightening (see Mezirow 2000, 5–6). Questions of life and death, like becoming a parent or a near death experiences, are usual examples of incidents that may start a fundamentally transformative process. The question is, can becoming a leader be described as a transformative learning process? On the basis of this research, I would say that for some leaders it truly becomes a transforming learning process. In the voices of the informants of this study I heard naked, challenging, and critical thoughts of trust and leadership. Being a superior brings such responsibilities, confrontations, and even constraints, that it challenges a leader to learn. How deep or how far the leaning will go depends of every single agent and the contingency of their operational environment. Every story is different and unique.

## 5 Discussion and Conclusions

In this part I will cover the theoretical and methodological contribution of this research and evaluate the study (chapters 5.1 and 5.2). Then I will continue to discuss future research issues, including a few suggestions about how to broaden the research related to learning and trust (chapter 5.3). After these, I will proceed to the managerial contribution of my research (5.4; I use the distinction for theoretical, methodological, and managerial implications, cf. Kyrö 2003, 137–138). In the final chapter (5.5), the phenomenon of trust is considered from individual, organizational, and social aspects, and the connections between these different levels are discussed.

### 5.1 Theoretical and Methodological Contribution

This research has added to previous theories of trust a view that puts *priority on feelings* and *binds learning and trust together*. It has brought forth to a concrete level the topic related differences and similarities of superiors' and subordinates' viewpoints. The study has also stressed *the moral and value related aspects* of leadership and trustworthiness by describing leaders' transformative learning processes and personal narrative moral stories, both of which emerged spontaneously from the data.

In addition, this study has filled a certain kind of flaw in research of trust in leadership: This has been the lack of *empirical qualitative study*. Granted, this topic has been studied by literature reviews (Dirks & Ferrin 2002; Burke & al. 2007), and some researchers have also suggested triangulating the data in order to get robust results (see Bijlsma & Koopman 2003). Otherwise, however, the number of empirical qualitative studies has been minimal. So far researchers have relied extensively on traditional surveys to gather data (see, for example, Gillespie & Mann 2004). Surveys are often very appropriate, but sometimes they can limit the research to a snapshot of trust at the time of data gathering (Burke & al. 2007, 626; Bijlsma & Koopman 2003, 549).

In comparison to traditional surveys, this phenomenological research approached trust in leadership from different direction. Phenomenology aims at in-depth quality instead of quantity. It doesn't force the researched phenomenon into categories previously defined by the researcher and doesn't aim to generalize the phenomenon like surveys sometimes do. The results of this study have been forged during a long process, and informants of this study have also produced the data gradually, first by writing about their own experiences and then by taking part in a nonstructured in-depth interview. Thus, this research is offering, in my honest opinion, new knowledge affiliated to the phenomenon of trust.

The methodological implications of the research can be summarized by saying that the research was conducted with a phenomenological method which aims to reveal something about the true nature of the phenomenon. As I have previously demonstrated, trust is a delicate issue and therefore qualitative methods such as phenomenological analysis should be used to research it. This, however, does not mean that I would be proposing giving up the survey based research on trust. All research methods filter the data through their specific looking glasses

and have some kind of effect on results. This study employed the phenomenological looking glass, ending up with certain results and conclusions. A quantitative analysis of the same topic might put emphasis on different things. Despite the difference, however, both qualitative and quantitative methods are relevant when they are accurately executed.

The old-fashioned quantitative *vs.* qualitative research quarrel being put aside, I argue that the results of this study were possible to obtain *only* in a research setting that gave people time to reflect on the topic and then talk about it face to face to a researcher with whom they were already familiar with. Interviewees talked about feelings and brought up their own stories, both of which were sometimes very delicate. I seriously doubt that this would have been possible if the data would have been collected with a survey. As cited earlier, Warren (2002, 83) concludes that the purpose of qualitative interviewing is to derive subjective interpretations, not objective laws or facts, from respondents' comments. Even though the method has its faults, it is often an appropriate way to approach delicate things such as personal experiences. In my study, qualitative approach brought up new knowledge. Being able to humanely interview superiors who had several years of leadership experience made it possible to get a new kind of first-hand information from Finnish work life. Use of the phenomenological method aimed to reveal trust as it is *understood, experienced* and *felt* by real life people.

Unlike many rational choice theorists, this research suggests that trust should be linked with the category of emotion and that learning is closely related to trust. This doesn't mean that I would be ready to totally reject the rational choice approach. According to my viewpoint building trust is a constructive process in intrapersonal relationships: Evaluating the other party's trustworthiness is based on personal experience and schemes, parts of which are clearly based on rational calculation. Especially when a person is getting acquainted with someone he or she doesn't previously know, then the rational choice theory can be applied, as it gradually reduces uncertainty (see Berger & Calabrese 1975). This is a phenomenon many interviewees referred to. The first steps in a superior-subordinate relationship are tentative, and trust is gradually built by small steps and even testing can be used. A subordinate can first tell something personal to the superior and then check that this information won't be publicly discussed. Likewise, a superior can allocate some special tasks to a subordinate and see that they are well taken care of. After this tentative testing phase, people may be ready to proceed to issues and projects that require more trust.

However, the previously presented aspect is only one side of the whole picture, and neglecting this other side is, according to my view, a major flaw in the previous trust research. To take an example: In the otherwise distinguished *Proposed Model of Trust* by Mayer and al. (1995, Figure 1), affective aspects are not included at all. Some other models, such as that proposed by Dirks and Ferrin (2002, Figure 3), depict the affective definition. However, in their meta-analysis the affective definition doesn't exist because of lack of data. In the Burke and al. (2007) proposed model, affect can only be seen in proximal outcomes described as willingness to follow. Compared to what the informants of this study independently told, the previous models seem to neglect the importance of the emotional aspect of trust. Like friendship or love, trust contains a strong affective component, and people base their evaluations of other people's trustworthiness not just on knowledge, but also on feelings. Growing to be a more trustworthy person can be an especially transformative process which moulds a person's values and way of thinking – gives

a new frame to the experiences. There is no doubt that decisions whether to trust or not are partially rational choices, but there is a lot more involved. When emotion deepens it may be a catalyst for the whole frame of reference to transform.

