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Introduction

Leadership and trust

The focus of this thesis is trust in military leaders. Armed forces often perform tasks in life or death situations, bringing the issue of trust in military leaders to a head. Scholars have emphasized risk as an important, perhaps even core component of trust, implying that trust only exists in risky situations (Deutsch, 1958; Clark & Payne, 2006). For example, Boon and Holmes (1991) define trust as ‘a state involving confident positive expectations about another’s motives with respect to oneself in situations entailing risk’ (p. 194). Other definitions stress an individual’s willingness to be vulnerable to another individual (e.g. a leader, subordinate or peer; see for example Deutsch, 1958; Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995). In military contexts, risk takes on another significance in that it refers to the risks and vulnerability leaders and followers face by engaging in military operations. The risk of getting injured or killed, even in periods of peacetime when training still requires the use of weapons, is a risk that is less tangible in most civilian organizations.

Trust in leaders, particularly immediate leaders, is perhaps more important than trust between peers (Dirks, 2000; Dirks & Ferrin, 2002). Dependence on and trust in military leaders can involve considerable risk to the individual, as any mistakes made by the leader may result in serious injury or death. Obeying orders is an essential aspect of the military profession and Collins and Jacobs (2002) explain that trust is critical in a military context since individuals are expected to give up their right to self-determination and follow orders (i.e.

trust the leader). Refusal not only puts the individual soldier at risk, but also his or her team members and leaders. The hierarchical military system puts subordinates in a vulnerable position in relation to the leader. This vulnerability not only creates the opportunity to trust but also increases sensitivity to negative manifestations of the leader's behaviours (Lapidot et al., 2007). Another aspect of risk in this context is that leaders who fail to build trust from their subordinates are at high risk of becoming injured or even killed by their own subordinates. During the Vietnam War, fragging was a way of assassinating unpopular military leaders by trying to make it look like an accident (Bond, 1976; Bryant, 1981; Lepre, 2011). A more modern example is that lack of trust in a poor military leader has been shown to be a key variable in why subordinates commit mutiny (Hamby, 2002). Hamby (2002) states that 'Leaders who cannot identify with their troops, who cannot develop and maintain a bond of trust and faith with their men, contribute more than anything else to mutiny' (p. 591). The state of vulnerability that subordinates may find themselves in makes them more cautious and aware of leaders' negative behaviour than they would be in less vulnerable situations (Lapidot et al., 2007).

Trust in leaders affects a subordinate's willingness to accept the leader's motivational influence to become better group members and improve as a person (Sweeney, Thompson, & Blanton, 2009), their willingness to follow directives and take on risks (Collins & Jacobs, 2002) and their overall morale in combat (Belenky et al., 1985). Trust has also been found to help individuals

in the group or organisation to direct their efforts towards a common goal, instead of focusing on individual doubts and personal motives (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004). Several studies have highlighted trust problems within the United States armed forces and shown that they serve as obstacles to good leadership (for an overview see Collins & Jacobs, 2002). Subordinates may not view trust in leaders as critically important when the environment is positive (i.e. when the group is performing well), indicating that trust is most important when the group is experiencing difficulties (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004). During combat, lack of trust in the leader has been connected to psychiatric breakdown (Steiner & Neuman, 1978).

While a number of scholars identify trust as a crucial factor in military contexts (Belenky, Noy, & Solomon, 1985; Kolditz, 2007; Sweeney, Thompson, & Blanton, 2009; Sweeney, 2010), it remains a relatively unexplored area empirically, and lacks the more profound research of the civilian context where wide-ranging studies of trust and leadership have been conducted over the last four decades (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002).

Being a leader in a dangerous context

It has been stated that what distinguishes military leadership from general leadership is not leadership itself but the context (Hannah & Sowden, 2013). The context that military leaders serve in is often referred to as dangerous or

extreme (Hannah & Sowden, 2013; Kolditz, 2007; Sweeney, Matthews, & Lester, 2011). Sweeney et al. (2011) define dangerous contexts as:

Highly dynamic and unpredictable environments where leaders and group members must routinely engage in actions that place their physical and psychological well-being at risk to accomplish the organization's objectives. In such situations, leaders and subordinates recognize that failure to perform their duties and accomplish the organization's objectives has the potential for catastrophic consequences not only for their organization, but also for the people it serves. (p. 4).

What does it mean to be a leader in a dangerous context (for instance, in international military operations)? Starting with the demands on leadership, Hannah et al. (2009) argue that leaders in extreme contexts must handle four contextual dimensions: (1) location in time – the content of successful leadership can vary over the stages of preparation, response and recovery from an extreme situation, and leaders must also handle shifts from stable to extreme and back again; (2) magnitude and probability of consequences – in order for the context to be considered extreme, individuals must perceive the consequences of a threat to be possible and as the probability of threatening consequences increases, the need for capable leaders is also enhanced; (3) proximity – a leader's impact on subordinates may vary depending on the physical distance between them and the leader's need to balance proximity to subordinates in order to both maintain authority and be receptive to questions; and (4) form of threat – different threats (physical, psychological, or material) give rise to different reactions (e.g. post-traumatic stress, mortality salience, self-esteem-based responses) which in turn require different leadership responses.

Sweeney, Matthews, and Lester (2011) argue that what distinguish leading in dangerous contexts from leading in other contexts are the unique psychological, social and organizational demands that occur as a result of group members' perceptions of threats. Psychological demands includes the leader's trustworthiness and psychological hardiness which are necessary to handle the responsibility for group members' well-being and life, as well as the possibly catastrophic consequences in case of failure. Social demands in dangerous contexts differ from regular contexts since the quality of leader-follower relationships is argued to be higher in terms of psychological closeness, degree of cooperation and the extent of caring. Regarding organizational demands, dangerous contexts call for organizations to have a strong and clear articulated culture which defines an identity for the members of the organization as well as unites and synchronizes members' efforts around a purpose and vision. Common organizational core values in dangerous contexts have been found to be service, courage, duty, integrity and honour (Sweeney et al. 2011). Bartone (2006) has identified six primary stressors in modern military operations: isolation (separation from families), ambiguity (e.g. unclear mission, confusion in the command structure), powerlessness (restrictions due to security and operational concerns), boredom (alienation), danger (threat), and workload. Although one probably first comes to think of strains, danger and ambiguity when one considers the military context, it is important not to overlook the effect boredom can have on military personnel serving in international operations. Military operations can imply long periods of no significant work to do, and just "staying put". A lack of meaningful work

or constructive activities leads to stress and puts great demands on leaders to maintain morale and motivation (Bartone, 2006).

Continuing with other characteristics that have been shown to be important in dangerous contexts, Kolditz (2007) claims that leadership in extreme environments is more dependent on trust and loyalty than leadership in more normal settings. Hurst (1995) makes a similar observation and argues that after being involved in critical incidents, subordinates tend to feel more vulnerable and are more likely to scrutinize their leader, making trust indispensable in this type of context. Hamby (2002) also states that trust is not negotiable in extreme contexts. If sufficient trust does not exist, this kind of context can contribute to group members committing mutiny against a poor leader.

In this type of context, leaders are seen as more effective if they provide initiating structure and take prompt and decisive action (Flanagan & Levy, 1952 in Hanna et al., 2010). Leaders also need to be flexible and adapt to rapidly changing conditions (Yammarino, Mumford, Connelly, & Dionne, 2010). A strong attentional focus on the external situation is favourable, which at the same time means no or limited focus on one's own emotions during the intense response phase (Kolditz, 2007). Regarding the interpersonal side of leadership, leaders are recommended to adopt transformational leadership by displaying care for subordinates' welfare, inspiring by leading from the front, and encouraging subordinates to feel that they are part of a larger picture and mission (Bass & Riggio, 2006; Yammarino et al., 2010). Leaders need to be

perceived as authentic (honest) (Kolditz, 2007), approachable, and good communicators (Burgess, Riddle, Hall & Salas, 1992).

In summary, dangerous contexts are characterized by dynamic and unpredictable environments where leaders and subordinates perceive the situation as threatening and put their psychological and physical well-being at risk to achieve organizational goals. Failure may lead to harm for the individual himself/herself, group-members and/or external parties. A leader in a dangerous context must be able to adjust from stable to extreme situations, balance authority and caring, be able to deal with their own stress reactions and those of others, and build trusting relationships.

The case of the Swedish Armed Forces

By the turn of the millennium, the Swedish armed forces had transformed from an invasion-based defence to a mission-oriented defence. The new organization's focus was readiness to deploy in combat or other national or international emergencies. A consequence of this was the abolition of the conscript system in 2010 in favour of an all-volunteer force (AVF). One of the principal tasks of the Swedish armed forces is working for peace and security beyond the Swedish borders by sending troops on international peacekeeping and peace enforcing missions. (The Swedish armed forces, 2015a).

Sweden has a long history, dating back to pre-World War I days, of participation in international peace support action. Its contribution to United

Nations operations started as early as 1948 when Swedish military observers were sent to the Middle East. The first Swedish battalion under the UN flag was deployed in Gaza during the 1956 Suez crisis. In 1960, its UN involvement increased through the contribution of troops for the UN operation in the Congo. In subsequent decades, Swedish forces have served in Africa, the Western Balkan region and, most recently, in Afghanistan and Mali. (The Swedish armed forces, 2015b)

Sweden has been making military contribution to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan since 2001. After minor involvement in its first years, Sweden took over the lead and responsibility for a Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in the northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif in 2006. For the next seven years, Sweden was responsible for the security of four provinces. In 2013, the Swedish contribution became part of a Nordic-Baltic cooperation in conjunction with the formation of the Nordic-Baltic Transition Support Unit (NB TSU). The cooperation was dissolved in 2014 and since then Sweden no longer has responsibility for security in Afghanistan. Today, the Swedish contribution comprises around 50 individuals, most of whom are advisors to the Afghan National Army (ANA) or ISAF staff. (The Swedish armed forces, 2015b)

General aim and outline of the thesis

This thesis aims to study trust in military leaders in general. The specific research questions that have guided the studies have been as follows:

- What aspects do military personnel perceive as contributing to trust in their superior and subordinate leaders? (paper 1)
- Trust between military leaders and their subordinates in international operations – how is this related to negative critical incidents (paper 2)
- How is the prevalence of developmental and destructive leadership behaviours related to trust between military leaders and their subordinates (paper 3, 4)

The thesis consists of five chapters followed by the four individual papers. The first chapter is the background introduction that has led to the aim and research questions above. The second chapter is an overview of the theoretical framework on trust and leadership and the third deals with methodological considerations. The fourth chapter summarizes the empirical papers included in the thesis and finally, chapter five comprises a discussion of the thesis.

Theoretical framework

The trust construct and its definitions

Trust research can be traced back to the 1960s. Initially, focus centred on influential exploratory pieces. Research on conceptual aspects dominated during the 1980s and 1990s while empirical and experimental studies have been in the majority from the late 1990s to the present (Lyon, Möllering &

Saunders, 2012). There appears to be no accepted, universal definition of trust – over 70 different definitions have been found (Seppänen, Blomqvist & Sundqvist, 2007) – but one of the most used definitions appears to be:

“The willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party.” (Mayer et al., 1995)

Another widely used definition is:

“The psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another.” (Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 395)

Both definitions stress a willingness/intention to be vulnerable to another’s behaviours. In a military context, there is no other proposed definition of trust.

Several scholars have tried to distinguish trust from similar constructs. Constructs often mentioned in the trust literature as having similarities with trust are (Mayer et al., 1995): (a) *Risk* – scholars are studying how trust and risk are related. Mayer, Davis and Shoorman (1995) point out that it is still unclear if risk is an antecedent to trust, is trust or is an outcome of trust, (b) *Cooperation* – trust has often been confused with cooperation (Bateson, 1988). Mayer et al. (1995) claim that trust is not a necessary condition for cooperation since cooperation does not necessarily put a party at risk. They also argue that it is possible to cooperate with someone you do not trust, (c) *Confidence* – confidence has been used in definitions of trust (Deutsch, 1960; Cook & Wall, 1980) but Luhmann (1988) argued that trust requires a previous engagement on a person’s part, recognizing and accepting that risk exists while confidence

implies that risk is not necessarily recognized and assumed (Mayer et al., 1995), and (d) *Predictability* – Mayer et al. (1995) point out that trust and predictability often are equated. Both deal with uncertainty reduction. Mayer et al. (1995) also argue that the willingness to take risks and to be vulnerable are lacking in the predictability construct. You can predict someone's behaviour to be selfish but it still does not mean that you will trust the person although his/her behaviour is predictable.

Kramer (1999) argue that there are two main aspects of trust, where one considers formulations that emphasize social and ethical facets of trust and the other highlights strategic and calculative dimensions of trust in organizational settings: Trust as a psychological state and trust as choice behaviour.

Trust as a psychological state

Kramer (1999) notes that in despite of different views on trust most trust theorists agree that: "Whatever else its essential features, trust is fundamentally a psychological state" (p.571). Keywords for this approach are: vulnerability, perception, and preconscious expectation (Rousseau et al., 1998). Looking upon trust as a psychological state, there are several conceptualizations suggested (Kramer, 1999): (1) A state of perceived vulnerability or risk derived from individuals' uncertainty concerning motives, intentions, and prospective actions of others on whom they depend (Lewis & Weigert, 1985; Robinson, 1996), (2) a general attitude or expectancy about

other people and the social system in which they exist (Garfinkel, 1963; Luhmann, 1988; Barber, 1983), and (3) a complex, multidimensional psychological state that includes affective and motivational components (Kramer et al., 1996; Lewis & Weigert, 1985; McAllister, 1995).

Trust as choice behaviour

Another way of conceptualizing trust is as an individual's choice behaviour. This includes two dominating perspectives from which the first is the most influential image of trust within organizational science. It looks upon trust as a *rational* choice (decisions about trust are comparable with decisions about other risky choices). Central elements in this perspective are the knowledge that enables a person to trust another and the incentives of the trustee (the person who is to be trusted). However, critics of this perspective argue that many assumptions of the rational choice models are empirically unsustainable and too narrowly cognitive (e.g. give too little significance to emotional and social influences). The second perspective perceives trust as *relational*. This perspective has developed as a response to the critique of rational choice and emphasizes social motives (rather than instrumental ones) driving trust behaviour. The latter is more common within psychology (Kramer, 1999). Kramer (1999) suggests that the most useful approach is to acknowledge the role of both calculative considerations and social inputs in trust judgments and decisions. Hardin (1992) suggests that trust should be conceptualized as a

three-part relation involving properties of a trustor, attributes of a trustee, and a specific context or domain over which trust is discussed.

Distrust

Distrust has been defined as “confident negative expectations regarding another’s conduct” (Lewicki et al., 1998). The construct of distrust has been widely discussed. On one hand, trust and distrust have been suggested to be separate concepts and not two ends of the same continuum (Lapidot, Kark, & Shamir, 2007; Lewicki, McAllister & Bies, 1998; Sitkin & Roth, 2006). According to this view, trust and distrust are considered separate judgements, i.e. individuals in a complex relationship can hold both trusting and distrusting intentions and expectations towards another. Also, they have different antecedents and consequents (Lewicki et al., 1998). However, other researchers are of the opinion that trust and distrust are not different constructs. After going through the literature on trust and distrust, Schoorman, Mayer and Davis (2007) argue that there is no theoretical or empirical evidence that the concept of distrust is conceptually different from trust. Among other things, they refer to the work of McKnight and Chervany (2001), who created conceptual models (based on the existing literature) for trust and distrust with the result that the concepts were identical. However, McKnight and Chervany (2001) themselves state that distrust is a construct defined as separate from the opposite of trust but is simultaneously an operating concept.

Some researchers argue that distrust is inherently bad while others suggest that some distrust can be functional and healthy (e.g. when there are valid reasons to have concerns about the trustworthiness of others). Too much trust can lead to “blindness” which may lead to the individual being exploited (Lewicki et al., 2006).

Trust in leaders – theoretical dimensions

Understanding the different dimensions of trust from both a theoretical and practical perspective is important, not only to comprehend the impact of trust but also to help leaders better handle the effects of trust (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004). Below follows an outline of different theoretical approaches when studying trust in leaders.

Relationship- and character-based perspectives

Research on trust in leaders can be divided into two qualitatively different theoretical perspectives: Relationship-based and Character-based (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004; Dirks, 2006). Dirks (2006) argues that it is important to distinguish between these two perspectives since they have implications for both trust development in organizations as well as for the consequences of trust. Common to both perspectives is that: “trust is a belief or perception held by the follower; it is not a property of the relationship or the leader per se (Dirks, 2006, p. 16).

The relationship-based perspective

The relationship-based perspective focuses on the relationship of the leader-follower, i.e. how the followers understand the nature of the relationship. Some researchers view trust in leadership operating according to a social exchange process (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004; Dirks, 2006; Konovsky & Pugh, 1994; Whitener et al., 1998). The exchange is ideally characterized by a high-quality relationship, care and consideration being central aspects of this relationship. Other aspects suggested as important are sharing and delegation of control (e.g. participation in decision making) and communication (accuracy, explanation and openness concerning information) (Whitener et al., 1998). Transformational leadership and Leader-Member Exchange use this perspective concerning trust in leaders (Dirks, 2006; Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004).

According to the relationship-based perspective, the focus is on a subordinate's willingness to reciprocate a leader's expressed care and consideration. A subordinate who trusts a leader's behaviours (care and consideration) tends to reciprocate this sentiment in form of desirable behaviours. In this way, trust affects behaviour and performance (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004). The frequency of interaction, duration and emotional closeness between individuals has been shown to be related to trust development (Burt & Knez, 1995; Kollock, 1994; McAllister, 1995; Shapiro et al., 1992)

The character-based perspective

The character-based perspective focuses on the leader's character and how it affects a follower's vulnerability in a hierarchical relationship. This perspective has been suggested to be important since the leader has the authority to make decisions that have great impact on a follower and the follower's ability to achieve goals (in terms of pay, work assignments, promotions etc.) (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004; Dirks, 2006). In contexts associated with high risk and personal vulnerability, the character-based approach has been found to be more fruitful (Clark & Payne, 2006). According to this perspective, subordinates evaluate the leader's ability, integrity, dependability and fairness, which have consequences for the subordinate's work behaviour and attitudes. It has been suggested that trust is more likely to develop between two individuals who are similar in some relevant characteristics (Gargiulo & Ertug, 2006). This perspective is well-used in the research of trust in leaders (characteristics of the trustee, Mayer et al., 1995; perceptions of supervisor characteristics, Cunningham & McGregor, 2000; Oldham, 1975; research on some forms of leader behaviour, Jones et al., 1975).

In a civilian context, several researchers have studied perceived trustee characteristics (or factors of perceived trustworthiness) that are proposed to lead to trust in leaders. Trust in superior leaders, especially from the character-based perspective, is often categorized in a few broad categories/factors, where the most common are *Competence/ability* (skills in a specific domain), *Integrity* (possession of a set of principles that the trustor finds acceptable),

Benevolence (the leader is believed to want to do good for the trustor) (Colquitt, Scott, & LePine, 2007; Mayer et al., 1995), and *Predictability/consistency* (Cunningham & McGregor, 2000; Mishra, 1996; Whitener et al., 1998). It is suggested that subordinates who believe that their superiors have these characteristics are more willing to engage in behaviour that puts them at risk (Mayer et al., 1995). It has also been argued that the four different components are significant and should be treated as separate elements of the decision to trust (Colquitt, Scott & LePine, 2007; Dietz & Den Hartog, 2006).

Since ability, benevolence and integrity appear to be the most common characteristics used in trust research to describe trust in leaders, there is a more thorough review of these:

Ability. Ability is described as “that group of skills, competencies, and characteristics that enable a party to have influence within some specific domain (Mayer et al., 2006, p.91)”. The task- and situation-specific aspect is critical since a person who is highly trusted in one area or position may not be trusted in a completely different area or position (Schoorman, Mayer & Davis, 2007). The importance of ability in relation to trust has been highlighted in studies on trust and risk perception. When people judge their knowledge of risk as low, they tend to depend more on experts (Siegrist, Cvetkovich & Roth, 2000; Sjöberg, 2002).

Integrity. Mayer et al. (2006) explains that the relationship between integrity and trust “involves the trustor’s perception that the trustee adheres to

a set of principles that the trustor finds acceptable (p. 93)”. To follow a set of principles indicates personal integrity and it is important that a trustor accepts the principles. If not, the trustee is not considered to have integrity for the trustor’s purposes. Aspects of integrity are consistency in past actions, credible communications from other parties, a strong sense of justice, and that actions are congruent with words.

Benevolence. Benevolence is defined as “the extent to which a trustee is believed to want to do good to the trustor, aside from an egocentric profit motive” (Mayer et al., 2006, p.92). Other researchers have mentioned constructs similar to benevolence: a trustee’s motivation to lie (Hovland et al., 1953); altruism (Frost, Stimpson, & Maughan, 1978); loyalty (Butler & Cantrell, 1984) and intentions/motives (Cook & Wall, 1980; Deutsch, 1960; Giffin, 1967; Kee & Knox, 1970; Mishra, 1996). However, Mayer et al. (2006) argue that intentions and motives can include other things than an orientation toward the trustor.

It has been suggested that time affects perceptions and the importance of the characteristics above. In the beginning of a new relationship, judgements of ability and integrity are suggested to form relatively quickly in the course of the relationship, while opinions of benevolence take longer to develop (Mayer et al., 1995). In new relationships where individuals have had limited time to get to know each other benevolence and integrity show a high correlation, while they appear to be separable factors where parties have had longer relationships (Schoorman et al., 2007). In a military context, benevolence has

been suggested to have more importance in trust-building incidents, while ability and integrity are more salient in trust-eroding incidents (Lapidot et al., 2007). In addition, behaviours reflecting ability and personal example have been shown to be more frequently mentioned in vulnerable situations compared to benevolence that was more salient in less vulnerable situations (routine exercises). Further, team commanders' professional ability has been shown to be more critical in operational activities (poor professionalism can result in the death of the subordinate) while their integrity was more critical in expulsions (Lapidot et al., 2007).

Most researchers have tended to use a maximum of five characteristics to describe trust in leaders. Only a few studies report a more complex reflection of trustworthy behaviour. For example, when studying corporation presidents and their vice presidents, Gabarro (1978) found nine conditions of trust: Integrity, Motives, Consistency of behaviour, Openness, Discreetness, Functional/specific competence, Interpersonal competence, Business sense, and Judgment.

Other models

The Institutional/system perspective

Dirks (2006) highlights that, although the relationship- and character-based perspectives cover most of the existing literature on trust in leaders, a third perspective is used by some theorists: the Institutional/system perspective.

This perspective is characterized by a view that the trust that exists in the system in which an individual is embedded can serve as a significant means of reducing perceived vulnerability. Rather than building trust based on the leader's character or their relationship, the subordinate holds perceptions about the institute or the organization. Trust can be facilitated in the form of teamwork culture, legal systems, social networks, conflict management and cooperation (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt & Camerer, 1998).

Leader behaviours

Dirks (2006) argues that one of the most important factors determining trust in leaders is behaviour by the leader. He describes some of the theoretical frameworks that trust researchers use for this approach:

- *Attribution theory.* This theory is used in attempts to understand individuals' causal explanations for events and their perceptions and judgments of others. In trust research, trust development is seen as an attributional process (an individual's trustworthiness is built on a trustor's perception of whether or not the individual's behaviour is caused by internal or situational factors) (Dirks, 2006). This approach may be comparable to the character-based perspective if a leader's negative behaviour is perceived to be caused by, for example, a lack of integrity and/or benevolence instead of situational factors.
- *Exchange theory.* This theory (that primary focuses on social processes) has been used in trust research to determine how past behaviours in the

relationship are used to diagnose trustworthiness in future exchanges (Blau, 1964; Konovsky & Pugh, 1994). It is the leader's responsibility to build and maintain trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996; Whitener et al., 1998). This approach appears to have several similarities with the relationship-related perspective.

