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Organizational trust

An enduring relevance for Defence

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Abstract

Organizational trust is the degree to which individuals believe that the organization to which they belong can be counted on to provide them with needed resources and/or assistance when it is needed. Civilian research has indicated that employee trust in their organization is related to a variety of individual- and organizational-level outcomes, yet organizational trust has received considerably less attention in the military literature or in defence organizations more generally. The current report begins to address this gap, examining the relevance of the organizational trust construct to defence organizations overall and to the Department of National Defence (DND) specifically. Accordingly, this report reviews literature on organizational trust to: (i) operationally define the construct, (ii) consider the potential impact of violations of organizational trust, (iii) explore potential challenges that might further underscore the importance of the organizational trust construct to Defence, (iv) identify groups within the defence context who would be more "at-risk" with respect to organizational-level trust, (v) apply this literature to several DND strategic-level initiatives, and in light of all of the above, (vi), provide recommendations concerning how research might facilitate or support organizational trust for Defence.

Significance to defence and security

Organizational-level trust is an under-researched psychological construct and its implications are not well understood in a Defence context. Still, the existing empirical research indicates that organizational-level trust can be a significant concern for military and civilian defence personnel and likely contributes to important individual- and organizational-level outcomes in a Defence context and within DND more specifically. Although defence organizations will remain highly interdependent and hierarchically structured, in the future they will involve an increasingly diverse, distributed and technology-enabled workforce that works on issues of importance and high risk under conditions of ambiguity and uncertainty. All of these features can pose challenges to organizational trust, attesting to its enduring relevance for Defence. Thus, understanding its nature, dynamics, and impact will remain an important area of future research.

Résumé

La confiance organisationnelle est la mesure dans laquelle les personnes estiment pouvoir compter sur l'organisation à laquelle elles appartiennent pour qu'elle leur fournisse les ressources ou l'aide dont elles ont besoin. La recherche civile a indiqué que la confiance des employés envers leur organisation est liée à divers résultats personnels et organisationnels. Pourtant, la confiance organisationnelle a reçu considérablement moins d'attention dans la littérature militaire et dans les organisations de défense en général. Le rapport actuel commence à combler cette lacune en abordant la pertinence du concept de confiance organisationnelle pour les organisations de la défense en général et pour le Ministère de la Défense Nationale (MDN) en particulier. Ainsi, par une revue de la littérature sur la confiance organisationnelle, ce rapport vise à : (i) définir le concept sur le plan opérationnel, (ii) tenir compte des conséquences éventuelles des atteintes à la confiance organisationnelle, (iii) explorer les difficultés potentielles qui viendraient souligner davantage l'importance du concept de confiance organisationnelle pour la défense, (iv) déterminer les groupes à l'intérieur du cadre de la défense les plus « à risque » sur le plan de la confiance organisationnelle, (v) appliquer cette littérature à plusieurs initiatives du MDN au niveau stratégique et, à la lumière de ce qui précède, (vi), faire des recommandations quant à la façon dont la recherche pourrait faciliter ou appuyer la confiance organisationnelle au sein de la défense.

Importance pour la défense et la sécurité

La confiance envers l'organisation est un concept psychologique qui a fait l'objet de très peu de recherches et ses implications sont mal comprises dans le cadre de la défense. Malgré cela, la recherche empirique existante indique que la confiance organisationnelle peut constituer une difficulté considérable pour le personnel de défense militaire et civil et contribue probablement à d'importants résultats personnels et organisationnels dans le cadre de la défense et plus particulièrement au sein du MDN. Même si les organisations de défense demeureront interdépendantes et structurées sur le plan hiérarchique, elles disposeront à l'avenir d'une main d'oeuvre de plus en plus diversifiée, répartie et bien au fait des technologies, qui travaille sur des enjeux de grande importance et à risque élevé, dans des conditions équivoques et incertaines. Toutes ces caractéristiques peuvent poser des difficultés en matière de confiance organisationnelle, ce qui témoigne de sa pertinence durable pour la défense. Ainsi, il sera important, dans les recherches à venir, de comprendre sa nature, sa dynamique et son incidence.

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1 Introduction

Trust has been defined as the "assured reliance on the character, ability, strength or truth of someone or something" (Glonek, 2013, p. 41). Trust can be ascribed to people or things, based on the assessment of the target's trustworthiness, which is comprised of a combination of i) competence (i.e., the ability mentioned in the quote above or, in the case of inanimate objects, functionality), ii) integrity (an adherence to and/or the reflecting of valued beliefs and ethics, e.g., the truth mentioned in the above quote) and iii) benevolence—genuine care and concern, i.e., also refers to character—(Schoorman, Mayer, & Davis, 2007).[1] Assessments of trustworthiness are always *perceptions* and *expectations*. As is the case with all perceptions, these can vary along a continuum of accuracy in terms of levels of actual competence, benevolence, integrity and/or predictability. Similarly, although expectations (Gambetta, 1988; McEvily, Perrone, & Zaheer, 2003) can be informed by past direct and indirect experience, trust is always based on some degree of faith concerning what will happen in the future. It is these perceptions and expectations concerning the future that are a main driver of the trustor's responses. Accordingly, high trust is the confident expectation that another will respond to our needs with positive intentions and actions when needed. Importantly, when we hold this expectation we are willing to accept a commensurate degree of vulnerability to the other and risk to ourselves (see Barney & Hansen, 1994; Blomquist & Stahle, 2000; Dirks & Skarlicki, 2004; Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995; Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998).

In general, high trust is a key enabler of many types of successful relationships. For instance, trust has long been associated with successful close relationships (Larzelere & Huston, 1980; Rempel, Holmes, & Zanna, 1985; Thompson & Holmes, 1995). More relevant to the concerns of the current report, trust has also been identified as "an important factor in determining organizational success, organizational stability and the well-being of employees" (Albrecht & Travaglione, 2003, p. 76). Trust is similarly acknowledged as being crucial to the military, being variously referred to as "a bedrock of the Army profession" (U.S. Army Chief of Staff Ray Odierno, as cited in Piper, 2012), "a fundamental enabler" of military operations (Gizewski & Rostek, 2007; Shay, 2001; Stouffer, 2008), and a "strategic advantage" (Steele, 2011).

Results of civilian and military empirical research has consistently supported these conclusions, documenting the benefits of trust both to individual workers in terms of higher morale, job satisfaction, organizational commitment and identity, and perceived organizational support and justice (Albrecht & Travaglione, 2003; Cassel, 1993; Chen, Aryee, & Lee, 2005; Dirks & Ferrin, 2001; Driscoll, 1978; Ellis & Shockley-Zalabak, 2001; Folger & Konovsky, 1989; Gade, Tiggle, & Schumm, 2003; Hermawati, 2014), and to the stability of the organization, for instance, in terms of higher group cohesion, lower employee turnover, and higher overall performance and goal attainment (Balkan, Serin, & Soran, 2014; Cassel, 1993; Davis, Schoorman, Mayer, &Tan, 2000; Farooq & Farooq, 2014; Kim & Mauborgne, 1993; Mishra & Morrissey, 1990; Rich, 1997; Robinson, 1996).

[1] There are some differences in conceptual models of trust. For instance some, but not all, theorists depict trust as also involving predictability (consistency in action). Schindler and Thomas (1993) proposed a model of trust based on four dimensions: competence, consistency, loyalty, and openness. However the three dimensions of competence, integrity and benevolence are the most consistently used across the trust literature.

Lewis and Weigert (1985) described trust as:

> …a functional alternative to rational prediction for the reduction of complexity. Indeed, trust succeeds where rational prediction alone would fail, because to trust is to live *as if* [original italics] certain rationally possible [negative] futures will not occur. Thus, trust reduces complexity far more quickly, economically, and thoroughly than does prediction. Trust allows social interactions to proceed on a simple and confident basis where, in the absence of trust, the monstrous complexity posed by contingent futures would again return to paralyze action, (p. 969).

This quote evocatively implies that, once established, trust provides us with sufficient confidence in a positive future and functions largely as part of an overall positive gestalt where we need not be focused on assessing the meaning and intent of every event that occurs. Trust facilitates constructive outcomes by providing confident positive expectations concerning the future, by promoting new associations and cementing existing ones (Haslam, Ellemers, Reicher, Reynolds, & Schmidt, 2010), and by increasing cooperative behaviors, as well as resource and knowledge sharing, all of which enhance performance. These features, in turn, increase the positive affect, motivation and expectations in the workplace which further facilitates cooperation, resource and knowledge sharing, and performance in a positive feedback loop.

However, this gestalt can be challenged by a variety of circumstances that, when activated, cause a variety of reactions that can have significant individual- and organizational-level effects.

Given its potential for individual and organizational effectiveness, it is no wonder that trust has been a focus of previous interest in Canadian military research. Previous investigations of trust have included explorations of i) trust at the small army unit level (see Thompson, Adams, & Niven, 2014, for a review), ii) complementary research, operationalized as confidence in peers and leaders conducted for the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) by Director General Military Research and Analysis (DGMPRA) within the Human Dimensions of Operations (HDO) project (e.g., Murphy & Farley, 2000; see also Armstrong & Ivey, 2015; Armstrong, Ivey, & McCuaig Edge, 2012; Ivey, Sudom, Dean, & Tremblay, 2014; Léveillé & Knight, 2018). More recent work has addressed the issue of organizational-level trust for the Canadian Army (CA) (see Thompson & Gill, 2015; Thompson & Hendriks, in press). The current report extends this prior work, responding to a DGMPRA-sponsored research requirement to examine the significance and relevance of the organizational trust construct to Defence organizations writ large, and to the Department of National Defence (DND) more specifically. Accordingly, this report: (i) revisits the operational definition of organizational trust, applying it to the wider defence context, ii) considers the literature on organizational trust, including the potential impact of violations and strategies for repair, (ii) explores the potential challenges that might further underscore the importance of the organizational trust construct to Defence, (iii) identifies groups within the defence context who would be more at-risk with respect to organizational-level trust, (iv) applies this literature to selected strategic Defence policy documentation such as the 2017 Defence Policy "Strong Secure and Engaged" and, in light of all of the above, (iv) provides recommendations concerning how research might support an understanding of the nature and impact of organizational trust for Defence and its personnel.

1.1 Organizational-Level Trust: Individual Employees' Trust in the Structures and Senior Leaders of Their Organization

In their work investigating organizational trust in the CA, Thompson and Gill (2015) noted that one of the major challenges associated with conducting organizational trust research begins with its operational definition (Bachmann & Zaheer, 2013). Indeed, the trust referred to in most of the literature to date had essentially referred to variations on interpersonal trust (see Mishra & Mishra, 2013), with both the civilian and military discussions of organizational-level trust suffering from a lack of conceptual and definitional precision and consistency in this regard. That is, organizational trust had been variously defined as trust in peers and/or leaders (Mayer et al., 1995; Shockley-Zalabak, Ellis, & Winograd, 2000), or as trust between the personnel in different interacting units in the same organization (e.g., Becerra & Gupta, 1999) or in different organizations (e.g., Currall & Inkpen, 2002; Dirks, Lewicki, & Zaheer, 2009; Sydow, 1998). While clearly relevant, these issues are not the same as an individual's trust in the organization to which they belong.

Fortunately, other research has specifically addressed the interpersonal-organizational distinction as it relates to trust (see Ambrose & Schminke, 2003; Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa, 1986; Kramer, 2010; Luhman, as cited in Nyhan & Marlowe, 1997; Perry & Mankin, 2007; Rhoades Shanock, & Eisenberger, 2006). Overall this work argued that organizational-level trust is an impersonal, indirect, abstract or non-social form of trust (Kramer, 2010) that "reflects the system and stands beyond the day to day experiences that influence personal trust" (Luhmann, 1979, as cited in Nyhan & Marlowe, 1997, p. 58). Gillespie and Dietz (2009) developed a conceptual model in which "employees' perceptions of organizational trustworthiness are influenced by cues concerning six components of the organization. Four components are seen as internal to the organization, including leadership and management practices, culture and climate, strategy and structures, and policies and processes, whereas two are external to the organization: external governance and public reputation. Searle and Billsberry (2011) also sought to distinguish the interpersonal from the organizational aspects of trust. They suggested that organizational-level trust is multifaceted and based on multiple threads of information about the organization, including formal information, 3rd party recommendations, and perceptions of key representatives or agents of the organization. Together, these inform employees' or potential employees' assessments of the [organization's] competence, fairness, consistency and benign intent" (Searle & Billsberry, 2011, p. 70).

More specific to the military, Drobnjak, Stothard, Talbot, Watkins, and McDowall (2013) described organizational trust in the Australian Army as involving the degree to which the organization "keeps its commitments, negotiates honestly and protects the personnel's interests" (p. 163; see also Cummings & Bromiley, 1996). Allen and Braun (2013) further offered that "Member trust in the Army as an institution is based on the relationship between its members and the profession's senior strategic leaders, as well as perceptions of the organizational bureaucracy that operationalizes those senior leaders' choices" (p. 75). Consistent with Drobnjak et al., they went on to depict organization trust as involving soldier perceptions of "organizational procedures (policies and regulations) … a perception that the Army would not set out to intentionally deceive, and that senior leaders would act in good faith for the Army … (e.g., personnel, training, acquisition, sustainment, family programs)" (p. 84). … [Conversely] "low organizational trust would involve the perception of the Army as self-serving, exploiting soldiers, exhibiting poor stewardship (fraud, waste, abuse, mismanagement) … [and possessing] … a lack of candor" (Allen & Braun, 2013, p. 76).

Thompson and Gill (2015) used these sources and others to distill an initial operational definition of organizational trust that would be applicable to a military context and reflect the distinction between the organizational and interpersonal aspects of trust. Accordingly, organizational-level trust in the military was defined as a military member's expectation that the military, as reflected in military bureaucratic structures (i.e., policies, processes, systems, etc.) and his or her strategic leaders, will be there for him or her when needed, performing actions that are beneficial, or at least not detrimental to him or her. Consistent with conceptual models, organizational-level trust is also conceived of as relatively positive or at least neutral—as long as there are no reasons evident for doubt (see McKnight, Cummings, & Chervany, 1998). According to this view then, all things being equal, organizational trust might well be thought of as a somewhat latent dimension in employees' overall gestalt about work and the organization to which they belong.