Like many brain researchers (see e.g., Damasio 2005), I argue that emotion (feelings) and reason (knowledge) are inseparably connected. Therefore, in my view, emotions are central in building trust: they simply cannot be separated from any cognitive operations. If a person primarily feels unease with someone, it may cause that a rapport of trust will never arise. It is equally possible, however, that when people live through common experiences, the unpleasant feeling fades and trust evolves. If our trust is let down, it can cause feelings of disappointment and anger. In these ways, positive experiences strengthen pleasant feelings and bad experiences cause negative feelings. Thus I claim, for previously clearly manifested reasons, that trust research that has aimed to clarify its core concept by building models is actually alienated from the phenomenon at the grassroots level. The researched phenomenon, trust in leadership, is a social process and therefore the research of it should be bounced back to the basic level. By researching trust with the phenomenological method, I have tried to let the informants' voices of real life experiences to be heard. As we have seen, trust is a many-sided and a humane phenomenon. Therefore, the study of trust should also use research methods that illustrate the different aspects of the phenomenon, putting equally living people, not mere survey sheets, in the centre.

## 5.2 Evaluation of the Study

The qualitative research is very creative and interpretive. The researcher does not just collect the data (such as interviews), run it through a computer program, and list the results. Qualitative interpretations are human constructed, and therefore the emphasis and interpretations vary. Accordingly, there are multiple criteria for evaluating qualitative research, and used criteria should stress the situated, the relational, and textual structures of data. (Cf. Denzin & Lincoln 2004, 26; Patton 2002, 542–544.) This leads us to one thing: As every phenomenological study is unique, the justification of results is more challenging than in surveys. Even if the quantitative paradigm is strong and the researchers often compare the reliability of qualitative studies with that of quantitative analysis, this approach is fallacious. Phenomenology doesn't play by the rules of quantitative analysis, and therefore it shouldn't mechanically be evaluated according to them. Though qualitative research like phenomenology has certain criteria to evaluate reliability and validity, it does not use these concepts in the same sense as in quantitative research. That being said, I will present some reliability and validity evaluation criteria in this chapter.

In qualitative research, the criteria of reliability and validity rise more from the analysis process itself. To some extent, the *reliability* of the study is based on how the research methods are applicable to research the phenomenon in focus. In addition, it is essential to describe the research process in an understandable way. (Cf. Perttula 1995, 39–41; Perttula also lists some other criteria, such as that of ontological relevance, which are more appropriate to philosophically focused research.) In general, the reliability of qualitative research is not problematic if the used method is suitable for the research. In my opinion this criteria is fulfilled in this study, for phenomenology is suitable for researching trust as previously discussed. However, one

traditional criterion, repeatability, is hard to achieve and is not suitable in phenomenological analysis.

The other general criterion, validity, refers to the validity of the conclusion made on the basis of the data. In other words, the research focuses on analyzing what it aims to examine. Like many other researchers, Haladyna (2005) distinguishes two forms of validity; *procedural* and *empirical*. Procedural validity refers to how the research process is conducted, the systematic validity, which usually appears in the written form of a report, memorandum, or file document. Challenges of procedural validity are mainly related to the core concepts and their operationalization. These problems are especially acute when the theoretical and operational concepts of the research are elojned. Because I have tried to research trust in the superior-subordinate relationship by using the expressions the informants use, the procedural validity isn't a problem in this study. The other form, empirical validity, rests on what the data is based on. This is more challenging in my study, because the researched amount is relatively small – 98 essays and 10 in-depth interviews. Even if generalizations are quite rarely top interest in qualitative research, it is clear that such a small amount challenges the validity of generalizations, which on the other hand is not the aim in phenomenology. Generalizations weren't the motive for my research interest; I was more interested to analyze the different aspects of trust in depth (see discussion in chapter 3.4 on sampling strategies, which primarily aimed at gathering information from *rich* cases). Accordingly, I have to note that my research results weren't surprising compared to the previous research, even if they emphasized different aspects than quantitative trust research. Therefore I have strong reasons to presume that the empirical validity of this study is also reasonable.

For reasons of evaluation, I will next describe the phases of my phenomenological research process. As I have previously mentioned, I aimed at keeping the theoretical assumptions and my own opinions apart from the data. In my opinion, I succeeded in this quite nicely. When the research process revealed the studied phenomenon, it did this by slowly combining empirical analysis and prior theory. I fully comprehend that phenomenological analysis was just one part of the process and themes that 'evolved' from the data, thus forming the core of the study, also echoed with the earlier literature and theories. However, I claim that the phenomenon eventually took form and revealed the entity of the phenomenon, which was not created by me. This can be compared to a good novel where the characters start to live their own lives and the writer just needs to follow. Likewise, when my phenomenological research deepened the analyzed phenomenon started to point to what is relevant and what is irrelevant, what themes belonged together and what should be excluded from each other.

During the previously described process, a phenomenologist needs to keep his or her own ideas clearly separated from the researched phenomenon. This doesn't mean that one should be a tabula rasa but that one is very aware of one's opinions and possible reactions, keeping them away from the research. One could say that the kind of qualitative research I have done is procedurally valid if the researcher's experience equals informant's original experience (see above). This means that even if previous theories affect the analysis, the researcher has to form the analysis based on the original *data*: In phenomenological research the aim is to reach the phenomenon as it appears to the informant. In my opinion, this successfully carried in this study. However, it has to be granted that researchers aren't super humans who could see pure and genuine phenomenon totally free from their own pre knowledge. Phenomenology ideally

reaches towards the genuine phenomena, but it is wise to be aware of the limitations of the research and human nature. (Perttula 1995, 42–45.)

\* \* \*

In the following I will still evaluate this study and the whole research process according to the nine evaluation steps of phenomenological study presented by Perttula (1995, 43–44). I will give my subjective evaluation of how well my research has fulfilled the criteria placed by Perttula.