Fairness has been suggested to have strong association with trust (fairness considering procedures used to make decisions, interpersonal interactions in the decision process). Procedural fairness appears to be more associated with character-based forms of trust than relationship-based ones. Other factors that correlate with trust are perceived organizational support, participative decision-making, and failure to meet expectations of subordinates (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002).

Dirks (2006) argues that demographics, personality, and structural factors play a less important role in understanding what determines trust compared to the behaviours of the leader. However, he emphasizes that they may influence leaders' behaviours, which in turn impact on trust.

Cognitive- and affect-based trust

An alternative way of categorizing not only trust in leaders but interpersonal trust in general is found in cognitive- and affect-based trust (Lewis & Wiegert, 1985). Lewis and Weigert (1985) state that trust is cognition-based in that "we choose whom we will trust in which respect and under what circumstances,

and we base the choice on what we take to be ‘good reasons’, constituting evidence of trustworthiness” (p. 970). Cognitive-based trust is based on perceptions of an individual’s integrity, reliability, dependability, and/or competence (McAllister, 1995; Schaubroeck, Lam, & Peng, 2011). Individuals can use other people’s track records (perceptions of how they have carried out work-related duties in the past) when assessing trustworthiness (Cook & Wall; McAllister, 1995).

Several studies have pointed out that trust also includes emotion (Dunn & Schweitzer, 2005; Jones & George, 1998; Schoorman, Mayer, & Davis, 2007; Williams, 2001). Affect-based trust exists in the form of the emotional bonds between individuals that link people together and create a basis for trust (Lewis & Weigert, 1985). Affective trust is based on a relationship with another that may cause the referent or trusted person to demonstrate care and concern about one’s welfare and a feeling of benevolence; in other words, trust is based on perceptions about insights into the motives of others. Affect-based trust is associated with interaction frequency. Some level of cognition-based trust is necessary for affect-based trust to develop (McAllister, 1995).

It has been argued that affective trust is more important than cognitive trust when it comes to engendering positive performance and behavioural outcomes in subordinates in response to the leader’s behaviours. This is suggested to be related to the fact that affective trust is a deeper form of trust that develops over time through reciprocity, while cognitive trust focuses on a more objective evaluation of the leader’s personal characteristics (such as

reliability and competence) (Miao, Newman, & Huang, 2014). Miao et al. (2014) found that cognitive evaluations of another person's key characteristics were less important for inducing positive subordinate responses to participative leadership. They suggests several potential explanations for this: (a) cognitive trust does not induce social exchange between leaders and subordinates to the same extent as affective trust and, (b) subordinates may tend to over-rely on the leader's dependability and competence if they have high levels of cognitive trust, while at the same time cognitive trust reduces cooperation and self-initiative (subordinates free-ride on the good-will of their leader). Zhu, Newman, Miao and Hooke (2013) discovered that affective trust fully mediated the relationship between transformational leadership and work outcomes of followers (organizational commitment, OCB, job performance), while cognitive trust negatively mediated the relationship between transformational leadership and follower job performance and also had insignificant effects on their organizational commitment and OCB.

Further, cognitive trust is suggested to mediate the relations of supervisory procedural justice with performance and job satisfaction, whereas affective trust appears to mediate relations between supervisory procedural justice and helping behaviour at work (Yang, Mossholder, & Peng, 2009). Affective trust in supervisors predicts accomplishment of behavioural outcomes: in-role behaviours (that are recognized by formal reward systems and fixed by job descriptions) and extra-role behaviours (a form of citizen behaviour that contributes to the maintenance and enhancement of the social context that

supports task performance) and explains variance in affective organizational commitment. A combination of cognitive trust in management and affective trust in supervisor predicted subordinates' overall job satisfaction (Yang & Mossholder, 2010).

An integrative model of organizational trust (a dyadic model)

Mayer, Davis and Schoorman (2006) have suggested a model of trust of one individual for another. This is probably the most used and cited model of trust. In their model they consider characteristics of the trustee, characteristics of the trustor, and risk-taking in relationships. They propose that the level of trust from one individual to another and the level of perceived risk in the situation will lead to risk-taking in the relationship. According to the model, trust can be explained before a relationship between two parties has developed due to the fact that it is possible for a trustor to obtain data on the trustee's integrity through third-party sources. This implies that integrity is important in order to develop trust in the beginning of a relationship. The relationship will need to be more developed in order for a trustor to gain information about the trustee's benevolence.

Characteristics of the trustor. Mayer et al. (2006) assume that one factor that will affect the trust one party has for another involves the characteristics of the trustor, in that some people are more likely to trust than others (propensity). They define propensity to trust as "the general willingness to trust others" (p. 89). They propose that the higher the trustor's propensity to

trust, the higher the trust for a trustee prior to availability of information about the trustee. People's propensity to trust others is affected by their developmental experiences, personality types, and cultural backgrounds (Hofstede, 1980). Mayer et al. (2006) also argue that propensity to trust is a more important factor in the beginning of a relationship.

The characteristics of the trustee. Mayer et al. (2006) assume that the attributes of a trustee play an important role in why an individual will have a greater or lesser amount of trust for another individual. The three characteristics: Ability, Benevolence, and Integrity are emphasized since they explain a major part of trustworthiness (for a more thorough description of the three characteristics, see pp. 25-26). According to Mayer et al. (2006), each of the three characteristics may vary independently of the others but they are not unrelated to one another, only separable. Mayer et al. (2006) suggest that the three factors together make up trustworthiness but that trustworthiness should be considered as a continuum. This means that a trustee is not either trustworthy or untrustworthy. Each of the factors can vary along a continuum.

Risk-taking in the relationship. Mayer et al. (2006) state that "one does not need to risk anything in order to trust: however, one must take a risk in order to engage in trusting action" (p. 97). This means that we must distinguish between the willingness to assume risk (trust) and the assuming of risk (behavioural trust). According to the model, the outcome of trust is risk-taking in relationships. Risk-taking in relationships can occur only in a specific, identifiable relationship with another party, and proposes that trust increases

the likelihood that the trustor not only forms an affective link with the trustor but also that (s)he will allow personal vulnerability. Mayer et al. (1995) propose that “the level of trust is compared to the level of perceived risk in a situation” (p.726). If the level of trust exceeds the threshold of perceived risk, the trustor will participate in risk-taking in relationships.

The role of context. Mayer et al. (2006) also argue that the context in which the risk is to be taken is important. The level of trust might be constant but contextual factors (e.g. stakes involved, the balance of power, the perception of the level of risk, available alternatives) determine the specific consequences of trust. Also, the assessment of the antecedents of trust changes as the context changes.

Long-term effects. Included in Mayer et al.’s (2006) model is a feedback loop from the “outcomes” of risk-taking in relationships to the perceived characteristics of the trustee. This means that when a trustor takes a risk with a trustee that leads to a positive outcome, the perception of the trustee is improved in the same manner, as negative outcomes will lead to impaired perceptions of the trustee.

The integrated model of organizational trust can be said to represent a cognitive approach to trust since the basis of the model deals with how parties process information about others before deciding how much risk to take with them (Schoorman, Mayer & Davis, 2007). The model has been criticized for its lack of multi-level and cross-level perspective. Schoorman, Mayer and Davis (2007) explain that their first draft of the model was developed across multiple

levels of analysis. However, early reviewers of their paper recommended the authors, due to considerations of space, to restrict their paper (and model) to a single level. The authors further explain that this initial attempt is a possible explanation to why the model also works well for use across levels.

The IROC trust development model

The Individual-Relationship-Organization-Context trust development model focuses on the influence of the individual, the relationship (in this case, between the leader and the subordinate), the organization and the context in creating and sustaining trust in a dangerous context (Sweeney, Dirks, Sundberg, & Lester, 2011).

The individual factor includes the leader's stable dispositional characteristics, competence (decision-making abilities, domain and organizational knowledge, stress-management skills), character (integrity, courage, sense of duty, loyalty), and caring (taking subordinates' lives into account when planning operations, representing their needs and interests to higher authorities, fighting to obtain necessary resources, promoting subordinates' well-being even if it causes damage to the leader's self-interests). These are suggested to be important and necessary to develop in order for the leader to fulfil their leadership duties. If subordinates perceive the leader's competence, character and caring to be stable characteristics, they will be confident that the leader will ensure the group is successful and protect their welfare, which leads to trust.

The relationship factor. According to the model, trust is placed in a leader based on his/her competence, character, and caring but it develops within a relationship. The development of trust between a leader and his/her subordinates is facilitated by mutual concern and respect, open communication, mutual dependence to achieve a common purpose and willingness to trust and empower.

The organizational factor. The model highlights the leader's task to foster organizational behaviours and attributes that reinforce and support the characteristics of the relationship and individual factors. Organizational factors facilitating trust development in groups are culture (shared values, beliefs and norms that defines the organization, dictating how members should act and bringing people together) as well as structure, practices, policies, procedures and systems that communicate underlying assumptions about the organization's values and members).

The context factor. The last part of the Individual-relationship-organization-context trust development model concerns the context within which a team operates. The context shapes how the individual, relationship and organizational factors play out. Aspects included in the context factor are (a) Changes in dependencies (dangerous contexts require subordinates to significantly increase their dependence on leaders to protect their well-being while they perform their tasks), (b) Attributes, knowledge, skills and abilities impacted (subordinates in dangerous contexts seek to verify that their leader possesses desirable characteristics), and (c) Temporary teams (swift trust)

(team members operating in dangerous contexts often form temporary teams with others previously unknown to them, making it important for leaders to establish swift trust).

The Individual-relationship-organization-context trust development model focuses on how to create and sustain trust in a dangerous context. However, most of the aspects above are not from a military context but derived from studies conducted in civilian high-risk organizations (Deutsch, 1962).

Bases of trust in organizations

Trust researchers have tried to identify the bases of trust within organizations and explain antecedent conditions that promote the emergence of trust. This includes psychological, social, and organizational factors that influence individuals' expectations about others' trustworthiness and their willingness to engage in trusting behaviour when interacting with them (Kramer, 1999). If the requirements for one or several of the suggested antecedent conditions are met, they can facilitate and accelerate trust development in organizations. Kramer (1999) describes different bases of trust in the following categories:

- 1) *Dispositional trust*. Individuals differ significantly in their general predisposition to trust other people (Gurtman, 1992; Sorrention et al., 1995). Earlier trust-related experiences affect individuals' general beliefs about other people (Rotter, 1971; 1980). According to attachment theory, individuals' propensity to trust others is grounded in early childhood

(Bowlby, 1969; Erikson, 1950). Insecure attachment patterns can have a negative influence on a leader's empathetic responses (Mikulincer et al., 2001) while secure attachment patterns have shown positive correlations with transformational leadership (Popper, 2002).

- 2) *History-based trust*. Trust between two individuals develops as a function of their cumulative interaction. Gained knowledge about another person (information about dispositions, intentions and motives) is used to make predictions about his/her future behaviour. In these trust models, two psychological facets of trust judgments draw our attention: (a) Individuals' judgments about others' trustworthiness are partially anchored on their a priori expectations about others' behaviours, and (b) Expectations change in response to the extent to which new experiences either validate or discredit them. Since interactional histories become a basis for initially grading and then updating trust-related expectations, it can be regarded as an important form of knowledge-based or personalized trust in organizations (Kramer, 1999; Lewicki & Bunker, 1995; Shapiro et al., 1992).
- 3) *Third-parties as conduits of trust*. In organizations, third-parties can be a valuable channel of spreading trust-relevant information via gossip (a valuable source of "second-hand" knowledge of others). However, a negative aspect is that third parties tend to communicate a skewed and incomplete picture due to the individual's preference to communicate information which they believe the other party wants to hear (Burt & Knez, 1995).

- 4) *Category-based trust*. Individuals can predict trust based on a trustee's membership in a social or organizational category (often an unknowing influence). Individuals who are members of the same category are more likely to trust each other than strangers (Huff & Kelley, 2003; McKnight et al., 1998).
- 5) *Role-based trust*. A presumptive form of trust which, like category-based trust, constitutes a depersonalized trust since it emphasizes predictions based on an individual's particular role in the organization rather than specific knowledge about the individual's capabilities, dispositions, motives and intentions (the trust lies in the system of expertise that produces and maintains role-appropriate behaviour of role occupants). Role-based trust can be less favourable during organizational crises or when novel situations arise since roles tend to be blurred or broken down.
- 6) *Rule-based trust*. An individual's explicit and tacit understanding concerning transaction norms, interactional routines and exchange practices provides a basis for concluding whether or not another individual is to be trusted or not. Rule-based trust is said to be a shared understanding regarding the system of rules about appropriate behaviour.

In many civilian organizations it is difficult to obtain sufficient personalized knowledge about all organizational members with whom one interacts and depends on. Some units in the armed forces may be considered optimal in

order to develop history-based, personalized trust since they interact frequently with each other for long periods.

Outcomes of trust in leadership

The trust literature shows contradicting results regarding what impact trust in leaders has on different outcomes. It is suggested that trust has either great impact or little or none (Dirks, 2006). Dirks and Ferrin (2001) suggest that instead of trust directly resulting in desirable outcomes, trust provides the conditions that facilitate certain outcomes such as cooperation and higher performance. For example, trust affects how subordinates evaluate the leader's future behaviour and interpret the past (or present) action. Dirks (2006) also argues that the situation plays a significant role in when trust in leaders may have an impact. He proposes that trust in leaders might be most important in times of challenge and hardship. Trust in leaders might not be seen as critical when the environment is positive (the team is doing well) as in cases where the environment is negative (recessive economy, organization in decline, low trust in system). Butler (1991) states that trust is crucial to the development of managerial careers.

Starting with the positive outcomes of trust in leaders, research shows that it has a significant relationship with individual outcomes such as job performance, organizational citizenship behaviour, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, commitment to the leader's decisions

and results (profits, sales) (Davis et al., 2000; Deluga, 1995; Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004; Robinson, 1996; Simons & McLean Parks, 2002 in Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004; Yang & Mossholder, 2010; Zhu et al., 2013 – context varies from financial institutions, manufacturing firms, military units, public institutions, service sector).

If they trust the leader, individuals in a group can suspend their individual doubts and personal motives and direct their efforts toward a common team goal (Dirks, 2000). They are more prone to accept the leader's motivational influence (Sweeney et al., 2009), to follow directives and take on risks (Collins & Jacobs, 2002). Subordinates are also suggested to provide the leader with more information about their personal thoughts and reactions (Golembiewski & McConkie, 1988). Leader-subordinate relationships grounded on trust are more open and less formal (in contrast to the need to rely on standard policies and procedures to protect oneself from the leader's actions) (Zand, 1997). Characteristics of the interpersonal relationship have been suggested to be the most powerful predictors of individual soldiers' combat performance (Shirom, 1976).

Looking at the different approaches to trust, research on how trust affects subordinates' organizational citizen behaviour has suggested that both integrity and benevolence (together) can predict organizational citizen behaviour. However, both of the factors did not, individually, have a significant effect (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004). Similarly, both affect- and integrity-based

trust are needed in order for subordinates to engage in helping behaviours (Bigley & McAllister, 2002, in Dirks & Ferrin, 2004).

Researchers have found favourable relationships between character- and relationship-based trust and outcomes such as job satisfaction and job performance. Believing that their leaders have integrity, capability or benevolence (character-based trust), subordinates are suggested to be more willing to engage in behaviours that put them at risk (sharing sensitive information) (Mayer et al., 1995). The character-based perspective might be more useful when trying to predict variables such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004). If relationship-based trust exists, subordinates have been suggested to spend more time on required tasks and be more willing to engage in organizational citizenship behaviour (Konovsky & Pugh, 1994). The relationship-based perspective might be more useful when trying to predict variables such as job performance and altruism. Research highlights the importance of interpersonal interaction with the supervisor in order to motivate and energize positive work behaviour on the part of subordinates (Yang & Mossholder, 2010). Both character- and relationship-based trust have been found to contribute to higher performance and citizenship behaviour. Dirks (2006) suggests that it might be possible that relationship-based and character-based trust operate together in that the former inspires individuals to be willing to go above and beyond requirements while the latter makes individuals willing to take the risk of focusing on common goals.

It appears that trust has a stronger effect on group and organizational performance than on individual performance (Yukl, 2002). In sports, Dirks (2000) found that trust in basketball team leaders was important for success. The teams with highest trust in their leaders were far more successful than the teams with the lowest trust scores. Trust in leadership was more important than trust in team members. Similar results have been obtained from other contexts such as leadership in restaurants and hotels (Davis et al., 2000; Simons & McLean Parks, 2002, in Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004).

However, some researchers argue that too much trust can be disadvantageous, leading to exploitation or taking advantage of individuals and a reluctance to peer monitor (Deutch, 1958; Granovetter, 1985; Kramer, 1999; Langfred, 2004). Gargiulo and Ertug (2006) suggest that what they call ‘excessive trust’ can lead to negative outcomes in form of blind faith, complacency, and unnecessary obligations. Blind faith can lead to the trustor reducing the monitoring of the trustee below an optimal threshold which in turn can lead to an increased risk of malfeasance. Excessive trust is also suggested to be able to turn commitment into complacency and create unnecessary obligations that act like constraints for the trustor. This is argued to be due to a rapid expansion of a relationship beyond the optimal level of interdependence and uncertainty that characterizes the initial relationship between individuals.

The trust literature also contributes with knowledge and suggestions on how lack of trust or distrust negatively affects outcomes. If trust does not exist

between leaders and subordinates, this can lead to high levels of monitoring and vigilance (Bromiley & Cummings, 1995; Langfred, 2004; Malhotra & Murnighan, 2002; McEvily et al., 2003). In a military context, lack of trust in the leader has been connected to psychiatric breakdown (Steiner & Neuman, 1978). Also, lack of trust between military leaders and followers can lead to subordinates refusing to follow orders, putting themselves and others at great risk (Lapidot et al., 2007). Leaders are also suggested to be at greater risk since lack of trust can lead to leaders becoming injured or killed by their own subordinates (Bond, 1976; Bryant, 1981; Lepre, 2011).

Leaders are often faced with the “trust dilemma”. Maintaining multiple relationships in organizations often leads to the leader having to meet the expectations of one subordinate (or a group of subordinates) while at the same time having to violate the expectations of another. In these situations leaders are forced to take actions that sustain the trust of one subordinate but break the trust of the other (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004).

Research has indicated that trust is more easily broken than built (Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000). In line with the idea that bad is stronger than good, one single incident in which the leader negatively impacts subordinates’ expectations may cause significant damage to their trust in the leader. Subordinates may also become more sensitive to future actions (e.g. interpret them as violations). It is difficult, perhaps even impossible, to regain trust in a leader if the trust in the leader’s character has been lost (Kim, Dirks & Cooper, 2009).

Trust in indirect leaders

By following social exchange principle, Dirks (2006) suggests that the relationship-based perspective implies that followers will reciprocate benefits received towards their source. According to this line of reasoning, Dirks (2006) implies that trust in a direct leader cannot be associated with reciprocation aimed at senior leadership (indirect leadership). Dirks and Ferrin (2002) discovered that trust in immediate leaders was more associated with job-level variables while trust in indirect leaders (senior management) was more related to organizational commitment. Based on this, Dirks and Skarlicki (2004) propose that trust in immediate leaders (supervisors) influences individual performances while trust in indirect leaders is connected to effects towards achieving organizational goals. Contrary to this, Fors and Larsson (2010a) found that trust in the direct leader correlated with trust in the indirect leader (the Commanding officer). Following theory of indirect leadership, the indirect leader's relationship to his/her subordinate leader is of great importance for subordinates at lower organizational levels to develop trust in the indirect leader (Larsson et al., 2005). These findings suggest that it is important to make a distinction between trust in direct and indirect leaders and study them separately.

Trust in subordinate leaders

Research on trust has normally revolved around trust in the immediate, closest leader or trust between peers. Few scholars have studied trust in subordinates or more specifically subordinate leaders (Knoll & Gill, 2010). Studying trust in subordinate leaders is of importance in the military because it is an organization with many hierarchical levels (which implies many superiors with subordinate leaders). Clegg and Wall (1981) found that trust in leaders declines as one moves down the hierarchical levels.

With regard to the lack of research on subordinate leaders, the following section will describe research findings on trust in subordinates. By building on the work of Jennings (1971) and Gabarro (1978), Butler (1991) identified ten conditions concerning trust in subordinates: Availability, Competence, Consistency, Discreetness, Fairness, Integrity, Loyalty, Openness, Promise fulfilment and Receptivity. Of these ten conditions, Competence, Integrity, Fairness and Openness were suggested as key determinants of trust (Clark & Payne, 2006). Knoll and Gill (2010) found that the three factors most associated with trust in superior leaders (ability, benevolence and integrity) were also related to trust in subordinates.

Ability/competence appears to be one of the most important components of trust in superior leaders, as well as for developing trust in subordinates (Wells & Kipnis, 2001; Wasti, Tan, & Erdil, 2010). Although the characteristics of trust in superior leaders and in subordinates have similarities, there appear to be a few differences regarding their importance. Gabarro (1978) found that integrity, competence and consistency were mentioned most when discussing

trust in subordinates, whereas integrity, loyalty and openness were emphasized more for subordinates' trust in their superior leader. In contrast, Butler and Cantrell (1984) suggested that integrity, competence and consistency were the strongest determinants of trust in both subordinates and superiors. Benevolence and integrity were discovered to be more important than ability when trusting a superior (compared to a peer or subordinate). Werbel and Henriques (2009), using Butler's (1991) ten conditions, discovered that superiors recognized receptivity, discreetness and availability as more important in building a quality vertical dyad linkage, whereas subordinates reported that availability, competence, discreetness, integrity, and openness were more important. Wells and Kipnis (2001) found that there was a significant association between managers' trust in subordinates and job-related qualities such as competence, motivation, and common goals. Subordinates, on the other hand, stated more personal characteristics when describing trust in managers. Both managers and employees used personality and character descriptions of the trustee when giving reasons for distrust.

How does trust in leaders develop?

Lewicki, Tomlins and Gillespie (2006) conducted an extensive exposition of work on trust development existing at the time. Four different approaches were compared in relation to questions such as, "Where does trust begin?" and "What causes the level of trust to change over time?" Since the focus of this thesis falls within the field of psychology, there will be only brief mention of

their first investigated approach (the behavioural). Below, Lewicki et. al's divisions are used to give a more thorough description of their three psychological approaches: the unidimensional, two-dimensional, and transformational models in relation to the questions "Where does trust begin?", and "What causes the level of trust to change over time?" The unidimensional approach views trust and distrust as bipolar opposites of a single dimension, while the two-dimensional approach considers them as dimensionally separate constructs including the same components as the unidimensional approach (cognition, affect, and intentions). The transformational approach suggests that there are different types of trust and that the nature of trust is that it transforms over time.

Where does trust begin?

One question that has engaged trust researchers is where trust begins. Some argue that trust begins at zero while others claim that factors like personality, role-based behaviour, institution-based structures and trustee reputation can lead to a high initial trust (Lewicki, Tomlinson, & Gillespie, 2006). Within the behavioural approach to trust development, the use of simulated interactions and games (such as the Prisoner's dilemma) has been a popular means of studying how trust develops. In early experiments, trust has been assumed to begin at zero (Lewicki et al., 2006).

Lewicki et al. (2006) explain that, within the unidimensional approach, there are three approaches to the predicted baseline of trust (the level of trust at Time 0). They divide them into: (a) a zero-trust baseline, (b) an initial positive trust baseline, and (c) an initial distrust baseline. The zero-trust baseline implies that trust begins at zero and then develops over time. Individuals quickly decide whether or not to trust another individual. In most cases, people are assumed to abandon beliefs that the other is not trustworthy. If the individual decides to trust the other and if the initial trust is not abused, the individual will be more prone to trust in future exchanges. If trust is abused, the individual will be prone to distrust the other.