Although limited, there are empirical results that speak to the relevance and importance of organizational-level trust in the Canadian Defence context. First, Stouffer (2008) reported results from the 2006 Canadian Forces Retention Survey indicating that 47% of the survey respondents 'somewhat' to 'strongly' disagreed with the statement, "I trust senior leaders to make the right decisions for CF members," and that 67% of the sample 'somewhat' or 'strongly' agreed with the statement, "if given the opportunity, the CF would take advantage of me." Moreover, initial findings of Thompson and Hendriks (in press) suggested that levels of organizational trust were notably implicated in decisions to stay or leave the military. That is, organizational-level trust was significantly lower for military personnel who were definitely intending to leave within a year, relative to those who definitely intended to stay in the military. In fact, organizational trust accounted for a full 25% of the variance in intention to leave the military within the next year. Nor is this a phenomenon unique to the Canadian military: military research in the United States demonstrated similar findings both in terms of assessments of the military as an organization and assessments of senior leadership (Caslen, 2011; Paparone, 2002).

Second, results of the 2017 Public Service Employee Survey (Treasury Board Secretariat of Canada, 2018a) are also revealing. Approximately one third of the over 12,000 DND respondents sampled indicated that they did not have confidence in the senior management of their department or agency (30%), did not feel that senior leaders made effective and timely decisions (30%), felt that essential information did not flow effectively from senior management to staff (36%), and did not believe that senior management would make an effort to try and resolve the concerns that would be raised in the survey (35%). Other results are more directly relevant to issues related to organizational bureaucracy. For instance, 27% felt that their department or agency did not do a good job of supporting employee career development. Speaking to factors that negatively impact the quality of their work, respondents indicated that they felt that the quality of their work suffers because of ... constantly changing priorities (27%), ... too many approval stages (43%), ... having to do the same or more work, but with fewer resources (41%) and ... overly complicated or unnecessary business processes (42%). Findings such as these should give senior military and civilian leadership within Defence pause, and suggests that organizational-level trust should be an area of attention and further investigation.

1.2 How Strategic Leaders and Bureaucratic Structures Affect Trust in The Organization.

1.2.1 Strategic-Level Leaders

The research literature suggests that strategic leaders—who employees do not directly interact with—can affect employees' organizational-level trust in at least four ways. First, strategic leaders can provide concrete knowledge and information that can affect employees' uncertainty level and thus affect trust (Luhmann, 1979). Second, the communications, decisions and actions of strategic leaders of the organization often have direct implications for the future of each individual worker (Schoorman et al., 2007). Third, senior leaders often personify the organization to its employees who then generalize these feelings to the organization as a whole (Levinson, 1965; Sousa-Lima, Michel, & Caetano, 2013). Fourth, the actions of senior leaders are often the bases of the inferences that employees draw concerning the organization's true intent (Perry, 2004), meaning that employees often base their assessment of the degree to which they can rely on the organization "on the outcomes of organizational decisions made by these top managers" (Costigan, Ilter, & Berman, 1998, p. 309; see also McCauley & Kuhnert, 1992; Tyler & Bies, 1990). Indeed, organizational structures are often seen as the operationalization of the senior leaders' choices and true intent (Allen & Braun, 2013) and thus also reflect the true competence, benevolence, and integrity of the senior leadership of the organization (Searle & Skinner, 2011). When these characteristics appear to be lacking, it "can seriously erode employee perceptions of the organization …" (Perry, 2004, p. 145). Not surprisingly, this can lead employees to pursue other employment options. Such thinking is consistent with the results of a multi-nation study that revealed that employee turnover intention was more strongly related to trust in CEO than to trust in direct supervisor (Costigan, Insinga, Berman, Kranas, & Kureshov, 2011).

1.2.2 Organizational Structures

Organizational structures are the rules, regulations, policies, processes and procedures (Bachmann, 2010) that essentially formalize workflow within an organization (Adler & Borys, 1996). As such, organizational structures specify the manner in which tasks should be accomplished and identify the roles, authorities and responsibilities both laterally (i.e., by function) and hierarchically (i.e., by authority) (see Schein, 1970). Organizational structures are the primary mechanism for interaction, decision making and the actioning of the decisions that are made in, by, and for the organization. Hence, they are perhaps the most tangible manifestation of bureaucracy (i.e., a hierarchical administrative system for controlling or managing a given organization), (see Adler & Borys, 1996). As noted above, they convey to employees the real intent of the organization's senior leadership.

1.3 What Conditions Challenge Organizational Trust and who is Most Affected by These Conditions?

Having covered the major components that comprise organizational trust, the next section addresses the conditions that can challenge it, who is most affected by these conditions and the range of outcomes that can occur as a result of these conditions. Organizational trust theory and research have identified a variety of conditions that can render decisions to trust more acute. To provide a structure to the discussion of the conditions that can challenge organizational trust, I group variables under organizational-, task or situational-, and individual-level headings. However, it should be noted that these levels are not always independent of each other. For instance, the degree of interdependence required to achieve an objective

can characterize a particular task, but when level of interdependence is a feature of all tasks and situations, it can also be a feature of the organization itself. Moreover, these conditions will be related to decreases in organizational-level trust to the extent that the quality of the psychological surround that occurs as a result may leave employees feeling vulnerable and uncertain about the trustworthiness and the underlying intent of the organization, its senior leadership, and its bureaucratic systems.

1.3.1 Organizational-Level Conditions

Not surprisingly, organizational features tend to be particularly important contributors to employees' perceptions of the extent to which they can rely on the organization to provide something of value to them when needed. In fact, many of the features at this level can be seen as reflecting the degree of organizational complexity that exists, that is, the number of levels and the nature of "differentiation in structure, authority and locus of control …" (Dooley, 2002, p. 5013), among other things. In general, the degree of organizational complexity is related to level of ambiguity and uncertainty that can raise concerns about potential vulnerabilities that, in turn, can impact the level of employee trust.

More specifically, where organizational structures are seen as unclear, constantly changing for often unspecified reasons, or as not consistently applied, they can interfere with employees' shared understanding, their sense of security or predictability, their perceptions of the fairness of rewards and punishments, and even their perceptions of organizational ethical climate (Carnevale & Weschler, 1992; Kiefer, 2005; Zaheer & Zaheer, 2006). All of these can work to undermine employees' trust in their organization, certainly in terms of its competence and predictability, but these concerns can also extend to assessments of its integrity and benevolence. It should be noted, however, that bureaucratic structures and processes can support positive work and organizational attitudes including employee trust (e.g., Zaheer, McEvily & Perrone, 1998). For instance, where issues or conflicts have previously arisen, the implemention of additional organizational structures such as contracts, bureaucratic procedures, or legal requirements can bring clarity, decrease ambiguity, and ensure that problematic issues are addressed, thus reducing employee vulnerability, ambiguity, and uncertainty and increasing trust in the organization. Moreover, in instituting new processes, the organization may be perceived as providing a tangible response to an identified need, as is required to promote trust.

Adler and Borys (1996) sought to further understand when and why bureaucratic structures would have a positive or negative effect on workers. Based on intensive reviews of different types of private-sector organizations they concluded that an important key seems to be the degree of overlap between the organizational- and individual-level objectives by an organization's bureaucratic structures. They posited that where there is a sufficient degree of overlap between organizational- and individual-level goals and values, bureaucracy can be seen as enabling. In these cases, organizational systems are and, importantly, are seen by the end-user to be developed to support and facilitate these shared goals and values. In essence, these are structures that employees would term to be 'good' policies, procedures, and processes. In these cases, "employees will embrace formal work procedures that are appropriately designed and implemented … [and that] facilitate task performance," (Adler & Borys, 1996, p. 64).

A second form of bureaucracy occurs when the overlap between organizational- and individual-level values and goals is small. Termed coercive bureaucracy by Adler and Borys (1996), the purpose and tone of organizational structures emphasize the compelling of employee effort, and compliance, enforcement, and oversight and are seen as being imposed on workers. These systems and structures also support or emphasize the strictness and steepness of power and control differentials and hierarchies, and are primarily designed to check for lapses or violations and to punish when these are found (see Das & Teng,

1998; Knights, Noble, Vurdubakis, & Willmott, 2001; Miller, 2004; Sitkin & Roth 1993). Employees perceive that these structures are put in place as control mechanisms, to provide greater restrictions on their autonomy, and/or as methods of monitoring them. These structures undermine employees' trust of the organization because they send the strong message that the organization does not trust the effort, commitment, skill and/or the intent of the employees (McAllister, 1995). Such a message will activate the bilateral nature of trust: "[u]nder such a regime … employees will inevitably reciprocate management's lack of trust" (Adler & Borys, 1996, p. 70), in effect, saying: "I do not trust because you do not trust me. Consequently, this may evolve into a vicious cycle" (Das &Teng, 1998, p. 501; see also Miller, 2004) wherein employees similarly come to question the intent and values of the organization.[2] The increased social distance that is characteristic of coercive bureaucracy will also work to undermine trust. Not surprisingly, effects of coercive bureaucracy on employee attitudes and behaviors are overwhelmingly negative, including greater absenteeism and lower retention rates, increased role stress, feelings of powerlessness and a lack of autonomy, decreased satisfaction and commitment, and "little motivation to contribute to the complex, nonroutine tasks that contribute to innovation" (Adler & Borys, 1996, p. 63).

In addition to bureaucratic structures themselves, the complexity of an organization can also be reflected in the diversity of its personnel. Workforce diversity has traditionally reflected professional or skill-based or gender differences, but increasingly also involves differences in physical abilities, culture, gender identity and sexual orientation (Fassinger, 2008). Diversity is often embraced as a catalyst for progress, creativity and innovation, thus increasing effectiveness and organizational growth (Downey, van der Werff, Thomas, & Plaut, 2015; Mannix & Neale, 2005; Thomas & Ely, 1996). On the other hand, workforce diversity as defined above has also been associated with more negative organizational indicators such as higher turnover and lower performance through a variety of processes (Milliken & Martins, 1996). Speaking to issues of organizational trust, past research has demonstrated that members of minority groups often feel disadvantaged and thus more vulnerable in organizational contexts (e.g., Chan & Schmitt, 2004; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011), although other work has revealed that organizational-level efforts to support diversity can mitigate at least some negative effects (Triana, Garcia, & Colella, 2010). Thus, despite the promise that diversity can bring to an organization, it can also involve challenges that must be managed and that can impact important outcomes, including organizational trust, in order to derive its full benefits (Mannix & Neale, 2005; Patrick & Kumar, 2012; Shore et al., 2011; Thomas & Ely, 1996). Hence, where there is not careful thought behind the development and application of inclusion practices, such practices can at times underscore group and status differences that can undermine employees' trust, particularly in terms of the organization's integrity and benevolence of the organization toward them and their group (Shore, Randel, Chung, Dean, Holcombe Ernhart, & Singh, 2011).

Different groups within an organization are often distinguished by their cultures, that is, largely unwritten patterns of values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors (Hatch 2004; Schein, 2010). Cultures can be related to organizational trust in two distinct ways. First, as indicated, while culture can bind the organization together (Marcoulides & Heck, 1993), it can also distinguish different groups (Hofstede, 1981) within an organization. Thus, as organizations grow in size and complexity, they can also develop or reflect

[2] Interestingly, Adler and Borys (1996) also suggested that the negative effects of coercive bureaucracy will be more profound for professions that emphasize—and I would add are evaluated on—innovation, creativity and autonomy, such as the science and engineering professions. However, consistent with their central assumptions, they also argued "scientists and engineers might prefer less formalization ceteris paribus, but if the use of such procedures to formalize the more routine parts of their task set, [such formalization] enhances their effectiveness and their subjective self-efficacy" (p. 65).

multiple organizational subcultures, the very term implying distinctions in values and perspectives within an organization. Second, organizational culture is "a sociocultural system of perceived functioning of the organization's strategies and practices" (Marcoulides & Heck, 1993, p. 210). Hence, organizational culture is a shared lens through which employees interpret and evaluate organizational decisions and policies (see Gillespie & Dietz, 2009; McAuley, Duberley, & Johnson, 2007; Schein, 2011; Searle & Skinner, 2011; Victor & Cullen, 1988). When different cultures within an organization are related to real or even to perceived differences in important values and objectives, such cultural differences can contribute to an overall disconnect between groups within an organization, and between groups and the organization itself. In particular, and similar to the psychological dynamics that affect the diversity-organizational trust relation, where certain subcultures believe themselves to be treated as inferior or disadvantaged, or perceive other groups to be favored by the organization as a function of the underlying attitudes or values of the organization's senior leaders and/or organizational structures that embody the intent and approach of senior leaders, there are potentially important implications for individuals' trust in that organization. In fact, Wilkins and Ouchi (1983) have argued that many organizations are not just culturally complex, but actually 'culturally fragmented,' evocatively describing a situation in which subcultures are not well aligned in an overall whole or are not complementary to one another. Developing an overarching organizational culture that embraces at least some differences between groups, and demonstrates a balance in addressing the needs of the diverse groups within the organization, remains a significant challenge that implicates organizational-level trust.

The physical or geographical distribution of employees is another aspect of organizational complexity that has also been shown to affect trust (Ellis & Shockley-Zalabak, 2001; Wilson, Straus, & McEvily, 2006). To date this research has focused on trust between team members; however, the principles that account for this relation can also apply at the organizational level. For instance, distributed organizations rely on computer-mediated communication and interaction. Both decreased spontaneity in communications (Kiesler & Cummings, 2002) and the loss of often important contextual information (Mikawa, Cunnington, & Gaskins, 2009) can undermine the clarity of intent and the transparency of an organization. For instance, formal announcements that do not include details or nuances of why an initiative is being undertaken can be construed as having less relevance to, or concern for the time or efforts of, individual employees—whether this is the case or not. In addition, in a distributed organization there is less opportunity for these misunderstandings to be communicated back to the original source that might then be able to quickly clear things up if a misinterpretation has in fact occurred. As a result, misunderstandings can be left to foment and grow more entrenched, affecting interpretations of subsequent actions. Technology can also interfere with interaction and understanding in a number of ways, beginning with a decreased speed of interaction, a factor that can especially affect distributed teams that are in different time zones. Similarly, unreliable technology can also increase the potential for misunderstandings and increase the tendency to make faulty attributions that can lead to the questioning of true intentions (Hinds & Bailey, 2003; Staples & Webster, 2008). When these dynamics implicate the intent of the strategic-level leadership, and organizational structures, organizational-level trust may be negatively affected.