- 1) *The research phenomenon, the data collection, the used theory, the analysis, and the research report have to be consistent and logical.* In this study paradigms, theories and concepts form a coherent entity. The world was regarded as a network of social realities. Subjective truths and interpretations can be as many as actors, and therefore the topic of trust was chosen to be studied from the viewpoint of a personal experience. On the epistemological level, the participants of the research were regarded as subjects who took part in active interaction with the researcher. Participants' accounts were treated as providing insight into their psychological and organizational lives (see Symon & Cassell 2004). The methodology and the theories used were based on phenomenological and hermeneutical thinking, which in this study supported each other. Accordingly, the data collection was conducted via in-depth interviews and writings. These research methods were chosen because they made it possible to catch the phenomenon of trust as holistically and genuinely as possible.
- 2) *The reflection of the research has to be made in a way that the researcher can justify his or her choices in every phase of the process.* As I have previously argued several times, I could have used some other methods or done some other analytical choices. However, in my opinion I chose the most appropriate methods for the task at hand (see Perttula's evaluation criterion 1). The analysis proper followed Spiegelberg's (1982, 682) seven steps system, which guided the process from phase to phase and made sure that the researcher would not jump into conclusions.
- 3) *The research process needs to be based on the data.* Like I pointed out earlier in this very chapter, the data was the starting point for the analysis in my study. Data was further enriched by sampling, which was done according to earlier mentioned Patton's (2002, 243) purposeful sampling strategies. The chosen strategy, *intensity sampling*, aimed at learning from information rich cases that manifest phenomenon intensely, but not extremely. This enabled getting rich and diverse data; all presented themes raised from the data, not from the existing trust theories.
- 4) *The researcher has to respect the contextuality of the research process, which can refer to two things: a person's external or inner reality.* I have described this aspect previously (see Perttula's evaluation criterion 1). In this study *the external reality* reflects the context of the Finnish work life during the years 2005–2006, both in the private and the public sector. Even though my results couldn't be generalized as some surveys may be, I think I could reach some crucial aspects of external reality at the time being, in other words the different aspects of trust in superior-subordinate relationship. In many – but not in all – qualitative

research the researcher should maintain the individuality of the experience as long as possible; accordingly, on the level of *inner realities* the individual voices were paid regard to as much as possible. However, as single interviews weren't independently suitable for general analysis, they ultimately had to be treated as a collective entity. The moral stories were an exception, they were presented individually. All in all, I have strong reasons to presume that contextuality was appropriately taken into account in this study.

- 5) *The researcher has to responsible of the quality of the knowledge.* In this context “knowledge” means how an individual describes his or her meanings, which are born in social interaction – individual knowledge is part of general knowledge. Accordingly, “quality” means that a researcher is able to renew the informants’ experiences without distortions. Even though in this study the emphasis has been on general knowledge, I think that I have also been able to take into account the quality of the knowledge while generalizing the individual meanings.
- 6) *Combining the methods is needed if the ontological analysis shows that only a combination of methods will reveal the phenomenon.* This has also been covered in previous points. In this study the phenomenological method was logical and adequate in order to analyze trust in superior-subordinate relationship. Even though I regard my approach the best for answering the research questions I have proposed, naturally, further research with different methods that would reveal new sides of the phenomenon.
- 7) *Cooperation with other researchers is desirable, as this can add the reliability of the research.* Unfortunately, while studying in U.S, I couldn't find other researchers of trust that would have been willing to exchange ideas about the topic. This isn't surprising in the sense that a vocational education major who is combining learning, trust, and superior-subordinate relationship is a kind of pioneer work. I hope that this situation will soon change and that the educational aspect will also be recognized in trust studies. In the future I hope that researchers of trust would have the chance to cooperate both on national and international levels.
- 8) *The researcher has to acknowledge his or her subjectivity.* During this research process I tried to be honest with my own subjective limitations. I wrote my own journal about my earlier experiences of superior-subordinate relations in order to come to know my experiences and opinions that might affect the analysis. Being aware of my preconceptions made it easier for me to try to stay as neutral as I could.
- 9) *The researcher has to do the research systemically; in the end only the researcher can evaluate his or her responsibility.* In this study I have done my best to fulfill both the ethical and the scientific standards of research.

Informants' answers always mirror the prevailing society. I believe that the interviewees of this research brought forth themes that reveal a lot about today's superior-subordinate relationships and the work life in general. Whether we use one or a thousand informants, there is little long-term guarantee about the exactness of the results. It all depends on research questions and the used methods. We only know what we are ready to know and we interpret things through the prevailing paradigms. However, I would evaluate that I have done this research with as high standards as has been in my reach and I expect the results to be valid.



### 5.3 Further Research Issues

Theoretical, methodological and evaluative concerns being put aside, it is time to think about how I would further research of trust. I already covered some of these topics previously in chapter 5.1. To my understanding the two main further research issues are intertwined: *Lack of empirical qualitative research* and *lack of emphasis on feelings*. As I have previously argued, in my opinion, trust research has been somehow alienated from the phenomenon at the root level. This is the gap in research that future research should primarily try to fill in. Because these themes are nothing new to an assiduous reader, I will continue to other topics.

One issue I would like to discuss is the comparing of studies of trust in different countries, which would be most welcomed. For instance, working cultures and legislation that regulates how businesses are run are very different in the U.S., in Italy, in Germany, in Finland and in Russia. It would be most useful to clarify the differences in building trust in these or any other culture. However, such analysis should be conducted by a vast network of trust researchers. Additionally, the cultural differences require careful preparation of data gathering as many researchers have noticed. For instance Wasti and al. (2007) found out in their cross-cultural measurement of supervisor trustworthiness that several items of their ability and benevolence scales appeared to be interpreted differently in different countries. Respondents from collectivist (high power distant) cultures understood these things differently than their counterparts from individualist (low power distant) cultures. Therefore the researchers advocated scholars to develop scales in which items reflect not a single culture but are more applicable, both in meaning and choice of expression to several cultures. Developing these kinds of models would be tedious, but they could provide a very comprehensive picture of trust.