The initial positive trust baseline has grown strength, with researchers arguing that even early in relationships, people can experience remarkably high levels of trust (Lewicki et al., 2007). High initial trust has been suggested to be grounded in personality factors (predisposition to trust others generally), institution-based structures (assure protection against distrusting actions by others), cognitive processes (individuals rapidly process information and make initial judgments/form initial impressions) and/or the building of swift trust (developed by role-based interactions, role-based behaviour, narrow recruitment, task characterized by interdependence) (Lewicki et al., 2006; McKnight, Cummings, & Chervany, 1998; Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer, 1999).

The two-dimensional approach views trust and distrust as separate dimensions although having the same components (cognition, affect, and intentions) as the unidimensional approach (Lewicki et al., 2006). According

to this approach, low trust and low distrust is caused by relationships with a limited number of facets and a dearth of richness.

As to the transformational approach, Lewicki et al. (2006) refer to the work of Shapiro et al. (1992), Lewicki and Bunker (1995; 1996), and Rousseau et al. (1998) who have divergent opinions on where trust begins. Shapiro et al. (1992) claim that trust begins “below zero” with deterrence-based processes, which means handling the potential vulnerability one could experience at the hands of the other. Lewicki and Bunker (1995; 1996) assume that trust begins at zero, or even above zero, due to first impressions. Rousseau et al. (1992) also consider trust to begin at zero.

What causes the level of trust to change over time?

Lewicki et al. (2007) refer to the work of Ferrin (2003) when trying to answer the question of what causes the level of trust to change over time. They propose the following variables as determinants or covariants of the level of trust: characteristic qualities of the trustor (e.g. disposition to trust), characteristic qualities of the trustee (e.g. general trustworthiness, ability, benevolence, integrity, reputation, sincerity), characteristics of past relationship (e.g. patterns of successful cooperation), characteristics of their communication processes (e.g. threats, promises, openness of communication), characteristics of the relationship form (e.g. close friends, authority relationship, partners

etc.), and structural parameters that govern the relationship (e.g. availability of communication mechanisms or third parties).

According to the literature review by Lewicki et al. (2006), the initial distrust baseline can occur if cultural or psychological factors bias individuals into distrust, if there are unfavourable rumours about another, or if context or situational factors motivate an early distrust judgement. Other reasons for initial distrust may be social categorization processes (in-group distrusts out-group), value incongruence, a competitive disposition or a disposition to generally distrust others (Kelley & Stahlski, 1970; Kramer, 1999; Lewicki et al., 2007; Mayer et al., 1995; Sitkin & Roth, 1993).

Moving on to the two-dimensional approach, trust and distrust is assumed to increase in strength and breadth as a function of frequency, duration and diversity of experiences that confirm positive or negative expectations. As the two-dimensional approach views trust and distrust as separate dimensions (although they both contain the same components: cognition, affect, and intentions, as in the unidimensional approach) it is possible to have high/low trust and high/low distrust at the same time. For example, high trust and high distrust may occur when an individual has confidence in facets of the relationship where trustworthiness has been established, while at the same time lacking confidence in facets where one has negative experiences (Lewicki et al., 2007).

Lewicki et al. (2006) uses the work of Shapiro et al. (1992), Lewicki and Bunker (1995; 1996), and Rousseau et al. (1998) to explain how the

transformational approach looks upon what causes the trust to change over time. Shapiro et al. (1992) argue that there are three different bases of trust: Deterrence-based trust (DBT), Knowledge-based trust (KBT), and Identification-based trust (IBT). DBT exists when the individual perceives the cost of discontinuing the relationship or the possibility of retributive action to outweigh the short term advantages of acting distrustfully. It can be strengthened by repeated interactions, multifaceted interactions, and by threatening the potential trust breaker with reputation damage. KBT implies that the individual knows the other so well (s)he can predict his or her behaviour. It can be strengthened by regular communication and “courtship” (getting to know the other’s reputation, reliability, integrity). IBT is achieved when one completely internalizes the other’s preferences so (s)he can make decisions in the other’s interest (identifies with the other). This is achieved through a combination of DBT and KBT.

The second trust development model is Lewicki and Bunker’s (1996) proposed three stage model of trust in work relationships. Achievement of trust at one level enables the development of trust at the next level. The model assumes that there is no prior history between two parties entering into a new work relationship (no reputations to overcome etc.). Next follows a description of the three different levels.

(1) *Calculus-based trust* (CBT). At the first level, trust is based on assuring consistency of behaviour. Individuals will do what they say they will for fear of the consequences of not doing what is expected (clear, possible, and probable

punishments). This level is characterized by fragility. (2) *Knowledge-based trust* (KBT). The second level of trust is based on the other's predictability, i.e., knowing the other person well enough to be able to anticipate behaviour. Key processes are regular communication and courtship. At this level, trust is built on information rather than punishments/rewards. Trust is enhanced even if the other is not trustworthy since the untrustworthy behaviour can be predicted. (3) *Identification-based trust* (IBT). The last level of trust is based on identification with the other person's desires and intentions. It is a mutual understanding that means that individuals can act on behalf of each other (knowledge, understanding and sharing of the other's needs, choices and preferences). Lewicki and Bunker (1996) argue that identification-based trust can be developed by four types of activities: developing a collective identity, co-location (working in the same building/neighbourhood), creating joint products or goals and committing oneself to commonly shared values. Den Hartog (2003) suggests that both transactional and transformational leadership behaviours may increase knowledge-based trust.

The final trust development model described by Lewicki et al. (2006) is that of Rousseau et al. (1998). According to the authors, the core elements of trust are calculative (CBT) and relational trust (RT). This is a result of repeated interactions where caring, concern, and emotional attachment have developed. The model also includes institutional trust (IT), which can facilitate both CBT and RT in the form of teamwork culture, legal systems, social networks, conflict management and cooperation. Rousseau et al. (1998) do not include

DBT in their model since they argue that deterrence is not trust. An important aspect of their view of trust is that trust has a “bandwidth”. It can vary in scope and degree and take different forms in different relationships. They state that:

Recognizing that, in a given relationship, trust has a bandwidth (which may exist to different degrees between the same parties, depending on the task or setting) introduces the idea that experiences over the life of a relationship may lead to pendulum swings. (p. 401)

In addition, based on the model of Mayer et al., (1995), Mayer and Davis (1999) suggest that trust can develop in two ways: (1) evaluation of outcomes of previous vulnerability to the trustee and a following re-evaluation of the trustee’s trustworthiness, and (2) external factors change the perception of trustworthiness (for example, decisions made by top management can be ascribed to one’s direct leader influencing perceptions of the leader’s ability).

The reciprocity of trust

Research indicates that performance and trust are reciprocally related in that past performance impacts on trust, which in turn, impacts on future performance (Dirks, 2000). The issue of reciprocity of trust has been widely discussed within the leadership as well as trust literature. For example, the leader-member-exchange (LMX) model assumes reciprocity and mutuality between leaders and subordinates (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Liden, Wayne, & Stilwell, 1993). Others argue that trust is not necessarily mutual and reciprocal since it is argued that a person can trust someone who does not trust that person back (Brower, Schoorman & Tan, 2000; Schoorman, Mayer, & Davis,

2007). Several studies show that leaders who monitor or control their subordinates send signals of distrust, which in turn elicit distrust from the subordinates. This creates a circle of distrust between the leader and his/her subordinates over time (Cialdini, 1996; Sitkin & Stickel, 1996; Strickland, 1958).

Trust in military leaders

Sweeney et al. (2011) point out that leaders operating in dangerous contexts are dependent on trust since it is the psychological mechanism that provides their subordinates with a sense of security that allows them to undertake the risk of following their leaders. Trust is important to leaders “since it determines the amount of influence leaders exercise and also creates the bonds that encourage people to work cooperatively to achieve a common purpose or mission” (p. 166). Lack of trust in a leader in a military context can lead to subordinates unwillingly following the leader’s directions, questioning orders, and obeying orders only after taking actions to minimize risks (Sweeney, 2007).

Competence (ability) is often seen as the most crucial component in trust in military leaders (Belenky et al., 1985; Kolditz, 2007; Sweeney, 2007; Sweeney et al., 2009), but researchers have also used integrity and benevolence to describe trust (Lapidot et al., 2007). Additionally, Personal example (the closeness between the leader and his/her soldiers) and Openness and

flexibility (a willingness to diminish social distance to subordinates) have also been put forward as important (Lapidot et al. 2007).

The most extensive military trust research appears to have been conducted by Sweeney (2007). He has suggested ten attributes of leaders who can be trusted in combat (shown in rank-order of importance as rated by their subordinates): Competence, Loyalty, Honesty/good integrity, Leads by example, Self-control (stress-management), Confidence, Courage, Information sharing, Personal connection with subordinates, and Sense of duty. Sweeney (2007) adopts a fairly broad definition of competence, including job knowledge, intelligence, decision-making, management and interpersonal skills. Sweeney's (2007) ten attributes differ to some extent from the characteristics found in civilian contexts by highlighting loyalty, self-control, confidence, courage and sense of duty, implying that the military context makes other demands on the leader.

Although there is a lack of research into trust in a military context, the following can be said about the differences between trust development in civilian and military organizations. In the former, work relations are characterized to a greater extent by personal contact and usually extend over a long period of time. The implications are that it is possible for individuals to consider a leader's track record when evaluating his or her trustworthiness (Cook & Wall, 1980). In the military, the formation of temporary groups is normal, resulting in many individuals working together on military operations with others about whom they have little or no prior knowledge. Maintaining a

track record in these cases can be difficult due to the brevity of operations and the rapidly changing nature of the military context.

In view of the changing nature and the different stages of military operations (training, operations, which can range from peacekeeping to combat, and phase-out), trust in military contexts appears to have different meanings. The antecedents important to developing trust in a leader appear to be context-sensitive. A study by Sweeney (2010) showed that 75% of soldiers reconsidered trust in their immediate leader prior to combat. When asked to give reasons for reconsidering trust, the top five were concerns about competence, lack of prior knowledge of each other (either soldier or leader new to unit), lack of combat experience, concerns about the leader's reactions in combat and concerns about the leader not sharing information. Sweeney's (2010) results reveal that trust in combat in military leaders is affected by a leader's handling of (competence and experience) and reactions to risky situations, as well as their concern for and sensitivity to subordinates.

Summary and critical evaluation

The most common view on trust appears to be that trust is a psychological state. In this view, the situation is assumed to include perceived vulnerability and/or risk. Individuals' perceptions and the preconscious expectations of others' motives, intentions and actions are important. The dangerous military context is characterized by vulnerability, risks, uncertainty and

unpredictability. Both leaders and subordinates are dependent on trusting that others act dutifully and do not put others at unnecessary risk. Consequently, this thesis takes its point of departure in viewing trust as a psychological state, i.e. a state of perceived vulnerability or risk derived from individuals' uncertainty concerning motives, intentions and the prospective actions of others on whom they depend (Kramer, 1999; Lewis & Weigert, 1985; Robison, 1996). The definition of trust that appears to best correspond with this is the definition by Rousseau et al. (1998): "the psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another" (p. 395).

Several of the approaches to studying trust in general, and trust in leaders in particular, are conceptually similar. For example, the character-based perspective, cognitive-based trust, and attribution theory are all concerned with perceptions and judgments of another person's (the leader's) character while the relationship-based perspective, affect-based trust, and exchange-theory deal with trust development through the exchange/relationship between the leader and the subordinate. Most research on trust in leaders appears to assume frequent interaction and communication in order to develop higher trust such as knowledge- or identification-based trust (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996; Rousseau et al., 1998). In view of the first research question regarding what contributes to trust in superior and subordinate military leaders, it can be assumed that it is not the leader's actual behaviour that is most valuable to study but the subordinate's perception of the leader's

character and behaviour (Dirks, 2006). Moreover, it appears to be important to include both relationship-based and character-based perspectives when studying trust in leaders. Trust in leaders is suggested to have a positive effect on several individual outcomes such as performance, job satisfaction and turnover intention but also on risk-taking. The strongest effects seem to be accomplished when both affective/character- and cognitive/relationship-based trust exist, which highlights the need to take both the character of the leader as well as the relationship between the leader and his/her subordinates into consideration. However, taking into account other aspects also appears to be important. For example, trust in leaders can be influenced by subordinates' expectations and perceptions of the organization (teamwork culture, legal systems, social networks, conflict management etc.) (Dirks, 2006; Rousseau et al., 1998).

The literature review above points to the following critical issues regarding trust in leaders in general and the military context in particular. Firstly, there is an overall lack of trust research conducted in a military context. Several researchers emphasize that trust is context-specific (Gillespie & Mann, 2004; Mayer et al., 2006; Sweeney, 2010; Sweeney et al., 2011). This particular field of research lags far behind research conducted within the civilian context. Studies conducted in military settings suggest that there are several differences between trust in leaders in civilian contexts and their military counterparts. Both the characteristics used to describe trust as well as other antecedents appear to differ to some extent. Although Sweeney (2010) contributes with

valuable knowledge regarding trust in a military context, this area of research obviously lacks insight on what contributes to trust and influences trust development in military leaders.

Secondly, different bases of trust (antecedent conditions) have been suggested to promote the emergence of trust, (e.g. dispositional, history-based, category-based, role-based and rule-based trust) but there is a lack of knowledge regarding the significance in military contexts (Kramer, 1999). It can be assumed that several of these bases may be favourable for developing trust in military leaders. Given the military organization's distinct and standardized structures (e.g. training and positions are fairly similar in all the armed forces), category-based, role-based, and rule-based trust can be assumed to occur and subsequently have a positive initial influence on trust development.

Thirdly, the theoretical review above indicates that the perceived vulnerability in a situation also affects perceptions about the leader characteristics that are most important for developing trust in military leaders (Lapidot et al., 2007). Trust in the leader appears to be re-evaluated if the context becomes more dangerous (thus changing the perceived risk and sense of vulnerability) (Sweeney, 2010). This leads to the assumption that trust between military leaders and subordinates would be affected by their involvement in a negative critical incident but the literature gives no information on how this happens.

In summary, this literature review points to aspects that merit consideration when studying trust in military leaders. It also shows that involvement in negative critical incidents can be assumed to have impact on the trust development process between military leaders and their subordinates. Overall, trust researchers call attention to the fact that trust is context-specific and, given that trust in military leaders is a relatively unresearched area, there is much knowledge to gain by trying to explore what contributes to trust and what influences the trust process in a military context.

Leadership – levels of conceptualization and definitions

As in the case of trust, there is no universally accepted definition of leadership (Stogdill, 1974). Researchers have, for example, used traits, behaviours, influence and role relationship to define leadership (Yukl, 2006). Hogan and Judge (2013) argue that leadership should be defined in terms of the ability to build and maintain effective teams. They claim that a research focus on characteristics of leaders in management positions does not lead to answers regarding leader effectiveness. Leaders at the top of different organizations have reached their position due to the peculiar context of their particular organization and argue that it is a matter of the fate of individual careers instead of the fate of the organization. In line with this, Northouse (2007) defines leadership as “a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal” (p. 3). Yukl (2006) suggests the following definition: “the process of influencing others to understand and

agree about what needs to be done and how to do it, and the process of facilitating individual and collective efforts to accomplish shared objectives (p.8). These definitions emphasize leadership as a process involving influence and occurring in a group context containing goal attainment.

Nevertheless, Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003) have called in question whether or not leadership is actually useful to define since it has so diverse meanings to people. Yukl (2006) appears to agree when he states that:

Like all constructs in social science, the definition of leadership is arbitrary and subjective. Some definitions are more useful than others, but there is no single “correct” definition that captures the essence of leadership. For the time being, it is better to use the various conceptions of leadership as a source of different perspectives on a complex, multifaceted phenomenon. (p. 8)

Yukl (2006) argues that one of the most useful ways to classify leadership theory and research is by the type of variable that is emphasized the most. The three variables Yukl (2006) uses are: (a) *characteristics of leaders*, (b) *characteristics of followers*, and (c) *characteristics of the situation*. One key variable of the second category, characteristic of followers, is trust in the leader.

Bass and Bass (2008) divided different definitions of leadership into three categories: (1) “*Leadercentric*” definitions of leaders and leadership, (2) defining leadership as an *effect*, and (3) defining leadership in terms of the *interaction between the leader and the led*. The “leadercentric” definitions concentrate on the leader as a person. Leaders are considered as having a combination of traits that are necessary to induce others to accomplish a task.

Theories defining leadership as an affect include goal achievement and viewing leadership as an effect of group action. Leadership defined in terms of the interaction between the leader and the led views leadership as a process, as a power relationship, as a differentiated role and/or as a combination of elements (combine several definitions of leadership). Cognitions, behaviours and attributions of both the leader and the subordinate are taken into consideration. Also included in this definition is the recognition of the leader by the led (face-to-face contact is important for the cognitive process) and identification with the leader (the follower imitates the leader).

This dissertation takes its point of departure in a dyadic approach that focuses on the relationship between a leader and another individual, in this case, a follower. This approach assumes that in order to understand leader effectiveness, one has to view leadership as a reciprocal influence process between the leader and another person (how the leader and the follower influence each other over time). Key questions for the dyadic approach are how leaders develop a cooperative, trusting relationship with a follower and how to influence a follower to become more motivated and committed (Yukl, 2006). Nevertheless, theories on dyadic processes have been criticized for underestimating the context in which the dyadic process occurs. Leadership has been argued to be embedded in the context (Osborn, Hunt & Jauch, 2002). Keeping in line with this and bearing in mind that the preceding theory section points to the importance of context when studying trust, this thesis also takes its point of departure in interaction theory. According to Endler & Magnusson

(1976), the behaviour of an individual is “determined by a continuous process in which person and situation factors interact in a multidirectional (feedback) manner” (p. 968).

Leadership models with relevance for the development of trust

This section of the theoretical framework describes leadership models with relevance for the development of trust. The selection of the models has been done with regard to those highlighting trust as a core component.

Ohio State and Michigan leadership studies

During the 1950s, researchers at the Ohio State University conducted extensive leadership questionnaire studies in order to identify categories of leadership behaviours and to measure how often these behaviours were used (Yukl, 2006). Two broadly defined categories were discovered: consideration and initiating structure. Consideration includes behaviours that indicate mutual trust and respect. It involves the leader’s concern for the subordinates, being friendly and supportive and showing concern for the subordinates’ needs and feelings. Initiating structure deals with the leader’s concern for accomplishing the task by defining and structuring his/her own role and the role of the subordinates in order to achieve task goals. These behaviours were proposed to be relatively independent (Landy & Trumbo, 1976; Yukl, 2006). Consideration has been suggested to be able to function as a threshold or releaser mechanism

and a precondition for effective leadership. Leaders can compensate for high structure by increasing consideration. Studies show that leaders' structuring behaviour could be dramatically increased without any real effect on grievance if they were rated high on consideration. In contrast, leaders rated low on consideration cannot erase the negative effects of lack of concern for subordinates by decreasing their structuring behaviour (Landy & Trumbo, 1976).

Another early leadership behaviour model derives from the Michigan leadership studies in the 1950s. Researchers involved in the studies found three types of leadership behaviours that were effective (Task-oriented, Relations-oriented, Participative). Effective leaders were relations-oriented in terms of being supportive and helpful to subordinates. The supportive behaviours that were positively correlated with effective leadership included showing trust and confidence in subordinates, being friendly and considerate, trying to understand problems, helping to develop subordinates and further their careers, keeping them informed, showing appreciation, allowing considerable autonomy and recognizing contributions and accomplishments (Yukl, 2006). Relations-oriented behaviour is primarily concerned with increasing mutual trust and can be further divided into (a) Supporting, (b) developing, and (c) recognizing (Yukl, 2006). Supporting behaviours may increase a subordinate's trust in the leader and have been suggested not only to reduce the amount of stress at work but also to help subordinates cope with

stress. Higher job satisfaction and stress tolerance in turn results in less absenteeism, turnover and substance abuse (Yukl, 2006).

Leader-Member Exchange Theory

Historically, the leadership trait paradigm, leader behaviour paradigm and contingency theories dominated leadership research. The leader-member exchange theory was developed since it did not fit into the previous theories. Many theories of trust are based on social exchange theory and some scholars consider it a trust-building process (Bauer & Green, 1996). Trust is assumed to emerge through repeated exchange between two individuals (Blau, 1964; Miao, Newman, & Huang, 2014). Participative leadership stimulates higher levels of trust in a supervisor as it positively affects subordinates' perceptions that their supervisor has confidence in their ability, which creates a sense of security within their relationship (Lewis & Weigert, 1985).

The Leader-Member Exchange Theory (LMX) focuses on the dyadic relationships between a leader and each individual subordinate and the exchange relationship that develops over time (Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975; Graen & Cashman, 1975). Over time, the leader establishes either a high-exchange or low-exchange relationship with each of the subordinates. In the first case, the leader provides greater status, influence and benefits in return for a subordinate who works harder, is more committed, loyal and who relieves the leader's administrative duties. The dyadic relationship is seen as a "life

cycle model” with three stages: (1) Role taking. An initial testing phase which includes the leader’s and the subordinate’s evaluation of each other’s motives, attitudes and resources that can potentially be exchanged. Mutual role expectations are established. (2) Role-making. The exchange relationship is distinguished and trust, loyalty and respect are developed. (3) Routinization. The exchange transforms from self-interest to mutual commitment. Not all relationships proceed from the first stage to the second or from the second to the third. This model appears to assume trust in order to achieve mutual commitment. However, the model only describes how trust develops in relation to the subordinates that the leader has a high-exchange relationship with. This could imply that trust in other subordinates is impending.

Lapidot et al. (2007) suggest that subordinates can experience both trust-building and trust eroding incidents in their relationship with their leader. They argue that even if the LMX relationship may be relatively stable in terms of overall level of trust, it can still comprise negative and positive events or negative and positive aspects. The authors imply that LMX relationships may be more complex, multifaceted and non-linear processes than has been previously considered.

Several scholars have shown that high trust in the supervisor leads to the subordinates being more motivated to reciprocate in the form of job performance and OCB (Burke, Sims, Lassara & Salas, 2007; Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Organ, Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 2006). Both cognitive- and affect-based trust has been linked to LMX. It is suggested that participative leadership leads

to high levels of cognitive trust in followers because it influences the followers' perceptions as to the leader's character, i.e. by allowing the subordinates to participate in decisions, they perceive the leader to be more reliable, fair and of integrity, leading to increased trust in the leader (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002). Affective trust develops over time through the reciprocal social exchange between leaders and their subordinates (McAllister, 1995). It is based on the emerging understanding by the trustor that the trustee genuinely cares about him/her (Colquitt, Scott & LePine, 2007).

Charismatic leadership

Conger (2013) states that charismatic leaders “transform the nature of work by making it appear more heroic, morally correct, and meaningful” (p. 381). Some researchers consider charismatic leadership and transformational leadership to be equivalent, while others see them as distinct but overlapping processes (Yukl, 2006). Bass and Avolio (1993) include charisma (or idealized influence) as a part of their model of transformational leadership. They look upon charisma as a way of enabling the leader to influence subordinates by arousing strong emotions and identification with the leader.

Charismatic leadership has been differentiated as socialized or personalized. Socialized charismatic leadership is grounded on egalitarian and altruistic behaviours, serves collective interests, develops/empowers others and uses legitimate established channels of authority (Bass & Riggio, 2006).

Personalized charismatic leadership has more self-interest focus and includes personal dominance, authoritarian behaviours and exploitation of others (Bass & Riggio, 2006).