1.3.2 Task/Situational-Level Conditions

The general trust literature, including that from the organizational realm, makes clear that several task or situational characteristics can affect trust (Branzei, Vertinsky, & Camp, 2007; Gambetta, 1988; Jennings, Artz, Gillin, & Christodoulos, 2000; Lewicki, Tomlinson, & Gillespie, 2006; Mishra, 1996; Mohr & Spekman, 1994; Schumacher, 2006). For instance, a lack of clear or changing task objectives or requirements, and the degree of importance and/or risk or danger inherent in the task, are all influential

dimensions in this regard (Child, Dietz, Gillespie, Li, Suanders, & Skinner, 2007). Specifically, trust will be more of an issue when tasks are deemed to be important, carry a high degree of risk or danger, and are ambiguous, for instance, due to unclear or changing objectives (Thompson & Gill, 2010).

The degree of interdependence required to achieve an objective is also considered to be important with respect to trust. Level of task interdependence is linked to the need to trust, because at higher levels of interdependence we are more reliant on the input of others in order to achieve valued goals (Mayer et al., 1995). Trust, then, is assumed to become increasingly relevant under moderate to high levels of interdependence, because the individual is more vulnerable to the vagaries in the competence, benevolence, and integrity of others (Dirks, 1999). Conversely, under conditions of low interdependence, trust is of little consequence, as goals can be achieved irrespective of the input of others.

The asymmetry of the interdependence of the contributors also affects trust, because when asymmetry increases, the level of risk and vulnerability rises for the party with less power and standing in the relationship (Geyskens, Steenkamp, Sheer, & Kumar, 1996). For instance, Lapidot, Kark, and Shamir (2007) found that military cadets were more likely to recall negative experiences with their military supervisors than vice versa, and that these negative recollections had a greater effect on the trust levels of the cadets than the supervisors. While this particular study investigated the effects of power and status differentials on trust between direct supervisors and subordinates, by extension, these dynamics would be expected to be the same, or perhaps even amplified, between individual workers and senior leadership levels. Thus, organizational trust may be a particular concern in hierarchical entities like the military and the public service. Specifically, where these differences are associated with hierarchical status, lower- status individuals may lose trust in the organization's strategic leaders and/or systems to provide them with what they need to fulfil their organizational roles.

1.3.3 Individual-Level Conditions

I have previously indicated that issues related to organizational-level trust will be more acute for groups within the organization that are, or at least perceive themselves to be, more dependent on the organization's structures and the positive intent of senior leaders for outcomes important to them. This dynamic will be exacerbated for those individuals who perceive themselves as having less power and status (Kramer, 1999) and thus as disadvantaged with respect to personal, career and organizational outcomes. These issues most often refer to subcultures or minority groups within an organization, as discussed earlier. By extension, however, this dynamic extends to any individual who perceives that they have less power and status, or who feel that they are in some way disadvantaged, irrespective of belonging to a particular group within an organization. Hence, under some conditions, organizational trust could be an issue for any individual, even those from groups that are the majority or are considered to be advantaged relative to others in the organization. The key is that the individual feels uncertain and vulnerable to the organization in some way and must rely on the organization's competence, benevolence, integrity and/or predictability in order to obtain something of importance to him or her.

Such circumstances can occur at several points along a person's career when they face greater vulnerability or uncertainty, for instance, during periods of downsizing, at points of organizational promotion or evaluation, when organizational services need to be accessed (e.g., as in the case of illness or injury), or in cases where the individual's rights or reputation may be under attack, either by another individual within the organization, or by the organization itself. In such cases, a remedy is seen as requiring the competence, integrity, reliability and/or benevolence of senior organizational leaders and systems. Indeed any transition point can raise the issue of trust in an organization. For instance, Searle

and Billsberry (2011) have conducted civilian research investigating how organizational trust is formed in the job application process, because it too can be a critical period that raises a degree of uncertainty and makes one's vulnerability to the organization for things that are important to that individual more apparent. They have argued that this time period, though under-researched, may be very important, because once formed, attitudes about an organization may be unlikely to change.

Another person-based factor that can affect individuals' trust in the organization is their level of dispositional trust. Thought to be based on parental influences, childhood experiences, and attachment styles, dispositional trust is a general tendency reflecting "the extent to which a person tends to believe that the words or promises of others can be relied on" (Colquitt, Scott, & Le Pine, 2007, p. 911; see also Rotter, 1967; Stack, 1978; Webb & Worchel, 1986). While some research has demonstrated the unique contributions of dispositional-level trust (Colquitt et al., 2007), still unclear is the extent to which it typically plays a role in organizational-level trust, or the extent to which dispositional trust affects important organizational-level outcomes, relative to other factors.

Overall then, employees' trust in their organization can be affected by organizational-, task-, or individual-level conditions, which can operate alone or in combination with each other. Moreover, depending on the level of analysis, these conditions can be recast as organizational, task, or individual factors. For instance asymmetry in interdependence can be seen as an attribute of an organization, of a specific task, or of a particular individual involved in a task within an organizational context. Regardless of the conditions that may challenge organizational-level trust, ultimately what is critical is that an individual feels affected by, and comes to question the intent, competence, integrity, and/or benevolence of, senior leadership and/or the organizational structures that he or she must contend with in order to attain important goals.

1.4 The Effects of Challenges to Organizational Trust

The literature has documented a range of reactions to the conditions that may challenge trust, ranging from no or very little reaction, through passive resistance to more active and intensely negative confrontations. Whatever their exact cause, the significance, intensity and duration of reactions to trust violations can vary based on the nature and the past history of the relationship, the nature of the challenge to trust, and the perceived risks and costs associated with continuing to trust the other (Benton, Gelber, Kelley, & Liebling, 1969; Kim, Ferrin, Cooper, & Dirks, 2004; Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003; Robinson, 1996).

At one end of this spectrum, the existence of high levels of trust can afford considerable protection in the face of many of these challenges. Indeed, high trust is thought to be especially important during times of crisis for several reasons, First, when high trust exists, minor differences are simply noticed less often; second, even when noticed, they will be responded to more often by giving the benefit of the doubt. Third, the individual thus continues to feel less vulnerable than in cases where trust does not exist, leading to continued goodwill, openness of communication, and the sharing of scarce resources (Mishra, 1996; Krishnan, Martin, & Noorderhaven, 2006). As a result, individuals are less likely to feel the need to review each new piece of information for signs of being taken advantage of or that needs are not being considered, or to be dismissive of trust repair efforts. Finally, high trust provides a protective psychological benefit in the face of actual setbacks, allowing an individual to continue to have confidence that the other will do everything reasonably in their power to protect one's interests, or that his or her needs will be met in the future—or that everything that could be done on his or her behalf was done, even in cases that lead to a poorer than expected outcome (Tyler, 1994).

However, this gestalt can be challenged by a variety of circumstances that, when activated, cause a variety of reactions that can have significant individual- and organizational-level effects.

When trust is challenged, employees may feel that their trust has been violated or breached. Such trust violations are often associated with real or perceived actions or inactions of the other, such as failing to keep a promise, wrong or unfair accusations, the disclosure of secrets, showing favouritism, and/or changing the rules (Bailey, 2003). Others have categorized trust violations into two overarching types: breaches of civic order, essentially the failure to follow rules and procedures consistently or where there are unmet social or occupationally-related expectations, and 'identity damage', a more personal form of attack which threatens one's social/occupational identity or reputation (Seale & Billsberry, 2011). At a minimum, perceived trust violations will at least cause a measure of doubt which, in turn, can lead to a revisiting of a previous decision to trust. This doubt can be a momentary perturbation but can also be associated with a wider range of responses, including suspicion and avoidance and working to rule (Bies & Tripp, 1996; Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; DeMore, Fisher, & Baron, 1988; Miller, 2004; Moorman, 1991). Needless to say, trust violations also entail tangible organizational-level costs, such as the time devoted to those conflicts and/or the time and effort devoted to designing, instituting, monitoring and ensuring the adherence of formal and informal proactive protections—the latter termed defensive monitoring—(see Currall & Judge, 1995). This state has often been referred to as low trust, a state that is negative but where there is a greater possibility that trust may be addressed and repaired.

Trust can sometimes be more than just tested, but actually broken, sometimes irrevocably. This is more likely when the violation is seen to be a serious breach that contravenes a psychological covenant, the unwritten expectations of the employment relationship (Robinson & Rousseau, 1994), and/or is based on actions (or inactions) that are perceived as being deliberate and voluntary (Bigley & Pearce, 1998; Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003) attempts to harm, reflects the real characteristics or intent of a previously trusted other, especially in the case of a previously trusted other that has authority over the trustor, and where the violation is perceived as likely to occur again (Elangovan & Shapiro, 1998). In these cases a trust violation crosses an important psychological threshold into distrust, defined as "confident negative expectations… that individuals will not behave in one's best interest" (Lewicki, McAllister, & Bies, 1998, p. 439), or "the belief that the other will be motivated to actively cause harm or intentionally fail to prevent harm from befalling the trustor" (Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003).

Recent theorists consider distrust to be distinct from low trust (Lewicki et al., 1998; Kramer, 1999), thinking supported by the fact that distrust activates different regions of the brain than trust (Dimoka, 2010). Moreover, distrust is characterized as an especially active emotional and cognitive state (Lewicki et al., 1998; see also Kramer, 1999), involving a unique set of negative perceptual and attributional biases and behavioral responses. These include the aptly termed blood-colored lenses, where all behaviors are interpreted via a negative perceptual bias (Bijlsma-Frankema, Sitkin, & Weibel, 2015), and the sinister attribution error, in which situational determinants of negative behaviors are discounted, and individual causes of the negative behaviors are overestimated (Kramer, 1994). As well, distrust is more often characterized by a disproportionate escalation of negative responses, termed overmatching (Bijlsma-Frankema et al. 2015). All are invoked in reaction to the betrayal in order to minimize feelings of threat and vulnerability to the extent possible. Another particularly destructive feature of distrust is that the impact can spread beyond the initial event and become "a more generalized challenge to trust" that can encompass "a wider set of situations creating concerns both about trustworthiness in terms of competence and integrity of others and the firm as a whole" (Searle & Billsberry, 2011, p. 79). "Distrust of others fosters not merely less cooperation and interaction but more active and explicit competitive responses and hostile behaviour—not merely lower commitment, but active disengagement, as well as

increases in coercive actions by distrusting parties (e.g., taking another's resources, not sharing important information, being absent from scheduled meetings)," (Thompson & Gill, in press; Tomlinson & Lewicki, 2006). Distrust then is distinguishable by "a much more dramatic effect on one's decisions with regard to maintaining and switching relations than can be attributed to a simple degrading of trust" (Cho, 2006, p.25). Taken together, there is little wonder that distrust is associated with particularly destructive outcomes ranging from information distortion and disbelief (Kramer, 1994) to overt hostility (Chambers & Melnyk, 2006), sabotage (Gilbert & Li-Pang Tang, 1998) and intractable conflicts (Tomlinson, Lewicki, Burgess, & Kaufman, 2006). Moreover, once engaged, distrust can turn even sincere "efforts to rebuild trust into suspicion-laden, negative attributions of malice … which reinforce distrust instead of paving the way to trust," (Bijlsma-Frankema et al., 2015, p. 17).

1.5 Trust Repair

In order to move forward, tested or temporarily broken trust and/or distrust must be addressed. Research suggests that although violated trust can be repaired (Bottom, Gibson, Daniels, & Murnighan, 2002; Mishra, 1996), this can be a difficult process that requires different strategies than those of initial trust building and still may never result in a return to pre-violation levels (Kramer, 1999; Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000; Gill, Thompson, & Febbraro, 2011). A trust repair strategy is dependent on multiple factors (Korsgaard, Brodt, & Whitener, 2002; Schweitzer, Hershey, & Bradley, 2006). For instance, it is generally agreed that trust will be more effectively repaired if the violator acknowledges and takes responsibility for the trust violation (Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000), and makes genuine and concrete attempts at trust repair (Tomlinson & Mayer, 2009). The future trajectory of the relationship after a trust violation is also ultimately impacted by the extent to which the parties are invested in maintaining that relationship (Moreland & McMinn, 1999), investments that can be based on internal motivations such as a desire for reconciliation or affective commitment, or on external motivations such as pay and pension. It should be noted, however, that when the reasons for remaining in the organization are externally motivated, they are likely to be more tenuous and associated with more active searches for available alternatives, and with decreased motivation for and engagement with current work, thus representing more of a temporary abeyance of active negativity rather than a true repair of trust.

Although the principles of trust repair were initially developed based on trust violations between individuals, research shows that they operate at the organizational-level as well. One field study concluded that successful trust repair efforts by senior leaders in an organization should involve demonstrations of organizational support for employees that indicate care and concern for them as well as having employees directly involved, if not integrated, into any change process that is pursued (Simsarian Webber, Bishop, & O'Neill, 2012). Expanding on this, Gillespie and Dietz (2009) have proposed a four-stage process of organizational-level trust restoration that begins with the organization's immediate responses—emergency measures and initial communications—although they note that informative follow-up communications throughout the process will also be critical to trust restoration. This should be followed by a timely yet thorough and systemic diagnosis of what led to the violation. Accurate diagnosis is essential to developing concrete, integrative and effective overarching strategies and specific interventions to increase trust, that will begin to rebuild employees' positive expectations concerning the intent of the organization. Importantly, and harkening back to the earlier discussion of the distinctions between trust and distrust, Gillespie and Dietz acknowledge that effective restoration may require not only strategies to increase trust but also those that are specifically geared to reducing employee distrust. A fourth stage involves a multi-level, objective and transparent evaluation of interventions. While Gillespie and Dietz did not deem assessment to be critical to increasing or restoring trust, they noted that it is the

mechanism for determining the effectiveness of the interventions that have been enacted. They closed their discussion by acknowledging the time and effort that is associated with this approach, as well as the possibility that admissions of wrongdoing may cause an even greater hit to the organization's reputation, at least in the short term. Nonetheless, the qualities of sincerity, transparency, thoroughness, and timeliness need to be the hallmarks of all trust repair efforts in order to best ensure the greatest possibility of success.