A second further research issue which I have in mind is related to learning. The pace of the present work life is hectic, and people need to learn new skills constantly. Especially in job transitions, new abilities and attitudes have to be adopted quickly (see Isopahkala-Bouret 2005). One thing people may have to learn is how to build trust after bad experiences in superior-subordinate relationships and in peer relationships. In the future, it would be fruitful to examine the renewal process: How people (re)learn to trust? This could be combined with transformative learning, because when a person needs to build trust after a distrustful experience it may involve a deep change of adapted framework. Could it be so that transformative learning occurs when distrust is cultivated to trust?

A third issue is related on the one hand to the reliability and validity of the qualitative trust research, and on the other hand to individual psychology. When people are used as informants of their own experiences, there is always the risk that they start to talk more about their *ideal* self or about the way the things *should* be carried out. Perhaps this can be seen in the results where superiors speak very highly about their own devotion to be a good leader even though they would have had disastrous experiences with their former superior. It is easier to recognize the faults in someone else's behavior than in ourselves. In order to make this study more comprehensive it would have been an interesting idea to cross-examine people's ideas of their own trustworthy behavior and other people's impressions of that. For example, doing a trust related 360° test to informants would have given more data about how people see themselves and how the other people at work perceive them. This could help to reduce the impact of an ideal self picture. Unfortunately, this study had too limited time and funding to do such

a demanding procedure. It would also have been very challenging to find informants who would have been ready to test their trustworthiness on 360°. In the future research it would be beneficial to investigate the differences of views in superior-subordinate relationship by cross-examination of trustors' and trustees' views.

## 5.4 Managerial Contribution

In addition to its theoretical contribution, this study also addresses several managerial (practical) implications. These are related to the development of leadership and promoting wellness at work. This research has created new knowledge about the trust in the work context that can provide tools of thinking for leaders. Getting acquainted with different aspects of trust in superior-subordinate relationships can help leaders to realize its significance.

Since trust is an essential matter in superior-subordinate relationships, it should be included in the curriculum of the basic management and leadership training programs. Lack of knowledge causes misunderstandings. When people aren't aware of the nature of trust, they may regress to primitive reactions and start to blame others for not trusting them. If they would get accurate knowledge of trust and how they can gain it with their own behavior, the work life could run smoother. Accordingly, it is vital to be aware of what crucial consequences distrust can have. Employees who don't trust their superior basically limit the common communication, become demotivated and eventually will move to another unit or even apply for a new job in a different organization.

So, trust could and should be covered in the module of leadership in basic multiform process training for superiors. Since time is a scarce resource in all staff training it is also possible to present the theme of trust as homework. For instance, participants can be asked to write about their experiences, thoughts, and feelings regarding trust in leadership, like it was conducted in the data gathering of this research. In order to challenge participants thinking and to get them more familiar with different role-related views, it might be beneficial to ask participants to write both from a superior's and a subordinate's view. Trust should also be brought up when communication skills and especially feedback giving and receiving are considered. Drama pedagogy is a useful tool in teaching communication skills. Drama rehearsals can be analyzed from a trust-centered view, and emphasis can be put on communication styles that promote building mutual trust. However, a single lecture can also give some work communities and managers new knowledge about trust and help them realize the significance of trust in workplace relations. If it is possible to invest in leadership training that has longer duration, teaching of trust should be integral. This means that the aspect of trust would be taken into account while teaching different topics.

As a leadership trainer with long working experience, I am quite aware of the difficulties related to making changes that happen in organizations. However, when leadership training is in competent hands, it can be a powerful way to help people learn new skills, gain new knowledge, and challenge their prevailing attitudes. In addition, I am perfectly aware of the viewpoint presented, for example, by Fang and al. (2008, 94). These researchers challenge the view that puts emphasis on training and regard it as overly simplistic. Instead, they suggest that firms' decisions regarding collaborative entity staffing, compensation decisions, and

governance/management processes must balance the need for resource investment with the coentity's resource utilization requirements. That is, and especially when initiating a marketing collaboration, corporations shouldn't be trained but rather hire a new workforce. My own viewpoint is bit different. While I don't want to naively overemphasize its significance, I do believe that training and educating people does have an effect. However, I also find it advantageous to consider how trust related issues can be taken into account in recruitment and in compensation. Especially when recruiting new superiors, candidates' abilities to build trust in their future subordinates should be noticed. Likewise, creating commitment and trust in followers should be rewarded. To my knowledge, trust related recruitment and training programs don't yet exist – perhaps the developing research of trust will someday expand to these areas also.

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Keskinen (2005) defines organizational citizenship as the way that everyone in an organization has their own rights and responsibilities and required skills tied to their roles. Superiors have to take responsibility for the situation as a whole and they need to facilitate and lead employees in such a way that they can reach the set goals. They need to support and give feedback to the employees. On the other hand, subordinates have their own distinct responsibilities as well. They are responsible for their work and they should also take responsibility for their co-workers. Employees should point out problems in the organization in a constructive way, if they notice that something is not working. Subordinates also need to do their share as members of the working community: they need to listen, negotiate, and give support to others. Accordingly, subordinates should support their superiors by not presenting oversized demands that go beyond the reach of the superior's power. Eventually, organizational citizenship should lead to a situation where both management and work force do their share and collaborate. Naturally, this requires mutual trust and willingness to act in a trustworthy way.

## **5.5 Discussion**

From the managerial contribution I will move to more general topics, discussing in this final chapter the relevance of emotions and trust in work life nowadays. In order to give some historical background to my topic, I will first describe how organizational life has changed in the last decades. Then I will move to leadership and present how it has changed – in accordance with organizational changes – and what new challenges leadership faces. Subsequently, I will discuss superiors' and subordinates' different views, communication, organizational citizenship, and how they can help to strengthen trust. Finally, I will expand my discussion to the possibilities of evaluating trust, promoting work satisfaction, and personal happiness. In this chapter my aim is to connect the levels of a single employee and that of the whole organization, for in work life they are inseparable. No far reaching organizational change can happen only in people: Organizational strategy, structure, and management also needs to support the change. Even though the focus of this study has been on the dyadic relation of superior and subordinate, they are part of an interconnected network in the organization.