Trust is mentioned as an important component of charismatic leadership. Charismatic leaders are viewed upon as leaders that make self-sacrifices, take personal risks and suffer high costs to achieve their espoused vision. Subordinates appear to have more trust in a leader who acts out of concern for the subordinates rather than personal interest (e.g. loss of status, money, position). Trust is also gained by personal example and risk-taking, as well as unconventional expertise. However, in order for the leader to be regarded as charismatic, these mentioned qualities must appear extraordinary (Conger, 2013; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Friedland, 1964). Charismatic leaders have been shown to gain higher performance ratings, are regarded as more effective leaders and have more highly motivated and more satisfied subordinates (compared to others in leadership positions) (Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993). Although charismatic leadership is considered a positive leadership model in many respects, Conger (2013) points out that charismatic leadership is not always associated with positive outcomes. Charismatic leaders have been known to produce negative outcomes for organizations and/or societies.

The full-range leadership model

The full-range leadership model or theory is made up of transactional and transformational leadership. The model distinguishes among three groups of leadership behaviours: transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire (Avolio, 2011).

Transformational leadership

One of the most recognized leadership theories is Transformational leadership (TL) (Bass, 1985; 1996). The results of transformational leadership are that subordinates feel trust, admiration, loyalty, and respect towards the leader. Subordinates are also better motivated to produce more than is expected of them. The transformational leader uses behaviours that make subordinates more aware of the importance of task outcomes, influencing them to look beyond self-interest for the sake of the organization or team, and stimulating their higher-order needs. Transformational leader behaviours are described in four categories: Idealized influence, Individualized consideration, Inspirational motivation and Intellectual stimulation. Although a few studies show no significant association between different transformational leadership practices/aspects and trust (Podsakoff et al., 1996), several studies also show the opposite: that transformational leadership is associated with trust (Butler et al., 1999; Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Gillespie & Mann, 2004). Transformational leadership arouses positive emotions in followers, which is argued to promote liking of the leader (Brown & Keeping, 2005). Bass and Riggio (2006) argue that, in a military context, transformational leadership can be the difference

between victory and defeat. They provide several examples of military leaders that have succeeded and gained trust from their subordinates by demonstrating competence, setting example and showing consideration and care.

Developmental leadership. Developmental leadership is a Scandinavian development of transformational leadership (Larsson et al., 2003). The main differences between Transformational leadership and Developmental leadership are that the latter is grounded in an interactionistic person by situation base. Charismatic leadership has also been toned down since charismatic leaders, in a Scandinavian context, are often associated with less favourable leaders (such as sect leaders). The third main difference between the models is that in Developmental leadership, transactional leadership is divided into different sub factors. Two positive (Demand and reward – seek agreement, Control – Take necessary measures) and two negative (Demand and reward – If, but only if, reward, Control – overcontrol) (Larsson et al., 2003).

Transactional leadership

Transactional leadership is composed of an exchange process between the leader and the subordinates. This may lead to subordinates doing what the leader asks of them but transactional leadership is not likely to result in enthusiasm and commitment to task objectives (Bass 1985, 1996). Transactional leadership includes the behaviours: Contingent reward

(clarification or the work required to obtain rewards, the use of incentives and contingent rewards to influence motivation), Active management by exception (looking for mistakes and carrying out rules to avoid mistakes, and Passive management by exception (the use of contingent punishments and other corrective actions to ensure acceptable performance standards). In conformity with transformational leadership, findings regarding the association with trust are mixed and inconsistent. Some research shows that transactional leadership is not adequate enough to influence trust (Jung & Avolio, 2000; Pillai et al., 1999; Podsakoff et al., 1990), while other studies point out the contrary (Butler et al., 1999; Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Jung & Avolio, 2000; MacKenzie et al., 2001; Shamir, 1995).

Laissez-faire leadership

Laissez-faire leadership is a description of leaders who appear indifferent to things that are happening. They avoid taking a stand and intervening. They do not take responsibility, avoid making decisions and are bad at structuring and planning (Avolio & Bass, 1991). Skogstad et al. (2014) define laissez-faire leadership as “a follower-centred form of avoidance-based leadership by focusing on subordinates’ perceived situational need for leadership, and leader non-response to such needs, as the main source of variance in outcomes”. (p. 325). They also state that laissez-faire leadership is perceived as “leaders’ volitional and active avoidance of subordinates when they are in need of

assistance, in contrast to transactional and transformational forms of leadership” (p.325).

Research has shown that laissez-fair leadership is connected to conflicts, low productivity, lack of innovation, and lack of cohesion among subordinates (Bass & Riggio, 2006; Skogstad et al., 2007; Skogstad et al., 2014) but also workplace stressors such as role conflict, role ambiguity, bullying, and low-quality interpersonal treatment by the leader (Kelloway et al., 2005; Skogstad et al., 2007). However, the problems associated with laissez-faire leadership can be reduced and offset if the subordinates are competent enough (Bass & Riggio, 2006).

Authentic leadership

Authentic leadership is founded on insights from positive organizational behaviour, full-range leadership and ethical perspectives (capacity and development), and is defined as “a process that draws from both positive psychological capacities and a highly developed organizational context, resulting in both greater self-awareness and self-regulated positive behaviours on the part of leaders and associates, and fostering positive self-development (Luthans & Avolio, 2003, p. 243). The leader positively fosters the development of associates by being true to his/her core beliefs and values and exhibiting authentic behaviour. An authentic leader must achieve authenticity through self-awareness, self-acceptance and authentic actions and

relationships but also develop authentic relations with followers. These relationships are characterized by (a) transparency, openness, and trust, (b) guidance toward worthy objectives, and (c) an emphasis on follower development (Gardner et al., 2005).

Gardner et al. (2005) have developed a conceptual framework for authentic leader and follower development. According to the model, the leader's personal history (family influences, role models, work experiences etc.) and key trigger events (dramatic and sometimes subtle changes in the leader's circumstances) are antecedents for authentic leadership development. Two key factors contribute to the development of the authentic leadership: Self-awareness and Self-regulation. Self-awareness means working to understand how one derives and makes meaning of the world around based on introspective self-reflecting, testing of own hypotheses and self-schema. Self-regulation means that the leader, in an unbiased fashion, collects and interprets self-related information without distorting, exaggerating, or ignoring externally based evaluations of the self or internal experiences and private knowledge that might inform self-development. It also means that the leader's behaviours are guided by his/her true self (reflected by core values, beliefs, thoughts and feelings) instead of by external pressures. It also includes the leader displaying high levels of openness, self-disclosure and trust in close relationships.

The central thesis in the framework is that authentic leaders positively model followers and serve as a key input for the development of authentic followers. As for authentic leadership, authentic followership is founded on

personal history and trigger events as well as self-awareness and self-regulation. When followers observe the leader demonstrating an understanding of self-awareness and engage in transparent decision-making that reflects integrity and a commitment to core ethical values, trust in the leader is developed that nurtures open and authentic behaviour on their part. Demonstrated integrity by the leader, together with developmental experiences and meaningful work lead to high levels of trust, engagement and well-being among followers, while at the same time contributing to their development, which in turn fosters sustained veritable follower performance. A supportive organizational climate is also assumed to provide a greater opportunity for authentic leadership and for followership to be sustained.

According to Gardner et al. (2005), authentic leaders build trust through honest assessments of personal, associate and organizational assets. It is also proposed that they can build trust reserves that they are able to tap into during difficult times to foster resilience for themselves and followers. They also suggest that followers of authentic leaders will have higher levels of trust in their leaders, especially relational and development trust. Hassan and Ahmed (2011) showed that authentic leadership promoted subordinates' trust in leaders and contributed to work engagement.

One could argue that authentic leadership has a lot in common with character-based trust. Seen from a trust perspective, authentic leaders should have a favourable basis in that they display a high degree of integrity, which

has been suggested to be especially important early in relationships (Mayer et al., 1995).

Indirect leadership models

Indirect leadership has been defined as “the influence of a leader on employees not reporting directly to him or her” (Larsson et al., 2005, p. 215) and “the influence of a focal leader on the development and performance of individuals who do not report directly to that leader” (Yammarino, 1994, p.29). While direct leaders normally communicate with their subordinates using face-to-face contact, the indirect leader mostly interact with subordinates through intermediaries (direct leaders) (Larsson et al., 2005; Yammarino, 1994). Indirect leadership is characterized, for instance, by one-way communication, limited personal contact, a large number of subordinates, less spontaneous interaction, actions, and reactions (Yammarino, 1994).

Trust in direct leaders has been described as more immediate and circumscribed, while trust in management is more general (Whitener, 1998). Trust in management is important for subordinates’ attitudinal outcomes (organizational commitment) (Yang & Mossholder, 2010). Theory about indirect leadership puts trust in a central position since the theory emphasizes that favourable indirect leadership leads to trust, while unfavourable indirect leadership leads to lack of trust (Larsson et al., 2005).

There are several suggested models of indirect leadership. According to the cascading model, a focal leader has influence on subordinates at lower levels beyond his/her direct reports (indirect leadership) (Yammarino, 1994). For example, Schaubroeck et al. (2012) found that the influence of ethical leadership not only occurs directly among immediate followers but also indirectly across hierarchical levels. Leaders who demonstrate a high level of ethical leadership can have a positive impact on subordinate leaders' ethical leadership on their followers. Further, Mawritz et al. (2012) showed that abusive manager behaviour is not only related to abusive supervisor behaviour but also to employees' behaviour two hierarchical levels below the manager.

The bypass model implies that a hierarchical level is "skipped" in terms of relationships between leaders and subordinates. The indirect leader bypasses his/her subordinate leaders (the formal chain of command) in order to influence non-immediate subordinates (Yammarino, 1994).

The model of indirect leadership proposed by Larsson et al. (2005) should be considered a process which begins with higher organizational level managers' visions and goals and their ways of implementing these. The ideas and mental models that constitute visions and goals pass through a "filter" that either facilitates or obstructs the implementation. The indirect leader can influence lower-level subordinates through two simultaneously routes. The first one is 'action-oriented' and means that the indirect leader uses a single individual or a small group of immediately subordinate managers to pass on messages to lower organizational levels (chain of command). The second

influence process is 'image-oriented' and through this pathway the indirect leader influences lower organizational levels by being a favourable or unfavourable role-model. In favourable cases, the link(s) and the indirect leader are trusted, which is a necessary condition for commitment and active participation. In unfavourable cases, there is a lack of trust towards the link(s) and the indirect leader, which can lead to redefinitions of the messages and a need to rely on rewards and punishments to obtain obedience.

This model highlights important issues for trust development between leaders and subordinates. Firstly, it is important to develop trust between the indirect leader and his/her link(s). The link(s) are a necessary means to successfully implement goals and visions in the organization. A lack of trust between the indirect leader and his/her link(s) may lead to unfavourable filtering, which in turn can lead to lack of trust in the indirect leader at the lower levels of the organizations. Secondly, it is also of utmost importance to develop trust between the link(s) and the subordinates at lower organizational levels, not only for the immediate leader – subordinate relationship but also because the link(s) presumably affect the development of trust between the subordinates at lower levels and the indirect leader. Thirdly, the model illustrates that trust in the indirect leader is not only influenced by the action-oriented process (through the link(s)) but also by the indirect leader being a role-model. This can be compared to transformational leadership, developmental leadership and authentic leadership (role-model, charismatic

leadership) and implies that trust in higher management is not only based on the higher management itself but also on subordinate leaders.

The structural distance (hierarchical) between subordinates and their leader has been shown to have a moderating role between transformational leadership behaviours and organizational commitment. Researchers have shown that the hierarchical distance between subordinates can explain how leaders are perceived, as well as some leadership outcomes (Antonakis & Atwater, 2002). Indirect leaders have reduced direct influence on subordinates and also the work relationship between indirect leaders and their subordinates can be less effective (Chen & Bliese, 2002; Liden, Sparrowe, & Wayne, 1997; Shamir, 1995). The structural distance is a disadvantage for indirect leaders when it comes to showing transformational leadership and developing trust between the leader and his/her subordinates (Howell & Hall-Merenda, 1999; Shamir, 1995). Trust between direct leaders and subordinates has also been found to be higher than trust between indirect leaders and their subordinates. This is suggested to be related to the fact that it is easier for the direct leader to interact directly, develop personal contact, and build relationships with the subordinates (Howell & Hall-Merenda, 1999). Davids and Mayer (1999) found that trust in top management was significantly improved by identifying and replacing an invalid appraisal system. This indicates that organisational aspects can have influence on trust in indirect leaders rather than relationship-related ones.

An integrated model

Larsson and Eid (2012) have attempted to integrate three existing leadership models (the developmental/transformational leadership model, the authentic leadership model, and the indirect leadership model) into an integrated leadership model with an interactional person-by-situation paradigm, including a process-over-time perspective. The authors made the following delimitations: (a) the model only includes leadership models that can be classified as social psychological or organisational psychological, (b) the transformational leadership model and the authentic leadership model are the most used in leadership research, (c) the indirect leadership model was chosen to include a broader organisational perspective (a focus on higher organizational levels), and (d) a revised version of transformational leadership called developmental leadership was chosen based on the fact that the model rests on an interactional person-by-situation paradigm.

The integrated model consists of three leadership behaviour dimensions: authentic/developmental (transformational) leadership, conventional (transactional) leadership and non-leadership. Larsson and Eid (2012) also included five additional theoretical aspects which make important contributions to their suggested model: (a) Individual characteristics (General and stable, Specific, of importance in a given situation), (b) Contextual characteristics (General, more stable contextual profiles, Specific contextual profile in a given situation), (c) Appraisal and sense-making processes over time, (d) Trust, and (e) Psychological capital. Psychological capital (PsyCap) is

defined as an individual's positive psychological state of development and consists of the psychological constructs hope, resilience, optimism, and self-efficacy. Having a strong PsyCap means having confidence to take on and put in required efforts to accomplish challenging tasks, being optimistic about succeeding, being determined to reach goals and when needed, redirecting paths to goal to be able to succeed (hope) (Luthans, Youssef, & Avolio, 2007).

Larsson and Eid (2012) formulated three hypotheses and two addendums in order to explain the causal relationships they suggest in their model. Hypothesis 1 suggests that leaders at higher hierarchical levels who use indirect leadership will have subordinates who appraise the higher leaders' leadership as an exemplary, authentic model, i.e. as more considerate, more inspiring and motivating with the result that the subordinates will experience a situation-related reaction (state) consisting of trust and psychological capital. This will lead to an increased probability of a will/intention to act in a similar way in their own direct leadership.

Hypothesis 2 suggests that subordinates of direct leaders will show more trust and develop more psychological capital if they perceive their leader to be an exemplary, authentic model who shows individual consideration, and is inspiring and motivating. This leads to an increased probability of a will/intention to behave in a similar way in their own operational acting.

In Hypothesis 3, Larsson and Eid (2012) suggest that the subordinates' will/intention to act in a way that presents them as being an exemplary,

authentic model, individually considerate, and inspiring and motivating will lead to a higher probability of a positive outcome of their operational acting.

The authors also include two addendums. The first one suggests that filtering (in the form of appraisal/sense-making processes) occurs at each lower hierarchical level and is shaped by the interaction of contextual and individual characteristics. The second and last addendum argues that filtering and reaction (trust and psychological capital) on the one hand and the “soft parts” of the contextual characteristics (culture, climate, processes) constantly influence each other.

The special case of destructive leadership

The hypothesis that “bad is stronger than good” has been suggested to be general across a broad range of psychological and social phenomena (Baumeister et al., 2001), including leadership (Einarsen et al., 2007). This means that negative events will tend to have a greater impact on the individual than positive events of the same type, and good can only prevail over bad by superior force in numbers (Baumeister et al., 2001). In line with this, an increasing number of leadership researchers are recognizing the “dark sides of leadership.” Hence, both the negative and positive aspects of the relationship between leaders and followers are being considered (Clements & Washbush, 1999; Einarsen et al., 2007). Studies across several work environments reveal

that there is often a strong prevalence of destructive leadership behaviours (Aasland et al., 2010; Glasø et al., 2010).

Destructive leadership has been defined as

“the systematic and repeated behaviour by a leader, supervisor or manager that violates the legitimate interest of the organisation by undermining and/or sabotaging the organisation’s goals, tasks, resources, and effectiveness and/or the motivation, well-being or job satisfaction of subordinates” (Einarsen et al., 2007, p. 208).

Krasikova et al. (2013) modified the definition by Einarsen et al. (2007) by (a) arguing that destructive leadership should be viewed as harmful behaviour imbedded in the process of leading (and by excluding behaviours falling under counterproductive work behaviour), (b) distinguishing between encouraging subordinates to pursue destructive goals and using destructive methods of influence with subordinates, and (c) defining destructive leadership as volitional behaviour. Schyns and Schilling (2013) propose another definition of destructive leadership:

“A process in which over a longer period of time the activities, experiences and/or relationships of an individual or the members of a group are repeatedly influenced by their supervisor in a way that is perceived as hostile and/or obstructive” (p. 141).

This definition does not include the anti-organization dimension but rather focuses on the result of and the subordinates’ perception of the leader’s behaviour. Similar to Einarsen et al. (2007), this definition also stresses that the behaviour is repeated over time, meaning that occasional use of destructive leadership behaviours is not considered destructive leadership.

Some scholars divide destructive leadership behaviours into active and passive forms (Einarsen et al., 2007; Larsson et al., 2012). While active forms represent more deliberate and volitional behaviours, passive forms are regarded as behaviours leaders use when they have more or less abdicated from supervisor responsibilities and duties (Einarsen et al., 2007). Researchers have discussed whether or not laissez-faire leadership (non-leadership, inactive) should in fact be regarded as a form of destructive leadership. There appear to be diverging opinions: some argue that a concept should not be defined by its consequences and that laissez-faire leadership is more related to ineffective behaviours than to destructive (Craig & Kaiser, 2012; Krasikova et al., 2013; Schyns & Schilling, 2013). In contrast, others have called attention to the negative consequences of passive, indirect leader behaviours on, for example, job satisfaction, efficiency, workplace stressors, bullying at work, and psychological distress (Frischer & Larsson, 2000; Kelloway et al., 2005; Neuman & Baron, 2005; Skogstad et al., 2007). This has led to the conclusion that it is a form of destructive leadership. Skogstad et al. (2014) state that laissez-faire leadership can be defined as a follower-centred form of avoidance-based leadership and hence is perceived as a volitional and active avoidance of subordinates when they are in need of leadership and support. Laissez-faire leadership has also been highlighted as the most prevalent destructive leadership behaviour (Aasland et al., 2010).

The growing interest in destructive leadership is suggested to be related to its costs, as it is noted that destructive leadership leads to absenteeism,

turnover, and impaired effectiveness (Schyns & Schilling, 2013). Although researchers argue that bad is stronger than good (Baumeister et al., 2001; Einarsen et al., 2007), a recent meta-analysis revealed contradictory results, suggesting that bad may not always be stronger regarding leadership (Schyns & Schilling, 2013). Constructive leadership was found to have higher positive correlations than destructive leadership had negative correlations, with different outcomes such as job satisfaction, attitude towards the leader, turnover intention and individual performance. The only exceptions were commitment and well-being, where destructive leadership showed higher correlations (Schyns & Schilling, 2013).

In literature about destructive leadership, subordinates' trust in a superior is seldom mentioned as being affected by destructive behaviours. The definition of destructive leadership proposed by Einarsen et al. (2007) does not explicitly highlight low trust as a probable consequence of destructive leadership (similar to motivation and job satisfaction) but one can assume that destructive leadership behaviours can be seen as an expression of lack of competence, integrity and benevolence, which would likely imply negative consequences on subordinates' trust. A study conducted by Gillespie and Mann (2004) revealed that passive-corrective and laissez-faire leadership behaviours were negatively associated with trust in the leader, while active-corrective leadership practices (the leader focuses on mistakes, irregularities and deviations from standards) had little association with trust. This was argued to be due to the specific context; the study was conducted on Research and

Development (R&D) organisations which are adherent to rules and procedures which may likely contribute to active-corrective leadership behaviour being judged as appropriate behaviour (Gillespie & Mann, 2004). Moreover, the strongest effects of destructive leadership have been found to be related to how followers feel about their leader (attitudes towards their leader) (Schyns & Schilling, 2013). Especially Tepper's (2000) Abusive supervision scale has been found to be more strongly related to attitudes and behaviours directed towards the leader compared to outcomes such as turnover intention and performance. However, Schyns and Schilling (2013) suggest that this may be due to item content since Tepper's (2000) concept of Abusive supervision is claimed to have a stronger personal meaning than other concepts that are more work-related. While Kelloway et al. (2005) found that constructive and destructive forms of leadership had approximately the same effect on trust in the leader, the meta-analysis of Schyns and Schilling (2013) revealed higher correlations for constructive leadership and attitudes towards the leader than for destructive leadership.

Summary and critical evaluation

A review of the leadership models in the theory section above reveal that most view trust as a core component and a desirable and important outcome of leadership. Many aspects of what contributes to trust in the leader are common to most of the leadership models but there is no significant coherence. Mutual to several are that they emphasize relational aspects to achieve trust between

the leader and the subordinate (supporting behaviours, participative leadership, showing consideration and concern). Charismatic leadership theory, transformational leadership, authentic leadership, and indirect leadership theory also highlight character-based aspects such as integrity/personal example/being a role-model and risk-taking. The Michigan leadership studies and LMX theory highlight mutual trust and reciprocity, i.e. the leader showing trust as a means of developing trust. The indirect leadership model highlights the importance of trust between leaders and subordinates on all hierarchical levels.

None of the models clarify how they define trust. It is also apparent that research on trust in leadership and leadership research generally do not correspond with each other. Within the field of trust research, the characteristics of ability, integrity and benevolence are most used to explain trust in leaders, while none of the leadership models above use the same conceptualization or combination of characteristics.

Research on destructive leadership has increased in range over the last decades. Although the most-used leadership models reveal trust as a core component and a desirable outcome of leadership, scholars have not attempted to make a closer examination of the relationship between trust and destructive leadership.

Regarding the third research question of “how the prevalence of constructive and destructive leadership behaviours are related to trust between military leaders and their subordinates”, the literature review reveals that

several constructive leadership behaviours have been shown to have a positive effect on trust: supporting behaviours (Yukl, 2006), participative leadership (Lewis & Weigert, 1985), charismatic leadership (Conger, 2013), transformational leadership (Bass 1985; Bass, 1996; Dirks & Ferrin, 2002), transactional leadership (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002), authentic leadership (Gardner et al., 2005), and indirect leadership (Larsson et al., 2005).

Research on destructive leadership has not had a greater focus on how negative leadership affects trust in leaders. Gillespie and Mann (2004) found that passive-corrective and laissez-faire leadership behaviours were negatively associated with trust, while active-corrective leadership had little association with trust. This indicates that passive destructive leadership behaviour may have greater negative influence on trust than active behaviours. There appear to be no studies conducted on whether or not constructive or destructive leadership behaviours have the greatest influence on trust in leaders.

Methodological considerations

Rumsey (2013) states that “Leadership is a construct that is ill-defined, broad, and complex. It is an understatement to say that there is no precise meaning of the term leadership (p.456)”. This also brings on difficulties when studying leadership. Leadership research has undergone several paradigm shifts: from a focus on traits in the early Twenties, on behaviours in the Fifties, contingency theories in the Sixties and most recently, on neocharismatic leadership

(transformational- and charismatic leadership) (House & Aditya, 1997; Lowe & Gardner, 2001; Rumsey, 2013).

The following section contains an overview of two frequently used research methods: qualitative and quantitative.

Quantitative methods

Leadership research has been dominated by quantitative analysis of data (Parry, 1998) but it has been argued that quantitative methods are not sufficient since leadership is such a dynamic and complex phenomenon. Quantitative methods only measure static moments in time, making it difficult to track details or how events unfold or are reinterpreted (Conger, 1998). Leadership research has mainly been focused on self-report surveys assessing a supervisor's behaviour, either by the supervisor himself/herself or by subordinates (Hunter, Bedell-Avers, & Mumford, 2007; Rumsey 2013).