2 The Future of Defence—Increasing Complexity, Ambiguity, Diversity, and Distribution in a Hierarchical Organization

The complexity and the hierarchical nature of its organizational structure, the diversity and distributed nature of its workforce, and the increasing integration of technological systems mean that organizational trust will have an enduring relevance for Defence. Indeed, as reflected in the organizational chart presented in Figure 1 (DND, 2018a), perhaps the most predominant characteristics of DND are its organizational complexity, diversity and hierarchical nature. That is, although united under the Minister of National Defence (MND), DND is comprised of a largely civilian branch, also called DND. and a military branch, the CAF. While linked under the relatively new terminology of The Defence Team, DND and the CAF are also recognized as two separate organizations under the National Defence Act and are governed by two separate personnel management systems and a variety of different legislations (Goldenberg, Febbraro, & Dean, 2015a). Further attesting to the complexity of the organization, Figure 1 also indicates that some entities within DND report exclusively within the civilian branch under the Deputy Minister of Defence (DM), while other units are direct reports to the Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS); still others report to both the CDS and the DM. Moreover, a review of the names of the various parts of the organizational chart reveals the wide diversity of the organizations, even within the DND and CAF organizations. This diversity can mean that, although perhaps united at a macro level, there can be very different objectives and mandates, philosophies, raison d'etres, and organizational subcultures that influence the constituent parts of DND (Davis, 2015). Finally, although Figure 1 reflects that Defence is a hierarchical organization, what it cannot depict is the multiple levels of hierarchy that exist within it—and thus the organizational distance, i.e., organizational status and power differentials between parts of an organization, (e.g., Napier & Ferris, 1993) that exists between most individuals and the strategic levels of DND. At a minimum, the complex lateral and hierarchical nature of Defence can contribute to a sense of ambiguity and uncertainty and to very real differences in power, status and purpose within Defence. As noted earlier, complexity and hierarchies, especially those that emphasize status and power differentials, can set the stage for issues of organizational trust to become more acute.

Defence's mission(s) is articulated in strategy, which is in turn, is operationalized in the various rules, policies, processes, and procedures that facilitate the effective completion of tasks that address defence's mission, while adhering to wider governmental regulations. Indeed, this sheer number of structures, policies and processes raises the complexity and ambiguity of the defence environment. Where those structures involve the different mandates, priorities and constraints associated with the various components of DND, this adds a level of structural ambiguity and complexity that can be difficult to navigate and reconcile. Recalling the previously discussed research on the effects of the nature of control structures on employee trust, where organizational structures and processes do not appear to make sense, or where they emphasize the impersonal, increase social distance in an organization, add what is perceived to be unnecessary complexity, and/or are designed to *check up* on workers, employee trust in DND may be at risk. Interestingly, and relevant to the present discussion, Ambrose and Schminke (2003) found that the perceived fairness of organizational structures was especially important in organizations that were characterized by rigid, formal, traditional, centralized, hierarchical and bureaucratic structural features, suggesting this issue is particularly relevant to military and government organizations.

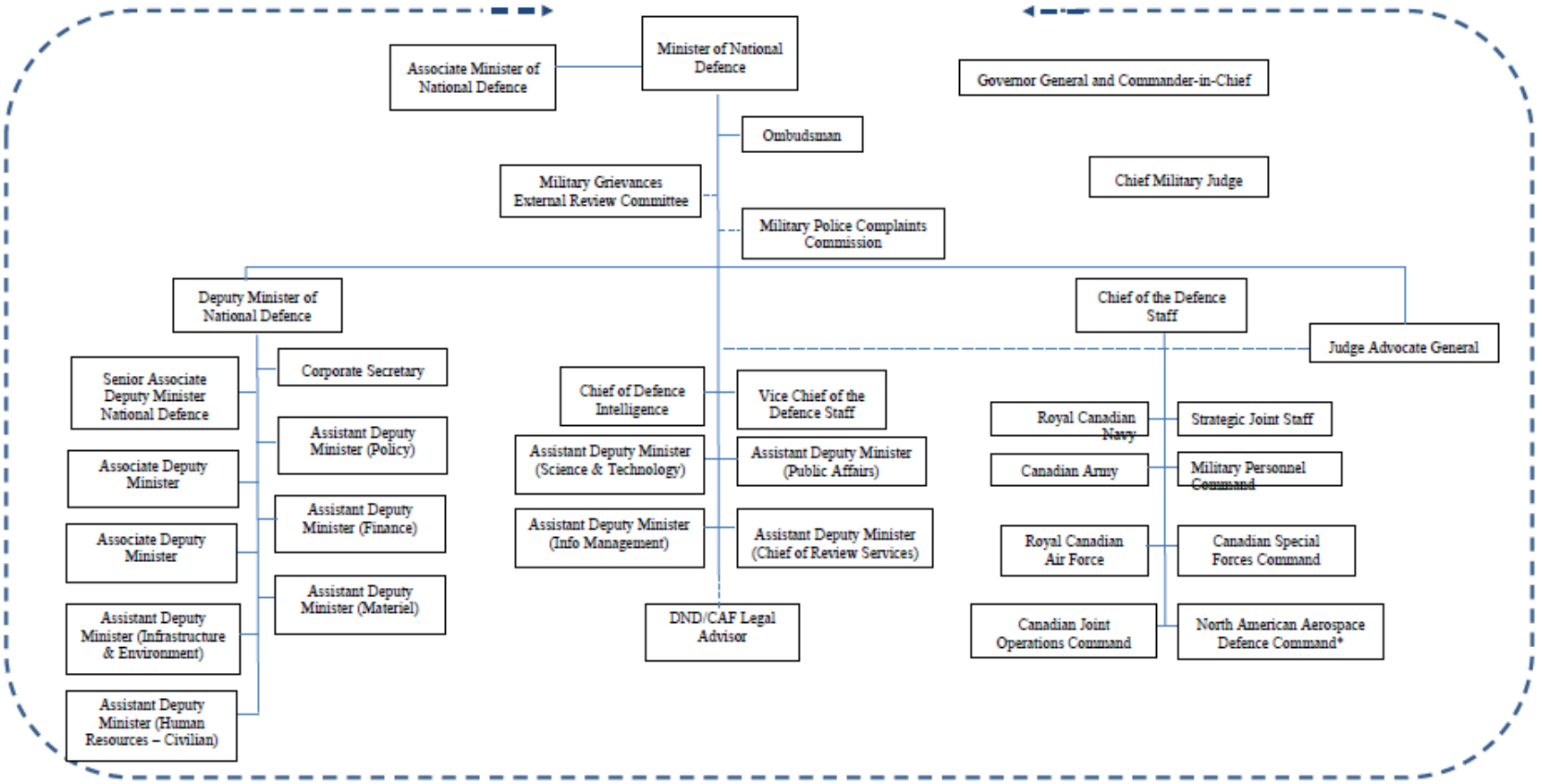

Figure 1: *The organizational structure of Canada's Department of National Defence.*

Looking to the future, several additional factors are also striking in terms of the organizational trust literature presented here. First, one predominant future human trend for DND will be increased diversity to better reflect the demography of Canada. "Most importantly, the Canadian Armed Forces must reflect the diversity of the country we defend. **We need a military that looks like Canada** [original emphasis]," (DND, 2017, p. 20). As the previous literature review has indicated, workforce diversity can offer many advantages; however, the realization of its benefits cannot be left to chance. Effectively addressing the challenge of increased diversity will require an organizational-level approach that is well-reasoned, and benevolent, that is marked by the integrity and competence of the organization, that is, its senior leadership as well as the organization's systems. In particular, there will need to be vigilance to ensure that a culture of inclusion is evident and that there is a price to pay for personnel who do not respect diversity in the military, as well as an active demonstration of an organizational-level commitment to both.

Second, the geographic distribution between people that is the current reality of Canadian Defence will likely grow and will be increasingly managed via technology. This means that organizational-level information will be increasingly conveyed via technological interfaces and that personnel will be exposed to and interact with organizational systems rather than have direct interaction with organizational agents to assist them with information or resource requests and/or to help them navigate organizational systems. I have previously reviewed the number of ways in which technology has the potential to impact trust, including organizational trust, such as the loss of important contextual information and spontaneous communication that is important in face-to-face trust development and maintenance, as well as a number of challenges to trust that can occur as a result of technological limitations and failures. Together, these raise organizational uncertainty and ambiguity, and certainly levels of frustration when organizational systems are unclear, unnecessarily complicated, require specialized knowledge to navigate, and/or are simply unreliable. When this is the case, it is very easy for employees to conclude that the organization has little concern for their time or, by extension for them.

Third, despite increased diversity and distribution, Defence will continue to be characterized by both lateral and vertical interdependencies within the organization, with different parts of government, and beyond. These interdependencies mean that individuals will often require the inputs of others in order to complete tasks associated with their work roles. They will also rely on others for things that are important to their professional and personal needs. Such interdependencies always increase the need for trust because our reliance on others increases the risk that we may not be able to accomplish tasks or get needed resources.

In general then, when these factors have positive or benign effects, for instance when diversity is successfully managed, or when technology facilitates the attainment of goals, DND may be an environment where organizational trust will be often largely a latent factor for most people, meaning it may well lie dormant for many individuals on a daily basis. That is, all things being equal, many personnel will not consider or be vigilant with respect to issues of trust or their vulnerability to the organization, as long as there is no reason or evidence that creates doubt. However, organizational trust can become manifest for personnel who encounter conditions that lead them to question the real intent, integrity, benevolence, or competence of the senior leadership and/or the organizational structures that are in place. That is, organizational trust levels might be expected to be most impactful on a range of outcomes for those individuals who find themselves particularly reliant on the benevolent intent, competence, and integrity of strategic leaders, and often complex, ambiguous organizational systems. Indeed, where there are disconnects between communications of intent of senior leaders and the means to attain them, organizational structures may well communicate the dominant intent of the organization—and

thus be more influential on employees' level of trust of that organization than senior leaders. For example, if the communications of an organization's senior leader emphasize the need to be agile and responsive, but none of the organizational mechanisms or systems support agility, then employees may well come to doubt the commitment of senior leadership to these goals. Revisting the operational definition of organizational trust, this can contribute to decreases in organizational trust because the organization does not provide the resources to achieve the stated objectives of the senior leadership.

More specifically, organizational trust in DND will be more of an issue for individuals who feel that, due to their individual circumstances or as members of a disadvantaged group, they are vulnerable to the perturbations, inertia, inequities or ill-intent of the organization's senior leadership and/or systems. For instance, based on recent history, in the CAF we would expect organizational trust to be more of an issue for injured military personnel facing the potential of imposed release from the military, for targets of military sexual misconduct, or for any case in which important outcomes for the individual military member seem tied to CAF military policies and processes that do not seem appropriate, fair, clear, or consistently applied. In a civilian Defence context, organizational trust issues may well have become more acute for those civil servants whose job classification and/or level left them more vulnerable in the wake of DND's 2011 Strategic Review (SR) and Deficit Reduction Action Plan (DRAP) policies (Department of National Defence, 2018), or whose income has been affected by the government's implementation of the Phoenix pay system. Similarly, members of groups with lower representation, perhaps especially at junior levels of their organization, may well feel disadvantaged in terms of their value to the organization being recognized and/or their concerns being heard and met within the organization. When this is the case, these individuals will feel more vulnerable to the organization, its processes, and to the attitudes of its senior leadership. In all of these cases, organizational trust may be more of a concern.

3 Strategic-Level Defence Documentation: Implications for Employees' Trust in DND

Having discussed the literature on organizational trust and how it is relevant, and is expected to be increasingly relevant to defence organizations, the following section addresses an additional part of the client request for this report: to apply key principles from the organizational trust literature to recent DND strategy documents. As indicated earlier in this report, because strategic documents set the priorities and the agendas and importantly the tone for what and how the organization will pursue its goals, they are a principle way to convey the intent of the senior leadership. As such, strategy documents set the stage for the operationalization of that intent into organizational systems, processes and procedures. Hence, it is instructive to understand whether and how such documentation may address organizational trust. It is beyond the scope of this report to discuss all aspects of this documentation in detail. However, I will provide brief overviews and examples from documents to frame the discussion relevant to organizational trust. Accordingly, the focus will be on those parts of the documents that have the most relevance in terms of organizational trust. I begin with the document that is most consistent with the principles and findings relevant to establishing and maintaining organizational trust as outlined earlier in this report.

3.1 Strong, Secure, Engaged (SSE): Canada's Defence Policy

As the key future strategy and policy document for Defence, Strong, Secure, Engaged (SSE, Department of National Defence/DND, 2017a) is understandably wide-ranging and covers domestic and international defence and security issues. However, SSE is also notable with respect to organizational-level trust from several perspectives. First, it was based on extensive, open consultation to identify Defence priorities and issues in need of particular attention. This approach to strategy development can be seen as a signal of an open, transparent and collaborative method in the formulation of SSE, which is noted as an important step in trust development. Second, perhaps the central feature of SSE is the clear, written acknowledgement that Defence has a responsibility regarding the health and wellness of Regular and Reserve Force personnel, and their families: "Delivering on our commitment to our people and their families is a sacred obligation …" (DND, 2017a, p. 19); "Offering steadfast support to our people not only builds a strong and agile defence organization, but also acknowledges the sacred obligation the Government of Canada has to our military personnel, Veterans, and their families" (DND, 2017a, p. 12). Third, issues related to personnel represent the first section of SSE and the language and overall tone of SSE suggests a renewal, and indeed extension, of the responsibility of Defence that "transforms how we care for Canada's military members and their families, from the time of recruitment to retirement and beyond." (DND, 2017a, p. 11.) It notes that:

> We have placed an unprecedented focus on ensuring our people and their families are well-supported, diverse and resilient—physically, psychologically, and socially. This starts from the moment military members join the Canadian Armed Forces, continues throughout their careers, and extends to that crucial time of transition when members step out of the uniform. (DND, 2017a, p. 12.)

SSE also evocatively acknowledges the operational stresses that can be associated with service for the individual member and for military families:

> Military service is also inherently challenging. On operations, the potential for serious physical and mental injuries is a reality. Prolonged absence from loved ones can put

> strain on families and relationships. The Canadian Armed Forces must deliver on its responsibility to care and support our people when they encounter these challenges. (DND, 2017a, p. 19.)