Organizations and leadership have changed dramatically during the past decades. To fully comprehend the volume of these changes, it is useful to take a look at the history. In the 1950's

mass-production firms' the superiors had to work hard to prevent workers from slipping away from their work or to gather at the clock before the finishing time. At the end of this decade, Woodward (1958) brought up in her famous study of management the dualistic idea of *mechanic* versus *organic* organizations. She predicted that as technology advances the entire concept of leadership in work organizations may have to change. Already at that time different organizations had different attitudes towards time-keeping which affected the leadership. In mass-production firms, management was authoritarian and trust was low. At the same time in the process companies, the operators would autonomously arrive early enough for the night shift to allow the men they were relieving to have a quick drink at the local bar before closing time. In these firms the employees knew that production had to keep going and they were taking responsibility for their work. They also showed that they could collaborate with other workers and thus promote the well-being of all. When everyone got to the night shift early, it meant that everyone benefited from it on their shift and had a brief relief in the local pub.

Much later, approximately 15 years ago, a major shift occurred in organizational life. This breakthrough – already foreseen by Woodward – was so significant that it made several scholars write about the new organization models, learning organizations, and the urgency of change in companies (see, for example, Senge 1990; Nonaka & Takeuchi 1995; Sumantra & Bartlett 1997; Pasternack & Viscio 1998; Morgan 2006). In the 1990s the big and hierarchical companies started to restructure themselves in order to answer the demands of a changing market. Flexibility and speed became more important success factors than the traditional size and resources. Emphasis was put on a new kind of leadership, and facilitating; coaching and authoritative management styles became popular. Managers did their best to transform their firms into learning organizations where everyone would contribute to the whole organization's knowledge creation.

The shifting paradigm for organizational success included the replacement of old success factors with new, more competitive ones. In mechanic organizations the distinction between a manager and a worker used to be clear. In old-fashioned organizations everyone knew his or her place, accepted it, and performed accordingly. Ever since, flexibility has become a more meaningful success factor because flexible organizations can change more quickly. Nowadays people often have multiple jobs, learn new skills, and are rapidly shifted to new assignments and different locations. Flexible organizations don't need meticulous job descriptions; work is done in teams that form and reform as tasks emerge. However this change has been problematic on many levels.

Morgan (2006, 6) argues that one of the basic problems of modern management is the old mechanical way of thinking that is deeply rooted in our conceptions of organization. Even though times have changed and organizations have become more decentralized, the old way of thinking still affects our values. When managers think of organizations as machines they also design and manage them as machines. The idea of a machine brings in interlocking parts and highly defined roles. While this is an efficient way to organize an apparatus, it leaves very little space for innovations or a holistic view of the work force. One example of mechanistic values is that typically, the managers of finances have a lot of power in companies and are ranked in hierarchy right after the CEOs, while the human resources managers may not even be members of the top management team – or if they are, they are considered to have a less strategic post. Accordingly, different people in an organization may carry with them different conceptions of how business and people should be run. A person working in the human

resources department with a degree in applied psychology can believe that a firm is an organic entity where people should be given as much freedom as possible in order to challenge them to work well. Likewise, he or she can believe in authoritative leadership and be willing to accept a great deal of uncertainty in the organization. At the same time in the very same firm, there may be another person who has had a technical education and who also approaches the leadership situations in a mechanistic way. He or she thinks that it is better to leave the planning to the management and put the work force to fulfill clearly defined tasks in controlled conditions.

Even though the mechanical way of thinking is still rooted in management, the logic of modern economy questions it in growing extent. Before, control used to be a tool to make sure that everything functioned the way it was planned to do. A major part of management used to be controlling the work force and ensuring that they were doing the right things, at the right time, and in the right order. Most present organizations strive to be innovative, and innovations don't bloom under strict control. This is one of the reasons why organic organizations are nowadays competitive. Today's work will soon become outdated, and therefore organizations constantly need to search for the new, the different, and the never before imagined. (Ashkenas & al. 1995, 6–9.) The ability of organizations to move from large and mechanical hierarchies to more flexible networks will depend on the degree of trust and social capital in the larger society (Fukuyama 1995, 26).

For previously stated reasons, every ambitious organization should pay attention to things which used to be regarded as “soft” or too “ambiguous” to be discussed in workplaces. For instance, trust, emotions, and intuition all matter a great deal in daily work life. Trust enables the knowledge sharing, smoothes cooperation, and promotes wellness at work. Emotions affect decisions and atmosphere at work. In order to maintain and generate well-being and enthusiasm at work, leaders have to be able to appraise how their subordinates feel, and be knowledgeable on how to influence these feelings. Moreover, superiors need to be able to distinguish the subordinates' “real” feelings that they are genuinely experiencing and the emotions they express publicly. This emotional recognition and management enables the emergent atmosphere of cooperation and trust. Special relevance should also be put on the fact that leadership per se is an emotion-laden process, both from the leader's and the follower's perspective. (George 2000, 1042–1046.) Likewise, intuition is a big part of decision making processes, even though it is seldom mentioned as a way of making decisions (see Kakkonen 2006). I am referring to intuition here because it shares some common features with trust: Both phenomena are related to emotions, that is, to the “soft” side of the management. Even though both phenomena are difficult to measure, they do affect organizational life.

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Like previous examples illustrate, *the leadership context* has widely changed. Nowadays the work force can't be led by control. The managerial position does not bring authority automatically like it used to in the old days. Yet, there are still organizations where authority is bound to the position. For example, most military organizations are built on hierarchy. However, leading most current organizations with an authoritarian leadership style doesn't function easily. In general, leading other people is no longer based on commanding. Especially, the highly skilled and well-educated work force is able to move to another job if they don't like the working

culture in their current organization. Today, leadership aims to boost people's creativity and to channel it to attain work goals. Leaders need to get their people to collaborate and share information in order to fulfill the high expectations of work life. Subordinates need to trust the leader in order to feel positively about the leader and make extra effort to perform better and to get better results (Bartram & Casimir 2007, 6).