Quantitative questionnaire studies have also been criticised regarding the risk of potentially false assumptions that subordinates have actually observed the leader's behaviour (there are leadership activities that are not likely observed by subordinates, for example meetings with other leaders) and the risk of subordinates having prior biasing knowledge of the scale or items being used (Hunter et al., 2007). Some argue that context is not taken into consideration (Hunter et al., 2007; Rumsey, 2013) while others claim that surveys do not measure actual observed behaviour but rather attitudes about

behaviour (Conger, 1998). Another criticism concerns the quantitative methods' aim to generalize data across varying contexts, leading to items being too broadly defined (Conger, 1998). Conger (1998) argues that "We trade-off the 'how' and 'why' questions about leadership for highly abstracted concepts and descriptions which allow us only to generalize across a range of contexts at relatively superficial levels" (p.109).

Although criticism has been levelled at the use of quantitative methods when studying leadership, it has also been pointed out that many of the phenomena studied related to leadership are not directly observable (e.g. follower- and leader perceptions about each other), making questionnaires a more appropriate choice of method (Rumsey, 2013). Other advantages of questionnaire studies are that they are easier to conduct (Yukl, 2006) and preferable when investigating how widespread a phenomenon is (Hayes, 2000).

Qualitative methods

Although there are signs of a growing interest in the use of qualitative research in the field of leadership (Parry, Mumford, Bower, & Watts, 2014), quantitative methods have dominated historically. Qualitative approaches are not yet as prominent and widely spread as quantitative ones in leadership research. Qualitative studies have been accused of being time-intensive and complex (Conger, 1998) and biased by informants' selective memory (Yukl, 2006).

However, the field of leadership research methods has also undergone several paradigm shifts (Rumsey, 2013), of which many are supposedly related to qualitative studies (Conger, 1998). Within leadership research, several advantages of qualitative research have been highlighted. Given that leadership is a complex phenomenon, qualitative methods can be more illuminating, providing greater insight about the role of context and longitudinal perspectives, as well as providing opportunity for the researcher to more flexible in being able to follow unexpected ideas that emerge during research (Conger, 1998; Parry et al., 2013). Another important practical aspect that has been highlighted is that qualitative research facilitates far more relevance and interest for practitioners (Parry et al., 2014). Conger (1998) argues that qualitative methods play a more important role since in the foreseeable future “there will be no endpoint – a moment where researchers will be able to say that we now have a complete and shared understanding of leadership” (p. 109). Qualitative methods have previously been suggested to be most beneficial in the early stages of a study (Conger, 1998).

Grounded theory

One of the most commonly used methods in leadership research is Grounded Theory (GT). Two important aspects of leadership are change (a transformation in views, beliefs, attitudes and motivation of followers) and the ability to influence others (Parry, 1998). The purpose of this inductive method is to generate theory and GT has been suggested to be preferable when

studying leadership (specifically social influence processes) since it is more necessary with theory-generating than theory-testing due to the wide variety of variables that impact on leadership (Glaser, 1992; Parry, 1998). It is the process of leadership (including change and influence) that should be in focus, not the leader (Parry, 1998).

The constant comparative method of Grounded Theory was developed in the 1960s by two sociologists, Glaser and Strauss. Glaser came from a quantitative background while Strauss had a qualitative background in symbolic interactionism (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). GT was their attempt to provide a clear basis for systematic qualitative research that could match the dominating quantitative methods. Their first publication *“The Discovery of Grounded Theory”* had an epistemological orientation presuming that “reality can be discovered, explored, and understood. From this perspective, reality is unitary, knowable, and waiting to be discovered (p. 34) (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Later, Glaser and Strauss came to disagree on how GT should be applied (mainly the analysis process). Glaser stayed true to the original, inductive way of conducting GT while Strauss moved on to a more deductive way emphasizing validation (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). An overview of present subforms of GT can be found in Charmaz (2008).

When the data is gathered, the researcher starts analysing the data using the constant comparative method. The method aims at generating theory systematically by using explicit coding and analytic procedures that are integrated, consistent, plausible, close to the data and possible to

operationalize for testing in quantitative research. The constant comparative method consists of four stages: (1) *Comparing incidents applicable to each category*. By going through the data line by line, each incident in the data is coded into as many categories as possible. The codes are constantly compared with other codes previously coded in the same category but also with codes in other categories. The aim is to reach theoretical properties of the category. (2) *Integrating categories and their properties*. In this stage, the constant comparisons change from comparing incidents with each other to comparing incidents with properties of the category that has been built up by the initial comparison of incidents. (3) *Delimiting the theory*. In the third stage, the delimitation starts regarding both the theory and the categories. The theory is solidified and few modifications are made. The modifications are more in terms of clarifying the logic, excluding non-relevant properties, integrating illustrative details of properties into the major outline of interrelated categories, and reducing the data (formulating the theory with a smaller set of higher level categories). (4) *Writing the theory*. In the final stage, the researcher starts writing the theory. If necessary, the researcher can return to the coded data to validate and pinpoint points and hypothesis but also to provide illustrations (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 2011).

Comparative analysis can be used to create basic groups of theory: substantive and formal. The former means that it is developed for a substantive or empirical area of inquiry while the latter is developed for a formal or conceptual area of inquiry (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The identified disadvantages of GT have been its lack of generalizability (findings are only applicable to the context from which they are derived), the difficulties of analysing the data without preconceived ideas and the lack of replicability (Parry, 1998). However, GT has proven to be the most widely used qualitative method (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). One of the strengths of GT is that it facilitates the theory generation of descriptive qualitative data, as well as its explanation and interpretation (Parry, 1998). Other advantages of GT are that it justifies qualitative approaches, uses terms familiar to quantitative researchers, offers a rationale for researchers at the beginning of their research, encourages open-mindedness/fresh theorizing, and uses a comparative approach (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007).

Specific considerations when studying trust

Trust has been said to be:

One of the most fascinating and fundamental social phenomena yet at the same time one of the most elusive and challenging concepts one could study. As scholars we have to reach past the underlying topicality and apparent importance of trust as we apply our research methods to this challenge, only to realize their limitations when the object of study is trust (Lyon, Möllering & Saunders, 2012, p.1).

Trust is a multi-faceted phenomenon that is difficult to observe and define. The methodological challenges currently faced by trust researchers have been defined as: the dynamic process (the temporal element is seldom captured), tacit elements (hard to identify and collect data about), trust in different cultures (challenges regarding conceptualizing and descriptions of trust),

reflexivity (researchers' influence on the trust situation they are researching), and ethics (trust research often covers topics that are sensitive in nature) (Lyon et al, 2012).

Historically, qualitative research has been important for studying the processes of building trust and theory-building (Lyon et al., 2012). Research on trust therefore deals with the same kind of issues which concern qualitative research in general. Qualitative approaches in trust research are claimed to have several advantages, including allowing for more open and less structured data collection methods which facilitate the emergence of new concepts and provide opportunity for the respondents to define what they mean by trust (Lyon et al., 2012). Within the trust field, quantitative methods have received criticism regarding the lack of convergence and replication (Lyon et al., 2012). However, one highlighted benefit is that the use of similar questions/questionnaires have enabled cultural comparisons which have contributed with the knowledge that some trust questions are rigorous since there is a consistency of responses over time and between questions (Lyon et al., 2012; Uslaner, 2012).

The present approach

As observed above, qualitative and quantitative methods both have their advantages and disadvantages. Several scholars have argued that the best way to capture leadership as well as trust is by using a combination of methods

(Parry, 1998; Yukl, 2006). In this thesis, I therefore use both quantitative surveys combined with qualitative in-depth interviews.

Paper I – Character- and relationship-based trust in superior and subordinate military leaders

Background

While a number of scholars identify trust as a crucial factor in military contexts (Belenky, Noy, & Solomon, 1985; Kolditz, 2007; Sweeney, 2010; Sweeney, Thompson, & Blanton, 2009), it remains a relatively unexplored area empirically and lacks the more profound research of the civilian context where wide-ranging studies of trust and leadership have been conducted over the last four decades (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002). Armed forces often perform tasks in life or death situations, stressing the issue of trust in military leaders. The risk of getting injured or killed and the use of weapons in military settings, even in periods of peacetime and training, involve risks that are more tangible than in most civilian organisations. Kolditz (2007) claims that leadership in extreme environments is more dependent on trust and loyalty than leadership in more normal settings. From a subordinate's perspective, dependence on and trust in military leaders can involve considerable risk to the individual, as any mistakes made by the leader may result in serious injury or death. Obeying orders is an essential aspect of the military profession and Collins and Jacobs (2002) explain that trust is critical in a military context since individuals are expected to give up their right to self-determination and follow orders (i.e. trust the

leader). Refusal not only puts the individual soldier at risk, but also his or her team members and leaders.

In a civilian context, several researchers have studied perceived trustee characteristics (or factors of perceived trustworthiness) and proposed that these characteristics are antecedents of trust in leaders. These are often categorised in a few broad categories/factors, where the most common are Competence/ability (expertise and knowledge in a specific domain), Integrity (possession of a set of principles that the trustor finds acceptable), Benevolence (the leader is believed to want to do good to the trustor) (Colquitt, Scott, & LePine, 2007; Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995) and Predictability/consistency (Cunningham & McGregor, 2000; Mishra, 1996; Whitener, Brodt, Korsgaard, & Werner, 1998). It is suggested that subordinates who believe that their superiors have these characteristics are more willing to engage in behaviour that puts them at risk (Mayer et al., 1995).

Turning to research in military contexts, Competence (ability) appears to be seen as the most crucial component of trust in leaders (Belenky et al., 1985; Kolditz, 2007; Sweeney, 2007; Sweeney et al., 2009), although researchers have also used Integrity and Benevolence to describe trust between military subordinates and their leaders (Lapidot, Kark, & Shamir, 2007). The most extensive military trust research appears to have been conducted by Sweeney (2007), who has suggested the following attributes as contributing to trust in leaders (shown in rank-order of importance): Competence, Loyalty, Honesty/good integrity, Leads by example, Self-control (stress-management),

Confidence, Courage, Information sharing, Personal connection with subordinates and Sense of duty. Research on trust in civilian contexts can be difficult to apply in military settings for at least two reasons. Firstly, as mentioned above, the risk of getting injured or killed implies that trusting a military leader may result in more serious consequences than trusting a civilian leader. Secondly, military leaders must be able to handle more rapid and extreme shifts from preparation and response to recovery than most of their civilian counterparts (Hannah, Campbell, & Matthews, 2010). This means that in order to develop trust, leaders need to be able to meet role expectations across a variety of situations and over time (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). The question that needs to be asked in relation to existing civilian research is whether ability, integrity and benevolence have the same relevance in the military context as in the civilian. Sweeney's (2007) 10 attributes differ to some extent from the characteristics found in civilian contexts by highlighting character-based aspects such as loyalty, self-control, confidence, courage and sense of duty. Lapidot et al. (2007) identified Personal example and Openness and flexibility as a complement to ability, integrity and benevolence. Although these may be due to different operationalizations, the findings imply that the military context may make other demands on the leader in order for subordinates to develop trust.

Research on trust in leaders has normally revolved around trust in the immediate, closest leader or trust between peers. Although research conducted by Gabarro (1978) and Jennings (1971) indicates that they have included

subordinate leaders when discussing subordinates in their studies on trust in executives, to the best of our knowledge, no study was found that explicitly focused on superiors' trust in their subordinate leaders. Studying trust in subordinate leaders is especially important in the military because it is an organisation with many hierarchical levels (which implies many superiors with subordinate leaders). Research on indirect leadership, i.e. the leadership of higher-level leaders which is filtered through intermediaries (directly subordinate leaders), shows that it is qualitatively different from direct (face-to-face) leadership of subordinates who have no formal responsibilities (Larsson & Eid, 2012; Larsson, Sjöberg, Vrbanjac, & Björkman, 2005; Yammarino, 1994).

Aim

The aim was to explore the following questions: (1) Which factors are perceived by military personnel in peacekeeping operations as contributing to trust in their respective superior and subordinate leaders during international or national operations or exercises? (2) Are these trustworthiness factors different from those found in the civilian context? and (3) Are they different from those found in the existing military research findings?

Method

The sample comprised military officers and cadets from Norway and Sweden, who, at the time of the data collection, were taking part in study programmes

for senior or junior officers. The participants came from all armed services and from most parts of their countries.

The questionnaire was developed in Swedish. The Swedish and Norwegian languages are quite similar, and most people can easily understand text written in the other country's language. The questionnaire consisted of the following parts: (1) background questions (sex, age, branch of service, military speciality, experience from international military service), and (2) questions related to which factors the respondents saw as contributing to trust in superior as well as subordinate leaders (open-ended questions). Given the limited research on factors of trustworthiness in military contexts, open-ended questions were used in order to stimulate the participants to freely report aspects they saw as contributing to trust in superior and subordinate leaders. The questions were formulated as follows: (1) Briefly state what factors affected your trust in your superior leaders during the mission/exercise, and (2) Briefly state what factors affected your trust in your subordinate leaders during the mission/exercise.

The written responses to the two open-ended questions were analysed separately according to the constant comparative method by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in general and the hierarchical clustering method developed by Miles and Huberman (1984) in particular. All parts of the text which were interpreted as having meaning in relation to the question were identified. Meaning units (codes) evaluated as identical or almost identical were then grouped together as categories and labelled in words resembling those used by the participants. For example, the response "the ability to impartially listen to

the staff and the subordinate leader” was coded as “Active listening.” Cases where quotes had apparent multiple antecedents were coded in separate categories.

As a second step, categories interpreted as being closely related to each other were sorted into different higher-level categories. The above example “Active listening” was sorted into the higher-level category “Effective communication.” This was done by making constant comparisons between the written responses, the codes, and the categories. Once again, the guiding coding principle was that the codes should be interpreted as having a similar or almost similar meaning. The next step consisted of clustering the higher-level categories into superior-level categories using the same procedure. The final step consisted of a comparison of the developed hierarchical tree-structures related to superior and subordinate military leaders respectively.

In the following quantitative analysis, the participants received the Code 1 for each category in which they had one or more answers and the number 0 if they had none. Higher-level category scores and superior-level category scores were computed by adding the raw scores of their respective categories. Different subgroups of participants were compared using non-parametric statistics (Mann-Whitney *U*-tests and Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks tests). Statistical significance was assumed at $p < .05$.

Results

A total of 3,074 meaning units (codes) were identified on the basis of the participants' responses. After excluding negative formulated codes and codes not related to the leader's character and behaviour per se, 2,857 codes remained and these were sorted into different categories which together make-up a hierarchical model. The 13 categories build up the four higher-level categories, which, in turn, build up two superior-level categories (see Figure 1). The model in Figure 1 illustrates that trust in superior and subordinate leaders is built up by individual-related characteristics as well as communication- and relationship-related characteristics. Each of the superior categories is supported by higher-level categories and categories.

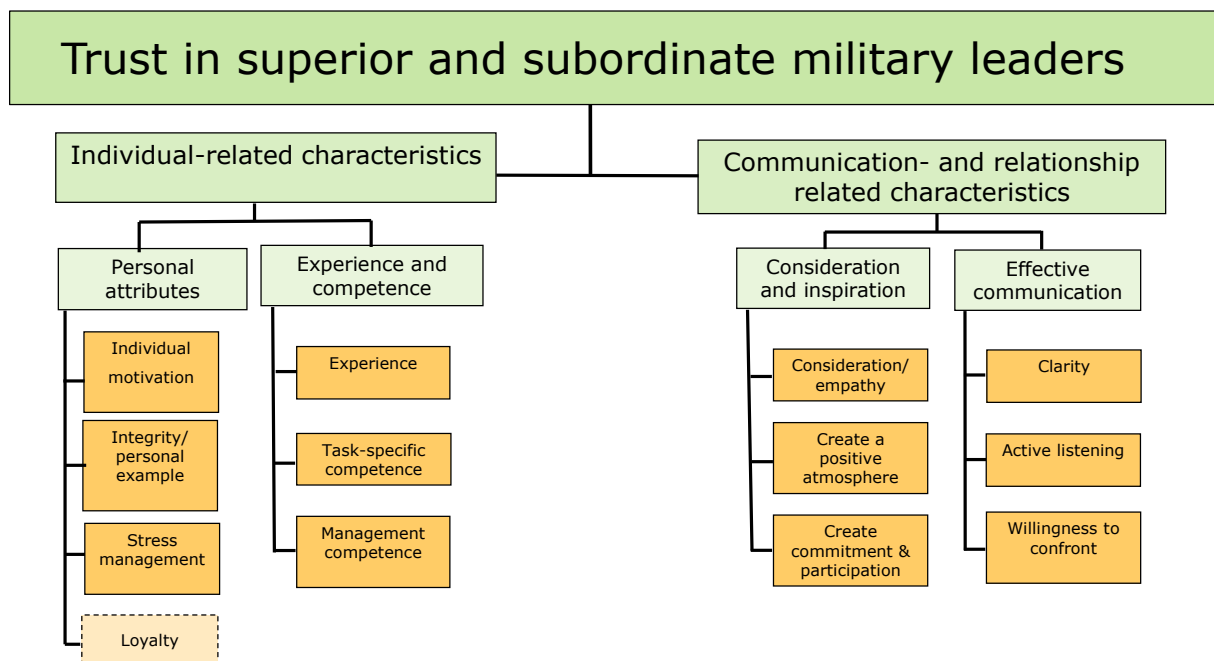


Figure 1. Components that contribute to trust in superior and subordinate military leaders

Broken line – Only reported in trust in subordinate leaders

The three most frequently stated categories when describing trust in superior leaders are Task-specific competence, Create commitment and participation, and Integrity/personal example, while Individual motivation, Task-specific competence, and Management competence are the most frequently stated concerning trust in subordinate leaders. A statistical comparison involving all categories contributing to trust in superior and subordinate leaders (apart from Loyalty, only mentioned in trust in subordinate leaders) shows that the participants have emphasized different aspects as to what contributes to trust in superior and subordinate military leaders respectively. Trust in superior leaders is to a greater extent accentuated by the categories Integrity/personal example and Stress management, the higher-level category Experience and competence with the categories belonging to it, and the superior-level category Communication- and relationship-related characteristics, its higher-level categories, the category Consideration/empathy, and all categories belonging to Communication ability. Trust in subordinate leaders is to a greater extent emphasized by the superior-level category Individual-related characteristics, its higher-level category Personal attributes, and its category Individual motivation.

Paper II - Influence of IED Attacks on Leadership: Dealing with the Invisible Enemy

Background

Sweden has a long history of participation in international military peace support operations. Early examples include a rebellion in Macedonia in 1903 – 1904, where officers from the Swedish-Norwegian Union acted as inspectors, and in 1911 – 1915, when a Swedish gendarmerie participated in an operation in Persia where one of the main tasks was to make the highways safe for civilians and trade caravans. The first involvement with the United Nations was the Suez crisis in 1956. In subsequent decades, Swedish forces have served in missions to countries such as Bosnia, Chad, Congo and Kosovo, and most recently to Afghanistan, where they have been responsible for a Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in the northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif since 2006 (The Swedish Armed Forces, 2015b). Afghanistan differs from other countries with which Sweden has had involvement as the context is more clearly characterized by irregular warfare and counterinsurgency. Studies made in this type of context, for example, Afghanistan and Iraq, have mostly focused on psychological trauma and other mental health problems (Erbes, Curry & Leskala, 2009 ; Friedman, 2006 ; Hoge, Castro, Messer, McGurk, Cotting & Koffman, 2004) but not on leadership aspects on both direct and indirect levels (Hannah, Uhl-Bien, Avolio & Cavarretta, 2009).

Many stressors in irregular warfare operations are comparable to those in peacekeeping operations but some aspects of stress can differ (Farley & Catano, 2006). Asnani, Pandey and Tripathi (2003) documented that in areas distinguished by irregular warfare, the level of stress in soldiers is higher than in areas of peacekeeping. This is said to be due to the dangerous environment,

firm discipline, insufficient social interaction, overload of risky tasks, and emotional instability. Farley and Catano (2006) describe soldiers in peacekeeping operations (Bosnia) experiencing stressors similar to those experienced in irregular warfare (Afghanistan), but found that unit climate factors operated in a different way. Improvement in cohesion led to reduced strain in peacekeeping units but not in combat operation units.

Irregular threats such as suicide bombers and Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) are more common in a context characterized by irregular warfare than of peacekeeping. In recent years, both the frequency and power of IED attacks have escalated in Afghanistan, even in northern Afghanistan, which has been considered to be comparatively calm (Wright, 2006). The number of fatalities by IEDs increased from zero in 2001 and 20 in 2005 to 368 in 2010 (iCasualties, 2011). As far as the authors are aware, no research has been done regarding IED attacks and their influence on leadership.

Aim

The aim of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of leadership in military operations characterized by the presence of critical incidents, more specifically IED threats in irregular warfare.

Method

The selection of participants followed the guidelines of grounded theory and was governed by a desire to find informants with a wide variety of experiences (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Twenty-one Swedish military and civilian informants

who had served in Afghanistan during the period 2005-2008 participated in the study. The informants represented (a) indirect leaders (the highest Swedish commanders in Afghanistan at the time of the incident, i.e. commanding officers), (b) direct leaders (team/ troop leaders for the teams involved in incidents), (c) subordinates involved in incidents, (d) subordinates who were part of the team but not directly involved in incidents, and (e) individuals who were not part of the team involved but part of the unit.

All participants were males between the ages of 25-50. Sixteen were military officers (lieutenants to colonels), one was a soldier and four were civilians (such as nurses and operating staff). Ten had previously served in Afghanistan and/or other operations, while eleven had no prior experience of international military operations. The participants belonged to three different units that had been exposed to different incidents during their service in Afghanistan, two of the units being temporary and assembled for the specific six-month mission, the third being regular (Special Forces). Once the commanding officers had consented to participate, they were asked to choose an incident which had greatly impacted on them and on other individuals involved, and also asked to suggest which subordinates might be relevant to our study. As a result, the 'snowball' sampling method was implemented.

Data were collected by interviews, following a prepared interview guide. The interviews consisted of open-ended questions and individually adapted follow-up questions covering the following themes: background questions, motivation (motive for international service, and what influenced it), the

incident (course of events, reactions), situation awareness (risk perception, commanders' intent), decision-making (priorities, lodestar, etc.), trust (before, during, and after the mission; trust-building behaviours). Since there seems to be a lack of research on this specific type of threat (IED attacks), the themes in the interview guide were chosen because they have proven significant in previous studies of leadership in dangerous contexts (See for example Kolditz, 2007; Larsson, Haerem, Sjöberg, Alvinus & Bakken, 2007).