Fourth, SSE also adopts a much more holistic and benevolent approach and tone to personnel seeking to better address all aspects of a military career, including, for instance, "a more all-inclusive, comprehensive approach to care—known as Total Health and Wellness" (DND, 2017a, p. 25). This approach considers psychological well-being in the workplace, the physical work environment, and personal health, including physical, mental, spiritual and familial aspects of member's lives. SSE also advocates "a model that also better integrates health promotion and prevention, care and treatment and support into a wider range of health and wellness services and programs" (DND, 2017a, p. 25). The holistic approach is also evident in that SSE seeks to "expand wellness beyond the traditional health care model to include promotion, prevention, treatment and support, and provide a greater range of health and wellness services and programs" (DND, 2017a, p. 25) and to address issues related to "stigma and career stress …" (DND, 2017a, p. 26).

Fifth, SSE seeks to deal with a common problem of organisational trust in large organizations by calling for more individualized approaches to potential career options, in particular for ill and injured personnel, as well as for personnel leaving the service. "We will shed one size fits all solutions in favour of more people-centred, compassionate, dependable and comprehensive services" (DND, 2017a, p. 25).

Sixth, there is also recognition of the various inconveniences and sacrifices that military families must make throughout the service person's career. In doing so, SSE conveys a strong message of genuine care and concern (i.e., benevolence), and of honoring its commitments to personnel and their families (i.e, integrity). This recognition is also backed up by concrete ways forward in many instances, which begins to speak to the organization's competence to address these issues.

Seventh, SSE is also significant from a trust repair perspective, as it is consistent with most of the best practices concerning trust repair outlined earlier in this report. It directly acknowledges past deficiencies and mistakes of the organization. This begins with a statement in the Minister's message: "Strong, Secure, Engaged is all about serving our women and men in uniform better than in the past" (DND, 2017a, p. 6). Although a brief statement, from a trust repair point of view, it does speak to acknowledging a prior trust violation. Similar statements about the organization's past shortcomings are also clear in the discussions of assisting soldiers to transition to civilian life and the treatment of ill and injured personnel. The treatment of past sexual misconduct is also addressed head-on with the "unequivocal acknowledgement by senior military leadership that inappropriate sexual behavior is a serious and unacceptable problem that exists in the Canadian Armed Forces" (DND, 2017a, p. 27).

Eighth, and also consistent with the trust repair literature, these acknowledgements are accompanied by articulations of a series of specific ways to address past shortcomings and deficiencies. These include the intention to improve timeliness and clarity in the harassment complaints process and the simplification of formal harassment complaint procedures, the latter two directly speaking to organizational processes and systems. Such processes and systems also include the creation the Sexual Misconduct Response Centre, an independent unit for military members and victims of sexual misconduct to receive information and support options, the standing up of specialized Military Police Sexual Offence Response Teams, as well as improved training for Chaplains, the Ombudsman office, health services, military police, and the military justice systems in responding to sexual assault and misconduct, and the instituting of monitoring and assessment mechanisms and regular updates. SSE further acknowledges the wider problem that will

require a change in the underlying culture. Similar tangible and specific efforts are outlined regarding care for ill or injured military personnel and in terms of the transition to civilian life. These include increasing the numbers of military health care providers, implementing a National Defence and Veterans Affairs Suicide Prevention Strategy, and working to remove barriers to care with respect to mental health, by establishing a Canadian Forces Transition Group, comprised of 1200 specialized personnel, commanded by a General Officer, who will be responsible for guided, personalized care and attention to personnel in transition, either back to duty or from military to civilian life. Consistent with the literature, the clear and specific articulation of remediation activities are seen as key to the success of attempts to restore trust (Kramer & Tyler, 1996).

Ninth, with respect to the future issues and challenges for Defence, SSE addresses diversity, which is perhaps the major personnel trend that will characterize the future face of Defence. This begins with an acknowledgement of diversity as a strength of Canada and therefore also of Defence: "Embracing diversity will enhance military operational effectiveness by drawing on the strengths of Canada's population. Building a Defence team composed of people with new perspectives and a broader range of cultural, linguistic, gender, age, and other unique attributes will directly contribute to efforts to develop a deeper understanding of our increasingly complex world, and to respond effectively to the challenges it presents" (DND, 2017a, p. 23). Indeed, the intent of SSE is to also make diversity a core institutional value and part of DND identity, beginning with, but expanding well beyond, the increased focus on the recruitment of visible minorities, and reinforced in policy and doctrine and other specific initiatives. Initiatives range from the overarching Diversity Strategy and Action Plan and the appointment of a Diversity Champion to oversee its implementation, to specific programs tailored for Indigenous Canadians already underway that will continue to support inclusion (e.g., Canadian Armed Forces Aboriginal Entry Program, Bold Eagle, Raven, Black Bear, Aboriginal Leadership Opportunities Year). In this regard, Defence also aspires to be a leader in gender balance, which will be supported by implementing Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) in Defence planning, policy and programs and by the commitment to recruit, retain, and reach 25% female representation within CAF by 2026 (DND, 2017a).

Overall then, the content and tone of SSE consistently communicate all of the dimensions of trustworthiness concerning personnel issues: "Throughout, our actions must be underpinned by a sense of compassion and responsibility towards the women and men who wear the uniform, and their loved ones" (DND, 2017a, p. 20). Statements such as these convey a strong sense of benevolence and integrity that are the key qualities that resonate throughout the document in its explicit commitment to care for personnel, in particular those who are ill or injured as a result of their service to Canada, as well as their families, from recruitment through to leaving the military and beyond. Finally, SSE speaks to the competence dimension of organizational trust in that specific current and future initiatives have been articulated and costed to meet these goals and responsibilities.

As thorough and positive as SSE is in all of these ways, one potential area of neglect may be the scant reference to the civilians in Defence. SSE does recognize the role of civilians:

> The Defence team is composed of Canadian Armed Forces members and defence civilians of the Department of National Defence. This integrated civilian-military team works to deliver Defence objectives. The Canadian Armed Forces executes operations at home and abroad to defend Canada and Canadian interests, while defence civilians provide a number of critical enabling functions, including intelligence, equipment procurement and maintenance, policy, communications support, infrastructure

> services, finance, human resources, information technology, and scientific research and development. (DND, 2017a, p. 19.)

SSE also acknowledges that civilian members of Defence face many demands that are unique from the rest of their Public Service counterparts in terms of the risk and importance of the decisions that are made to the lives of others, and that civilians are increasingly deploying in advisory positions, thus they and their families can experience many of the operational stressors that affect military personnel. While SSE states: "Defence is committed to meeting their needs accordingly" (DND, 2017a, p. 20), there is no specific information as to how Defence intends to meet this commitment for civilian Defence personnel. Perhaps this is due to the fact that civilians who work in DND are members of the larger Public Service, and so many aspects of their work are governed by Public Service rules and procedures. This may mean that it is be more difficult or perhaps even inappropriate to address the needs of civilians in any more detail in SSE. However, even mentioning that, and how Defence would work more closely with the Assistant Deputy Minister Human Resources Civilian (ADM HR–Civ) to ensure any of these needs would be met, would have been beneficial. Overall, the lack of mention of civilians elsewhere in the document does seem in stark contrast to the content, tone, and detail, and thus the concern and committed intent of SSE, with respect to civilian members of Defence, relative to military members.

3.2 Defence Renewal

A strategic 5-year initiative begun in 2012, Defence Renewal, was conceived of as an effort to increase the efficiency and effectiveness through the review and streamlining of DND business processes, internal operations, and organizational practices for reinvestment in Defence (DND, 2013). As such, it is important to note that its central focus was not to address increasing or maintaining employees' trust in the organization. Still, as a major Defence strategic-level document and initiative, it established the intent and tone that characterized and will likely continue to characterize the activities, systems, processes and procedures that arise from it, with the potential to impact the organizational trust of individual members of Defence. Thus, it too is informative to review using an organizational-trust lens.

The Defence Renewal Charter document begins with a positive, inspirational, and collaborative statement from the most senior military and civilian leadership:

> The Defence Team has tremendous opportunities ahead. It is an opportunity to lead, innovate, shape our future, and position ourselves to take on the challenges that lie ahead. It is an opportunity to change the way we work for the better, strengthen the vitality of our team, and have a lasting impact on how we deliver results for Canada and Canadians. We are committed to taking advantage of the opportunity we have in front of us. (DND, 2013, p. 3.)

The opening statement also places a value on the people in the Defence Team:

> A successful and worthwhile renewal journey starts and ends with our people. Civilian and military leaders must be at the forefront of this journey and leading by example. They must be invested in renewal, be committed to its success, help build an environment of innovation, agility, and change, and motivate others to do the same. We expect all Defence Team personnel to be involved, providing feedback, identifying challenges, proposing solutions, and helping highlight successes. (DND, 2013, p. 3)

The documentation states that the initial stage of Defence Renewal began with a collaborative approach that involved the formation of a civilian-military team, The Defence Renewal Team (DRT), to oversee the process and progress of the work conducted under Defence Renewal. The next step in the process, conducted by an external consulting firm, involved extensive consultation with various individuals and organizations to identify key issues and concerns that were then reflected in the direction of the Defence Renewal Charter and the Defence Renewal Plan. The resulting overarching vision was of an organization that would be characterized by constant change and review and identified four key outcomes: (1) "Resources would be focussed strategically on front-line military capabilities and readiness, and overhead costs and process inefficiencies would be reduced to the greatest extent possible"; (2) the institution of a "comprehensive regime of performance metrics and targets … employed to measure and assess improvements, guide resource allocation decisions, and ensure accountability"; (3) The embrace of "technology and innovation [to] … support, reinforce, and enable process improvements"; and (4) the development of "a culture of continuous improvement and renewal that would be instilled and accepted as a permanent feature of the defence business" (DND, 2013, p. 6). From an organizational trust point of view the focus on reinvesting in front-line activities may well resonate positively with individual personnel, although an emphasis on the regimen of performance metrics and a culture of continuous renewal could lead to feelings of increased vulnerability and uncertainty among personnel, which could negatively impact their organizational trust.

Nine issues under two broad themes were identified as particular focus areas for renewal. The first theme, Performance, defined as "creating opportunities for reinvestment into military operational capabilities," had the following areas: Operations and Training—primarily individual occupation training, collective training for CAF units, and front-line equipment maintenance and positioning of these to meet demands of future missions; Information Management and Technology; Infrastructure—real property assets and portfolio; Personnel; and Management Systems. Each of these areas has some relation to issues of organizational-level trust, to the extent that each describes the future organizational intent, and the plans for resources that would be devoted to each area by Defence. For instance, concerted efforts to develop an inventory system with the goal of increasing the amount of time that maintenance personnel were spending on task rather than waiting for parts, could increase the organizational trust of personnel who work in that area. This is because the system efficiency was envisioned as an organizational-level attempt to provide these personnel with needed resources, at least in part. Still, if this specific goal, as well as the intent behind the improvement of the inventory system, was not communicated to front-line personnel, or if the system developed is unreliable or too complicated to use, then the actual positive intent of that initiative may be lost on the people it was intended to benefit. However, the focus of these sections of the document is primarily the review, consolidation and centralization of inventory and service delivery systems in these areas and the relevant outcome is estimated financial savings. While certainly important to endeavour, they have little to do with the interests of individual employees. As such, the ultimate tie of these focus areas to organizational-level trust would seem to be distal, at best.

Two additional areas under the Performance theme are of potentially greater relevance to organizational trust. The first, Personnel, relates to recruitment, training and education, and career management. The documentation certainly recognizes the complexity of these challenges and notes that the current approach to Personnel suffers from a number of incompatible legacy policies, procedures and processes. Thus, the focus of these renewal efforts was on the development of an integrated military human resources program that would be modernized, and increasingly rely on technology in order to be more cost-effective and reduce the inefficiencies that exist in the current systems. The investment in modern but more importantly *responsive* military personnel recruiting, training and management systems, and the goal of streamlining the layers of management to expedite decision making processes with a goal, at least

in part, of empowering staff "to accomplish their respective tasks," all speak to a benevolent intent with respect to improving relevant aspects of the work experience of individual personnel. An automated and integrated HR and pay system was envisioned to "be more user-friendly, provide more accurate and integrated qualitative data, and decrease costs for enhancements and maintenance by reducing the total number of systems in operation" (DND, 2013, p. 16). Another reinvestment opportunity presented involved tele-career management that substitutes face-to-face visits with video teleconferencing for an estimated savings of 60–80 percent. Overall then, speaking from an organizational trust perspective, an integrated personnel system could well benefit individual defence personnel. Yet, while acknowledging that the purpose of Defence Renewal was again to review and reinvigorate organizational systems, as the focus on these initiatives was an increased reliance on systems and technology, care must be taken not to emphasize the impersonal and to increase the perceived social distance that could reduce organizational trust. That said, as technology is increasingly integral to everyday life, technological interfaces may be less of an issue in this regard the future.

Management Systems, the last focus area under the Performance theme, refers to the structures and processes that will govern National Defence Headquarters (NDHQ) specifically and was conceived of as "optimizing the spans of control of middle managers in Level One organizations" (DND, 2013, p. 17). The end result was to be "leaner organizational structures that will reinforce broader efforts to streamline processes, improve decision making, and strengthen accountability" (DND, 2013, p. 17). Again, while these may be laudable goals, as described, they may have little relevance to increasing the organizational trust of individual employees. Indeed, the focus on the consolidating, streamlining and potential elimination of services in order to find cost-savings that will then be invested in infrastructure and technology, with little if any discussion of how these would benefit individual personnel, could well reduce organizational trust.

The final paragraph in the Management Systems focus area is also of note: "On civilian HR practices, work already underway to centralize HR service delivery is an important first step that will enable broader and more transformative changes. Namely, the responsibility for key civilian HR management activities will be centralized under a single functional authority. Also underway are initiatives to improve the common HR business processes such as staffing and classification. These efforts will position Defence well to participate in broader whole-of-government initiatives to standardize HR service delivery across government departments and agencies" (DND, 2013, pp. 17–18). Two things are of note here. First, this was the first time that civilian members of the Defence Team are mentioned after the introductory messages from the CDS and the DM. Second, while standardization and centralization may increase efficiency at a macro-level, at least in theory, in an organization as complex, diverse and distributed as DND, such standardization and centralization may well sacrifice the unique needs, requirements and realities of different units, and of individual workers. Where there are no perceived benefits to individual workers, such workers may come to question the intent of the senior leaders whose direction led to the creation of such systems.