Another thing that has tremendously changed in the organizations during the past decades is *the pace of work*. In most companies all the redundancy in the work force has been minimized. If someone is on sick leave, the others will just have to try to fill in and take care of their own work at the same time. In today's hectic work life, it is a luxury to get someone outside the organization to substitute. Accordingly, in many firms people move to new positions quickly and superior-subordinate relationships are short. Organizations are renewed frequently and people find themselves in different units working with new people. However, trust can evolve only if people have time. Basically, people trust only people whom they know. If the relationship is shallow and there are not enough common experiences to form a view of another person's conduct and personality, then there is no basis on which to build real trust. If the superior changes every year, it doesn't support the formation of trust.

In some organizations the constant feeling of hurry has affected leadership with a sense that there isn't enough time for people. Several interviewees of this study complained that they were too busy to listen to their subordinates and that they felt inadequate because of that. The prolonged scarcity of time often makes leaders put more effort into management and doing things by themselves, while they don't pay enough attention to their subordinates. This is a challenging situation, but if a manager puts emphasis on doing the work and doesn't regard employees' needs, then it becomes the start of a vicious circle: The manager will just get busier by trying to do things him or herself. For example, if a team leader gets his or her 15 subordinates to work more efficiently and to collaborate better, it will save much more time than the manager's own efforts. Harvard professor Kotter (2007) recommends that a leader should use 70 % percent of time with people and 30 % with management. Personally, I don't claim to know about the percentages, but I am of the opinion that people should come first since they are the ones that do the job.

Even though this study has mainly concentrated on trust relations between two people – superior and subordinate – as we can see from above, trust is also a vital issue in teams and work groups, and it affects the organizational level. For example, the way tasks are distributed and how people take responsibility for them tells a great deal about the level of trust. In a very mechanistic and controlled organization, trust doesn't matter much. Everything is organized in an authoritarian way, and employees better do as they are told or they will be without a job. But in an organic organization leadership is authoritative and employees are supposed to work in an autonomous way and to take responsibility for achieving the set objectives.

Nowadays in many organizations there is an ongoing debate concerning the responsibility and equal distribution of the workload – a problem which actually has a long history. Already Burns and Stalker (1961) found that the commitment to concern was far more extensive in organic than in mechanistic systems. While organizations have become more organic there still prevails a desire for clearly defined work. The desire for more definition is often actually a wish to have limits on one's tasks. This brings us back to the core of trust. When a person worries – in other words doesn't trust that the workload will be distributed in a just way – then it increases

the desire to have limits. When one knows what is expected and what is one's responsibility, it is easier to take care of the defined tasks. This can enhance the sense of security: A person feels more able to control one's work. Yet, on the level of trust, the desire for definitions is an alarming sign. When a group of people is committed to the objectives then it becomes easier to share the work and responsibility. Of course the structure of an organization also affects the way work can be distributed. Big and bureaucratic organizations tend to be mechanistic, and that is why it is so hard (or impossible) to try to implement organic working cultures in them. For example, a manager of a library may exclaim that from now on we will work as customer oriented entrepreneurs. To make that happen the whole library should be reconstructed, and the environment – including funding – should be molded in a way that it would be in accord with the laws of business life. A solitary librarian would then have a real chance to become an entrepreneur. The wish that people in a mechanistic organization would just quickly leap into organic behavior is not realistic.

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As discussed in the results, one of the core findings of this study was the different viewpoints of superiors and subordinates. Seemingly the work role determines one's opinions to a certain degree and it is essential to accept this difference of views, thus building the trust relation on realistic ground. A leader's mindset cannot be transferred into followers' heads because both follower and leader have different schemes and expectations about work. For example, Reinke (2003) found out that when new appraisal systems are implemented, *the level of trust is the most important predictor of acceptance*. Superiors were more interested in the practical utility of the form than in the interpersonal issues related to appraisal. For employees, the most important predictor of acceptance were their perceptions of their superiors' leadership. Since the interpersonal issues (such as trust) are crucial in superior-subordinate relationships, the superiors' unwillingness or inability to acknowledge the importance of interpersonal issues can lead to misunderstandings and conflict in the appraisal process. From employees' standpoints trust and leadership are deeply intertwined. On a larger scale these different points of view can affect superior-subordinate relationship in multiple issues and on all levels.

It is clear that becoming a superior changes a person's view of his or her work and of the whole organization. As mentioned earlier, becoming a leader is a transformative process that may affect individual's values and make him or her more aware of them. What I find interesting in the interviewees' moral stories is the transformation, the will to be trustworthy, and the *aspiration to serve as a superior*. Interviewees' former bad experiences helped them to develop into more understanding leaders who wish to lead their subordinates with respect. When the phenomenon of having experienced bad leadership as a subordinate but being willing to be a good superior is regarded from a statistical point of view, it is not consistent. All superiors see themselves as good but they have first-hand experiences of dysfunctional leadership. If all future superiors would be ennobled by suffering under the command of a poorly-performing superior, then we would end up having only good and devoted superiors. Where would the learning experiences then come from for the next generation of superiors? I think that the explanation for this phenomenon is that *role* defines to a great extent what kinds of explanations people are able to give to their experiences.

Most subordinates have had some unpleasant experiences involving their superior at some point in their career. This is totally natural when they think about all the possible superior-subordinate relationships they may have had – starting from their earliest summer jobs. Some of the unpleasant experiences that interviewees of this study have had have been transformational and have convinced the interviewees that they don't want to pass on what they have been through, and that is how they have created their own personal leadership morals. What is good and what is bad has a relative meaning to some point, depending on one's perspective. *There is no need to say that a particular superior would be bad.* Flexibility and ability to see things from another person's point of view are vital qualities to bring people together and to enable collaboration. As previously referred, a classical example is downsizing, where management decides to cut costs by reducing jobs and expects the same amount of work to be done with smaller staff. Even though this procedure would be needed to save the company, many employees may be against it. What seems to be the right thing to do from a managerial point of view can feel totally unjust to employees. Once again, communication plays a central role in solving the dispute. If management invests time and effort to communicate the need for this change, then it is easier for employees to accept it (Kotter 2006).