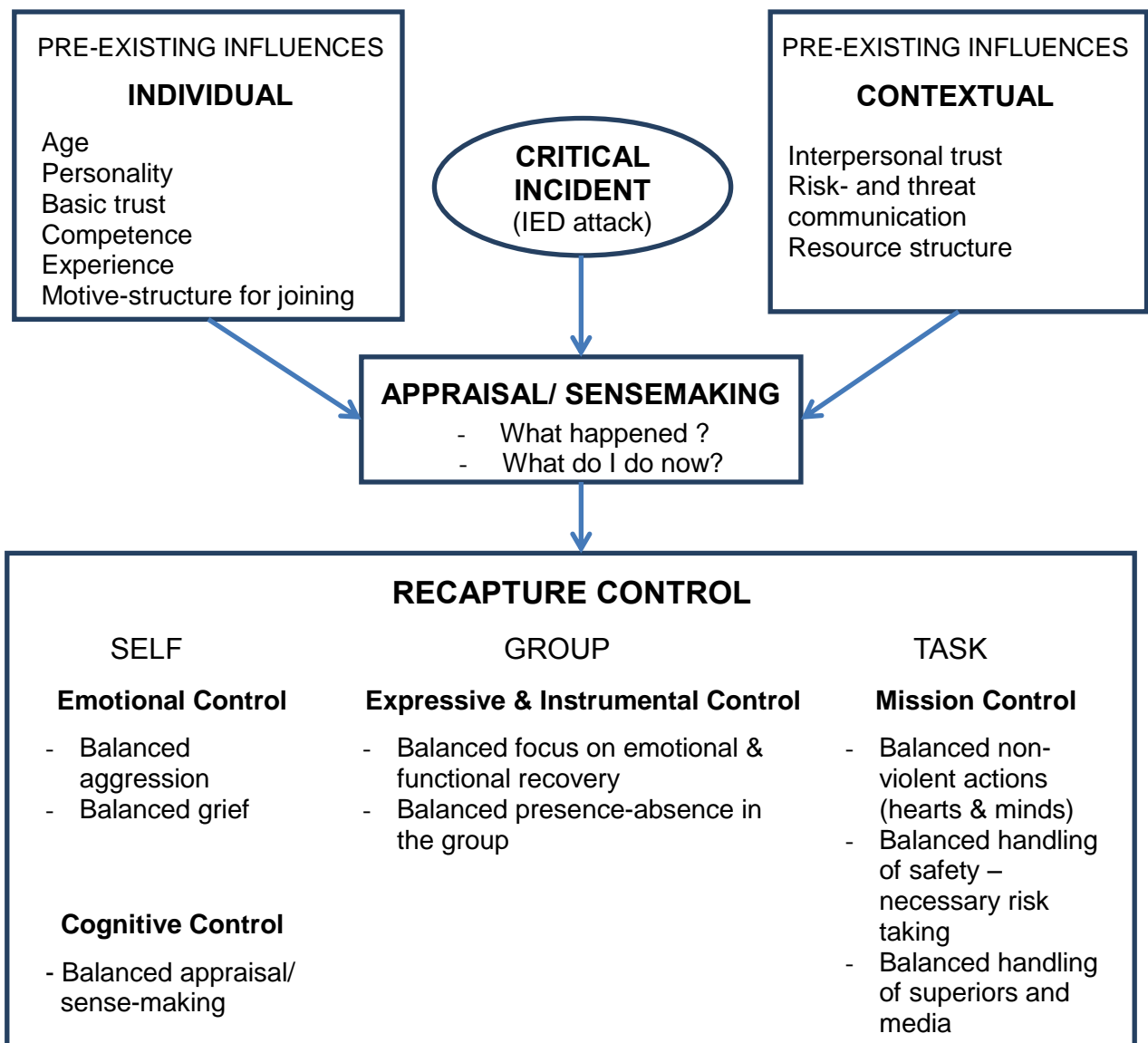
The interviews were transcribed verbatim and analysed according to the constant comparative method introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967). This resulted in a hypothetical model of the influence of IED attacks on leadership.

Results

The outcome of the analysis of the informants' interview responses was a theoretical model of core aspects of military leadership immediately following an IED attack (see Figure 1 below). When an IED attack occurs during a military operation, leaders try to recapture control over themselves, the group, and/or the task. These efforts are influenced by appraisal and sense-making processes during the incident (how the situation is construed) which in turn are influenced by general pre-existing influences (individual and contextual) as well as by the critical incident. A means of recapturing control over self could be (a) Emotional control (balanced aggression and balanced grief), for example, giving vent to frustration without letting it lead to a dysfunctional desire for revenge, or allowing oneself to grieve despite fear of losing authority or (b) Cognitive control (balanced appraisal/sense-making and balanced

decision-making) involves, for example, being observant of potential opponents without interpreting every local as an enemy, or having the confidence to make less-informed decisions when needed, without acting incautiously. Gaining control of the group involves expressive and instrumental control in terms of a balanced focus on emotional and functional recovery and a balanced presence or absence in the group. Examples of this include allowing group members to feel bad without tolerating it to the point of negative impact on functionality, or showing support by being present without affecting the group's freedom of action. Recapturing control of the task means taking control over the mission (balancing risks and action in non-violent actions, taking necessary risks without jeopardizing safety, and handling superiors and the media). Examples of this include trying to win hearts and minds without jeopardizing subordinates' safety, venturing subordinates to patrol uncertain areas or deciding whether or not to deal with the media from the field.

Figure 1. *Model of the core aspects of military leadership
immediately following an IED attack*



Paper III – Destrudo-L: Development of a short scale designed to measure destructive leadership behaviours in a military context

Background

The vast majority of leadership studies have focused on positive aspects such as how leadership can contribute to organisational effectiveness, individual job

satisfaction, etc. Recent writings on authentic leadership (e.g. Avolio & Gardner, 2005) constitute a good example by building on humanistic psychology (Rogers, 1959; Maslow, 1968) and positive psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). However, there is also a growing literature on the various negative or destructive aspects of leadership. A source of inspiration here is the research review “Bad is stronger than good” by Baumeister et al. (2001), which shows convincingly that negative events in social interactions have stronger negative effects than the positive events have positive effects. The prevalence of destructive leadership behaviour varied from 33.5 % to 61 % in a study of a representative sample of the Norwegian work force, indicating that it is not an anomaly (Aasland et al., 2010).

Early studies on poor leadership pointed to leader characteristics such as being insensitive, cold, aloof, overly ambitious, betraying trust and not following through (Leslie & Van Velsor, 1996). Drawing on this research, Hogan and Hogan (1997, 2001) developed the Hogan Development Survey, which was designed to measure 11 personality traits (i.e. excitable, sceptical, cautious, reserved, etc.). The instrument contains 154 items, 14 for each of the 11 traits, and the authors explicitly focus on personality aspects (Hogan & Hogan, 2001).

Einarsen et al. (2007) have taken a different approach by focusing on destructive leadership behaviours. The following definition was proposed by Einarsen et al. (2007, p. 208):

“The systematic and repeated behaviour by a leader, supervisor or manager that violates the legitimate interest of the organisation by undermining and/or sabotaging the organisation’s goals, tasks, resources, and effectiveness and/or the motivation, well-being or job satisfaction of subordinates”.

The same authors developed a model of destructive leadership behaviours that rests on the negative sides of concern for people and production respectively. Three kinds of destructive leadership behaviours emerge in cross-tabulation scheme: (1) tyrannical leadership; (2) derailed leadership; and (3) supportive-disloyal leadership.

Possibly the most extensive reviews of the literature on destructive leadership have been performed by Schilling (2009) and Tepper (2007), who also cover the antecedents and consequences of this leadership. Inconsistencies in empirical results concerning the aforementioned model by Einarsen et al. (2007) are noticed. Tepper (2000) proposes a broad construct labelled “abusive supervision”. Schilling (2009) proceeds by combining qualitative and quantitative research methods to develop eight categories of what he labels negative leadership. There are also some existing leadership models which are related to destructive leadership although they do not explicitly focus on it. Brown and Trevino (2002) explore ethical leadership and its relationship to transformational and laissez-faire leadership. Nielsen (1989) presents intervention strategies aimed at preventing unethical behaviour; for instance “blowing the whistle”. A final example is Rowold (2008), who illuminates moral-based leadership. To summarize, there appears to be a considerable amount of conceptual overlap between the models discussed above, although key concepts are slightly differently worded.

The question of context-free versus context-specific aspects of leadership (Blair & Hunt, 1986) is a different but always relevant issue. Although generic approaches have an intuitive appeal, we would argue that knowledge accumulation in an under-researched area such as destructive leadership is best achieved with narrower, context-specific designs. The present study is carried out in a military context. Age and rank are closely connected in this setting. Younger and lower-level officers typically conduct much of their leadership in field conditions, while older and higher-level officers often operate in office-like staff environments. These context-specific differences in leadership arenas and tasks may be mirrored in different kinds of destructive leadership behaviours.

Methodologically, there appears to be one area that has been neglected so far: the need for psychometrically sound and easy-to-use context-specific measurement instruments. Instruments consisting of 154 items are simply too long in most applied contexts, for instance. Ideally, such instruments should capture the essence of the conceptual models. They should also be useable in leader evaluation as well as leader development contexts.

Aim

The purpose of this paper is to develop a short and easy to use, yet psychometrically sound instrument designed to measure destructive leadership behaviours in a military context.

Method

Questionnaire (see below) responses were obtained from three Swedish military groups as follows: (1) conscript soldiers (n = 224) serving at a logistics regiment – 88 % were men and all were in the age interval 19-23; (2) non-commissioned officers (NCOs) and officer cadets (n = 151) at a military academy – 90 % were men and all were in the age interval 21-25; and (3) majors (n = 53) attending an advanced course at the Swedish National Defence College – 96 % were men and all were in the age interval 35-40.

Measures

Destructive leadership behaviours. The development of a questionnaire designed to measure destructive leadership behaviours in a military context consisted of three steps. Initially, previous cohorts of conscript soldiers (about 500) had been asked to freely write down “examples of bad military leadership” they had experienced. Several hundred cases were obtained, many of which appeared to overlap a great deal. After a qualitative clustering procedure, these examples were reduced to 43 statements expressed as behaviours (Fors et al., 2009).

Using a six-point Likert response scale (from “Do not agree at all” to “Fully agree”), the second step consisted of a pilot study with conscript soldiers (n = 354), where the 43 items were reduced to 20 (Fors et al., 2009). Items with poor discriminability and low loadings in explorative factor analyses (principal axis factoring with oblique rotation) were eliminated.

This study focuses on the third and final step. The wording of the final 20 items is presented in the Results section. The instructions were: “How well do the following statements fit with regard to your immediate supervisor/commander?” Inspired by classical psychoanalytic writing on human aggression, the questionnaire was given the name “Destrudo-L” (“L” stands for Leadership).

Lack of motivation/propensity to leave. Based on the same pilot studies described above, the following six items were used to assess lack of motivation/propensity to leave the Swedish Armed Forces: (1) “I like it and plan to continue (reverse coded)”; (2) “I want to advance in the Armed Forces (reverse coded)”; (3) “I’m thinking about a civilian career”; (4) “I’m thinking about taking up academic studies”; (5) “I’m determined to change to another job”; and (6) “I will quit soon”. The response scale ranged from 1 (do not agree at all) to 6 (fully agree).

An explorative factor analysis (principal axis factoring) based on all responses in the present study sample yielded a one-factor solution. In a subsequent reliability analysis, the item “I will quit soon” was deleted because it reduced the internal consistency. The Cronbach’s alpha of the final five-item scale was 0.84. A scale score was computed by adding the raw scores and dividing the sum by five. Drawing on previous research on negative effects on destructive leadership (see, for example, Tepper et al., 2009), the scale was designed to create a military context-specific outcome measure.

Emotional stability. Data were collected using one item from the single-item measure of personality (SIMP) (Woods & Hampson, 2005) designed to measure the Emotional Stability (neuroticism reversed) dimension/factor in the Big Five model of personality (Costa & McCrae, 1992). This scale was intended to be a marker of the rater's positive and negative affectivity. The factor/item is measured on a nine-point, bipolar graded line, ranging from 1 to 9.

Dimensional analysis of the 20 destructive leadership behaviour items based on the covariance matrix was performed using structural equation modelling (SEM) with maximum likelihood estimates. A hierarchical approach was used to test the occurrence of both general and residual factors. Acceptable model fit was determined at a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) of 0.08. The software STREAMS (STRuctural EquAtion Modeling made Simple; Gustafsson & Stahl, 1996) was used in combination with Lisrel 8.50.

Destructive leadership scale scores were computed by adding the raw scores of the items in a given scale and dividing the sum by the number of items. Internal consistency of each scale was assessed by Cronbach's alpha coefficients. In addition to this, a total Destrudo-L score was computed by adding the raw scores of all 20 items. Thus, scale scores can range from 20 (minimum destructive leadership behaviours) to 120 (maximum destructive leadership behaviours). Norm values based on the present study sample are presented in the Appendix.

Subgroup comparisons were performed with Kruskal-Wallis test and Mann-Whitney *U*-tests. Bivariate correlations were computed using the Spearman procedure. Statistical significance was assumed at $p < 0.05$.

Results

The goodness-of-fit between two different models and the empirical outcome was tested. The first model included one latent variable – a general factor (G-factor) – containing all 20 items. An RMSEA of 0.166 was obtained ($\chi^2 (195) = 997.70, p < 0.001$), confirming that a one-factor model was too simplistic for these kinds of data.

The second model was built through an interplay between model improvement suggestions based on modification indices (indicating significantly correlated errors), and own judgments based on the substance of the manifest items. An orthogonal model consisting of a general factor including all 20 items and five residual specific factors was developed. The five factors were termed: (1) Arrogant, Unfair, (2) Threats, Punishments, Overdemands, (3) Ego-oriented, False, (4) Passive, Cowardly, and (5) Uncertain, Unclear, Messy. The G-factor partials out the common-core information from the covariance between all the responses. The remaining covariance between the items of a given specific factor then constitutes this factor – for example “arrogant”, “unfair”. The model was considered to be meaningful from a leadership perspective. The statistical goodness-of-fit of the model and the empirical outcome was acceptable; an RMSEA of 0.079 was obtained (90 % confidence interval 0.072-0.087). Other common goodness-of-

fit indices included a normed fit index (NFI) of 0.947, a goodness of fit index (GFI) of 0.870, an adjusted goodness of fit index (AGFI) of 0.836 and a standardised root mean square residual (SRMR) of 0.127). However, the χ^2 value (647.51) was high in relation to the degrees of freedom (167, $p < 0.001$).

The t values of the general and all specific factors were statistically significant, as were the t values of the factor loadings of all items. One item – “Shows insecurity in his/her role” – was included in two specific factors. The model also includes a specified covariance between the specific factors Arrogant, Unfair and Threats, Punishments, Overdemands.

The proportion of variance explained by an item corresponds to its squared multiple correlation, and this can be regarded as information about the internal consistency (reliability) of the item. All items but four have values above 40 %, which has been regarded as “acceptable to good” (Aroian & Norris, 2005, p. 371).

As shown below in the section on subgroup comparisons, the three groups of participants differed significantly from each other in several respects. To test for effects of potential subgroup clusters, the final solution obtained in the total sample was rerun using a multiple-group confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) design. The subgroup consisting of majors had to be omitted in this analysis because it was too small in relation to the number of items. An RMSEA of 0.110 was obtained, indicating an unsatisfactory model fit.

A final CFA test of the model developed in the whole sample was done by excluding the 12 cases that were recognised as outliers in the test of multivariate normality. An RMSEA of 0.079 was obtained and the other goodness-of-fit indices were almost identical to those reported above.

The internal consistency of each scale was assessed by Cronbach's α coefficients. In this procedure, the item with significant loadings on two specific factors was included in the factor where it had the highest factor loading only.

The reliability coefficients reported are satisfactory. Correlations (Spearman) between the five specific factors are fairly strong, and statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) bivariate associations are noted between all scales. The means indicate that the respondents used the lower part of the response scale when they evaluated the destructive leadership behaviours of their commanders.

Two subgroup comparisons were made on the destructive leadership factor scales: (1) men ($n = 379$) versus women ($n = 42$); and (2) rank (conscripts, NCOS/cadets, and majors). Within each of the three rank groups correlations were also computed between the destructive leadership factor scales and the lack of motivation/propensity to leave scale. The comparison based on gender resulted in two statistically significant differences (Mann-Whitney U -tests, $p < 0.05$): men scored higher on Threats, Punishments, Overdemands and on Ego-oriented, False. When participants with different ranks were compared, statistically significant differences (Kruskal-Wallis tests) were noted on all five

scales (Table IV). Pair-wise comparisons show that the conscripts scored higher on Arrogant, Unfair and on Threats, Punishments, Overdemands. The majors scored higher on Passive, Cowardly and on Uncertain, Unclear, Messy.

The lack of motivation/propensity to leave scale was significantly correlated (Spearman) with all destructive leadership factors among the conscripts. In the NCO/cadet subsample, significant correlations were noted with the scales Arrogant, Unfair; Threats, Punishments, Overdemands; and Ego-oriented, False. No statistically significant correlations were found in the group consisting of majors.

Paper IV – Leadership: Is bad stronger than good

Background

The hypothesis that “bad is stronger than good” has been suggested to be general across a broad range of psychological and social phenomena (Baumeister et al., 2001), including leadership (Einarsen et al., 2007). This means that negative events will tend to have a greater impact on the individual than positive events of the same type, and good can only prevail over bad by superior force in numbers (Baumeister et al., 2001). In line with this, an increasing number of leadership researchers are recognizing the “dark sides of leadership.” Hence, both the negative and positive aspects of the relationship between leaders and followers are being considered (Clements & Washbush, 1999; Einarsen et al., 2007). Studies across several work environments reveal

that there is often a strong prevalence of destructive leadership behaviours (Aasland et al., 2010; Glasø et al., 2010). Focusing only upon constructive leadership behaviours might therefore limit the understanding of actual influence processes between leaders and subordinates, which are composed of both negative and positive aspects. The growing interest in destructive leadership is suggested to be related to its costs, as it is noted that destructive leadership leads to absenteeism, turnover, and impaired effectiveness (Schyns & Schilling, 2013). Although researchers argue that bad is stronger than good (Baumeister et al., 2001; Einarsen et al., 2007), a recent meta-analysis revealed contradictory results, suggesting that bad may not always be stronger regarding leadership (Schyns & Schilling, 2013). Constructive leadership was found to have higher positive correlations than destructive leadership's negative correlations, with different outcomes such as job satisfaction, attitude towards the leader, turnover intention and individual performance. The only exceptions were commitment and well-being, where destructive leadership showed higher correlations (Schyns & Schilling, 2013).

In the present study, we take a broader approach and examine if destructive or constructive leadership behaviours are the best predictors of follower work outcomes. Follower outcomes of destructive leadership are of special study interest. In a military context, destructive leadership is brought to a head, as armed forces often perform tasks in life or death situations, putting great strain on the health and well-being of military personnel (Sweeney et al., 2011). Military teams frequently work closely together for long periods of time and

under demanding conditions. In order to solve the task, team members need to get along and be able to collaborate. Individuals who are unable to handle the stress and pressure are not only a risk to themselves, but to the whole group (Campbell, 2012; Ness et al., 2011; Sweeney et al., 2011).

Aim

The aim of this study was to investigate if the thesis “bad is stronger than good” also holds true for a number of leadership outcomes, more specifically: trust in the immediate leader, work atmosphere, emotional exhaustion and propensity to leave.

The following hypotheses were formulated:

Hypothesis 1: Constructive leader behaviours show stronger positive associations with trust in the immediate supervisor than destructive leader behaviours show negative associations.

Hypothesis 2: Destructive leadership behaviours show stronger negative associations with workplace atmosphere than constructive leadership behaviours show positive associations.

Hypothesis 3: Passive destructive leadership behaviours show stronger negative associations with workplace atmosphere than active destructive leadership behaviours.

Hypothesis 4: Destructive leadership behaviours show stronger positive associations with subordinates' emotional exhaustion than constructive leadership behaviours show negative associations.

Hypothesis 5: Constructive leadership behaviours show stronger negative associations with subordinates' propensity to leave the organization than destructive leader behaviours show positive associations.

Method

Questionnaire responses were obtained from military personnel in Estonia, Sweden, Switzerland and the Netherlands attending courses at their respective national defence academies. Before giving informed consent, all participants received oral and/or written information about the study. The Estonian and Dutch data was collected in two ways: (a) during class room settings and (b) online (by e-mail). The Swedish and Swiss data were collected during ordinary classroom settings. Participants responded anonymously. The response rate was 100 % for the Estonian sample, 90 % for the Dutch sample, and 62 % for the Swedish sample. The response rate for the Swiss sample is unknown. The number of participant was originally 625. Due to handling of missing values, the final number of participants was 533.

The questionnaire included questions regarding emotional stability, knowledge of the leader, trust, work atmosphere, emotional exhaustion and propensity to leave the armed forces. The Destrudo-L, a 20-item questionnaire developed by Larsson et al. (2012) was used to measure destructive leadership

behaviours. The questionnaire consists of five factors with four items in each. To measure constructive leadership behaviours, 21 items from the Developmental Leadership Questionnaire (DLQ; Larsson, 2006) were used.

Dimensional analysis of the 20 destructive leadership behaviour items based on the covariance matrix was performed using structural equation modelling (SEM) with maximum likelihood estimates. The software Amos was used. The five-factor model obtained in the original Destrudo-L (Larsson, Fors Brandebo, & Nilsson, 2012) was used as point of departure. Acceptable model fit was determined at a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) of 0.08.

Subgroup comparisons were performed using chi-square tests, *t* tests, and one-way analyses of variance. Pearson correlation coefficients were computed to assess bivariate associations between variables. Statistical significance was assumed at $p < .05$. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to test the five hypotheses. Separate analyses were performed for each of the four dependent variables: trust, work atmosphere, emotional exhaustion, and propensity to leave.

Results

The goodness-of-fit between two different models and the empirical outcome was tested. The first included the five factors obtained in the original development of the Destrudo-L. The outcome was an RMSEA of 0.082. A second test was run where the following specified covariances between factors

were added: (1) Arrogant, unfair and Threats, Punishments, Overdemands, (2) Passive, Cowardly and Uncertain, Unclear, Messy, and (3) Ego-oriented, False and all the other four factors. The goodness-of-fit of this model and the empirical outcome was acceptable: an RMSEA of 0.074 was obtained (90 % confidence interval 0.068-0.080). Other common goodness-of-fit indices included a normed fit index (NFI) of 0.857, a goodness-of-fit index (GFI) of 0.903, and an adjusted goodness-of-fit index (AGFI) of 0.876. The factor loadings of all items but three were .60 or higher. In summary, the confirmative factor analysis yielded a result which was considered as good enough to proceed with the remaining statistical analysis using the original five-factor structure.

The results show that the destructive leadership scales generally have low means, while the constructive leadership scales have high means. Two of the dependent variables – emotional exhaustion and propensity to leave the profession – have particularly low mean scores. The bivariate correlations within each of the two sets of leadership scales are high and there are strong negative correlations between the two kinds of scales. The bivariate correlations within the four dependent variables and between these variables and the two sets of leadership scales are modest to strong and all are in the expected direction.

Regarding trust in the immediate leader, the regression equation of the final model was statistically significant ($F = 105.21, p < .001$) and the adjusted *R*-square was 0.69. The destructive leadership factors explained an additional

38.7 % of the variance in trust in the immediate supervisor, after controlling for Emotional Stability, nationality and Knowledge of the leader. The constructive leadership factor explained an additional 16.0 % of trust in the immediate supervisor after controlling for Emotional Stability, nationality, Knowledge of the leader and Destructive leadership (R square changes if entering constructive leadership before the destructive leadership behaviours: 51.7 % and 3.0 % respectively). In the final model, the following variables had statistically significant β values: Constructive leadership ($\beta = .875, p < .001$), Arrogant, Unfair ($\beta = -.150, p < .001$), Nationality, Swiss ($\beta = .269, p < .007$), Uncertain, Unclear, Messy ($\beta = .126, p < .008$), and Nationality, Swedish ($\beta = .171, p < .036$). Hypothesis 1, that constructive leader behaviours show stronger positive associations with trust in the immediate supervisor than destructive leader behaviours show negative associations, could therefore be said to be supported.