Organizational Culture, the second high-level theme of Defence Renewal, concerned strengthening "Defence's ability to implement, embrace and sustain improvements to performance" (DND, 2013, p. 19). As such, this certainly seems closely related to personnel issues and thus potentially implicates organizational trust. It involves three focus areas. The first, strategic clarity, is defined as the articulation of a clear organizational direction and strategy for success and the translation of that strategy into specific goals and targets throughout all levels of the organization … [making it] "an essential component of ensuring priorities" (DND, 2013, p. 19). As noted earlier in this report, the existence of clear goals reduces ambiguity and uncertainty, which can work to increase organizational trust—as long as the goals

are shared and valued by the individual. There was also some recognition of past shortcomings in this regard. For instance, the document states that, while a majority of the participants in the initial focus groups considered Defence Renewal to be critical, it was also of note that, "… there was uncertainty how their individual roles and responsibilities contributed to the achievement of strategic goals. The inability to translate visionary objectives into the concrete changes required from individual military and civilian personnel has in the past led to a lack of buy-in for major reform initiatives" (DND, 2013, p. 19). This statement succinctly sums up a major challenge associated with the implementation of strategy throughout an organization, especially one as diverse and complex as DND. To address this issue, one of the activities under strategic clarity involved developing "a program to internally communicate change and to translate strategic objectives into individual responsibilities for every member of the Defence Team." In fact, the renewal of strategic clarity was envisioned as an approach in which strategic goals would be communicated down through the organization in a cascading manner. That is, it was conceived of as the job of each level of management to translate strategic goals into activities that would be relevant to the next level of the organization, an approach that, if effectively instituted, should benefit organizational-level trust. Although this approach would have the potential benefit of translating strategic objectives into levels and language accessible by each level of the organization, it remains a very top down approach. A potential drawback in this approach is that there is no mention of including input from each level into the framing of objectives, or assessing whether strategic objectives or goals are shared and valued by individual personnel—only that changes are required from individuals, and that individuals have responsibilities in line with the strategic objectives. To the extent that this is the case, a top-down approach can decrease organization-level trust and/or can impact *buy-in* for renewal initiatives.

A second area, disciplined business execution*,* focused on developing a culture of performance management that emphasized "clear objectives and close monitoring of progress" [and] "developing the right set of performance measures to objectively track, monitor and report on progress" (DND, 2013, p. 20). The charter went on to state: "The use of performance metrics and a regular monitoring and reporting cycle keeps leaders and resources focussed. It is also critical to holding individuals accountable for delivering commitments" (DND, 2013, p. 20). The approach involved "empowering a group to develop, evaluate and vet performance metrics," and "establish[ing] an accessible idea generation program that identifies, leverages, and celebrates front-line ingenuity," both approaches that are consistent with best practices concerning the development of organizational trust. Earlier in the report I covered the extant literature that address the potential pitfalls that can exist regarding performance management, or perhaps more specifically the intent behind performance management and how is implemented. Certainly, there is promising language in the Defence Renewal document concerning the collaborative development of performance goals. Still, if such processes are interpreted as a means to reduce the autonomy of and to place controls on workers and only serve to monitor their performance, with no benefit to them, then the processes will be more likely to be interpreted as coercive in nature—rather than enabling—and employees' trust in the organization can suffer. This is especially the case with the instituting of new performance measures that are more restrictive than prior systems.

The third focus area, openness and trust, is perhaps most immediately relevant to the discussion of organizational trust. This area referred to the importance of a culture of openness and trust as "defined by honesty, transparency, and open dialogue … [rightly noting that these features are] an essential component for organizations where separate elements are expected to operate independently, yet be mutually supporting. This culture of openness and trust relies on information being readily shared, and having a common commitment to serve the interests of the greater organization over personal or localized interests. Such a culture is particularly important to renewal when initiatives require cross-functional coordination" (DND, 2013, pp. 20–21).These statements hit most of the key aspects related to trust,

particularly information and resource sharing and common efforts to communicate and coordination between interdependent units. Interestingly, Defence Renewal "group discussion participants rated openness and trust as a critical element" (DND, 2013, p. 21), yet it is presented as the last of the focus areas in the document, which may suggest to readers its lower prioritization by senior leadership relative to the other focus areas. Regardless, to achieve this goal, the Charter emphasized the development of "a knowledge sharing program that would use multiple methods and mechanisms for information exchange to the extent possible, mindful of legal and security requirements" (DND, 2013, p. 21). However, the Charter did not address the human aspects of cultural change in this regard. While past research has demonstrated that effective technologies can enable the increased sharing of information, it also suggests that such sharing is less likely to happen without a culture to support this approach, an issue of particular relevance when security and legal constraints are also part of the organizational culture, as in Defence (Gill & Thompson, 2017; Joyal, 2012; Stanton, 2011). The other route to address this focus area involved the education and training of senior leaders "*to create an environment where subordinates can openly address their concerns* [emphasis added], acknowledge shortcomings, and feel encouraged to propose better ways of doing business " (DND, 2013, p. 21). To the extent that such education and training initiatives are reflected in the attitudes and behaviors of senior leadership, and the organization rewards these behaviors and organizational systems instantiate this environment, organizational-level trust should be enhanced.

In summary, the notion of organizational renewal can be positive and is often necessary to avoid stagnation and inertia. The development of an integrated civil-military oversight team and the extensive consultation phases that initiated the execution of Defence Renewal are potentially encouraging, specifically in terms of having an integrated civil-military team to guide this work, and the consultative process that was designed to establish key overarching themes and areas of focus. Several aspects of the Defence Renewal initiative and Charter might be expected to have implications, both positive and negative, with respect to organizational-level trust. On the one hand, several of the initiatives and activities under the different focus areas included encouraging wording concerning an intent that could reflect a strategic concern with individual's sense of empowerment and engagement, thus ultimately being associated with increasing organizational level trust.

On the other hand, a strategic vision of an organizational environment of constant change and review can imply greater ambiguity and uncertainty, which can challenge organizational trust. It is also instructive to review the definition presented early on in the charter, with respect to its implications in terms of organizational trust: "A business process is a series of activities that utilizes resource inputs like personnel, money and time to generate an output" (DND, 2013, p. 4). While no doubt true, the impersonal wording suggests that personnel are thought of as one of three equally important resources, no different from money or time, to achieve an output for Defence. If this was the approach to the implementation of Defence Renewal, that intent would likely undermine organizational trust. Moreover, it should be noted that renewal here also implicated potential cuts in present resources in order to facilitate reinvestments. This could raise the level of risk that personnel might feel in terms of accessing resources, or indeed, their very jobs. This is especially the case because initiatives occur in organizational contexts. In this case, following so close on the heels of the Deficit Reduction Action Plan and—the euphemistically named—Work Force Adjustment, defence personnel might have rightly felt more vulnerable. Thus any discussion of reductions and reinvestments may well have triggered concern and vulnerability, thus negatively impacting organizational trust. Finally, although the Defence Renewal Charter was developed by and for the entire Defence Team, its specifics concern the needs and requirements of military personnel. While this may reflect that the civilian personnel engaged in the consultation phase of Defence Renewal indicated no gaps in these areas for the civilian side of DND, without some explanation this

seems like a significant oversight that could set the stage for future efforts that will be largely if not exclusively devoted to the CAF, rather than the wider Defence Team.

3.3 Departmental Results Framework

The Departmental Results Framework (DRF) (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat; TBS, 2018b; see also Srivastava, 2017) is a mechanism to address key aspects of the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat Policy on Results (TBS, 2017), a Canadian government-wide initiative to: "Improve the achievement of results across government; and enhance the understanding of the results government seeks to achieve, does achieve, and the resources used to achieve them." Expected results of the policy include departments being "… clear on what they are trying to achieve and how they assess success; [developing] ways to measure and evaluate their performance, using the resulting information to manage and improve programs, policies and services … for performance-based allocation of resources … [and] to provide parliament and the public with transparent, clear and useful information on results that departments have achieved and the resources used to do so."

It should be noted that, like Defence Renewal, the DRF was not developed to focus on individual-level personnel issues. Rather, DRF provides a common, overarching structure and process for each Canadian government department to follow in developing its response to the Policy on Results. Accordingly, DRF is a mechanism that assists in the articulation of each department's Core Responsibilities—enduring functions or roles performed by a department; the departmental mandate—its Departmental Results—what is to be achieved, or the change that is expected to occur—and a set of Departmental Results Indicators—valid measures or indicators of the extent to which each of the core responsibilities are being successfully addressed. Hence, the DRF is intended to facilitate and standardize program evaluation across government departments and to ensure the accountability of each government department to parliament and to Canadian taxpayers.

Like all government departments, DND' summary of its activities relevant to the DRF is reported yearly, in documentation such as the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces 2016–2017 Departmental Results Report (DRR) (DND, 2017b). The Minister's message in DRR 2017 contains the inspirational, benevolent message and tone similar to that of SSE. It then presents a summary of key results achieved in the year for the department overall. The results most pertinent to organizational-level trust issues for defence personnel fall under "A well-supported and well-equipped Canadian Armed Forces" (DND, 2017b, p.4). Under this heading, the following points are most relevant to organizational trust because each is directed toward a goal of improving organizational systems to be of increased and direct benefit to individual CAF personnel and their families—emphasis below added:

- Working closely with Veterans Affairs Canada to **reduce complexity and simplify service delivery for releasing CAF members, veterans and their families, as well as enhancing transition services at integrated personnel support centres**;
- **Simplifying and consolidating existing financial benefits for our personnel**; and
- Continuing with the full implementation of Operation HONOUR to ensure a healthy and supportive workplace. These efforts include taking significant action **to improve victim support**; **initiate prevention programs; update policies; enhance subject matter expertise of those who provide support and assistance to victims; embed Operation HONOUR concepts across all levels of education and training; hold leaders to account for their response and actions; take**

> **decisive action to deter perpetrators; and engage and empower all members of the CAF** to take action to address and eliminate sexual violence and harassment. (DND, 2017b, p. 4.)

Later the document describes Defence Capability Element Production, which encompasses personnel, along with materiel and information systems, information, and real property. However, a more impersonal tone characterizes the approach to this program.

> Results are achieved through subordinate programs, each of which focuses on a separate portfolio: military personnel and organization; materiel; real property; or information systems. A lifecycle approach is used to manage each portfolio. The essential aspects of the lifecycle approach are sub-sub-programs that provide the principle lifecycle functions: introduction into service; maintenance, upgrade and supply; release from service; portfolio management; and overarching co-ordination and control. The character of activity that occurs within each of these primary functions depends on the portfolio of entities being produced and therefore the desegregation of the lifecycle functions into sub-sub-programs unique to each portfolio. (DND, 2017b, p. 29.)

The list of results associated with this program , relevant to personnel issues, are consistent with the objectives and intent outlined in SSE and address the better integration of defence and veterans affairs organizations and organizational systems in order to ease transition from the members of the military and their families (i.e., Support of CAF members, including those who are medically-released, and their families). Other initiatives are aligned with Diversity and Employment Equity and operation HONOUR. These results enumerate the organizational attention, such as the development of policies (e.g., diversity, gender-based analysis) as well as diversity training and education packages, to and for potentially vulnerable groups within DND, including religious minorities and transgender personnel. As such, these programs might be expected to increase organizational-level trust, at least for individuals in these groups. This section also outlines the concrete organizational-level responses to Operation HONOUR and related initiatives, including the development of the Integrated Complaint and Conflict Management System, intended to be "a simplified system that is responsive to and trusted by CAF members" (DND, 2017b, p. 30), special training for Sexual Offence Response Teams that will now investigate all military sexual assault complaints, as well as policy review and updates and enhanced training for all CAF personnel. Again, the focus on developing and demonstrating the development of concrete responses is consistent with the literature on organizational trust overall, and on repairing organizational-level trust more specifically.

In summary, it is important to remember that the DRF was not developed, nor DRR written, with individual DND members as the focal readership. Still, the results in the personnel area are encouraging in terms of their consistency with the objectives enumerated in SSE and the listing of concrete steps and results that are designed to address these ultimate goals and that could increase individuals' organizational-level trust, in particular for vulnerable groups within the military. However, it is also the case that most of the departmental-level results and indicators and supporting documentation, at the level presented, may have little connection to the specific tasks that workers perform. Hence, many individual workers may not feel a sense of connection to the objectives or results outlined. Finally, it is not clear whether individual members would be motivated to read DRR. Thus, it is hoped that such results would be summarized in a more accessible documentation that would be more likely to resonate with individual defence personnel.

Such an approach to achieving this kind of wider accessibility of strategic intent may be represented in DND's instantiation of a DRF approach at subordinate levels of Defence, the Military Personnel Performance Measurement Framework (PMF) Development and Execution Project of Chief Military Personnel (CMP). The first phase of the project produced an overarching conceptual framework, and detailed an approach to formulation that was developed by DGMPRA, Director General Military Personnel (DGMP) and Assistant CMP (Asst CMP) (Hlywa, Hachey, & Scholtz, 2015). The resulting framework articulated a process that could be applied to various organizations within CMP and involved the development of a strategy map, essentially a visual representation of strategic objectives and their interrelations, each of which was to have between 1 and 3 associated Key Performance Questions (KPQ). In turn, each KPQ was to have at least one—but often more—associated Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) that would fall under three general measurement categories: outputs—counts of things produced)—outcomes—whether a desired effect was achieved, i.e., effectiveness or impact—and efficiency—responsible resource usage, i.e., cost per X. This framework has functioned as the general template to guide development of individual PMF's with each directorate of CMP, and the specific content of the frameworks (e.g., strategic objectives, KPQs and KPIs) developed in collaboration with and specific to the mandates of individual Level Twos within CMP. Thus, the details of the goals, objectives, results, and results indicators differ in substantive ways for the Directorate of Honours and Recognition (Hlywa, Hachey, & Scholtz, 2017) versus that of Director General Compensation and Benefits (Hlywa & Scholtz, 2017).