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Lately, the concept of *organizational citizenship* has raised interest in organizations in Finland and it has been a popular topic in staff training programs. Keskinen (2005) defines organizational citizenship as the way that everyone in an organization has their own rights and responsibilities and required skills tied to their roles. Superiors have to take responsibility for the situation as a whole and they need to facilitate and lead employees in such a way that they can reach the set goals. They need to support and give feedback to the employees. On the other hand, subordinates have their own distinct responsibilities as well. They are responsible for their work and they should also take responsibility for their co-workers. Employees should point out problems in the organization in a constructive way if they notice that something is not working. Subordinates also need to do their share as members of the working community: they need to listen, negotiate, and give support to others. Accordingly, subordinates should support their superiors by not presenting oversized demands that go beyond the reach of the superior's power. Eventually, organizational citizenship should lead to a situation where both management and work force do their share and collaborate. Naturally, this requires mutual trust and willingness to act in a trustworthy way. According to Podsakoff and al. (2000, 513–525), organizational citizenship consists of seven dimensions:

- 1) *Helping Behavior*, which means voluntarily helping others with work-related problems or helping to prevent problems.
- 2) *Sportsmanship*, which refers to people who do not complain when inconvenienced by others and who can maintain their positive attitude when things don't go the way they want and when others disagree with them.
- 3) *Organizational Loyalty*, which entails protecting the organization from external threats and promoting the organization to outsiders.



- 4) *Organizational Compliance*, which refers to employees' internalization and acceptance of the organization's rules, regulations, and procedures.
- 5) *Individual Initiative*, which means engaging in tasks and actions that are not expected or required and thus seem voluntary.
- 6) *Civic Virtue*, which implies a macro-level commitment and interest into the organization as whole. This can be shown as an interest in participation governance of the organization.
- 7) *Self Development*, which refers to all voluntary actions that employees take to improve their skills, knowledge, and abilities in a way that it helps them to do a better job and that benefits the organization.

*Organizational citizenship behavior* (OCB) and its sister theory, *leader-member exchange* (LMX), have their own research traditions, both of which I haven't covered for reasons of limiting the scope of my research. However, I do understand that they have several connections to trust research. Integrity and benevolence seem to be dimensions of trust that are required to predict OCB (Dirks & Skarlicki 2004, 29.) In LMX the emphasis is on exchange and reciprocity. Although reciprocal influence is possible and often likely in trust, it is not essential. Therefore, it is possible for a superior to trust a subordinate, and at the same time, the subordinate to not trust the superior. Thus, trust per se is different from LMX in that it does not assert that reciprocity has to be balanced and mutual. (Brower & al. 2000.) In addition, followers in high quality LMX relationships may be more permissive towards their leaders (see Piccolo & al. 2008).

OCB can also be compared to a similar phenomenon in the whole society, civic activity. Clarke and Butcher (2006) propose that organizations and management should pay more attention to *voluntarism* which is a concept derived from political philosophy. Voluntaristic behavior in organizations can be described as an expression of individual agency. As with voluntary associations, organizational arrangements of independent groups can bring people together to pursue interests through collective action, serve to distribute power, and mediate between individuals and the organization. Therefore, voluntarism can help to create a greater sense of involvement in the organization.

When members identify with an organization, they enter the game collectively and actively, and try to influence the processes and decisions that affect their identity. The definition of the identity may become a terrain between subordinates and superiors with vital consequences for trust building and erosion processes. Sometimes superiors may be vulnerable to their subordinates, especially when they work in teams. Leaders' vulnerability also has implications on trust processes. (Shamir & Lapidot 2003, 484.) If leaders wish to increase the citizen behaviors among their employees, they need to work on increasing perceptions of trust and fairness. Therefore, leaders should foster organizational commitment through the fairness of the procedures they use. Transformational leadership is related to procedural justice and trust, which enhance trust in the superior. (Pillai & al. 1999, 927.) Subordinates have greater trust in transformational leaders and thus better satisfaction with the leader and greater work group cohesiveness (Hoyt & Blascovich 2003, 703). Accordingly, Bartram and Casimir (2007) point out in their research paper that transformational leadership has a direct effect on subordinates' satisfaction with the leader.

The results of this study show that trust smoothes the communication at work and gets people to work together. Distrust instead blocks communication, leads people to avoid each other, demotivates people, destroys the work atmosphere, and makes employees even consider moving to another organization. *Well-being at work is greatly grounded in trust.* A human being is a holistic entity and that is why dissatisfaction in one part of life will also affect the other parts. *Malfunctioning superior-subordinate relationships become a burden, and running the normal business together starts to consume a lot of energy.* A case study on organizational restructuring, trust and work satisfaction (Lee & Teo 2005) reveals a positive relationship between trust and work satisfaction and that trust contributes to work satisfaction. Likewise, co-workers' willingness to help to solve work related problems contributed significantly to the strengthening of trust relations among colleagues. Additionally, superiors' willingness to listen to employees' problems contributed significantly to work satisfaction. Therefore trust issues need to be taken into account when organizations develop their employees' well-being and work satisfaction.

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In current work life, losing trust may lead to a loss of reputation and ruin a career. Two recent examples of relevance of trust issues in politics are the firing of the Foreign Affairs Minister Kanerva in Finland and the public scandal caused by Mr. Kilpatrick, the Mayor of Detroit, who had an affair with his assistant while they were both married to other people. Kanerva's career as a minister ended when his text messages to an erotic dancer were revealed. In the editorial of the leading Finnish newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat* (April 2nd 2008), three reasons are cited why Kanerva lost his trustworthiness. First, his ability to judge his own behavior became questionable: sending hundreds of text messages to an erotic dancer who was young enough to be his daughter didn't suit a man of his position. Second, Kanerva broke his previous public promise to stop womanizing. And third, he only admitted as much as had been revealed and tried to cover his previous activities. Being in a leading position, especially in politics, requires trustworthy behavior, morals, and willingness to communicate openly. When we move from individual trustworthiness to organizational macro level, it is clear that trust also affects world economics. America's largest housing finance companies, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, went down when investors lost trust in them.