Concerning work atmosphere, the regression equation of the final model was statistically significant ($F = 25.8, p < .001$) and the adjusted R -square was 0.34. The destructive leadership factors explained an additional 19.1 % of the variance in work atmosphere, after controlling for Emotional Stability, nationality and Knowledge of the leader. Constructive leadership explained an additional 5.3 % of work atmosphere after controlling for Emotional Stability, Knowledge of the leader, nationality and Destructive leadership (R square changes if entering constructive leadership before destructive leadership behaviours: 22.1 % and 2.3 % respectively). In the final model, the following

variables had statistically significant β values: Constructive leadership ($\beta = .323, p < .001$), Knowledge of the leader ($\beta = .071, p < .004$), Passive, cowardly ($\beta = -.090, p < .016$), and Nationality: Swiss ($\beta = .195, p < .029$). Hypothesis 2, that destructive leadership behaviours show stronger negative associations with workplace atmosphere than constructive leadership behaviours show positive associations, was therefore not supported, while Hypothesis 3, that passive destructive leadership behaviours show stronger negative associations with workplace atmosphere than active destructive leadership behaviours, was supported.

As regards emotional exhaustion, the regression equation of the final model was statistically significant ($F = 12.13, p < .001$) and the adjusted R -square was 0.19. The destructive leadership factors explained an additional 12.9 % of the variance in emotional exhaustion, after controlling for Emotional Stability, Knowledge of the leader and nationality. Constructive leadership explained 0 % of emotional exhaustion after controlling for Emotional Stability, Knowledge of the leader, nationality and Destructive leadership (R square changes if entering constructive leadership behaviours before destructive: 4.9 % and 8.2 % respectively). In the final model, the following variables had statistically significant β values: Nationality, Swedish ($\beta = .283, p < .001$), Emotional Stability ($\beta = -.056, p < .001$), Passive, Cowardly ($\beta = .092, p < .011$), Uncertain, Unclear, Messy ($\beta = .103, p < .012$), and Threats, Punishments, Overdemands ($\beta = .090, p < .041$), supporting Hypothesis 4, that destructive leadership behaviours show stronger positive associations with emotional

exhaustion than constructive leadership behaviours show negative associations, although the adjusted R square in the final model is only modestly high.

Concerning the propensity to leave the organization, the regression equation of the final model was statistically significant ($F = 9.59, p < .001$) and the adjusted R -square was 0.15. The destructive leadership factors explained an additional 12.5 % of the variance in work motivation, after controlling for Emotional Stability, Knowledge of the leader and nationality. Constructive leadership did not explain any additional variance in work motivation after controlling for Emotional Stability, Knowledge of the leader, nationality and Destructive leadership (R square changes if entering constructive leadership before destructive leadership behaviours: 6.5 % and 6.0 % respectively). In the final model, the following variables had statistically significant β values: Uncertain, Unclear, Messy ($\beta = .257, p < .001$), Nationality, Estonia ($\beta = .336, p < .021$), and Arrogant, Unfair ($\beta = .122, p < .029$), contradicting Hypothesis 5, that constructive leadership behaviours show stronger negative associations with subordinates' propensity to leave the organization than destructive leader behaviours show positive associations.

Discussion

The military context is characterized by risks, threats, uncertainty, and vulnerability. Dependence on your leaders is crucial not only for success

regarding the tasks but also for remaining mentally and physically well. Trust in leaders has been highlighted as a core variable and a prominent mechanism for subordinates' well-being, job satisfaction and motivation, amongst other things. Despite the confirmed and established importance of trust in military leaders, remarkably little research has been conducted to carry out more profound studies on trust in leaders in a military context.

This thesis has endeavoured to broaden and deepen existing research on trust in leaders in a military context. Paper I has attempted to answer the first research question: What aspects do military personnel perceive as contributing to trust in their superior and subordinate leaders? Paper II has tried to answer the second research question: Trust between military leaders and their subordinates in international operations – how is this related to negative critical incidents? The focus of papers III and IV has been to answer the third and last research question: Trust between military leaders and their subordinates – how is this related to the prevalence of developmental and destructive leadership behaviours respectively?

The findings in these papers will now be discussed, followed by an attempt to summarize the findings of this thesis as an interaction model describing trust in military leaders. Finally, methodological issues, practical implications of the findings, and some suggestions for future research will be presented.

What contributes to trust in military leaders? Individual-related and Communication and relationship-related characteristics

The results from Paper I contribute with the following knowledge regarding the first research question: (1) a model of leader behaviours that contributes to trust in military leaders, (2) knowledge about differences in what contributes to trust in subordinate and superior military leaders respectively, and (3) knowledge regarding context-specific factors that contribute to trust in military leaders (a comparison with civilian and previous military research).

Behaviours that contribute to trust in military leaders

The qualitative analysis of responses to open-ended questions in paper I suggests that trust in military leaders can be theoretically understood in terms of a hierarchical system of categories, higher-level categories and two superior categories labelled Individual-related and Communication- and relationship-related characteristics. At a general level, this resembles the civilian-based conceptualisation presented by Dirks and Ferrin (2002), who distinguish between character-based and relationship-based aspects. Comparisons can also be made with cognitive-based and affect-based trust (Lewis & Wiegert, 1985). The first mentioned show similarities with individual-related characteristics while the latter mainly reflect communication- and relationship-related characteristics. Several of the characteristics in the model are comparable with characteristics that have been suggested to make leaders

more effective in dangerous contexts, for example, initiating structure, caring for subordinates' welfare, being honest, and being good communicators (Bass, 2006; Burgess et al., 1992; Kolditz, 2007; Yammarino et al., 2010).

The model suggested in Paper I gives a detailed picture of which behaviours contribute to trust in military leaders. The proposed model differentiates between different kinds of skills/abilities, types of willingness, attitudes and behaviours. This may lead to a better understanding of what particular aspects are of importance in gaining trust in military leaders than the broader ability constructs suggested by Mayer et al. (1995) and Whitener et al. (1998). Since the model of Mayer et al. (1995) was intended to be as parsimonious as possible, Schoorman et al. (2007) encourage scholars to specify contextual variables that are unique within a particular context. That is what the proposed model in Paper I contributes with.

Differences between trust in higher and subordinate leaders

Trust in subordinate leaders is an area of research which has so far been neglected. The findings from Paper I show that perceived trustworthy attributes of superior and subordinate leaders are largely similar, although there are some important differences. Trust in subordinate leaders did not generate answers dealing with situational awareness (management competence) or presence (create commitment and participation). Instead, the attributes mentioned were loyalty and two aspects of the category, individual

motivation (power of initiative and independence). Considering that the five most frequent answers concerning trust in subordinate leaders are all individual-related characteristics (individual motivation, task-specific competence, management competence, integrity/personal example, and loyalty) and that comparisons between trust in superiors and trust in subordinate leaders showed that trust in the latter was more emphasized by individual-related characteristics, these appear to be more important than communication- and relationship-related aspects when evaluating trust in subordinate leaders. This seems logical in a military context since leaders at different hierarchical levels may have limited contact with their subordinates during operations or exercises, putting greater demands on the subordinate leaders to be independent and competent individuals (Fors Brandebo & Larsson, 2012; Vogelaar, 2007). Paper I therefore suggests that trust in subordinate military leaders is more based on individual-related characteristics than trust in superior military leaders.

Previous studies on trust in subordinates have highlighted character-based aspects such as receptivity, availability, competence, and motivation (Wells & Kipnis, 2001; Werbel & Henriques, 2009). The findings in Paper I indicate that trust in subordinate leaders is influenced by additional aspects; mainly management competence but also communication- and relationship-related aspects.

Context-specific aspects of trust in military leaders – a comparison with previous research

The results from Paper I support the apprehension that trust is context sensitive (Gillespie & Mann, 2004; Mayer et al., 2006; Sweeney, 2010; Sweeney et al., 2011). Comparing the results in paper I with existing research in military contexts, in this case, the work conducted by Sweeney (2007), reveals that the characteristics found above are all character-based (e.g. loyalty, courage and sense of duty). Our results differ in that they emphasise communication- and relationship-related characteristics to a higher degree when describing trust in superior leaders. This may indicate differences between American and Scandinavian armed forces related to different self-image constructs (the Warrior vs. the Peacekeeper) and/or different framing of mindset (hierarchy; command- and control culture vs. Scandinavian democratic culture). This leads to the proposition that communication- and relationship-related characteristics are more important than character-based characteristics in developing trust in superior military leaders in a more consensus-oriented military context (e.g. Scandinavian) when compared to a more command and control-oriented military context (e.g. American).

Since the results in this thesis can be regarded as context-specific, Paper I also contributes with an important comparison of the findings with civilian research. The results in Paper I support the statement by Hannah and Sowden (2012) that what distinguishes military leadership from general leadership is the context and not leadership itself. Findings from the study in Paper I, as

well as from Sweeney (2007), highlight personal attributes such as individual motivation and stress management, which have not been particularly emphasized in civilian contexts. Paper I therefore suggests that due to mental and physically stressful and demanding conditions during military operations and exercises, trust in military leaders is more influenced by individual motivation and stress management than is the case with leaders in the civilian context.

In civilian studies, one of the most important factors contributing to trust in superior leaders is benevolence (Colquitt, Scott, & LePine, 2007; Mayer et al., 1995). The results in Paper I show that creating commitment and participation is the second most frequently mentioned factor of all, preceded by task-specific competence and followed by integrity/personal example. Consideration/empathy, which can be regarded as corresponding to benevolence, does not gain as much importance in the findings, or in Sweeney's (2007), as civilian studies claim. Paper I thus proposes that creating commitment and participation is a more active way of expressing consideration, which may lead to reduced feelings of vulnerability and a sense of control – something that is more in line with the diffuse and uncertain military context – while showing benevolence is more passive and more in line with the needs of the civilian context.

In civilian research, great importance has also been attached to temporal stability of contextual conditions and predictability/consistency for the development of trust (Cunningham & McGregor, 2000; Mishra, 1996;

Whitener et al., 1998). However, this is not mentioned in the study in Paper I or in Sweeney's (2007). The reasons for this may be related to rapidly changing conditions (preparation, response, and recovery) in the military context, where it can be hard to predict how leaders will act and react in different situations because situations can change very rapidly (Hannah et al., 2010). Therefore, Paper I suggests that due to more rapidly changing contextual conditions, predictability/consistency is not as important in developing trust in leaders (superior as well as subordinate) in military contexts compared to leaders in civilian contexts.

Trust and negative critical incidents during international operations, how are they related?

The findings in Paper II show that trust in the leader during international operations, more specifically when the operation has involved critical incidents such as encounters with improvised explosive devices (IED:s), can be affected by pre-existing influences, both individual, and contextual. The level of trust that has developed between the leader and his/her subordinates appears to have an influence on perceptions and re-evaluations of the leader's trustworthiness during and after involvement in critical incidents.

In order to answer the second research question "How is trust between military leaders and their subordinates in international operations related to negative critical incidents?" we need to take the following findings from Paper

II into consideration: (1) antecedents of trust during international military operations, (2) how the level of trust that has developed between leaders and subordinates can affect risk-taking, decision-making, and actions during involvement in negative critical incidents, and (3) how involvement in negative critical incidents appear to affect an individual's perceptions and re-evaluations of others' trustworthiness after the incident.

Antecedents of trust during international military operations

Due to considerations of space, the section of paper II describing pre-existing influences has been substantially shortened. A more thorough description in this regard can be found in Fors and Larsson (2010b). However, parts of the mentioned report that relate to pre-existing influences are included in the discussion below since they contribute with valuable knowledge for research question II.

Individual factors

Propensity to trust/General trust in others

The findings in Paper II suggest that individuals have varying abilities and propensity to generally trust others. In line with previous research (Lewicki, et al., 2007), Paper II reveals that there seems to be a continuum between two extreme standpoints: one where individuals unconditionally trust others (initial positive trust baseline) and one where people do not trust others until

they have proven that they can be trusted (initial distrust baseline). The predisposition to initially trust/distrust others has been suggested to be grounded in personality factors (Hofstede, 1980; Lewicki et al., 2006) and early attachment patterns (Bowlby, 1969; Erikson, 1950; Rotter, 1971).

Expectations

Initially, trust between individuals with no or limited prior knowledge of each other appears to emerge through role-based trust. Fors and Larsson (2010b) describe how stereotypical apprehensions appear to be associated with perceptions about the trustworthiness of others. If this expectation is met, trust appears to develop faster. Expectations can be based on impressions from, for example, films, and imaginative literature and/or based on rumours. During the military operation, individuals' understanding of the relevant demands and conditions tend to become more based in reality, leading to a re-evaluation of what is important in order to trust another individual.

Motivation

Individuals' motivation for their task and work appears to have a relationship with trust. High motivation is suggested to be able to compensate for low trust under the circumstances that certain conditions are fulfilled. For example, a high inner motivation (e.g. high sense of purposefulness) can lead to the trustor overlooking perceived failings of the trustee in order to be able to fulfil the task and/or the operation. However, lack of trust in the trustee may also

have a negative effect on a trustor's motivation since it leads to a negative work atmosphere. This can lead to a decrease in the trustor's willingness to solve the task, which subsequently can lead to poor performance (Fors & Larsson, 2010b). Motivation should not be seen as an expression of propensity to trust, i.e. the trustor has an initial positive trust baseline and therefore is more prone to trust than to distrust. In this case, the task or the purpose of the operation is the prime rationale for motivation.

Factors of the trustee

According to the findings in Paper II, the person who is to be trusted, the trustee, is judged by others on three factors: (a) individual characteristics, for example, being perceived as confident, calm or responsible; (b) task competence, for example, being able to manage his/her position; and (c) competence in battle, for example, being perceived as able to handle a dangerous and risky situation. These findings contribute with knowledge and further proof that trust is context-specific. The data gathering in Paper I was conducted at a time when Sweden was not greatly involved in high-risk international operations. When the data in Paper II was collected, the Swedish armed forces had been involved in several negative critical incidents in Afghanistan, which explains the emphasis on competence in battle as an important characteristic in order to develop trust in the leader.

Contextual factors – before the operation

Training

As stated before, trust in a military context is to a great extent characterized by risks and vulnerability. The training phase, before a military operation, is an important opportunity for individuals to widen their knowledge of each other in order to develop trust, which in turn may increase perceived vulnerability. One aspect that has been suggested to be favourable for trust development is joint training. During training, others behaviours can be observed and initial trust/distrust can be confirmed or re-evaluated (Fors & Larsson, 2010b).

Magnitude & probability of consequences

Hannah et al. (2009) uses the label magnitude and probability of consequences to describe individuals' apprehensions about the probability of risks and threats occurring. Trust development has been suggested to be prevented or obstructed by different training programmes, leading to very little time for the leader and his/her subordinates to actually train together. An unfortunate consequence of units not having sufficient time to train together appears to be a negative effect on risk-perception. Individuals state that trust in one's group members reduces fear and anxiety over potential risks and threats one could be facing when deployed (Fors & Larsson, 2010b).

Recruitment

Being allowed to recruit your own subordinates is suggested to contribute to a more favourable trust development between the leader and his/her followers. Problems can arise if a superior leader has recruited subordinates (s)he has trust in, while the subordinate leader, who is the one who will lead the individuals, does not experience the same trust (Fors & Larsson, 2010b).

Contextual factors – during the operation

The context of an international military operation may present the ideal conditions to develop what Lewicki and Bunker (1996) term identification-based trust (IBT). The conditions are favourable for pursuing the activities that are suggested to develop IBT. During international military operations, individuals share a collective identity (soldiers, officers, parachuters etc.), they are co-located, have a joint goal/mission, and they commit themselves to commonly shared values (express work on establishing core values has been conducted within the Swedish armed forces). Below follows a number of contextual factors that are suggested by Fors and Larsson (2010b) to lead to trust building or trust erosion. Larsson and Eid (2012) suggest that trust and contextual characteristics (culture, climate, processes) constantly influence each other.

Stress/Difficulties adjusting

Stress and difficulties adjusting to the new context may lead to the trustee changing the behaviour that the trustor previously/initially based his/her trust on. No longer recognizing the trustee's behaviour and actions can create distrust (Fors & Larsson, 2010b).

Threats

The old premise that external threats can increase cohesion seems to be applicable in this context (Rempel & Fisher, 1997). Obvious and increased risks and threats are suggested to fertilize trust development, not only between leaders and their subordinates but also between group members (Fors & Larsson, 2010b).

Conflicts

Living very closely together in a foreign and threatening environment under stress and long working hours can be a hotbed of conflict. Paper II shows that strain is caused by involvement in critical incidents themselves, but also by insufficient trust between leaders and their subordinates and/or between group members. Low trust in a leader could lead to subordinates taking out their irritation and frustration on them. This is an undesirable turn of events since the subordinates' need for leader support appears to be higher after a critical incident (Fors & Larsson, 2010b).

Trust can affect risk-taking, decision-making and actions during involvement in negative critical incidents

The antecedents described above may be associated with trust development or trust erosion. The results from Paper II suggests that when a negative critical incident occurs, the level of trust that individuals have thus far developed in their leaders, subordinates and group members could affect responses to the situation. The level of trust appeared to be able to influence individuals' risk-perception and decision-making during the incident. For example, trust appeared to affect risk perception in both positive and negative ways. Daring to act was deemed a positive effect of high trust in others, while lack of caution was deemed negative. When there was trust in the group, everyone was able to take the initiative and get on with their tasks, confident that the group would handle the situation. In contrast, a lack of trust meant individuals were persistently monitored, which prevented them from acting to their full potential. This was a major disadvantage in a crisis, when all hands on deck were required.

However, the results also indicate that a strong level of trust may have a negative impact on risk-taking. Individuals with strong trust in others may act carelessly and incautiously in risky situations. The impact of strong trust appears to be significant since it causes military personnel to deviate from the ingrained behaviour that they have repeatedly trained to be able to act on (in order to limit the impact of stress on studied routines and logical thinking). While this may obviously be an effect of stress, the informants' reasoning on

their strong trust in their leaders and group members leads to the conclusion that trust does to some degree contribute to deviation from learned actions.

Another example of how trust is associated with risk-taking (but also decision-making) is that individuals involved in the incident can dismiss potential danger in their surroundings (and also deviate from studied routines) because of high trust in others' actions. If individuals act like there is no danger, others tend to trust their judgment without double-checking. In a high-risk military operation, the consequences can be severe if one of the parties acts incautiously or illogically due to stress, for example. This line of reasoning is strengthened by research on the dark sides of trust and resembles what Gargiulo and Ertug (2006) terms "blind faith". Trust in others is higher than would be reasonable and that available information can account for, leading to lower levels of monitoring, vigilance and safeguards.

Perceptions and re-evaluations of others' trustworthiness after involvement in critical incidents

The findings in Paper II show that prior perceptions of how a leader should be can change after involvement in critical incidents. These situations give rise to other needs from the leader, leading to subordinates' re-evaluating trust. For example, consideration and encouragement were valued higher after involvement in incidents. This is contrary to the research by Lapidot et al. (2007) and Sweeney (2010). Their results show that benevolence is more salient in less vulnerable situations, while ability and integrity are more

important in critical situations (operational activities). A trap some leaders tended to fall into after an incident was to become too controlling and fervent out of concern for the group's safety, or worried they would not be able to handle more incidents. Subordinates could interpret this kind of action as a sign of distrust, leading to decreasing trust in their leader. This implies that trust is reciprocal, which is supported by similar results in previous civilian studies (Cialdini, 1996; Sitkin & Stickel, 1996; Strickland, 1958).

Being involved in negative critical incidents generally leads to stress and exhaustion. The time after such incidents is often characterized by uncertainty, heavy work load, and lack of sleep. This can have negative impact on trust and trust development since individuals do not have time and/or energy to deal with trust problems and conflicts. As one of the informants stated, "You haven't got the strength to take on another battle on the side." However, initially ignoring trust problems does not make them disappear. Irritation was often taken out on the leader when trust in him was low. Conflicts between a leader and subordinates are undesirable since the subordinates' need for leader support appears to be higher after a critical incident. According to the results, subordinates tend to turn on their leader after critical incidents if they lack trust in him/her. This is in line with findings that suggest that subordinates are more likely to scrutinize their leader after critical incidents (Hurst, 1995). Hurst (1995) also discovered that subordinates tend to feel more vulnerable and this may be a reason for why subordinates re-evaluate trust and are more sensitive to the leader's changed behaviour and interpret this as a

sign of lack of trust in them. The findings in Paper II show that subordinates often do interpret controlling behaviour (or even just participation) from a leader as a sign of distrust.

One aspect that renders it more difficult for leaders to maintain their subordinates' trust, after involvement in negative critical incidents, is that the recovery phase after an incident is characterized by the leader trying to recapture control over self, the group, and the task by balancing different needs, demands and requests. The leader has to deal with constant compromises which are likely to affect trust development. Subordinates involved in negative critical incidents often exhibit feelings of anger, aggression and frustration and they are looking for a way to release these strains. The leader must balance subordinates' aggression and maybe grief with his or her own reactions, while at the same time trying to plan and implement strategies for the resumed operation, balancing aspects such as the handling of safety and necessary risk-taking. This may lead to the leader not being able to meet the expectations of the subordinates, with decreased trust as a result. It can be assumed that these stressful conditions also lead to the subordinates not thinking and/or acting as they would normally, which may lead to unreasonable demands on the leader. Due to lack of time, the leader may have to oblige one individual or a group of individuals, meaning the leader may not be able to oblige others. For example, the leader may have to focus on briefing higher leaders instead of the subordinates, who in fact have a great

need of assurance and information. This is what Dirks and Skarlicki (2004) call “the trust dilemma”.

The relationship between trust and constructive and destructive leadership behaviours

In recent decades, research on destructive leadership has gained widespread interest. It is therefore surprising that the relationship between trust and destructive leadership behaviours has not been previously investigated. As concluded in the theory section above, trust is a core component of many of the most used and researched leadership models. The discussion as to whether bad is stronger than good has been researched in more depth recently, but there is nevertheless a lack of knowledge regarding whether destructive or constructive leadership behaviours have the strongest impact on trust in leaders.

To be able to answer the third research question, an instrument designed to measure destructive leadership behaviours was developed (Paper III). The instrument, Destrudo-L, measures destructive leadership behaviours on five different factors: Arrogant, Unfair, Threats, Punishments, Overdemands, Ego-oriented, False, Passive, Cowardly, and Uncertain, Unclear, Messy. The three first are considered active forms of destructive leadership while the two last factors can be regarded as passive forms. If, in terms of content, the five factors of Destrudo-L are compared with the factors that contributes to trust in military leaders (Paper I) the following is suggested: (a) Arrogant, Unfair is

mainly assimilated with Integrity/personal example, (b) Threats, Punishments, Overdemands is chiefly comparable with Integrity/personal example and Management competence, (c) Ego-oriented, False is mostly similar to Integrity/personal example and Loyalty, (d) Passive, Cowardly is primarily comparable with Individual motivation, Management competence, and Willingness to confront, and (e) Uncertain, Unclear, Messy are mainly similar to Management competence and Clarity. It can thus be said that the majority of Destrudo-L factors are related to the leader's personal attributes. None of the destructive leadership factors are comparable with the higher-level category Consideration and inspiration, although one can assume that destructive leadership behaviours over a prolonged period will probably lead to subordinates developing negative apprehensions about the leader's consideration and ability to motivate (destructive leader behaviours can even be perceived as motivation quashers).

Further, comparing the developmental leadership characteristics with the characteristics contributing to trust in military leaders (Paper I) one finds that (a) Exemplary model is primarily comparable to Integrity/personal example, (b) Individualized consideration is chiefly comparable to Consideration/empathy and Willingness to confront, while (c) Inspiration and motivation is comparable with Create commitment and participation. None of the developmental leadership characteristics are comparable with the higher-level category Experience and competence. However, in the developmental leadership model of Larsson et al. (2003), experience and competence is

regarded as a desirable (task-related) competence. In contrast to the comparison with destructive leadership factors, the majority of developmental leadership factors are related to the leader's communication- and relationship-related characteristics.