From an organizational trust perspective, involvement in the development of the objectives and results to be attained, as well as how these would be measured, is an important because it means that, although the results framework approach is imposed from the top down, there is relevant input at lower levels of the organization into the nature of the objectives set and the results that will be used to determine success. As well, to the extent to which that these objectives are more relevant to the individuals within the specific directorates that contribute to them, it should be easier for individual workers to see themselves and their role in contributing to these results. The more explicit articulation of objectives and results can add clarity about the nature of the work that they are engaged in and how the specifics of their jobs can contribute to the results that their organization is trying to achieve. To the extent that this is the case, a major component of organizational trust is addressed. However, other components may not be effectively address. For instance, the extent to which the organization provides workers with the resources necessary to meet these objectives, and the extent to which workers share this vision will continue to play a crucial role in their organizational-trust levels.

3.4 The Performance Management Program For Employees

The performance management program for employees, also under the auspices of the Treasury Board Secretariat of Canada (TBS, 2018c), is consistent with the performance assessment goals of the Directive on Performance Management (TBS, 2018d) and DRF (TBS, 2018b). However, as this initiative clearly is more closely linked to individual worker outcomes, it might also be expected to be more relevant to employee organizational-level trust in the Defence organization. As a result, it too is a valuable document to review with respect to its implications with respect to organizational-level trust. The strategic documentation begins with relatively positive statements concerning its intent:

> …to promote a commitment, shared by managers, employees and their organizations, to sustaining a culture of high performance in the public service.

> A high performing public service is built on employee engagement, a culture of excellence, demonstrated leadership, and a strong workplace and workforce. A highly engaged, healthy, productive and effective workforce is cultivated through innovation and respect, communication and recognition and results in improved productivity, superior performance and excellent service to Canadians …
>
> This directive supports the Workforce Policy (under development) by setting out the responsibilities of deputy heads, or their delegates, regarding the administration of a consistent, equitable and rigorous approach to performance management in their organizations. For employees, it reinforces the importance of demonstrating the required knowledge, skills, competencies, behaviours (including reliability and respectful behaviour expected in a professional workplace), and engagement required to be productive and perform their duties in the service of Canadians. (TBS, 2018c.)

In fact, this documentation explicitly articulated a link between the program and organizational trust: "*Its proper implementation in the public service can help build and maintain trust between employer and employee.*" On the other hand, its intent with respect to employees directly is "*For employees, it reinforces the importance of demonstrating the required knowledge, skills, competencies, behaviours (including reliability and respectful behaviour expected in a professional workplace), and engagement required to be productive and perform their duties in the service of Canadians*." The wording is of interest because of its evaluative intent. That is, as stated here, the program is not conceived of as providing increased clarity concerning employees' roles in order to assist them and facilitate their ability to conduct their work in the service of Canadians, rather it reinforces the importance of demonstrating knowledge and skill to their supervisors. In the same vein, the performance management system approach was conceived of as a "*methodology to assess the performance and productivity of individual workers in order to increase public service accountability and the transparency of how public funds were spent and to provide to employees with clear work and skill objectives related to their position*"—italics added. While no doubt true, should the implementation of the program come to emphasize these outcomes, the control and evaluative aspects of the initiative may well predominate, meaning that the initiative could easily come to be perceived by employees as coercive in nature.

The annual performance cycle outlines the process and is intended to assure the appropriate level of contact and documentation "of each step taken to manage employees' performance, along with formal written notification to the employee advising of any next steps." It includes three opportunities during the year that are intended for employees and their direct supervisors to meet regarding employee work objectives. At the beginning of each year this meeting would produce an annual written list of performance objectives for each employee. At mid-year "informal conversations [would] review accomplishments in relation to performance commitments, adjust commitments if necessary, solicit and provide feedback and adjust learning plans if necessary." Written end-of-year assessments would be undertaken to assess each employee's progress against the initial work objectives. In addition, performance was also to be assessed "using a rating scale or scales appropriate to the organization and to employees' duties and levels," although the exact purpose of this approach is not stated, and certainly not in terms of any benefit to employees. However, the intent of the system was also to recognize "good performance both formally and informally," although the methods of reward are not stated. Finally, as might be expected, special attention was devoted to instances in which an employee's performance was deemed to be unsatisfactory. That is, while taking into consideration duties to accommodate, the system was also to be used in "identifying cases of unsatisfactory performance at the earliest opportunity possible," taking "appropriate action as soon as possible under the circumstances," which could include:

"[d]eveloping, and monitoring at regular intervals, an action plan to improve performance through demoting the employee [or] terminating employment."

The expected results associated with this approach to employee performance management are detailed as: "(1) A healthy workplace environment based on public sector values, where leadership, commitment and results are promoted; (2) Employees [that] are productive, provide excellent service to Canadians and demonstrate the required knowledge, skills, behaviours, competencies and engagement to perform their duties; (3) Cases of unsatisfactory performance are addressed expeditiously within organizations; (4) Records on employee performance are maintained within organizations in accordance with the Directive on Recordkeeping and in conjunction with the Policy Framework for Information and Technology, the Policy on Information Management, and the Directive on Information Management Roles and Responsibilities; (5) Managers feel adequately supported within their organization and demonstrate the skills required to manage challenging cases of employee performance; and (6) Organizational performance review regimes are fair, equitable and consistently applied across the core public administration."

Certainly the goal of clarifying employee work and skill objectives could increase employee trust by reducing uncertainty and, in doing so, have some potential to be related to the enabling function of bureaucracy. This might especially be the case in instances where the work objectives are developed in a collaborative fashion between supervisors and employees, where the objectives are seen to be relevant, reasonable and fair, and where appropriate resources are provided to enable individual employees to achieve these goals. Moreover, to the extent possible, where mid- and end-year feedback is constructive and conveyed as assisting employees to develop and grow in their careers, such feedback, along with concrete plans that are facilitated by the organizational system, can also contribute to organizational-level trust, by promoting an organizational culture of concern for the welfare of employees and organizational competence to facilitate employee growth. Similarly, where performance assessment and review processes and procedures are viewed by a majority of personnel as being fair, equitable and consistently applied across the department, organizational-level trust can be enhanced. Note, though, that this goal may prove to be challenging in an organization where the roles and different units and job descriptions vary to the extent that occurs in an organization as diverse as defence. However, if the overriding content and the tone of the operationalization and implementation of performance management focusses primarily on increasing accountability and transparency to the public and/or is perceived as primarily a control mechanism, it can quickly come to be viewed as a coercive form of bureaucracy. Finally, where managers do not, or simply do not have the time to devote to the process, it can quickly come to be seen as an ineffectual and empty formality, and either a burden or waste of time by employees—and by managers.

4 Discussion

Organizational trust is a worker's expectation that their organization, as reflected in bureaucratic structures (i.e., policies, processes, systems, etc.) and his or her strategic leaders, will be there for him or her when needed, performing actions that are beneficial, or at least not detrimental to him or her. Existing research in the area suggests that those senior leaders and organizational policies, processes and structures that reflect and promote clarity and consistency (i.e., predictability) shared values, ethics and fairness (i.e., integrity) magnanimity (i.e., benevolence), and ability and skill—for leaders—or technical effectiveness and efficiency—for bureaucracy—that facilitate the execution of organizational tasks (i.e., competence) will inspire greater organizational trust levels among employees. Conversely, where organizational structures and processes do not seem to match organizational goals or stated values, especially concerning the organization's value of its employees, organizational trust will suffer, in particular, perceptions of benevolence and integrity. Where organizational structures appear to be applied inconsistently, the benevolence, integrity and predictability, at an organizational-level, are implicated. Where organizational structures are unclear, conflicting, overly laborious, and/or appear to require expertise that the employee does not possess and/or are outside the scope of their job, the competence of the organization can be called into question. Where technologies that implement organizational intent and processes are complicated, have significant malfunctions or anomalies, work intermittently, or fail altogether, the competence of the organization is called into question. In turn, this trust—or lack of trust—is related to important organizational- and individual-level outcomes. Together this suggests that organizational trust should be pursued in future defence research. Within the Personnel domain, organizational-level trust has particular relevance regarding retention, as "How we manage and treat our people contributes to decisions on whether they choose to leave or stay and whether or not we are perceived as an employer of choice" (DND Departmental Plan 2017–2018, DND, 2018b, p. 33). As this quote makes clear, the responsibility of understanding and addressing the needs, and thus maintaining the trust of individual defence workers, remains a key responsibility of effective organizational leadership. Nonetheless, this tenet can be lost in the tumult of strategic-level requirements and constraints, and in dealing with the emergencies that occur on a daily basis. Thus, at a minimum, selected information presented in this report could be integrated into the education of those who will be assuming senior defence leadership roles, specifically injecting information concerning the nature and importance of organizational trust, their role in promoting it, and the ways in which it affects the organizational effectiveness of Defence. Indeed, this education could be updated by selected results of the future research program detailed below.

4.1 Future Research

Assessing and ensuring organizational trust requires a program of empirical results to inform future strategy, policy, process and practice and to assess the efficacy of the initiatives that are undertaken. In fact, the nascent state of research and knowledge regarding organizational trust in a defence context presents an opportunity to build an integrated program of research in this area from the ground up. Initial work should be devoted to clarifying the nature of organizational trust specific to defence and to developing a reliable and valid measurement tool to this specific context. We can use the existing literature from the private sector as a starting point. For instance, organizational trust is recognized as being comprised of up to three dimensions of trustworthiness: integrity, benevolence and competence. Still, we know little about their relative importance at the organizational level in a defence context. Similarly, according to its definition, organizational trust refers to individual workers' perceptions of the trustworthiness of two key dimensions: senior leadership and organizational bureaucracy

(i.e.,rules, regulations, policies, processes and procedures). Investigations into the relative importance of these two targets of organizational-level trust in a defence context, where hierarchy and rank are key features, may also be important to investigate. That is, it may be that perceived integrity and benevolence may be critical in individuals' assessments of the senior leaders of the organization, while the competence and the predictability dimensions may prove to be more influential in trust assessments of organizational structures, processes and technologies. As well, what are the effects of perceived discrepancies between the stated organizational intent of senior leadership and the processes and procedures that operationalize that intent? It may well be that when a disparity exists between stated senior leader intent and the bureaucracy that operationalizes the intent, perceptions of the bureaucracy may well carry the day in organizational trust perceptions, because they will tend to affect personnel in a more direct way, and because such operationalisations cause personnel to at least question the real intent of those who put or allowed such processes to be put in place.

While some aspects of organizational trust will likely be consistent with the findings from the public sector, defence often involves environments and stressors that are organizationally unique in terms of physical danger, level of ambiguity, and the strategic importance of the work. Thus, any comprehensive and valid program of research in the area should account for the features unique to defence contexts. Relevant questions include what aspects of trust are most important under different conditions? What issues result in the most serious trust violations in a defence context, and what are the most effective mechanisms for trust repair after such violations? Do the nature and consequences of organizational trust, trust violations, and trust repair differ for the civilian and military branches of defence? Do these change during a deployment, for different types of deployments, or for different roles in deployments?

Based on the extant theory in the area, this report endorses the approach in which organizational trust is expected to be somewhat latent under normal conditions. That is, once established, trust will exist but is not conspicuously manifest. Thus, trust may usually function in the background, forming as part of an overall positive psychological surround, its presence and benefits often unnoticed. However, this model also predicts that the effects of organizational trust will be expected to become more important during periods of upheaval, change, or stress in an organization, in particular for those who are more vulnerable to the effects of that change (Geyskens et al., 1996; Robinson, 1996). As part of the government, defence and the personnel within it will undergo periodic disruptions, some of which will have significant, negative impacts on personnel. Accordingly, it is these critical periods in an organization that may be most revealing in terms of the proportions of personnel who have high versus low trust in the organization. Where trust is or becomes an issue, personnel may well engage in defensive monitoring, with its attendant cognitive and emotional burdens to the individual, and the efficiency, productivity and interpersonal costs to the organization. An a priori understanding of the dynamics of organizational trust and how these affect, and can be affected before, during and after organizational disruption, and ways to reduce its effects to the extent possible, would also be of value to strategic-level leaders. Moreover, demonstrating the potential protective effects of organizational trust during periods of disruptive organizational change might be one useful measure of the success of the approach and the implementation of strategic initiatives. This would involve institutionalizing a short measure of organizational-level trust to be used as a baseline assessment.

A different approach to this area of research would reflect the stance of theorists who conceptualize distrust as being distinct from trust. While this view also embraces the notion that trust may well be a generally latent experience, the emphasis of this perspective is on the more damaging dynamics and effects of distrust. Characterized by an emotionally- and cognitively-charged spiral of mushrooming hostile and coercive responses, the effects of distrust are considered to be disproportionately intense

relative to the effects of low trust, or the benefits of high trust. While distrust may affect a smaller overall proportion of defence personnel—although this too is an empirical question—its negative effects and destructive consequences may well be most apparent for this group. In this case, it would be important to explore the conditions and thresholds that trigger distrust, as these may well be especially important in terms of issues especially related to retention and work performance at the organizational level and to work satisfaction and other measures of individual well-being at the individual level. There is some precedence for this type of approach given the question included in the initial sobering results of the 2006 Retention Survey cited in Stouffer (2008).

Whichever approach is adopted, of particular importance is research that identifies those groups within the defence community for whom issues related to trust in the organization are most acute. For instance, given its current and anticipated increasing future diversity, both the nature of organizational trust and the issues that cause employees to question the positive intent of the organization may differ across groups in defence. Indeed, the literature suggests that these groups within an organization may feel more vulnerable, which may, in turn, be associated with lower levels of organizational trust. According to this view, within a defence context, the organizational trust levels may well be lower among ill or injured personnel, or personnel who have been targets of sexual assault or harassment, depending on their experiences with the way in which they perceive that senior leadership and the bureaucracy has protected or addressed their needs. Just as important as identifying specific groups that have lower levels of organizational trust, is the need to understand why this is the case. Research can identify the specific concerns of personnel who fall into these groups that would be used, in turn, to support the development of organizational interventions in these areas. Moreover, research can quantify the efficacy of these initiatives on target audiences, and identify issues and aspects that may need continuing attention. Overall, insights from this type of research would offer valuable lessons to be applied when developing future policy and programs to address personnel needs.