The transitory phases in society are always challenging, whether they concern people, politics, or cultures. Nowadays people – citizens, voters, consumers, and investors – demand trustworthy behavior in and out of work. However, values mirror cultures, and they take a long time to change. For a long time the quantitative paradigm has been very strong in most organizations but now times are changing. Traditionally everything needs to be measured exactly, which of course has many positive effects because it may help organizations to develop. But on the other hand, measuring always affects people's behaviour. If something is measured, and especially if it is tied to pay, people will strive to perform in a way that they will get good results. *Nevertheless, there are many significant things that are very difficult to measure, and they can still be vital factors for a company's success.* For example, agreeableness (see Mooradian & al. 2006) as a way of behavior is difficult to define and rate. Speaking nicely to co-workers, helping them out, acting in a humble way and not trying to draw all the attention to one's own merits

has a positive impact on the atmosphere at work. *Still, these small things are really hard to spot and grade.* If the evaluation is left in the hands of a superior, it can lead to shallow estimations because it will be only one person's view of the case. On the other hand, collective evaluations can disturb the climate of the organizations and increase competition. However, it might be useful to rethink the appraisal systems in organizations so that they would also take in account of the more challenging but critical things to evaluate like trustworthiness.

It is an intriguing question to ask: Is it possible evaluate or to measure trust? It is easy to argue that trust is far too ambiguous a concept to measure. Yet, in this study, I have pointed out some preconditions needed for trust and showed how certain ways of behaving or conducting things can either strengthen or weaken trust. I would say that it is useful to discuss evaluating trust in an organization, but at the same time it is crucial to keep in mind the distinction between acting on trust and trusting. Acting on trust may look like an ideal situation, but it is not powered by trust but rather by something else. Maybe people are afraid to disagree or maybe they have become apathetic and just do things because it is easier than speaking up their feelings and ideas. Introspection has been used for a long time to get information about things like well-being at work and work satisfaction. For example, a yearly survey can be given to the work force to get to know how employees rate their organization. Survey results can also be compared to statistic data like the measure of sick leaves.

Measuring an emotion related issue like trust is a delicate thing in organizations. However, it is possible to encourage superiors to discuss trust with their subordinate in development discussions. It is worth noticing that this will serve for the general good only if the superior-subordinate relationship is so open that subordinates may freely express their thoughts. Otherwise, it is merely forcing to lie, since most people don't dare to point the untrustworthy behavior of their superior face to face to their superior. In case there is any doubt that some subordinates will censor their answers, it is better to use an anonymous survey or 360° evaluation. Naturally, qualitative approach of discussions and quantitative approach of surveys differ, but if the benefits and limits of both data gathering methods are recognized, then they may be used in accord to the situation.

If an organization recognizes the significance of trust and wants to improve the trust relations in the work place, it is possible to include questions about trust in a survey. There could be questions about the three dimensions of trust: risk, benevolence, and competence. Because the superior's support is a vital factor, it should be included, too. A few example questions could be: 1) Do you think that you are allowed to do your work autonomously enough? 2) Do you feel that your superior takes your best interest into account when he or she distributes the work and plans the training opportunities for the work force? 3) Do you think that your superior is competent to run the team/division? 4) Do you get enough support and advice from your superior? These are just a few sample questions, but they give the idea how data about trust in organizations can be gathered. Naturally, these kinds of surveys deliver very delicate information, and it is necessary to be very careful with the results and applying the knowledge. Even if sometimes the truth may be unpleasant, I think that in order to develop the organizations it is better to face reality than just let things be. Another thing that speaks for evaluating or measuring trust is rewording policies in organizations. Whitener and al. (1998, 520) suggest that cultures that support trustworthy behavior should also encourage and reword it. For instance, an organization that shares such values like open communication and valuing

people, will reward managers for collaborating, sharing information, explaining decisions, and showing concern.

Learning oriented culture can also enable forming trust relationships between leaders and followers. Through social learning processes, an organization culture can directly influence managers' trustworthy behavior (Whitener & al. 1998, 520). Therefore, organizations should be structured in a way that best facilitates strengthening superior-subordinate relationships. For example, if one superior has 30 subordinates in different locations in and out of the country, then it is not possible to build very deep trusting relations with everyone. Strategies in most companies are a way to guide performance, to set expectations and to focus on certain areas in order to improve them. By including trust and creating circumstances that enable it in their strategies, companies can improve the work satisfaction of the employees. Accordingly, there is a need for a supportive work environment and for a listening ear of superior and colleagues. To have a supervisor who is willing to listen to problems increases work satisfaction. When employees feel that they have superiors and managers who are understanding and empathic, they are more likely to collaborate and to be constructive. Consequently, they will be more satisfied with their work and committed to organizational purposes and change. (Lee & Teo 2005, 36.)

People who are happy in their personal lives are usually likely to have a positive attitude towards others. This personal mood may translate into a more general optimism and benevolent assumptions about the society they live in. *Living in a friendly environment can help to build optimism and trust.* Furthermore, optimism and trust are contagious, and in this way benevolence can feed itself. (Uslaner 2002, 84–85.) At the national level trust and social capital seem to lead to happiness more than income level does. So trust is a central enabler for happiness. Accordingly, income equality is the strongest determinant of generalized trust, and it can be influenced by redistributive policies. (Bjornskov 2003; 2006.) It seems to be a current trend that people are interested in their well-being both in and outside work. The content of work, possibility to develop one self, flexibility of hours, and the chance to have more free time have become more essential when jobs are chosen. Money may still make the world go round, but there is a growing crowd that has chosen to put other values first in their personal lives.

Whether it comes to a multinational corporation, a small business, or a department of government, all organizations and companies have their own cultures, and these subcultures affect the broader culture of a nation. If we think about the realities in which working people spend most of their day, it is clear that workplace atmosphere and culture matters. In a trusting organizational culture, employees can feel well and secure. They are willing to do favors for co-workers and customers without expecting immediate compensation. Additionally, they are easily able to present their professional opinions and feedback – positive or constructing – to their superiors. Well-being at work also reflects on motivation and efficiency. And since trust is contagious, this attitude usually spreads in the organization, to suppliers, customers, and even into employees' private lives and in their families. Organizations are part of society and therefore they are responsible of creating circumstances where people can execute trust and be trustworthy. In the long run, this will have an impact on an organization's results and even on its image. On a broader level, trust fostering organizations contribute to the well-being and moral guidelines of a nation.

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