The findings in paper IV reveal that all of the correlations with trust in the immediate supervisor are higher for constructive leadership compared to destructive leadership. Constructive leadership contributed most to trust in the immediate supervisor. The Destrudo-L factors that gave the strongest contributions were Arrogant, Unfair, and Uncertain, Unclear, Messy. The first factor can be seen as describing a lack of integrity and the latter as poor ability (defective management competence). Ability and integrity have been suggested to be more salient in trust-eroding incidents (Lapidot et al., 2007). Research shows that in hierarchical military organizations, destructive leadership behaviours can be perceived as being sanctioned by higher management, leading to a more negative image of the whole organization (Thoroughgood et al., 2012). Perhaps leaders' destructive leadership behaviours are not merely ascribed to the leader's intentions and attitudes but considered a consequence of the organizational culture.

However, trust was not the only follower outcome studied in paper IV. The findings also show that besides trust in the immediate supervisor, constructive leadership behaviours also covaried more strongly with work atmosphere, while destructive leadership behaviours were more strongly associated with emotional exhaustion and propensity to leave. Trust in the immediate leader

and work atmosphere can be regarded as positive phenomena while emotional exhaustion and propensity to leave can be considered as negative phenomena. The first two are positively formulated and the latter two negatively. These two pairs of phenomena also have another common denominator: trust in the immediate supervisor and work atmosphere have an external focus and are work-related concepts, i.e. the items mainly focus on others who are significant in one's working life. Likewise, emotional exhaustion and propensity to leave express a more personal meaning, i.e. they estimate the individual's feelings and intentions. This suggests that constructive leadership behaviours possibly have a greater impact on positive phenomena and/or phenomena associated with work-related relationships. On the other hand, destructive leadership behaviours appear to have a greater impact on negative phenomena with a stronger personal meaning, which is in line with previous studies (Schyns & Schilling, 2013).

The correlations between trust in the immediate supervisor and the destructive leadership factor Threats, Punishments, Overdemands was evidently weaker compared to the correlations with the other four destructive leadership factors ($r = -.34$ vs. $r = -.45$ to $r = -.58$). The factor can be regarded as an expression of integrity. Integrity has been suggested to be more important for trust development in the beginning of the relationship (Mayer et al., 1995). The participants in Paper IV were in a continuous work relationship with their superiors and this may be a possible reason for why the factor does not correspond as strongly with trust.

The results from Paper IV indicate that a great deal of trust in immediate supervisors can be understood by estimating both constructive and destructive leadership behaviours. Paper IV reveals that 69 % of trust in the immediate supervisor was explained by using the DLQ and Destrudo-L questionnaires. These measurements give a pretty comprehensive understanding of which leader behaviours actually contribute to trust in the leader. In line with this, Dirks (2006) has argued that demographics, personality, and structural factors play a less important role in understanding what determines trust than the behaviours of the leader.

Trust in military leaders – An interaction between the individual, the trustee, and the context

In conformity with trust models and research by Hardin (1992), Mayer et al. (1995) and Sweeney et al. (2011), among others, the results from this thesis show that trust in military leaders is influenced by the characteristics of the trustor, characteristics of the trustee, and contextual factors. Rumsey (2013) wrote that:

One thing leadership is not is simple. An understanding of leadership cannot be found in a single insight about the leader, the follower, the context, or all three. The more all learn to accept the complexity associated with the multifaceted leadership process, the more readily will leadership theory advance. (p.465)

Trust in military leaders is to some extent influenced by individual factors of the trustor (the subordinate). The trust bases include the trustor's propensity

to trust others, his/her expectations of the trustee (the leader) in the particular situation and/or context, and the trustor's motivation for the task/operation.

Also associated with the level of trust in the trustee (the leader) is the trustor's perceptions of the characteristics of the trustee, which include expectations and judgments of behaviour and character. In this military context, the characteristics that appear to contribute to trust in the leader are Individual-related characteristics (Personal attributes, Experience and competence) and Communication- and relationship-related characteristics (Consideration and inspiration, Effective communication). Destructive leadership behaviours, on the other hand, can contribute to low trust or even distrust. Which characteristics contribute most to trust in the leader depends partly on which hierarchical level the trustor and the trustee belong to respectively. In order to develop trust in the leader, different characteristics are emphasized and/or expected depending on if the trustor is an indirect, direct, or subordinate leader.

As the context changes the individual factors (motivation, expectations) and the perceived characteristics of the trustee may change or be modified, leading to a positive or negative change in the trust level. Contextual factors that can contribute to the change of the trust level are *location in time* (ordinary context "at home", ordinary position, preparation phase, operation, return home/home coming), *opportunities/conditions for interaction* (e.g. time for joint training), *magnitude and probability of consequences* (e.g. anxiety/apprehensions before operation, actual risks/threats), and *strains* (e.g.

stress, difficulties adjusting, conflicts). A change in the context can in turn lead to a change in the trustor's expectations and/or motivation, as well as a change of the trustee's behaviours. What may cause a re-evaluation of trust in the leader is not only a change of context (e.g. relocation to the operation area) but also a change of the current situation (e.g. involvement in critical incidents leading to other conditions/circumstances).

Further, it is suggested that favourable apprehensions of the trustee's perceived characteristics are reciprocated by the trustor in form of trust. In contrast, unfavourable perceptions of the trustee's perceived characteristics are reciprocated with decreased trust or distrust. Finally, increased or decreased trust in the trustee can in turn lead to changes in the individual factors (increased/decreased motivation, different expectations) and the trustee's behaviour (e.g. the leader reciprocates decreased trust by controlling behaviour or increased trust by delegating responsibilities).

Trust in military leaders can be further explained by the person-situation interaction model developed by Endler and Magnusson (1967; 1976). They emphasize cognitive factors as the most important determinant of behaviour in the interaction between the individual and the situation, although they also recognize the importance of emotional factors. Using their theory as an explanatory model, trust is developed through a continuous reciprocal interaction between the trustor and the situation. The trustor is influenced by aspects of the situation (e.g. involvement in negative critical incidents) and subsequently selects and interprets the situation in which behaviour occurs

(e.g. the situation is interpreted as unsafe). Consequently the trustor's behaviour affects the situation and its meaning (feelings of vulnerability increase, the trustor acts insecurely, which leads to the trustee increasing supervision and the trustor interpreting the trustee's behaviour as a sign of distrust). The trustor is characterized by his/her specific pattern that includes both stable (e.g. propensity to trust) and changing behaviours (e.g. expectations) across situations. What determines an individual's behaviour (in this case willingness to trust) is the psychological meaning of the situation (e.g. perceived vulnerability, risks and threats).

Schoorman et al. (2007) explained that the trust model in their 1995 publication (Mayer et al., 1995) was intended to be as parsimonious as possible and generalizable across the broadest number of contexts. They encourage scholars to specify contextual variables that are unique within a particular context. This thesis contributes with context-specific knowledge on trust in leaders in a military context but also with knowledge about individuals' psychological processes and dispositions that shape and change their willingness to trust leaders.

Methodological issues

A strength of this thesis is that it combines qualitative and quantitative studies – an approach that has been advocated by several scholars (Conger, 1998; Parry, 1998; Yukl, 2006). Both leadership and trust have been suggested to

benefit from being researched with qualitative methods because they are both considered complex phenomena (Conger, 1998; Lyon, Möllering & Saunders, 2012; Parry et al., 2014). Given the lack of research on trust in military contexts, the decision to use qualitative methods in Paper I and Paper II would be justified. Qualitative studies are highlighted as most beneficial in the early stages of a study (Conger, 1998).

The decision to use Grounded theory approaches in Paper I and Paper II was based on the fact that GT has been argued to be preferable when studying areas where there is a lack of research, such as trust in military leaders. A research area that lacks extensive studies may benefit from theory generation, to which GT contributes. GT is also valuable when the aim is to study interactions between individuals or causality, as in this thesis. However, as with every method, Grounded theory has its weaknesses. The use of GT in Paper I and II implies that the results are not generalizable. Instead, one can view it as a starting point for quantitative testing. There is on-going discussion as to how research and its results are dependent on time, place, and a context to which the researcher belongs (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). One aspect of GT is that it aims to liberate the researcher from explicit expectations and personal beliefs that may have an effect on the findings of the research (Pole & Lampard, 2002). A researcher's experiences and expectations will likely always influence the research, but with an attitude of obtaining an "open mind not an empty head" (Pole & Lampard, 2002) hopefully the risk is minimized. Below follows a discussion on the methodological strengths and limitations of each of

the four papers, starting with considerations that are common to two or more of the papers.

A strength of all the papers is that they apply a multi-hierarchical approach, meaning trust is not studied at only one hierarchical level. Following the implication of the Grounded theory approach, leadership is studied at diverse levels and contexts (Parry, 1998). For example, Paper II includes interviews with informants from three different hierarchical levels (subordinates, direct leaders, indirect leaders) who were interviewed about their experiences regarding the same negative critical incidents. Consequently, self-reported data is not the only component here.

The data for Paper I, III and IV was collected in educational environments. Ideally, data should have been gathered in natural settings (during international operations etc.). This is very difficult, however, due to lack of time and/or inaccessibility during, for example, international operations. This factor possibly limits interpretation of the findings, since retrospective memories of the operation or exercise might differ from apprehension in real time. Nevertheless, studies have shown that memories of stressful events can be fairly reliable and that information on central details from traumatic events is often better retained than information from more neutral events, which may be the case in Paper II (Christiansson, 1992; Norris & Kaniasty, 1992). However, one advantage of this method of data collection is that it facilitated access to respondents with a wide range of experiences, representing a majority of existing units, and from all branches of service.

Two of the sample groups in Paper I and Paper IV lack information regarding response rate. For this reason, generalizability is reduced and should be approached with care.

In Paper I, the characteristics of the trustee and the trustor are taken into account. In Paper III and IV, only the characteristics of the trustee are in focus. It has been suggested that organisational and group climate and structures affect trust in leaders (Burke et al., 2007; Sweeney et al., 2007; Sweeney et al., 2009) and by adding questions measuring these aspects, a richer picture may have been obtained. However, Dirks (2006) has argued that demographics, personality, and structural factors play a less important role in understanding what determines trust than the behaviours of the leader. This is confirmed by the results in Paper IV. Leadership behaviours accounted for 69 percent of trust in the leader. Another parameter not measured here was the individuals' propensity to trust, which has also been proposed as an important factor in developing trust in others (Burke et al., 2007; Kosugi & Yamagishi, 1998; Rempel, Ross & Holmes, 2001). Paper II contributes with more extensive knowledge regarding contextual factors, including group climate and structures. However, another factor that was excluded in this thesis but has been suggested to be important for trust development is characteristics of the organization/institution (Dirks, 2006; Rousseau et al., 1998).

Regarding Paper I, strengths may be that the sample group is composed of individuals from two nations, as well as from two different hierarchical levels. However, a critical aspect of this study is that all respondents were from two

quite similar Scandinavian countries. This could represent a possible limitation for the generalizability of the results, also within a smaller nation “plug-in” perspective, since cross-cultural studies suggest that there might exist differences in levels of trust across cultures (Huff & Kelly, 2003).

Conceptually, it should be emphasized that the concepts derived from the data in Paper I (codes and categories at successively higher levels of abstraction) may be of a sensitising rather than a definite character, to use Blumer’s (1954) terms. One advantage of the qualitative method chosen is the richness of nuances obtained in the code and categories. One disadvantage is that the conceptualizations at these lower model-levels tend to have blurred borders. This is not because of sloppy definitions but because the phenomena are closely interwoven.

As mentioned in Paper I, the codes that were of a negative nature were excluded from the analysis. Assuming that trust and distrust are conceptually the same, these codes could have contributed with valuable knowledge about the different codes and categories in the presented model. However, since (a) there is a standing disagreement on the issue of the construct of distrust (Lewicki et al., 2006; Schoorman et al., 2007), (b) the negatively formulated codes were a relatively small percentage in relation to the positively formulated codes, and (c) the purpose/scope of the paper was not to contribute to sorting out the concept of distrust, the negatively formulated codes were excluded from further analysis.

One of the strengths of Paper II, besides its multi-perspective approach, is that it includes several negative critical incidents. At the time of conducting the interviews, these were among the most severe incidents involving the Swedish armed forces in Afghanistan. The proposed model in Paper II can be seen as a substantial theory (Grover & Glazier, 1986). The benefit is its wealth of detail but as a consequence of that, there is a lower/weaker level of abstraction.

Concerning paper III and the assumptions underlying structural equation modeling (SEM), the requirement of normal distributions was not met. However, it has been shown that this type of covariance structure analysis remains robust under such circumstances, and valid conclusions may still be drawn (Bentler & Dudgeon, 1996). This was apparently the case in the present study, as almost identical results were obtained when the 12 outliers identified in the test of multivariate normality were excluded. The number of respondents can also be regarded as sufficient in relation to SEM requirements: more than 20 times more raters than questionnaire items. However, it is important to make a distinction between a latent variable defined in SEM terms and a scale composed of the sum of the items or indicators measuring the underlying concept. For an instrument like the Destrudo-L to be easy to use and score, one must use conventional statistics like adding items building up a factor into a sum score. Compared with factors expressed as latent variables, such measures have two weaknesses: (1) they measure both a specific trait and the general common component for the whole questionnaire; and (2) they are not error-free. The Cronbach's α

coefficient for sum scores refers to the combined element of specific and common parts. This fact about the general overall factor being present in all scales and correlations has to be kept in mind when interpreting results. A strength of the study is the context-specific basis of the item construction; much leadership research can be criticized for being context-free (Blair & Hunt, 1986). At the same time, it may be difficult to generalize the results from this study to other contexts. The study sample includes very few women and no high-level managers. It should also be noted that the data includes only single-point-in-time ratings made by subordinates related to their immediate supervisor/commander. Self-ratings and rating made by peers, superiors, or external individuals may yield different patterns. Thus, to overcome the potential problem of common method variance, the Destrudo-L instrument needs to be tested in a variety of organizational contexts and hierarchical positions of the rater versus the ratee where potential antecedents and outcomes of destructive leadership behaviours are included.

Paper III focuses on the destructive leadership behaviours of the leader, not taking into consideration personality traits that can underlie these types of behaviours (e.g. psychopathy, narcissism, Machiavellianism). This is a conscious choice since the studies in this paper aim at improving the everyday leadership of those leaders who are more likely to be able to change and/or develop more trust-building and/or less destructive behaviours, not leaders with a dark personality trait (Paulhus & Williams, 2002).

Finally, some methodological considerations regarding Paper IV. One of the study limitations is related to the possibility of common method variance and response set tendencies (Podsakoff et al., 2003) since all data were collected using self-report questionnaires. The scales need to be tested with other actors as raters, and, ideally, also using more objective outcome measures such as sick absenteeism, financial costs etc. Following from this, the results need to be interpreted with caution.

Another weakness is connected to the translation of the instruments used in the present study. When translating an instrument to new languages, a translation/back translation procedure should be followed in order to verify that the instrument is conceptually equivalent in each of the participating countries. This procedure was followed when the Destrudo-L and DLQ were translated from Swedish to English. However, the authors have no knowledge about the translation process in the other participating countries and there is therefore a risk that the concepts are being interpreted differently by the participants. Even if the items are translated according to the rules, different interpretations may be related to different cultural understandings of concepts. This is difficult to control for but it may affect the validity of the study.

Several of the destructive leadership factors have high interscale correlations. This is a typical pattern for leadership models (Bass, 1998; Larsson, 2006; Larsson et al., 2007; Walumbwa et al., 2008). For example, measuring trust using the factors ability, benevolence and integrity has shown that in new relationships where individuals have had limited time to get to

know each other, benevolence and integrity show a high correlation while they appear to be separable factors where parties have had longer relationships (Schoorman et al., 2007). This can depend on where in a relationship the leader and the subordinate find themselves. Further, Landy and Trumbo (1976) suggest that subordinates who view a leader as considerate (e.g. liked, approved) also look at all the leader's behaviour as positive. If the leader is not seen as considerate, all behaviours are assessed as negative. This phenomenon may be applicable in all leader estimations. The perception of the leader is mainly influenced by an overall comprehension about the leader. Similar kinds of arguments have been put forward related to the potential impact of positive and negative affectivity on questionnaire responses. In conclusion, therefore, it should be noted that the results need to be interpreted with caution due to potential single source bias and the cross-sectional study design (Podsakoff et al., 2003).

Practical implications

The results from this thesis not only contribute with new knowledge in a relatively unresearched area but also with practical implications that might be valuable knowledge. Firstly, let us start with some practical implications gained from the first research question, what contributes to trust in military leaders. The richer conceptual framework presented in Paper I can serve as a means to visualize behaviours and characteristics for leaders. By knowing which attributes contribute to trust, leaders can actively work to develop and

manifest these attributes in order to enhance their subordinates' or superior leaders' propensity to trust in them. It can be assumed that it is easier to develop behaviour than it is to develop traits.

Secondly, the obtained knowledge from research question 2, how trust between military leaders and subordinates is related to negative critical incidents, contributes with the following practical implications. Leaders need to be aware that a change of context or situation can lead to re-evaluations of what is perceived as trustworthiness. This thesis contributes with suggestions for contextual factors that may influence the trust process. A way of preventing negative re-evaluations is to attempt to ensure that the leader's motives and intentions are promptly communicated to the subordinates, which may minimize the risk of misinterpretations.

Expectations may impact on trust development. Efforts to discover subordinates' expectations should be made early on, perhaps by using team-building exercises with the aim of revealing the individual's expectations and values. Gaining early knowledge of this can help leaders prepare for and deal with both reasonable and unreasonable expectations.

Trust is a critical factor in combat (Sweeney, 2010) and the results from Paper II indicate that it can have a significant influence on risk-perception and decision-making. A high degree of trust appears to be both functional and dysfunctional, leading to individuals taking unnecessary risks. Regular units often have high levels of trust even before deployment and since leaders in this context are dependent on trust from their subordinates, they might interpret

this as utterly favourable (Kolditz, 2007). Given the validity of this line of reasoning, it becomes important for leaders of these kinds of units to pay attention to the potentially dark sides of trust. The phenomenon shows similarities to groupthink as symptoms of the latter are related to illusions of invulnerability that blind individuals in a group to warnings of danger (Janis, 1972). Janis (1972) highlights several examples where groupthink has had a major negative impact on decision-making, in turn leading to several well-known and grave fiascos from a U.S. perspective, for example, the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in World War II and the failed invasion attempt on Cuba in 1961.

At the present time, the Swedish armed forces is an all-volunteer force. Experiences from several European armed forces show that it is easier to recruit soldiers than it is to retain them (Jonsson, 2009). This thesis shows that trust in military leaders is important in many aspects, perhaps most importantly in reducing feelings of vulnerability and by contributing with a sense of control in a context full of risks. If leaders gain knowledge on how this may be done, higher job satisfaction and lower turnover in their subordinates may be positive consequences.

Finally, the third research question, regarding the prevalence of developmental and destructive leadership behaviours related to trust in military leaders, sheds light on which destructive leader behaviours may have a negative impact on trust development. The advantage of the Destrudo-L instrument is the short and easy-to-use format. It only takes a few minutes to

complete. Potential application of the instrument includes 360-degree ratings of leaders in leader evaluation, as well as leader development contexts. A relatively high amount of trust in the immediate supervisor could be explained (69 %) using the DLQ and Destrudo-L questionnaires, which gives a satisfactory understanding of which leader behaviours actually contribute to trust in the leader. The results emphasize the importance of including both constructive and destructive leadership behaviours at the selection stage, as well as during evaluation and training of military leaders.

Knowledge that passive forms of destructive leadership appear to be the most destructive highlights the importance of leaders possessing sufficient management competence (e.g. ability to plan and structure the work and solve problems). Insight on the potential consequences of not providing sufficient time for leaders for staff management needs to be highlighted. Leaders may be perceived as uncommitted, unstructured and messy due to lack of time.

Suggestions for future studies

The obtained results from the three research questions in this thesis contribute with new knowledge regarding trust in military leaders. However, they also open up additional questions, which have led to the following suggestions for future studies. Firstly, the model proposed in Paper I used a qualitative approach, which obviously lacks the systematic rigour of a standardised questionnaire study. Thus, one suggestion is to operationalize the proposed

model into questionnaire items and test them in a variety of contexts. To find out if the propositions in Paper I are true, attempts could be made to test the items in both military and civilian contexts. Further, the results from Paper IV revealed that 69 % of trust in the immediate supervisor could be explained by using the DLQ-questionnaire and Destrudo-L. Since the attempt of Paper I was to investigate what characteristics contribute to trust in military leaders, by operationalizing the model into questionnaire items, further studies could attempt to find out if an equivalent amount of trust can be explained by using them instead of DLQ and Destrudo-L.

Secondly, after the study in Paper I was conducted, the Swedish armed forces transformed into an all-volunteer force. This may have caused a change in motivation and expectations on the individual level. Further research could attempt to study if and how perceptions of the characteristics of the trustee and the context have changed and if this has a significant impact on trust development.

Thirdly, since trust appears to be context-sensitive, future studies could focus on replicating the studies in this thesis in other contexts. For example, do destructive or constructive leadership behaviours have the strongest impact on trust during international military operations? Previous studies show that leaders who are good at structuring and who take prompt and decisive action are seen as more effective and are more accepted by subordinates in times of stress (Flanagan & Levy, 1952 in Hannah et al., 2010; Landy & Trumbo, 1976).

It may therefore be argued that passive destructive leadership behaviours should have the strongest negative consequences.

Fourthly, the attempt of Paper IV was not to explain the highest percentage of trust in military leaders as possible but to investigate if constructive or destructive leadership behaviours had the strongest association with trust. Efforts of future quantitative studies might focus on gaining a more extensive understanding of what contributes to trust in military leaders by including aspects such as the individual's propensity to trust, group climate, and organizational culture and structures.

Fifthly, the added knowledge obtained by specifically addressing trust in superior as well as subordinate leaders opens up new questions. The results from Paper II showed that expectations on leaders varied across hierarchical levels following extreme events such as IED explosions. Thus, another suggestion is to study potential differences between superior and subordinate military leaders at different hierarchical levels to investigate if such differences also apply in relation to which attributes contribute to their trustworthiness. Also, efforts could be made to study if constructive or destructive leadership behaviours have the strongest association with trust in leaders at different hierarchical levels. Do the discovered patterns remain if the study is replicated on, for instance, indirect or subordinate leaders?

Sixthly, several studies suggest that subordinates who trust their supervisor reciprocate this trust in the form of desirable behaviours such as mutual trust and performance (Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004; Miao, Newman, &

Huang, 2014). This thesis does not attempt to make a closer examination of the issue (although some indications are given). Future studies could endeavour to investigate this question in more depth. For example, Mayer et al. (1995) have suggested that subordinates who believe that their superiors possess ability, integrity and benevolence are more prone to engage in behaviours that put them at risk. Impending studies could attempt to find out which trust-building leadership behaviours have the greatest impact on subordinates' willingness to put them at risk during military operations.

Seventhly, Dirks (2006) has argued that trust is mostly influenced by the subordinate's perception of the leader, not the leader per se. However, to gain more knowledge regarding this suggestion, future studies may shed light on the subject of actual behaviour versus subjective perceptions. By comparing how subordinates from the same unit estimate the same leader's behaviour, more knowledge on the issue could be gained.

Eighthly, trust researchers disagree on where trust begins and on what influences trust development over time. Attempts should be made to conduct longitudinal studies on trust in military leaders. For instance, what influences trust development during an international operation? The structure and the standardized routines of the armed forces may be favourable for the development of, for instance, role-and rule-based trust, which may imply a high initial trust in military leaders.

A final suggestion for future studies is related to the association between trust, risk-perception and decision-making. Often, there is an assumption that

trust is an entirely positive mechanism; but in units with a high level of trust, this may have negative consequences that future studies may shed light on. For example, high trust may lead to groupthink, which subsequently may prohibit objective and well-considered decision-making.

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