Following the lead of other researchers, there also may be particular time periods in a defence career where the dynamics of organizational trust may play a more critical role. Recall that Searle and Billsberry (2011) have argued that trust in the recruitment process is a critical period of uncertainty and ambiguity that highlights one's vulnerability in and to an organization. This suggests that organizational-level trust might be an influential factor in decisions to enter the military and to join the public service for civilians. In addition, such issues may resurface among veterans as they attempt to navigate government bureaucracy to obtain services after retirement from the Forces. Assessments concerning the nature and relevance of organizational trust at these different time points, the quality of organizational supports at transition points, and potential demographic group differences in this regard, may well provide valuable information to inform a variety of personnel recruitment, retention, and transition strategies and policies and organizational systems.

Key to any research efforts is the development of a valid and reliable measure for the Defence context (see Thompson & Gill, 2015). Such scale development activities should be informed by related assessment efforts, for instance, secondary data analyses of existing relevant CMP data sets, as begun using the 2010 Retention Survey (Koundakjian & Goldenberg, 2012; Thompson & Hendriks, in press). In particular, further analyses of the 2006 Retention Survey (see Stouffer, 2008) may also reveal other important findings that could be used to better understand the phenomenology of organizational trust and distrust in a defence context, and to provide useful insights for future scale development efforts. Importantly, the role of organizational-level trust—or distrust—needs to be understood in relation to other measures of personal and organizational well-being and effectiveness. Any work in this area would need to be integrated within the array of relevant personnel research within DGMPRA. For instance, begun in

1996, The Human Dimensions of Operations Project (see Ivey, et al., 2014; Murphy & Farley, 2000) uses two survey vehicles: the Unit Climate Profile (UCP) for deployed troops and the Unit Morale Profile (UMP) for in-garrison military personnel, in order to inform CAF leaders and their command teams concerning aspects of operational readiness levels (e.g., Blanc & Kelloway, 2014; Murphy & Farley, 2000), provide insights for personnel policy development, and assess the impact of training and organizational change initiatives of military personnel (Ivey, 2014). The UCP and UMP have included a variety of relevant psychological and occupational constructs, including organizational justice and commitment, trust in leaders and peers, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, as well as measures of psychological and physical stress/strain and career and job intentions. It is beyond the scope of this report to address these relationships in depth, although many of these have been articulated in Thompson and Gill (2015). Suffice it to say that, higher organizational trust should be associated with greater perceived resources and lower demands overall, and higher levels of organizational trust should be positively associated with psychological indicators of well-being, such as higher organizational commitment and job satisfaction, and negatively associated with measures of psychological and physical stress/strain and a greater intention to leave the military. Indeed, recent empirical results confirm most of these relations (Thompson & Hendriks, 2018).

Indeed, recent developments are very encouraging in the overall area of workplace health and well-being. Under Blueprint 2020, DND has committed to instituting Canada's Workplace Standard for Psychological Health and Safety. Developed in consultation with experts in the field, the standard articulates 13 factors that can affect the level of physical or psychological risk in the workplace: organizational culture; psychological and social support; clear leadership and expectations; civility and respect; psychological competencies and requirements; growth and development; recognition and reward; involvement and influence; workload management; engagement; work-life balance; psychological protection; and protection of physical safety. Accordingly, DGMPRA scientists (Ivey, Blanc, Michaud, & Dobreva-Martinova, 2018), began with a conceptual definition defining "psychologically healthy and safe workplaces … [as] those with structures, practices and a culture dedicated to promoting and supporting the physical and psychological health of employees while efficiently achieving organizational goals and having a positive impact on clients, community and/or other stakeholders." Ivey et al. then developed a comprehensive, conceptual model of the assumed relationship among the 13 factors articulated in the standard that they grouped under three overarching headings: Resources (further grouped under Job, Team, Leader, and Organzational subheadings); and Demands and Outcomes. With this model as a basis, they looked to the literature for validated measures that would assess the key variables in their model, which they presented to soldiers in a survey called the Unit Climate Profile, version 2 (UMP v2) in order to assess and monitor workplace health and safety. Initial findings were very promising, and the methodology used produces useful graphic representations of a unit's standing on all of the UMP v2 variables, which can also be presented in comparison to all other DND units combined. As was the case for its UMP predecessor, this presentation is combined with a thoughtful discussion with unit leaders to identify potential areas of concern and to develop interventions for them. Linking back to the focus of the present report, organizational trust could well be added as an outcome variable to the UMP v2. Although organizational trust is not currently included in the Standard and is not included in UMP v2, the literature reviewed here suggests that a potential modification to the UMP v2 may the inclusion of an organizational systems variable under the Resources heading of their model and Organizational Trust as one of the outcomes. More specifically, and also following from the literature reviewed in this report, while positively related to higher resources and lower demands, organizational trust should be particularly affected by perceptions of senior leaders and organizational systems.

4.2 Strategic Communication/Initiatives/Documentation

This report also provided an analysis of selected strategic defence documentation and initiatives with respect to their implications for organization trust. Based on this analysis, an additional line of future research could also be undertaken to better understand the impact and implications of strategic documents with respect to organizational trust in Defence. Such a line of analysis may be important to pursue because strategy documents provide not only the content of the organizational objectives to be achieved, but also set the tone for how to achieve them.

The current analyses revealed that all of the strategic documents summarized in the current report sought to provide strategic clarity and intent and, at least from that perspective, might be related to organizational trust. However, DRF and Defence Renewal also espouse an organizational vision that includes constant change and innovation, with a primary goal of increasing efficiency. In light of this, strategic decision makers might be reminded that such conditions can be associated with higher levels of ambiguity, uncertainty, and vulnerability at the employee level. Moreover, the clear themes of DRF and Defence Renewal involved a focus on centralization, standardization, and a greater use of technology and performance management down to the individual worker level to increase efficiency and effectiveness. Certainly, technology and organizational processes and procedures can be important enablers of trust in this regard. Yet, organizational processes and procedures can also create challenges to organizational trust should they increase ambiguity and uncertainty, and certainly frustration levels, when instructions for use are unclear, unnecessarily complicated and/or require specialized knowledge to navigate. When this is the case, it is very easy for employees to conclude that the organization has little concern for their time or, by extension, for them. Similarly, technology is not a panacea. One need only consider the impact of the government's implementation of the Phoenix pay system to understand how the decision to use technology can erode employee trust in the benevolence, integrity and competence of an organization. Defence would be well advised to keep these sober lessons in mind as they continue to automate other organizational systems and procedures. Moreover, the increased use of video conferencing for career management is listed as a success for Defence Renewal based on the associated cost savings of such an approach. Although this may well be the case, research could be conducted to assess and quantify the impacts of video conferencing on other aspects of effectiveness of career management from the perspective of those being career managed, those conducting career management, and in terms of the effectiveness of the career management system, in order to provide the empirical evidence to bolster this claim of the benefits of this approach beyond the economic efficiencies accrued. Should any negative effects of video conferencing be uncovered, research might be able to demonstrate methods to mitigate any negative effects.

Regarding the design of processes and systems, developers might also keep in mind the questions outlined earlier in this document. For instance, research suggests that developers determine whether the content of the policies, processes and procedures, and, importantly, the way in which they are applied, indicate the competence (are these structures reasonable means to obtain goals?), benevolence (do structures genuinely appear to facilitate employee goals, at least in addition to organizational goals?), integrity (do structures appear to reflect and fairly enact a value system that is shared by the employee), and predictability (are structures reliable and are they applied consistently?) of the overall organization. Applying these as guides during development could save subsequent time, effort, confusion and frustration on the part of the intended end users.

If consideration is not given to how these strategic approaches impact the individuals who are affected by them, or to the impacts of centralization, standardization and technology, then even well-intentioned strategic initiatives may be derailed, especially in an organization as complex, diverse, and distributed as DND. Thus, research could be conducted to determine the effects of centralization, standardization and technology on organizational trust as well as the ways to mitigate any negative effects that are revealed. There is some recognition of the importance of this factor. As noted earlier, Defence Renewal (2013) recognized that "the inability to translate visionary objectives into the concrete changes required from individual military and civilian personnel has in the past led to a lack of buy-in for major reform initiatives" (p. 19).

Moreover, performance management is clearly a major theme in the overall strategic approach being instituted by the Government of Canada, as reflected in DRF, Defence Renewal and the Performance Management Program for Employees. In particular, defence leadership might be well advised to consider the extant literature cited in this report that addresses its potential pitfalls, specifically in terms of its guiding intent and how performance management approaches are implemented. Currently, the tone of this documentation suggests an intent of evaluation, assessment and feedback that occurs one-way, flowing from higher to lower levels of the organization. Where such top-down processes are interpreted as a means to reduce the autonomy of and to place controls on workers, and only to monitor their performance, with no benefit to them, such processes will be interpreted as coercive in nature—rather than enabling—and employees' trust in the organization can suffer. This is especially the case with the instituting of new performance measures that are perceived as more evaluative, punitive and/or restrictive than prior systems. Similarly, given the reciprocal nature of trust dynamics, if performance management is being assessed at that level of detail for the individual worker, the organization must be prepared for similar types of assessments—even informally—and the potential consequences of these assessments by their employees. Hence, the senior leadership of defence may be advised to heed the conclusion of Adler and Borys (1996) that the traditional, coercive approach "to bureaucracy is an ineffective form of organization for dealing with innovation, change and environmental complexity" (p. 63).

In fact, future research might further investigate the distinction between enabling versus coercive bureaucracy as discussed by Adler and Borys (1996). That is, do employees make distinctions between the organizational systems in terms of the extent to which they are perceived as enabling versus coercive, and if so, what features distinguish the systems they perceive to be enabling versus coercive? Moreover, perhaps employees are impacted by the relative balance of enabling and coercive bureaucracy that they experience in their organization. Perhaps if a sufficient proportion of organizational systems are perceived as enabling, workers might be more able to tolerate those systems that are perceived as more coercive in nature. Perhaps individual workers may be more willing to accept the required accountability systems in select areas, as long as other systems are clearly in place and developed to effectively and efficiently provide them with needed resources. However, when the preponderance of systems appear to be arbitrary and coercive in nature, and these interfere with, or at least are perceived as interfering with, performance and productivity, the variety of negative effects of bureaucracy on personnel will predominate. Research can also assist in this area via the development and implementing of empirically validated conceptual models and processes for optimal translation of strategy into relevant objectives that meet organizational goals but are translated into and further individual worker objectives—DGMPRA has made excellent contributions in this regard to the development of performance frameworks for several of the organizations within CMP.

Of the documents and directives detailed, SSE makes the most consistently compelling and authentic case in terms of organizational trust. It is notable in its compassionate tone and message with respect to

personnel and their families and because the focus of the initiatives outlined is on providing needed resources to facilitate the work and protection of individuals in the CAF—although the contrast in terms of the attention to civilians is striking. It also directly and frankly addresses its past organizational shortcomings in several areas. Still, in the final analysis, and for all of its promise, the devil will be in the details for SSE concerning if and how its compassionate strategic intent is translated into the specific policies, processes, mechanisms and technology that will be developed to realize that vision. Indeed, it is almost perfect timing to track the impact of SSE on organizational trust levels and to track how organizational trust is affected as the specifics of SSE are being operationalized in more specific policies, programs and bureaucratic systems and over time. More generally, a thorough understanding of *how* to institute organizational procedures and processes to achieve goals of innovation under conditions of constant change while maintaining—or perhaps at least not violating—individuals' trust in the defence organization, as well as periodic monitoring of organizational-level trust, may be a useful criterion of the benefit of strategic-level programs.

5 Conclusion

Organizational trust is an under-researched construct; in particular, its nature and implications are not well understood in both the civilian and military branches of Defence organizations. Still, the limited empirical findings that exist indicate that, at least in some cases, military personnel have strong opinions related to organizational trust and that those opinions were not entirely positive (see Stouffer, 2008). Similarly, results of the 2017 Canadian Public Service Survey (TBS, 2018a) indicated that between 30%–40% of the DND respondents reported a lack of confidence in their senior leadership and negative assessments of bureaucratic systems and processes, the key dimensions or organizational trust. In the future, DND will remain highly interdependent and hierarchically structured, but it will be an increasingly diverse, distributed and technology-enabled organization, meaning that organizational trust will have an enduring relevance for defence organizations. Taken together, this suggests that organizational trust is an important area of future research.

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13. ABSTRACT (When available in the document, the French version of the abstract must be included here.)

Organizational trust is the degree to which individuals believe that the organization to which they belong can be counted on to provide them with needed resources and/or assistance when it is needed. Civilian research has indicated that employee trust in their organization is related to a variety of individual- and organizational-level outcomes, yet organizational trust has received considerably less attention in the military literature or in defence organizations more generally. The current report begins to address this gap, examining the relevance of the organizational trust construct to defence organizations overall and to the Department of National Defence (DND) specifically. Accordingly, this report reviews literature on organizational trust to: (i) operationally define the construct, (ii) consider the potential impact of violations of organizational trust, (iii) explore potential challenges that might further underscore the importance of the organizational trust construct to Defence, (iv) identify groups within the defence context who would be more “at-risk” with respect to organizational-level trust, (v) apply this literature to several DND strategic-level initiatives, and in light of all of the above, (vi), provide recommendations concerning how research might facilitate or support organizational trust for Defence.

La confiance organisationnelle est la mesure dans laquelle les personnes estiment pouvoir compter sur l’organisation à laquelle elles appartiennent pour qu’elle leur fournisse les ressources ou l'aide dont elles ont besoin. La recherche civile a indiqué que la confiance des employés envers leur organisation est liée à divers résultats personnels et organisationnels. Pourtant, la confiance organisationnelle a reçu considérablement moins d'attention dans la littérature militaire et dans les organisations de défense en général. Le rapport actuel commence à combler cette lacune en abordant la pertinence du concept de confiance organisationnelle pour les organisations de la défense en général et pour le Ministère de la Défense Nationale (MDN) en particulier. Ainsi, par une revue de la littérature sur la confiance organisationnelle, ce rapport vise à : (i) définir le concept sur le plan opérationnel, (ii) tenir compte des conséquences éventuelles des atteintes à la confiance organisationnelle, (iii) explorer les difficultés potentielles qui viendraient souligner davantage l'importance du concept de confiance organisationnelle pour la défense, (iv) déterminer les groupes à l’intérieur du cadre de la défense les plus « à risque » sur le plan de la confiance organisationnelle, (v) appliquer cette littérature à plusieurs initiatives du MDN au niveau stratégique et, à la lumière de ce qui précède, (vi), faire des recommandations quant à la façon dont la recherche pourrait faciliter ou appuyer la confiance organisationnelle au sein de la défense.